

Andean Primordial Titles, Land Repossession, and the Rise of New Communities during the First General Land Inspection (1594–1602)

ABSTRACT: This essay presents the first comprehensive analysis of a series of land deeds prepared by the Laraos of Yauyos, Peru, during the First General Land Inspection to secure title to farm- and pasturelands. Scholars have shown the centrality of this first general inspection for the country's agrarian history, but almost invariably reducing it to the appropriation of native lands and the formation of colonial rural estates. Many works have explored the mechanisms by which Spanish actors secured title to formerly indigenous lands during the Inspection, the start of a process that has been recently termed "the great dispossession." Much less attention has been placed, however, on the strategies of native Andean commoner groups that not only used the Land Inspection to protect their holdings but also relied on it to break away from their original villages, acquire new lands, establish new settlements, and accrue recognition as independent communities. Through the analysis of the Laraos primordial titles, I show that, key in this process was the collection of narratives and the performance of walkabouts that, when committed to writing in the form of title-maps and witness testimonies, gave communities-in-the-making the necessary tools to succeed in these self-directed projects of commoner colonization.

KEYWORDS: Yauyos, commons, colonization, land tenure, *Primera visita y composición general de tierras*

As historians know well, ordinary Peruvian citizens and peasant community leaders are among the regular visitors who deposit or retrieve copies of land titles dating back to the First General Land Inspection (1594–1602) in state archives today. This *Primera visita y composición general de tierras* (henceforth: *Composición*) was a watershed moment in the agrarian history of the region about which few of these visitors, however, have ever heard. In contrast, scholars have contended for decades that, by spurring the accumulation of land, the expansion of the colonial real estate market, the

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development of commercial agriculture, and the consolidation of agrarian estates across the viceroyalty, particularly in areas near cities and mining centers, this massive undertaking for the “fixing” of imperfect titles, one of several throughout the colonial period, triggered a series of historical processes whose effects in the country’s land ownership regimes and agrarian landscapes are still felt more than 400 years later.¹

At the center of this administrative and judicial procedure, historians have placed the *componer* or *composición* (amending/confirming) of illegitimate or improper land titles and the acquisition of new *títulos justos y legítimos* (just and legitimate titles) from the king’s designated ministers, even if none existed before, via monetary compensation or direct purchase. As the main financial motivation behind the *Composición*, moreover, scholars have invoked King Philip’s prior bankruptcy and the Crown’s wish to assemble a large armada for the defense of the monarchy. The sale of land and the legalization of titles, especially to and by Spaniards, has been indeed identified as the Inspection’s overt goal, openly declared in the 1591 royal order, which led to widespread denunciations of abuse and illegal appropriation of land previously vacant or held as indigenous family/common lands.² Recent estimates place the monies collected between 1594 and 1595 alone at more than 281,000 assayed pesos. In the next 3 years, about half of that amount entered the king’s treasury in Spain for the same reason.³

1. There is no general history of the *Composición* but, for earlier overviews, Enrique Torres Saldamando, *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima. Segunda parte. Apéndices*. (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1888), 83-91; José Varallanos, *Historia de Huánuco* (Buenos Aires: Imp. López, 1959), 280-86. The first *Composición General* was followed by four general others—1639-48, 1661-6, 1722-5, and 1786-8. In a series of detailed and original works, historian Carolina Jurado has devoted much needed attention to how the *Composición* unfolded in Charcas. Carolina Jurado, “La primera visita y composición de tierras en Charcas a través de la residencia de don Pedro Osoreo de Ulloa, juez de tierras del siglo XVI,” *Indiana* 33, no. 2 (2016): 9-30; Carolina Jurado, “Tejiendo lealtades en Charcas. El segundo juez de visita y composición de tierras en la trama de la dádiva virreinal, 1594-1600,” *Histórica* 49, no. 1 (2017): 11-42; Carolina Jurado, “La composición como concierto. Prácticas judiciales en espacios rurales durante el primer proceso de visita y composición de tierras y de extranjeros en Charcas. Virreinato del Perú, 1591-1597,” *Prohistoria* 21, no. 29 (2018): 19-42; Carolina Jurado, “Títulos de la tierra y nociones posesorias y de dominio en Charcas a fines del siglo XVI: la composición del valle de Sucusuma, virreinato del Perú, 1592-1600,” *Diálogo Andino* 65 (2021): 49-64; Carolina Jurado, “Baldíos, derechos posesorios y tierra realenga en el primer proceso de composición en el distrito de Charcas. Virreinato del Perú, 1591-1597,” *América Latina en la Historia Económica* 29, no. 1 (2021): 1-24; Carolina Jurado, “El juez de comisión durante la primera composición de tierras y venta de baldíos en el virreinato del Perú: aspectos normativos y praxis judicial en Charcas, 1592-1597,” in *En todos los rincones imperiales: apropiaciones de tierras baldías y composiciones de propiedades agrarias en América y Filipinas (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Sergio Eduardo Carrera Quezada and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2022), 47-89.

2. Felipe Márquez Abanto, “Compilación de reales cédulas, provisiones, leyes, ordenanzas, instrucciones y procedimientos sobre repartimientos y composiciones de tierras en favor de los indios, desde el año 1591 hasta 1754 (continuación),” *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 20, no. 151-170 (1956): 260-66, 152; Francisco de Solano, *Cedulario de tierras. Compilación. Legislación agraria colonial (1497-1820)* (Mexico, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1991), 269-75; Torres Saldamando, *Libro primero de cabildos*, 89-91. The original *cédula* was the culmination of an earlier title review process, as explained in Margarita Menegus Bornemann, “Los títulos primordiales de los pueblos de indios,” *Estudios: Revista de Historia Moderna* 20 (1989): 207-30, 208-10.

3. For these figures, “Relación de la plata oro y reales que han venido a esta caja real desde el 7.IV.1597 hasta el 7.IV.1598,” Lima, April 8, 1598, AGI, Lima, 33, n. 36, 122-23; Luis Miguel Glave, “Propiedad de la tierra, agricultura y comercio, 1570-1700: el gran despojo,” in *Compendio de historia económica del Perú*, ed. Carlos Contreras (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 2009), 291-423, 338. The *Segunda composición*, held between 1639 and 1648, yielded more

Despite the *Composición*'s decisive role in shaping colonial Andean land regimes, its high local variability and how these variations impacted its unpredictable outcomes have been left mostly unexamined. Works by fellow Andeanists betray an almost exclusive focus on Spanish improper titling and illegal encroachment of formerly native-owned lands. This narrow lens has resulted in the overall characterization of the *Composición* as a "great dispossession."⁴ Some describe *composiciones de tierras* generally as "consolidations of lands seized illegally from Indians," adding that "[as] opposed to enforcing land restitutions, the *composiciones* accelerated the dissolution of the communal land rights well into the late colonial period."⁵ Others reduce the *Composición* to "a mechanism devised by the crown [...] to legalize lands that Spaniards and corporations precariously possessed."⁶ For others, it was "institutionalized land theft."⁷ The Central Andean *corregimiento* (province) of Yauyos, the focus of this essay, provides a powerful counternarrative to deeply entrenched views of native dispossession, illegal appropriation, and communal disintegration, prompting a reevaluation of our current views (Map 1).⁸

than 2 million pesos. Luis Miguel Glave, "Echando el cordel a voluntad de los medidores". Las composiciones de tierras a mediados del siglo XVII en los Andes," in *En todos los rincones imperiales: apropiaciones de tierras baldías y composiciones de propiedades agrarias en América y Filipinas (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Sergio Eduardo Carrera Quezada and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2022), 91–142, 92. On the formation of haciendas and the consolidation of a market of lands in relation to General Land Inspections, Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: el valle del Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1976); Luis Miguel Glave and María Isabel Remy, *Estructura agraria y vida rural en una región andina: Ollantaytambo entre los siglos XVI-XIX* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1983); Armando Guevara, *Propiedad agraria y derecho colonial: los documentos de la hacienda Santotis, Cuzco (1543-1822)* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993); Susan Ramírez, *The World Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1996).

4. Luis Miguel Glave, "El arbitrio de tierras de 1622 y el debate sobre las propiedades y los derechos coloniales de los indios," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 71, no. 1 (2014): 79–106; Glave, "Propiedad de la tierra", 326–345; Glave, "Echando el cordel a voluntad;" Donato Amado Gonzales, "Reparto de tierras indígenas y la primera visita y composición general," *Histórica* 22, no. 2 (1998): 197–207, 205; Donato Amado Gonzales, "Establecimiento y consolidación de la hacienda en el Valle de Chinchaypucyo (1600-1700)," *Revista Andina* 31, no. 1 (1998): 67–98. Glave's most recent work, devoted to the second *Visita y composición general*, similarly argues, "*Esta visita ofrece a nivel de los documentos locales las mismas características de abuso y despojo que exhibe el proceso abierto en todo el espacio peruano [en el periodo inicial hasta las primeras visitas, de 1594 a 1619]*" (Glave, "Echando el cordel a voluntad", 120).

5. Alcira Dueñas, "The Lima Indian *Letrados*: Remaking the República de Indios in the Bourbon Andes," *The Americas* 72, no. 1 (2015): 55–75, 61; Alcira Dueñas, "The Virgin and the Land Surveyor: Andean Pueblo Boundary Making in the Highlands of Late Colonial Ecuador," *Colonial Latin American Review* 31, no. 3 (2022): 304–326, 307.

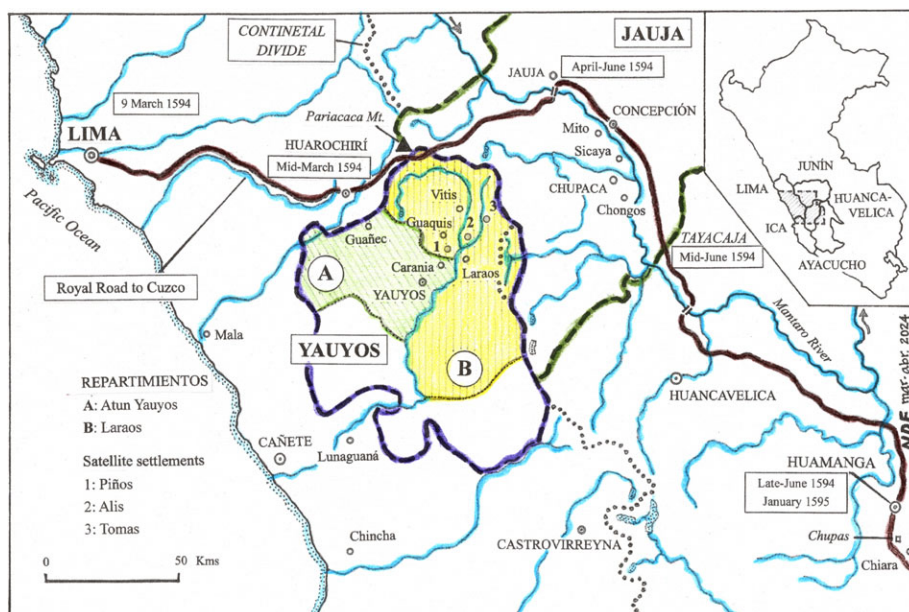
6. Marina Zuloaga, "Las reducciones: el proyecto, su aplicación y su evolución en Huaylas, Perú (siglo XVI y XVII)," in *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el virreinato del Perú*, ed. Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas Lauro (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017), 307–346, 330.

7. S. Elizabeth Penry, "Pleitos coloniales: "historizando" las fuentes sobre pueblos de indígenas de los Andes," in *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el virreinato del Perú*, ed. Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas Lauro (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017), 439–473, 463.

8. David Kazanjian has recently challenged the "foundationalist presupposition" behind this type of historical approach to colonial dispossession: it presumes a form of individual or common possession that was in fact "a feature of the rise of capitalism rather than a precapitalist precondition or even some ahistorical, ontological ground." David Kazanjian, "Dispossession, Reimagined from the 1690s," in *A Time for Critique*, ed. Didier Fassin and Bernard E. Harcourt (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 210–29, 215. "Land," Kazanjian would argue, had been previously embedded in diverse social relations and forms of possession that he calls "ante possessive," that is, "at once before, against, and apposite to possession itself." David Kazanjian, "Ante-Possession: A History of Dispossession's Present," *American Literary History* 34, no. 3 (2022): 863–892, 883.

MAP 1

The corregimientos of Yauyos (including the repartimientos of Atun Yauyos [A] and Laraos [B]) and Jauja circa 1594. The brown line represents the itinerary of land inspector Gabriel Solano de Figueroa and his official interpreter, Felipe Guaman Poma. Map by Nicanor Domínguez Faura.



In Yauyos and adjacent highland regions such as Huarochirí and Jauja, most landholdings were to remain, with or without written title, in the hands of indigenous nobles and agropastoral communities of different scales (*ayllus*, *pueblos*, and *repartimientos*) until the twilight of the colonial era. As Karen Spalding noted in her classic study of Huarochirí (Lower Yauyos), the relatively few purchases of clean title (*título pleno*) to land by Spaniards are mostly detectable from the first decades of the eighteenth century henceforth (I can add that they appear somewhat earlier in the Jauja Valley). There was, without a doubt, dispossession and often in significant amounts, but by means other than this type of formal titling.⁹ My ongoing research aligns with Spalding's view and strongly suggests that this was so in part because, in these provinces, *caciques* and *comuneros* (native communities) in flux were among the direct and indirect

9. Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí, An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1984), 183. For the similar case of Oaxaca, Yanna Yannakakis, *Since Time Immemorial: Native Custom and Law in Colonial Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2023), 144–145.

beneficiaries of the royal land sale and land titling policies of the 1590s. Recognition during the *Composición* came in two forms: implicit and general, as in lands possessed “since time immemorial” or “since the time of the Inka,” presumed to be native possessions until proven otherwise, and explicit and particular, as in lands that could be claimed as belonging to a specific, recognized *común* or community. These collectives leveraged the *Composición* against real and potential acts of dispossession by casting the granting of title embedded in the land inspection not as a mechanism that challenged previous rights but as one that reinforced them. Later land title inspections would try to unravel the land rights tacitly or positively asserted during the *Composición*, to the point that subsequent land sales to outsiders, largely triggered by colonial fiscal pressure and labor demands, took that prior recognition of such holdings as “native” as the basis for the regulated transfer of ownership.

Thus, in the first three sections of this essay, I will show how the *Composición* opened multiple avenues for Yauyos individuals and communities old and new to break into the colonial record, produce powerful legal narratives about their landholding rights, memorialize inter-communal decisions, and obtain, often for the first time, primordial titles to land that, in many cases, have endured until the present. While the particularities of these primordial titles will emerge from the analysis, I think of them in the sense in which Margarita Menegus defined a subset of the much larger corpus of Mesoamerican primordial titles: Castilian and indigenous-language manuscripts no doubt connected to other highly complex native forms of retelling the past and recreating collective memory, but distinct enough in that such formal titles were produced within a *pueblo* framework and in the context of the first *composición*.¹⁰ As it was to happen in New Spain 40 years later, when a 1631 royal decree finally triggered the *Composición* there,¹¹ native lords and commoners in Yauyos relied on the land

10. Menegus Bornemann, “Los títulos primordiales;” Margarita Menegus Bornemann, “Las composiciones de tierras en el centro de la Nueva España y en Oaxaca. La fabricación de nuevos títulos de propiedad indígena,” in *En todos los rincones imperiales: apropiaciones de tierras baldías y composiciones de propiedades agrarias en América y Filipinas (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Sergio Eduardo Carrera Quezada and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2022), 367–393. A broader definition, which links this subset to other alphabetic and pictographic documents about the foundation of *pueblos*, the legitimacy of chiefly lineages, the marking of boundaries, and the deeds of community leaders, in María de los Ángeles Romero Frizzi and Michel R. Oudijk, “Los títulos primordiales: un género de tradición mesoamericana. Del mundo prehispánico al siglo XXI,” *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 24, no. 95 (2003): 19–48. Excellent case studies include Robert Haskett, *Visions of Paradise: Primordial Titles and Mesoamerican History in Cuernavaca* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005); Kelly McDonough, “Plotting Indigenous Stories, Land, and People: Primordial Titles and Narrative Mapping in Colonial Mexico,” *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 17, no. 1 (2017): 1–30; and Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahuatl Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003). A recent state of the art in Gerardo González Reyes and Maricela Dorantes Soria, “El título primordial de San Miguel Xicalco, siglo XVII. Memoria, historia y reproducción cultural,” *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 162 (2022): 57–95.

11. Benjamin D. Johnson, *Pueblos within Pueblos: Tlaxilacalli Communities in Acolhuacan, Mexico, ca. 1272-1692* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017); Menegus Bornemann, “Los títulos primordiales;” Menegus Bornemann, “Las composiciones de tierras,” 382–387; Jesús Édgar Mendoza García, “Apropiación territorial y conflictos:

inspection to redefine their holdings as “possessions” subject to titling in order to protect them and challenge some of the inspector-judges’ rulings and determinations.

But that was not all. In the last two sections, I will show that, often in opposition to these more established collectives, and as a constituent part of the same generative process, breakaway groups that looked “new” on paper took the *Composición* as an opportunity to secure land and political status as autonomous entities. As Elizabeth Penry and Karen Graubart have noted, without community (*común*) and *república* status, the defense of collective holdings by splinter communities-in-the-making would have been seriously impaired.¹² Thus, titling, commoning, and collective property formation appear not only as mutually constitutive but also as pivotal aspects of the *Composición*. These breakaway groups relied on the intrinsic judicial and administrative mechanisms of the land inspection to reorganize the landscape, disrupt the General Resettlement Policy of the previous years, sanction new agreements, and secede from their *ayllus* and villages of residence, colonizing new lands, establishing novel settlements, and accruing further recognition as independent *repúblicas*, entitled to their own government and agropastoral commons. In the highland province of Yauyos, which was commissioned by the viceroy to a land inspector and a well-known indigenous interpreter-cum-chronicler between 1594 and 1596, the *Composición* was more a formal act of repossession of the land within a new normative idiom than an act of dispossession.¹³

Thus, my analysis departs from earlier interpretations portraying the *Composición* in the Andes as a one-way process involving two active parties—Crown ministers of varying rank and Spanish landholders avid for land—with the native Andeans upon whose possessions they were acting often playing a secondary, reactive role.¹⁴ This perspective has prevented Andeanists from retrieving indigenous

composiciones de tierras en los pueblos de la alcaldía mayor de Teposcolula y Yanhuitlán, 1707-1767,” in *En todos los rincones imperiales: apropiaciones de tierras baldías y composiciones de propiedades agrarias en América y Filipinas (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Sergio Eduardo Carrera Quezada and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2022), 395–438, 396–397.

12. Penry, “Pleitos coloniales”, 452; Karen Graubart, *Republics of Difference: Religious and Racial Self-governance in the Spanish Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

13. Here, my analysis echoes Kazanjian’s observation that, “To the extent that they antagonized capitalism, the commons did so by repurposing themselves in the face of the quite specific techniques of capitalist expropriation, not by maintaining some precapitalist, nonpossessive purity rooted in time immemorial” (Kazanjian, “Dispossession”, 216 [quote]). David Kazanjian, “‘I am he’: A History of Dispossession’s Not-Yet-Present in Colonial Yucatán,” in *Accumulation and Subjectivity: Rethinking Marx in Latin America*, ed. Karen Benezra (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2022), 45–66, 51.

14. This view is summarized, and perhaps exemplified, albeit for Mesoamerica, in Sergio Eduardo Carrera Quezada and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, “Introducción,” in *En todos los rincones imperiales: apropiaciones de tierras baldías y composiciones de propiedades agrarias en América y Filipinas (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Sergio Eduardo Carrera Quezada and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2022), 13–44, 17. For the Andes, Varallanos, *Historia de Huánuco*, 281.

agency, no matter how limited it may seem, from instances in which native subjects seemingly collaborated with the enactment of Crown mandates and colonial policies regarding excess and vacant lands. Generally absent in previous treatments of the General Land Inspection is the consideration of how, from the onset, native Andeans' own interests, ownership regimes, and legal strategies for claiming individual and communal rights to land shaped the outcomes, and in fact the very archive, of the *Composición*. Indigenous subjects in Yauyos (and likely elsewhere) influenced the Land Inspection and its outcomes at every stage. As we will see, the land inspection in the central highlands was negotiated on the ground, *repartimiento* by *repartimiento*, and even village by village.

IN THE LAND OF THE YAUYOS

Little is known about the cleric and presbyter Gabriel Solano de Figueroa's life and career before he received his commission as land judge and inspector from the viceroy in Lima, except that he traveled to Peru in December 1588, after receiving a recommendation from the Council of the Indies, and was appointed chaplain of the royal chapel in Lima, where he returned after completing his duties.¹⁵ Solano started his tour inspection in the viceregal seat on March 9, 1594, journeying across the Andes to the east of the city (Map 1). In the following days, he reached the highland province of Huarochirí. With the aid of a surveyor, a scribe, and an interpreter, the famous Felipe Guaman Poma, Solano inspected and readjusted the lands that the natives of the three villages in Huarochirí—and likely many others—needed for their subsistence and tribute payments.¹⁶ He also undertook the *amojonamiento* (general demarcation) of the whole province and, in the case of the community of Santa María de Huarochirí, he “amended” the village's land titles according to this general delimitation.¹⁷ By April 1, the inspector and his entourage had already crossed the *cordillera* of Pariacaca and descended into Jauja, entering the valley from the north.¹⁸ Over the next 3 months, the judge and his entourage would work their way through this jurisdiction, reaching its southernmost limits sometime in May.¹⁹ As he continued to entertain petitions from increasingly distant Yauyos and Huarochirí, Solano followed the same general titling guidelines as he moved

15. For this and other details, José Carlos de la Puente Luna and Víctor Solier Ochoa, “La huella del intérprete: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala y la primera composición general de tierras en el virreinato del Perú,” *Histórica* 30, no. 2 (2006): 7–29, 14, footnote 12.

16. Glave, “Propiedad de la tierra”, 335.

17. “Autos seguidos por Isidro Cortázar”, Lima, 1835, AGN, TC, 8:68, f. 51r.

18. “Executoria de las sentencias de vista y revista”, Lima, March 13, 1604, Archivo de la Provincia Dominica, Autos, 13:3, f. 32v.

19. These facts contradict the recent assertion that “*la visita y composición que realizó Solano de Figueroa fue exclusivamente al repartimiento de Hatun Xauxa.*” Carlos Hurtado Ames and Víctor Solier Ochoa, eds., *Guamán Poma de Ayala en Jauja* (Trujillo: Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, 2017), 16.

south through the Huancavelica mining region and into Huamanga, arriving in the city district late in June 1594. He was still there in January of year next.²⁰

Though with some trepidation at first, inspectors such as Solano came to understand the difficult mandate to implement the *Composición* within the parameters of the king's original 1591 decree.²¹ *Pareceres* (expert opinions) had been requested from theologians and men of the law by the fourth Marquis of Cañete (1590–6). These men reflected on how to interpret and implement the king's will, especially in what pertained to the natives of the kingdom and their lands, without risking burdening His Majesty's conscience.²² Nonetheless, as Solano's journey should remind us, most arguments for claiming land and the legal doctrines that rendered such claims valid would be tried and contested on the ground and in the courtroom, as ministers and claimants met the challenges of interpreting and carrying the king's brief order and securing clean titles to a variety of holdings.

Between the *cédula's* reception sometime in early-to-mid-1592 and the fall of 1594, Cañete had appointed and dispatched seven ad-hoc judges (*jueces de ventas y composiciones de tierras*) besides Solano. Each was assigned to a district and received detailed instructions before departing. Upon arriving in their jurisdictions, if not before, they had assembled a team comprised of a scribe, a surveyor, and one or two interpreters. Especially if charged with covering large

20. Solano's actions in Huancavelica, between Jauja and Huamanga, and in the latter are well documented. Nelson Pereyra, "Un documento sobre Guaman Poma de Ayala existente en el Archivo Departamental de Ayacucho," *Histórica* 21, no. 2 (1997): 261–270; Elías Prado Tello and Alfredo Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Y no ay remedio* (Lima: Centro de Investigaciones y Promoción Amazónica, 1991), 148–149; James Quillca Chuco, *El pueblo de Tongos y sus litigios. Conflictos por tierras en el repartimiento de la Isla de Tayacaja. Huanta, Perú, siglo XVIII* (Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, 2021), 54. Additionally, "Testimonio de la visita y composición de las tierras denominadas Chipitampa", AGN, TP, 33:630.

21. Márquez Abanto, "Compilación de reales cédulas III," 152; Solano, *Cedulario de tierras*, 269–75; Torres Saldamando, *Libro primero de cabildos*, 89–91. An important precedent ordering the annulment of previous land grants and the restoration of indigenous lands, "Que los virreyes y presidentes revoquen las gracias de las tierras que dieren los cabildos y las admitan a composición" [Madrid, January 10, 1589] in *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*, (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1680), Bk. 4, Title XII, Law XX. The Crown issued similar orders for New Spain but in the seventeenth century. Menegus Bornemann, "Las composiciones de tierras", 367–368. The juridical underpinnings of the *composición*, which implies sanctioning *de jure* a *de facto* situation, are discussed in detail in Mariano Peset and Margarita Menegus Bornemann, "Rey propietario o rey soberano," *Historia Mexicana* 43, no. 4 (1994): 563–599.

22. "Carta del virrey García Hurtado de Mendoza a Su Majestad", Lima, April 12, 1596, AGI, Lima, 33, n. 11; "Carta del doctor Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los naturales, a Su Majestad", Lima, April 12, 1594, AGI, Lima, 132. For an almost verbatim summary of the *pareces*, Glave, "Propiedad de la tierra". Regarding these discussions, the Marquis told the Council, "En esta materia se han ofrecido y ofrecen cada día muchas dificultades de escrúpulos de conciencia Pero vase mirando y proueyendo en cada cosa lo que conuiene Y como todos los pareceres de Teólogos y juristas de aca se interpretar [sic] la intinçion y voto de lo que ordena y manda VMd. (por sus Reales cédulas) entiendo diferentemente los vnos que los otros y yo siempre me inclino a la mayor parte y a lo que es mas en fauor de los yndios y vltimamente se han ofrecido algunas dudas sobre que ha sido necesario y forçoso tomar algunos pareceres y hauiendolos visto todos me resolui en lo que contiene la ultima instruçion de que con esta va copia que es la que di a los jueces de tierras, y asimismo va copia de los dichos pareceres, VMd. se sirua de mandar que se vea si está como conuiene al descargo de su Real Conciencia (y a la de los que executamos la voluntad de VMd.) y se me auise dello para ver si ay que enmendar y no corra el daño mas adelante". "Carta del virrey García Hurtado de Mendoza a Su Majestad".

areas such as the Cuzco district, some inspectors were to deputize their duties onto others, generally the same scribes and interpreters, or local *corregidores* and other officials, drafting separate instructions for that purpose. Despite the difficult task at hand, most judges had completed their duties by late 1596 or early 1597, 5 years after the issuing of the king's decree and some 2 years since the beginning of the inspection. They left to the incoming viceroy, Luis de Velasco (1596–1604), and the high court of appeals or *audiencia* over which he presided in Lima the monumental task of confirming all titles granted during the *Composición* and resolving any disputes arising from them. This task would keep the appellate court busy for several years.²³

Given the centrality of land for virtually all aspects of colonial life, the enforcement of the king's orders across a vast, diverse, and loosely governed territory was bound to face multiple difficulties.²⁴ Fraud and abuse, notably in Charcas (present-day Bolivia), were denounced almost at every step of the *Composición*.²⁵ Cañete himself had to face accusations, serious enough to reach the Council of the Indies, of illegally awarding native lands, apparently in and around the Lima urban district, to some of his dependents.²⁶ In April of 1597, Viceroy Velasco informed the Council of the Indies of his having suspended some judge-inspectors. He cited high salaries and administrative costs, outstanding payments, and other irregularities, as well as rising litigation. In Velasco's estimation, it was best to stop the *composiciones* until all titles granted thus far could be examined, confirmed, or voided.²⁷ As Velasco also pointed out,

23. The first *visitadores* and their commissions are mentioned in "Carta del virrey García Hurtado de Mendoza a Su Majestad", Lima, November 20, 1593, AGI, Lima, 33, n. 7, 72–83v. For a thorough list of inspector-judges and their terms, see Felipe Márquez Abanto, "Compilación de reales cédulas, provisiones, leyes, ordenanzas, instrucciones y procedimientos sobre repartimientos y composiciones de tierras en favor de los indios, desde el año 1591 hasta 1754 (continuación)," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 22, no. 1 (1958): 218–229, 223–229. Cañete's first viceregal order on the matter, dated November 17, 1593, was superseded by another one from January 4, 1594. The second judge for Charcas was appointed in October 1594. The first, in August 1592. For these and other details, Glave, "El arbitrio de tierras," 87, 94; Jurado, "Títulos de la tierra," 54–55; Jurado, "La primera visita y composición de tierras," 20–21; and Jurado, "El juez de comisión".

24. Hurtado de Mendoza declared thus: "*La composición de tierras [...] se me hizo a los principios muy dificultoso porque toca tan generalmente a todo el Reino y a los estados del.*" "*Carta del virrey García Hurtado de Mendoza a Su Majestad*". In another letter, sent 2 years later, the viceroy told the king, "*De la venta y composición de tierras se va sacando mucha sustancia y como la tierra es tan larga, y tiene diferente valor en una parte que en otra abra algunos años que hazer en ello.*" "*Carta del virrey García Hurtado de Mendoza a Su Majestad*", Lima, January 25, 1595, AGI, Lima, 33, n. 30, 69–80v.

25. Critical views about the activities of the land inspectors can be found in "Carta del doctor Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los naturales, a Su Majestad", Lima, April 6, 1596, AGI, Lima, 133. About abuses in Charcas, Glave, "El arbitrio de tierras," 83, and Jurado, "La primera visita y composición de tierras."

26. "Apuntamientos y advertencias para el fiscal de S.M. en su real Consejo de las Indias, para la vista de la residencia que el virrey don Luis de Velasco ha tomado al Marqués de Cañete," in *Los virreyes españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria*, ed. Lewis Hanke (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1980), 287–290.

27. "Carta del virrey Luis de Velasco y la Audiencia de Lima a Su Majestad", Lima, April 10, 1597, AGI, Lima, 33, n. 32. Velasco singled out the two inspectors assigned to Charcas "*por notables Ynconuinentes que de su proceder en ellas Resultauan.*" Similar remarks can be found in Velasco's overall assessment of the *Primera visita y composición* in a letter to the Council of the Indies penned in 1601. "Carta del Virrey Velasco a S.M. sobre la residencia del Marqués de Cañete," in *Los virreyes españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria*, ed. Lewis Hanke (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1980), 284–290, 289–290.

however, indigenous subjects who felt aggrieved by the inspectors' actions and the titles awarded to their indigenous and non-indigenous neighbors were entitled to challenge these decisions and seek redress with Lima's high court. Many took this opportunity, joining the massive flow of indigenous claimants arriving in the city every year.²⁸

Indeed, viceregal authorities reported to the Council of the Indies in 1597 that more than 200 such complaints by indigenous subjects awaited resolution.²⁹ The ministers stated that litigation had been triggered by successful parties seeking official confirmation of their new land deeds and by affected parties contesting those titles, either during the *Composición* or immediately after, in the confirmation phase. Scholars are familiar with one such case, which pitted Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an interpreter during the *Composición*, against several Chachapoya families over the lands of Chiara, near the city of Huamanga.³⁰ To alter or reverse previous judgments, litigants such as Guaman Poma presented titles received from the judge-inspectors, but they also produced new evidence, in the form of previous titles, drawings, and maps, before the justices in Lima, as we will see in detail later.

In their letter to the Council, Velasco and the supreme justices explained that, while some lawsuits were frivolous, others stemmed from some of the judge-inspectors having deviated from their instructions or having misunderstood their duties. A common grievance was that inspectors had redistributed or sold lands that native Andeans claimed to possess but that were uncultivated or deemed "in excess." The ultimately irreconcilable aims of determining which lands were "available" and "vacant" while admitting that native communities *could* own uncultivated land had resulted in some individuals and communities complaining of not having been assigned enough lands ("*las tierras y acomodamiento necesario*"), with others objecting to the sale or resizing of their original possessions or their commutation for other holdings that, though equal in size, were situated in less productive or more distant places.³¹ Moreover, lawsuits

28. "Destá Real audiéncia diçe que no pueden dejar de ser oidos [los yndios] y admitidas sus demandas" "Carta del virrey Luis de Velasco y la Audiencia de Lima a Su Majestad".

29. "Apuntamientos y advertencias", 290.

30. Edmundo Guillén, "El cronista don Felipe Guaman Poma y los manuscritos hallados en el pueblo de Chiara," (1969): 89–92. Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*. Steve J. Stern, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la personalidad histórica de don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Histórica* 2, no. 2 (1978): 225–228. For similar litigation in Charcas, Jurado, "Títulos de la tierra," 58 and ff.

31. The case of Francisca Chani, whose lands near the Jesuit estate of Villa were commuted for village lands in Surco, is discussed in Teresa Vergara Ormeño, "Un espacio integrado: Lima y los pueblos de indios de su comarca," in *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el virreinato del Perú*, ed. Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas Lauro (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017), 190–220, 204. For more details on these controversies surrounding native lands, Peset and Menegus Bornemann, "Rey propietario," Carlos Sempat Assadourian, "Los derechos a las tierras del Ynga y del Sol durante la formación del sistema colonial," in *Reproducción y transformación de las sociedades andinas siglos XVI–XX*, ed. Segundo Moreno Yáñez and Frank Salomon (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1986), 215–84;

could be lengthy. Many natives could not afford to stay in a distant and expensive Lima for long. Some litigants were dropping their suits.³²

As stated, many of these cases pitted indigenous subjects and communities of varying size against one another.³³ Furthermore, several native communities and individuals sent delegates or gave power of attorney to procurators to have their titles confirmed, rather than to challenge those of their immediate neighbors.³⁴ As Alberto de Acuña, the attorney-general in charge of representing native subjects before the *audiencia* and a major figure in the discussions surrounding the *Composición*, told His Majesty in a letter penned in April 1596, “*un yndio tiene un pleito en que es demandado por las tierras que le dieron y otro en que demanda las suyas que le quitaron y los pleitos son infinitos.*”³⁵ Lawsuits did seem “countless,” but Acuña was stressing a major aspect of the arduous implementation of the *Composición*: most conflicts arose due to land redistributions among native individuals and within and among collectives. A second point to stress is that, over the following years, the *Audiencia* reviewed, and in many cases cancelled, an unknown number of *Composición* land titles. The available evidence, though hard to come by, suggests that, especially after Viceroy Velasco took office in July 1596, native plaintiffs litigating against non-indigenous subjects or directly opposing the land inspectors’ administrative and judicial decisions generally won their cases.³⁶ In his April 11, 1596 letter, Velasco had described his approach to the thorny issues surrounding the *Composición* as being that of favoring

Carlos Díaz Rementería, “El patrimonio comunal indígena: del sistema incaico de propiedad al de derecho castellano,” in *El aborigen y el derecho en el pasado y el presente*, ed. M. Califano and Abelardo Levaggi (Buenos Aires: Universidad del Museo Social Argentino, 1990), 105–39; and Tamar Herzog, “Immemorial (and Native) Customs in Early Modernity: Europe and the Americas,” *Comparative Legal History* (2021): 1–53, 41. These different views were never fully reconciled. They did not have to, for the same arguments could prevail in colonial courtrooms or meet defeat in them, depending on the circumstances. Even so, the opinion that came to prevail during the General Land Inspection, in large part due to Attorney-General for the Natives Alberto Acuña’s influence at the viceregal court, was that communal holdings, which may or may not include lands formerly worked for the benefit of the Inka and their “church,” were not and could not be the subject of sale, disentanglement, or novel titling, for just titles to them had been established at least since Viceroy Francisco de Toledo’s General Inspection and Resettlement (1570–5), if not earlier: “*las [tierras] que los yndios poseían al tiempo de la visita general y mucho antes y que en la dicha visita quedaron declaradas y señaladas por suya y las an sembrado y cultiuado siempre o Arrendadolas y sustentados y pagado su tributo dellas.*” “Carta del doctor Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los naturales, a Su Majestad”. See also “Carta del doctor Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los naturales, a Su Majestad”, Lima, November 20, 1593, AGI, Lima, 132.

32. “Carta del doctor Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los naturales, a Su Majestad”, “Carta de Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los indios, a S.M.”, and “Carta del Virrey Velasco a S.M.”, 285.

33. “Carta del virrey Luis de Velasco y la Audiencia de Lima a Su Majestad”, and “Carta de Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los indios, a S.M.”.

34. For an example from Cuzco, “Poder. Santiago Llacta Coña a don Francisco Rimachi Humpire, cacique del pueblo de Urcos”, Cuzco, August 7, 1596, ARC, PN, 18 (Antonio Salas), f. 295v–96r.

35. “Carta de Alberto de Acuña, abogado general de los indios, a S.M.”.

36. In September 1595, Viceroy Cañete declared Hernando Alonso de Badajoz’s *composición* titles in Huamanga void. Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 151–152.

indigenous communities as the default position. With the king's approval, the viceroy and the *audiencia* voided titles and ordered restitution.³⁷

Back in Yauyos country, Solano's land investigation, confirmation, and redistribution came to upset previous arrangements regarding people, resources, and shifting social boundaries. In May 1594, for instance, the authorities of Huañec, a Yauyos village in the headwaters of the Mala River, presented Solano with a list of lands, seeking for the second time confirmation of their immemorial possession. Solano withheld judgement until he could reconcile ("*concordar*") the Huañec titles with the general demarcations of each of the larger jurisdictions then being carried out, ordering Huañec leaders to present their titles again at the inspection's end for possible confirmation.³⁸ In 1596, as the inspection was coming to a close, other conflicts over lands engulfed the villages of San Agustín de Guaquis and San Lorenzo de Alis, which litigated against the paramount village of San Francisco de Atun Laraos. These *lawsuits* arose as some of these *comunidades* (communities) sought confirmation of the lands and pastures formally allotted to them during Solano's survey, while others appealed the judge's decisions regarding their neighbors' recently awarded titles. The Yauyos had clearly joined the wave of litigation.³⁹

Interesting things were happening beneath this documentary surface. Conflicts over pastures in Yauyos seemed to have been mounting after the formal establishment of 22 Spanish-style *pueblos* (villages) between 1578 and 1586, the so-called *Reducción general* (General Resettlement), no doubt in part because of changes in population and resources that are difficult to trace for this relatively early period.⁴⁰ Some of these disagreements simply continued from previous eras, morphing into colonial lawsuits as old and new communities struggled for control of resources after the General Resettlement. Diego Dávila Briceño, the *corregidor* tasked with the founding of these *pueblos*, famously boasted in 1586 of

37. "[Y]o siempre me inclino a la mayor parte y a lo que es mas en fauor de los indios." "Carta del virrey Luis de Velasco y la Audiencia de Lima a Su Majestad," in *Gobernantes del Perú. Cartas y papeles. Siglo XVI.*, ed. Roberto Levillier (Madrid: Juan Pueyo, 1926), 15–19, 16–17; Díaz Rementería, "El patrimonio", 115–16. One such lawsuit involved an indigenous couple and the heirs of a Spanish *vecino* from Lima. Despite the opposition of the Crown's attorney, who claimed that the rights obtained via *composición*—and the payment of 200 pesos—superseded earlier, imperfect titles, the viceroy and *audiencia* declared the inspector's sale of some lands in Maranga void in 1598, returning them to the couple. "Paula Choca yndia e Pedro Myn. su marido contra Pedro Martin Gordillo y los menores herederos de Antonio de Illescas", Lima, 1598, Lilly Library, Latin American mss—Peru, Box 4 (1590–1599).

38. "Autos seguidos por Isidro Cortázar", f. 12r–12v, 49r–51r.

39. "Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación", Lima, October 24, 1741, BNP, Ms., C 2118, f. 21v, 66v.

40. Other sources would be needed to explore the impact, as Jennifer Scheper Hughes does for Mexican indigenous communities, of death, disease, migration, and other major variables in the configuration of these central Andean villages, especially in relationship to people and land. Jennifer Scheper Hughes, *The Church of the Dead: The Epidemic of 1576 and the Birth of Christianity in the Americas* (New York: NYU Press, 2021), especially ch. 4. Spalding's pathbreaking *Huarochiri*, written half a century ago, remains the unsurpassed narrative, though she refrained from studying the first *Composición* due to the unavailability of records then. Spalding, *Huarochiri*, 182.

having reduced upwards of 300 hamlets scattered along the harsh terrain of the Yauyos and Huarochirí provinces into 39 newly established villages.⁴¹ This aggressive attempt at redistributing the population into *reducciones* (nucleated villages) likely rekindled previous tensions, forcing many new and old communities to renegotiate their political boundaries and land entitlements.

Despite significant *lacunae*, we know some things about the interplay of new and old settlements, the formation of collective land ownership, and the appearance of new *comunidades* during this time. Dávila Briceño admitted in 1586 that, given the province's harsh topography and the scarcity of farmland, most fields (especially if heavily terraced and irrigated) had remained where they were before, near or on the old settlements, irrespective of the location of the new villages that he had tried to formally establish.⁴² The same was true of pastures, though boundary markers in these jurisdictions could be, and in fact were being, readjusted, as we will see. As scholars have documented for myriad other regions, some *reducciones* had been founded on or next to the *pueblos viejos* (prehispanic settlements).⁴³ After Dávila Briceño stepped down from office, but also during the last years of his tenure, native people in Huarochirí and Yauyos began to abandon some of the officially established villages, now too distant from fields and pastures. Other *pueblos viejos* remained occupied, with the local inhabitants resisting the *Reducción*. Associated with these relocations, moreover, native colonizers began to create new settlements or reoccupy prehispanic emplacements and early colonial *pueblos* to gain or maintain control over resources, forcing Dávila Briceño to appoint an *alcalde mayor de reducción* (resettlement magistrate) in each

41. Diego Dávila Briceño, "Description y relacion de la provincia de los Yauyos toda, Anan Yauyos y Lorin Yauyos, hecha por Diego Davila Brizeño, corregidor de Guarocheri," in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Atlas, 1881-97), 61-78. For the process of forced resettlement in Yauyos/Huarochirí, Luis Miguel Glave, "La cuadratura del círculo y las rendijas del encierro: política de reducción de indios en los Andes en tiempos del virrey Toledo," in *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el virreinato del Perú*, ed. Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas Lauro (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017), 103-43, 106-07, and Spalding, *Huarochirí*, 178-80.

42. Dávila was seemingly operating within the limits of his viceregal instructions, for, according to these, natives should not be deprived of the "*chácaras y tierras*" they had owned in their old *pueblos* if the new emplacements were at a league or less from the depopulated ones. Francisco de Toledo, "Instrucción general para los visitadores," in *Francisco de Toledo: disposiciones gubernativas para el Virreinato del Perú*, ed. María Justina Sarabia Viejo (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos; Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1986 [1569-70]), 1-39, 35.

43. For Huaquis (Guaquis), an early colonial settlement founded atop a prehispanic hilltop emplacement between 1570 and 1585, Rafael Schmitt, "San Agustín de Guaquis. Evangelización y prácticas curativas en un pueblo colonial de origen prehispánico de Yauyos durante el siglo XVII," *Yuyarcumí* 4, no. 4 (2019): 69-89. For how this process unfolded in other parts of the Andes, see the important essays of Marina Zuloaga, Nozomi Mizota, and Parker Van Valkenburg included in Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas Lauro, *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017). Previous works in the same vein include Spalding, *Huarochirí*, 179-80, and Thomas A. Abercrombie, *Caminos de la memoria y del poder: etnografía e historia en una comunidad andina* (La Paz: Institut Français d'Études Andines, 2006), 358.

repartimiento (fiscal unit) to periodically visit the *pueblos viejos* he had previously claimed to have razed to the ground.⁴⁴

Against this fluid backdrop of community fusion and fission, the *Composición* became the main institutional vehicle to continue the local undoing of the *Reducción*. The Land Inspection was to offer ample opportunity to memorialize or renegotiate earlier boundary agreements and, in some cases, secure written titles and recognition as a *común* formally endowed with fields and pastures. Not coincidentally, village legal narratives in connection to primordial land titles started to emerge in this shifting context. Given the ultimately judicial and potentially adversarial nature of the *Composición*, native subjects were entitled to present new evidence as they sought to challenge or reinforce titles obtained during the first round of inspection, capitalizing on the widespread review of land ownership that the *Composición* allowed. For splinter communities seceding from older ones and bent on accruing formal recognition and control over land, a valuable opportunity was similarly opened, as countless subjects flooded the *audiencia* between 1594 and 1602. Many such cases seem to have been driven by commoners, as new colonial *comuneros* repossessing agricultural lands or expanding the agrarian frontier entered the official record to legitimize new settlements. The documents we will discuss next—one narrative account originally recorded in Quechua in 1592 and three title-maps produced by local scribe-artists between 1595 and 1598—allow a closer look, as we descend from the provinces into the *repartimientos*, and further, the *pueblos* themselves.

SILVERSMITHS FOR THE INKA

The earliest Yauyos documents of this sort, originally from June 1592, consisted of testimony rendered *and* written in a standard variety of Quechua known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the *Lengua general*.⁴⁵ Page 40 of an original court case included some sort of writ “of great relevance due to its antiquity,” while page 44 contained a map of the village of Piños and its adjacent lands and pastures. Although these colonial maps can be connected to earlier pictorial, sculptural, and textile traditions, mapping of this sort seems to have been introduced in the province in full force only 6 years earlier, in 1586. On that date, a watercolor *pintura* (painting) of Anan Yauyos and Lurin Yauyos

44. “Residencia: Diego Dávila Briceño”, BNP, MS A332/C, ff. 311v–13v. Spalding, *Huarochari*, 179–80. Dávila Briceño was accused of negligence for allowing the “*yndios de Colca y Vari Vailla que son de Xicamarca y Collata y Xipo*” to avoid concentration in San Francisco de Chacalla. “Residencia: Diego Dávila Briceño”, f. 311v.

45. The document clearly states the date of 1592 for these testimonies. Although some native testimony during Solano’s 1594–6 inspection was rendered in Quechua, it seems to have been invariably translated into Castilian by the interpreter Felipe Guaman Poma. The almost total absence—so far—of texts in Quechua for the *Composición* seems to corroborate that these witness testimonies were collected prior to Solano’s inspection.

(increasingly known as Huarochiri) was made by native artists to accompany the *Relación geográfica* or geographic report of this former Inka province that the *corregidor* Dávila Briceño and his indigenous collaborators dispatched to Spain in response to Philip II's famous 1577 questionnaire (Figure 1).⁴⁶ Other pages of the now lost 1592 court case contained native elder testimony “in the General Language,” the standard variety that local elites still dominated.⁴⁷

This legal investigation was originally meant to confirm the name and location of the boundary markers that divided the grazing grounds of two major *repartimientos* in the province, Ataun Yauyos, on the western side of the Cañete River, and Laraos, on the eastern side (Map 1). This was a striking (and relatively early) instance of what Frank Salomon once termed “the colonial-revoicing of an appeal to the archaic.”⁴⁸ The testimonies of Alonso Atoc Ñaupá and don Alonso, both local elite members, were instrumental for this purpose.⁴⁹ Alonso Atoc (“fox” in Quechua) had spent his entire life in the frigid *puna* region where these pastures were located (the generic name *yauyus*, in fact referred to highland grass or *ichu*).⁵⁰ Atoc testified to the *canchas* or corrals that belonged to the *pueblo* of Carania (and, by extension, to the Yauyos proper, the group after which the whole province had been named). Along with hills and streams, these corrals served as boundary markers separating these pastures from those of the

46. “Provincia de Yauyos”, Real Academia de la Historia, Cartografía y Artes Gráficas, C-028-004. On earlier traditions and how they might have informed these visual representations of space and place, Margot Beyersdorff, “Caminos rituales y cartografía indígena: la vigencia de las guacas del Cuzco de Bernabé Cobo en su época,” in *Incas e indios cristianos: elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, ed. Jean-Jacques Decoster (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas”; Asociación Kuraka; Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2002), 39–60; Margot Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth: Mapping the Walkabout in Andean *Pueblos de Indios*,” *Latin American Research Review* 42, no. 3 (2007): 129–160; William Gustav Gartner, “Mapmaking in the Central Andes,” in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 257–300; and Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 47. For a full analysis of the 1586 map as a “space of collaboration,” Carla Hernández Garavito and Gabriela Oré Menéndez, “Negotiated Cartographies in the Relaciones Geográficas de Indias: The descripción de la provincia de Yauyos Toda (1586),” *Ethnohistory* 70, no. 3 (2023): 351–384. As these authors observe, a similar map is referenced for Jauja, but it has not been found.

47. “Expediente de la causa seguida por Melchor de Carbajal”, Lima, BNP, Ms., B899, f. 103r–06r. In 1693, the Procurator-General for the Indians noted that magistrates adjudicating a case concerning village boundaries in Yauyos could not understand the content of the original documents. The judges authorized the court interpreter to read the originals of two such testimonies and offer an oral rendition in Castilian. The court scribe transcribed this version, appending it to the ongoing lawsuit. The originals were returned to the native litigants, to be taken back to the village. The dossier shows that this type of legal instruments, including titles, maps, and boundary settlements dating back to the crucial decade of the 1590s, were not only safeguarded in communal archives across Yauyos, but also that they circulated widely, especially during the walking of boundaries.

48. Frank Salomon, “Collquiri’s Dam: The Colonial Re-Voicing of an Appeal to the Archaic,” in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, eds. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas Cummins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 265–293.

49. For a full transcription, José Carlos de la Puente Luna, “Plateros para el Inca: la traducción de documentos en lengua general al castellano en la Audiencia de Lima a fines del siglo XVII,” *Histórica* 43, no. 2 (2019): 149–168, 161–163.

50. Rodolfo Cerrón Palomino, “Dioses y héroes de Huarochiri,” *Boletín de la Academia Peruana de la Lengua* 69 (2021): 125–147, 127.

FIGURE 1

General map of the Province of Yauyos (1586). Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), Cartografía y Artes Gráficas, C-028-004.



Laraos, with which the *pueblo* of Guaquis was affiliated. Atoc noted that, as he had heard from his own father, six of these corrals/markers were added to Carania’s pasturage due to a “pact and agreement” that occurred while the region was under Inka control.

According to Atoc’s testimony, the lords of Cuzco had deputized his own father to rule over all other Yauyos *caciques*. Under his father’s supervision, it had been ordered that the *cacique* of the “*pueblo y tierra*” of Guaquis contribute four silversmiths as labor-tribute to the empire. Silversmiths were in high demand at the administrative center of Hatunxauxa.⁵¹ But not a single person in Guaquis knew how to work the precious metal. Fearful of the punishment that the Inkas would impose on him, the *cacique*, named Cargua, begged Ispilco, his

51. Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. Primera parte* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1984), 242. Dávila Briceño’s 1586 map mentions the “*minas y socabon*” near Guaquis and Laraos, while his report states, “*Hay en este dicho repartimiento muchas minas de plata, y el gran socabon de los Laraos, que está encima del pueblo de Átun Larao, en una alta tierra.*” Dávila Briceño, “Description”, 67; “[Mapa de la] Provincia de Yauyos”, Real Academia de la Historia, Cartografía y Artes Gráficas, C-028-004.

counterpart in Carania, to provide the silversmiths in exchange for a perpetual donation of some of Guaquis's pastures. With Alonso's father and many other *caciques* as witnesses, the *cacique* agreed. Cargua "swore according to his old custom that he [...] would never request nor talk about these lands until the Day of Judgment." Ispilco agreed to turn in the silversmiths and never to demand that they be sent back to Carania, "even if they had many children and grandchildren." To seal the pact, each made a small incision in their ankle, as was their ancient custom. In closing, Alonso Atoc listed another four corrals/boundary markers, acknowledging that they belonged to Carania. He pointed at them in some kind of painting or map in which they appeared signaled with letters. That map, along with the Piños one, is now lost.⁵²

Another don Alonso, an elderly man and former *cacique* of the Yauyos during Huayna Capac Inka's reign six or seven decades prior, gave equally remarkable testimony in Quechua in 1592. He testified that, upon conquering the region, Huayna Capac's father and grandfather had distributed lands, cattle, and coca fields among their conquering allies the Yauyos.⁵³ As the previous Alonso had testified, there were several silversmiths in Carania but none in Guaquis. To obtain the four metalsmiths that the Inka overlords were demanding, the *cacique* and *principales* of Guaquis had to beseech the *cacique* of Carania, visiting his settlement (a *pueblo viejo* after the *Reducción general*) repeatedly. After gaining approval from *principales* and commoners alike, the *cacique* accepted. Guaquis surrendered its "tierras de puna y otras tierras," while Carania bid four silversmith families of their own farewell. Some seven decades later, don Alonso still remembered many details, including the names of two of the craftsmen and their wives.⁵⁴

These documents are the oldest example of administrative and judicial records penned in the standard variety of southern origin favored by the colonial state and the Catholic Church. Though debilitated by the growing importance of Castilian, the *Lengua general* continued to serve as a lingua franca in the region

52. "Expediente de la causa seguida por Melchor de Carbajal", f. 104r–05r. An exchange of land for cattle and luxury objects, said to have occurred in the Santiago region prior to the conquest, is summarized in Ricardo A. Latcham, "El dominio de la tierra y el sistema tributario en el antiguo imperio de los Incas," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 52, no. 56 (1927): 201–257.

53. According to Dávila Briceño's 1586 informants, the Inkas also gave the *guarangas* (rounded-up groups of one-thousand tributary families) of Yauyos a "*pedazo de pasto*" each in the province of Chocorvos to the South. Dávila Briceño, "Description", 78. On local boundary markers reset by the Inka to reward their allies the Yauyos with farmlands, pastures, and coca fields, María Rostworowski, *Conflicts over Coca Fields in XVIth-Century Peru* (Lima; Ann Arbor: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos; University of Michigan Press, 1988), f. 149r, 83v.

54. "Expediente de la causa seguida por Melchor de Carbajal", f. 105r–06r. For the first contacts between the Spanish and the Yauyos, see Jeremy M. Mikecz, "Beyond Cajamarca: A Spatial Narrative Reimagining of the Encounter in Peru, 1532-1533," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (2020): 195–232, 203 and ff. Mikecz shows that, in 1573, some 40 years after the events, memories of these encounter were relatively fresh.

until the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ The qualifier “general” distinguished this standard variety from the local or “particular” varieties of Quechua that, along with the Aru language, were spoken by the different groups that settled in Huarochirí and Yauyos prior to the Inka conquest and throughout.⁵⁶ In accordance with the two main scales in which the *Composición* operated—the *pueblo* and the *repartimiento*—these Quechua testimonies were likely registered by one of the Yauyos municipal scribes to settle specific *pueblo* boundaries across the Yauyos–Laraos subdivision.⁵⁷ The region’s five-centuries-long history with reading and writing in Quechua and Spanish is well documented.⁵⁸ Scholars have noted that, by the early 1570s, the Jesuits missionizing in Huarochirí were teaching alphabetic literacy to those native parishioners they deemed more suited.⁵⁹ While the Dominicans were in charge of the parishes in neighboring Yauyos, information from Jauja, entrusted to them (and the Franciscans), suggests that, as in Huarochirí, many *caciques*, native municipal judges and scribes, school teachers, and administrators of communal and ecclesiastic funds who came of age in Yauyos in the following decades were in a position to draft the 1592 declarations directly

55. Gérald Taylor, *Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos; Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas”, 2000), 120. For an inventory of surviving documents, Alan Durston, “Native-Language Literacy in Colonial Peru: The Question of Mundane Quechua Writing Revisited,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2008): 41–70. Documents published after Durston’s important survey include Aude Argouse, “‘Y yo, ¿con quién voy a vivir?’ Carta de doña Fabiana Lachos, 1661,” *Historia y Justicia* 3 (2014): 336–350, and Alan Durston and George Urioste, “Las peticiones en quechua del curato de Chuschi (1678-1679),” in *El quipu colonial: estudios y materiales*, ed. Marco Curatola Petrocchi and José Carlos de la Puente Luna (Lima: PUCP, 2013), 379–440. For the relationship between this growing corpus in Quechua and similar documents penned in Castilian, José Carlos de la Puente Luna, “En lengua de indios y en lengua española: cabildos de naturales y escritura alfabética en el Perú colonial,” in *Visiones del pasado. Reflexiones para escribir la quechua de los pueblos indígenas de América*, ed. Ana Luisa Izquierdo de la Cueva (Mexico, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2016), 51–113. Setting aside catechisms, sermons, dictionaries, grammars, and sermons, a one-page recantation penned in 1608 in nearby San Damián (Huarochirí) during the ecclesiastic trial of Father Francisco de Ávila had been considered the earliest example of formal Quechua writing in judicial contexts. Laura León Llerena, *Reading the Illegible: Indigenous Writing and the Limits of Colonial Hegemony in the Andes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2023), ch. 2; Gérald Taylor, “Lengua general y lenguas particulares en la antigua provincia de Yauyos. Un documento quechua de Huarochirí-1608,” in *Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos*, ed. Gérald Taylor (Cuzco: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos; Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2000), 35–69. The documents discussed in this chapter, which date from 1592 to 1597, complicate this picture.

56. Taylor, *Camac, camay*, 124–127. On the spread of Quechua in the region, César Itier, *Palabras clave de la sociedad y la cultura incas* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2023), 44–45. On the intricacies of the term “Lengua general” and its afterlife in the colonial era, Juan Carlos Estenssoro, “Las vías indígenas de la occidentalización. Lenguas generales y lenguas maternas en el ámbito colonial americano (1492-1650),” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 45, no. 1 (2015): 15–36.

57. In the late sixteenth century, this *repartimiento* was known as “*Mangos y Laraos*,” named after two main groups. Mangos eventually became a separate *repartimiento*, apparently prior to 1610. The Aymarae were then added to the *repartimiento*. For clarity, I have shortened it to “Laraos,” which is also part of the name of the main settlement where the *cacique principal* resided. On the Laraos, Danièle Lavallée and Michèle Julien, *Asto: un curacazgo prehispánico de los Andes Centrales* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1973), 13.

58. Sarah Bennison, *The Entablo Manuscript: Water Rituals and Khipu Boards of San Pedro de Casta, Peru* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2023); Frank Salomon and Mercedes Niño-Murcia, *The Lettered Mountain: A Peruvian Village’s Way with Writing* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Frank Salomon and Jorge Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Frank Salomon, “Unethnic Ethnohistory: On Peruvian Peasant Historiography and Ideas of Autochthony,” *Ethnohistory* 49, no. 3 (2002): 475–506.

59. León Llerena, *Reading the Illegible*, 117.

in the standard variety of Quechua.⁶⁰ The kind of narratives contained therein were of the sort that, repurposed yet again for the Land Inspection, Solano and Guaman Poma were to hear repeatedly during the *Composición* only 2 years later.

Other testimonies reinforce the identification of the author of the Quechua records with a local scribe, perhaps on a judicial commission. An “auto y tasacion” of *ayllu* Tatallanga’s collective endowment was seemingly prepared in the “lengua general de los yndios” by the *cacique* and the municipal authorities of the emplacement of the same name, near Santiago de Carania, in Yauyos, in 1588. This record, akin to an inventory or “will,” shows that quarreling *comunidades* had begun preparing titles even before the *Composición*. This title listed individually named, inheritable fields possessed by the Tatallangas since Inka times, with their water intakes and boundary markers, and associated groves, canals, and reservoirs.⁶¹ By 1610, the *corregidor* of Yauyos routinely relied on native scribes in his jurisdiction for the drafting of *autos*.⁶² While charges were levied against him for his having appointed lieutenants, no one complained about one don Juan Yacan, the official interpreter who was also part of the *corregidor*’s entourage.⁶³ The standardized variety of choice strongly suggests that, apart from their great judicial value for the settling of boundary disputes in local and viceregal courts, proven time and again in later periods, these titles were meant not only to be internally kept but also to be periodically shown outside the community. Thus, although the great familiarity of elite individuals with alphabetic writing and judicial procedure, the pinnacle of which is the Huarochirí Quechua Manuscript, harbored the conditions for the drafting of the 1592 testimonies, it was the adversarial nature of the subject matter that explains why creating these written titles in Quechua was becoming a pressing task during the years immediately preceding the *Composición*.

In fact, the predominantly Quechua-speaking *comunidades* of Yauyos would exhibit these titles to Solano during the *Composición*. These testimonies and likely others helped Carania maintain control of its pastures. Perhaps more subtly, however, the old compact also allowed the emerging *común* of Piños to gain or maintain access to its own grazing lands. During the *Composición* and in later years, Piños became entitled, by way of these oral traditions now committed to writing, to at least some of the pastures originally granted to the people of Guaquis by the Inka or surrendered by them to Carania, to the point that one is left wondering whether the group identified

60. Puente Luna, “*En lengua de indios*”.

61. “Juan Agustín Vargas contra Sebastián Rojas”, Lima, 1739, AGN, GO-BI 1, 27:138 f. 13r–13v. The original is lost, but the municipal scribe of Carania translated it into Castilian in 1716.

62. F.M.A., “Aporte para la biografía de don Pedro de Oña (continuación),” *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 20, no. 1 (1956): 85–100, 87.

63. F.M.A., “Aporte para la biografía II,” 362.

as “Piños” in these narratives were the “children and grandchildren” of the four commoner households ceded by Carania in exchange for the additional pastures.

We will come back to this crucial aspect of the *Composición* later, but for now, suffice it to say that, in this part of the empire, for which records of individual titling of land via monetary compensation during the *Composición* are yet to be found, the inspection offered some of these native communities a chance to enter their “ancient” traditions, in the form of primordial titles, into the colonial record as part of a collective effort to enforce the precarious arrangements that they contained and recast previous holdings as possessions. While these might seem as though they are internal quarrels among different Laraos villages and descent groups, the extensive pastures of the *repartimiento* bordered those of several *comunidades* from Jauja, which led to an escalation of the conflict that magnified the impact of the *Composición*. The legal disputes ended up involving Laraos’s neighbors across the *cordillera*, not as litigants but as witnesses and guarantors of boundaries agreed upon by the Laraos at the onset of the *Composición*. Two other remarkable documents capturing the transition from memory-based perambulations of territory to more abstract representations of the landscape were produced in the context of this other court case. They remind us again that the *Composición* in these regions cannot be simply characterized as the appropriation and illegal sale of indigenous land for the benefit of Spanish residents.

MEMORIALIZING THE IMPERMANENT

In 1741, a century-and-a-half after Gabriel Solano de Figueroa and his entourage toured the steep ravines, terraced mountain slopes, vast grazing lands, and fertile valley bottoms between Huarochirí and Jauja, a violent dispute arose among several *comunidades* scattered across a major boundary line—that between the colonial provinces of Yauyos to the West and Jauja to the East (Map 1). At 12,000 feet above sea level, these were not farmlands but extensive pasturelands towering over narrow valleys and ravines, surrounded by peaks and lakes of great beauty. The herding communities inhabiting this *puna* (or *sullca*) zone, of different “Yauyos” and “Huanca” ethnicity as well as distinct, deeply entrenched *ayllu* and *pueblo* loyalties, had managed to share these grasslands since the conquest of the region by Tupa Yupanqui Inka in the fifteenth century. However, conflict had been brewing for decades, threatening to upset a multi-village boundary readjustment to which their ancestors had agreed as Solano’s 1594 land inspection was unfolding.⁶⁴ Although the 1741 disagreement affected the

64. “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación.”

repartimientos of Laraos, on the part of Yauyos, and of Ananguanca, on the Jauja side of the legal controversy, individual *comunidades* specifically entitled to these pastures could be detected as the most active litigants. To argue its case before local and viceregal authorities and request that all herds and herders from Jauja be immediately expelled from their grazing grounds, the *común* of Santo Domingo de Laraos (or Cochalaraos) presented a series of legal instruments, most remarkably a unique “general map,” which had been produced as part of a large boundary alignment during Solano’s *Composición*.⁶⁵ Independent documents confirm these references, offering a unique window into the ways in which, between 1594 and 1597, established and rising communities in Yauyos, splinters of older collectives or returnees from new *pueblos*, relied on the inner workings of the *Composición* to consolidate or expand their holdings. Conflicting land claims, in an area where this type of strife was endemic, combined with *pueblo* rivalry, encouraged communities of the southeastern portion of the province, identified with the Laraos group, to take an active role in this process.⁶⁶

The first of the title-maps presented by the Laraos is a rare and almost unique example of early Andean cartography, even for the “lettered mountain” of Yauyos/Huarocharí.⁶⁷ It is a rectangular representation, made with black, red, and blue ink, measuring 60 × 43 cm, and bearing the date of 1595 (Figure 2). The title-map registers a string of natural features and human-made markers near or adjacent to corrals (*cancha* in Quechua; *corral* in Spanish). By extension, these markers designate and limit the pastures that extended over the slopes of the surrounding mountains and peaks, and to which the Laraos claimed to be entitled since Tupa Yupanqui Inka’s time. The map bears the same conventional orientation as the 1586 painting of the provinces of Yauyos and Huarocharí commissioned by *corregidor* Dávila Briceño (with the north on the left-hand side of the modern observer). It combines conical figures with Quechua and Spanish captions and a few glosses, all written in alphabetic script, to represent 39 boundary markers (*mojones* in Spanish; *saywa* in Quechua), mostly hills and lakes, but also livestock enclosures, which demarcated the pastures claimed by the Laraos. Presented in a semicircular fashion, the line of *mojones* runs in a clockwise fashion, following the great arc of the eastern Andes and enclosing the lower, mostly terraced farmlands of the *repartimiento* as well.⁶⁸

65. “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación,” f. 21v.

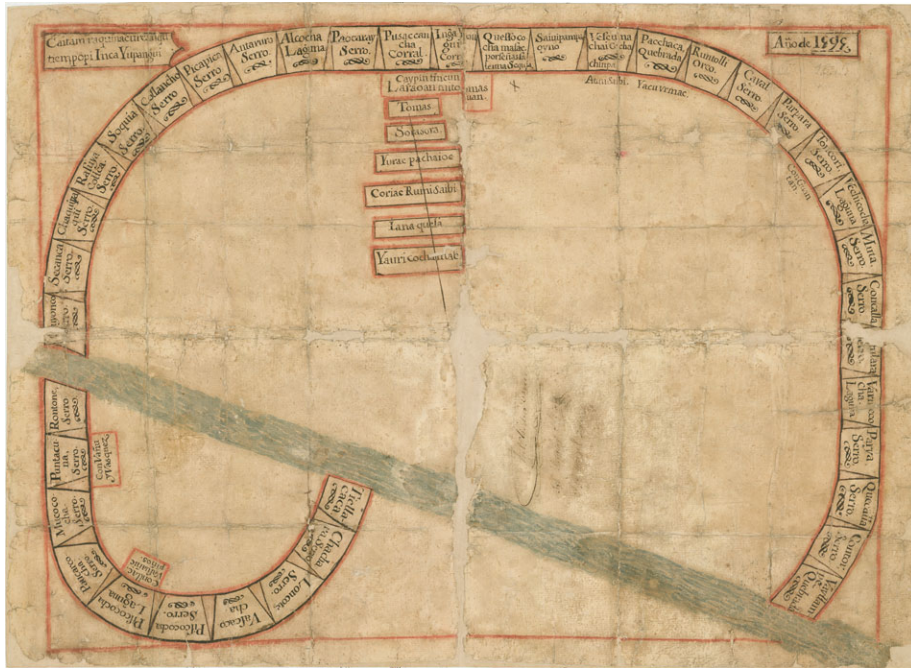
66. Two of the title-maps discussed in this section, first made known by Sabine McCormack, can be found in “Titulación de la comunidad indígena del distrito de Laraos, provincia de Yauyos”, AGN, TC, 3:41, Letter C, f. 1r–49r.

67. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *The Lettered Mountain*.

68. Beyersdorff, “Caminos rituales y cartografía indígena”, 47; Gérald Taylor, “Dos ‘mapas’ del pueblo de Cocha-Laraos (1595, 1597),” in *Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarocharí y Yauyos* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos; Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2000), 89–104, 91–93. A partial walkabout of these holdings took an entire day in the eighteenth century. “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación”, f. 30v.

FIGURE 2

General Map of the Pastures, Corrals, and Boundary Markers of the Laraos (c. 1909 copy of the 1595 original). Archivo General de la Nación (Lima), Títulos de comunidades, 3:41, Planos / Planoteca, 53.



The pioneering work of translation, contextualization, and interpretation of Margot Beyersdorff and Gerald Taylor has been fundamental in making sense of this map and its satellite documents.⁶⁹ While these two scholars proposed that the map represented the pastures of one Laraos village, I suggest that it is not a *pueblo*-level but a *repartimiento*-level representation of this territory. As such, it must be re-inscribed in its original historical context, the *Composición* and Solano’s mapping of entire provinces, to fully understand what it can reveal to us about community building and collective property formation four centuries later. Indeed, apart from the properly labeled boundary markers, and in sharp contrast with the 1586 general map, the 1595 title-map was nevertheless “empty” in that it included no special symbol for any formally established village or *común*, signaling that this was the Laraos’s common pasturage, to be apportioned among the different *ayllus* and *pueblos* without outside interference. Only the upper Cañete River, which cuts the

69. Beyersdorff, “Caminos rituales y cartografía indígena”; Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth;” Taylor, “Dos ‘mapas.’”

pastures into two sectors, is represented as a diagonal strip running northeast to southwest. The perspective seems to be that of a villager who looks up and around to get a panoramic view of the imposing peaks. The boundary line begins in the Cañete (or Lunahuaná) River, at a boulder named Ticlla Caca. After encompassing the entire pasturage from left (north) to right (south), it ends downstream, at a place identified in Quechua and Spanish as Vayllampe Ravine.

Copies of this general map were kept by the different *comunidades* of Laraos.⁷⁰ Indeed, the absence of any specific villages on the map, especially in light of the 1586 map of the province, which includes close to 40 properly identified settlements, strongly suggests that the Laraos prepared this general map and brought it out during the *Composición* and after to secure confirmation of their pasturage vis-a-vis neighboring groups such as the Yauyos to the west and the Huancas to the east, perhaps in a preemptive measure against any future encroachments. The map probably commemorates the ritual perambulation of these pastures during Inka times, preserved in oral form but performed again for colonial authorities in the months surrounding Solano's inspection tour.⁷¹ Such instances of boundary surveying and confirmation by the judge or his aides are documented for Jauja, Huamanga, and other regions.⁷² In fact, another map including boundary markers also said to have been set by Tupa Yupanqui Inka and his surveyors (and later confirmed by the Spaniards who founded the city of Huamanga) was prepared in Huamanga, where Solano ended his land inspection tour, around the same time (Figure 3).⁷³ This map (or an earlier version of the one extant) was probably shown to the judge there between September and December of 1594, well before Guaman Poma took it to the *Audiencia* to seek

70. A copy of this general map was kept in the village of Vitis until the 1970s. Franklin Pease García-Yrigoyen, *Los incas en la Colonia. Estudios sobre los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII en los Andes*. Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, 2012, 389.

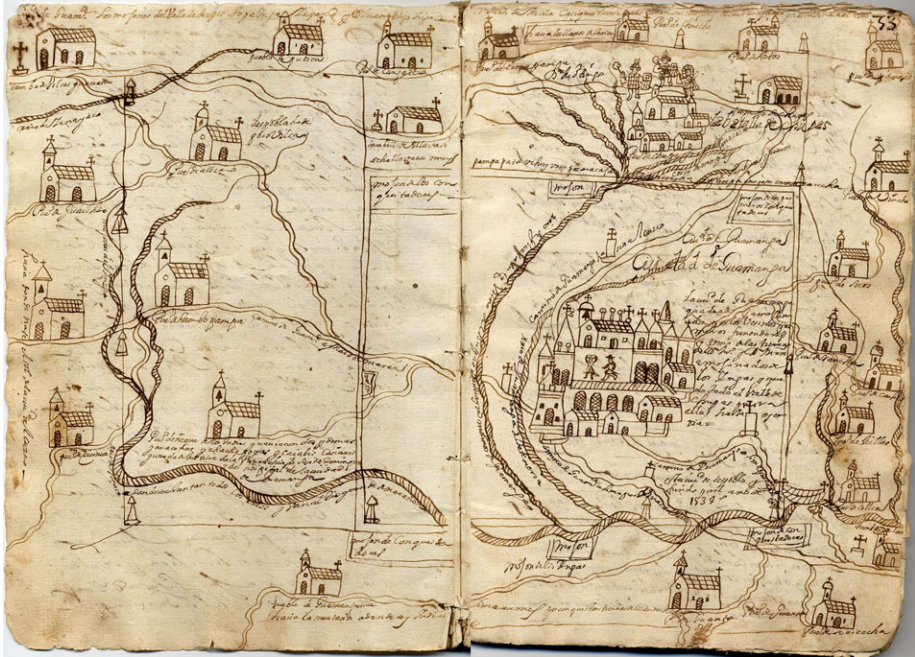
71. On traditions of boundary walking and their connection to communal history, memory, territory, and cartography in New Spain, Ana Pulido Rull, *Mapping Indigenous Land: Native Land Grants in Colonial New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020), 30–33. An in-depth look at indigenous map-makers, maps, and community in colonial Oaxaca in Alex Hidalgo, *Trail of Footprints: A History of Indigenous Maps from Viceregal Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019). On prehispanic *mojones* and the First Land Inspection in Charcas, Olivia Harris, "Los límites como problema: mapas etnohistóricos de los Andes bolivianos," in *Saberes y memorias en los Andes: in memoriam Thierry Saignes*, ed. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne (Paris; Lima: Institut des hautes études de l'Amérique latine; Institut français d'études andines, 1997), 351–373. On late-colonial maps prepared to resolve disputes among native communities and Spanish *hacendados*, Dueñas, "The Virgin and the Land Surveyor," and Carmen Fernández-Salvador, "Un mapa 'pintado al revés': recorriendo los linderos de las tierras de comunidad en una acuarela colonial," *Ánima* 2 (2022). On modern *recorreo*s or walkabouts, Abercrombie, *Caminos de la memoria*; Roger Neil Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power among an Andean People* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988); and Sara A. Radcliffe, "Marking the Boundaries between the Community, the State and History in the Andes," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22, no. 3 (1990): 575–594.

72. Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 89–90. Hurtado Ames and Solier Ochoa, eds., *Guaman Poma de Ayala en Jauja*; Abercrombie, *Caminos de la memoria*. For similar boundary confirmations by other colonial officials, Cecilia Sanhueza Tohá, "Territorios, prácticas rituales y demarcación del espacio en Tarapacá en el siglo XVI," *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 13, no. 2 (2008): 57–75.

73. See the map included within the papers of Guaman Poma's titles to the lands in Chupas. Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 167–169, 84–89.

FIGURE 3

[Map of] the City of Huamanga and the boundary markers of Don Juan Tingo and Don Martín de Ayala, *caciques principales*, in the Chupas Valley. The Royal Danish Library, The Guaman Poma Site, Resources, Ca. 1560-1640. Legal Actions Regarding Land Titles in the Valley of Chupas near Huamanga, Peru.



confirmation and denounce dispossession in August 1597. The Laraos and Huamanga maps suggest that Solano (and likely Guaman Poma) admitted and perhaps even encouraged these cartographic representations of ownership regimes and boundary arrangements as proof of ancestral possession during the *Composición*.

The connection between the original Laraos map and the *Composición* is further corroborated by the map's "title" and date (Figure 2). After properly labeling and identifying the markers on the page, its Yauyos creators added in Quechua, in the upper left-hand corner, "*Caitam raquinacurcanqu tiempopi Inca Yupanguí*" ("This we divided during Inca Yupanguí's time"). On the upper right-hand corner, however, they included the specific date of the latest confirmation of these internal partitions, this time in Castilian: "*Año de 1595*."⁷⁴ As in the case of the

74. Taylor, "Dos 'mapas'", 91–93. For similar claims about boundary markers staked by Tupac Yupanqui in Caracas, S. Elizabeth Penry, *The People Are King: The Making of an Indigenous Andean Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University

Huamanga map, wherein pre-Inka and Inka boundary markers are later readjusted and reconfirmed by Spanish authorities upon the establishment of the city, the inclusion of both a reference to Tupa Yupanqui's time and the date of 1595 in the Laraos title-map suggests that this group strategically posited the confirmation of their title during the *Composición* as an integral part of an ongoing right to these pastures, cumulative in nature, not canceled but strengthened by the inspection. In a petition to colonial authorities from June 1597, Guaman Poma, likely the artist behind the Huamanga map, espoused the same view. This common understanding of the *Composición* in relation to indigenous primordial titles suggests that he was expressing ideas shared by other natives who, like the Laraos, engaged directly with the land inspection.

Indeed, in his striking defense of ownership over lands near Huamanga, Guaman Poma invoked four powerful *títulos* (titles). He prefaced them with the foundational declaration that he and his co-plaintiffs were natives (*naturales*), placed by God in these lands since time immemorial. They had taken possession of the family lands of Chupas since Tupa Yupanqui Inka's conquest of the region, in which their own ancestors had played a key role. The first of Guaman Poma's titles proper, however, was the Spanish king's *merced*, awarded during the "*conquista destes reynos*" and later enshrined in royal orders, of recognizing the right of lords and "*caciquez principales*" to live freely and peacefully in the lands that they already possessed, granted to them by the Inka, or obtained by other means. The second formal title stemmed from viceroy Francisco de Toledo's General Inspection Tour (1570–5), the widespread establishment of native *repúblicas*, and the ordinances issued in 1575 to govern these communities. All had confirmed the *naturales'* right to live peacefully in their lands and enjoy these and other possessions, thus respecting any previous titles. After all, Toledo had instructed his inspectors to tell the natives "*que desde luego se les han de señalar las tierras que han de ser suyas para siempre.*"⁷⁵ The third title had been established by default during the *Composición*, for the 1591 royal decree mandated that Spanish *vecinos y moradores* could purchase titles to vacant lands only if they did not aggrieve the natives or disrupt their ancestral possession. As his fourth title,

Press, 2019), 36. More information about Inka land surveying practices and surveyors ("*Sayua checta suyoyoc*") during Tupa Yupanqui's and Huayna Capac Inka's reign can be found in Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 169, 79, 206–207; Felipe Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ed. Rolena Adorno, John Murra, and Jorge Urioste (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1992), 91–94; and "Información hecha por Diego de Aguilar Diez a petición de don Gonzalo Mango Misari," Lima, 1597, AGN, DIyE, 31:622. Guaman Poma credits Tupa Yupanqui with being the first to "*mojonar todos los mojones destes reynos de los pastos y chacaras y montes y rreduzir pueblos*" and his son, Huayna Capac, with a similar role. Some of this information might have been collected in Yauyos during the *Primera Composición*.

75. Francisco de Toledo, "Glosas a la Instrucción general a los visitadores para determinar las tasas," in *Francisco de Toledo: disposiciones gubernativas para el Virreinato del Perú*, ed. María Justina Sarabia Viejo (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos; Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1986 [1570]), 43–60, 43.

Guaman Poma invoked the written deed to the lands of Chupas that he obtained directly from Solano between September 1594 and January 1595, and that the viceroy confirmed the following October. The *Composición* did not invalidate any previous titles; it was, on the contrary, a constituent part of them.⁷⁶

Guaman Poma's arguments to justify ownership resonate with those of attorney-general Alberto de Acuña and others who engaged in the debate regarding native possession of land and tried to enact their arguments and interpretations during the Land Inspection and later in the courts. It can be suggested, however, that this cumulative view of "title," prehispanic in origin but strengthened time and again by the Spanish king's mandates up to the *Composición*, took shape not just as reverberations of these larger debates reached Guaman Poma but also as he interacted with countless native claimants and litigants for whom he translated.⁷⁷ The 1595 map of Laraos presents the same conceptualization of colonial rights, signaling a common understanding of the importance of the inspection for the ownership of indigenous land.⁷⁸

MAPPING BOUNDARY READJUSTMENTS

Among the Laraos borderland communities, inward and outward controversies were likely triggered as the 1595 title-map was being finalized and brought out before colonial authorities to perennialize boundaries and establish permanent titles. In Guaman Poma's case, the titles to the lands of Chupas similarly triggered a contentious process that led to a ruling against the chronicler and his ultimate banishment from Huamanga in 1600.⁷⁹ In a similar fashion, the legal reverberations of the 1595 Laraos title-map are brought to the fore by its "sister" document. Dated in August 1597 and measuring 48.5 × 34 cm, this title-map shows that, at the request of some of these Laraos *comunidades*, the 1595 boundary line was partially redrawn in the immediate aftermath of the *Composición*. Exhibiting the same performative overtones of the 1595 map, the original of this legal instrument described a new *linderaje* or *amojonamiento* (perambulation or reconnaissance and demarcation) of *repartimiento* and village boundary markers (Figure 4).

76. Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 202–204. As Rolena Adorno first noted, many of these arguments would be later expanded in the *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*. Rolena Adorno, "The Genesis of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, no. 1–2 (1993): 53–92.

77. José Carlos de la Puente Luna, "Tales of Ancestry, Inheritance, and Possession: New Documentary Evidence on Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and the First General Land Inspection (1594)," *The Americas* 80, no. 1 (2023): 129–142.

78. In 1670, the *caciques* of the village of Huañec requested an official copy of the 1594 "*titulo de posesion de los mojonos sitio pastos y tierras que poseen y an poseido desde tiempo immemorial dado nuebamente por el comendador don Gabriel Solano de Figueroa*." "Autos seguidos por Isidro Cortázar," f. 49r.

79. Juan Zorrilla, "La posesión de Chiara por los indios Chachapoyas," *Wari* 1 (1977): 49–64.

FIGURE 4

General Map-Title of the Pastures, Corrals, and Boundary Markers of Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos (20th-Century Copy of the 1597 original). AGN, Títulos de comunidades, 3:41, Planos / Planoteca, 53.

En este Pueblo de San Pedro Chupaca en ocho dias del mes de agosto de mil quinientos noventa y siete años = Por ante D. Juan Huaynalaya Cacique principal del Repartimiento de la manguanca con testigos de tres Pueblos, de Chupaca y del Pueblo de Chongos y del Pueblo de Sicaya de los hombres viejos ancianos de edad de cincuenta y sesenta años poco mas o menos sirvieron por testigos que es D. Francisco Huancachagua y D. Sebastian Chongoñaupay y D. Santiago Yaducallmi son del pueblo de Chupaca = Testigos del Pueblo de Chongos son D. Luis Panchoalaya D. Juan Macucachi y Dn. Juan Huancaycasi = del Pueblo de Sicaya D. Antonio Chuquillanque = Estos siete hombres viejos sirvieron por testigos en trasladar las rayas y Mojonos del Pueblo de Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos en los siguientes

Caypim tincón Laraohuan Mito Tomas-huan Sicayahuan	Pusaccancha Corral Caymantam muyurin	Inga Yupangui Corral	Queso Cocha masac Sale una acequia	Saiui pampa Cynio	Visca machay Cocha champa atun Saybi	Pachac quebrada Cocha orco yaco urmac	Viscollo Cocha orco quipa pe hatun Sai-bi	Runto Illi Orcco	Cayal Serro	Para-para Serro					
	Puca Orco yurac puquoyoc	Topa Ynca Yupangui que Dios merced						Toncori Serro		Caypim tincón Guantanhuan Laraos					
	Coriac Rumi Saiui													Sayui Serro	
	Yana casa runa purquisa	<p>Guaranos pucha pachac iscon chunca canchisniyo huatapi pucha punco son Agosto quillopin ray rayanchita Ynca Huaynalaya pucha rayanchita Mapante canchis runa testigopi las anchis mara huatapas mana contaspia canchisniyo huatapi huayur curapas raya Mojoninchic salleanchic tacayachisan. Caypis chuncanta huallahuanchic mara paritai paritai purinanchispac = Encuy juramentunhuan rimascan cutre salleanchicunamanti Chupaca Sicaya quaquim runa Chongomanta quimsata auquis runa Sica yamanta hue runa huayur llacimantahuampas pichica chunca huatayuc soca chunca huatayuc declaracion juramentunhuan rimayescan quiquin San Juan Bautista Chupaca llactallapi testigo firman canpi puchac punchan Agosto quillopi Guaranca pucha pachac iscon chunca canchisniyo huatapi chumanta firmanchic.</p> <p>Dn. Juan Huaynalaya Dn. Fco Guaynachagua Dn. Sebastian Chongoñaupay Dn. Santiago Yaducallmi Dn. Luis Panchoalaya Dn. Juan Macucachi Dn. Juan Huancaycasi Dn. Antonio Chuquillanque</p> <p>Ante mi el escribano nombrado de Dn. Custodial Canchalaya</p> <p>Como Caraque gobernador del Repartimiento de Laraos y Aguanaco Dn. Frants Canchicapcha</p>						Tiella punco Serro							
Caymantam callarin Tomaspa sallean. Caipim Allispa sallean puchuan	Muyo ocupi corral													Rumi huasi Quebrada	
	Yauri cocha masac													Yaco tincoc Rumi huasi manta guaranca manta huan	Yanapaccha
	Llanca cocha Laguna													Yamasca Serro	hay una cueva.
	Serana Orco													Concalla Serro masac	
	Otao masac uchucilla corral													Carhua Orco Serro	
	Challa puquio masac													Quiconocha Laguna Serro	
	Atun mayo tincoc Caypim runa pampasca													Totora Cocha	
														Aya Orco Serro	
														Chapo cruz	
								Yurac pachacha							
								Punco huasi hatun mayuman yaco tincoc	Por la quebrada.						

Antonio Vicedoro Carrera
 juez de 1.ª Instancia de Laraos y Aguanaco 1590.

This new walkabout, conducted by the authorities of Laraos with the approval of those of neighboring Jauja, was part of a boundary realignment negotiation that took place sometime between 1595 and 1597. The walkabout sanctioned a new agreement that led to the reassignment of some of the old markers and the establishment of new ones. As Beyersdorff noted, only 16 of the 39 original *mojones* of the 1595 map appear in the 1597 map, which suggests that close to half of the boundaries fixed by Inka land surveyors and confirmed by colonial judges had to be renegotiated and reassigned. Lakes, waterfalls, creeks, and springs now outnumbered the mountain markers included in the 1595 map.⁸⁰ It can be argued that, while the 1595 map included all pastures claimed by the Laraos, the 1597 document, while presenting many of these same boundary markers, placed emphasis on those claimed by one of the villages within, Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos, especially if they stood for mutual boundaries shared with neighbors. As in the 1595 map, placenames are presented in the inverted “U” shape preferred by the Laraos to represent boundaries. Nevertheless, Cocha Laraos’s most important markers are listed horizontally, occupying a prominent position between the Spanish and Quechua versions of the original colonial *auto* that opens this title and helps readers, then and now, make sense of its unusual, more text-heavy composition.⁸¹

This boundary record starts with a transcription of a conventional *auto* approving a boundary readjustment. It was signed by the native municipal scribe of Chupaca, a village in Jauja, not in Yauyos, where Laraos authorities seem to have traveled for the occasion (Map 1).⁸² Perhaps the Laraos and the Yauyos considered this village “neutral” territory, at least for the time being. As Beyersdorff noted, the August 1597 *auto* is a portion of a land adjudication proceeding that had a *myuriy* or ritual perambulatory survey of boundary markers at its core.⁸³ Likely commissioned by a local *corregidor* by order of the *audiencia* in the days prior, it included a survey of highly coveted pastures. We cannot discard that the new map was part of the earlier Quechua-Spanish proceedings regarding Inka demands, local silversmiths, and negotiations over pastures discussed above. Be as it may, the 1597 *auto* explains that, on August 8, the native authorities of Laraos summoned seven “elderly men” from three villages in Jauja to witness the relocation of Cocha Laraos’s “*rayas y mojones*” (boundary markers). The pastures of the three Jauja villages—Chupaca, where the *auto* was signed; Chongos; and Sicaya—bordered some of the pastures of Cocha Laraos,

80. Beyersdorff, “Caminos rituales y cartografía indígena”, 49; Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth,” 155.

81. Careful study of visual and textual sources shows that Santo Domingo de Cochalarao claimed the pastures encompassed by the following markers: Pusac Cancha, Inga Yupangui Corral, Queso Cocha, Saiui Pampa, Visa Machay, Pacchac, Viscollo, Runtolli Orcco, Cayal Serro, Para Para Serro, and Toncori Serro.

82. Municipal scribes in Jauja were regularly producing documents in Castilian by 1591. Puente Luna, “*En lengua de indios*”, 59–60.

83. Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth,” 130–134.

which made their approval necessary. For that reason, the names and signatures of the *cacique* of the *repartimiento* of Ananguanca, whose jurisdiction extended over the three Jauja villages, and the *cacique* of the *repartimiento* of Laraos, under whose authority Cocha Laraos fell, were included. The seven elderly witnesses and the *caciques* solemnly swore to the validity of the boundary marker relocation being conducted by Cocha Laraos.

While the original *auto* probably presented the *mojones* of Cocha Laraos in paragraph form, the scribe who transcribed the document for the Laraos made important scriptural choices that amplified the text, turning it into a powerful visual tool that, though intimately tied to its antecedent, the 1595 general title-map, exhibited some important differences. These choices restructured the contents of the conventional *auto*, creating a bilingual proto-cartographic version of the new boundary agreement and presenting it in a format much more suited for its dual audience: colonial magistrates and other *comuneros*.⁸⁴ For instance, the author distributed the sequence of *mojones* in the inverted “U” fashion, which resembled the 1595 title-map and had the same basic orientation. Thus, when placed side by side, the two lists could be compared. The scribe also added a handful of brief explanatory notes, akin to glosses or descriptions, mostly in Quechua, after some of the placenames. These indications might or might not have been part of the original Spanish *auto*, though Gerald Taylor thought they were not. These annotations reveal a first-hand knowledge of the landscape being surveyed and memorialized (and without which the map is rendered useless); they likely describe the direct observations of the party that walked through these places in 1597.⁸⁵ I suggest that they were included in the title-map to better identify these markers, should a future walkabout or readjustment be needed. The Quechua version of the text states, “*Caypis chincanta huillahuanchic mana pantai pantai purinanchicpac,*” which Taylor translates as “*Aquí [in this auto] nos avisan verídicamente [sobre su posición] para que caminemos sin equivocarnos.*”⁸⁶ Beyersdorff’s English version of the same passage reads, “This also, in truth he (the Inka) said to us so that we have to walk (our terrain) without going astray.”⁸⁷ Their differences notwithstanding, both renderings of the original Quechua agree in that the document was to be used—as it was—as a guide in future, periodical perambulations of the village of Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos’s territory.

84. Beyersdorff suggests, without presenting any additional evidence, that the author is the same municipal scribe that signed the 1597 title-map. My interpretation is that this copy was made and adapted by someone in Laraos, likely another municipal scribe. Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth,” 151.

85. For this tradition in New Spain, Pulido Rull, *Mapping Indigenous Land*, 30–31.

86. Taylor, “Dos ‘mapas’,” 96–97.

87. Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth,” 158.

As mentioned, the scribe behind the 1597 record also included a Quechua version of the original *auto* in Spanish. The text is enclosed by the chain of boundary markers, the “*raya*” or “*mojonera*,” to highlight the integrity—and again, the summative nature—of this primordial land title. It bears the caption in Spanish, “*Topa Ynca Yupangui que Dios merced*” (“Tupac Inca Yupangui that God Royal Grant”), a strong, even if not fully grammatical, claim in Castilian that evokes similar invocations by other Laraos map-titles and the Huamanga map. This title-map, which references previous grants by Tupa Yupanqui Inka, God, and the Spanish king, reminds us of the triple source of the Laraos’s rights to these grazing grounds, which is likely how the scribe-artist and the *caciques* and *comuneros* who were to treasure it also perceived them.⁸⁸

Taylor has convincingly argued that the Quechua text is a word-by-word, somewhat sloppy rendering of the Spanish text, without which it is almost illegible, and not the other way around.⁸⁹ This might be explained by the subsequent, much more recent copies made of this document, which could have distorted the original Quechua text if the copyist did not fully understand that language. In any event, the inclusion of the Quechua version reinforces the argument that the scribe-artist anticipated the future need to enforce this boundary readjustment among Quechua-speaking *comuneros* in Laraos, making them their primary audience. The Quechua text emphasizes, for example, that the witnesses of this new agreement all swore to its validity and the true location of the new boundary markers, adding their name and signature as proof. Perhaps this slight emphasis in the Quechua version was meant to make these men accountable before the different *comuneros* should a dispute arise. As has been noted for other Andean communal maps, the Laraos documents registered the historical possession of land and the rights that assisted their owners while also prescribing any future actions, legal or otherwise, that might affect the organization of this territory.⁹⁰ These map-titles were as much a journey into a collective past as a projection into a communal, hopefully harmonious future. They were, as with other colonial artifacts, simultaneously descriptive and prescriptive.⁹¹

88. Here I follow Beyersdorff’s English translation of the original Quechua/Spanish document. Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth,” 157–158.

89. Taylor, “Dos ‘mapas’,” 101.

90. Fernández-Salvador, “Un mapa ‘pintado al revés,’” 120.

91. Copies of these two title-maps are now part of the official titles of the modern village of Santo Domingo de Laraos. They were formally delivered to Peruvian governmental officials sometime in the second half of the twentieth century, after the village reached a new boundary settlement with its neighbors from Alis. “Titulación de la comunidad indígena del distrito de Laraos, provincia de Yauyos”. Regarding the 1595 map, it is difficult to assess whether this is the original or a more recent copy. The latter seems to be the case, for a faded annotation suggests that it is a modern version. Regarding the 1597 *auto*, two literal copies of an earlier (original?) version now missing, one from 1850 and one from 1909, are included in the Laraos’s titles. However, versions of these documents were presented before colonial authorities in the early eighteenth century, which proves beyond doubt that their contents, even if somewhat altered by reiterated copying and handling, are not modern fabrications. Legal rivals accused Laraos of forging these documents, but their

While the *caciques* of Santo Domingo de Cochalaraos had been referencing in litigation some of the “*pastos y mojones*” that appear in the two title-maps since at least the late seventeenth century, the first mention to the “*Mappa General de este repartimiento*” that follows the 1597 *auto* that I have been able to locate is from February 1703. Threatened with the encroachment of their pasturelands by native residents of the village of Chongos (in Jauja), the paramount lords of Laraos and the *pueblo* authorities of Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos retrieved these documents from the village archive.⁹² The contextual information included in these early-eighteenth-century legal actions opens a final window into the powerful reasons behind their creation during the *Composición*.

PUTTING NEW REPUBLICS ON THE MAP

Notably, although Dávila Briceño’s 1586 map and account mention the main village of San Francisco de Atun Larao, the paramount *pueblo* referenced in the 1597 title-map, prepared less than a decade later, is Santo Domingo de Cocha Larao(s). The new name and advocacy might be indicating a relocation of the *reducción* settlement established by Dávila Briceño, or perhaps a return to the *pueblo viejo*, a settlement that now, as then, sits right next to a lake or *cocha*.⁹³ This relocation, if that is what happened, might help explain why the boundary markers of the village’s pastures had to be readjusted and reapproved in 1597. Other details and documents I discuss below demonstrate that this would not have been an isolated case. As old *comunidades* were renegotiating the effects of the *Reducción general*, breakaway *comunidades* were on the rise and instrumentalized the *Composición* for their own aims.

In the case of the 1592 legal proceedings in Quechua, for example, a subtle aspect of these early titles is that the community of Piños, the litigating *pueblo* that brought these papers before the *Audiencia* in 1693, was not one of the formal *reducciones* established by Diego Dávila Briceño during the General Resettlement.⁹⁴ It is hard to tell whether Piños was an *ayllu* (although this is likely), a prehispanic settlement now being repopulated, or a new village, founded by commoner and elite families previously relocated to a colonial village or splitting from a mother community (probably San Agustín de Guaquis, located upriver and to the northeast of Piños)

arguments were dismissed by colonial authorities on the basis of the antiquity of the papers and the fact that they had been exhibited since the late seventeenth century. “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación”, f. 45r–46r.

92. “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación,” 19v–23v. A petition from May 1722 confirms that the 1597 document was a “*Mappa [. . .] que es el de todo el repartimiento de Laraos, y Aymaraes.*” “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación,” 19v–24r.

93. Beyersdorff is incorrect when she states that “Cochalaraos” is included in Dávila Briceño’s report and map. Beyersdorff, “Covering the Earth,” 150.

94. Dávila Briceño, “Description;” “[Mapa de la] Provincia de Yauyos”.

(Map 1). What is certain is that, during the early years of the tumultuous decade of 1590, Piños relied on a now-lost map and the local testimonies included in the proceedings to gain legal recognition as a *común* under Saint Peter's advocacy. Through the village map, in particular, Piños made a visual claim to farm- and pasturelands, and therefore to a landholding status on par with that of its rivaling neighbors. Piños would redeploy this earlier dispute to obtain recognition as a landholding collective, appropriating oral traditions that had originally referred to pasture allocations and boundary markings agreed upon in prehispanic times by Carania and Guaquis, not Piños. As part of the latter's quest to self-congregate, these Quechua records were adopted as primordial titles. In 1602, Piños's 140 residents had managed to gain independent *pueblo* status and, no doubt as part of the process, build their own church and hospital.⁹⁵ In 1667, Piños was still an *anexo* (annex; subject town) of the *doctrina* (parish and head town) of Guaquis, but in 1682, thanks to these titles, it had already staked an ancestral claim to a series of pastures that bordered those of other established villages. The documentary emergence of this "new" *república* was one of the most salient yet overlooked outcomes of the *Composición* in these highland provinces and likely elsewhere.⁹⁶

A striking example of the same phenomenon of communal formation is included in another rare title-map, originally dated 1598. Organized in the now-familiar inverted "U" shape, it proclaims that the communal authorities of Guaquis (and those of surrounding villages) eventually agreed to the secession of the Alis (an *ayllu*), which entailed redrawing—literally and figuratively—the mutual boundaries of these two *comunidades* and memorializing them in writing. The resulting document is akin to a self-awarded title, with the new boundary markers surrounding the text (Figure 5). The Alis had already relocated to their own *asiento* and, with the approval of Guaquis and other neighboring communities, were building a church and erecting their houses as they worked their potato and maize fields, and grazed their cattle in the surrounding pastures to which this newly recognized *común* was now entitled.⁹⁷ The situation was fluid because Alis, one of the litigating parties during Solano's inspection in 1596, was not a *reducción* of the first round of resettlement but rather a *común*

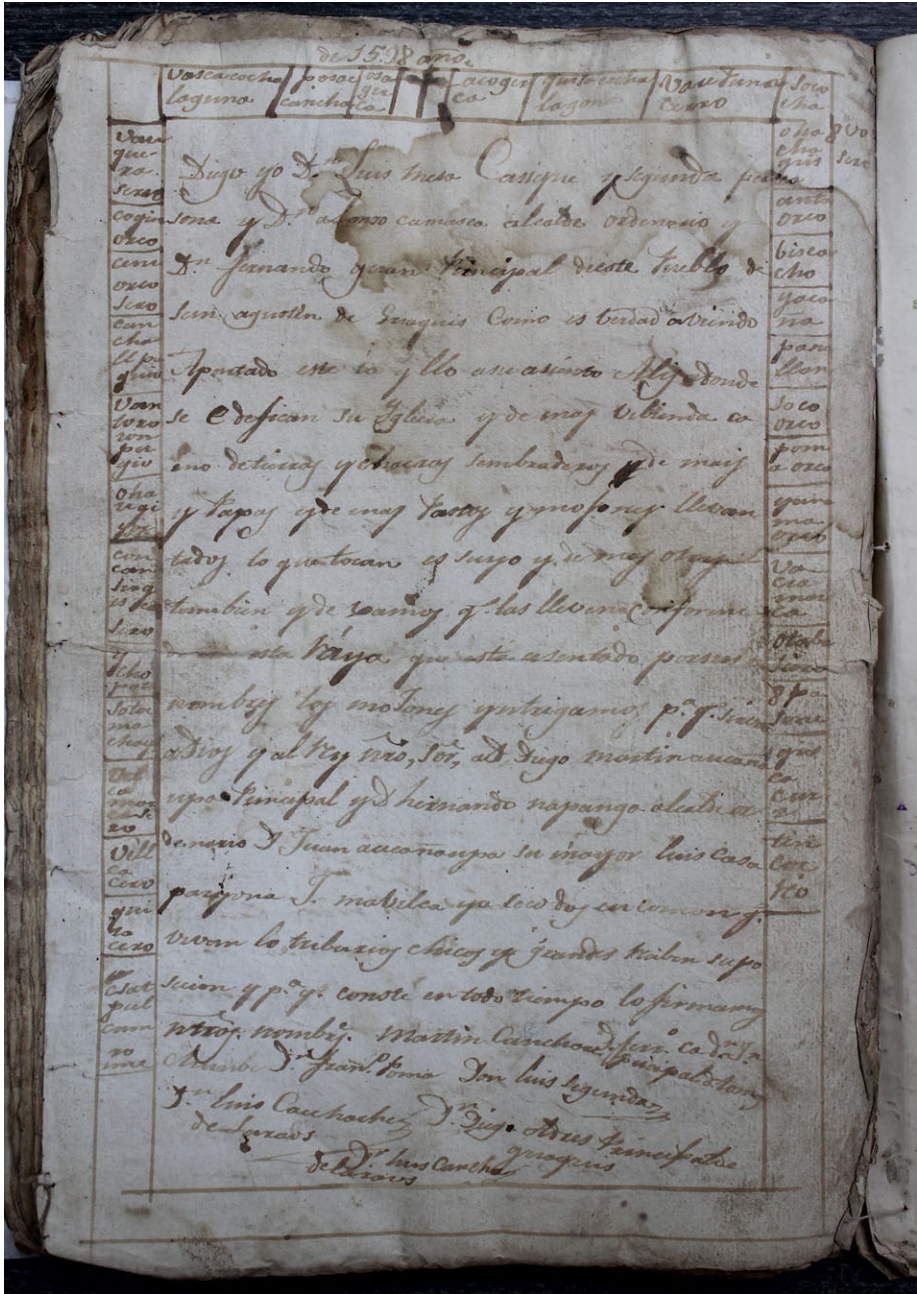
95. José Antonio Benito, ed., *Libro de visitas de Santo Toribio Mogrovejo, 1593-1605* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2006), 214.

96. "Autos contra todos los siete curas de la Provincia de los Yauyos," Yauyos, Archivo de la Provincia Dominica, Autos, 13, n. 3; Dino León Fernández, *La conquista espiritual en la Doctrina de Yauyos, siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 2021), 651–652; "Expediente de la causa seguida por Melchor de Carbajal". Documents stored in the communal archive of Miraflores (former Huaquis), which I have not seen, show that the community had a century-long dispute over pastures with Piños. These papers confirm that, while the former still had a subordinate status in 1705, it was listed as a *pueblo* by 1767. Epifanio Basilio Fernández, *Historia antropológica y social de la comunidad San Agustín de Huaquis, Miraflores-Yauyos* (Lima: Carlos Vidal Borromeo Ramírez Aldave, 1985), 24–28.

97. "Expediente relativo a las tierras y pastos del pueblo de Alis", 1775, AGN, TC, 3:42, f. 48r. The title is a modern (c. 1913) copy. Alis is represented as a *capilla* (chapel) in the village of Vitis's communal map. Pease García Irigoyen, *Los incas en la Colonia*, 388.

FIGURE 5

Title of the Community of Alis (c. 1913 certified copy of the 1598 original).
 AGN, Títulos de comunidades, 3:42, f. 48r.



and *pueblo* that had emerged or resurfaced at the end of the *Composición* and that was now vying to secure recognition as an independent community. Similar to Piños, Alis had stemmed from the Old Guaquis, obtaining a more formal status after 1602. This title was internally prepared to notify (“serve”) God and king of these agreements.⁹⁸

The creators of the 1595 and 1597 title-maps of the Laraos captured a snapshot of other *comunidades* on the rise. The artists of the 1597 map, for instance, saw the need to clarify the limits of Cocha Laraos’s pastures in relation to those of its multiple neighbors, mostly within the Laraos territory (Figure 4). It was crucial to state that Toncori Hill was where the limits between Laraos and Huantan, a village formally established during the General Resettlement, lay. However, three other placenames deserve further scrutiny. The point between Yauricocha and Llanacocha, two lakes, was marked as “*Caipim Allispa sallcan puchucan*,” that is, where the pasturelands of Alis ended.⁹⁹ As explained in the previous paragraph, Alis was an unofficial settlement similar to Piños. Piños, for its part, was already featured in the 1595 title-map (and in other communal maps of the same period), though associated with Piscococha Hill, another boundary marker (Figure 2). The very inclusion of the post-*reducción* Alis and Piños in these general and *pueblo* maps continued to accrue these collectives *pueblo* status, so they likely partook in the negotiations behind these demarcations. Similarly, the 1597 title-map reveals that Muyo Ocupi Corral, an enclosure also included in the 1595 title-map, was where the pastures of Tomas began (“*Caymantam callarin Tomaspa sallcan*”). “Tomas” was yet another unofficial emplacement, represented in the 1595 map as a somewhat mysterious, separate entity (and in other maps as an *estancia* or cattle-raising estate). The name “Tomas” in the 1595 map was followed by five toponyms that likely represented this rising community’s own boundary markers within the Laraos territory (Figure 2). Tomas now shared Pusaccancha with four other *comunidades*.¹⁰⁰

Pusaccancha was indeed an important placename, listed in both title-maps (and even in the Alis 1598 title-map), the point where Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos’s 1597 ritual walkabout (and that of the whole *repartimiento*) traditionally began. As relevant, it is named and described as eight enclosures in one (*pusaq* = eight), a nodal point that forced different *comunidades* to come to terms with one another. Pusaccancha was located near “Inga Yupangui corral,” an

98. “*esta raya que esta asentado por sus nombres los mojones yntrigamos para que sirvan a Dios y al Rey nuestro señor.*” “Expediente relativo a las tierras y pastos del pueblo de Alis”, f. 48r. “Autos contra todos los siete curas de la Provincia de los Yauyos.” San Lorenzo de Alis is not listed in Toribio de Mogrovejo’s 1602 inspection of Yauyos.

99. As is to be expected, the 1598 title of Alis includes three boundary markers listed in the 1595 and 1597 titles of Laraos/Cocha Laraos as well.

100. Taylor, “Dos ‘mapas,’” 92–100.

enclosure where Inka herds had been originally kept, likely by shepherds who, as with the silversmiths, were drawn as tribute-labor from different *comunidades*. This name also suggests that the Inka were responsible for the original partition of the eight enclosures among several collectives. But Pusacancha was also a mutual boundary that reveals yet again how the *Composición* became a vehicle for communities such as Piños, Tomas or Alis to establish an official, written presence, legible to state and church authorities, hopefully to be accepted, no matter how reluctantly at first, by other communities.

More than a century after the Inka apportioning of these pastures, the creators of the 1595 title-map explained that these eight enclosures had become the mutual bounds of three villages: Laraos, Mito, and Tomas (Figure 2).¹⁰¹ Then, 2 years later, the 1597 title-map extends the list to include Sicaya, which, as with Mito, was a formal *reducción* in the Jauja valley whose pastures extended to the boundary line with Cocha Laraos (Figure 4). Each of the four *comunidades*, one can presume, came in control of two corrals.¹⁰² But “Tomas,” on the Laraos side of the boundary line, refers to an *ayllu* and, in later documents, an *asiento* (semi-formal settlement) that, similar to Piños and Alis, was on its way to obtaining recognition as a *pueblo*. Most remarkably, according to eighteenth-century documents, it had been this “*ayllu Tomas del pueblo de Vitis*” (*ayllu* Tomas of the village of Vitis) that had first brought the general map of the Laraos (“*Mappa General de este repartimiento*”) to the attention of colonial authorities between 1595 and 1597. The map listed this collective as entitled to portions of the Laraos pasturage, granted during Tupac Yupanki’s land redistribution and confirmed by the Spanish king. The current village of Tomas sits across a mountain from Vitis, each settlement occupying its own basin. Thus, it can be argued that, as we saw in the cases of Piños, Alis, and perhaps Cocha Laraos, Tomas *ayllu* made strategic use of the general map (and ultimately the *Composición* for which it was prepared) to continue to accumulate *pueblo* status. Perhaps people associated with the *ayllu* and placename had been reluctantly relocated to the colonial village of Vitis during the General Resettlement. If so, they might have relied on the visual and textual claims made in these maps to return to an original prehispanic settlement or legitimize a new colonial one, as

101. Taylor interpreted “*caypin tincun Laraoan Mito*” and “[*Tomas . . . uan*],” which appear next to one another, separated only by the folding of the damaged paper, as two separate phrases. I believe it is a single phrase that refers to the limits of Laraos with both Mito and Tomas, which is corroborated by the 1597 map. Moreover, while Taylor interpreted the three references as ethnonyms (“*los mitu*,” “*los larao*”), both the context and the purpose of the title-map indicate that they refer to nucleated settlements which, of course, could be named after descent groups. The 1597 title-map and other documents confirm this reading. “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación,” f. 26r.

102. Pusacancha still separated the pastures of Tomas and Mito in 1832. “Autos seguidos por don Ángel Gómez,” Lima, 1832, AGN, TC, 9:78. Santo Domingo de Sicaya and La Ascensión de Mito are mentioned in *corregidor* Andrés de Vega’s 1582 report. Andrés de Vega, “La descripción que se hizo en la provincia de Xauxa por la instrucción de S.M. que a la dicha provincia se invio de molde,” in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Atlas, 1881 [1582]), 79–95, 92–93.

the people of Alis did. Either way, the map recorded Tomas's stake to communal grazing lands as a distinct collective. The crucial year in which the *ayllu* and emplacement of the same name break into the historical record—1595—stands as the documented beginning of Tomas's journey to gain formal *pueblo* status, and strengthen its communal claim to an agropastoral endowment by way of the *Composición*. Many years after the land inspection that put Tomas literally on the map, sometime in the eighteenth century, it was to achieve that status under the advocacy of the Holy Trinity.¹⁰³

CONCLUSION

As these subtle appearances of “Tomas” or “Alis” on the margins of the Laraos title-maps reveal, a recurrent emphasis on the pecuniary, venal, and predatory aspects of the *Composición* has prevented scholars from recognizing other equally significant but less visible, perhaps even counterintuitive, historical processes that were not only underway as the Land Inspection began to unfold in 1594; in some of the central provinces covered by the judge-inspectors, they were in fact enhanced and brought to a sharper focus by the largest investigation on colonial ownership regimes ever conducted. In the process, Yauyos communities appropriated the *Composición*, repurposing the very idea of *común*, shaping the inspection at different levels, and ultimately turning it into something else. In this jurisdiction, where native ancestral holdings were confirmed, boundaries readjusted, and land titles granted and regularized over the next decade, the *Composición* was shaped by these ongoing forces, which affected the inhabitants of the countryside but were also mainly driven by them.

The partial undoing of the *Reducción general*, the relentless fission of communities of varying degree of inclusiveness, the establishment of new settlements, the re-population of old ones, the negotiated emergence of new *comunidades*, and the accrual of *pueblo* status by some of these new rural entities were all underlying currents that, without the *Composición*, would have perhaps followed a different course or been almost undetectable. These local land inspection records, when read carefully and with particular attention to the variables “on the ground,” reveal important traces of the voices and actions of indigenous subjects and communities that engaged with these proceedings almost from the start, turning them into community-centered

103. “Provisión Real de emplazamiento y compulsoria y apelación”, f. 22r, 24v, 26r, 30r, 54v–55r. Tomas/Thomas is described in 1722 as a “*pueblo*” or a “*pueblo y asiento*.” In 1736, it is referred to as “*la Santísima Trinidad de Thomas*.” Interestingly, some *ayllu* members resided in Vitis in 1756, which suggests that the bonds between the possible “mother” and “daughter” communities endured.

struggles for self-determination that influenced the inspectors' decisions and modeled the outcomes of this colonial enterprise in various, sometimes unexpected ways.

Not only did Native Andean actors fulfilling different roles during the *Composición* resist the sale of land and challenged prior adjudications in the courts, as others have noted; they also creatively adapted the mechanisms embedded in this massive undertaking, an administrative granting of title subject to confirmation and judicial review, to claim individual and collective—sometimes conflicting—rights to valuable agropastoral resources. Oral traditions, tales of ancestry and possession, and bilingual title-maps became the raw materials from which to elaborate early primordial titles that, with some limitations, the Peruvian government still recognizes today. Originally produced in the midst of the *Composición* of the 1590s, they were to be wielded to reassert territorial limits, enforce boundary agreements, preserve communal autonomy, and, equally important, secure new *pueblo* status within a highly competitive colonial environment.

By its very nature, the *Composición* also served as an opportunity for native Andean subjects to engage in ongoing debates regarding land ownership, often through the voice of communal delegates and Crown-appointed attorneys. Fragments of these voices are still heard in these documents. As Renzo Honores has shown, such debates went back to the first *mercedes de tierras*, granted after the Conquest, and can be detected in the first court cases involving *caciques*, communities, and land in the 1550s.¹⁰⁴ However, they became prominent in the crucial years between the *Reducción* and the *Composición*. As they seemingly collaborated with the *visita*, native land holders co-opted some of its inner workings to resolve local and regional disputes, and challenge prevailing arguments for native dispossession. Many embraced the *Composición* as a reaffirmation rather than a challenge of old and new rights. Titles came to be understood cumulatively rather than exclusively, that is, as the result of a summative process in which the *Composición* was to play a foundational role. As Felipe Guaman Poma wrote in regard to the family lands in Santa Catalina de Chupas for which he litigated after securing title during the inspection, such lands “came to me by right, with just title and possession since God created the earth and since the Inkas and the conquest, and His Majesty knowing the truth about it and his Audiencia by its ruling and appellate judgment, confirmed [such titles] by the authority of their lordships the viceroys.”¹⁰⁵ The *Composición* no doubt reinforced the colonial state's role as a major arbiter in conflicts over the

104. Renzo Honores, “History, Rhetoric, and Strategy in Early Colonial Andean Litigation, 1552-1574,” in *Symposium on Latin America in the Early Colonial Period* (The Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies, Chicago: 2015).

105. Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 904[08]. Adorno, “The Genesis,” 79.

possession and dispossession of land, but this strengthening of state power was inextricably tied to formal recognition of native rights to agropastoral entitlements. As the historical actors themselves strategically redeployed them, native rights were inseparable from the king's claims over vacant or excess lands, the only ones that could be the subject of *composición*.

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