

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION,
GENDER, AND ETHNICITY:
Urban Indian Women in Colonial Bolivia, 1640–1725*

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Recently, a number of scholars have begun to piece together the economic and social history of Indian women in the Andes during the colonial period. It has not been an easy task: too often quantitative materials, such as tributary censuses, mention women only as wives and mothers and then may not provide even minimal demographic data on them. Moreover, although court and notarial records can be rich sources of information about Indian women, they generally deal with those who lived in cities or who were familiar enough with them to know how to use the colonial legal system. Consequently, it is no accident that most research has concentrated on native women in urban settings, certainly a small minority of the female indigenous population.¹

Despite, or perhaps because of, these difficulties, what has emerged from the work published thus far are two divergent views of the group's social and economic situation. Some authors have concluded that Indian women occupied a relatively advantageous position in colonial society when compared with Indian men. Meanwhile, others maintain that indigenous women (or at least large sectors of the native female population) were more exploited than their male counterparts. Researchers holding the first position have tended to minimize class in their discussion, emphasizing instead the ways in which gender interacted with ethnic identification and racial discrimination in the colonial context. The second group has focused more on women who were severely economically disadvantaged (such as poor peasants and domestic servants) and attempted to demonstrate that gender intensified discrimination based on class and ethnicity.

Elinor Burkett, who has studied Indian women in sixteenth-century Arequipa, argues that they were better able to manipulate the colo-

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nial legal and social system than men primarily because of the nature of their employment as retail merchants and domestic servants. These occupations actually included a variety of economic and social positions ranging from prosperous businesswomen to household laborers trapped for years by small debts. Essentially ignoring the class differences among these women, Burkett asserts that these jobs gave them the opportunity to familiarize themselves with how the city functioned and put them in contact with other women like themselves with whom they formed business and personal relationships.² According to Burkett, because Indian men were generally relegated to "gang labor in agriculture, construction and mining," they had fewer possibilities for acculturation and were less adept at coping with urban life and benefiting from Hispanic institutions.³

Frank Salomon examined the wills of Indian women in Quito to analyze the processes of acculturation, miscegenation, and ethnic redefinition among Andean people in the late sixteenth century. Although proceeding somewhat more cautiously than Burkett, he also has suggested that Indian women were perhaps more important actors in the city than indigenous men. Salomon notes that many more women than men left wills and that the very act of leaving a will demonstrated the testatrix's ability to use the colonial legal system to protect her family and community in the face of Spanish domination.⁴

In contrast, Irene Silverblatt's work on rural women in early colonial Peru depicts them as suffering not only sexual abuse, which Indian men were not subject to, but greater political disenfranchisement and economic discrimination as well. Silverblatt finds this pattern among Indian women regardless of their class position but maintains that exploitation of poor women was the most severe. She also concludes that peasant women were the group in Andean society most likely to resist colonial rule through the means at their disposal: the reassertion of Andean spiritual traditions, which the authorities viewed as a threat to their control and therefore labeled as witchcraft.⁵

A recently published article by Luis Miguel Glave on women servants in La Paz indicates that it was not only women in the countryside who suffered extreme exploitation under colonialism. Using a count taken in 1684 of some twelve hundred domestic workers, Glave describes a largely female sector of the city's Indian population that appears to have been experiencing severe deterioration of personal and cultural relations. Glave's analysis of the census reveals large numbers of female children separated from their parents, many unmarried mothers living with their children in the homes of their employers, and a high incidence of female domestic servants who knew nothing of their parents or communities of origin. He also concludes that many of the women accounted for in the *padrón* not only performed domestic tasks but also were probably part of a coerced work force for various kinds of domestic enterprises. Taken by

force from their communities by their prospective employers or brought to the city out of economic necessity by their parents or community leaders, the female domestic servants of La Paz seem to have been far removed from the property-owning, will-writing women studied by Salomon and Burkett.⁶

Is it possible to reconcile these varying images of Andean women that have emerged in different studies? At the risk of appearing to dodge the issue, I would first suggest that considerable economic and social diversity existed within the Indian population, especially in cities, and that this variation, combined with the types of sources used, can account for some of the apparently conflicting interpretations. As Salomon has perceptively commented, "In 1600 there were probably more different ways to be an urban Indian than there are today."⁷ More important, I would argue that it is artificial to study the economic history of Indian women without reference to Indian men, the family economy, and the community.⁸ Furthermore, it is essential to analyze the growing economic and social differentiation among Indian women (and men) in urban areas that accounted for much of the variety noted by Salomon.

This article will explore the range of Indian women's market participation and the ways in which gender, class, and ethnicity interacted to foster considerable diversity in women's activities and at the same time limit their economic possibilities. Andean conceptions of sexual complementarity and the exigencies of surviving under colonialism combined to cause Indian women to work in a greater variety of occupations than did Spanish and creole women. Cultural patterns also guaranteed that most of these activities were not separate from those of Indian men, contrary to Burkett's suggestion, but rather formed part of economic strategies of families or larger kin groups. These strategies, however, were shaped by social class, and evidence suggests that economic divisions in the indigenous population had become increasingly marked by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. But in spite of the importance of ethnicity and a class system closely tied to race in determining the roles of indigenous women, the documentation clearly demonstrates that they were subject to discrimination and abuse that men did not have to confront.

In preparing the present study, I used civil and criminal court cases of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries from three important colonial cities: La Plata, Oruro, and La Paz. La Plata was the seat of the Audiencia of Charcas, the most important governing body in Upper Peru (present-day Bolivia), which had judicial as well as political and administrative functions. Legal cases from the entire Upper Peruvian area were heard by this audiencia's judges. La Paz, now the capital of Bolivia, was founded in 1548 at an intermediate point on the route used to ship silver from Upper Peru to Spain. La Paz contained a large resident Indian population in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and many more

indigenous people came to the city from surrounding areas to trade, work, bring cases to court, or make wills. Oruro, a mining town about one hundred miles south of La Paz on the high plateau, was located in an area with a relatively dense Indian population and soon became a magnet for those seeking mine work and for native artisans and traders. I have concentrated on the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries because by this period, large numbers of Indians were living in colonial cities as a result of massive emigration from native communities during the 1600s. This migratory process, which will be discussed in more detail below, contributed to many Indian men and women participating extensively in the colonial market economy.

Judicial records are useful to social historians because they frequently provide material about the financial situation, family structure, social status, and relative power or powerlessness of the individuals involved in litigation. Out of the hundreds of cases reviewed in the archives of the three cities, eighty-one were selected for this study because they contained important information about Indian women working, owning property, and doing business. A number of them also provided material about family and kin group connections. A few of the cases used dealt with persons who did not live in urban areas but either came to the cities to conduct legal business or were accused of crimes that were prosecuted in urban courts. But the majority of the records selected (sixty-two cases) dealt with Indians who lived in one of the three cities, although the court records sometimes indicate that they also owned property or had ties of kinship in the country.

As a complement to the legal records, I consulted census material from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century for Upper Peru. Counts were taken periodically by the viceregal government, primarily to determine the size of the tribute-paying population (Indian men between eighteen and fifty years of age). Although these records include less information on Indian women than on Indian men (they often fail to list even women's ages), the *padrones* still provide important, quantifiable data about migration, marriage patterns, family size, and men's occupations.⁹ The large number of indigenous persons registered in these censuses make them an important corrective to court and notarial records, which provide only data about the minority of the Indian people who used the colonial legal system or were accused of crimes.

The organization of the indigenous family economy under colonialism can probably be traced in part to concepts of gender parallelism and sexual complementarity that were important aspects of both religious life and socioeconomic organization before the conquest. Andean women and men believed themselves to have separate lines of descent through ancestors of their own sex, a conception of kinship that was reinforced by a number of spiritual cults worshiped exclusively by men or women.¹⁰

The complementarity of the sexes was also evident in the economic division of labor in which the essential tasks for *ayllu* survival were considered the responsibility of either male or female family members who together guaranteed the welfare of the group.¹¹ Although the assignment of tasks by sex was not so rigid that no one could deviate from it, women generally wove cloth, herded animals, and prepared fields for cultivation while men plowed, worked in construction, and bore arms.¹²

Recent ethnographic fieldwork in Andean peasant communities has shown that a similar division of labor according to gender continues today. Research by Olivia Harris has also indicated, however, that economic complementarity does not preclude considerable conflict between men and women because household relations are only one of several determinants of social status and power. For instance, the fact that political and religious positions in rural society are almost exclusively controlled by men has ramifications that affect the family group and contributes to the subordination of women.¹³

It is not entirely clear how much political power women had under the Inca state. According to Irene Silverblatt, in Inca ideology all authority came from the Inca, who was seen as the child of the sun, and his queen, or *coya*, who was thought to be the daughter of the moon. In this dual hierarchy, the *coya* was considered to have power over women, beginning with the Cuzco noblewomen and continuing down through the female leaders of local ethnic groups and their peasant subjects, while men were seen as rulers of a parallel male universe. Although this description of the Inca system makes it appear as if male and female rulers were of equal standing, the traditional Andean language of complementarity disguised the fact that men were the supreme rulers. Women were denied the military and administrative positions that were awarded to men of the same rank by the Inca state.¹⁴

But even if the authority of women under the Incas did not equal that of men, they were nonetheless in charge of a female politico-religious structure and had many of the same prerogatives that male rulers enjoyed on a local level. This female authority, however, was undermined by Spanish colonial society, which made no pretense of gender complementarity and was patriarchal at all levels and in all spheres.

The legal position of women in Spanish colonial society had been established by codes written in the thirteenth century (the *Siete Partidas*) and the early sixteenth century (the *Leyes de Toro*) and was reinforced by a corporate view of society that equated the authority of the *paterfamilias* in the nuclear family with that of the king in the monarchical state.¹⁵ In the public sphere, women could not vote, become lawyers or judges, or hold public office.¹⁶ Married women needed the permission of their husbands to engage in many transactions, including buying or disposing of property, lending or borrowing money, and forming business partnerships.

Unmarried women were required to obtain their fathers' permission for these activities unless they were over twenty-five years old and had been "emancipated" by their fathers in the courts. Ironically, widowhood in itself freed a woman from the restrictions imposed on married or unemancipated single women.¹⁷

In terms of inheritance under Spanish law, daughters and sons inherited equal shares of their parents' property, and a widow generally received half of the couple's community property on the death of her husband. Any dowry a woman brought to a marriage legally reverted to her when her husband died or if the marriage was legally dissolved. Until that time, however, the husband could administer the dowry and could keep any interest that it earned.¹⁸

Even in the matter of guardianship of their own children, women's rights were limited. Only the father could give consent for a child to marry, and a widow became her own child's legal guardian only if her husband had not named anyone else in his will.¹⁹

This truly formidable array of restrictions might lead one to suppose that Hispanic women were actually limited to the roles of wife, mother, and housekeeper. Yet recent historical studies indicate that their market participation was probably more extensive and complex than an examination of law books would reveal and that the range of pursuits in which Spanish and creole women (and men) engaged was determined by class position. It is known that elite women owned and administered property and ran businesses, particularly in the absence of their husbands or if widowed. Less-advantaged white women might seek other types of employment that were considered respectable: working as tutors and seamstresses and sometimes running retail businesses.²⁰ But in a colonial society in which class position and race were closely related, many of the most menial female jobs were performed by Indian or other nonwhite women.

Before focusing on these women's activities, it will be useful to discuss briefly some of the ways in which Indian men entered the labor force or the market economy. Examining men's work at this point does not imply that many of the activities described were not actually family or communal undertakings. They are discussed separately here for two reasons: so that men's economic pursuits and acculturation can be compared with those of women, and because much of the documentation for this description comes from the previously mentioned colonial fiscal records, in which the most detailed information deals with adult men.

It must be borne in mind that although attitudes toward land and labor were changing during the period of Inca domination of the region, private ownership of land was still incipient and wage labor had not yet developed at the time of the Spanish invasion.²¹ With the exception of a few zones where market relations were beginning to develop,²² in most of

the Inca Empire, goods as well as labor were exchanged through traditional relations of reciprocity without a market mechanism.²³

When confronted with the Spaniards' vastly different expectations and demands for labor and material tribute, as well as the inexorable penetration of a market economy, different groups in Andean society responded in various ways. Throughout the colonial period, much indigenous labor and production for the market was coerced, and the colonizers always confronted the difficulty of creating a work force from a resistant population largely composed of self-sufficient peasants.²⁴ Nonetheless, some sectors of Indian society realized relatively soon after the Spanish invasion that the mercantilization of Andean society might provide opportunities as well as hardships.

Members of the native elite, particularly the community leaders known as *kurakas*, found their communities' resources increasingly taxed by government demands. These included large tribute assessments, the *mita* obligation to send contingents of able-bodied men to perform forced labor in Potosí's silver mines, and sometimes the requirement to escort contingents of workers to the mining site as *capitanes de la mita*. All these responsibilities represented a financial drain for ethnic chieftains, and *kurakas* frequently became involved in business activities to defray some of their new expenses. Moreover, *kurakas* were often in a position to attempt to take advantage of the new economic system for personal gain. For example, community leaders sometimes claimed as private property lands that previously had been worked for them by members of their kin groups but had not belonged to the leaders as heritable possessions. In other instances, *kurakas* used their power to usurp outright lands that had traditionally been used by the members of the community. *Kurakas* also bought property to use as community resources and as personal investments. Some engaged in extensive commercial activities, such as selling salted fish, wine, and coca in mining towns and even in their own communities. Some *kurakas* borrowed considerable sums of money in order to purchase the goods they sold; *kurakas* also lent money widely, to Spaniards as well as Indians.²⁵

Certainly, the elite group that could take advantage of the new economic situation was tiny. The overwhelming majority of Indians found themselves confronting increased labor and tribute demands that their community resources could not sustain for long. Yet recent research has indicated that native society under colonial rule did not consist simply of a tiny elite whose upper ranks shaded into Hispanic society and a great mass of Indian commoners who worked the land, paid tribute, and endured conscription into forced labor of various kinds. In urban centers particularly (but not exclusively), acculturated Indians referred to as *yanaconas* engaged in a variety of crafts and skilled occupations. Their strategies for negotiating the colonial system differed from those of the

kuraka elite who used their community connections for personal benefit. Unlike the native leaders, yanaconas characteristically denied all connections with any Andean community, or ayllu, and thus avoided the obligations imposed on the kin groups by the colonial state (the mita and sometimes tribute as well).²⁶

Although the acculturated yanaconas spoke Spanish and wore European clothes, a number of scholars have suggested that in many instances, they maintained connections with rural communities where they had rights to land and enjoyed other prerogatives of ayllu membership, despite their protestations to the contrary. It is even possible that by acculturating and entering the market economy, yanaconas were actually adapting to a new context an older Andean pattern of migration in which lands in different ecological niches supplied basic subsistence needs. Thierry Saignes and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz have both indicated the possibility that the yanaconas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have been fulfilling the same functions as the agricultural colonists, the *mitimaes* and *llactarunas*, of the pre-Hispanic period and might have represented a communal response to the demands of the colonial economy.²⁷

Yanaconas multiplied in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries but remained a small proportion of the indigenous population. They were joined in urban areas and on rural estates by another group of Indian migrants known as *forasteros*. Like yanaconas, they were escaping the burdens of community life (mita and tribute) and were attempting to take advantage of the opportunities for employment in cities, haciendas, and mining camps. Unlike yanaconas, however, *forasteros* generally still claimed to have contacts with their homes and could frequently specify their original villages and ayllus. They were often less acculturated than the yanaconas and not concentrated as heavily in skilled crafts, more often working as mine laborers or as "travelers" who brought food and other supplies to cities.²⁸ In 1645 in Upper Peru, out of a total male Indian population of almost seventy-one thousand, 14 percent were yanaconas and 22 percent were *forasteros*.²⁹ By 1683 yanaconas and *forasteros* together accounted for 46 percent of the male indigenous population.³⁰ Clearly, many male as well as female Indians were living and working in cities, and although as Indians they were viewed as an underclass by the Spaniards, they too seemed to have learned how to negotiate the colonial system to some extent.

How did Indian women's participation in the economy interact with and complement that of Indian men? It is important to emphasize that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, most Indians migrated in family groups or in couples. This pattern applied to both voluntary migrants (yanaconas and *forasteros*) and those who were forced by the colonial state to leave their homes and serve in the Potosí mita for a

year or more at a time. Records of contingents of *mitayos* preparing to leave their villages indicate that the men who were married were almost always accompanied by their wives and that unmarried men were sometimes joined by their mothers or other female relatives.³¹ The reason was that wages in Potosí were insufficient to support a worker and thus the labor of more than one person was required for the mitayo to complete his term of work and return home.³² Women in Potosí helped their husbands by hauling metal out of the mines and sorting it according to mineral content, by hiring themselves out as domestic servants in private homes, and by brewing and selling *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage made from fermented corn.³³

An interesting finding from the mita dispatch lists studied is that in most instances, couples took only very young children with them to Potosí, usually those who were still nursing. One interpretation of this pattern is that older sons and daughters might have stayed behind to care for the family's land, and younger children who could be separated from their mothers were left with older siblings or other relatives. Presumably, the mitayo and his wife had a better chance of making ends meet in Potosí if they were unencumbered by children.

It is important to bear in mind that it was not only the wife or the nuclear family that contributed to the mitayo's successful completion of his turn of work. In fact, the mitayo, and through him the silver industry, was subsidized by the indigenous community, which tended the worker's fields while he was away, supplied him with provisions for the journey, and paid his tribute in his absence.³⁴

In the case of voluntary immigrants (*yanacónas* and *forasteros*), it is more difficult to establish the exact role played by the community in migration.³⁵ But it is clear that *forasteros* and *yanacónas* generally lived in families, and census data indicate that most first-generation immigrants married before leaving their communities of origin.³⁶ Young men and boys were sometimes recorded in censuses as having emigrated alone, but most counts of the indigenous population list few single women among *forasteros* and *yanacónas* not living with their parents. The broken families found in the census of La Paz domestic servants analyzed by Glave are intriguing precisely because they were relatively rare in seventeenth-century Upper Peru.³⁷ In a study based on the returns for eleven provinces and three cities in Upper Peru counted in the 1684 *Numeración general* of the Indian population, Brian Evans concluded that "marriage after age twenty was well nigh universal."³⁸

The possibility that women may have sometimes stayed home to tend crops and animals while their husbands or male relatives migrated is a logical one, but little supporting evidence for it has been found thus far. Karen Powers mentioned an instance of this arrangement in the seventeenth century in one community in the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of

Quito.³⁹ A 1714 court case from Upper Peru refers to a woman staying at home in the highland community of Chapaca north of the city of La Paz while her husband worked in the *jungas* (steep tropical valleys near La Paz) in the coca fields. But this occurrence may have been a relatively brief trip to another ecological zone where the ayllu had lands rather than an example of more permanent migration.⁴⁰

Thus it appears reasonable to assume that many women working in cities were relatives of male migrants and that most market activity by men as well as women was part of a family plan. Burkett has maintained that Indian men and women in urban areas "lived in two separate worlds that, while touching each other in many areas, were nevertheless remarkably isolated from one another."⁴¹ But court documents provide examples of the intertwining activities of urban women, who often worked as retail merchants, and Indian men who were artisans or involved in commercial activities themselves. Many of these records reveal not only the complementary activities of husband and wife but also the connections among other relatives and those working as artisans (sometimes even in the same crafts), who were often *yanaconas*.

For instance, in 1702 María Fajardo, an Indian widow who ran a *pulpería* (a small general store) in Potosí, went to court to prevent a Spanish family from taking possession of the store, which she said she had inherited from her husband. Although the records do not specify whether her husband had another occupation in addition to being a *pulpero*, the witnesses on her behalf were two *yanaconas*, a silversmith and a tilemaker. The property next to the *pulpería* was reported to be owned by a *yanacona* chairmaker.⁴²

Lucia Ursula, an Indian merchant from La Plata, left a substantial number of possessions in her 1698 will, including two houses in the city, furniture, and a collection of religious paintings. She was the widow of Roque de la Cruz, a chairmaker, with whom she had had two children, neither of whom was alive at the time she made her will. She also had a natural daughter with another chairmaker who was married to someone else. To that daughter she left all of her possessions beyond those to be sold to pay for her funeral or for "masses for [her] soul and that of [her] husband."⁴³ Ursula's will lists a number of people, men and women, who owed her small sums of money. She did not specify the occupations of the women in her debt, but one of the men was a potter and another a carpenter. Ursula undoubtedly went to the trouble of making the will in order to guarantee her natural daughter's inheritance because under Spanish law, women who had legitimate children were not forced to leave anything to illegitimate ones.⁴⁴

Ana Sissa was the widow of Hernando Uscamayta, a *yanacona* in the service of the Convento de San Francisco of La Paz. She owned several pieces of land in the city. One piece that she had inherited from her father

was adjacent to a parcel held by her brother. She also held another homesite, which had been left to her by her husband and adjoined a site held by her husband's brother. In 1698 she and her brother-in-law together recorded selling portions of their urban real estate to another Indian, Joseph Becerra.⁴⁵

The court cases demonstrate the tendency for families to coordinate their economic activities and also show distinct class differences among Indian women living in urban areas. The three women just described represent a relatively privileged sector of the Indian population that participated in the market economy and used kinship and ties with others of similar status and occupation (*yanaconas*) to reinforce their positions. Perhaps in a comparable position were the women mentioned in nine other cases who were involved in litigation over property, usually houses in cities. Two of these nine cases show clearly the continued connections between women who owned private property and their *ayllus*. In one case, the "caciques principales" of the "aillo chinchaisuyo" claimed the land and houses of Doña Juana Sissa, saying that they should belong to the *ayllu* as a whole because the caciques had paid Doña Juana's funeral expenses. Interestingly, the two caciques involved represent the Indians of Chinchaisuyo, who lived in the parish of San Sebastián in La Paz, an *ayllu* of immigrants living in the city. Once they had established their right to Doña Juana's property, the caciques intended to sell it to another Indian of the *ayllu*, Christóbal Carita, with the proceeds going to the community rather than to themselves as individuals.⁴⁶

The second case concerned houses in the city of Oruro owned by María Orcoma, a single woman from the town of Jesús de Machaca in the province of Pacajes. When Orcoma died without heirs, several individuals from her community, including the family of the town's *kuraka*, claimed her property in Oruro. A striking feature of this case is that Orcoma did not live in Oruro, which is about one hundred miles from Jesús de Machaca, but kept the houses for the rents they brought her. This situation seems to be the reverse of that of the migrant in a city who still maintains ties with his or her rural community. Orcoma instead maintained her residence in the countryside and used her urban real estate as an investment.⁴⁷

In addition to the somewhat prosperous women just discussed, the court proceedings also include a much smaller number of wealthy Indian women whose families held hereditary leadership positions as well as a large number of extremely disadvantaged women who worked as servants and petty merchants. Elite Indian women appear to have had business dealings similar to the men in their families. For instance, Doña Lucrecia Fernández Guarache, daughter of Don Gabriel Fernández Guarache, an extremely wealthy *kuraka* from the province of Pacajes near La Paz, owned houses in Oruro that brought her rental income and made

loans totaling thirty-two hundred pesos to the Spaniard Don Baltazar de Llano y Astorga.⁴⁸ Doña Lucrecia signed her name and probably could read, a rare achievement for any woman in this period and an important skill for a person with extensive business dealings.

Ana Pichu, the wife of Pedro Chipana, a somewhat less fortunate kuraka from Sicasica, was her husband's partner in two large loans that he acquired in 1691. As collateral for the total of forty-two hundred pesos, the couple used their various agricultural holdings, which included houses, fruit orchards, cattle ranches with twenty-six hundred head of cattle, and coca fields. In the end, however, the couple was unable to repay the large debt, and Ana Pichu had to carry it alone when her husband died approximately two years after the loan was made.⁴⁹

The Guaraches and even the less wealthy Chipana-Pichu family were part of a tiny native elite, however. Most women's economic activity resulted from dire economic necessity or even coercion. Despite official decrees prohibiting the practice, some women were held illegally in the homes of Spaniards and forced to weave or perform domestic work, often without pay.⁵⁰ Of the cases I reviewed, thirteen dealt with women not being paid for their services or being held against their will by their employers. Although some instances were found of husband and wife serving in the same household, domestic service may have been (as Glave's article indicates) a major exception to the pattern of women working together with their families.

In some cases, a small debt was used as a pretext for keeping women in virtually perpetual servitude. This was the case of María Santos, who testified in 1706 that she had been serving Juan de Robles in order to repay the seven pesos he loaned her. Lázaro Gutiérrez, who apparently was looking for a servant, paid the debt for Santos and made her work for him. After she had served him for four years, Gutiérrez claimed she still owed him the seven pesos plus the value of a used *ak'su* (Andean wrap skirt) that he had given her. When Santos asked to be paid for her work, Gutiérrez had her tied up, whipped, and burned with a heated metal coin. María Santos's husband, Andrés Gualpa, had also been working for Gutiérrez for ten months and in that time had received nothing for his efforts but an *almilla* (woolen shirt) and a *calzón* (a pair of mid-calf-length pants). Gutiérrez took back these clothes but still refused to pay Gualpa any salary.⁵¹

A similar case was brought by María Sisa in 1689, who said that she had been serving a Spanish woman named Doña Polonia Maldonado and her mother for two years. During the period of her service, she had never been paid for her labor, although she had been given three meters of *bayeta* (woolen cloth) and a chicken, which together were worth about three pesos. When Sisa found herself ill and wanted to leave Doña Polonia's house, Doña Polonia claimed that Sisa owed her for the goods she had

been given and held Sisa's son prisoner to make sure that she did not leave. Although the *alcalde ordinario* ruled that Sisa should be set free, he did not order Maldonado to pay her for her two years of service.⁵²

Other court proceedings involved masters who claimed women as slaves, saying they were of African descent, and women who said they were Indians and therefore could not be legally enslaved.⁵³ Whoever may have been technically correct in these cases, there is ample evidence that those who had servants would go to great lengths to hold them against their will and avoid paying them for their labor. Burkett has found sixteenth-century contracts in notarial records in the city of Arequipa between employers and domestic servants that stipulated the wages to be paid. She nevertheless estimates that probably no more than 5 to 10 percent of the Indian women working in personal service actually had contractual arrangements with their employers.⁵⁴ I would agree with that estimate. It appears that employers often provided only room and board and an occasional small gift for their household workers, and certainly no legal agreements guaranteed the servants' rights.

Indeed, despite occasional references to domestic servants who somehow managed to prosper,⁵⁵ it is hard to avoid concluding that household workers were among the poorest and most oppressed in colonial cities and that their condition led to a "feminization" of poverty. If the hypotheses of Glave and Silverblatt are correct, some Indian men may have been implicated (willfully or through coercion) in the women's exploitation. Silverblatt quotes Guaman Poma de Ayala to prove that Indian men, desirous of the new local political and religious positions created by the colonial government, were willing to give their wives and other female relatives as servants to priests and colonial officials.⁵⁶ Glave argues less specifically that the domestic servants of La Paz listed in the 1684 census may have been taken from their communities by prospective employers who had "ties of dependency" with the women's ayllus.⁵⁷ This conclusion might mean that the leaders or other individuals in the communities hoped to gain personally by sending their women out to work, but it is also conceivable that tribute and labor burdens imposed by colonial officials left Indian leaders no recourse but to force their women into servitude, just as they sent their men to Potosí.

Scarcely better-off than household servants were the large number of Indian women who engaged in petty trading activities, some of whom may have been domestic workers who were trying to supplement their meager earnings. In half of the cases studied (forty records) women were described as retail merchants of one kind or another. While a small group of these women clearly had the resources to make their business activities fairly profitable, most seem to have been involved in pathetically small operations and were often in serious financial trouble. Examples are numerous. Ursula Guampa of La Paz sold others' used articles of clothing

and kept a small percentage of the sale price as a commission. Esperanza Choque was in debt for the loans she had received to make the bread she sold in the plaza in La Paz. Josepha Arze, separated from her husband and said to be very poor, was "maintaining herself through her intelligence in buying and selling produce." Antonia Sisa, a widow in La Plata who made chicha for a living, left two children and many debts when she died. Pascuala Carillo rented a pulpería in La Plata. While her husband was out of town, her daughter became ill, and Carillo could not pay the rent on the pulpería. The landlord evicted them, saying he "wasn't running a hospital," and her daughter subsequently died.⁵⁸ An interesting aspect of all of these situations is that from what can be determined from the documents, the women mentioned seem to have been relatively isolated, lacking the family and community connections evident in the cases of women involved in litigation over houses or selling or bequeathing property.

If there was a hierarchy of occupations into which most Indian women's economic participation fell, other women were involved in activities that did not fit into the usual structure. Two fascinating cases recount the difficulties of women working in fields generally reserved for men. They show clearly that beyond the constraints of class and the racism of colonial society, Andean women were discriminated against just because they were women.

In 1644 an Indian woman named Bartola Sisa asked the Audiencia of Charcas to protect her rights to a silver mine in the hill of Espíritu Santo in the province of Carangas, which she said a Spaniard named Cristóbal de Cotes was trying to claim as his own. Sisa stated that she had been born in the city of Oruro but had been in Carangas for the last three years looking for mines and exploring. She eventually discovered a vein with the help of an Indian named Juan Choque, who worked for her and to whom she owed three hundred pesos for his efforts. Sisa then hired an Indian named Pedro Achatta from the province of Carangas as a *barretero* (excavator) and two other Indians to begin mining silver. According to Achatta, "Bartola Sisa, *india*, hired this witness and paid him and the others as their boss [*patrona*] who had discovered and prospected for the mine."⁵⁹

Sisa claimed that when their first load of ore looked promising, Cristóbal de Cotes presented himself and "seeing her alone and poor" told Sisa that she could not legally register the mine herself since she was a woman, nor could she register it in the name of her son, who was a minor. Believing him but determined to legally claim the mine somehow, Sisa went to the *corregidor* of the mining site and made a verbal declaration of her discovery and received a document specifying that no one should disturb her activities in the vein. Nonetheless, Cotes registered the mine in his own name and returned to the site to take over its operation. In the end, the Audiencia ordered the *corregidor* to return the mine to Sisa and

to remove Cristóbal de Cotes or anyone else who was not supposed to be there. The issue of whether she could actually formally register the mine as a woman was not addressed. Indians' rights (without gender specification) to register mines for themselves were protected by a special sixteenth-century royal decree, and indications suggest that some fairly prosperous native miners existed in the early days at Potosí.⁶⁰ By the seventeenth century, however, they were increasingly rare, which made Bartola Sisa unusual in two respects.⁶¹

Another case brought before the *audiencia* tells the story of a woman who was involved in long-distance trade, which was generally considered work for men only.⁶² According to María Esperanza, an *india* of the pueblo of Hayu-Hayu, she set out in 1705 with her brother for Moquegua (in the south of present-day Peru) to sell her mules. In the course of the trip, her brother was struck by lightning and killed. He was buried in Pomata, in the province of Chucuito, where the village priest charged Esperanza one hundred pesos for the funeral. Because this fee required all the money she had with her for her trip to Moquegua, she changed plans and returned as far as the pueblo of Hachacache in Omasuyo with a man named Pablo Gutiérrez. When Esperanza reached Hachacache, town kuraka Don Bartolomé de Ramos, apparently trying to take advantage of a woman alone, attempted to force her to have an "illicit friendship" with him. She refused to do so and retired to the nearby town of Guarina. There she was taken prisoner and her goods were embargoed, according to her testimony, because of a complaint the spurned Ramos made to the provincial *corregidor*. After six months, she was finally released, but her property was not returned to her. Esperanza appealed to the *Audiencia* to get it back saying, "I am single and have never been married and the goods referred to are my own acquired through my personal work."⁶³

The cases of Bartola Sisa and María Esperanza are intriguing because they suggest considerable diversity in Indian women's occupations even in the face of harassment. Whether these two women were unique or there were others like them is a subject that may be clarified by further research. These two events were separated by more than sixty years, and it would be valuable to know whether native women's involvement in activities like these increased or diminished over time. Were they more likely to be miners or long-distance traders in the early years of colonial rule, when the Spaniards were first imposing their gender and class hierarchies? Or were women like Sisa and Esperanza forced to do the kinds of work they did because of the decline in the Indian population and the deterioration of community life in the later colonial period?⁶⁴

What conclusions can be drawn, then, about the economic situation of Andean women in Upper Peru in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? First of all, my research did not find evidence that Indian

women were more active in the economies of colonial cities than Indian men. Although men were generally conscripted for gang labor, it is clear that by the mid-seventeenth century, their activities—especially in the cities—were by no means confined to this type of work. In contrast to the situation that Burkett has described in Arequipa in the sixteenth century, considerable numbers of men in mid-seventeenth-century urban areas were now employed as artisans, miners, and traveling merchants, and some of them owned houses or other property. They frequently spoke Spanish, wore European clothes, and may have been as adept at handling the colonial bureaucracy as Indian women were.

Furthermore, if when compared with *mitayos* or other manual laborers, women more often had occupations that allowed them some autonomy and the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the economic and legal system, this was certainly not always the case. The domestic servants studied by Luis Glave and the women who brought cases to court because they were not being paid might have disputed such a generalization. It is also questionable how often these employees had the opportunity to make contacts with other Indian women, if domestic service in the colonial period bore any resemblance to the present-day situation in which women are given little time off and are often on call day and night.⁶⁵ Glave's study found that almost a quarter of the households had only one domestic worker, which may have precluded the possibility of relating to another servant.⁶⁶

If a discussion of the relative advantages of Indian women as compared with Indian men does not really shed much light on the larger situation, it is because Andean women's social and economic positions and possibilities for employment were not determined by gender and ethnicity only. The introduction of a market economy affected different groups in Andean society differently, but by the late seventeenth century, large sectors of the Indian population were participating in it, and mercantilization brought increased class differentiation. Although native people were generally relegated to the undercaste of "indios" by Spaniards, in practice, class definition now overlaid and combined with native social structure. In the new system, however, traditional resources could still be useful for survival. Urban residents with numerous kin on whom they could rely and access to land through *ayllu* membership may have been able to fashion successful economic strategies.

The position of Indian women in colonial cities was directly affected by this process of class formation. It is misleading to lump native women together and attempt to discuss them as a group precisely because of the diversity of their circumstances. Yet neither can the situation of women in seventeenth-century Upper Peru (like that of women in other places and historical periods) be adequately understood by referring only to class and race. It must be placed within the culture's ideology of gender.

Andean and Hispanic conceptions of gender roles coexisted in colonial Bolivia even though they conflicted in many instances, and the ideas imposed by the colonial power tended to dominate. Spanish patriarchalism and the Spanish legal system destroyed much of women's political and even personal authority and undermined the economic prerogatives they had held before the conquest. The demand for women to fill the most menial positions in households forced many of them into degrading personal service. It is certainly possible that in some instances, Indian men sought to improve their own positions by disinheriting women or sending them to work for colonists. Furthermore, women suffered from sexual abuse, could be deprived of the guardianship of their own children, and apparently risked being harassed if they attempted to work in occupations generally dominated by men.

Yet despite the conflict and inequality that must have existed in relations between men and women even before the conquest, the tradition of gender complementarity still prevailed among native peoples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact, the economic partnership of men and women was always desirable and in many cases became indispensable for negotiating the colonial system. Whether struggling through a year of forced labor in Potosí or running a pulpería in La Paz, families working together had the best chance of survival. The fact that in the Andean family, the wife and other female relatives were important parts of the household economy may have to some extent mitigated women's oppression.

NOTES

1. An important exception to the urban orientation of the work on Andean women is that of Irene Silverblatt. She used colonial chronicles, especially Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, and seventeenth-century records of campaigns against native idolatry to illuminate the situation of peasant women under Spanish domination. See Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987).
2. Elinor C. Burkett, "Indian Women and White Society: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Peru," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, edited by Asunción Lavrin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1978), 117, 119.
3. *Ibid.*, 121.
4. Frank Salomon, "Indian Women of Early Colonial Quito as Seen through Their Testaments," *The Americas* 44, no. 3 (Jan. 1988):326-29.
5. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*.
6. Luis Miguel Glave, "Mujer indígena, trabajo doméstico y cambio social en el virreinato peruano del siglo XVII: la ciudad de La Paz y el sur andino en 1684," *Bulletin de L'Institut Français D'Études Andines* 16, nos. 3-4:47, 50-52, 55.
7. Salomon, "Indian Women," 326.
8. Brooke Larson has also discussed this point in "La producción doméstica y trabajo femenino indígena en la formación de una economía mercantil colonial," *Historia Boliviana* 3, no. 2 (1983):173-85.
9. Used in this study are: "Padrón de Oruro, 1683," Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires (hereafter, AGN), XIII-17-1-4; "Alto Perú, Padrones 1645-1686," AGN,

- XI, 17–1–4; and “Padrones de La Plata, 1725–1754,” AGN, XIII, 18–5–1. Although some variation occurs in the information provided in different censuses, they usually include the name and age of the adult male Indian, his marital status, ayllu or province of origin or both, birthplace, occupation, number of children and their age and sex, and whether or not the man paid tribute and served in the mita in Potosí.
10. On the parallel division of the universe, see Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, chap. 2. On bilaterality in Andean kinship, see Bernd Lambert, “Bilaterality in the Andes,” in *Andean Kinship and Marriage*, edited by Ralph Bolton and Enrique Mayer (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1977), 1–27. In the same volume, see Billie Jean Isbell, “‘Those Who Love Me’: An Analysis of Andean Kinship and Reciprocity within a Ritual Context,” 81–105; and Jim Belote and Linda Belote, “The Limitation of Obligation in Saraguro Kinship,” 106–16.
 11. Ayllus were clan-type kin groups that held land in common and generally traced their origins to a common mythical ancestor. A number of articles dealing with the nature of the ayllu can be found in *Etnohistoria y antropología andina*, compiled by Amalia Castelli, Marcia Koth de Paredes, and Mariana Mould de Pease (Lima: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1981).
 12. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 9–14.
 13. Olivia Harris, “Complementarity and Conflict: An Andean View of Women and Men,” in *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation*, edited by J. LaFontaine (London: Academic Press, 1978), especially 32–34.
 14. See Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 59–66. According to Silverblatt, equal control of the economy by men and women under the Incas was undermined by the empire’s heavy reliance on soldiers (who were men) to fill important administrative posts. Control of the government meant more control over material resources as well as the possibility of receiving gifts from the state. See Silverblatt’s discussion, 14–19.
 15. Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 77.
 16. *Ibid.*, 58. Arrom mentions a few instances of women inheriting their husbands’ public offices in the early colonial period.
 17. The rule on emancipation also applied to single men. See *ibid.*, 61.
 18. *Ibid.*, 67.
 19. *Ibid.*, 70.
 20. Asunción Lavrin, “Women in Spanish American Colonial Society,” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 2:327, 330. Also see Asunción Lavrin, “In Search of the Colonial Woman in Mexico: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in Lavrin, *Latin American Women*. No comparable work has been published on Spanish women in the Viceroyalty of Peru, although Elinor Burkett makes some comparisons between Spanish elite women and other women in Peru during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in “In Dubious Sisterhood: Class and Sex in Spanish Colonial South America,” *Latin American Perspectives* 4, no. 4 (1977):18–26.
 21. Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester, 1977), 67–70.
 22. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Etnia y sociedad: costa peruana prehispánica* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1977), 211–17; and Terence D’Altroy and Timothy K. Earle, “Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy,” *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 2 (Apr. 1985):187–206.
 23. John V. Murra, “El control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas,” in Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975), 59–115; Alfred Metraux, *The History of the Incas* (New York: Schocken, 1970), 94; and Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 70–72.
 24. The most extensive and best-known form of forced labor in the Andes was the mita draft, which brought thousands of Indian men from sixteen provinces to serve in the Potosí silver mines. See Jeffrey A. Cole, *The Potosí Mita, 1573–1700: Compulsory Indian Labor in the Andes* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985).
 25. John V. Murra, “La correspondencia entre un ‘capitán de la mita’ y su apoderado en Potosí,” *Historia y Cultura* 3 (1978):45–58; Roberto Choque, “Pedro Chipana: cacique

- comerciante de Cajamarca," *Avances* 1 (Feb. 1978):28–32; Robert Choque Canqui, "Los caciques aymaras y el comercio en el Alto Perú," in *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos: estrategias y reproducción social, siglos XVI–XX*, edited by Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson, and Enrique Tandeter (La Paz: Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social, 1987), 357–77; and Silvia Rivera, "El Mallku y la sociedad colonial en el siglo XVII: el caso de Jesús de Machaca," *Avances*, no. 1 (Feb. 1978):9–12.
26. On yanaconas, see John V. Murra, "Nueva información sobre las poblaciones yana," in Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*, 225–42; Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); and Ann Zulawski, "Wages, Ore Sharing, and Peasant Agriculture: Labor in Oruro's Silver Mines, 1607–1720," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 3 (Aug. 1987):405–30.
 27. Thierry Saignes, "Políticas étnicas en Bolivia colonial, siglos XVI–XIX," *Historia Boliviana* 3, no. 1:1–30; Saignes, "De la filiation à la residence: les ethnies dans les vallées de Larecaja," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 33, nos. 5–6 (1978):1160–81; and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, "Migración rural en los Andes: Sipesipe (Cochabamba), 1645," *Revista de Historia Económica* 1, no. 1 (1983):30–36.
 28. "Padrón de Oruro, 1683," AGN, XII-17-1-4; and "Padrones de La Plata, 1725–1754," AGN, XIII, 18–5-1.
 29. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, "Migraciones internas en el Alto Perú: el saldo acumulado en 1645," *Historia Boliviana* 3, no. 1 (1983):15–16.
 30. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, 28–31; and Nathan Wachtel, "Hommes d'eau: le problème uru (XVI–XVII siècle)," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 33, nos. 5–6 (Sept.–Dec. 1978):1154–55.
 31. "Autos sobre el despacho de la mita de Potosí . . . Villa de Concepción, 24 Oct. 1669," Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (hereafter BNP), B575; and "Despacho de la mita de Potosí . . . Puno, 2 Nov. 1673," BNP, B585.
 32. In 1596 Father Antonio de Ayans estimated that it cost the average mitayo twenty-six pesos a month to feed himself, although he only received ten pesos a month for his labor. See "Breve relación de los agravios que reciben los indios que ay desde cerca del Cuzco hasta Potosí," in *Pareceres jurídicos en asuntos de indios*, edited by Rubén Vargas Ugarte (Lima: n.p., 1951), 38.
 33. "Don Gabriel Fernández Guarache, cacique principal del pueblo de Jesús de Machaca . . . con los diputados del gremio de azogueros de la villa de Potosí, sobre puntos tocantes a la mita, Potosí, 1663," Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Escribanía de Cámara, 868A.
 34. For a discussion of how this subsidy functioned in the late colonial period, see Enrique Tandeter, "La Rente comme rapport de production et comme rapport de distribution: le cas de l'industrie minière de Potosí, 1750–1826," Thèse de 3e cycle, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1980.
 35. On the possibility that yanaconas maintained community ties and functioned in a manner similar to agricultural colonists in the pre-Columbian period, see note 27 above.
 36. "Padrón de Oruro, 1683," AGN, XIII-17-1-4; and "Alto Perú, Padrones 1645–1686," AGN, XIII, 17–1-4.
 37. *Ibid.* An interesting finding is that a 1725 census of yanaconas living on haciendas in the southern wine-producing province of Pilaya y Paspaya includes a sizable number of single women listed as heads of families. This pattern may be partly the result of an epidemic that decimated the area a few years before but might also reflect the preference for female servants to do certain tasks on these agricultural estates. The census is available in "Padrones de La Plata, 1725–1754," AGN, XIII, 18–5-1. For a discussion of labor and migration in Pilaya y Paspaya, see Ann Zulawski, "Wine Production and Indian Migrant Workers: A Bolivian Agrarian Frontier in the Eighteenth Century," *Migration in Colonial Spanish America*, edited by David Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).
 38. The provinces were Omasuyos, Larecaja, Sicasica, Pacajes, Cochabamba, Yamparaes, Paria, Carangas, Porco, Chayanta, and Tarija. The cities were La Paz, Potosí, and Oruro. The total number of tributaries (men between eighteen and fifty years of age) in the study reached 55,946. See Brian M. Evans, "Census Enumeration in Late-Seventeenth-

- Century Alto Peru: The Numeración General of 1683-1684," in *Studies in Spanish American Population History*, edited by David J. Robinson (Boulder, Colo: Westview, 1981), 25-44.
39. Personal communication from Karen Powers, who is currently working on a doctoral dissertation on migration in the Audiencia of Quito.
 40. "Autos de oficio contra Bartolomé Quispe por la muerte que dió a una india llamada Ana," Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (hereafter ANB), Tierra e Indios (hereafter TI), 1714.60. The possibility that the coca land may have traditionally belonged to Chapaca is supported by the fact that in the 1570s, the community's tribute was assessed in coca. See *Tasa de la visita general de Francisco de Toledo*, edited by Noble David Cook (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1975), 63.
 41. Burkett, "Indian Women in White Society," 120.
 42. "Autos seguidos por María Fajardo, india, con los nietos de Juan Gaitán, sobre una tienda de pulpería en Potosí," ANB, TI, 1702.48.
 43. "Expedientes sobre la averiguación de la memoria hecha por la india Lucia Ursula Sisa y de los bienes que quedaron a su muerte," ANB, TI, 1698.16.
 44. Arrom, *Women of Mexico City*, 69.
 45. "Venta de sitio y aposentos de Ana Sissa a Don Joseph Becerra," Archivo Histórico de La Paz (hereafter, ALP), C36-EC4, 1692.
 46. "Lorenzo Camita Limanche y Lorenzo Camita, caciques, indios principales de ayllu chinchaisuio, solicitan el solar de Juana Sisa, difunta, por ser del común de ayllu," ALP, C34-EC2, 1689.
 47. "Autos seguidos por Petrona González, india, con Pedro Nina, sobre unas casas ubicadas en Oruro," ANB, TI 1702.24.
 48. "Lucrecia Fernández Guarache manifiesta que el capitán Baltazar de Llano y Astorga le es deudor de dos escrituras en su favor con la suma de 3200 pesos," ALP, C30-EC1, 1685.
 49. Roberto Choque Canqui, "Los caciques aymaras," 371-72.
 50. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), vol. 2, "De corregidores, escribanos, tenientes, jueces . . ." and "De padres, fiscales, cantores . . .," 454-664.
 51. "Juicio criminal contra Lázaro Gutiérrez por azotes y otros maltratamientos inferidos a la india María Santos," ANB, TI, 1706.14.
 52. "María Sisa, india, pide al corregidor y justicia mayor para que Doña Polonia Maldonado le pague por sus servicios," ALP, C34-EC6, 1689.
 53. "Doña María Sánchez de Doria, con el protector de naturales, sobre el derecho a una esclava llamada María," ANB, TI, 1698.13; "La india Juana Feliciano con Doña Petronilla Medellín solicitando su libertad por haber sido libre," ANB, TI, 1705.35.
 54. Burkett, "Indian Women and White Society," 111.
 55. Frank Salomon discusses the case of Francisca Vilcacabra of Quito, who although describing herself as a servant, ran a *chichería* and left large sums of money in her 1596 will. See Salomon, "Indian Women," 337-38.
 56. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 154.
 57. Glave, "Mujer indígena," 55.
 58. "Ursula Guampa denuncia . . . el robo de una lliclla y un par de medias que le había dado para vender y que no puede pagar por ser muy pobre," ALP, C54-EC17, 1722; "El protector de naturales solicita . . . que la india Esperanza Choque, vendedora de pan en la plaza pública, pague cada seis meses a 50 pesos," ALP, C36-EC3, 1694; "Declaraciones de testigos sobre malos tratos a Josepha Arce por parte de su marido Dionicio Mellares," ALP, C44-EC10, 1705 (including direct quote); "Pedro Coaquira, contra la india Bárbara de la Cruz sobre maltratamientos con palo y piedra en compañía de muchos," ANB, TI, 1713.12; and "Pascuala de Carrillo contra Juan de Leiseca atribuyéndole la muerte de su hija Petrona Carrillo," ANB, TI, 1697.21.
 59. "Bartola Sisa, india, pidiéndose le ampare en la posesión de la mina que tiene registrada en el cerro del Espíritu Santo, provincia de Carangas, la cual pretende usurparle Cristóbal de Cotes, 1644. VI.23-28," ANB, Minas, T 96, 2.
 60. "Real cédula que los indios pueden tener y labrar minas de oro y plata como los españoles," Madrid, 17 Dec. 1551, in *Colección de documentos para la historia de la*

URBAN INDIAN WOMEN IN COLONIAL BOLIVIA

formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810, edited by Richard Konezke (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950), 1:294. Bartolomé Arzans de Orsua y Vela mentions a few Indian miners in Potosí who became rich. See his *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1965), 2:118.

61. While doing the research for a study of mine labor in Oruro in the seventeenth century, I never encountered references to Indian mine owners, although some mestizos owned mines. Neither Peter Bakewell nor Jeffrey Cole writing on Potosí refers to Indians owning mines. See Cole, *The Potosí Mita*, and Peter Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545-1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).
62. Although census and court records frequently describe male *viajeros* who brought supplies to urban areas, this is the only reference I have found to a woman doing this kind of work.
63. "María Esperanza, india de Hayu-Hayu, Caracollo, sobre un cacique de Urinsaya por despojo y otros atentados," ANB, TI, 1708.33.
64. The indigenous population of the Viceroyalty of Peru declined drastically after the Spanish invasion, primarily due to European epidemic diseases to which the population previously had not been exposed. Although exactly how much the population dropped is impossible to calculate, Sánchez-Albornoz has estimated a 60 percent decline between 1532 and 1683 for the Upper Peruvian area. See Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, 22-23, 34. On the region that now comprises modern Peru, see Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
65. Lesley Gill, "Painted Faces: Conflict and Ambiguity in Domestic Servant-Employer Relations in La Paz, 1930-1988," *LARR* 25, no. 1 (1990):119-36.
66. Glave, "Mujer indígena," 46.