

EXPLORING KINSHIP IN ANTHROPOLOGY
AND HISTORY:
Surnames and Social Transformations
in the Bolivian Andes*

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Abstract: This research note assesses how surnames in a Bolivian Quechua-speaking peasant community were transmitted and distributed from the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth to show that parish register data can allow anthropologists to uncover the impact and significance of larger political, economic, and historical processes at the local level. I argue that patterns of surname transmission underwent a momentous shift between the early 1800s and the mid-1900s, from high percentages of illegitimate infants carrying their fathers' surname to virtually none doing so, an upshot of sweeping changes in sociocultural practices spawned by the revolution and agrarian reform in 1952 and 1953. This transformation in the allocation of patronyms to baptized infants reflected a new importance attached by both peasants and church officials to legitimate birth status and its coupling with genealogical reckoning via surname transmission. Such a coupling was important for peasants in order to cope with uncertainty and ambiguity in the midst of shifting and uncertain contexts structuring access to land and resources. It was also important for parish church officials, who probably thought it necessary to adhere more closely to national legal codes in a revolutionary setting.

Kinship has long constituted an important domain of research and theorizing in sociocultural anthropology. Its centrality has stemmed from its pivotal role in underpinning and structuring sociocultural, economic, and political relationships within and between apparently classless or nonstate societies—precisely the ones that anthropologists focused on in the formative stages of the discipline. During the 1970s and 1980s, however, interest in kinship waned, leading many to wonder whether anthropology's focus on kinship was “dead or moribund” (Peletz 1995, 345). Although this dire

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prediction was somewhat premature, kinship no longer elicits the attention paid to it by past generations of anthropologists (Borneman 1996; Peletz 1995).

Yet as anthropological interest in kinship has declined, demographers and historical demographers, social and family historians, and historically oriented anthropologists with a keen interest in demographic matters have all demonstrated heightened interest in kinship structures and their demographic processes and outcomes. Monica Das Gupta has called them "demographic regimes" (1997).¹ In her view, "The study of kinship systems and their interaction with demographic outcomes is one of the richest areas for substantive and theoretical work in anthropological-demographic research" (1997, 36). This observation holds despite the fact that "the relationship between kinship systems and demographic regimes" is still "a curiously neglected field" (1997, 37). Some of the most significant research on the Andean colonial period has reflected close collaboration among anthropologists, geographers, historians, and demographers.² Yet the recent rapprochement of anthropology, demography, and history has largely bypassed contemporary Andean research that is anthropologically informed, notwithstanding significant exceptions (e.g., Izko Gastón 1986, Collins 1986, Mitchell 1991, Wachtel 1990).³ Andeanist anthropologists, in comparison with their European counterparts, seem not to have tapped into the rich potential of parish records for uncovering social and cultural processes. The paucity of parish register data in current Andean anthropological research contrasts with European anthropologists' and contemporary cultural anthropologists' strong historical bent, which is well represented in Andean research (Abercrombie 1998).

My preliminary analysis, based on baptismal records at the Sacaba parish east of the city of Cochabamba, is part of an ongoing project on anthropology, history, and demography that seeks to galvanize Andean research toward the "development of a new synthesis in the relationship between anthropology and demography" (Kertzer and Fricke 1997, 20). I focus here

1. See, for example, the recent volumes by Kertzer and Fricke (1997), Greenhalgh (1995), and Kertzer and Laslett (1995). The ongoing interest in kinship by social historians can be partly explained by the vitality of family history and family demography.

2. Examples of authors whose works on the colonial period have attempted to bridge anthropology, history, and demography include Glave (1988), Klein (1975, 1993), Evans (1981, 1990, 1991), Tandeter (1991, 1995), Sánchez-Albornoz (1978, 1983a, 1983b), Saignes (1986a, 1986b), Murra (1991), Platt (1982), Cook (1982), Gordillo (1987), Gordillo and del Río (1993), Powers (1995a, 1995b), and Wightman (1990). I should add that tribute registers, not parish records, have underpinned the greater part of this research, which has focused primarily on migration and shifts in the demographic composition of corporate peasant villages and hacienda communities.

3. See, for example, Webster (1970a, 1970b), Albó (1990), Salomon (1982, 1991), Gose (1994), Abercrombie (1998), Spedding (1994), Weismantel (1988), Guillet (1992), Rasnake (1988), Larson (1988a), Larson and Harris (1995), Arnold (1988), Rivera Cusicanqui (1993), and Isbell and Decoster (1991).

on Pampa, a Quechua-speaking community overlooking the Sacaba Valley, the smallest in the agriculturally important Cochabamba region (Larson 1988b; Jackson 1994). Pampa was a grazing area (*estancia*) of an hacienda on the valley floor until the middle to late eighteenth century, when it first appeared in documentary sources as a distinct estate. Like so many others in Sacaba and Cochabamba, Pampa was an hacienda that did not swallow up corporate communities. Rather, it was populated by migrants and therefore lacked such noteworthy characteristics of “traditional Andean communities” as ayllu kin groups and categories, moiety divisions, sectoral following, and civil-religious hierarchies. Pampa’s social history and historical anthropology have yet to be written, but there is little doubt that key aspects of local social organization and kinship as well as inheritance ideologies and practices were constructed by successive waves of migrants in their daily practices and confrontations with Pampa landowners.

Surname Transmission in the Andes

Ethnohistorians and anthropologists have consistently suggested that the parallel transmission of names—their bequeathal from mothers to daughters and fathers to sons—was an important pan-Andean norm and practice prior to the Spanish Conquest.⁴ This pattern of allocation of patronyms and matronyms was firmly inscribed in a widespread system of parallel descent, inheritance, and gender relations (Silverblatt 1987; Salomon 1986, 132–33; Lounsbury 1986, 133–34; Isbell 1977, 111; Zuidema 1977; Collins 1986, 658).⁵ According to Thomas Abercrombie, “the custom of tracing lineage through surnames was imposed by Spaniards, who found it difficult to convince Andeans to accept their practice of name inheritance” (Abercrombie 1998, 497, n. 16).⁶ But by the mid-colonial period, the use of (predominantly Spanish) surnames was widely entrenched as an intrinsic part of personal identity (Zulawski 1995, 140). Andean naming practices were almost certainly influenced by early-colonial Catholic canon law and practice,⁷ but it remains

4. In only a few cases in either baptismal or death entries were infants identified by both paternal and maternal surnames, hence the emphasis placed here on first surnames. Unless otherwise noted, I will henceforth use *surname* and *first surname* interchangeably.

5. I assume in this study that important social processes left their imprint on parish records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths and that attention to names or surnames constitutes an important analytical window through which to detect historical processes (Salomon and Grosball 1986). I also assume that by the late nineteenth century, the broad contours of kinship ideologies and practices had coalesced and been decisively transformed by colonial and postcolonial policies of state and church.

6. Rasnake has emphasized that as late as the late seventeenth century in southern Bolivia, “personal names were fluid . . . , and surnames were often not passed on” (1988, 126).

7. For example, in 1582 officials of the Tercer Concilio Limense railed against “gentile names” (*nombres de gentilidad*), as did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century synods of the Bolivian Catholic Church (see Lima Council 1951, 327; Catholic Church 1854, 480; Catholic Church

unclear whether the Catholic Church was sensitive to entrenched Andean patterns of parallel name transmission (Lima Council 1951, 327).⁸

Andeans in many Peruvian, Ecuadorian, and Bolivian highland communities retained parallel transmission of names after incorporating surnames into their naming practices, although evidence suggests that this practice began to disappear in some Bolivian Aymara-speaking and Ecuadorian communities by late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Isbell 1977, 109; Núñez del Prado 1969, 19; Silverblatt 1987, 119; Bernand-Muñoz 1989, 229–30; Albó and Mamani 1976, 9). While it is still unclear how and when parallel surname transmission gave way to the allocation of surnames through the male line, it almost certainly resulted from an inexorable shift away from parallel inheritance and descent. Some southern Bolivian ayllu communities still display remnants of parallel surname transmission (Arnold 1988, 169). But as Ralph Bolton pointed out, the predominant mode in the contemporary Andes, Bolivia, and Pampa (at least with respect to legitimate offspring) “exhibit[s] a definite patrilineal bias. A child receives the paternal name from its father and mother” (Bolton 1977, 224).

Bolivian civil and family law, which closely paralleled Catholic canon law, probably also affected surname transmission. For example, Article 182 of the Bolivian *Código de familia* stresses the use of first the father’s surname and then the newborn’s mother’s surname (Torres Paredes 1988, 92), which is consistent with the predominant naming practices in contemporary Bolivia. Catholic canon law in Bolivia also influenced naming practices and surname transmission. For instance, in 1773 the Sucre synod railed against “gentile names” (Catholic Church 1854, 480), and a century later, the La Paz synod in 1883 stressed again the importance of baptizing children with “Christian names.” Consistent with contemporary practice, the latter also emphasized that “natural children” (illegitimate ones) should carry only their mothers’ surname (Catholic Church 1885, 36). The transmission of first surnames of

1885, 36). On the importance of Catholic provincial councils on daily Andean life, see Barnes (1992). For a synopsis of councils and synods in what is now Bolivia, see Barnadas (1976, 1985).

8. Lounsbury, citing text from the 1583 Tercer Concilio Limense, suggests that Church officials may have urged the continued use of parallel name transmission (1986, 134). The text in question apparently alluded to “current Spanish usage.” According to one anonymous *LARR* evaluator, “The whole question of inheritance of names is extremely vexed and the subject of considerable controversy among Andeanists.” This important text from the Tercer Concilio Limense reads: “Para que se eviten los yerros que en reiterar baptismo y matrimonio yndios no conocidos suelen acaecer; totalmente se les quite a los yndios el usar de los nombres de su gentilidad e ydolatría y a todos se les ponga nombres en el baptismo cuales se acostumbran entre christianos, y de estos mismos los compelan a usar entre sí. Mas los sobrenombres para que entre sí se diferencien, procúrese que los varones procuren los de sus padres, y las mugeres los de sus madres” (Lima Council 1951, 327). My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for calling my attention to this important point.

legitimate offspring through the male line thus has been the norm in Pampa and the Cochabamba region for some time (see also Paulson 1992, 300).

Birth Status and Surnames

Birth status—an individual's marking as a legitimate, illegitimate, or "natural" offspring—was intertwined with honor, sexuality, and marriage as well as the possibilities for achieving wealth, social position, and power. As such, it was paramount in colonial Latin and Spanish America (Twinam 1989; Gutiérrez 1991; Socolow 1989). Ann Twinam has pointed out that honor "was not only a heritage of racial and religious purity but a family history of proper action, as signified by generations of sanctified marriages and of legitimate births" (1989, 123). Illegitimacy, in contrast, pointed to uncontrolled sexuality and the lack of honor. It could be a serious impediment to accumulating wealth (only legitimate offspring could claim full inheritance rights) and could seriously undermine social mobility (Twinam 1989, 124; 1999).⁹

Birth status, specifically being classed as legitimate offspring, was so important in colonial Upper Peru (present-day Bolivia) that elite colonials, especially those from wealthy Potosí families, initiated legal proceedings and paid "huge sums to achieve legitimation" (Twinam 1989, 124–25). The secular and religious elites of the nascent Bolivian nation-state after 1825 also attached importance to birth status, as reflected in the many statutes (*artículos*) codified into the civil and family codes. These statutes were intended to mark clearly the birth status of all offspring, which rested primarily on the marital status of their progenitors, and to provide guidelines for determining paternal or maternal filiation through the intergenerational transmission of surnames.¹⁰ Both marking the birth status of all offspring and providing guidelines for determining filiation were important for acquiring wealth and laying claims to inheritance.

Bolivian laws distinguish among legitimate offspring (those born of a civil and a church-sanctified marriage ceremony), illegitimate offspring, and "natural" children. Illegitimate children are the offspring of an unmarried couple prohibited from marrying while *naturales* are born of parents who, although single, can marry if they wish to do so (Aspiazu 1923, 50, 198; Palza 1919, 272). Natural (but not illegitimate) children can aspire to and achieve legitimate birth status. They must first be acknowledged or "recognized" (*reconocido*) as offspring and then "legitimated" (*legitimado*) or labeled as legitimate. "Naturales" can be recognized and legitimated once their

9. Birth status and honor—and its linked correlates of sexuality, (female) virginity, and premarital sex—were as important for Andean colonial elites as for their elite counterparts elsewhere in Latin America. They were not meaningful, however, to colonial Andeans (e.g., Stavig 1995).

10. For a discussion of analogous issues and concerns elsewhere in Spanish and Latin America, see Gutiérrez (1991), Mannarelli (1993), and Potthast-Jutkeit (1996, 1997).

parents marry and can subsequently achieve the same judicial status as legitimate children born of a married couple (Palza 1919, 274). Illegitimate offspring by definition cannot become legitimate through the marriage of their progenitors (Aspiazu 1923, 202–3; Palza 1919, 257). Natural children may not be “recognized” or “legitimated” if their parents do not marry. The Andean ethnographic and historical record has consistently emphasized the enduring importance of socially sanctioned unions (*tantanaku* or *servinaku* in Quechua; *juntados* or *concubinados* in Spanish) that precede the civil and church-sanctioned marriage. Given such a pattern of marriage and household formation, high rates of illegitimate or natural children can be expected, and only some in the latter category will be subsequently recognized and legitimated.¹¹

The formal distinction in Bolivian law between legitimate and non-legitimate birth status is significant for at least four reasons. The first is that birth status is closely intertwined with inheritance: only legitimate and legitimated offspring can claim equal shares of inheritance from their fathers, while illegitimate and natural offspring not yet recognized can claim inheritance only from their mothers. Natural children who have been recognized but not legitimated (“*naturales reconocidos*”) are entitled to only one-third of a legitimate child’s share (Aspiazu 1923, 196; Palza 1919, 259; Terrazas 1887, 41). These legal restraints reinforce the importance attached to partible bilateral inheritance widespread in the Andean and Bolivian countryside (Guillet 1992, 120; Arnold 1988, 254; Bolton 1977, 223; Paulson 1992, 254–56; Platt 1982, 66; Balán and Dandler 1986; Izko Gastón 1986, 93–94; Gose 1994) and emphasized by Bolivia’s legal codes. In contemporary Pampa, bilateral inheritance is the norm, although sons rather than daughters are usually the first and sometimes the only ones to inherit land. Pampeños also stress that only legitimate and legitimated offspring are entitled to an equal share of land from both father and mother while illegitimate or natural children can inherit only from their mothers.¹²

Second, the ethnographic record also emphasizes how surname transmission (partly a function of birth status) is interwoven with marriage practices in allowing future spouses to determine categories of potentially marriageable and nonmarriageable partners. For instance, according to Isbell

11. Illegitimate or natural children can therefore be the result of two rather different culturally relevant contexts: wedlock (sporadic sexual encounters) or a *tantanaku-servinaku* relationship. This socially and culturally relevant distinction may also pertain to understanding patterns of surname transmission. Civil marriage was legally mandated in Bolivia only in 1911 (Jurado 1914, 198–205). But this legal requirement apparently made few inroads into rural marriage practices. A subsequent law of 1941 dealing with “indigenous marriages” (*matrimonios de indígenas*) declared that religious marriages have “equal judicial effects” to civil ones (see Cosío 1951, 399).

12. This ideology strongly parallels colonial Spanish laws stipulating, “sons of married Indian women should be considered to be sons of the husbands . . . , and sons of unmarried Indian women should follow the lineage of the mother” (Wightman 1990, 257).

“the primary marriage rule” in Chuschi, Peru, “holds that ego [an individual] cannot marry anyone who shares his paternal and maternal surnames” (1977, 105). Javier Albó and Mauricio Mamani inferred a similar rule in the department of La Paz, where they found “thorough exogamy between those who carry the same surname within the same community” (1976, 17). The norm against marriage with a partner sharing an identical first (but not always paternal) surname is also repeatedly stressed in contemporary Pampa and has deep historical roots. Parish records indicate that out of 543 church-sanctioned marriages between 1803 and 1976, only two joined individuals who shared first surnames. Thus in almost two centuries, virtually no Pampeño married someone (Pampeño or otherwise) who shared his or her first surname—a remarkably consistent norm barring marriages between those who must have considered each other close kin (Sanabria 1997).¹³

Third, the categorical distinction between legitimate and nonlegitimate birth status in Bolivian jurial codes is often a formal one, meaning that such a distinction may not be reflected elsewhere in society or “on the ground.” Although deeply entrenched in Spanish colonial church and civil laws (see Potthast-Jutkeit 1997), differentiation between legitimate and non-legitimates may not have been as meaningful and widespread as one might suspect. For example, forms used by the Bolivian Registro Civil between 1940 and 1948 to register deaths required that the deceased be classed only as a legitimate or natural child (“*hijo legítimo o natural*”). Subsequent entries allowed for the deceased to be classed only as legitimate or illegitimate, but the word *natural* often appears in lieu of illegitimate. This distinction is not meaningful in Pampa, where the terms *naturales* and *ilegítimos* are used interchangeably (although *natural* is the preferred word). This usage almost certainly resulted from Pampa’s history as an hacienda community where landowners held legal control over land but peasant tenants developed their own system of transmitting usufruct rights to land prior to the agrarian reform (Sanabria 1993, 93–116).

Fourth and last, birth status is important because it is closely linked to surname transmission in Pampa (Sanabria 1993, 230–31) and elsewhere in Cochabamba (Paulson 1992, 300). Pampeños currently stress that legitimate and legitimated offspring are entitled to both paternal and maternal first surnames, while illegitimate and natural progeny carry only their mothers’ surname, repeated twice (Sanabria 1993, 231). The contemporary logic of surname transmission is to emphasize in an unambiguous way the importance of genealogical links through the male line as well as the significance of coupling individuals with the ascribed social status of their socially recognized fathers.¹⁴ This amalgamation of genealogical linkages with as-

13. Andean peasant women have always retained their own surnames after marriage.

14. It is therefore erroneous to interpret the passing down of surnames from mother to daughter and from father to son as a practice exemplifying parallel descent.

TABLE 1 Percentage of Baptismal Birth Statuses by Period, Sacaba Parish, Bolivia, 1803–1974

Birth Status	1803–1857 (%)	1858–1913 (%)	1914–1974 (%)
Legitimate	61.3	69.6	60.3
Illegitimate	33.5	25.4	31.7
Not specified	5.2	5.0	7.9
Legitimized	0.0	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: N equals 3,327

cribed birth status in local ideology and practice, inscribed in Bolivian legal codes and reflected in church canon law, is in my opinion part of the aftermath of the agrarian reform in Pampa.

Birth Status and Surname Transmission: What the Parish Records Reveal

According to Sacaba parish records, 3,327 Pampeño infants were baptized between 1803 and 1974, 63 percent of them legitimate and 30 percent illegitimate.¹⁵ The relative proportions of legitimate and illegitimate baptized infants remained fairly constant between 1803 and 1974, hovering at around 60 percent legitimate and 25 to 30 percent illegitimate (see table 1).¹⁶

Yet a closer examination of the cumulative distribution of the birth status of baptized infants between 1914 and 1974 suggests a potentially different pattern. The data in table 2 reveal that around 1952, legitimate baptisms began a rapid increase over illegitimate baptisms. For example, between 1939–1951 and 1952–1964, the number and proportion of baptized infants increased from under 14 percent to slightly over 30 percent of all baptized infants, but the percentage of legitimate births increased far more rapidly than illegitimate births (from 10 to 31 percent, compared with an increase of only 7 percent of illegitimates).

Tables 1 and 2 strongly suggest that between 1803 and 1974, the relative proportion of legitimate and illegitimate baptized infants remained constant, with about twice as many legitimate baptisms as illegitimate ones, but that around 1952, legitimate baptisms increased much faster than illegit-

15. Except for two instances in which infants were classified as legitimized, the birth status of the remaining 7 percent did not surface in the baptismal entries.

16. While the distinction between “naturales” and “ilegítimos” surfaced in parish baptismal (and death and marriage) entries—and later in civil registry records—the process and criteria by which parish priests classed some infants as “naturales” and others as “ilegítimos” remain unclear. For purposes of this analysis, the “illegitimate” category also includes those labeled “natural.”

TABLE 2 *Cumulative Percentage of Baptismal Birth Statuses in Sacaba Parish, Bolivia, 1914–1974*

<i>Birth Status</i>	<i>1914–1926</i>	<i>1927–1938</i>	<i>1939–1951</i>	<i>1952–1964</i>	<i>1965–1974</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>(%)</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>(%)</i>
Legitimate	17.9	13.7	9.8	31.5	27.1	100.0
Illegitimate	15.9	11.8	20.7	27.7	24.0	100.0
Not specified	23.2	20.4	19.7	36.0	0.7	100.0
Legitimized	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100.0
Percentage of total baptized	17.8	13.6	14.0	30.6	24.0	100.0

Note: N equals 1,851

imate ones. This change implies a consistent regularity in the social processes generating such a steady distribution of legitimate and illegitimate baptisms. Specifically, baptismal records suggest that the rate of formation of both *tantanaku* marital unions, which generate offspring who by definition are not marked as legitimate in baptismal entries, and church-sanctioned marriages, the offspring of which are invariably classed as legitimate, remained surprisingly constant between 1803 and 1974.

If surname transmission is analyzed according to the extent to which legitimate or illegitimate baptized infants shared their paternal or maternal first surname, the baptismal entries reveal a surprisingly different pattern. Of the 3,327 infants baptized between 1803 and 1974, 664 (some 20 percent) were identified by both names and first surnames.¹⁷ The first surnames of 648 of these infants matched those of their fathers or mothers, and 87 percent (559) shared an identical surname with their fathers.¹⁸ Forty-five percent of the baptized infants whose surname matched their fathers' were males, as compared with 42 percent of the females, suggesting that the sex of an infant was not a key variable in how surnames were transmitted from either father or mother to offspring.¹⁹ Birth status rather than sex appears to have had a far more significant relation to the transmission of first surnames. An

17. This analysis is admittedly based on a small sample (slightly less than 20 percent of all baptized infants whose names and surnames are known). But other lines of evidence suggest that these data are representative of Pampa as a whole. For example, given the earlier discussion of birth status and legitimacy, I would expect the names and surnames of fathers to appear in baptismal records in which infants are classed as legitimate. This is in fact what parish data reveal. In over 80 percent (1,829) of the 2,236 records in which the fathers' but not infants' surnames appear, offspring are classed as legitimate. Therefore, it seems almost certain that these infants carried their paternal first surname.

18. Thirty-nine percent of these 648 infants were classed as legitimate, and 58 percent as illegitimate. The birth status of 3 percent of the infants was not recorded.

19. An analysis of death records supports such a conclusion: deceased male and female infants shared their fathers' surname in almost equal percentages (49 percent of males and 46 percent of females).

analysis of the distribution of first and second surnames according to birth status reveals two noteworthy results.

The first point in the relationship between the birth status of infants and the surnames they were assigned when baptized is that while virtually all legitimate infants shared their fathers' but not their mothers' surname, the percentage of illegitimate infants who also carried their fathers' first surname was far higher (77 percent) than those carrying their mothers' surname. This correlation between illegitimate birth status and the bearing of paternal surnames contrasts with contemporary naming practices in Pampa (which link legitimacy and paternal surnames) as well as with inheritance rules that emphasize the cardinal importance of legitimacy for laying claims to property through the paternal line. Civil registry and fieldwork data suggest nevertheless that in the past, legally illegitimate infants born to cohabitating spouses in a *tantanaku* relationship (a socially sanctioned marital union expected to lead to marriage) were assigned their father's surname and therefore classed differently from other illegitimate infants born of a fleeting sexual encounter. The latter were also illegitimate offspring but would invariably receive only their mother's surname. It is therefore likely that many if not all children of unmarried couples in a *tantanaku* marital union were socially and culturally equated with legitimate offspring.²⁰ These data suggest that in contrast to Bolivian secular and Catholic elites, at least until 1952, birth status was not a meaningful domain in the everyday lives of *Pampeños*, who attached far more importance to genealogical reckoning through the male line, signaled by a consistent system of intergenerational paternal first surname linkages.

The second major point is the irregular distribution of legitimate and illegitimate infants carrying paternal surnames between 1817 and 1973 (table 3). Between 1817 and 1866, almost 26 percent of legitimate infants but over 74 percent of illegitimate infants bore paternal first surnames. In the following fifty years, the percentage of illegitimate infants with fathers' surnames remained more than twice that of legitimate infants.

Between 1917 and 1973, however, the distribution changed dramatically, when 82 percent of legitimate offspring carried their paternal surname while less than 5 percent of illegitimates did. The turnaround appears to have taken place by 1953 (table 4). From 1917 to 1926, the percentage of illegitimate infants who bore their fathers' surname was still almost twice as high as their legitimate counterparts carrying their paternal surnames. By

20. Parish death records similarly suggest strong links among legitimacy, illegitimacy, and the bearing of paternal first surnames. For example, all but 5 of the 301 legitimate *Pampeños* who died between 1803 and 1972, as well as more than 90 percent of those who died illegitimate, carried their fathers' surname. Paulson, who worked in the nearby Mizque Valley, has stressed, "little social distinction is made between couples who are married and those who are cohabitating. . . . in Quechua terms the status distinction is not marked" (1992, 180).

TABLE 3 *Percentage of Infants Sharing Fathers' First Surname in Sacaba Parish, Bolivia, 1817–1973*

<i>Birth Status</i>	<i>1817–1866</i> (%)	<i>1867–1916</i> (%)	<i>1917–1973</i> (%)
Legitimate	25.6	29.5	82.3
Illegitimate	74.0	68.0	5.0
Not specified	0.4	2.5	12.1
Legitimized	0.0	0.0	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: N equals 559

contrast, between 1953 and 1963, 84 percent of legitimate offspring bore paternal first surnames while less than 2 percent of illegitimate infants did. This major shift suggests that by 1953, a novel importance had become attached to birth status—especially legitimate status—as well as a perceived need to couple genealogical relationships through the intergenerational allocation of paternal first surnames with legitimate birth status. By 1953 and the following decade, local norms and practices had become far more congruent with the importance attached to birth status and paternal surname reckoning by the state and elites and reflected in Bolivian legal codes.

What might explain such a radical shift in surname transmission from a pattern in which high percentages of illegitimate children carried their fathers' surname to one in which virtually none did? Clearly, it was not due to the disappearance of *tantanaku* unions in which illegitimate infants were assigned paternal surnames because ethnographic research has confirmed the continuing importance of marital cohabitation in Pampa and elsewhere in the Andes. As noted, the rate of formation of church-sanctioned marriages and *tantanaku* unions remained relatively constant between 1803 and 1974. In my view, the transformation in surname patterns in the early 1950s resulted from two related processes. The first was a context emerging from the agrarian reform that structured access to land and heightened the perceived need to reconfigure personal identity around birth status and paternal surnames. The second process accounting for the drastic turnaround of surname transmission was increased emphasis by church and state officials in an effort to bring popular conceptions of birth status and the transmittal of surnames more in line with prevailing legal practices and dominant norms.

The shift in surname transmission patterns makes sense in the context of the 1952–1953 revolution and agrarian reform, the most significant social transformation in Bolivia in the twentieth century (Malloy 1970). The agrarian reform resulted in the turning over of most of Pampa's cultivable land to former tenants, the direct impact of civil laws governing inheritance (which emphasized legitimate birth status), and redefined linkages between community membership and access to land (Sanabria 1993).

TABLE 4 Percentage of Infants Sharing Fathers' First Surname in Sacaba Parish, Bolivia, 1917–1973

Birth Status	1917–1926 (%)	1953–1963 (%)	1964–1973 (%)
Legitimate	30.8	84.0	100.0
Illegitimate	53.8	1.5	0.0
Not specified	15.4	13.8	0.0
Legitimized	0.0	0.7	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: N equals 181

Prior to the agrarian reform, Pampa and other haciendas may have been legally owned by the landowners, but most cultivable land was controlled by peasants and met their needs in return for the obligation to labor on hacienda land directly controlled by and for the landlord and to surrender part of the produce from their own land in tribute payments. Informal but entrenched inheritance norms and practices structuring access to usufruct rights to these plots had developed well before 1953, mirroring those in other Bolivian hacienda communities (Sanabria 1993, 100–101, 231; Turovsky 1980, 89; Simmons 1974, 101–8; Balán and Dandler 1986, 53, 162; Heyduk 1971, 124–25; Peinado Sotomayor 1971, 24; Carter 1964, 47). Peasants were allocated usufruct rights to their own land plots (*pegujales* or *pefales*) and attained the status of land-holding tenants (*colonos* or *pegujaleros*) only after marriage, and often once children were born. Those in a *tantanaku* relationship invariably resided in the groom's father's household, helping him work the *pegujal* and meet labor obligations to the hacendado. Only after marriage and the birth of children did males petition the hacendado for their own *pefal*. A hierarchy of claims based on age, sex, and marital status determined access to land before the agrarian reform. When a *colono* passed away, the eldest married son typically had the right to lay first claim to the *pefal* if he had none of his own, followed by junior male siblings who were married or in a *tantanaku* relationship. In Pampa before the agrarian reform, then, the prerequisites for laying claim to all or part of the father's land or for securing access to hacienda land were paternal filiation (marked by the sharing of paternal first surnames and residential propinquity) and having started the process of household formation. For sons who were not yet married, birth status was irrelevant.

The context structuring access to land changed dramatically after the agrarian reform. Pampa's lands were "frozen" into three relatively static categories: communally owned pasture lands, cultivable land legally retained by the landowner, and land plots (*dotaciones*) turned over to former tenants (*dotados*). Community membership restricted access to land and hinged on other criteria: *dotados*, now classed as community members, would transmit

membership rights to their descendants residing in Pampa, who would convey them in turn to future offspring. The flip side was that those who had left Pampa before the agrarian reform were not and could not become community members, meaning that neither they nor their descendants were entitled to land. Also surfacing at this time were strict inheritance rules emphasizing patrification and underscoring legitimate birth status, undoubtedly the result of the legalistic framework within which land titles were awarded (Thome n.d.). These structural changes in access to land intersected with a rising population, a trend long in the making.

This context of increasing rigidity in access to land and competition for it and other resources amidst social revolution and agrarian reform gave rise to the shift in surname transmission practices discernible from parish baptismal records. I propose that prior to 1953, illegitimate offspring of *tantanaku* marital unions (who usually shared their father's first surname) stood the same chance of gaining usufruct rights to land as their legitimate counterparts who also shared the paternal surname. This structural equivalence of legitimate and illegitimate births statuses in everyday life also resonated well with the social and cultural significance attached to these marital unions among Andeans. It would appear that after the agrarian reform, such structural equivalence was no longer adequate for unambiguously securing access to resources. I propose that in response, *Pampeños* began to emphasize legitimate birth status and couple it with the traditionally important practice of patrification (evidenced by the transmission of paternal surnames) in a creative attempt to cope with and dampen the potential for uncertainty.

The shift in the importance attached to legitimate birth status and paternal surnames that parish records reveal could only have been possible when parish priests too began to reconsider how they went about categorizing and identifying infants about to be baptized. While considerable research is still needed, the virtual disappearance from the parish registers of illegitimate infants carrying their paternal surname could not have taken place without a systematic effort at the parish level to refuse to assign paternal first surnames to infants of nonmarried parents. Because such a practice conforms with prevailing legal codes, it seems likely that after the agrarian reform, parish priests made a concerted effort to follow national legal procedures more closely in ascribing birth status and paternal first surnames.²¹

21. Another closely related possibility is that parish priests (and perhaps civil registry officials as well) may have begun recognizing widespread *tantanaku* relationships as socially (if not morally) equivalent to "legitimate marriages" and therefore classed their offspring as legitimate. This possibility does not necessarily conflict with the arguments and hypotheses of my research. In this sense, the political context could have affected the "bookkeeping" criteria of the record keepers. I owe this idea to an anonymous *LARR* reviewer.

Conclusions

I began by suggesting that Andeanist anthropologists ought to pay more attention to the potential of parish records for alerting researchers to the local impact of important historical processes. By focusing on what baptismal entries in a Bolivian parish reveal about the transmission of surnames, I have suggested a significant shift in local constructions of and relationships between birth status and surname transmission as a direct response to the profound legal, political, economic, and social transformations brought about by the Bolivian revolution and agrarian reform of 1952–1953. This resulting change was more closely aligned with state, church, and elite norms and ways of thinking and categorizing. This hypothesis needs to be substantiated by additional research. In particular, it would be helpful to understand better the extent to which such a shift represented early on a corresponding modification of behavior “on the ground.”²² If my hypothesis is correct, then close attention to parish data will have allowed the opportunity to pinpoint a reconfiguration of personal and collective identity—indeed an amplification of identity markers—among former Cochabamba hacienda tenants.²³ Years ago, in his work in a Swiss mountain village, Robert Netting pointed out, “there is value in the exercise of wringing . . . parish books . . . for every scrap of evidence they contain” (1981, 157). In this essay, I have proposed that it may be wise for Andeanist anthropologists to heed this suggestion.

22. Contemporary norms and practices in Pampa resonate well with my hypothesis (see Sanabria 1993, 98–106, 230–32). Yet the distinct possibility exists that the rapid jump in legitimate births and its connection to changes in surname transmission in the early 1950s might have simply reflected an attempt by parish priests and local peasants to commit “fraud” in response to the new political and legal context. In this case, such a shift in birth status may have meant little socially and culturally in everyday life. (I am grateful to a *LARR* anonymous reviewer for raising this important point.) Continued fieldwork in Pampa will allow me to grapple with this issue eventually, but another way to come to grips with the possibility of “fraud” and complicity at the parish level is to compare and contrast parish data with civil registry records and notarial documents, an endeavor in which I am currently engaged.

23. This reconfiguration of personal identity may have been grounded in or spurred by the newly acquired sense of citizenship (and citizenship rights and obligations) engendered by the 1952 revolution. (My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for this important insight.) The extent to which Pampeños might have bothered to register life-cycle events in the civil registry offices of Sacaba or Cochabamba (see note 22) might also suggest the extent to which a new sense of citizenship played a role in transforming birth status and the transmission of surnames.

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