

15

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Caciques, Tribute and Migration in the Southern Andes

**Indian Society and the 17th Century
Colonial Order
(Audiencia de Charcas)**

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CACIQUES, TRIBUTE AND MIGRATION

IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES

Indian Society and the 17th Century Colonial Order

(*Audiencia de Charcas*)

‘... the reason for the depopulation of these Provinces and towns lies (as we have already mentioned) in the failure for so many years to repatriate migrant indians to their homes, so that today it would be impossible to find out the identity of each indian, since to disguise their origins they deny their home towns, and even those of newly born children, who are plausibly attributed to different unspecified regions ...’¹

‘... it is true that the lords and governors of most of the indian towns known to this witness send out their *hilacatas* and tribute-collectors to the places where those of their absentee indians are to be found, in order to charge them tribute and rotative labour-services, saying their turn has come round ...; and it does not help them to be absent in distant parts, because wherever they may be they have to pay their dues ...’²

It has often been stated that the Spanish colonisation of the Andes produced the fragmentation of pre-Columbian socio-political communities and the progressive dissolution of ethnic bonds.³ As a result (it is thought) the members of powerful ethnic groups in the South Andean region, called ‘nations’ (*naciones*) or ‘provinces’ (*provincias*) by the chroniclers, and characterised by ethnologists as ‘kingdoms’ (*reinos*) or ‘chiefdoms’ (*señoríos*), were gradually grouped together under the common denominator of *Indians*, distinguished by the use of a

special language and by ‘their gentile rites, adoring mountains, confessing to sorcerers, and practising innumerable other superstitions, as is notorious’.⁴

In a previous article, I analysed the socio-ethnic response of the Indian world to colonial pressures. In the 1570s, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had embarked on an extensive rationalisation of the Spanish imperial system: the imposition on the Indians of the *Corregidores*, the re-grouping of Indian settlements into new towns (*pueblos de reducción*), the monetisation of the tribute, and the periodic dispatch of Indian landowners to the mines, cities, textile mills and landed estates (*mitas*). I showed how this administrative reform had already been upset by the end of the century, owing to demographic shifts. The dispersion caused by epidemics, the reoccupation of pre-Hispanic settlements, the flight from new towns subject to the *mita* of Potosí to the ‘free’ Provinces or to the cities, all had combined to produce a fall in the native population of the South Andean highlands to one half of its previous strength by a century after the Toledan reforms. Simultaneously, new social and fiscal categories (*forasteros* and *yanaconas*), located principally in the Valley towns and *haciendas*, and in the Indian parishes of the mining and urban centres, increased in equal proportion. This process also brought with it a serious alteration in Andean territorial organisation: the towns which possessed resources scattered over different zones of the ‘vertical’ eco-system (often far away and territorially discontinuous) began to lose jurisdiction over their distant ‘colonies’ (*mitimaes*) and lands, losses which consolidated the process of absenteeism and uprootedness among much of the Indian population.

This social and geographic reorganisation of the South Andean world might appear to highlight the triumph of divisive market pressures and of colonial policy. The abandonment of the towns and the changes in fiscal category could indicate the dissolution of pre-Columbian segmentary organisation in favour of a social order permeated by market relations. The tributaries (*hatunruna*) of the Kanchi, Lupaqa, Sura and Chicha federations would thus have been deprived of their ethnic affiliation, and recategorised as ‘natives’ (*naturales* or *originarios*), ‘strangers’ (*forasteros* or *agregados*) or ‘dependants’ (*yanaconas*) within different types of specifically Colonial agricultural units. It is true that these categories indeed emerged as a result of intense internal migrations within the vast quadrilateral formed by the urban districts of Cusco, Arequipa, La Plata and Tarija. These socio-juridical changes have been interpreted, as a result of the importance of the last two categories, as expressing an internal ‘rupture’ or process of ‘ethnic *desinscription*’ within Andean society.⁵ Beneath these apparent changes, however, there is certain evidence which argues for the persistence of links between migrants and their original communities. The question that emerges, then, is whether this general resettlement may not also represent a new social and political strategy by the Andean peasantry.

In the course of a long debate, originating in the 17th century itself, over the effects of the *mita* of Potosí, which had set the dominant estates of colonial society against one another as competitors for peasant labour, it has been suspected that intermediary agents (the notorious *caciques*, *Corregidores*, and clergy) may have diverted in their own interests large numbers of 'absent' or 'fugitive' Indians missing from the tribute and *mita* registers. At the heart of the matter was whether the *caciques* maintained control over the migrants or not.⁶

The evaluation of the social and demographic processes in the Andes throughout the 17th century depends on the answer to this question. It should be pointed out at once that there is no single answer, or rather that the answer depends on the informant: the *caciques* argue that they have lost control and the colonial authorities that they have not. There is here an important administrative and fiscal problem, whose obvious economic and financial implications cannot be underestimated. More important for us is the fact that in some cases the *caciques* appear to be right, but in others to be concealing the truth. There emerges a complex picture in which the relationships of the migrants to their *cacique* and town of origin are subject to various degrees of pressure, which do not necessarily end in complete rupture. An analysis of these relationships is necessary, although it must be admitted that in general the documentation does not permit a clearly defined picture of the internal structure of the Andean *ayllu*.

In fact the demographic and fiscal series are themselves incomplete and defective, and we must wait for the *numeración* of the Duque de La Palata (1683–84) in order to obtain comprehensive information: the true circumstances concealed by the categories adopted in the census have yet to be analysed in detail. More reliable (even if equally manipulated) are the legal disputes, given the differences in perspective they contain. Litigation over land, the 'charges brought against certain governors by their Indians', accusations against Indians of attempting to escape their community obligations — all reveal much more complicated local situations than those reported by the *Corregidores* and other inspectors. They can help us determine the real attitudes of the *caciques* towards colonial demands, as well as the way in which the migrants were adopted into their new towns of residence, without always losing contact with their towns of origin.

The study of colonial assaults upon the ethnic and territorial cohesion of the peoples of the southern Andes forces us to ask how the inhabitants achieved spatial, temporal and social integration. Throughout the long century between Toledo and La Palata, the answers vary according to regional circumstances. I hope that this examination of the *Punas*, *Valleys* and *Yungas* between Cusco and Potosí will be seen as a preliminary attempt to chart these regional and diachronic diversities.

I. The *Caciques* in Relation to the *Mita* of Potosí

The new human realities of the southern Andes as depicted in 17th-century reports concern the impact of labour in the mines and of the market organised around it.⁷ The periodic dispatch of indigenous labourers to the silver mines (Potosí, Porco, Oruro, Puno, and other highland camps) represented the most important tributary obligation for the 150 towns of the 16 provinces subject to this forced recruitment (fixed for Potosí by Viceroy Toledo in 1578 and modified by Marqués de Montesclaros in 1613). Toledo's reorganisation was based upon the ancient ethnic divisions of the southern Andes. The ten *mita* 'captaincies' (*capitanías de mita*) included the 'nations' between Cusco and Potosí: Kana, Kanchi, Qulla, Lupaqa, Pakasa, Sura, Karanqa, Killaqqa, Charka and Karakara (to which must be added three groups who came sporadically to Potosí: Kullawa, Kunti and Chicha). They were distributed, according to the ancient dual partition, into two geographic and symbolic sections, the 'higher' — *urqusuyu* — to the west, and the 'lower' — *umasuyu* — to the east.⁸

It must be pointed out that, within this administrative model, the limits of the *capitanías* (or of their dual division) do not correspond to those of the colonial Provinces (*corregimientos*) nor even to those of the ancient ethnic divisions themselves considered from both a horizontal (high plateau *señoríos*) and a vertical perspective (the complementary relationship of Puna/Valley/Yunga). A careful distinction must be made between those Puna towns with some subjects in other Valley towns belonging to the same Province (or at least to another 'obliged' to contribute to the *mita*), and those which have them in 'free' Valley towns (i.e. those exempted from the *mita*). For example, the Pakasa had their Puna divided into two sections (*urqu-uma*) and distributed amongst three Provinces (Pacajes, Sica Sica, Omasuyos): their *mitimaes* lived in the lowland towns of 'free' Provinces (Larecaja, Arica), and in the 'free' Valley towns (*quiruas* valleys) of a Puna Province 'obliged' to provide *mita* Indians (Sica Sica). In another case, the town of Capinota, in the western highlands of the Province of Cochabamba ('obliged' to contribute), is occupied by Sura *mitimaes* (whose highland settlements are in the province of Paria) belonging to the 'the captaincy of the Charka and Sura nations' (in the *umasuyo* sector). These conflicting administrative divisions take on an increasingly important role in the struggles between the mining agents of Potosí and the regional *Corregidores* over the exploitation of indigenous labour (see Table 1). They are also at the root of the difficulties experienced by the *capitanes de mita* and by the *caciques* in the central highlands in retrieving their subjects who had fled to the lower peripheral regions.

The other factor which can help us evaluate the impact of the migrations concerns the precise nature of the contributions made by the towns obliged to fulfil the obligations of the *mita* in Potosí. Already in 1585 Capoche was indignantly denouncing the recent practice of

commuting missing *mitayos* for monetary compensation (roughly equivalent to 7 *pesos* per week). His complaints went unheeded: the monetarisation of the *mita* became widespread and accounted for between one third and one half of the annual quota in the first decades of the 17th century. The Kana, the Kanchi, the Lupaqa, the Pakasa and the Charka preferred to send *mitayos*, while the Karakara and the Killqa opted for a combination of the two solutions.⁹ In fact the Qulla took up all three options according to Province: those of *urqusuyu* (Lampa or Cabana) predominantly in money, those of *umasuyu* (Azangaro) in labour, and those of Paucarcolla half and half. It is also important to contrast the attitudes of the two great divisions of the Charka confederation: the Charka ('lower' section) met their obligations in labour, and the Karakara (whose territory included the mines of Potosí) in money (in 1617, 83 per cent of the *mitayo* labourers assigned to them failed to appear in person). Finally, it is interesting to contrast, on an inter-regional level, the dispatch of *mitayos* by the most northerly towns (Kana, Kanchi), or by those of the centre (Lupaqa, Pakasa), with the payment in money made by the southern towns closer to Potosí (Karakara, Killqa, Karanqa).

Several factors may explain these regional differences with regard to the *mita* of Potosí. Without discounting those of a circumstantial nature (climatic, biological or political crises) which have yet to be established, it is possible to infer the readiness of the towns to meet their obligations from their human and/or financial resources. Some prefer to send people whose complementary commercial activities (the sale of inputs, such as candles or *ichu*), as well as their salaries, would reinforce their financial capacity to pay the money tribute (*tasa*); others have already obtained, through similar commercial activities (the supply of grain, meat, wood, charcoal and other inputs to the mining market), enough money to exempt themselves entirely from obligatory labour in the mines. Others who lack an adequate supply of labour are entirely dependent upon the commercial skills of their *caciques*. These human and monetary resources can also be related to the geographical position of each *capitanía* in relation to the major commercial routes (Arequipa/Cusco-Chucuito-Potosí, Potosí-Arica), and to their ecological resources (the maintenance of 'vertical' jurisdiction over Valley lands).

The economic success of the *caciques* and the *capitanes de mita* in the face of colonial demands, or their failure and the consequent fragmentation of their towns, must therefore be considered within the local historical process of each regional entity. Three cases will illustrate the divergent fortunes of the colonial *caciques* with regard to the mining *mita*.

a) The Lupaqa

The Lupaqa represent one of the most prestigious ethnic groups in Andean history, and are currently one of the best known as a result of the publication of the summary of an inspection of 1567, as well as subsequent studies.¹⁰ In 1610 their ‘rotative labourers’ (*mitayos*) worked in the Potosí mines as *barreteros* (faceworkers), and were categorised as ‘skilled’ (*diestros*), but their annual quota began to decline in numerical terms. Until the 1630s between one third and one half of the designated numbers were missing, in spite of the fact that the number of adult tributaries stayed more or less the same (according to the report of the bishop of La Paz in 1618, they had lost a little more than one thousand of the 17,000 registered in 1574). Those who were in Potosí were easily able to replace their labour obligations with money (‘... they grow lazy and don’t wish to work or climb the silver-mountain knowing that the mineowner (*azoguero*) will be content with 7 *pesos* instead’),¹¹ but the *capitanes de mita* had to pay out ever-increasing sums to replace those that they had been unable to recruit in the province of Chucuito. After 1630, the obligation became too onerous. Two thirds were missing, and the *mita* was met ‘at enormous cost’.

The *caciques* of Acora, one of the Lupaqa towns, who were repeatedly named *capitanes generales de mita* (we know this for the years 1617, 1625, 1628, 1631, 1634 and 1641) obtained in 1634 a decree whereby the obligation would be divided on the level of each town (for which a *capitán chico* would be responsible) — a decree it would take decades to implement. Indeed, in 1641 they had to supplement the Indians missing from one moiety (*parcialidad*) with those from the other (the *cacique* of *urin-saya* gave ‘thirty Indians’ instead of the required 120), and their responsibility remained the same.¹² Nevertheless, we can see confirmation of this increasing demographic decline in the reduction, in 1662, of the *mitayos* officially owed by the *capitanía* of Chucuito from the 1854 individuals established by Viceroy Montesclaros to a mere 147.¹³ Where had the Lupaqa tributaries disappeared to? Let us first examine other cases.

b) The Pakasa

The neighbouring Province of Pacajás shows a similar process. A ‘description’ of 1608 reveals a number of tributaries only slightly lower than the figure for 1575,¹⁴ and in Potosí some of their *mitayos* were ‘good face-workers (*barreteros*) and others ore-carriers (*apires*)’. But in the following decades, their demographic decline became catastrophic, as in other provinces of the Altiplano: towns were deserted and the quotas of *mitayos* reduced to one half or one third.¹⁵ The situation was exacerbated by exceptional local crises: the towns of San Andrés and Santiago de Machaca suffered constant aggression from the Uru population who took refuge in the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca, and a number of

the inhabitants ('more than one thousand families') of Tiahuanaco and Guaqui perished when the Potosí reservoirs burst their dams in 1626.¹⁶

The relative success of the Pakasa in meeting the obligations of tribute and *mita* is related to the fortunes of don Gabriel Fernández Guarachi (1603-1673), lord and governor of Jesús de Machaca (after 1620), who was nominated *capitán de mita* a dozen times between 1628 and 1662, and who was the author of various reports denouncing the calamitous effects of the *mita* and of the *hacienda* in the southern Andes.¹⁷ In 1633, nominated as *capitán* for the following year, he made attempts to repatriate the Indians dispersed outside the Province: 'this Province has no Indians and those who must go to Potosí will have to be provided by the absenteers (*ausentes*)'.¹⁸ In view of opposition from the La Paz authorities to his retrieval of his subjects resident in the city, he offered his resignation,¹⁹ which was refused by the *Corregidor*. On 1st December, 513 Indians were missing from the 1204 assigned to the Province.²⁰ In 1640, Fernández Guarachi also obtained a decree to partition the *capitanía general* (without achieving its implementation), and in the subsequent decades complaints and evidence began to multiply. The position of the *Corregidores* of Pacajes did not change: 'a *capitán general* is needed to commute this *mita* for money (*enterar esta mita con indios de plata*)', a commutation which rose to 30,000 pesos annually.²¹ In 1661 only '151 Indians were sent'.²² Does this drop reflect a fall in the Pakasa population as a whole, or does it rather reflect new forms of settlement and access to economic resources?

c) Cochabamba

The last case, which this time concerns a Valley province (where many Puna Indians took refuge), helps us to determine the specific difficulties of the 'obligated' provinces in the face of colonial demands for money and labour. The five towns thus affected in the valley of Cochabamba sent their quota of *mitayos* with even greater reluctance. A double census at the beginning and at the end of 1617 shows that between two thirds and three quarters of the Indians were missing in Potosí, and the *Cabildo* of Cochabamba comments that 'the districts (*repartimientos*) and Indian towns are empty and without Indians owing to their death and destruction by sickness and in the mines and refining-mills (*ingenios*) of Potosí'. In fact, incomplete census figures for the 1620s indicate a fall in the tributary population equivalent to one half of that established by Toledo (see Table 2.).

This inability to fulfil their obligations to provide Indian labourers on the part of the *capitanes de mita*, manifest in each of these three cases — a crisis which becomes more acute in the second third of the 17th century — leads us to consider the human potential of each province. In fact, the ability of the *caciques* to gather men or money in order to contribute to

labour and monetary levies (*mita* and *tasa*) was as dependent upon their economic success as upon the demographic health of the *ayllus* resident in their towns. The incomplete census of 1645 happily throws some light upon population movements during the first half of the century.²³ It reveals an overall transfer of the Puna population to the cities and the valleys under new socio-juridical conditions. In the 'obligated' provinces, the demographic decline is dramatic. The Lupaqa, Pakasa or Karanqa 'natives' (*naturales*) lost between three quarters and four fifths of the 'native' tributary population they had had at the time of Toledo, and regained scarcely a fraction in 'strangers' (*forasteros*) and 'dependants' (*yanaconas*). Cochabamba lost two thirds of its 'natives' registered in 1575, but made up the same numbers with the new categories. Perhaps the ratio between the Indians of the first category and those of the last two acquires greater significance in regional comparisons. We must contrast the evidence of the three aforementioned ethnic groups with the provinces of Omasuyos and Sica Sica, where the *naturales* were outnumbered by the *forasteros* and *yanaconas* (with percentages of 41 to 59, and of 35.5 to 64.5 respectively). With regard to the valleys, the increase in population is even more marked, and we can speculate about the existence of a sub-register of the *yanaconas* on the cereal and wine-producing *haciendas* and in the coca plantations, who did not automatically belong to the category of *yanaconas del Rey* (i.e. they did not contribute to the royal funds): for example, the absence of *yanaconas* in the valleys of Mizque and Pocona (as far as Santa Cruz) and their scarce numbers in the valleys and Yungas of Sica Sica cannot fail to surprise us.

If we disregard the incomplete nature of the census of 1645, how can these statistics by region and fiscal category help us in relation to the problems presented by the 'obligated' towns, and the degree of control over their absentees in order to oblige them to contribute to the *mita* and monetary tribute? They can in fact be interpreted as expressing the regional tactics adopted to comply with the imposed obligations. The *caciques* of Paucarcolla, who were regularly imprisoned for failure to pay their towns' tribute (1647 and 1648), alleging that '[their towns] were all depopulated, and their Indians fled into remote parts and valleys where they know nothing of them', were nevertheless able to comply with the *mita* of Potosí.²⁴ In the province of Sica Sica, the town of Ayo Ayo, which 'had abandoned the *mita* of Potosí for 18 years', began to comply with their obligation again, sending their quota of tributaries as a result of the settlement (*reducción*) of absent Indians.²⁵

In the same way, the priest of San Pedro de Curaguara (Pacajes) 'brought his Indians back from different places outside their town of origin (*reducción*) and helped them 'to pay their tribute and deliver their *mitas* to Potosí'.²⁶ But in five other towns of the same Province, described as 'finished and dispersed', the tribute (equivalent to 40,000 *pesos* annually) could not be collected 'except just enough to cover the priest's synod, and the rest is just an extra charge which His Majesty and the

encomenderos see nothing of ...²⁷ Again, it was the *cacique* of Machaca, don G. Fernández Guarachi, who had already settled 'in his own town all those who had fled to hide in different parts',²⁸ in addition to 320 indians from Caquingora, and who had resolved in 1652 to supply the tributes of the five towns and the *mita* of Potosí.²⁹ His protest against the abuses of the *mita*, and the inability of the *capitanes* of Pacajes to comply with it, encouraged the authorities to carry out a survey which revealed in passing the financial resource represented by the hiring out of service indians for a year (*marahaques*), to the Spanish miners and ranchers (*estancieros*) in the Province: 'each year without exception great numbers of Spaniards go to the mining camp [of Topoco where the *mitayos* gather before leaving for Potosí] to find indians as *marahaques*, who are indians that serve for a year ...' (for the sum of 150 *pesos* annually), and it was frequently difficult to recuperate the indians who had been hired out.³⁰

Other *caciques*, without the same financial resources, were unable to collect men and/or money, and ended up in prison. Thus the Killqaqa, for example, commuted the *mita* for money during the first third of the century. But on various occasions (1652, 1657, 1661, 1667, 1677) don Felipe Choquetijlla, the *cacique* of *ayllu* Collana, 'old and infirm ... with thirty-four years' service as *capitán* of the *mitayos* of his Province', was forced to request the provision of 'protection and peace', because the *Corregidores* of Potosí or Paria 'are trying to make him continue these deliveries of *mita* indians', or threatened to take over the lordship (*cacicazgo*) of the town.³¹ He spent two years in prison, and his successor, Ignacio Blas, nominated in 1661 as '*capitán* of the *mita* for thirteen *ayllus* of the town of Hatun Killqaqa ...', had his goods embargoed, and was imprisoned along with his wife and his children for three years as a result of a shortfall of 900 *pesos* in contributions.³²

On the eastern shore of Lake Titicaca, the Province of Omasuyos in 1645 showed the most dramatic fall in the number of indian tributaries (a fall of $\frac{7}{8}$ in comparison with 1575), as well as a strong influx of *forasteros* (including some *mestizos*) and the farmlands (*estancias*) taken over by Spaniards. In 1667 the *caciques* of Laja offered evidence that their town 'is dispersed and without indians', and the priest testified that 'the aforementioned Governors, in order to deliver the royal *mita*, make use of indians called 'sons-in-law' (*yernos*) and 'nephews' (*sobrinos*) as well as the absentees in the City of Potosí and other places nearby'.³³ They therefore employed the services of the *forasteros* in their towns as well as those of their own 'absent' residents in Potosí and the surrounding valleys, which gives a different perspective on the strength of the bonds between migrants and their towns of origin, and on the obligations of the *forasteros* in their town of residence, which is contrary to the rupture of those bonds to be expected from the implementation of the statutes regarding absentees (*ausentes*), *forasteros* or *yanas*.

The survey of 1690 carried out in Potosí confirms the use of indian

migrants, residents in the city, for carrying out the *mita* obligations allocated to their towns of origin. Thus the *caciques* of Chucuito 'simply named the absentees living in the city for the annual *mita*, and the Kana and Kanchi absentees, 'as they live near to this city, generally come here personally and hire themselves out for the year's labour, and then return to their nearby dwellings leaving another indian in their stead'.³⁴

The involvement of absentee indians, who had become *forasteros* in another town, in the tributary obligations of their towns of origin (even if the *caciques* did not declare them to colonial inspectors) obliges us to reconsider the conclusions which have been based solely upon the numerical ratio of the different categories of tributaries listed in the censuses of 1645 and 1683-84. Already at the beginning of the century, two observers (an ex-*Corregidor* of Sica Sica and the priest of Ayopaya) wondered whether this new condition of the indians — 'those from one town exchanged with those of another', or those from the Puna 'mixed up' (*revueltos*) amongst those from the valleys — was not the result of anti-fiscal tactics or of other obscure arrangements yet to be clarified.³⁵ Their approach was to ask themselves about the exact status of the migrants. By examining the method and timing of the latter's prestations to the authorities, both of their towns of origin and of their towns of residence, we shall discern more clearly the financial resources developed by the *caciques* (either for their own benefit, or to pay the collective contributions). Kana, Qulla, Pakasa and Killqa reacted differently to the pressures of the mining *mita*: Potosí threw into relief the degree of socio-economic cohesion or disintegration developing within the *ayllus* of the Provinces 'obliged' to contribute. We have examined the fiscal impositions which threatened to undermine the *ayllus*; we must now turn to the social and political conditions which affected both the migrant and the reproduction of his groups of origin and residence. How did the migrants achieve social and spatial integration into the 17th-century colonial order?

II. Migration and Social Redefinition: the Ambiguities of Refuge

Migration is a practice deeply rooted in Andean history. The cyclical displacements (which geographers would call 'pendular' migrations) between the different zones of the Andean eco-system, whose duration varied according to the type of activity (harvest, pasture, crop cultivation, mining) and the geographic region, assumed different forms and meanings according to the nature of the dominant political system (tribal, imperial, colonial). The legacy of the *Tawantinsuyu* was transformed in the southern Andes into the partial persistence of the descendants of the Incaic *mitmaq* who had been settled in large numbers in the eastern valleys (from Carabaya to Tarija, through Cochabamba and Chuquisaca), in the mines (Chuquiabo, Porco), or in religious centres (Copacabana). Although some returned to their places of ethnic origin (for example, the

frontier garrisons), others began a process of ‘naturalisation’ in valleys such as Pocona or Larecaja,³⁶ or in the Indian parishes of the first cities (La Plata, La Paz). The ethnic groups nearby took advantage of the confusion which followed the Hispanic conquest to seize ownership of lands worked by their own *mitimaes* or *mitayos* for the benefit of the Inka (and which were sometimes recognised by the Spanish Crown: we can speculate that the ‘sale’ of lands in the valley of Cochabamba to the Karanqa was permitted by Toledo in return for the dispatch of *mitayos* to Potosí). The confusion was compounded during the colonial registration of the indigenous population: in the valleys, Spanish officials included in the local lists the *mitimaes* (called ‘settled folk’, *gente de asiento*, by Polo), and sometimes even seasonal migrants (*llactarunas*) from the highland centres.³⁷

As a result of the general inspection (*visita*) and re-settlement programme (*reducción general*) carried out by Toledo between 1572 and 1575, the highland centres and the *mitimaes* adopted different tactics with regional variations, in order to maintain their claim over the lands: the ‘colonists’ would be registered in highland or valley settlements (as ‘natives’), or even simultaneously in both towns, by virtue of their ‘dual residence’ (*doble domicilio*). When the pressures of their respective obligations became critical, disputes would flare up between the *caciques* of the Puna and those of the valley, as well as between the *mitimaes* and their highland kin.

The different methods of paying the tribute (*tasa*) fixed by Toledo reflect a similar diversity in the bonds between the ethnic groups of the highlands and the valleys, and constitute a reliable gauge of regional circumstances. The towns of Collao (in the basin of Lake Titicaca) showed a clear division between those of the eastern sector (*umasuyu*), whose tribute included contributions of maize (provided, presumably, by their *mitimaes* in the contiguous valleys of Larecaja and Carabaya), and those of the western sector (*urqusuyu*) which did not have to provide Valley produce. The example of the Lupaqa is even more revealing: the Puna nuclei did not have to supply Valley produce, but their *mitimaes* on both flanks of the Cordillera were registered and assessed separately (their tribute was maize and coca), except for those of the valley of Inquisivi (Capinota), who continued to be registered in their highland centres, and whose tribute was used to pay the salary of the priest of Capinota.³⁸ On the other hand, all the towns of the southern ethnic groups (Sura, Karanqa, Charka, Karakara, Killalaqa), which had their *mitimaes* in the valleys of the same province (Chayanta or Porco), or in those of Cochabamba and Chuquisaca, had their tribute converted into money, a fact which can be explained by their proximity to Potosí.³⁹

These different regional methods of relating the tribute to Valley production and to the mining market appear to be the factors which determine internal migrations within the southern Andes. Like Polo, we must

remember that the Puna towns could not live without the resources of the valleys, and that the seasonal migrations every year mobilised large sections of the Andean population.⁴⁰ The Indians of Macha (Karakara) 'took their turn' in the valleys during the month of October,⁴¹ but the *caciques* of the Collao came down during the same period to round up their migrants.⁴² Polo also explained that the rapid fortunes accumulated by the Puna *caciques* of the 16th century were due to their control of transport animals (llamas) and to the profits of inter-regional trade, enabling a number of them to pay with ease the contributions of the *tasa* and *mita*.⁴³ Therefore, another important factor in local and regional differences between the Puna towns reflects those which maintained direct access (collective, individual, or through the *cacique*) to their lands in the valleys, and those who lost them.

The routes, the volume, and the new categories of migrants all depended upon the type of bond which linked the inhabitants of Puna and Valley (ethnic filiation, mixed matrimonial alliances, preferential exchanges, wage labour). Unfortunately, a large part of this vertical dynamic escapes us through a lack of adequate documentation. Present-day surveys of rural areas have revealed the complexity of the process: one group or another (*ayllu*) in competition with its neighbours must keep up the pressure in order to conserve, expand, or, alternatively, to abandon its access to a certain sector of the valley.⁴⁴ These decisions and their motives were not registered in colonial reports, except in the case of litigation with Spanish *haciendados* (where the tribute obligations are the Indians' main argument). The settlement (*reducción*) of Toledo should have produced numerous cases of the disappearance of highland control over distant Valley plots, to which the effects of the epidemics (such as the serious outbreaks of the 1590s) must be added: the ethnic mosaic in the valleys must have become simplified.

On the other hand, it is difficult to distinguish complete disappearance from temporary non-occupation. The vicissitudes of the Lupaqa *mitimaes* in Larecaja demonstrate this: at the beginning of the 17th century 'they have shrivelled in size (*se han consumido*)', and their representative was able to pay the tribute in money, but not the quota of maize; in 1617 the Governor of Chucuito made sure that the tribute responsibility should be shifted to the local *Corregidor* (of Larecaja); in the second third of the 17th century, the *mitimaes* had sold their lands, but between 1656 and 1660 they requested their restoration from the appeal judge (*juez de desagravio*), and then re-sold them; in 1684, 25 *mitimaes* and *llactarunas* remained from the 70 registered in 1574. On the other hand, the valleys were overflowing with *forasteros* and *yanaconas* of the Lupaqa.⁴⁵ It is likely that there was a recurrent cycle of periodic occupation and abandonment, the circumstances of which are unknown. Climatic crises ('barrenness') which periodically affect the Andean eco-system (sometimes in conjunction with biological catastrophes, such as that of 1590-94) must have had a further detrimental effect on the financial circumstances of

those towns unable to fulfil their *tasa* or *mita* obligations (we know that there were serious difficulties in 1641 and 1661 for these reasons).

As a result of these cyclical crises, some *ayllus* had to sell off or rent out some of their communal lands. Therefore, in 1642, the leaders (*principales*) of the Arapa *ayllu* (Qulla *mitimaes* from the province of Azán-garo) settled in Hilabaya (Larecaja) decided to sell the lands of Machacamarca 'from the need to pay the tribute deficit owed by the absentee Indians of their *ayllu* who left in bad and sterile years ...'.⁴⁶ The excesses committed by those in charge of the land settlements (*jueces de composición de tierras*) provoked the protests of the *caciques* of Omasuyos whose *mitimaes* were unable to provide their contribution of maize. They admitted that 'the maize which should help feed us is sold off to pay the tribute and the *mita* of Potosí ...'.⁴⁷ Those same *caciques* did not hesitate to 'dispose of' (*quitar*) 170 ranches (*estancias*) belonging to their towns' *ayllus*, 'which served the *ayllus* to help pay their tribute and *mita*', in order 'to give them to Spaniards who enjoy their possession today'.⁴⁸ Such acts would explain why Omasuyos showed the largest drop in the numbers of 'natives' (*naturales*) and the largest proportion of *forasteros* amongst the Provinces of the *Puna* according to the census of 1645.

The availability of lands in the possession of the *ayllu* was the principal factor which conditioned migration. Because of the lack of precise regional surveys, we can only indicate certain trends. At the beginning of the 17th century, there does not appear to have been a shortage of land in the southern Andes. The first land survey (*visita de tierras*) in 1595 recognised the claims of the *ayllus* to large tracts of land, and stimulated only local protests over the dispossession either of intrusive Spaniards (as in the case of the lands of the Indians of the *Yungas* of Larecaja,⁴⁹ or of the *ayllus* themselves (as with the maize fields of Macha 'sold' to some inhabitants of La Plata, whose case went as far as the *Consejo de Indias*).⁵⁰ On the other hand, demographic losses must have 'freed' large areas of land, as in the case of the Sapahaqui valley, in the temperate valleys of La Paz (*repartimiento* of the Quiruas, in the Province of Sica Sica). In 1605 the Judge of Resettlements (*juez de reducción*) here discovered, alongside the 80 tributaries who were 'natives' (*naturales*), some 700 *forasteros* — which was explained by an ex-*Corregidor* as being 'because the local Indians, like all those of the valleys, were granted too much land ...';⁵¹ in 1628 the 85 'natives' were registered, but the Indians of the ranches (*estancias*) were not;⁵² in 1647, the *caciques* protested over the dispossession enacted by the Land Inspector (*visitador de tierras*) who sold 49 'ranches (*estancias*) they own on the slopes and peaks of the valley',⁵³ subsequently restored in the following inspection (*visita*).⁵⁴ In the neighbouring valleys of Palca (in the same *repartimiento*), land also appeared to be plentiful, in spite of the early appearance of the *hacienda*: in 1596, calculations were made on the basis of 7 *fanegas* of cultivable land per tributary (60 with pasture), an average which fell to 6½ (58 with pasture) in 1644. This meant that 150 tributaries shared out 600 *fanegas*

individually and collectively cultivated 335 *fanegas* for sowing, still leaving the *ayllu* with large tracts of unclaimed land.⁵⁵

Regional surveys help to determine the amount of land accessible to the *ayllu*. The most important fact is that the restoration (*restitución*) of lands in the middle years of the century did not halt the process of alienation: 'the *caciques* and private indians rent out their plots (*chacras*), lands and ranches, restored to their community (*común*) by don Gerónimo Luis de Cabrera, both to Spaniards and to half-castes and to indians of different Provinces', lamented the new land Judge (*juez de tierras*) of Hilabaya.⁵⁶ In this same town, at the head of the Larecaja valley, a significant dispute emerged between those in charge of the *ayllu* (all of them *mitimaes* originally from Collao) and their 'Lord-Governor' (*cacique-gobernador*) with regard to the allocation of surplus land. According to the latter, 'the *hilacatas* and other private indians do not own the land, and have no right to demand its allocation to indians and absentees who are returning thanks to my efforts ... and the said *hilacatas* are claiming the full extent of land, even the uncultivated areas, so as to instal indians in them to provide *them* with personal services ...'⁵⁷ This competition to instal 'immigrant' indians in the *ayllu* demonstrates the urge to amass a supplementary labour force. In the case of Hilabaya, we are fortunate in having some statistics at our disposal: in 1598, the tribute-paying *mitimaes* numbered 287; in 1660 they dropped to 72 but in 1683 they rose to 296 (the 'natives' numbered 27, 12 and 15 in the corresponding years). If we leave aside the variations in the numbers caused by the cycles of occupation, it is interesting to note that in the last year each *ayllu* of *mitimaes* included a certain number of *forasteros* (164 in total) and of *yanaconas del Rey*, or those 'who recognise no *cacique* and pay no tribute' (240 in total; the *yanaconas* on the ranches owned by Spaniards numbered 135). These last figures present a picture of the internal composition of an indian town which is far more complex than other analyses have given us to believe.⁵⁸

The province of Larecaja constitutes an exceptional region within the demographic history of the southern Andes in the 17th century: not only was it the only province whose 'native' population did not decline between 1575 and 1684, but it was also the only one whose total tributary population increased dramatically.⁵⁹ It was invaded by migrants (*foráneos* or *cimarrones*) at the very end of the 16th century, and the flow continued throughout the first half of the 17th century (in the summary of the census of 1645 it was the most populated province in the whole of the southern Andes, with a tenth of the total number of tributaries). For 1684, the details of its internal tributary structure (unavailable for other Provinces) can help us to put the problem of the precise status of the migrants in statistical form.

In order to evaluate the degree of socio-ethnic disintegration in the *ayllus* of the southern Andes we have presented the fiscal pressures and

demographic changes which both conditioned and reflected the external situation of the Indian towns in relation to colonial demands. Ostensibly, for the numerous eye-witnesses throughout the century which followed the resettlement of Toledo, these towns often appeared empty, 'with their Indians dispersed' and even in ruins (see note 6). The internal aspect of the re-settlement programme mentioned in the first part of this paper must now be examined. Given the increasing weight of the migrants, it is vital to investigate their true social circumstances. How can we distinguish between a *mitima*, a *llactaruna*, a *forastero* or a *yanacoma*, categories which in the 17th century were all relative to one another? In this period of intense social and economic mobility, these status-categories were not fixed: they changed meaning from one region to another (even from one town to another) and over time. The sources are scarce, and it is very rare for the voices of the migrants themselves to be audible. One indirect solution would be to determine the rights and obligations of the different categories of migrants, in an attempt to distinguish between their responsibilities towards their *ayllu* of origin, and those towards the *ayllu* (or town or *hacienda*) of residence.

The first change concerns the bond between the *mitimae*s and their ethnic nuclei on the Puna: while the *mitimae*s of the Province of Chayanta continued to fulfil their *mita* obligations in Potosí, those of Collao installed in the eastern valleys (Carabaya, Larecaja) were already exempt from this obligation at the beginning of the 17th century. Another regional comparison would show the Lupaqa *mitimae*s in Larecaja and Chicaloma paying their tribute after 1617 to the local *Corregidor* and not to their highland lords (*caciques de puna*), while the Pakasa *mitimae*s in the Quirua and Inquisivi valleys (in the Province of Sica Sica) continued to owe tribute to their nuclear towns on the Puna. Here, in 1654, the 'lord and commoners' of the Pakasa town of Tiahuanaco denounced their *encomendero*'s agent who 'on his own authority collects their tribute in kind and money ... and also charges the absentees ... and *mitimae*s in the (valley) towns of Cohoni and Collana in the Province of Sica Sica, who provide most of the tribute and have their lands in that Province ... He does not allow the *caciques* either to collect the tribute or deliver the *mita* to Potosí ...'⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that these *mitimae*s numbered 20 in 1616,⁶¹ and probably more forty years later, while on the Puna the tributaries of Tiahuanaco had been reduced to 9 in 1658⁶²: here the population transfer is clear. For the neighbouring towns on the Puna (Calamarca, Ayo Ayo and Sica Sica), the contiguous Quiruas and Inquisivi valleys seem to have played the same role of 'refuge' which, depending on the circumstances, permitted the transfer of a large part of the highland population.⁶³

From the Puna point of view, how can we differentiate between the status of *mitimae*s and those of other migrants who were more or less permanent? Spatial proximity is not an adequate explanation for the assimilation of most of the tribute obligations affecting the Puna com-

munity by the whole of the migrant community established in the valleys. Were the same obligations imposed upon the Lupaqa who had 'fled' from Potosí (where they were residents or *mitayos*) to the valleys on the frontier with Tomina,⁶⁴ and upon the 'indian tributaries of the Lupaqa *ayllu* settled in Tarabuco' in the same Province of Tomina?⁶⁵ The distinction between *mitimaes* and *forasteros* here becomes highly fluid. In fact, the highland *caciques* made periodic searches throughout the southern Andes for their absentee indians in order to exact the *tasa* and *mita* from them. In spite of their claims that they were unable to find them, an overwhelming majority of witnesses affirmed that 'there is no *cacique* who does not know where all his indians are located'.⁶⁶ The fact that they continued to pay their contributions to their original lords (*caciques de origen*) is evidence of the migrants' recognition of their bond with the distant towns where their ancestors and relatives lived and were buried, and where the *wak'a* of the community still held sway.⁶⁷ For the moment we must be content with highlighting certain tendencies.

Interesting as evidence *a contrario* was the attempt of Pedro Alaca Arussi (a Kana 'native') to change his status, 'substituting the surname of Guallpa, native of Oruro, and serving in the Convent of San Francisco at Potosí as a *yanacona* of His Majesty (*yanacona de Su Magestad*)', and later being reclaimed by the Lord-Governor (*cacique-gobernador*) of Yanaoca (Province of Canas and Canchis) for *mita*-service'. A witness testified that 'his father is native of the town of Yanaoca ... who, many years ago, while travelling to serve the *mita* of Potosí, came to the valley of Alcantari where he rented some lands and did his service from there', and that 'his three legitimate children' did the same, but Pedro was a 'bastard son' and 'paid his Governor to escape two turns of service' before installing himself in Potosí. His *cacique* tried to re-establish his legal claim over him in 1643, but the Audiencia ordered him to be released.⁶⁸ The maintenance of the fiscal bond with their Kana town by the legitimate sons of the migrant (who was a tenant (*arrendire*) on a Spaniard's smallholding) therefore contrasted with the 'illegitimate' son's desire to sever his bonds.

Thus, to live 'in distant places' as *arrendire*, *yanacona* or *marahaque* on a Spanish *hacienda*, or as a *yanacona del Rey* (or *de Su Magestad*), or as a 'stranger' (*forastero*) in another town did not therefore necessarily imply a rupture with the town of origin. Let us not forget that the groups of Collao 'make use of their absentee indians' in Potosí and its 'valleys close by' (as in the case of Tiahuanaco), and that in Potosí 'the *caciques* ... have innumerable indians from their jurisdiction as *yanaconas del Rey*, and they make use of them, hiring them out to the mineowners as well as to bakers, butchers and merchants ...'⁶⁹ Another indication of this bond can be found in 'the journeys made by the *caciques* to different Provinces, such as Cochabamba, Lípes, Carangas, Chuquiago, Larecaja, Canas and Canchis, to collect contributions from the absentee and naturalised indians resident in those places' in order to pay the salaries of the priests in the indian towns of Collao.⁷⁰

Knowing as we do the multiple subterfuges adopted by migrants in order to escape from their original lords (*caciques de origen*), we may suggest that the contribution to the payment of the tribute or the priest's salary meant the maintenance of all their rights in their *ayllu* of origin, and of their full status as *hatun-runas*. Interpreted this way, the differences between *mitimaes*, *yanaconas* and *forasteros* become irrelevant: in the valley of Timusi (Province of Larecaja) in 1683 we therefore find 18 tributaries who were *llactarunas* (natives of Jesús de Machaca and incorporated as *mitimaes*), 30 *forasteros* and 80 *yanaconas* settled on land belonging to the *cacique* of Jesús de Machaca. In the last category, 18 adults (out of 180 men and women) were natives of Jesús de Machaca, and 7 out of the 8 men continued to pay their tribute to the highland town (the one who did not was 20 years old and married to an *uru* woman from Machaca). More interesting, perhaps, were the 5 Chinchaysuyu married couples, natives of the neighbouring village of Ancoraymes (Omasuyos) where they continued to pay tribute, who appear to constitute a new *mitima* enclave in the valley.⁷¹ In the neighbouring valleys of Hilabaya, out of the 135 *yanaconas* on the Spanish *haciendas*, 26 were natives of the seven Lupaqa townships on the shores of Lake Titicaca: of these 26, 15 'pay their tribute in their town of origin' and 9 did not.⁷² The maintenance (or not) of the tributary bonds by the different categories of outsiders listed in La Palata's census (which deserves careful scrutiny on both the local and regional level) appears to be an important indicator of the true circumstances of the migrants, which is susceptible of quantitative analysis on a large scale.

The last variant within these cases which highlight the maintenance of control by original lords (*caciques de origen*) over their migrants is provided by the *yanaconas* who worked on the *haciendas* belonging to the *caciques*. The case of the *yanaconas* of Machaca on the estate (*chacra*) of their *cacique* in the valley of Timusi (next to the *llactaruna* 'enclave') has already been mentioned. In the neighbouring valley of Combaya, 62 *yanaconas*, amongst whom '... it seems that most of the Indians are from the town of Acora', were registered on the *haciendas* of Porobaya which belonged to the *caciques* of Acora (one of the Lupaqa towns in the Province of Chucuito). More information is needed in order to be able to establish the precise status of the workers on the Puna and Valley *haciendas* in the possession of *caciques*, who would have been able in such cases to establish ethnic enclaves with a better chance of surviving the greed of neighbouring Spaniards or the local chiefs.

We have already seen some of the bonds connecting migrants with their towns of origin, which could be considered in sociological (and sometimes geographical) terms as 'vertical'. We must also examine the ways in which they were integrated into the areas where they lived, or, in other words, the local or 'horizontal' bonds formed with their neighbours. These processes of integration will be considered within the framework of colonial demands, access to land, and the duties and alliances of kinship.

Here regional circumstances also vary, but there are indications that certain migrants (probably those who had severed their bonds with their towns of origin) paid the tribute in the towns where they were resident: 5 pesos in current coinage for the *forasteros* and 2 pesos in assayed coinage for the *yanaconas del Rey*, and both contributed 1 peso in assayed coinage towards the salary of the local priest. In the Mizque and Pocona valleys the inspections (*visitas*) uncovered an abundance of outsiders in a variety of circumstances. In 1631, for example, in the valley of Totora one Cristóbal Hernández was registered, who was 22 years old and a native of the Oroncota valley (Yamparaes), and who had been taken to La Plata, and then to Mizque ('kidnapped by a Portuguese'), and then to the land of Parichari as a *yanacona*. In Omereque he married the niece of the lord of Totora and 'wishes to be registered in this town as a stranger (*forastero*)', which he was permitted to do provided that he 'pay the tribute like the other Indians of the town and bear his share of the obligations'. Juan Aymoro, 'native of Santiago de Moscarí' (Charcas) was the shepherd (*ovejero*) of the *encomendero* of Totora 'who has given him clothing every year and has paid the tribute he owes as *forastero* to the *kurakas* of this town'. Lázaro Paychuri, the son of an Indian from Santa Cruz (and presumably a Chiriguano) and a woman from Colpavilque (Yamparaes), 'came to Mizque with a barefoot monk ... he is unmarried and wishes to be registered in Totora and not continue his wanderings'.⁷³ Whatever the origin of an individual may have been, registration as *forastero* implied tribute and labour obligations. Ten years later, the *forasteros* of Pocona, 'married to Indian women of this town ... and obliged to pay ten pesos', fled 'taking with them their wives and children ... and the main cause of their disappearance is the high tribute they pay':⁷⁴ if the price of admittance became excessive, the migrants moved on.

In another valley (Larecaja) '... some *agregados* ... do their share serving the *Corregidor* and his staff, our parish priest, the *tambo*, and above all the Church, where there is always work to be done ... and the Indians with land-titles cannot help because they are taken up in their agricultural labours and in the labour-dues (*mitas de séptima parte*) they owe the *haciendados*'.⁷⁵ The division of labour between 'natives' (*naturales*) and 'strangers' (*forasteros*) is apparent, but we do not know where the latter paid the tribute and had access to land.

On the high plateau (Province of Omasuyos), the Indians of the town of Guaqui worked lands bordering those of neighbouring Laja, thus provoking a long-standing frontier dispute: 'many Indians of Guaqui are newcomers and fugitives (*cimarrones*) and they help with services in the town and *tambo* of Laja, as well as taking turns to serve the priests and *Corregidores*, as *forasteros*, in return for which the Indians of Laja graciously allowed them to stay in their lands ...'⁷⁶ This 'gracious' surrender of land by Laja was simply an exchange for personal service, and can be interpreted as another example of the mutual exchange of

tributaries between two towns. In Copacabana, the Lord-Governor (*cacique-gobernador*) was accused of charging the *forasteros* an excessive tribute (30 pesos annually); his defence was that 'four of them, of their own accord, asked him for land to sow in, offering him thirty pesos, and don Lope conscientiously gave them some of his own land, so that they should help him pay the tribute ...'⁷⁷ We do not know to what extent this was the *cacique's* private land or whether it had been appropriated from communal land: but here the exchange was land for tribute-money.

Much less is known about the contribution made by the *forasteros* to the *mita* of Potosí. In Laja 'the few 'natives' (*naturales*) who went to the *mita* from this town made use of those they call 'sons-in-law' (*yernos*) and 'nephews' (*sobrinos*)' (to which we shall return later).⁷⁸ The complaints made by Pedro Mamani, a 'poor indian and son of a "stranger" (*forastero*)' against the chief of his *ayllu* in the town of Puna (Province of Porco) provides us with an insight into what a *forastero* might expect: he had to pay tribute and contribute to the *mita* 'before coming of age', first for a full year as a *guatacamayo* (constable), and then for half a year, and he requested that 'he should not be obliged to fulfil a year's *mita*, like the "natives" of this town, but only six months, which is what he is able to do as a "stranger", and he requests land'.⁷⁹ Eleven years later he repeated his request: 'I am a self-declared indian and have not been given lands or a garden in which to sow ... and yet I have served four years' *mita* ...'⁸⁰ In 1684 he returned to the attack: 'I have paid His Majesty's tribute for twenty years, and I have covered five whole years' *mita* in Potosí, and today I think I remember being some forty years old ... My father was an indian incorporated (*agregado*) into this *ayllu*, and we do not have a plot of land or a household garden in this town ...' The Audiencia judged that 'he should be allowed to rest, and also be given lands to sow in, for he serves in the town and pays the tribute'.⁸¹ We do not know whether he paid the tribute partially or in full, nor the extent of his integration within the town (in 1684 he mentions a 'male child'), but his request to contribute one half of the *mita* perhaps suggests his right to half of the amount of land allotted to a 'native' (*natural*).

This precarious mode of access to land can further be illustrated by the unstable position of the *forasteros* in the Hilabaya valley with regard to 'the few lands available here, since the common lands (*tierras del común*) have been sold ... and there are barely enough remaining for the indians, so that to sustain the tributaries they are allotted only half of the two *topos* assigned to each tributary by the regulations (*ordenanzas*)'.⁸² The *forasteros* were obliged to search for more suitable settlements as a result of pressures on the land. In the absence of more explicit evidence it is difficult to confirm the existence within the southern Andes in the 17th century of the phenomenon analysed by Tristan Platt for North Potosí in the 19th century, where the tribute categories were based more upon the size of each plot of land than upon the genealogy of its occupier. For the present we can only agree with him about the importance of examining

'the changes in fiscal category according to the ratio between population and land in each specific locality'.⁸³

We can, however, be certain that throughout the 17th century the *cacique-gobernadores* installed ever-increasing numbers of *forasteros* on the land belonging to their towns, not without complaint from the 'natives' (*naturales*). Those of Pocoata denounced their Governor for having 'accepted more than twenty *forasteros*, hiding them from their *caciques*' on his own land, and 'without demanding the royal tribute from them'.⁸⁴ In the survey of 1690, the denunciation of these abuses in the highland Provinces was widespread: 'for previous *caciques* disposed of all the land and pastures, renting them out to Spaniards and indian *forasteros*'.⁸⁵

The result of these migrations is well known: the *forasteros* who constituted one third of the tributary population in the southern Andes in 1645 had grown to one half forty years later. Social differentiation within the *ayllu* had grown: alongside the wealthy Indians (or *colquehaque*) who paid tribute and commuted *mita* services at an elevated price, there were numerous Indians with different status, property and degrees of integration. The question must therefore be posed whether it was not the system of festive duties (*cargos*) organised in the *ayllus* according to the Catholic ritual which was the institution responsible for the rapid integration of all its members, both autochthonous and migrant, with their mixed origins and categories.⁸⁶

We are almost entirely ignorant of the history of the religious fraternities (*cofradias*) in the southern Andes. There is proof of their existence in rural towns during the first half of the 17th century, both in the Puna⁸⁷ and in the valleys, where the *cofradias* held their own land, although not without some resentment on the part of the local *ayllu*.⁸⁸ In 1632 the Franciscan B. de Cárdenas, the inspector (*visitador*) of the Charcas parishes, wrote from Cochabamba: 'In this kingdom there are innumerable religious fraternities (*cofradias*) of Indians and Spaniards in their respective towns, such that there is not a hamlet without some four or five Indian *cofradias*, and in the larger towns some ten, twelve or twenty; and each has its banner that it brings out on feast days, and an Indian is chosen each year to see to this as ritual sponsor (*alférez*) ...'⁸⁹

The Andean *cargo*-system, a scale of civil and religious posts, has been interpreted as an institution of 'ritual impoverishment' within a 'prestige economy', whose function was to balance and redistribute private savings and wealth, accumulated through profits in the market economy, which threatened the internal homogeneity of the *ayllu*. The wealthiest members of the community would thus be obliged, through competition for prestigious office, to pay for extravagant celebrations of the feast-day of the fraternity's patron saint. B. de Cárdenas confirms this: 'and as there are so many fraternities, great numbers of Indians are ruined each year —

let us suppose 2000 each year in this Archbishopric of Charcas; and so they continue to ruin and impoverish themselves, because any who have a little fortune will spend it all and more ...⁹⁰ Without statistical information on the income of domestic units, it is difficult to establish whether the *cargo*-system equalised or, conversely, exacerbated the internal divisions within the *ayllu*. However, the importance of the proliferation of the *cofradias* in allowing the migrants, through participation in the hierarchy of the *cargo*-system, to establish land rights and their integration within the *ayllu* or town, must not be overlooked.

A last method adopted by the migrants in order to integrate themselves into the communities where they were resident was the development of real or fictitious kinship ties. Some examples have already been mentioned: the use of the terms '*yerno*' (son-in-law), and '*sobrino*' (nephew) — which is found in many surveys of the highland zone in the 17th century — would suggest a direct relationship as a 'relative' or a collateral in a subordinate position, but until we know the precise significance of this status we cannot draw any definite conclusion. There is evidence that in the Mizque valleys *forasteros* married local women, a fact which did not prevent their escaping with them when their contributions became too onerous (according to the *caciques*). There is also evidence of cases of *compadrazgo* between migrants, representing their groups of origin, and members of their new groups of residence in the Timusi valley, which reveal the broad spectrum of opportunities available for the legitimisation of settlement and long-distance alliances.⁹¹ Only the extensive examination of census materials, parish registers and notarial contracts can determine on a regional level the extent of these strategic alliances, both individual and collective, between migrants, the communities they joined and those they left. What must be emphasised here is the instability of the migrants (whether *forasteros* or *yanaconas*) in the 17th century: in their observations during La Palata's census, the *caciques* of the towns described them as 'flighty and changeable people', who were constantly threatened with retrieval by their original *caciques* (until the viceregal decree of 1689 which allowed them to register in the areas where they were resident).⁹²

These different levels of integration into the towns of the southern Andes raise the question of the definition of the *ayllu*: this is simultaneously a kinship group, a territorial group, and a ceremonial group, extensively re-structured by demographic crises and the influx of different categories of migrants. Its nature reflects the intimate link between collective identities and the ambiguous role of the *cacique*.

III The Market, the Colonial System, and Ethnicity

The movements of population in the 17th century bring into focus the degree of flexibility of the *ayllus* in their ability (or inability) to adapt to

the circumstances created by migration. Collective identity and ethnic categorisation are closely linked to the dynamic of the *ayllu* segmentary system which builds up to the ethnic groups through a hierarchy of lesser units (households, hamlets, moieties). In the southern Andes, the identification with the great regional *ayllu* (the 'nations') or the local *ayllu* (*marka*, or towns), in spite of the destruction of their political autonomy, was maintained throughout most of the colonial period (it was manifest during the wars of Túpac Amaru), and persists to the present day in certain areas (North Potosí, for example).

The variation in identities revolves around the internal tensions within the *ayllu*, which are themselves determined by the contradictory effects of two types of external pressures. State pressure in favour of ethnic homogenisation could be fossilised and held constant by local *mestizo* intermediaries. This can be seen in the colonial institutionalisation of Andean dual organisation and in the use of pre-Columbian regional divisions in the administration of the *mita* of Potosí. On the other hand, a mercantile pressure sought to weaken the bonds of the peasant with his community, isolating him as an individual participating in the labour and consumer market (with Potosí at the centre of the process).

The maintenance (or breakdown) of ethnic bonds centres upon the opportunities offered by the colonial system and upon the type of pressure imposed by ethnic lords (*mallku*, *kuraka*) or by administrative agents (the *caciques* nominated by the *Corregidores* or sometimes the direct intervention of Spanish officials in the towns). Such processes can be seen in the attempts to escape to the *ayllu*, in the attitude of indigenous leaders, and in the inter-ethnic alliances forged in opposition to the colonial order.

Potosí was from very early on the outstanding example of the social and ethnic miscegenation which threatened ethnic identity. B. Ramírez declared in 1580 that 'for every ten indians that come to Potosí, only six return home',⁹³ and A. de Ayanz, the author of an extensive report on the southern Andes in the last decade of the 16th century, deplored the consequences of the 'mixture of indians from so many nations'.⁹⁴ These consequences continued to be denounced throughout the 17th century: 'they stay in Potosí where they hire out their services or become street-sellers of vegetables',⁹⁵ 'there are over 50,000 indians in Potosí who voluntarily, because they receive double wages, hire themselves out to Spaniards and *caciques*, thus paying their tribute and maintenance'.⁹⁶ The impression of apparent abandonment must be avoided, since the population which was permanently in residence (and the floating population) continued to contribute to the tribute and above all to the labour in the mines (see the survey of 1690) required of towns of origin (the case of the mineworkers with their skills, techniques and rites is worthy of attention).

The most serious opportunities for the breakdown of ethnic bonds were

those where registration as *yanaconas del Rey* was used, a practice which was on the increase during the middle years of the 17th century (a minimum of 10,000 in 1645), and which was denounced by the *capitanes de mita* gathered in Potosí: the 'absentee indians (*ausentes*) ... finally lose their ethnic affiliation (*llegan a perder su pueblo*), changing their habit and style of dress, and adopting that of the *yanacona*: cloak, silk stockings and shirt ... and to disguise this deceit they set themselves to learn a trade as tailors, cobblers, silversmiths, silkweavers and others; and they and their sons register themselves as *yanaconas*, and by paying a mere 8 *pesos* each year plus 5 *pesos* in different jurisdictions, they exempt themselves from the *mita* service ...'. The *caciques* proposed, amongst other solutions, that 'those who are now resident in this City should be obliged to put off the habit of *yanaconas* and put on their old habit, without being permitted to go without shoes'.⁹⁷ Was this authoritarian change in the dress used for social differentiation sufficient to counteract a more profound phenomenon?⁹⁸

It is unlikely, if we are to believe Fernández Guarachi's exposure of the various stratagems employed in the indian towns: '... the indian widows and unmarried women leave their towns and Provinces with their children, and resort to populous places, towns and cities, where they become fraternity members and ritual sponsors (*mayordomos*) ... and their male children are given to the church and put to a trade, as silkdrapers, tailors and cobblers, and thus they are converted into free *yanaconas* ...

'Equally devious are the married indian women, who, while living with their husbands, put down their own legitimate children in the baptism ceremony as though they were children of unknown fathers, hoping in this way that, fifteen or sixteen years later, they may be exempted from the *mita* when they are of an age and strength for it, and their husbands agree to it, and through these deceits they have their children registered as *yanaconas*, saying they are sons of muleteers or llama-drovers (*arrieros*) from Chachapoyas, Cusco or elsewhere not subject to the *mita* service, hoping thus to free them in advance from the *mita*...

'And also they say that when they married they already had three or four 'natural' children by different fathers, or that they married when already far advanced in pregnancy, and that their children are not legitimate, but rather by *yanaconas* and drovers (*arrieros*) and 'strangers' (*forasteros*), wellworn terms, and to avoid a drawn-out suit their deceit wins the day to general applause ...

'... Other deceits noticed in the Captain (*capitán*) of the *yanaconas* are that when they say they never knew their fathers nor their place of origin, they are put down without further question for His Majesty's Crown, and this occurs all over the kingdom ... Almost all the *yanaconas* of this kingdom were *mita* indians ...'⁹⁹

Here we see the range of methods employed to withdraw part of the male population from future tributary lists and thus break their bonds with the *ayllu* from which they originated. The deputy (*procurador*) of La Plata confirmed this breakdown: 'On the whole, if an indian brings four or six children from his town, fewer than half return, and in some cases they all disappear or are 'sold' to Spaniards, and thus they lose touch with their origins and never return ...'¹⁰⁰ As a consequence of the disappearance of the male population, the ratio of the sexes within the *ayllu* was completely changed: in Tiquipaya (Cochabamba) 'there were more than 230 widows and more than 100 old indian spinsters, and only 11 male indians and 4 church cantors ...'¹⁰¹ In the towns of the *mita* there was evidence of 'women obliged to occupy the posts of mayors (*alcaldesas*) and council-lors (*regidoras*) and to take turns in serving the *tambo*...'¹⁰² Various complaints also demonstrate that the *caciques* enforced the tribute, and even *mita*, obligations on these women. These civil and economic responsibilities exercised by women to enable the community to reproduce (which can be seen as a return to pre-Hispanic practices where women performed similar duties) must be compared with their own attitude to the survival of the *ayllu*.

In fact if women played a vital role in the conversion of their sons to the status of *yanaconas*, no less significant was their acceptance of the migrants, who were able to integrate into the *ayllu* through marriage alliances. The study of migration would be greatly enhanced by an investigation of parish registers together with La Palata's census, which included the geographical origins (town and *ayllu*) of both marriage partners.

From this point of view, the study of the evasion of collective obligations through *mestizaje* is fundamental. Certain cases illustrate the point. In 1603 the Carrillo brothers, tailors born in La Plata whose mother was *mestizo* and whose father was 'indian chief of Tacobamba', requested exemption from the *mita* imposed by the *caciques* of Tacobamba: the judge (*oidor*) declared that 'they are indians ... for that is how they consider themselves, and at present they wear their hair and clothing like indians ...' He also added that it was not possible to exempt all indians with *mestizo* mothers, since this would result in the depopulation of the indian towns. Nevertheless the court of the Audiencia disagreed with him: '... they should not be registered like the other tributary indians, nor should they be obliged to perform personal services, and their duties are only to pay the tribute ...'¹⁰³ In 1612, 1615 and 1638 the Carrillo brothers were obliged to seek legal protection from their *caciques*.¹⁰⁴ It is important to note, however, that their bonds were not completely severed, since their incorporation into the town was acknowledged through the payment of tribute.

The non-registration of *mestizos* in the fiscal registers or in the census makes it difficult to shed light on their numerical importance. Their

increase was considerable, as B. de Cárdenas affirmed: '... they continue multiplying so much that I know of a *mestizo* in the Valley of Larecaja who has sixty *mestizo* children by different indian women, and the sons imitate their father's example by multiplying their number yet further ...', and he counted 'more than a thousand *mestizos* in this Valley of Cochabamba'.¹⁰⁵ For P. Ramírez del Aguilar the indigenous population 'will end up disappearing' as a result of epidemics, alcoholism, and the fact that 'there are many *mestizos*, which means the indian race diminishes, and the Spanish one increases as it thus attracts and consumes the indians ...'¹⁰⁶

The attempts by both men and women to abandon their status as 'natives' (*naturales*) through *yanaconazgo* or miscegenation (although neither process automatically implied the dissolution of bonds, at least on the fiscal level) has been seen as stemming from a desire for individual advancement, but also from a desire to escape from the control of the *cacique*. This last point is debatable, since we have already seen that by the middle of the 17th century the *caciques* and *capitanes de mita* declared that they had lost their control, in contrast to official opinion (of *Corregidores* and judges) and to the evidence supplied in the survey of 1690. The maintenance (or breakdown) of control is linked to the authority of the *cacique* and his treatment of the members of the *ayllu*. The evolution of this relationship in the 16th century has been interpreted as a development 'from reciprocity to despotism'.¹⁰⁷ The southern Andes presents a more complex picture: while abuses (above all economic abuses) became more frequent, in other cases the *caciques* fought on behalf of the *ayllu*. An overall appraisal must take into account the public postures adopted by the *caciques*. Here the two 'legitimacies' confront each other: the legitimacy inherited from Andean traditions, and that which derived from their success in dealing with colonial demands. Both facets combined or remained exclusive, incorporating the old and the new models of vertical relationships with their subjects to form new configurations.

One primary fact provided the framework for South-Andean society: the native lords (*señores*) at the highest level disappeared in Collao but survived in Charcas. The majority of the former perished in the Spanish conquest of the South, amongst the Lupaqa¹⁰⁸ and amongst the Pakasa,¹⁰⁹ confirming the declaration of Waman Puma: 'the chief lords, by rank and blood, disappeared'.¹¹⁰ The Charcas lords, however, after engaging in armed resistance, opted for negotiation (see the evidence of the Yampara, Charka, Karakara and Killaqqa *caciques*), and as a result formed an alliance with their new masters (and helped them in the conquest of Tucumán and Chile). There were problems over succession within certain lordly lineages after the imposition of an uncle or brother of the deceased leader.¹¹¹ In return for their assistance in the implementation of Toledo's resettlement programme, in the Chiriguano campaign, and in the re-organisation of the Potosí *mita* (their acquiescence appears to have been linked to the confirmation of their rights as *caciques* and of

their access to lands in the valleys), the lords of Charcas were successful in re-establishing their legitimacy in spite of colonial demands.

However, even before Toledo established the rights of the *caciques* (remuneration, and the number of Indian servants) certain changes had taken place which undermined the supreme authority of the highest leaders: the administrative division into Provinces, which divided up their subjects, and the promotion of the *caciques* of the towns and/or moieties.¹¹² At the end of the 16th century, the first *alcalde mayor de indios* in Potosí to represent the groups from Collao was the *cacique* of Ilave, don J.B. Vilca Apaza, who was succeeded by don C. Vissa, the *cacique* of Juli:¹¹³ in 1601, the 'high staff of royal justice' was presented to don J. Puma Katari, *cacique* of Urinsaya ('lower' moiety) of Chucuito, 'so that he may oversee the repopulation of his towns (*reducciones*)'.¹¹⁴ Don Fernando Qhari, the *cacique* of the 'upper' moiety of Chucuito (1586–1616/ 2?), was not considered for these appointments. Later, a major division appeared between those *caciques* who could afford to pay the *mita* of Potosí, and those who could not.

Another notable case of the promotion of 'new *caciques*' was that of the aforementioned don Gabriel Fernández Guarachi from the town of Jesús de Machaca, the smallest in terms of population of the Pakasa towns (in 1575; in 1608, its population was equivalent to half that of the largest). His family a relative newcomer to the town (the Guarachi lineage appears to have been related by marriage to a Killqa lordship), he played an exemplary role as *cacique* of Jesús de Machaca after taking over from his father in 1620 until his death in 1673. He defended the communal lands (preferring to assume the overall title during land registrations) and 'repatriated (*redujo*) to the town all the Indians who had fled to hide in different parts, which he did at great personal risk, entering into unhealthy valleys and clashing with the Spaniards to whom they had attached themselves (*se avian agregado*) ... and he repatriated them at great personal expense, paying their debts ...'¹¹⁵ He paid the tributes of other Pakasa towns, and above all paid the *mita* commutation a dozen times out of his own money. Fernández Guarachi's wealth derived from the produce of his *haciendas* and his commerce in wine and coca, which enabled him to protect his subjects effectively from colonial demands:¹¹⁶ 'these days the *caciques'* *haciendas* are not strictly theirs, since they receive no profit from them: they belong effectively to the community, because the income is spent each year ...'¹¹⁷ Thanks in part to his efforts the Indians of Machaca were able to maintain control over the lowland 'enclave' of Timusi (in the valleys of Larecaja) until the middle of the 20th century.¹¹⁸ His economic success contrasts with the failure of his neighbours, the *caciques* of Tiahuanaco and Guaqui, who were imprisoned in 1658 for failure to pay the tribute and deliver the *mita*,¹¹⁹ and whose successors committed injustices against their 'natives'.¹²⁰

A similar case of the Colonial promotion of a town to the detriment of

the ancient ethnic capitals (*cabeceras*) is that of the *cacique* of Pocoata (or Copoata), don Fernando Ayra Chinchi, although his treatment of his subjects was very different from that of Fernández Guarachi. He was successful in making his town independent from the town of Macha (the ancient 'capital' of the Karakara) and in 1611 he was nominated *alcalde mayor* for both towns (originally he was the *cacique* for the lower moiety of Pocoata; his position was comparable to that of Juan Poma Catari, the *cacique* of Chucuito-Urinsaya, mentioned above). He was nominated for this office on various occasions, also holding the position of *capitán de mita*, and was succeeded by his son in 1630.¹²¹ How was this possible? Fortunately the Indians of Pocoata made a detailed denunciation of his excesses. The 30 chapters are a catalogue of the chicanery of the *cacique* in pursuit of personal gain: monopolisation of community lands and the demand for additional dues in kind (*chuño* and maize) and labour (herders for his 100 mules, 400 cattle, between 100 and 300 llamas, 4000 sheep, 100 goats); he 'embezzled' 10 *mitayos* from the Potosí *cuota* and sent them to cultivate maize, as well as 20 others to gather honey; and he employed 20 *forasteros* whom he had installed on lands belonging to the 'natives' (*naturales*). As a result of these abuses 100 Indians became absentees (*ausentes*) — one fifth of the tributaries registered in 1575.¹²² These extortions were a flagrant exaggeration of the traditional services which subjects owed their *cacique*. Ayra Chinchi's economic and political success contrasts with the financial collapse of the Killqa *caciques*, who were unable to fulfil the obligations of tribute or *mita* during the decade of the 1660s (see above); here there was a marked decline in the ethnic ruling family.¹²³

New figures in the structure of oppression of the southern Andes were the *mestizo caciques*. In 1664 the leaders (*principales*) of the Aracapi (town of Puna, Province of Porco) accused their *cacique* Francisco Castillo of unfair treatment: Castillo was described as a '*mestizo* ... who stayed in the town because he had married a local Indian woman' and as 'a servant of the *Corregidor*'. He replied that he had been 'named Governor because there was no one else who could be named, as the previous Indian Governors had suffered huge deficits both in the tribute and in the *mita*'.¹²⁴ Economic ruin accompanied physical and moral misfortune. In the survey of 1690 further examples of *mestizo* penetration of the *cacicazgo* can be found.¹²⁵

In many cases the most successful *caciques* were ambivalent figures: their wealth relieved the burden of the collective contributions, but this required the exploitation of communal resources and peasant labour. Certain *caciques* did not hesitate to sell off or rent out communal lands, transform valley enclaves into *haciendas*, convert *mitayos* into resident *yanaconas*, or sell the produce of the lands or flocks belonging to the community. This personal manipulation, which profited from the substantial income derived from inter-regional trade, must be balanced against tribute payments.¹²⁶ With regard to the internal re-distribution of this

wealth, we can also assume that part of it was returned to the community on civil and religious feast-days.

Another factor linked to the *cacique's* role as economic and ritual mediator was his political authority. Previous studies have emphasised Toledo's attack on the power of the *cacique*, which reduced him to the status of a mere salaried agent of government.¹²⁷ The increasing intervention of the *Corregidores* in internal indigenous affairs also reduced the *cacique's* influence. However, the available documentation only highlights the external stance adopted by the *caciques* in relation to colonial demands. It tells us nothing of his role as arbiter and adjudicator within the *ayllu*. The denunciation of the excessive and despotic power of the *caciques* over their subjects, which was repeated throughout the 17th century, is rather a manifestation of the 'natural authority' which their role implied.¹²⁸ Those who achieved economic success reinforced it with an extravagant life-style which emphasised the exceptional place they occupied in Andean society: don Fernando Ayra Chinchí 'ostentatiously eats all his soups and dishes gilded with gold, and keeps a trained painter for this purpose ... When he goes to the valleys, he takes eight girls with him to sleep with, and others to sing to him ...'¹²⁹

The *caciques'* claim to their ancient titles and privileges must also be seen from this perspective. It is difficult to discover a synchronised pattern in the juridical assault launched by the lords (*señores*) between the last quarter of the 16th century and the first third of the 17th. The Colque Guarachis, lords of the Killaqqa, submitted petitions (*memorias*) and claims to titles in 1575–1577, in 1591 and 1632, the Charka *señores* in 1582, the Yampara *señores* in 1586, 1592 and 1597.¹³⁰ Perhaps more significant are the later dates when the 'new' *caciques* presented their evidence ('new' in the sense that they did not belong to the highest-level ethnic lineages, but to those of local towns such as Pocoata or Machaca): don Francisco Ayra de Ariutu in 1637, and don G. Fernández Guarachi in 1661– 62.¹³¹ The creation of the office of *alcalde mayor* at the end of the 16th century should have increased the possibility of the revival of the ancient ethnic jurisdictions: initially they were filled by the traditional lords, later by their rivals—such as the *cacique* of Pocoata, who became Lord Mayor of the Karakara (*alcalde mayor de los Caracaras*). Subsequently, however, this office appears to decline and becomes restricted to the area around Potosí.¹³²

To what extent does this differ from the decision of don Bartolomé Qhari to refuse to succeed his father, don Fernando, as the *cacique* of Chucuito-Anansaya ('upper' moiety) on the pretext of cost and lack of Indians? The *Corregidor* nominated instead a 'private Indian whom the rest neither respect nor obey' and in 1626 accused don Bartolomé of 'governing secretly as *cacique*'. In a detailed defence, don Bartolomé rejected the accusations and added: 'Insofar as I am *cacique* not only over this moiety, but over all the Hanansayas of this Province', thus claiming

the ancient ethnic jurisdiction over the Lupaqa. In his struggle against the *Corregidores* of Chucuito and Potosí, he proved himself to be a worthy defender of his subjects, as described by the inspector (*visitador*; ex-President of the Audiencia of Charcas): ‘...he went to Potosí for some years to deliver the *mita* and with other responsibilities, and while there he accepted all posts that affected the Indians, with such a lively and stubborn zeal to exempt some and replace others, and with such a cavalier and negligent attitude towards the interest of the King, that it was always said that that Indian should be kept in his place, and should not be allowed to exercise any post or stay a single day in Potosí; he was haughty and proud and harmful in every way; I do not know if he is still alive’.¹³³ This direct challenge to colonial interests¹³⁴ is a different type of resistance to G. Fernández Guarachi’s legal battle. With more information it will one day be possible to formulate a scale of responses made by the *caciques* (for example the Chari, Chambilla, Chipana, Guarachi, Colque Guarachi, Aymoro, Ayaviri, Ayra-Chinchí, etc.) to the colonial system and to their *ayllu*, according to the nature of their economic management, access to different ecological zones, defence of their community, political alliances, the percentages of ‘natives’ (*naturales*) and *forasteros* in their jurisdictions, etc.

A last indicator of the role of the *cacique* would be participation in the great anti-Spanish conspiracies. The indigenous uprisings which occurred between the fall of Vilcabamba (1572) and the 18th-century rebellions have been little studied, but we know of a variety of plots within the southern Andes towards the end of the 16th century and during the first third of the 17th century.¹³⁵ In about 1580, the lord of the Killqa was implicated in a rising which had links with English pirates,¹³⁶ and in 1613 a plan to attack Spanish cities on Easter Day or Corpus Christi was drawn up by the *caciques* who were subsequently implicated in the Zongo uprising of 1624 (in conjunction with groups from the Collao, the Yungas, and the Chuncho Indians from the tropical foothills), when the ultimate aim was the capture of La Paz.¹³⁷ These attempts to expel the Spanish from the southern Andes cemented the ethnic bonds which united the *ayllus* with their lords, as did the maintenance of supra-regional cults.¹³⁸

Conclusions

Steve Stern has stated for the region of Huamanga that ‘in the 1570s, the local peoples of Huamanga finally became Indians’.¹³⁹ It would be difficult to draw the same conclusion for the Southern Andes, if by ‘Indian’ is understood the emergence of an homogeneous and generic group, and the corresponding disappearance of Andean segmentary organisation. In the long century between Toledo and La Palata, which was characterised by the silver boom and the mercantilisation of the rural economy, by epidemics and migrations, the evolution of indigenous society was far more complex. The three factors upon which this documentary survey has

been based — Potosí, the *caciques* and the migrants — permit alternative interpretations.

The development of the mining economy did not necessarily involve the destruction of pre-Hispanic ethnic organisation. Rather, it depended on its *availability* as a mechanism for the recruitment of the *mitayos* for the Potosí mines, at the same time as Potosí became an alternative residence for those who sought to relinquish their community obligations.

The migrants are a vital key to the appreciation of the socio-ethnic readjustments of the 17th century. The distortions in the fiscal documentation, which was manipulated by the very government agents entrusted with its preparation, cannot hide the prodigious mobility of the peasantry, nor their flexibility of status, nor the scope allowed migrants to enter into contracts with both *caciques* and Spaniards. Whether they were hidden or concealed, or, conversely, were fugitives or runaways, whether they paid their tribute to their towns of origin or to those where they were resident (or did not pay at all), whether they became integrated or not into their new settlements, the migrants cannot simply be categorised in terms of a progressive dissolution of ethnic bonds. It is important to determine the nature of the new relations between Puna and Valley, by comparing populations in the *ayllus* of origin and those of residence, and by correlating fiscal data with marriage strategies (the geographical origins of the marriage partners). It would then be possible to contrast different regions according to such indicators as demographic potential, the wealth of the *caciques*, changes in Andean 'vertical' organisation, the economic influence of government agents, the origins of the *forasteros*, and the stances adopted by women.

The *caciques*, caught amid the colonial pressures, appear in various lights. Many were able to take advantage of the new economic opportunities through their rôle as recruiters of *mita* labour and tribute-collectors. But the personal wealth of some did not automatically lead to the destruction of their *ayllus*. Gabriel Fernández Guarachi, as we have seen, spent his wealth in defence of collective territorial and social cohesion in his Province of Pacajes, although others (aided by the *Corregidores*) could use their position to enrich themselves at the expense of their Indians. Yet others failed in their business efforts, exposing their *ayllus* to land-sales and the infiltration of non-Indians. It may be significant that the successful *caciques* were located principally in *urqusuyu*, the division most trodden by the great roads and commercial caravans that plied between the Pacific coast and the mining centres. The failures can be found mainly in the eastern division of *umasuyu* bordering the emerging Amazonian frontier. Thus, we cannot make assumptions about continuities or discontinuities in the sense of ethnic identity. Only careful regional analyses will allow us to detect the spatio-temporal categories operative in the incorporation of the south Andean population into colonial forms of territorial and social organisation.

NOTES

1. 'Petición de los capitanes gobernadores principales ... de las provincias ... y de los pueblos, parcialidades y aillos sujetos a ... la mita ... de Potosí', 1 March 1656. *Archivo Nacional de Bolivia* (Sucre), Expediente Colonial 1661-16, f.58.
2. Testimony of don Pascual Chuquitopa y Navarro, *alcalde mayor* of the five *corregimientos* of the district of Chuquiabó, Potosí, 13 March 1690, *Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires), XIII, 23.10.2, in N. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978), pp.119-120.
3. 'Anthropologie historique des sociétés andines', *Annales ESC*, No.5-6 (Paris, 1978), p.1126.
4. L. Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara*, 1612 (Cochabamba, 1984), A3^v.
5. C. Sempat Assadourian, *Sistema de la economía colonial* (Lima, 1982), pp.314-15; N. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Migraciones internas en el Perú' and 'Mita, migraciones y pueblos', *Historia Boliviana* II/1 and III/2 (Cochabamba, 1982-83), pp.16-17.
6. See my analysis of 'Absenteeism and Desertion in the Debate on the Indigenous Labour Force, 1595-1665', in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, Vol.XXI (Köln, 1984), pp.27-75.
7. C. Sempat Assadourian, 'La producción de la mercancía dinero en la formación del mercado interno colonial' (in E. Florescano, México, 1979), and *Sistema de la economía colonial*, 1982.
8. T. Bouysse-Cassagne, 'L'espace aymara: *urco* et *uma*', *Annales ESC*, No.5-6 (Paris, 1978), p.1075.
9. See my analysis in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol.4, No.1 (Oxford, 1985), pp.65-76.
10. Garcí Diez, *Visita de Chucuito* (W. Espinosa Soriano y J.V. Murra, eds.), Lima, 1964; T. Saignes, 'Les Lupacas dans les vallées orientales des Andes: trajets spatiaux et repères démographiques (XVI-XVII siècles)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, t.XVII (Paris-Madrid, 1981).
11. 1620, *Archivo General de Indias* (Sevilla; hereafter AGI), Charcas 19.
12. *Archivo Nacional de Bolivia* (Sucre; hereafter ANB), Minas t.125, No.1101.
13. Letter from the President of the Audiencia of Charcas, 21 January 1662, AGI, Charcas 267.
14. E. de Lartan, 'Relación de la provincia de Pacajes ...' (1608), T. Saignes, ed., *Historiografía y bibliografía americanistas*, Vol.XXIV (Sevilla, 1980).
15. See the report of the *oidor* (judge) G. Gómez de Sanabria in 1628, AGI, Charcas 20.
16. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara (hereafter EC) 868A.
17. AGI, EC 868A.
18. 28 April 1633.

19. 2 August 1633.
20. *ANB*, Minas t.123, No.1096.
21. Caquiaviri, 18 July 1658, *AGI*, EC 868A.
22. *AGI*, EC 868A.
23. See the comments of Sempat Assadourian, *Sistema de la economía colonial*, pp.308-10; and Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Migraciones internas en el Perú' and 'Mita, migraciones y pueblos', *Historia Boliviana*, II/1 (Cochabamba, 1982), pp.11-19.
24. *ANB*, Expediente Colonial (hereafter EC) 1649-20.
25. Evidence of the priest (*cura*) of Ayo Ayo in 1658, Lic. V. del Espinar S., in *AGI*, Chircas 97.
26. *ANB*, EC 1657-10, f.31.
27. *Corregidor* of Pacajes, Caquiaviri, 18 July 1658, *AGI*, EC 868A, f.313.
28. G.Fernández Guarachi, *AGI*, EC 868A, f.250.
29. *Ibid.*, f.164.
30. Survey of the *cura* of San Andrés de Machaca, December 1661, March 1662, *AGI*, EC 868A, f.500-631.
31. *ANB*, Minas, t.125, No.1115.
32. 1665 *Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid), Ms. 19699/38, quoted by S. Zavala, *El servicio personal de los indios en el Perú*, tomo 2 (México, 1979), p.146.
33. *ANB*, EC 1689-31.
34. N. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978), pp.125, 143.
35. See note 6 above.
36. J. Polo Ondegardo, 'Relación de los fundamentos ...' (1571), in Urtega y Romero, eds., *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, Series 1, Vol.3 (Lima, 1916), p.98. Contrary to common use, I use the form *Polo Ondegardo* (removing the 'de' added after his death), in order to restore to the author his character as an official (*letrado*) belonging to an emerging class of professional administrators within the imperial apparatus. For Larecaja, see my analysis: T. Saignes, 'De la filiation à la résidence: les ethnies dans les vallées de Larecaja', *Annales ESC*, No.5-6 (Paris, 1978), p.1165.
37. J. Polo Ondegardo, 'Relación de los fundamentos ...', pp.157-168.
38. T. Saignes, 'Les Lupacas dans les vallées orientales des Andes ...', pp.161-73.
39. *Tasa de la visita general de Francisco de Toledo*, N.D. Cook, introd. (Lima, 1975).
40. J. Polo Ondegardo, 'Relación de los fundamentos ...', pp.57-58.
41. *ANB*, EC 1579-46, f.118.
42. See the testimony of G.Fernández Guarachi in *AGI*, EC 868A.
43. G.Fernández Guarachi openly admitted this; *ibid.*, f.52.

44. Information supplied by Tristan Platt.
45. T. Saignes, 'Les Lupacas dans les vallées orientales des Andes ...'
46. *Archivo de La Paz* (hereafter *ALP*), Expedientes Coloniales (hereafter *EC*) 1656.
47. Declaration of the *caciques* of Omasuyos, 1647, in *ALP*, *EC* 1647.
48. Declaration of the *capitanes* of Omasuyos, Potosí, 1690, in Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú*, p.123.
49. T. Saignes, 'De la filiation à la résidence: les ethnies dans les vallées de Larecaja', *Annales ESC*, No.5-6 (Paris, 1978), p.1180 n.57.
50. See the letter from the *caciques* of Macha in 1607, *Archivo del Duque del Infantado* (Madrid), Vol.37, doc. No.57.
51. Declaration of I. de Pisa, sfnl., *Biblioteca Universitaria* (Sevilla), Col. Marqués del Risco, *Varios* 330/122.
52. *ANB*, *EC* 1628-9.
53. 'Residencia de F.A. de la Marrueca A.', *AGI*, Lima 168.
54. 1656–1660, summary in *AGI*, Indiferente General 1660.
55. *ANB*, *EC* 1674-56.
56. Hilabaya 2 July 1660, *ALP*, *EC* 1660.
57. *Ibid.*, 27 September 1660.
58. See Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú*, pp.28-31; and N. Wachtel, *Annales ESC* (Paris, 1978), pp.1154-55.
59. By 600 per cent. The provinces of Chayanta, Porco and Chichas increased by 39 per cent, 21 per cent and 59 per cent respectively.
60. *ANB*, *EC* 1674-32.
61. According to a list of inhabitants of Collana and Cohoni, *Biblioteca Central* (Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, La Paz), Ms.39.
62. Archive of the University of Texas, M.B., Manuscripts of Bolivia Vol.4, published in *Documento etnohistórico: Tiwanaku 1657* (La Paz, 1974).
63. See, for example, the petition of the *indios* of Ayo Ayo for their absent relatives in the Sapahaqui valley to be included in the service of the *tambo*, according to the evidence of 1643 in *Archivo Histórico Municipal* (La Paz), legajo 920, f.226.
64. Report of the *juez-reductor*, Potosí, 1 January 1625; *Biblioteca Universitaria* (Sevilla), Col. Marqués del Risco, V.330/122, f.173-174.
65. See the *padroncillo* of 1650 in *ANB*, *EC* 1650-19, f.227.
66. See my article on 'Absenteeism' (note 6), and the replies of the *capitanes* to the survey of 1690 in Potosí.
67. For the attitude in the Andes to time and the dead, see the work of T. Bouysse-Cassagne, *Annales ESC* (Paris, 1978); and O. Harris, 'Life and Death among the Laymi' (1983); and in particular their joint article 'Pacha: en torno al pensamiento aymara' which will be included in the volume *Cultura Aymara*, J. Albó, ed. (UNESCO, Paris, in the press).

68. *ANB*, Minas t.125, No.XI.
69. According to the 'Relación y advertimiento ...' of the priest D.F. de Alcayaga, La Plata, 1612, *Archivo del Duque del Infantado*, t.38, doc.66.
70. See the survey of Mollinedo, Bishop of Cusco, in *Cuzco 1689. Documentos*, H. Villanueva, ed. (Cusco, 1982).
71. T. Saignes, 'Les colons de Machaca Timusi au XVIIe siècle: alliances et verticalité dans les vallées orientales du Collao', *Travaux et documents du laboratoire d'Amérique Latine, équipe ethno-historique* (Paris, 1982). (New Spanish version to be published shortly by CERES, Cochabamba.)
72. 1683, Census of Duque de La Palata; T. Saignes, 'Les Lupacas dans les vallées orientales des Andes ...'
73. *ANB*, Mizque 1631-8.
74. *ANB*, Mizque 1640-3.
75. Hilabaya, 27 September 1660, *ALP*, EC 1660.
76. Testimony from the *interrogatorio* of the *Corregidor*, Huarina, 5 December 1630, *ANB*, EC 1630-2, f.186V.
77. 1662, *ANB*, EC 1674-28, f.38.
78. 1667, *ANB*, EC 1689-31.
79. Puna, 31 January 1669.
80. *Ibid.*, 14 August 1680.
81. *ANB*, Minas, t.126, No.1121, 1684.
82. Census of Duque de La Palata, 1683, *Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires), sala XIII, 17-2-4.
83. T. Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino* (Lima, 1982), p.55.
84. About 1630, P. Ramirez del Aguila, *Noticias políticas de Indias*, J. Urioste, ed. (Sucre, 1978), p.126.
85. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú*, p.129.
86. For a preliminary analysis, see O. Celestino and A. Meyers, *Cofradías en el Perú: región central* (Frankfurt, 1981).
87. See the inspection of the Bishop of La Paz in 1619, *British Museum* (London), Add.13.992.
88. See the litigation in Larecaja during the *visita* of Gº. de Cabrera, *ALP*, EC 1656-1660.
89. *Memorial y relación de las cosas tocantes al reino del Perú* (Cochabamba, 1632), *Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid), Ms.3198.
90. *Ibid.*
91. T. Saignes, 'Les colons de Machaca à Timusi, ...' (Paris, 1982).
92. See the evidence from Copacabana in 1662, or from Iaja in 1667, docs. cited above.

93. *Descripción general del Perú* (México 1597); V.M. Maurtua, ed., *Juicio de límites entre Perú y Bolivia* (Barcelona, 1906), Tomo 1.
94. Vargas Ugarte, *Pareceres jurídicos en Asuntos de Indias (1601–1718)* (Lima, 1951), p.39.
95. D.F. de Alcayaga, *doc. cit.*, 1612 (see note 69).
96. ‘Medios propuestos por D. Antonio de Barrasa y Cárdenas al Virrey para la reducción de los indios’, Sica Sica, 2. V.1632, *Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid), Ms. 19282, f.236.
97. *ANB*, EC 1661-16, f.59.
98. There were various proposals in favour of the use of ethnic costume: see the proposal of S. Vigil de Quiñones: ‘that in Potosí each indian should be obliged to dress with the costume of his Province’, around 1625, *Biblioteca Universitaria* (Sevilla), V.330/122, doc.43.
99. *Memorial*, Potosí, September 1661, *AGI*, EC 868A, ff.15,16,20.
100. ‘Relación ... de La Plata’, 1609, *Archivo del Duque del Infantado*, Vol.32, doc.100 (photocopy in *ANB*).
101. 1617 in F. de Viedma, *Descripción (...) de Santa Cruz* (Cochabamba, 1969), p.280.
102. Report of Lic. Luna Ybarra, 1623–26, in *AGI*, Charcas 54.
103. *ANB*, 2 November 1603.
104. *ANB*, Minas t.125, No.1100.
105. *Memorial y relación de las cosas*
106. Ramírez del Aguila, *Noticias Políticas de Indias* (1639), J. Urioste, ed. p.123.
107. N. Wachtel, *Sociedad e ideología* (Lima, 1973), p.142.
108. In Juli ‘Hernando Pizarro and other captains had burned more than 600 indians in a shed’, 29 March 1574, ‘Visita del Lic. Gutiérrez F.’, *AGI*, Contaduría 1787, f.10.
109. ‘Hernando Pizarro ... burned my grandfather, together with all the *caciques* of *umasuyu* and *urqusuyu* in the *tambo* of Pucarani of the Province of Omasuyos’: evidence of S. Tancara and D. Chura, Achacachi, 22 October 1607, in *ANB*, EC 1610-12.
110. *Nueva crónica ... 1615* (Paris, 1936), p.762.
111. See the case of don Francisco Aymoro in around 1560, *AGI*, Charcas 44, which is similar to the young don M. Qhari; for the mechanisms of succession, see Rivera and Platt in *Avances*, No.1 (La Paz, 1978). cf N.126.
112. For the Lupaqa, see N. Wachtel, *Sociedad e ideología*, pp.140-42.
113. W. Espinosa Soriano, ‘El alcalde mayor de Indios’, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, tomo XVII (Sevilla, 1960).
114. *Ibid.*, pp.285-86.
115. Berenguela, 22 September 1644, in *AGI*, EC 868A, f.250.

116. Evidence of his wealth is contained in his will, published by S. Rivera, 'El Mallku y la sociedad colonial en el siglo XVII: el caso de Jesús de Machaca', in *Avances*, No.1 (La Paz, 1978). cf N.126.
117. G.Fernández Guarachi, 1649, *doc. cit. AGI*, f.190v.
118. T. Saignes, 'Les colons de Machaca à Timusi ...', (Paris, 1982).
119. *Documento etnohistórico* (La Paz, 1974).
120. See the survey of 1690 in Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978), p.117.
121. W. Espinosa Soriano, 'El alcalde mayor de Indios', pp.286-297.
122. Undated *pleito*, facsimile edition in Ramírez del Aguila, *Noticias políticas de Indias* (Sucré, 1978).
123. See the evidence of the Colque Guarachi in *AGI*, Quito 30.
124. *ANB*, EC 1664-23.
125. Pomata and Hilave, in Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú*, p.125.
126. See the studies of the *caciques* of Pomata and Calamarca by J.V. Murra, 'Aymara lords and their European agents at Potosí', in *Nova Americana*, no.1 (Torino, 1978); and R. Choque, 'Pedro Chipana: cacique comerciante de Calamarca', in *Avances*, No.1 (La Paz, 1978).
127. See the complaints in W. Espinosa Soriano, ed., 'El memorial de los caciques de las provincias de las Charcas', *Revista Cantuta* (Chosica, 1969).
128. '*los mandan con tanta soberbia ...*'; see the whole paragraph of Lic. P. Ramírez del Aguila, *Noticias políticas de Indias*, p.124; and the survey of 1690 in Potosí.
129. Evidence of the Pocoata Indians, in Ramírez del Aguila, *Noticias políticas de Indias*, p.126; see also the property of the Guarachi from Machaca, or the description of the house belonging to the Aymoro in La Plata, *ibid.*, p.63.
130. *AGI*, Quito 30; Charcas 56; Charcas 45; Charcas 44.
131. Potosí (1637) in *AGI*, Charcas 56; La Plata (1661-2), in *AGI*, EC 868A.
132. W. Espinosa Soriano, 'El alcalde mayor de Indios ...'.
133. J. de Carvajal y Sandi, Granada, 30 September 1646, in *ANB*, EC Minas t.125, No.1110.
134. See the analysis in C.B. Loza and T. Saignes, 'El pleito entre don Bartolomé Qhari, mallku de los Lupaqa y los corregidores de Chucuito (1619-1643)', in *Historia y Cultura*, Nos. 5-6 (La Paz, 1984).
135. T. Saignes, "Algún dia todo se andará — les mouvements ethniques dans le sud andin au XVIIe siècle"; communication presented at symposium on 'indianist movements', Paris, ERSIPAL, May 1983. New Spanish version in the press, Cusco.
136. 'the Indians offered the kingdom to the English', P. Ramírez del Aguila, *Noticias políticas de Indias*, pp.133-34.
137. A. Crespo, *Historia de la ciudad de La Paz, siglo XVII* (La Paz, 1961).

138. Such as the sanctuary of Caltama, between Yura and Toropalca, in the province of Porco, which had '... five idols ... and a sorcerer ... to whom flocked the indians of Charka, Qharaqhara, Chui, Karanqa, Yampare and Chicha' at the end of the sixteenth century. *AGI*, Charcas 79.
139. S. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest* (Wisconsin, 1982), p.80.

GLOSSARY

agregado — migrant incorporated into an **ayllu** or **hacienda** different from his place of birth. (cf *forastero*)

alcalde(sa) — mayor, chosen authority of a town (indian or Spanish).

Alcalde Mayor — maximum indian authority of inter-regional scope, created at the end of the 16th century.

alférez — sponsor of an annual *fiesta*.

Altiplano — High Andean Plain.

anansaya (Que.) — upper moiety.

apiri (Ay.) — indian bearer.

arrendire — migrant settled in an **hacienda** or indian hamlet.

arriero — drover (of a caravan of llamas or mules).

Audiencia — High Court of Justice with administrative powers.

ausente — indian tributary absent from his *reducción* (q.v.).

ayllu (Que.) — territorial groups organised into segmentary systems with a tendency towards endogamy.

azoguero — mining entrepreneur.

cabildo — town or village council.

cacique — indian chief or lord.

cacique de origen — indian chief whose position is determined by descent.

capitanía de mita — jurisdiction of the indian regional authority charged with the recruitment of *mita* mineworkers.

capitán general — indian *mita* authority at the regional level.

capitán chico — local *mita* recruitment officer.

cargo — administrative or festive responsibility.

chacras (Que.) — cultivated fields.

cimarrón — fugitive.

cofradía — religious fraternity.

colquehaque (Ay.) — wealthy indian able to commute his *mita* service for money.

común — all the households (and their lands) of an **ayllu** or **pueblo** (q.q.v.).

Corregidor — Spanish Administrator of a Province.

encomendero — Spanish beneficiary of a grant to the tribute and services of determined groups of indians.

estanciero — owner of agricultural or pastoral property.

fanega — [arrobas] measure of volume and area.

forastero — migrant settled in an **ayllu** or **hacienda** different from his place of birth.

guatacamayo (Que.) — annually elected bailiff (*alguacil*) of a village council.

haata (Ay.) — endogamous territorial group (equivalent in Aymara of Quechua **ayllu**).

hatun runa (Que.) — indian tributary (18–50 years).

hilacata (Ay.) — (Aymara) low-level **ayllu** chief.

ichu (stipa) (Que.) — dry Puna grass.

kuraka (Que.) — indian lord.

llactaruna (Que.) — seasonal migrant.

- mallku** (Ay.) — indian lord.
- marahaque** (Ay.) — indian contracted for a year's personal service.
- marka** (Ay.) — indian town with its population and territory.
- mayordomo** — steward.
- mita** (Que. Ay.) — turn of work, rotative labour.
- mitayo** — rotative indian labourer.
- de séptima parte* — rotative labour (in principle equivalent to a seventh of an indian rural town) in Spanish lands.
- mitima, mitma** (Que.) — 'colonist' sent out to occupy distant ecological niches by an ethnic group.
- natural** — indian residing at his place of birth.
- numeración general** — general census.
- originario** — v. *natural* (*originario* is more common in the 18th century).
- parcialidad** — moiety.
- peso** — Spanish unit of coinage.
- corriente** — current (8 *reales* in value).
- ensayado** — assayed (12 *reales* in value).
- principal** — indian authority.
- pueblo** — indian town.
- pueblo viejo** — pre-Toledan settlement.
- puna** (Que.) — Andean highlands.
- quiruas** (Ay.) — temperate valleys and their inhabitants.
- reducción** — concentration of settlements into a new town.
- regidor** — municipal authority.
- repartimiento** — group of **ayllus** forming a fiscal unit (there may be several in each **encomienda**).
- señorío** — regional federation of **ayllus** according to shared moiety principles (dual kingdom).
- suyu** (Que. Ay.) — division, distribution.
- tambo** (Que.) — inn, posting house.
- tasa** (Ay.) — tribute, and the land for which tribute is paid.
- topo** (Que.) — in pre-Hispanic times, a *sufficiency*, variously defined, converted by the Spanish into a fixed measure or amount.
- tributario** — adult indian (18–50 years old) liable to tribute-payment.
- umasuyu, urqusuyu** (Ay.) — symbolic and geographical divisions of Aymara space: the 'division of water' and the 'division of mountain'.
- urinsaya** (Que.) — lower moiety.
- Uru** (Ay.) — Aymara term for various ethnic groups associated with lakes, rivers and the Pacific coast.
- visita** — inspection.
- wak'a** (Que.) — sacred place of origin.
- yanacona** (Que.) — indian dependant, of service.
- del Rey, de Su Magestad* — indian dependant who pays tribute direct to the Royal Treasury.
- yungas** (Ay.) — deep, subtropical valleys.

Table 1: Regional Organisation and

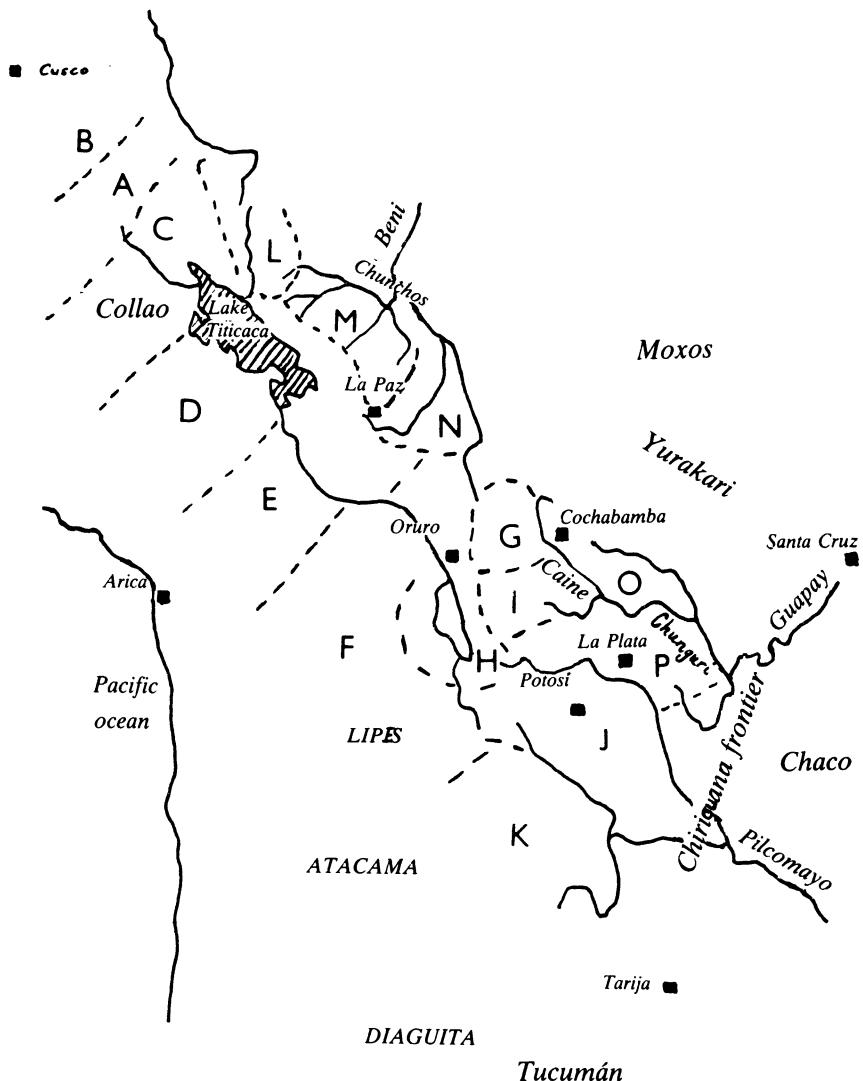
REGIONAL FEDERATIONS	'CAPITANIAS DE MITA'	PROVINCES	MITIMAES IN 'obligadas' subject to <i>mita</i>
1. PUNAS			
A CANAS/ B CANCHIS	Canas urco uma Canchis id.	Canas Quispicanchi	Colla/urco Chucuito
C COLLAS	Colla urco Colla uma	Lampa Paucarcolla Collasuyo	
D LUPAQAS	Lupaq. urco	Chucuito	
E PACASAS	Pacasa urco Pacasa uma	Pacajes Sica Sica Omasuyos	
F CARANQAS	Caran. urco	Carangas	Cochabamba
G SORAS	Soras	Paria	Cochabamba
H QUILLAQAS/ AZANAQUES	Quillaq. urco	Paria Porco	Cochabamba Porco (val)
I CHARCAS	Charcas uma	Chayanta	Cochabamba Chayanta
J CARACARAS	Caracara urco	Chayanta Porco	Chayanta Porco
K CHICHAS	Chichas	Chichas y Tarija	
2. VALLEY:			
L CALABAYAS		Carabaya Larecaja Sica Sica	
M YUNGAS			
N QUIRUAS			
O COTAS/CHUIS			
P YAMPARAS		Pocona/ Mizque Yamparaez	

Demographic Evolution of Indian Tributaries

41

PROVINCES 'libres exempted	TRIBUTARIES						'MITAYOS'	
	1575	Native 1645	1684	1645	Foreign 1684		1578	1617
Larecaja Yamparaez	6110 1292	3219 2235	3639 881	925 631	1079 571		796 172	783 159
Carabaya	7931	2137	2287	1277	2282		1044	576
Larecaja	5400	1775	692	1263	858		561	510
Pocona	6283	2478	1848	614	1585		902	804
Larecaja Sica Sica Arica	17872	3194	4378	1290	2874		2202	1854
Arica	9477	2546	2369	1522	1079		1522	1461
Sica Sica	2280	1286	904	1336	1134		357	?
Larecaja	7968	963	1295	1498	3608		915	747
Arica Yamparaez	6254	1391	2337	131	242		994	1017
Yamparaez Pilaya/Pa.	3801 1992 6070	1987	2856	323 ?	690		645 329 608 196	240 609 195
Yamparaez Pilaya/Pa.	3137 4843	?	1980 4366	?	110 1200		546 828	542 771
	313	1167	717	376	608		20	?

We do not have sufficiently detailed data to differentiate ethnic tributaries (yungas, cotas, etc.) of the total population of each Valley province (Larecaja, Sica Sica, Cochabamba, Mizque, Yamparaez).



Ethnic groups and geographical areas

Capital letters represent ethnic groups (names in table 1)

LIPÉS — Name of ethnic groups

■ Spanish town (or city)

1/10,000,000 scale.

**Table 2: Tributaries and Ethnic *Mitayos*:
Three Regional Cases, 1575–1625**

Dates	TRIBUTARIES				'MITAYOS'		Present	Absentees
	1575	1608	1618	1620	1578	1617		
1 <i>Lupaqa</i>								
CHUCUITO	3407		2697		408	348	328	20
ACORA	2441		2247		312	270	218	52
HILAVE	2378		2318		288	249	173	76
JULI	3216		2745		426	315	137	178
POMATA	2379		2103		318	279	134	145
YUNGUYO	1478		1292		210	183	40	183
ZEPITA	1764		2451		240	210	164	46
TOTAL	17063		15853		2202	1854	1194	660
2 <i>Pacajes</i>								
VIACHA	850	651			136	135	75	60
TAIHUANACO	868	713			129	129	123	6
GUAQUI	1286	1028			174	174	24	150
CALLAPA	1228	1201			195	195	175	20
CAQUINGORA	1618	1650			258	258	228	30
CAQUIAVIRI	1513	1446			243	243	213	30
MACHACA LA G ^{de}	1310	1088			204	204	184	20
J. DE MACHACA	802	809			122	123	93	30
TOTAL	9475	8586			1461	1461	1115	546
3 <i>Cochabamba</i>								
TAPACARI	1169		558		199	192	60	132
SIPE SIPE	815		304		139	48	23	25
PASO	680		364		116	63	13	50
TIQUIPAYA	502		300		85	84	0	84
TOTAL	3179		1526		539	387	96	291

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