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The emergence of colonial fiscal categorizations in Peru. Forasteros and yanaconas del rey, sixteenth to nineteenth centuries

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ABSTRACT

The article traces the emergence and further development of two related fiscal categorizations concerning indigenous peoples in the viceroyalty of Peru: *forasteros* and *yanaconas del rey*. Broadly speaking, both categorizations denoted indigenous people living outside their original communities, generally without access to communal lands, and therefore often characterized as migrants. As we will show, access to land and migration were not always and everywhere present. We analyze these social and fiscal categorizations from conquest to the early nineteenth century, occasionally addressing several related minor classifications, such as *quintero*, which were regionally limited. We argue that the General Visitation by Viceroy Mancera in 1645 was a turning point since it included for the first time separate lists of *yanaconas del rey* and *forasteros* within the tributary censuses.

KEYWORDS

Colonial Spanish America; Peru; migration; tribute; labor history; visita; categorization

Introduction

The present article traces the emergence and further development of two fiscal categorizations¹ concerning indigenous peoples in the viceroyalty of Peru: *forasteros* and *yanaconas del rey*. Broadly speaking, both categorizations denoted indigenous people living outside their original communities, generally without access to communal lands, and therefore often characterized as migrants. However, as both categorizations were hereditary, people categorized as such were not always actively migrating.² They were distinguished from the *indios originarios*, the indigenous people living in their original communities and subject to their indigenous lords, especially concerning fiscal matters. For *forasteros*, we identified two alternative forms: either they continued paying the head tax called tribute to their original cacique, being only theoretically obliged to the labor draft of the *mita* and thus sometimes not being recorded as such, or they paid a reduced tribute, and were legally exempt from *mita* obligations. In some regions, the second form became organized in so-called *ayllus forasteros* during the seventeenth century. While the first form was more common in the Audiencia de Charcas, the latter

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form of *forasteros* prevailed in the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima. The second categorization, *yanaconas del rey*, were indigenous people that did not recognize their original caciques and did not have Spanish masters. Since early colonial times, they were exempt from mita obligations and their tribute was payed directly to the royal exchequer. In some places and periods, *forasteros* and *yanaconas del rey* were synonymous. This is what we mean when we speak of *forastero* and *yanacona del rey* as a concept.

We trace these social and fiscal categorizations from conquest to the early nineteenth century, occasionally addressing several related minor classifications, such as *quintero*, which were regionally limited. We draw on colonial literature from different areas in Spanish South America where these categorizations were in play. However, since our study regions are Charcas and the northern part of the Audiencia of Lima, most sources employed, and conclusions stated, are valid basically for these areas.³ Indeed, we will highlight regional differences, which in some respects are significant.

We ask why and when these categorizations began to be employed in the colonial fiscal system, and in what respects they may have differed from other fiscal categorizations. Furthermore, we trace changes in legal conceptualizations, as well as their implementation in practice. An important topic to be addressed is the relationship between indigenous communities and Spanish enterprises, including matters of migration, inheritance, and the indigenous labor force.

The emergence of these categorizations was closely related to an important transition that took place along the colonial period: from personal to territorial association. We describe this transition together with the changes we found among the fiscal categorizations.

With respect to previous scholarship, our original contribution is threefold: first, it focuses on the *longue durée* for two categorizations that were previously studied for the long seventeenth century; second, we identify regional differentiation, as most research has centered on areas near Charcas and Cuzco; third, we undertake an analysis of the relationship between categorizations. While the *forastero* categorization has received broad scholarly attention, *yanacona del rey* remains much less covered. A related categorization, *yanacona de españoles*, has been the object of considerably more research.⁴

Sources and methodology

All of our sources concern categorizations belonging to the fiscal realm, focusing on a specific indigenous tax, called tribute in Spanish America.⁵ The types of sources are diverse. On the one hand, we examine fiscal legislation to account for normative and rule-setting perspectives from above. On the other hand, we analyze the implementation and contestation of such legislation, first by analyzing demographic and treasury documents, including visitations (*visitas*), censuses (*padrones*, usually recording only tributaries and their families), and treasury books (*cajas reales*); second, we analyze individual contestations of such categorizations as expressed in petitions and trials.⁶ This broad selection of sources allows us to simultaneously consider law and practice, both as structures and processes.⁷ We would like to highlight that we drew primarily on census documents and *visitas* to demarcate our periodization. Regional locations for these sources can be found in [Figure 1](#).

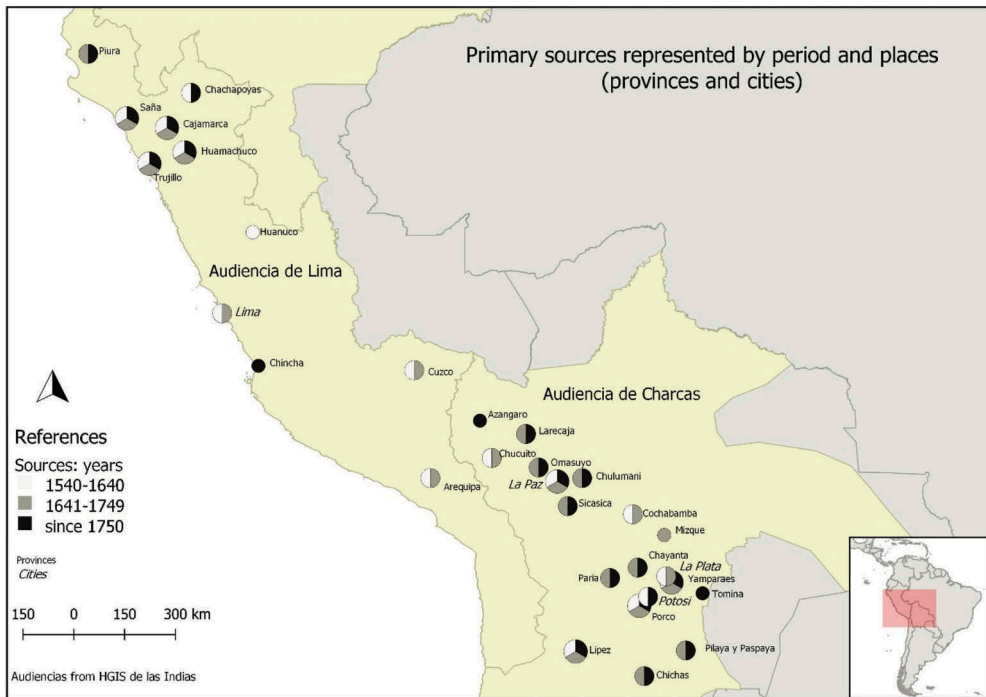


Figure 1. Provinces and cities where we found at least one primary source belonging to each proposed period. Map by the authors.¹⁰

Nebrija, in his 1492 dictionary of the Castilian language, noted that “language was always the companion of empire.”⁸ This is also visible in the creation of new terms through the fiscal (re)organization of Spanish America (*forastero*), as well as the adaptation of pre-Hispanic terms (*yanacona*). Conceptual history in the broadest sense⁹ helps us trace the development of the two fiscal categorizations that concern us here. As proposed by Koselleck (2010), our approach is diachronic and parses between terms or words, on the one hand, and concepts on the other hand. We describe the usage of terms in the sources, pointing out regional and chronological differences, and attempt to identify those concepts underlying them; i.e. what reality they denoted. As we will show, in the case of the *forastero*, the idea or concept predated its acquisitions of fiscal connotations. In the case of the *yanacona del rey*, the term *yanacona* already existed prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, but the specification “del rey” (“of the king”) denoted a partial conceptual shift. This means that practical use of the concept preceded its legalization and normalization. We propose that we can identify the consolidation of the concept when it was the header of a specific part of the censuses: the first “padrones de *forasteros*” and “padrones de *yanaconas del rey*” were those from the mid-seventeenth century. From then on, almost all censuses contained those *padrones*.

Some categorizations were more prominent than others in our selected sources. Generally, we can say that despite the fact that we are combining different types of sources, we are only able to grasp a small amount of those documents that detail the formation and transformation of categorizations, since not everything was put onto paper and not every paper was preserved.

It is important to combine several types of sources because not all fiscal categorizations were visible at every level. This is due to a process of standardization within the fiscal hierarchy. While a wide array of categorizations existed at the local level, tribute incomes at the highest levels were often only recorded under the general categorization, “tributaries.”¹¹ On many occasions haciendas were not even included in the *visitas*, and caciques sometimes hid some of their subjects. Additionally, some regions lacked censuses and visitations for specific periods, such as the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima during the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. These considerations motivated us to examine other sources to complete the analysis.

The first Spanish colonial century: prevalence of personal associations

Several scholars have pointed out that in the pre-Hispanic Andes, and also medieval Spain, social membership was organized in the form of “personal associations,” instead of “territorial associations” more common today – although most of them do not employ this terminology.¹² During the first century of colonial rule, the Andean corporate social units called ayllus,¹³ and later the *encomiendas* or *repartimientos*, were at the center of labor organization and fiscal obligations. In fact, the *encomiendas* benefited from ayllus organizations and were similarly structured as personal associations: this regally sanctioned institution permitted some Spaniards taking part in the conquest to acquire rights to receive tribute from native authorities and any people subject to them. However, *encomiendas* and ayllus were far from equivalent, partly because of the territorial discontinuity that classical studies by Murra (1972a) have shown, and partly because of the way that colonial enterprises demanded and used the labor force, among others. Personal associations stressed the role that native authorities had on fulfilling colonial obligations.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, those natives, later called *originarios*, were the primary focus of the sources we analyzed. Spanish authorities focused on people living in communities subject to a native authority, to a Spanish *encomendero*, or to the crown. The majority of the visitations we analyzed were thus organized according to personal associations, centered on the ayllus or similar structures (Barrientos 1967; Noack 1996; Simatovic and del Pilar 1992; “Relación de los indios tributarios”; “1925”). During this period, visitation documents did not generally specify if indigenous people under scrutiny were living in haciendas, textile mills, or mining camps. The main exceptions were the *yanaconas*.

The *yanaconas*, indigenous tributaries not subject to a native authority, were also present in the early sources we analyzed. In the 1562 visitation of Huanuco, for example, some “free” *yanaconas* were listed in a specific *padrón* in the town Rumar. They were tributaries who were not subordinated to Spaniards, and wanted to move around freely (Diez de San Miguel and Espinoza Soriano 1964, 147). There were also *padrones* from urban *yanaconas* collected in Potosí, La Plata, Porco and La Paz.¹⁴ Freedom was a problem for this categorization of people. For Juan de Matienzo, if the *yanaconas* freed themselves from their native authorities, they needed to become subject to a Spanish master because of their “natural idleness” (Matienzo de Peralta 1567).¹⁵

Personal associations were challenged by migrations and people’s movements. It is important to stress, however, that indigenous displacement in the Andes did not begin

with the Spanish conquest. From the beginning, the Spaniards were surprised by the number of people living beyond their communities of origin (Mumford 2012).¹⁶ Since haciendas, mines, urban households, and textile mills needed a labor force, many Spaniards promoted the free movement of indigenous peoples. By contrast, however, two Spanish institutions bound some indigenous peoples to specific “masters”: the *encomiendas* and later the mining *mita*. Although the Spaniards moved their laborers away from towns, they were attached to specific masters and were not free to move. Additionally, indigenous movements were also restricted by the first resettlements, or *reducciones*, which were initiated in the north by Gregorio González de Cuenca in the late 1560s before the general resettlement by Toledo in the 1570s (Ramírez 1996, 30).¹⁷ The resettlement programs were supposed to restore indigenous people to the authority of their original cacique in centralized towns (“De los Caciques,” in *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*, 1680, Ley VII).¹⁸ Even if people moved, they were supposed to return and pay tribute to their authorities. This is visible in the 1562 visitation of Huanuco, where those who had left their resettlement towns were still counted in official records (Murra 1972b; Díez de San Miguel and Soriano 1964).

It is interesting to remark that the majority of these visitations recorded migrants according to their places of origin and not their places of residence. However, an important and early exception was that of the native town of Curamarca, in the province of Huanuco, where in 1567 four “houses” inhabited by *forasteros* were listed according to their caciques, and other *forasteros* were listed after the *originarios*, and related to their *encomendero* and town of origin. These *forasteros* claimed to be tributaries in Curamarca and did not want to return to their town of origin (Díez de San Miguel and Soriano 1964, 130).

Ramírez has shown how in the northern Audiencia de Lima, the disruptions brought by Spanish conquest led to a reorganization of cacique’s roles, tribute payment, and settlement patterns already established in the first decades. This led to increased and sometimes uncontrolled movements of people who, in some cases, rented land from caciques other than their own (Ramírez 1996, 21). It is in this context where we found some of the earliest formulations of the *forastero* concept, although the precise term was not yet being used. Instead, the term *advenedizo* is used, which could be roughly translated as “coming from someplace different.” This is most visible in the following important passage of an instruction that Francisco Pizarro gave to Diego Verdejo in 1540:

[...] you should be especially careful with all the caciques as to know which foreign indians [*yndios advenedizos*] subject to other caciques and *mitimaes* they have in their lands from other towns and knowing it you should write them down in order not to allocate [*repartan*] them to one cacique belonging rightfully to another one [...] (“1921,” in *Gobernantes del Perú*, 22–23).

In this example, we clearly see the strong influence of the personal association, as people pass from one cacique to another, while we can also see some of the first indicators that they had a different status than the caciques’ original subjects.

Some indigenous individuals and families may have been living completely free from caciques and Spanish masters. However, free indigenous people are less visible in the sources, perhaps because the ideal “*indio*” was the one living under personal association. Personal associations structured the way the visitations were made, and the kinds of information they record.

Radical changes with Toledo?

In 1571, the famous viceroy Francisco de Toledo had already assumed power. His influence on the reorganization of indigenous life through an extensive resettlement program, and by establishing mita labor drafts – especially the Potosí mining mita – has been amply documented (e.g. Mumford 2012; Glave 2017). Although his reforms were based on previous organizations, both Incan and Spanish, the geographical scale of his reorganization was unprecedented.

Despite the importance of Toledo's rule, relatively few visitation documents remain to convey local or regional details (Mumford 2012). The majority of documents that are preserved are related reports, correspondences, and the tribute scale, or *tasa* that summarized existing classifications.¹⁹ However, there are many legal rulings that we included in our analysis. Besides an isolated use of the term *forastero* in a nonfiscal context,²⁰ Toledo did not employ this categorization in his ordinances. He did only speak of *naturales* and *mitimaes*, on the one hand, and *yanacunas* on the other. While the first one denominated indigenous people living in their original (or rather reduced) towns, which together with the *mitimaes* had access to communal lands, the *yanacunas* were separated from this kind of communities.

Although Toledo did not speak of *forasteros*, the concept of the *yanacuna del rey* was present in his tribute scale and ordinances. A 1571 decree stipulated that, unlike the *yanacunas* working in Spanish enterprises such as mines or haciendas, the *yanacuna del rey* should only pay tribute to the Spanish king ("De los tributos," in *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*, 1680, Ley V y VI). The term Toledo used was "yanacunas vacos," which later were denominated as *yanacunas del rey* (Provisión sobre los indios yanacunas de los Charcas. La Plata, 6.2.1574. BNP, Mss. B. 511, fols. 227–38; Sarabia Viejo 1986, 290; Cf. also Wightman 1990, 18). Some "yanacunas vacos" were also present in the tribute scale, for example, those from Yucay (Cook 1975).

The post-Toledo forasteros and yanacunas del rey

Following Toledo, the idea of personal associations still dominated the organization of visitations until the mid-seventeenth century. We can appreciate this relationship in the way indigenous migrants were represented in the sources: they were called absentees (*ausentes*), *yanacunas*, and *forasteros*. The presence of absentees is the most significant in this sense: most of the time they were only listed in their communities of origin where they were not actually living. When they were recorded in the places of residence, they were associated with their original native authorities and ayllus. As *forasteros* or *yanacunas del rey*, they were thus often invisible.

The absentees were registered in almost all sources. In the visitations, absentees were sometimes listed separately and sometimes listed together with the tributaries that were present. This is the case of late sixteenth-century visitations, such as that of Yamparaes (1592), where the officer listed those who were absent (AGNA, 1592, Sala XIII-18-4-1). The visitation made in Potobamba in 1584 focused on natives and on people who ran away, but it also listed all native tributaries that were not previously recorded. The sources suggest that authorities compared results with other visitations and other documents, such as parish registers.²¹ Other early seventeenth-century visitations, such as those made

between 1603 and 1627 in LÍpez, Yamparaes and Porco, were based on the *originarios* and also recorded the absentees. The records were not thorough: there were no specific absentees' padrones, and they were not listed with their family. However, sometimes separate lists of absentees were elaborated, and even demanded by Viceroy Velasco. This was the case of a 1606 visitation to Trujillo wherein those whose whereabouts could not be traced were listed separately for each indigenous authority, adding the number of years they had been gone. Other absentees were noted throughout the list but without indicating their whereabouts and reasons for leaving, as the instructions for visitations required.²²

The Viceroy's memoirs written during the early seventeenth century referred constantly to Viceroy Toledo's categorizations, and to the disruption of the *reducciones*. Their principal concern was the availability of a labor force for both agriculture and personal services. They mainly commented, therefore, on the situation of those yanaconas that were servants in the haciendas, attached to the land, and not free to move.²³ The yanaconas were also included in some visitations of this period, although rarely the yanaconas *del rey*. An interesting example is that of Ollantaytambo, where the authorities created a special ayllu of the yanaconas *del rey* (Glave and Remy 1983, 7).²⁴ There, peoples belonging to different ayllus were listed together, because the population of their ayllu had decreased significantly since the conquest. A particular case is that of the mining camps and cities such as Porco or Potosí, where the authorities performed special *padrones* of yanaconas *del rey* since the sixteenth century.

The expression "indio forastero" clearly emerges as general term and concept in the memoirs of the Viceroy Montesclaros (1607–1615) and Esquilache (1615–1621), who ordered the caciques not to accept them in their towns (Polo 1921, 206). Montesclaros instructed the *corregidores* to oblige the *forasteros* to return to their towns of origin, or to pay their caciques the tribute and to fulfill their mita obligations. If they did not fulfil these payments and obligations, they should compel them to fulfil them in their place of residence (Wightman 1990).

However, during the reigns of Montesclaros and Esquilache, the *forasteros* were still nearly invisible in the visitations. An interesting exception is the 1613 census in Lima, a city where almost all tributaries were immigrants. The authorities asked all tributaries about their town of origin, cacique, encomendero, occupation, and how long they were living in the city. They received this information from almost all indigenous people included in the census. It is remarkable that although almost all of them were immigrants, only some were labelled as *forasteros* in the summary.²⁵ It is difficult to understand why, as there was no explanatory remark in the census. Those *forasteros* could have been those who did not know, for example, their places of origin, caciques, or encomenderos. Another early example of a census-like register of *forasteros*, albeit not in the form of a visitation, is from Cajamarca in the north. There, a "memoria de indios forasteros" owing tribute to the crown, and living in the Cajamarca province, was elaborated in 1622 by one of the royal officers.²⁶

From the fiscal perspective, the tributes paid by *forasteros* were recorded relatively late in the royal treasury books. The explanation is simple: most of them paid to their authorities, so their payment was recorded under the name of their communities of origin. However, there are a few exceptions: in Cuzco there are some records of *forasteros'* tributes from 1583 to 1593; and there are scattered records in Trujillo (1625 and 1626) and in Arequipa (1625).²⁷

Consolidation and changes to the categorizations

The systematic inclusion of forasteros in censuses

The general visitation ordered by Viceroy Pedro Álvarez de Toledo y Leiva, Marqués de Mancera (1639–1648), shows the most significant change regarding our research question. In this source, the *forasteros* and *yanaconas del rey* were listed systematically for the first time in specific sections, apart from the rest of the population. Since Mancera recognized the decrease of the population and the necessity to reconsider the distribution of mita obligations, the visitation was centered on the region influenced by the Potosí mita. Viceroy Mancera ordered the priests to report all indigenous people living in their jurisdictions, *originarios* as well as *forasteros*. Some of the original *padrones* are preserved today in the AGNA, and a summary is published as a report written by Felipe de Bolívar (Procurador General y diputado del Gremio de los Azogueros) to Viceroy Mancera.²⁸ Bolívar's report offers us a general view of the population included in the general visitation: 21.8% of the tributaries were *forasteros* and 14.2% were *yanaconas*.

The quality of the original visitation is poor compared to previous sources we have analyzed. The visitation was performed in indigenous towns as well as in Spanish enterprises, such as mining camps or haciendas. Each indigenous town was listed in a different way and not all visitations in the provinces are complete. In Mocomoco, for example, the priest jointly listed those *forasteros* that were permanent in the town, others that were in transit, and others that were in town as long as they were provided with food, "because if there is no food, they fled to other parts" (AGNA, 1645 Sala IX, 20-4-4). Some *forasteros* were listed together with the *yanaconas del rey*, and some were called *advenedizos*. In Larecaja, there were only a few haciendas listed, and in almost all of them, the priest claimed that indigenous laborers were mobile and went there for the harvest. In Machacamarca, for example, the tributaries were listed as *yanaconas*, and at the end of the text the priest wrote: "These are the *indios* from this hacienda and it is important to note that some of them are here today, but tomorrow they can go to other parts, and they are not fixed in this hacienda" (AGNA Sala IX, 20-4-4. Machacamarca, Larecaja, 13/8/1645). This was also the case in some jurisdictions of Cochabamba. In Sacaba, Ayopaya, and Tapacarí, for example, the priests who performed the visitations wrote that indigenous people were mobile and arrived in the valley as there were many sources of food. There were also fugitives seeking to escape authorities and their mita obligations. In such cases, the priests did not distinguish between *forasteros* and *yanaconas*.

A different case was that of Tarija. There the priest listed the *yanaconas* that were living and working in different haciendas, who were clearly subject to a Spanish "master." They were, apparently, less free to move than those of Larecaja or Cochabamba. We can distinguish, however, some indigenous people living in the city of Tarija that were similar to the *yanaconas del rey*, although the priest did not use the term.

For the Audiencia de Lima, we have only found notice of the original *padrones* of Mancera's visitation for the province south of Cuzco, called Canas y Canchis, already analyzed by Glave (1992, ch. 2), and for Arequipa analyzed by Sánchez Albornoz (1982b). The priests also separately registered *originarios* and *forasteros*, and seemed to reveal similar heterogeneity like that of Charcas.²⁹

For the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima, we have to rely on related types of sources. Documents from Cajamarca reflect an ongoing struggle between personal and territorial associations, as well as heterogeneous procedures for the registration of *forasteros* and *yanaconas del rey*.

On the one hand, there are some indications that they were still not uniformly registered. This seems to indicate a tribute scale from 1652 in which only the tributaries from the seven *guarangas* were enumerated, including *mitimaes* from other regions, but no records of *forasteros* (ARC, 1652, Corregimiento, Causas ordinarias, Tributos, Leg. 02).³⁰ The contradictions between these periods are reflected in a viceregal provision from 1658 by Luis Enriquez, in response to a plea from a Cajamarcan cacique. The provision stated that since 1631 absentees who had lived outside their original towns for more than 20 years would not be obliged to return, pay tribute and perform mita in their place of residence; although this provision was later retracted. In the particular case of 217 absentees from the seven *guarangas*, their period of absence was shorter, and therefore the previous *visitas* under viceroy Mancera allegedly continued to list them in their places of origin in Cajamarcan towns. But since their whereabouts remained unknown, and they could not be obliged to return, viceroy Enriquez allowed the caciques to eliminate absentees from their tribute lists. This presented a pragmatic solution that privileged territorial associations, while still acknowledging the validity of personal associations (ARC, 1658, Corregimiento, Tributos, Leg. 02, Exp. 44). The existence of a separate *padrón* of *forasteros* in 1650 indicates that they were still not systematically listed in the *padrones* of all tributaries (ARLL, 1652, Real Hacienda, Tributos, Leg. 144, Exp. 550). Furthermore, an order by Viceroy Conde de Santiesteban from 1662 still emphasized the need to bring back absentees. Acknowledging that this could take some time, he also commanded visitations to register the *forasteros* in their place of residence (AGI, 1654/1672, Lima, 280).

On the other hand, the registration of *forasteros* and *yanaconas del rey* in their places of residence is visible in a considerable number of northern sources from the same period. In this region, both terms were often employed synonymously. Even slightly before the beginning of Mancera's reign, in 1636, we have furthermore noticed the existence of a separate *ayllu* of *forasteros* in Cajamarca.³¹ This is significantly earlier than the *ayllu forastero* that Wightman (1990, 74) reports for Cuzco after the 1720s. The existence of this "kingroup of strangers," as Whightman aptly describes it, is paradigmatic for the tension between personal and territorial association: it fixed and recognized *forasteros* in their place of residence, as an expression of territorial association that has already been pointed out by Glave and Saignes (Glave 1999, 507–8; Saignes 1999, 104).³² The figure of an indigenous governor for these *forasteros* resembles forms of personal association, recalling a parallel with the *guaranga de mitimaes*.³³

It is also in the 1630s that petitions appear by people claiming to be *forasteros* or *yanaconas del rey* in the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima.³⁴ They defended their privilege of being exempt from mita obligations, and of paying a reduced tribute that, at least in Cajamarca, was called a *quinto*. This is why in Cajamarca *forasteros*, as well as *yanaconas del rey*, were often labelled *quinteros*. In most documents, the three terms *forastero*, *yanacona del rey*, and *quintero* appear to be employed synonymously, and were often jointly enumerated.

The consolidation of the forasteros and changes among the yanaconas

From Viceroy Mancera onwards, the *forasteros* and *yanaconas* were listed in nearly all visitations.³⁵ They were, consequently, much more “visible” in our sources, although we know they already existed before. Also noticeable are instructions on how to carry out these visitations (e.g. AGI, 1654/1672, Lima, 280). As we suggested in previous sections, despite massive migrations, indigenous authorities kept records of their peoples in the form of absentees, or *mitimaes* living in other provinces. As time goes by, distance as well as other causes affected relationships between tributaries and their native authorities.³⁶ This change took place over the years, together with the consolidation of the *forastero*’s categorization.

From the fiscal perspective, the major change that occurred in this period was the transition from personal to territorial association. This transition became very clear in the General Visitation organized by Viceroy Melchor de Navarra y Rocaful, Duque de La Palata (1681–1689). His instruction for the general visitation reveals both the persistence of Toledo’s organization, as well as knowledge of the changes we are describing. He ordered the separate recording of the indigenous population into eight notebooks (*cuadernos*), including *originarios*, three different types of absentees, *forasteros*, and three different types of *yanaconas*. We want to stress that in his instructions he sometimes bound *forasteros* to *yanaconas del rey*, and suggested that in some places these categorizations were synonymous.³⁷

Due to the persistent problem of fulfilling mita obligations, and the decrease of indigenous people in their towns of origin, La Palata changed the rules and ordered that tributaries were to be listed in their places of residence, and that local authorities must collect the tributes and organize the mita (*Memorias de los Virreyes 1859*, 233–66).³⁸ One of the main problems of the new system – identified by La Palata and by many other authorities from then on – was that the migrants lacked access to land, which allowed or compelled them to move about freely. La Palata thus decreed to give migrants land, and to treat them as *originarios*. In the opinion of this viceroy, land would permit the *forasteros* to sustain their families and to pay the tribute (AGNA, Sala IX 14-8-10).

Although La Palata’s reforms failed, the visitations reveal a transition that was taking place at this time: some *forasteros* still recognized their authorities of origin and paid them tributes, while others were paying to local authorities, and yet others to different authorities. Additionally, some of the *forasteros* were paying no tribute at all (e.g. AGNA, 1683, Sala XIII 17-3-1).³⁹ Only some of the *forasteros* were actually migrants, while others were descendants of migrants already living for one or more generations in other places. According to their declarations, some *forasteros* and *yanaconas* had access to land, but that was still irrelevant for their classification. In the southern part of the Viceroyalty, in addition, some of them became “sons in law” (*yernos*) after marrying local women, having the same obligations as *originarios* (AGNA, 1683, Sala XIII 17-3-1).⁴⁰ The transition is also evident in the structure of the visitation: absentees were as important as the people present, being *originarios*, *forasteros* or *yanaconas*. Personal associations coexisted with territorial associations.

Although La Palata’s inspection is not preserved for the northern Andes, we found some petitions that reveal its influence.⁴¹ In Huambos, cacique Francisco de Ayala called back some of his indigenous subjects who had migrated to the Piura area. He referred to decrees by La Palata, which stated that indigenous people who had left their towns after

the general inspection should return and pay tribute where they had been registered during the General Visitation (ARC, 1703, Corregimiento, Protector de Naturales, Tributos, Leg. 01, f. 4vs). However, the *corregidor* of Piura alleged that identical persons were simultaneously registered as tributaries in Piura. In the end, Piura's *corregidor* won the case, the tributaries were erased from Ayala's tribute list, and remained in Piura – probably as subjects to Spanish 'masters'. In this case, the territorial prevailed over the personal associations.

Since La Palata, the *forasteros* were sometimes visible in the royal treasury although not systematically. Beginning in 1682, we found some provinces where *forastero* tribute payments were registered in the royal treasury books, but not each year, and not always (AHP, 1682, Cajas Reales 467).

Although Viceroy La Palata tried to force the *forasteros* to pay tribute, and fulfill mita obligations, he had to modify his orders and diminish the *forasteros*' obligations by half, after massive protest.⁴² Those claims lead the next Viceroy, Melchor Antonio Portocarrero y Laso de la Vega, Conde de Monclova (1689–1705), to discuss and later to abolish La Palata's reforms. His consultants had different opinions as to what the *forasteros* had to do regarding tribute and mita. In the end, they were freed from mita obligations and were obliged to pay a tribute "proportionate to what was possible" (Wightman 1990, 450).

During the late seventeenth century, petitions by people claiming to be *forasteros*, and/or *yanaconas del rey*, had become a widespread phenomenon that lasted beyond independence from Spain. In the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima, as well as in Charcas, these people often claimed exemptions from mita obligations as well as payment of reduced tribute rates. In the southern part of Charcas, however, some of them demanded freedom, indicating more serf-like conditions (Gil Montero and Albiez-Wieck forthcoming).

Women figure much less frequently as *forasteras* in these sources than men, but they do occasionally appear. This is especially the case of marriage licenses (*dispensas matrimoniales*), as we could see in documents from the Archive of the Diocese of Cajamarca. By the late seventeenth century, the *forastero* categorization occasionally begins to emerge in long lists of marriage licenses. One early example is the case of Francisco Guaman, an *originario* who wanted to marry Luisa Rosa, original of the town Caudi in the *corregimiento* Tarama and *forastera* (AHDC, 1683, Legajos sueltos, S. XVIII, Leg. 2: 12.131). Another example of *forastero* women is one exceptional *padrón* of Larecaja (Ambana) performed during the General Visitation of La Palata (1683). The officer recorded all the categorizations and places of origin of both women and men alike (Gil Montero 2020).

The *forasteros* were visible, and colonial authorities wanted to collect their tribute since La Palata, but the sources show a long transition up through the last quarter of the eighteenth century. According to officers of the royal treasury of Buenos Aires, after La Palata they distinguished two different tributaries: those with lands (*originarios*) and those without lands (*forasteros*), being born or not born in the places where they resided. The meaning of "forasteros" changed, and was often not thereafter directly related to migration (AGNA, Sala IX 12-4-10. Buenos Aires, 25-02-1791).

The complexity of the relationship between *forasteros* and land rights is shown in the Peruvian censuses performed between 1725 and 1740, ordered in the beginning by Viceroy José de Armendáriz y Perurena, Marqués de Castelfuerte (1724–1736) (Pearce 2001). Castelfuerte instructed that all *forasteros* and *yanaconas* "owning land and

property in their villages of residence should be registered for taxation there at the same rate as *originarios* of the village" (Pearce 2001, 80). He also demanded that the *forasteros* be registered where they were living, to "reduce" them, and to relate them to a tribute collector who would be responsible for their taxes (AGNA, 1723-1725, Sala XIII 18-8-3, Chichas, Charcas). Additionally, in 1732 he ordered that *forasteros* with lands should serve mita.⁴³ The *padrones* we examined from Charcas distinguished among three categorizations, but they do not refer to the land or to the amount of tribute each had to pay. Until some point, these rulings by Castelfuerte codified fiscal norms that already existed in practice.

Despite the importance attributed to Castelfuerte's legislative changes that are underlined in extant historiography (Glave 1999, 508–12; Saignes 1999; Pearce 2001), these censuses also show that personal associations prevailed in some places even as late as the 1730s. An example from the Audiencia de Lima is the case of more than 200 *forasteros* from Conchucos province residing in Huamachuco, who in 1731 were still paying tribute to their original caciques in Conchucos. José Damián de Cabrera, the official carrying out Castelfuerte's inspection in the north, accepted their tribute receipts but exhorted everyone to pay in their place of residence in the future; i.e. to respect the territorial association (ARC, 1730, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Tributo, Leg. 03, Exp. 05). A petition that made reference to this visitation in Cajamarca distinguished between *forasteros* (sometimes also called *forasteros originarios*) with land and those without land (ARC, 1738, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Tributos, Leg. 03, Exp. 23).⁴⁴

In Cajamarca, the terms *forastero*, *yanacona del rey*, and *quintero* continued to be employed mostly as synonyms. A 1730 order by *visitador* Damián de Cabrera, however, differentiated the three terms, stating that *quintero* was the same as *yanacona*, but naming the *forasteros* separately, and indicating that all of them should pay tribute in their place of residence (ARC, 1730, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Tributo, Leg. 03, Exp. 05, f. 20vs-21vs). Another document from 1732 mentions different tribute rates for indigenous people "outside their reduction" (*indios fuera de reducción*), in the town (*indios poblanos*), and *forasteros* (ARC, 1732, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Tributos, Leg. 03, Exp. 09). Nine years later, in 1740, one document used the term *mixto*, or "mixed," for indigenous people without a known master, the *mostrencos* (ARC, 1741, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Tributos, Leg. 03). On the northern coast, sometimes the additional term *alcabalero* was added to the three main terms (e.g. ARLL, 1708, Real Hacienda, Pedimentos, Leg. 146, Exp. 689. 5 fs). As we can observe, the exact terminology varied, but all of these terms were very close conceptually and semantically.

Establishment of the territorial association and the end of the tribute system

From the fiscal point of view, the transition to territorial association was completed during the second half of the eighteenth century, despite scattered remnants of personal associations.⁴⁵ *Forastero* was a recognized fiscal categorization present in all sources, although the precise meaning was different in each province. The *yanacona del rey* categorization, on the other hand, is less visible in the sources, and developed differently across different geographies, as we show in this section.

During the 1770s, the differential amounts of tribute that each categorization had to pay was clearly identified in all *padrones* of the tributaries we examined.⁴⁶ This amount was diverse, as was the case throughout the seventeenth century. In some provinces, for example in Chucuito and Puno, the *forasteros* with some land and without land paid the same as the *yanaconas*, but half the rate of those *originarios* with land. In other provinces of Charcas, both *originarios* and *forasteros* with lands paid twice as much as those without land, for example in La Paz. There were also other provinces where each categorization – *originarios*, *forasteros*, and *yanaconas* – paid different amounts (e.g. Chayanta 1787, AGNA Sala XIII 18-10-4). In Cajamarca, as a general tendency we can state that *forasteros* with lands paid less than many (but not all) *originarios*, while (*mixtos*) *quinteros/forasteros* paid less than the two other groups. The organization of *pachacas* and *guarangas* in particular was still decisive for the rate of tribute to be paid with this organization, and was strongest in the subprovince of Cajamarca.

The *padrones* of this period also show subcategorizations among those categorizations to which we are referring: there were *originarios* and *forasteros* with and without land, and also *forasteros* with little land. The previously mentioned officer in Buenos Aires explained that over time, some *forasteros* gained access to land because they sometimes had more resources than the *originarios*, thanks to their connections to others, and because sometimes there was vacant land available.⁴⁷ From the northern highlands and the coast, we know that some *forasteros*, and/or *yanaconas del rey*, variously owned land, houses, and urban plots during the late seventeenth century.⁴⁸ On the other hand, some *originarios* lost part of their lands, but not the obligation to pay tribute. For example, in 1754, some tributaries in Chayanta “lost their origin” because they could not pay the tribute, some because they had too many taxes to pay, and others because they were fugitives (AGNA Sala XIII 18-9-2).

In Cajamarca, at least in the few *padrones* we identified, *yanaconas* were completely absent and the registration of absentees was not continued. This contrasts with a broad employment of the term *quintero*, sometimes together with the term *mixto*, and sometimes together with *forastero*. Occasionally, we also observed *mixtos forasteros*. Overall, we see a slightly decreasing usage of the term *forastero* as compared to *quintero*.⁴⁹ In some petitions, until shortly before Independence, the term *yanacóna del rey* was still employed as equivalent or similar to *quintero* and *forastero* (e.g. AGNP, 1795, Superior Gobierno, Go-Bi 1, Leg. 45, Cuad. 600; ARC, 1817, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 01). Not all categorizations were present everywhere, and there were some categorizations that were only employed locally, such as *mostrenco*, *agregado*, *tabacona*, or *tasilla*, whose precise meaning we cannot always explain. What is surprising is the broad presence of *originarios* in haciendas, such as in the sub-province of San Marcos.

Concerning the *forasteros*, we identified two of their relationships that were important but changing, namely, their relationship with place of origin and their relationship with the land. Sometimes both relationships were related, and sometimes they were not. In 1792, the royal officer who organized the *padrón* in Omasuyo described the difference between all categorizations (AGNA Sala XIII 17-7-3). For him, *originarios* were those belonging to the ayllus of Omasuyo, who had more and better lands, who also paid more tribute and went to fulfill the mita. The *forasteros* were those who recognized other origins, but were living aggregated on communal lands as *agregados*, paid half the tribute

as *originarios*, and helped them in fulfilling mita obligations. The categorization *forastero* definitionally combined both origin and land. However, it is necessary to consider what *forastero* really meant in each province.

In some provinces of Charcas, as time went on, the origin of the *forasteros* lost its importance, while access to land became central to tribute taxation among communal tributaries. This was the case of Chayanta and Sicasica, where the categorization was clearly related to the quality of the land, or to the lack of land rights, and was not necessarily inherited.⁵⁰ A different example is that of Porco, where during the 1754 visitation the officer ordered some of the *forasteros* to become *originarios*, and gain access to vacant lands (AGNA Sala XIII 18-9-2). His main argument was that the *originarios* paid more tribute, which would be better for the Crown. However, the opposite could also occur: the indigenous population of LÍpez was considered *forastera* from the second half of the eighteenth century, although the majority had been *originaria* a century before (Gil Montero and Nielsen 2010). According to our analysis, this change was related to their use of land and economy in the light of the Bourbon reforms: at that time, the LÍpez population was predominantly pastoralist and considered poor. The categorization of *forasteros*, in these cases, was not related to migration.

Migration of the litigants themselves, or of their ancestors, continued to play a role in the arguments we analyzed in the previously mentioned petitions from the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima. An example is a collective petition by a group of *quinteros* who protested against being registered as *originarios*. When being registered, they claimed that they were not born in the hacienda where they were working as serfs, and pointed to the origins of their parents in the neighboring provinces of Chachapoyas and Conchucos. Besides, they related that some of their co-workers fled the place after being incorrectly registered as *originarios*, which they characterized as a ploy on the part of the hacienda owner to ensure his workforce (e.g. ARC, 1789, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 1, Exp. 7).

Fluctuations in the categorizations of people described as *yanaconas del rey* deserve more research. After the reign of Castelfuerte, and in general, we found that (a) the majority of the *yanaconas* were “*de chacras*” or “*de haciendas*,” working and living on Spanish lands; (b) in comparison to the seventeenth century, there were few *yanaconas del rey* living in cities or in specific places; and (c) the majority of the *yanaconas del rey* appeared to be identified with *forasteros*. There were a few exceptions to this generalization, however, which we will discuss in this section.

The mentioned source of Omasuyo (1792) described the *yanaconas* as those who had no land, who lived on Spanish properties, paid the same tribute as the *forasteros*, and worked for their masters either as domestic servants or undertaking other tasks. The source suggests that at the end of the eighteenth century, and in some provinces, the *yanaconas* seemed to be clearly associated with Spanish enterprises, a situation that had been different in the previous century. In this sense, we want to highlight a regional difference. In the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima, more and more migrants who had (in their words) temporarily worked in the haciendas underwent a transition toward becoming *yanaconas de españoles*, permanently tied to the land with a serf-like status.⁵¹ This latter type of *yanacóna* is very rare in our seventeenth-century sources. In Charcas, by contrast, many *yanaconas del rey* became *forasteros* while other types of *yanaconas* persisted. We analyzed one example from Sicasica in detail. In the General Visitation of 1683, 22% of the tributaries were *yanaconas*, and almost all of them (98%) were “*del rey*.”

They were living and working both in communal and Spanish lands (AGNA Sala XIII 17-3-1). Since 1751, however, all the registered yanaconas were those living in Spanish haciendas.⁵²

In 1754, in Chaqui (Porco, Charcas), the royal officer “reduced” some *forasteros*, giving them land in order to re-categorize them as *originarios* (AGNA Sala XIII 18-9-2). That land was previously occupied by yanaconas *del rey*. The source listed all tributaries except for those former yanacona occupants. This situation may be owed to missing sources, as part of the documents could have been lost. However, another census suggests that they were differently recorded. In 1798, in Chulumani (La Paz), the royal officers organized a census that intended to register all “vagrants,” who were never previously recorded, at least according to the officer in charge (AGNA, 1798, Sala XIII 17-9-3). The reason for this was that they were at the disposal of the caciques, who usually had to replace many of their own absentees. The officer wrote, moreover, that there were many vagrants identified with other names in Charcas, such as yanaconas *de la corona*, *mostrencos*, or yanaconas *vagos*.⁵³ The official characterization was that they had no land and, therefore, they were free to move.

The majority of the yanaconas *del rey* were living in cities and mining camps during the late seventeenth century, or recognized urban origins while living in rural areas (Gil Montero 2018). Their tribute rates were diverse, although, in general terms, they paid more in Potosí than in other provinces, as the officers of the royal treasury of Buenos Aires explained (AGNA, 1791, Sala IX 12-4-10). Consequently, we examined late eighteenth-century urban censuses more carefully in order to identify them. We found none in La Paz or in Tarija, but there were few specific padrones of yanaconas *del rey* in Potosí, an important exception.⁵⁴ They were living in different places in the city, but also in the adjacent rural areas, and their tribute varied from \$3 to \$7 each year. There were also other yanaconas known as *yanaconas de la iglesia* (of the church), whose status was similar to those of *del rey*, but they worked in different churches and in the hospital. Separately listed were those yanaconas called *vagos* (vagrants). The last sub-categorization of yanaconas *del rey* was that of *quintos*, a very rare categorization that vaguely reminds us of the northern *quinteros* (AGNA, 1798, Sala XIII 18-10-4). Apparently, and according to a comment from the royal officer, those Potosí’s *quintos* were peons who occasionally worked in the Casa de la Moneda’s foundry.

As has already been mentioned, in contrast to the southern regions, the categorization *quintero* in the north continued to play a prominent role, sometimes including non-indigenous peoples.⁵⁵

After the wars of independence, and until the abolition of tributes, that late colonial categorizations continued in part owed to the continuity of tribute payments. This practice explains the persistence of “ethnic” categorizations, despite the formal equalization of citizens in the new republics. What is surprising, however, is the extreme endurance of indigenous sub-categorizations, especially concerning *forasteros* and, to a lesser extent, the yanaconas *del rey* in Bolivia – sometimes called yanaconas *del estado* during the nineteenth century – and the conceptual equivalent of the *quinteros* in northern-Peruvian Cajamarca.⁵⁶ However, these categorizations disappeared in a number of regions, or at least in certain types of sources.

Conclusions

In this article, we proposed a chronology for the development of *forastero* categorizations, and corresponding transformations of *yanaconas del rey* categorizations. According to our analysis, the General Visitation of Mancera (1645) was a turning point: for the first time, it includes separate lists for *yanaconas del rey* and *forasteros* within the *padrones* of tributaries. Since then, those lists were present in the majority of the visitations. However, since Mancera's visitation does not survive for many parts of the Audiencia de Lima, the chronology is less clear there.

The notion and term *forastero* had already begun to form during the first century of colonial rule when the personal association was still the norm. However, before Mancera, *forasteros* were mostly recorded as absentees in their places of origin. They were considered a problem, part of a conjuncture that had to change, although the specific absentees' *padrones* were scarce. Furthermore, the term and concept *yanaconas del rey* was beginning to be known. During that time, this type of "free" *yanaconas* was present in Charcas, and mostly in the cities and mining centers.

At least since 1631, different Spanish authorities intended to oblige *forasteros* to pay their tribute where they were living, but constantly failed to impose these new rules. This is paradigmatic for the long struggle, which lasted over a century, to establish territorial associations. It was only during the eighteenth century that most of *forasteros* started to pay tribute in their places of residence. However, both the visitations as well as juridical documents such as petitions reveal that some individuals and groups were already paying tribute during the seventeenth century, and that some of them continued to pay in their place of origin in the early eighteenth century.

The regulations regarding *forasteros* decreed by viceroy Castelfuerte in the 1730s were an important step towards the differentiation between *forasteros* and *originarios* with and without lands, which became a common distinction during the second half of the eighteenth century. Access to land rights became central or very important depending on the province, because those tributaries with land were asked to contribute to the *mita*. Around 1770, the different amount each categorization had to pay was clearly identified in all censuses. With the establishment of the territorial association, the possession of land became more important than migration for the definition of the fiscal categorizations considered above, although territorial association was probably more clearly important in Charcas than in Lima.

It was in this period when we found different developments of the *yanaconas del rey* categorization across our two main regions. In Charcas, this categorization almost disappeared and the *yanaconas* were mainly considered laborers on Spanish haciendas. The majority of the *yanaconas del rey* were categorized as *forasteros*. In the northern part of the Audiencia de Lima, the categorization disappeared in the censuses but continued in other types of sources as a synonym for *forasteros*. Another synonym that became more and more dominant in this region was that of *quintero*, sometimes combined with the term *mixto*. Throughout the colonial period, several minor categorizations were occasionally employed at the local level, such as *yerno* or *mostrenco*. Finally, while *forasteros* and *yanaconas* continued as categorizations in Bolivia after independence, in northern Peru the term *quintero* shows surprising longevity that merits further research.

Notes

1. We prefer to speak of categorizations instead of categories to denote their flexible and processual character. Like mestizo and mulatto, *forastero* and *yanacona* are also legal categorizations, subsumed to legal categorizations of being indigenous. We will focus primarily on fiscal aspects of legality.
2. For a previous definition of *forasteros*, cf. Wightman (1990, 52–54). It seems that in the Audiencia de Charcas, toward the mid-eighteenth century, the relationship with migration was fading; while in other areas, such as in the Audiencia de Lima, this relationship was still present, at least in some cases. In Chíncha, south of Lima, for example, *forasteros* were described as being from other villages (Archivo General de la Nación, Perú (hereafter AGNP), 1805, Campesinado, Derecho Indígena, Leg. 40, Cuad. 846, f. 2r).
3. We intentionally excluded Quito, the Río de la Plata, Paraguay, and Chile from our analysis. The evolution of categorizations in those regions seems to be different. Cf., e.g. for Tucumán: Farberman and Boixados (2006) Doucet (1982); for Chile: Valenzuela Marquez (2010); for Paraguay: Avellaneda (2014). The most similar developments appear to have taken place in the Audiencia de Quito: Powers (1995).
4. For a complete and interesting synthesis on the *forasteros* literature, cf. Cook (2002). For the *yanaconas de españoles*, cf. Gil Montero (2018).
5. These taxes had to be paid also occasionally by some kinds of Afro-descendants, often with a certain degree of indigenous ancestry. Mestizos and Spaniards, born either in Spain or in the Americas, were exempt. Tribute was generally linked to labor service. Cf. Albiez-Wieck (2017b).
6. We analyzed the consistency of the comparison based on these two types of sources in forthcoming article: (forthcoming). The list of sources is too long to be listed in the article, although we offer it to the readers at their request. Each corresponding source will be cited in the respective paragraph throughout the article. However, we would like to point out the archives where we found these and additional sources which contributed to the analysis. These include: Archivo General de la Nación Argentina (hereafter AGNA), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia (ABNB), Archivo Histórico de Potosí (AHP), Archivo Regional de Cajamarca (ARC), Archivo Regional La Libertad (ARLL), Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Cajamarca (AHDC), AGNP, Archivo General de Indias (AGI).
7. The bibliography on the structure-agency problem is vast; therefore, we only want to stress the classical contribution by Giddens (2006).
8. Nebrija (1492). We first discovered the quote in: Costa Pinheiro (2009).
9. We are not concerned with any of the central concepts as defined by Brunner, Conze, and Koselleck (1992) nor by Iberconceptos (Fernández Sebastián 2015). Nor do we employ a three-step-method in our analysis, as proposed by Pernau (2016). Our concepts are located on a “smaller” scale.
10. We do not map the information of the impressive literature on *forasteros* and *yanaconas*. Audiencia shapes (1701) in Stangl (2019).
11. This standardization is summarized in reports of the royal treasury, the *cartas cuenta*. Cf. Cajas Reales de Potosí. AHP CR 195, 1622. Many *cartas cuenta* processed by John TePaske and Herbert Klein are available to download at: Garner (2017).
12. The distinction between “personal associations” (*Personenverband*) versus “territorial associations” (*Territorialverband*) is proposed for Mesoamerica by Ouweneel and Hoekstra (1998), but is also valid for the Andes. Glave (1999, 506–8), identifies a transformation from ethnic groups to peasants. Cf. Saignes (1999).
13. In the north, primarily in Cajamarca, the term *pachaca* was often used as a synonym for ayllu; several *pachacas* together constituted a *guaranga*. Albiez-Wieck (2017a, 485).
14. The *yanacona* census from 1575 performed in Potosí is still preserved. Weaver (2008); Escobari de Querejazu (2005). The *yanaconas* from La Plata, Porco, and La Paz were present in Toledo’s Tribute Scale: they were those who neither recognized native authority, nor had *encomenderos*, Salles and Noejovich Ch. (2008, CXXVIII).

15. According to this author, some indigenous people fled their communities and became yanacunas because they felt enslaved by their native authorities.
16. Some of these resettled peoples belonged to pre-Hispanic colonies that were scattered along the Andean territory and were called *mitimaes*.
17. In principle, freedom of movement was granted to the indigenous people. cf. “De los Indios,” in *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*, 1680, ley XII. This law dates from 1536.
18. This law dates from 1563.
19. Cf. the Introduction of Salles and Noejovich Ch (2008) and the thoughtful analysis by Mumford (2012).
20. He speaks of *forasteros* coming to Charcas’ mining towns to sell their workforce. *Memorial y Ordenanzas*, (1867), 341–42.
21. This is made explicit in AGNP, 1606, Campesinado, Derecho Indígena, Leg. 34, Cuad. 687.
22. The headings read several versions of “absent Indians that cannot be located (*avidos*) subject to this chief (*principal*)” (AGNP, 1606, Campesinado, Derecho Indígena, Leg. 34, Cuad. 687). Another example from the north in which were absentees are mentioned in the contexts of discussions about tribute scales is AGNP, 1594, Campesinado, Derecho Indígena, Leg. 3, Cuad. 37.
23. “Relación del Sr. Virrey” in *Colección de las Memorias*, (1921), 122–24; Polo (1921), 166. Viceroy don Luis de Velasco and príncipe de Esquilache also mentioned the situation of the yanacunas attached to the haciendas.
24. The authors analyzed different visitations from 1573 to 1628.
25. They were all “boys and girls,” probably not married.
26. It lists almost 150 *forasteros*, occasionally stating their profession and mentioning that there were more whose names could not be recorded (ARC, 1622, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Tributo, Leg. 01, Exp. 23, f. 9r-vs).
27. We analyzed the *cajas reales*; cf. note 11.
28. Published by Zavala (1979, 109). This was the principal source for Sánchez Albornoz’ analysis of the seventeenth-century migration in the Andes. Cf. Sánchez Albornoz (1982a).
29. We analyzed the *padrones* from Chucuito, Cavana, Arequipa and Canas y Canchis (AGNA, 1645, Sala XIII 20-4-4).
30. Interestingly, Hampe Martínez (1989) employs the word *forasteros* for these *mitimaes* (“ayllus Sañas, Huambos, Chilchos, Leimebambas, Bracamoros y Chachapoyas”), but this is conceptually incorrect. It is possible that this 1652 *numeración* did not include *forasteros* because it only referred indigenous people subject to particular Spaniards, and therefore excluded the *quinteros* whose tribute was directly for the royal exchequer.
31. The first synonymous mention of *forasteros* and yanacunas *del rey* identified until now is from 1636, where a tribute collector was responsible for the payment of the “*forasteros* [...] yanacunas de su magestad”. It is at the same time the first mention of the ayllu *forastero* in Cajamarca: ARC, 1636, Corregimiento, Protector de Naturales, Tributos, Leg 01.
32. Both underline that the transition was still underway during the eighteenth century; Glave suggests that the period between 1680 and 1730 was the crucial period.
33. In the 1660s, the governor of the *forasteros* (or *yanacunas libres*) in Cajamarca was Diego Lobo: AGI, 1667, Lima 174.
34. E.g. for Trujillo ARLL, 1638, Corregimiento de Trujillo Tomo I, Causas Ordinarias, Leg. 188, Exp. 1100. For Cajamarca: ARC, 1665, Corregimiento, Protector de Naturales, Tributos, Leg 01; also Albiez-Wieck (2017a).
35. Depending, of course, on their presence. In some provinces, there were no yanacunas, while in others there were so few that they were listed together with the *forasteros*. It should be mentioned that we do not have visitations for all regions analyzed; especially for the north.
36. In the specialized literature, some authors (i.e. Sánchez Albornoz, 1978) considered migration to imply the breakdown of this relationship, while others suggested continuity (i.e. Saignes 1985).
37. The Instructions in AGNA Sala XIII 17-3-1.

38. Saignes (1999, 96) highlights the continuous weakening of ties to migrants' home towns, the settlement of outsiders on village lands rented out by the caciques.
39. Wightman (1990, 22, 31, 128, 132) reports for Cuzco that *forasteros* most often did not pay tribute. However, she explains that this exemption from tribute-payment was more valid for urban *forasteros* until the end of the seventeenth century.
40. It is important to stress that not all the *forasteros* married to local women were *yernos*. The sources are not clear in this aspect, and we suggest that the difference depended on the right on the land that the *originario* woman had.
41. Other examples from the Central Andes (14 provinces of the bishopric of Cuzco) can be found in Wightman (1990, 58).
42. He reduced 40% of their mita obligations and 50% of their tributes. González Casasnovas (1990, 445). Cf. also Wightman 1990, 35).
43. The next viceroy, Conde de Superunda, reinforced this order in 1752, but also complained about the difficulties involved in implementing it. *Memorias de los Virreyes* 1859, 90.
44. Wightman (1990, 72) also differentiated those two types of *forasteros*, with those owning land being a more stable sector (in terms of migration), incorporated into indigenous society.
45. An example is a tribute scale from Chota in Cajamarca where in 1805 the subprovince origin for all tributaries was listed (AGNP, 1805, Campesinado, Derecho Indígena, Leg. 40, Cuad. 846).
46. Cf., e.g. AGNA Sala XIII 18-5-2 and Sala XIII 18-5-2 for Charcas and for Cajamarca ARC, 1803, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 1.
47. Serulnikov (2003) described an interesting case of a *forastero* that became *originario* in Charcas, together with a thorough analysis of the context.
48. For Cajamarca, e.g. ARC, 1680, Corregimiento, Causas ordinarias, Tributos, Leg. 2, Exp. 23; for Trujillo, e.g. ARC, 1676, Corregimiento, Protector de Naturales, Tributos, Leg. 01, Exp. 18.
49. This is also visible in general censuses that recorded the whole population: ARC, 1788, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 01; ARC, 1790, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 01, Exp. 10.
50. This relationship was central to the idea of the "colonial pact" of Platt (1982). His example, Chayanta 1816–1863, is representative for this period. Cf. also Marino (1998).
51. Cf., e.g. ARC, 1791, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 01; ARC, 1809, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 01, Exp. 36.
52. AGNA Sala XIII 17-6-5, and 18-5-2. In 1780, Sicasica was divided into two, and the majority of its haciendas were located in the other district, Chulumani, where the yanaconas were listed. Cf. Klein (1980).
53. In the general visitation of 1683, *mostrencos* and vagrants were listed as yanaconas *del rey*. Cf., for example, Larecaja AGNA, 1683, Sala XIII 17-2-4, or Sicasica AGNA, 1683, Sala XIII 17-3-1. This was not the case in Omasuyo, where some *mostrencos* were listed among the *originarios*. AGNA, 1683, Sala XIII 17-2-3.
54. In 1798, a report made on the census stated that there were three different tributaries in La Paz: *originarios*, *forasteros* with land, and *forasteros* without land. Those *forasteros* without land living on the haciendas were called yanaconas (AGNA, 1798, Sala XIII 17-9-3).
55. ARC, 1803, Intendencia, Tributos, Leg. 1, Exp. We even found a separate tribute list for all the *mixtos quinteros*: AHDC, 1798, Serie V, Depósitos de Libros Parroquiales, 5–1.
56. For yanaconas *de estado* in Bolivia, cf. Grieshaber (1977, 227); in Cajamarca, *quinteros* appear in baptismal records at least until 1868, and the related *mixtos quinteros* at least until 1855, Family Search: Perú, bautismos, 1556–1930. Cajamarca, Santa Catalina, 1668–1979. Available online at <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1508603>, checked on 10/26/2018.

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