

# THE PERUVIAN POPULATION CENSUS OF 1725–1740

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*Abstract: The population census of 1725–1740 was one of the few general censuses to occur in Peru during the colonial period. The census left a mass of detailed demographic data recording a unique moment when the population of the viceroyalty stood at its lowest historical level. It was the centerpiece of a major body of viceregal reform that affected levels of Indian tribute and the mita labor draft and permanently changed the base population subject to both levies, incorporating a large new sector previously partially or wholly exempt. It strongly influenced Peru's Indian and mestizo peoples throughout its execution and provoked the first major wave of popular unrest under the Bourbons. Yet despite the significance of the census, it remains largely unknown. This article provides a detailed introduction to the census as a major administrative reform and a source for demographic and other history.*

The last great epidemic disease to strike Spanish South America during the colonial period probably entered the region aboard a European ship that docked at Buenos Aires in early 1718. Over the following years, the disease spread along the trade routes to Paraguay, Tucumán, and Upper Peru and on into Lower Peru as far north as Huamanga (the modern Ayacucho) before dying out in 1723. The chief pathogen may well have been influenza, but the evidence is not entirely clear, and it has been argued that more than one agent was operating simultaneously in contiguous or overlapping regions.<sup>1</sup> What is beyond doubt is its terrible impact. The disease reached the great mining city of Potosí in 1719 and reportedly killed 22,000 persons, one-third of the population, together with a further 10,000 in neighboring towns and villages. The following year, it killed 20,000 in Cuzco and some 60,000 in the whole of the bishopric.<sup>2</sup> The toll in the Archdiocese of Lima was 72,800,

1. Henry F. Dobyns, "An Outline of Andean Epidemic History to 1720," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 37, no. 6 (Nov.–Dec. 1963):493–515, 511–15.

2. Bartolomé Arzans de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí (1736)*, 3 vols., edited by Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1965), 3:81–85, 92–96; and Diego de Navía y Esquivel, *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco (1749)*, 2 vols., edited by Félix Denegri Luna (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), 2:220–24 (a particularly moving account).

and even the remote Franciscan missions of the central *montaña* were devastated.<sup>3</sup> The absence of any detailed study means that estimates of total mortality must remain conjectural, but a figure of 200,000, equivalent to perhaps one-quarter of the Indian population, is likely to be a minimum.<sup>4</sup> Even the extinction of the disease brought no absolute relief, for it had seriously weakened the rural labor force and was followed by widespread famine.<sup>5</sup>

This epidemic was the immediate motive for a general census of the indigenous population of Peru, undertaken between 1725 and 1740. It was one of only a handful of general censuses to occur in Peru during the colonial period and the only one in almost a century after 1684. It left a legacy of detailed demographic data for a moment of unique significance, when the population of the viceroyalty stood at its historical nadir. It was the centerpiece of a major body of viceregal reform instituted by the viceregal government with important consequences in its immediate impact on levels of Indian tribute and the *mita* and its permanent alteration of the base population subject to both levies, incorporating a large new sector previously partially or wholly exempt. It was among the most important extraordinary influences in the lives of Peru's Indian and mestizo peoples throughout its execution and was instrumental in provoking the first major wave of social unrest to affect the viceroyalty under the Bourbons. Despite all this, the census remains largely unknown.<sup>6</sup> This neglect is not easy to explain

3. Dobyns, "Outline of Andean Epidemic History," 512; Fernando Santos Guerrero, "Epidemias y sublevaciones en el desarrollo demográfico de las misiones Amuesha del Cerro de la Sal, siglo XVIII," *Histórica* (Lima) 11, no. 1 (July 1987):25–53, 37–39. A report on the epidemic prepared for Viceroy Morcillo by the *protomédico general* Bernabé Ortiz de Landaeta is found in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville (cited hereafter as AGI), Audiencia de Lima, leg. 411.

4. The estimate of 200,000 was made by Arzans de Orsúa in *Historia de la Villa Imperial*, 3:96, for the period to the end of 1719. Larger estimates are not lacking. The Lima Tribunal of Accounts suggested 400,000; see Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The Population of Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 101–2. Viceroy Castelfuerte improbably suggested "más de un millón"; see Marqués de Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 22 Oct. 1728, AGI, Lima, leg. 412. Ann M. Wightman estimated 300,000 to be a minimum; see *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570–1720* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), 42.

5. Manuel de Araíndia, informe, Archivo General de la Nación, Lima (cited subsequently as AGN), Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 14 (province of Castrovirreyna); Joseph de Mendieta, informe, Huanta, 30 July 1727, AGN, Contaduría General de Tributos, leg. 1, cuaderno 8 (province of Huanta); and Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú*, 8 vols. (Lima: Francisco Solís, 1874–1890), 5:365 (Lima).

6. To date, the only discussions of the census are Patricia Cazier Hutchins, "Rebellion and the Census of the Province of Cochabamba, 1730–1732," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1974, esp. chaps. 2–3; and Alfredo Moreno Cebrián, *El virreinato del marqués de Castelfuerte, 1724–1736: El primer intento borbónico por reformar el Perú*, (Madrid: Catriel, 2000), 166–74. Hutchins's treatment is sound, although she was concerned with the census principally as the context of the Cochabamba revolt and based her analysis exclusively on the few documents in the Archivo de Indias in Seville. Moreno Cebrián discovered some important fresh material in the Archivo de Indias but also made little use of documents in the American archives.

but is probably best understood in the context of the general historiographical neglect of the early Bourbon period (1700–1759), now arguably the least-known period in all Spanish American history.<sup>7</sup>

This article is intended as an introduction to the census as an important piece of administrative reform and as a potential source of demographic and other historical information. The first section considers the reasons the census was undertaken and describes the way in which it was carried out. A second section briefly reviews its social repercussions in the viceroyalty. The impact on levels of tribute and the mita, both in the immediate and longer terms, is then discussed, and a final section considers evidence arising from the census for the population history of Peru during this period. The aim throughout is to provide an introductory survey and guide to an episode of fundamental importance in the history of early Bourbon Peru.

#### ORIGINS AND EXECUTION

The epidemic of 1718–1723 presented the colonial government with formidable problems. The terrible mortality among the Indians threw the census rolls used to calculate Indian tribute and mita quotas (many dating back to the seventeenth century) into confusion. A shrunken Indian population weakened by sickness and malnutrition continued to face demands from *corregidores* and other local authorities for tribute and mita based on rolls that, although still legally current, listed many Indians who had died dur-

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Ann Wightman identified the most important associated reforms without addressing the census itself in *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*, 43–44, 55–56, 141–42; Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz touched briefly on the same aspects in *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978), 43, 166, 180–81. Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy explored the link between the census and social unrest, while basing her discussion of it largely on Hutchins; see O’Phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Perú y Bolivia, 1700–1783* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1988), 79–104. Teodoro Hampe Martínez, Ann Zulawski, and Enrique Tandeter have all used fragments of the census returns in work cited hereafter.

7. See Adrian J. Pearce, “A New Frontier in Colonial History: The Historiography of the Early Bourbon Period in Peru,” paper presented to the Society for Latin American Studies, Cambridge, 25 Mar. 1999. Factors contributing to neglect of the census are that it was the initiative of Viceroy Castelfuerte without reference to his superiors in Madrid; partly for this reason, little relevant documentation is to be found in Spanish archives; and extant documentation in Peruvian and Bolivian archives is tedious to use and seems unpromising without some awareness of the wider context. Castelfuerte made clear reference to the census in his governmental report, although it was long available only in the relatively rare and poor edition of Manuel Atanascio Fuentes: José de Armendáriz y Perurena, Marqués de Castelfuerte, “Relación del estado de los reynos del Perú . . .” in *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del coloniaje español*, 6 vols. (Lima: Felipe Bailly, 1859), 3:1–369. An excellent new edition has now been published by Moreno Cebrián in *El virreinato del marqués de Castelfuerte*, 351–626 (cited hereafter as Castelfuerte, *Relación*). The main references to the census are found on 423–24, 441–42, 454–55, 609–10, and 622.

ing the epidemic. As a result, after 1719 the authorities were deluged with petitions from Indian *caciques*, *alcaldes*, and *capitanes enteradores de la mita* protesting the exactions of the *corregidores* and seeking a suspension or reduction in all levies until new tribute rolls could be prepared.<sup>8</sup> Some enclosed piteous lists of the members of their communities who had died. Petitions for a suspension of the *mita* embraced the greatest of all the labor drafts, that of Potosí, where the epidemic had wreaked such havoc among the draft laborers that terrified new draftees absolutely refused to serve their term.<sup>9</sup> So grave was the situation that some *corregidores* added their voices to the wider outcry for measures of emergency relief from Lima.<sup>10</sup>

The viceregal administration at this time was headed by the septuagenarian and somewhat ineffectual Archbishop of Charcas, Viceroy Diego Morcillo.<sup>11</sup> His response to the crisis was to order all *corregidores* to draw up new provisional tribute rolls, usually termed *padrones* or *padroncillos*, in the villages or *repartimientos* of their provinces. They were to do so with the assistance of *caciques* and local priests and were to collect tribute at the rate indicated by the new rolls.<sup>12</sup> Fresh *padrones* were to be prepared every six months for as long as the epidemic lasted, and it was eventually decided that six months after the passing of the disease, a last round of *padrones* should be prepared that would serve as the new official tribute rolls. It is to be stressed that these provisional counts were not considered formal census inspections (*revisitas*). The Lima Tribunal de Cuentas strongly influenced Morcillo's response to the crisis and appears to have urged him to take much more vigorous action, possibly in the form of extensive new *revisitas*. In the event, the only formal inspections commissioned at this time were of the provinces subject to the *mita* of the Huancavelica mercury mines, restoration of which was considered especially urgent. In 1723–1724, a royal treasury

8. "Escrito de recurso de los Casiques Gobernadores del pueblo de Pacaca . . .," Pacaca (Chayanta), 10 May 1720, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre (cited hereafter as ANB), E, año 1720, no. 2; "Reclamo del indio forastero Lope Copa . . .," Sopachui (Tomina), 13 July 1720, ANB, E, año 1720, no. 36; "Despacho del Superior Gobierno . . .," Lima, 29 Apr. 1721, which incorporates "Memorial de los caciques de los pueblos . . . de Chaianta," n.d., Archivo Histórico de Potosí (cited hereafter as AHP), Cajas Reales 606, fols. 408v–413.

9. Juan Bautista Uru Siri, petición, Corquemarka (Carangas), 1719, ANB, Minas, t. 126, no. xiii. The *corregidor* of Potosí reported that the number of Indians working in mines and mills fell from 1,627 to 448 by the end of August 1719; see Manuel de Villavicencio to the crown, Potosí, 6 Sept. 1719, AGI, Audiencia de Charcas, leg. 219.

10. Diego de Cuesta, *corregidor* of Lampa, to Diego Morcillo, n.p., n.d., AGN, Superior Gobierno, Varios, leg. 1, cuaderno 24 (1721), fols. 1–2.

11. On Morcillo, see Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico*, the entry "Morcillo Rubio de Auñón, Diego"; also Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia general del Perú*, 10 vols. (Madrid: Carlos Millá Batres, 1966–1971), 4:121–34. Morcillo became Archbishop of Lima in 1722.

12. Diego Morcillo, decreto, Lima, 29 Apr. 1721, in "Despacho del Superior Gobierno . . .," AHP, Cajas Reales 606, fols. 408v–13; see also "Provision del Gobierno sobre el modo que han de practicar los *Corregidores* en los enteros . . . durante el tiempo de la epidemia," *ibid.*, fols. 466v–68v; and Diego Morcillo, decreto, Lima, 30 July 1723, AHP, Cajas Reales 665, fol. 36.

official from Huancavelica, Francisco López de Ezeiza, carried out revisitas in the provinces of Cotabambas, Chumbivilcas, Lucanas, and Parinacochas. Certified tribute rolls or *retasas* for these provinces were finally dispatched by the *contador de retasas* (the official charged with keeping accounts of Indian tribute) in July 1728.<sup>13</sup>

In May 1724, a new viceroy, the Marqués de Castelfuerte, replaced Morcillo in Lima. It was Castelfuerte who decided to substitute the provisional preparation of padrones with a systematic, formal census of the whole of the viceroyalty. A powerful and relatively recent precedent existed for such an initiative in the *numeración general* undertaken by the viceroy Duque de la Palata some forty years earlier. Palata's *Relación de gobierno* became required reading for Peruvian viceroys of the early eighteenth century, and Castelfuerte referred to it repeatedly in his own report; there is little doubt that the project for the new census drew its inspiration among the pages of Palata's *Relación*.<sup>14</sup> But censuses were extremely costly and difficult undertakings with unpredictable consequences for state finances and the economy. Successive Peruvian administrations evinced huge reluctance to undertake an enterprise known to be hazardous; Palata's census itself had provoked tremendous upheaval throughout the viceroyalty, and the chief fiscal and labor reforms that accompanied it were revoked after he left office.<sup>15</sup>

In this context, the fact that Castelfuerte persisted with the new census reflected a range of financial and economic factors.<sup>16</sup> Conditions in the

13. For reference to López de Ezeiza's commission, see the viceregal decree of 15 July 1724, in Manuel Fernández de Paredes, "Certificación," Lima, [23?] Feb. 1736, fols. 240v–43v in the first book, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 555A; and Marqués de Castelfuerte, preamble, "[Retasa del] repartimiento y ciudad de Castrovirreyña," AGN, Tributos, leg. 1, cuaderno 24 (1731).

14. Duque de la Palata, *Relación de gobierno*, in *Los virreyes españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria: Perú*, edited by Lewis Hanke and Celso Rodríguez, 7 vols. (Madrid: Atlas, 1978–1980), 6:11–318 and 7:9–77 (main reference to census, 6:217–59). On Palata, see Margaret Crahan, "The Administration of Don Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull, Duque de la Palata," *The Americas* 27, no. 4 (1971):389–412.

15. Palata's census has attracted considerable academic interest, in sharp contrast to that of Castelfuerte. See Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, esp. 74–91; Brian M. Evans, "Census Enumeration in Late-Seventeenth-Century Alto Perú: The Numeración General of 1683–1684," in *Studies in Spanish American Population History*, edited by David J. Robinson (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1981), 25–44; Evans, "Descripción de las fuentes disponibles para una investigación de la 'Numeración General' del Virrey Duque de la Palata, 1683–1684 . . .," in *Guía de las fuentes en Hispanoamérica para el estudio de la administración virreinal española en México y en el Perú, 1535–1700*, edited by Lewis Hanke (Washington D.C.: Organización de Estados Americanos, 1980), 24–33; Jeffrey A. Cole, *The Potosí Mita, 1573–1700: Compulsory Indian Labor in the Andes* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 106–15; Cole, "Viceregal Persistence versus Indian Mobility: The Impact of the Duque de la Palata's Reform Program on Alto Perú, 1681–1692," *LARR* 19, no. 1 (1984):37–56; Ignacio González Casanovas, *Las dudas de la Corona: La política de repartimientos para la minería de Potosí (1680–1732)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2000), esp. pp. 129–40; and Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*, 30–36.

16. For Castelfuerte's motives, see his *Relación*, 423, 454; Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 7

vicerealty continued to be extremely serious, and ad hoc preparation of padrones had reduced much of the system of tribute and mita to utter confusion.<sup>17</sup> Castelfuerte recognized that Indian communities were being persecuted unjustly for tribute and mita owed by victims of the epidemic, and he also believed that the padrones had been exploited by corregidores and caciques to conceal fraudulently numbers of Indians so as to retain their surplus for personal profit.<sup>18</sup> He may well have been influenced by the outcome of the four provincial revisitas undertaken by López de Ezeiza, which registered 2,700 more Indians than those listed in tribute rolls in use before the epidemic.<sup>19</sup> Crucially, Castelfuerte also instituted major reforms of the tributary system in the course of the census that provided some guarantee that tribute and the mita might be safeguarded despite the loss of population during the epidemic. A final factor was Castelfuerte's own character, a striking blend of arrogance, austerity, energy, and obstinacy. As a soldier-governor who owed his title to Philip V, he was an archetype of Bourbon officialdom, and during his administration, he instituted or implemented a range of measures of a recognizably Bourbon stamp. The general census became the most ambitious initiative in what was probably the most significant viceregal administration of the early Bourbon period in Peru.<sup>20</sup>

Castelfuerte may have begun to contemplate undertaking a census from the earliest days, but at first he had the corregidores continue to prepare padrones in their provinces as before, initiating the census proper only in 1725.<sup>21</sup> The laws of the Indies charged census inspections to the corregi-

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Apr. 1727, AGI, Lima, leg. 506; and Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 22 Oct. 1728, AGI, Lima, leg. 412. These papers, with a third letter (Castelfuerte to the crown, Callao, 27 Dec. 1730, AGI, Lima, leg. 413) are the only reports on the census by Castelfuerte to the crown yet identified; with the *Relación*, they constitute his only explicit testimony regarding it. I do not believe that the case concerning usurpation of tribute of Indians in Jauja discussed by Moreno Cebrián (in *El virreinato del marqués del Castelfuerte*, 168–69) was a significant factor in the genesis of the census. Moreno Cebrián cited a royal *cédula* of 16 Oct. 1727 and suggested that it ordered Castelfuerte to undertake a general census of tributaries. The *cédula* related chiefly to the Jauja case, however, and postdated the beginning of the census.

17. See, for example, Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, p. 164, n. 9; and unsigned report to Cuzco treasury officials, Urcos, 20 Sept. 1726, Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, Cajas Reales, leg. 2.

18. See Castelfuerte, *Relación*, 423–24, 454; and a specific allegation of fraud by a corregidor in Diego de Ybarburu, "Memorial," n.p., n.d., AHP, Cajas Reales 665, fols. 232–34.

19. Francisco López de Ezeiza to the crown, n.p., n.d., AGI, Lima, leg. 429.

20. Long almost entirely ignored, Castelfuerte's administration finds its first detailed study in Moreno Cebrián, *El virreinato del marqués de Castelfuerte*. See also Adrian J. Pearce, "Early Bourbon Government in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1700–1759," Ph.D. diss., University of Liverpool, 1998, 15–17 and passim.

21. In July 1724, Castelfuerte ordered Francisco López de Ezeiza to complete the commission given him by Morcillo to inspect the provinces subject to the Huancavelica mita. In May 1725, Castelfuerte ordered Miguel Antonio de Elorga to carry out revisitas in all the provinces subject to the Potosí treasury, but Elorga died after inspecting only part of the province of

dores, and most previous censuses had relied upon them.<sup>22</sup> Castelfuerte, however, was particularly suspicious of the *corregidores* and opted instead to appoint a dedicated class of officials, the *juces de la revisita* (judges of the census or judge-inspectors) to execute the project. Little is known of these men beyond their names (see table 1) and in a small number of cases their professions. Castelfuerte claimed to have selected royal treasury officials in each district and *encomenderos* concerned with the mita, individuals with an inherent interest in discovering the greatest numbers of Indians. With the first group of appointments made in 1725–1726, commissions for more than thirty provinces were issued by the end of 1728.<sup>23</sup> Among the judges whose professions are known, Francisco López de Ezeiza and Pedro de la Reta were treasury officials at Huancavelica; de la Reta and Manuel de Araindía apparently shared a military background, styling themselves as generals; Matías de Astoraica was a treasury official at Potosí; and the solitary cleric was Simón de Amesaga y Troconis, Dean of the Cathedral Church of La Plata and commissary of the Santa Cruzada in the Audiencia de Charcas. None was a member of either major Audiencia.<sup>24</sup> Despite Castelfuerte's reservations, in some provinces, the census was undertaken by *corregidores*; such was the case in Huanta, Huaylas, Jauja, Mizque, and Vilcashuamán. (In all but the first of these cases, *corregidores* were appointed to undertake corrective *revisitas* after the first inspections were annulled, as will be discussed.) It is probable that several more of the officials whose professions have not been identified were also *corregidores*.

Beginning in 1726, these officials set to work, fanning out into the provinces with their small retinues of assistants. Over the ensuing months

Quispicanchis. The first large-scale commissions for *revisitas* issued by Castelfuerte and actually carried into effect date from 1726.

22. *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, 4th printing, 3 vols. (Madrid: 1791; facsimile ed., Madrid: Gráficas Ultra, 1943), 2:239, libro 6, título 5, ley 55.

23. The two major sources for commissions for the *revisitas* are Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 22 Oct. 1728, AGI, Lima, leg. 412; and Manuel Fernández de Paredes, "Certificación," Lima, 23 Feb. 1736, fols. 240v–43v in the first book, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 555A. For useful analysis of the Castelfuerte source, see Hutchins, "Rebellion and the Census," 93–96. These accounts occasionally contradict each other, in which cases I have followed the Fernández de Paredes statement as apparently the most reliable. Historians owe Alfredo Moreno Cebrián a debt for his discovery of the Fernández de Paredes document, buried in the abundant documentation pertaining to Castelfuerte's *juicio de residencia*.

24. One other clergyman, Clemente del Castillo, another commissary of the Cruzada and rector of the main church in Porco, was appointed in 1727 to undertake the census there but declined on the orders of his archbishop, see Arzáns de Orsúa, *Historia de la Villa Imperial*, 3:260–61. The oidores Manuel Mirones y Benavente and Francisco de Sagardia and the fiscal José Casimiro Gómez García, all of Charcas, were appointed in swift succession to undertake the census of Cochabamba in the aftermath of the 1730 revolt, but for various reasons they failed to do so; see Hutchins, "Rebellion and the Census," 498–99. Cochabamba was finally inspected by Simón de Amesaga.

TABLE 1: *The Peruvian Population Census of 1725–1740*

<i>Province</i>	<i>Juez de la Revisita</i>	<i>Revisita Commissioned</i>	<i>Revisita Undertaken</i>	<i>Retasa Despatched</i>
Abancay	Antonio Candiote y Múxica		1733	1734
Andahuaylas	Manuel de Araindía	July 1726	1732	1734
Angaraes	Manuel de Araindía	July 1726	1727–28	Sept. 1728
Aymaraes	Antonio Candiote y Múxica		1732	1734
Azángaro	Felipe de Santisteban	Oct. 1726	1727	Mar. 1728, Sept. 1730
Cajamarca	José Damián de Cabrera	Aug. 1729	1734–35	1735
Cajamarquilla/ Patáz	Juan Joseph del Posso			1738
Cajatambo	Juan Antonio de Rivera y Santa Cruz	1735		
Calca y Lares	Cayetano López de Cangas		1720	Feb. 1730
Canas y Canches/ Tinta	Felipe de Santisteban	Oct. 1726	1727	Sept. 1729
Canta	Pedro de la Reta Antonio Candiote y Múxica	Aug. 1728	By Aug. 1731	By Dec. 1730
Carabaya	Felipe de Santisteban	Sept. 1727		By Dec. 1730
Carangas			By June 1733	
Castrovirreyna	Manuel de Araindía	Jan. 1731	1731	July 1732
Chachapoyas	Joan Joseph del Posso	June 1735		
Chayanta	Simón de Amesaga y Troconis		1734	
Chichas	Simón de Amesaga y Troconis	By June 1733	By Mar. 1734	
Chilques y Masques/Paruro	Vicente de Mendoza y Manrique		1736	Dec. 1737
Chucuito	Manuel Venero de Valera	Oct. 1726	1728	By Dec. 1730
Chumbivilcas	Francisco López de Ezeiza		1724	July 1728
Cochabamba	[Manuel Venero de Valera] Simón de Amesaga y Troconis	[Oct. 1726]	[1730] 1732	1733
Conchucos			1727	By Dec. 1730
Condesuyos	Juan de Verois	Aug. 1730		



TABLE 1 (continued)

<i>Province</i>	<i>Juez de la Revisita</i>	<i>Revisita Commissioned</i>	<i>Revisita Undertaken</i>	<i>Retasa Despatched</i>
Cotabambas	Francisco López de Ezeiza		1724	July 1728
Cuzco parishes	Francisco Arias de Saavedra		1725	1734
Huamachuco	José Damián de Cabrera	Aug. 1729	By June 1732	1735
Huamalíes	Juan Antonio de Rivera y Santa Cruz	1735		
Huambos	José Damián de Cabrera	Aug. 1729	1734–35	1735
Huanta	Joseph de Mendieta		1726	1734
Huánuco	Marcelo Arias de Quiñones		1729–30	1730
Huarochirí	Pedro de la Reta	Aug. 1728	1729	By Dec. 1730
Huaylas	[J. Antonio de Laxa]	[Dec. 1728]	[By Jan. 1734]	
	Juan de Soasnabar	Nov.–Dec. 1735		
Jauja	[Manuel de Araindía]	[July 1726]	[1726–27]	[By Dec. 1730]
	Marcelo Arias de Quiñones	Sept. 1731		
	Juan de Soasnabar	Dec. 1733	1735	
Lampa/Cabana y Cabanilla	Felipe de Santisteban	Oct. 1726	1727	Oct. 1728 July 1730
Larecaja			By June 1726	
Lucanas	Francisco López de Ezeiza		1723	1728
Luya y Chillaos	Juan Joseph del Posso	June 1735		
Mizque	[Simón de Amesaga y Troconis]		[1733]	[1734]
	Anastasio González Ramírez de Zárate		1735	
Omasuyo	Simón de Amesaga y Troconis	By June 1733		
Pacajes	Simón de Amesaga y Troconis	By June 1733		
Paria	[Miguel Leicano Bernal]		[1726]	[By Jun. 1733]
	Simón de Amesaga y Troconis		1735	
Parinacochas	Francisco López de Ezeiza		1723	July 1728
Paucarcolla/Puno	Manuel Venero de Valera	Oct. 1726	1728	By Dec. 1730

TABLE 1 (continued)

<i>Province</i>	<i>Juez de la Revisita</i>	<i>Revisita Commissioned</i>	<i>Revisita Undertaken</i>	<i>Retasa Dispatched</i>
Paucartambo	Sebastián Marqués Escudero		1739	June 1740
Pilaya y Paspaya	The Corregidor		1725	
Pisco e Ica				By Dec. 1730
Piura	Marcelo Arias de Quiñones	Sept. 1731		
Porco	[Manuel Venero de Valera]	[Oct. 1726]	[1729]	[By Dec. 1730]
	Matías de Astoraica	1733	1733–34	
Potosí parishes	Manuel Venero de Valera	Oct. 1726	1729–30	1731
Quispicanchis	Miguel Antonio de Elorga	May 1725	1726–27	
	Manuel Venero de Valera	Oct. 1726	1727–28	Oct. 1728, Sept 1730
Saña				1736
Sica Sica	Manuel Venero de Valera	Oct. 1726	1728	By Dec. 1730
Tarija	Simón de Amesaga y Troconis		By Mar. 1734	
Tarma	Francisco López de Ezeiza		1726	1734
	Juan Antonio de Rivera y Santa Cruz		1735–36	1736–37
Vilcashuamán	[Manuel de Araindía]	[June 1728]	[1728–29]	[May 1730]
	Miguel Baliente		1737–38	1739
Yamparaes/ Chuquisaca	Simón de Amesaga y Troconis	Oct. 1732	By Mar. 1734	
Yauyos	Manuel de Araindía	July 1726	1730	

Sources: The sources for this table run to more than a page, and it is not possible to include them here. The author will be happy to supply a copy of the sources to any interested scholar.

NOTE: Inspections in Calca y Lares and perhaps those in the Cuzco parishes and Pilaya y Paspaya were provisional counts undertaken by corregidores in the aftermath of the epidemic. The results were adopted during the census as the basis for the formal retasas for those provinces. The revisitas of Cotabambas, Chumbivilcas, Lucanas, and Parinacochas were undertaken on Viceroy Morcillo's orders before the onset of the census proper, and their results again adopted as the basis for the retasas. Brackets indicate revisitas that were subsequently annulled and repeated. Multiple entries for a single province indicate that more than one judge was involved in the revisita. This table reflects only provinces for which the author has seen evidence of the census; it is unlikely to be definitive.

and years, they traveled the roads and footpaths of the Andes to reach the most isolated and inaccessible villages and hamlets, there to undertake the census according to instructions.<sup>25</sup> The time taken to do so varied from province to province, from a reported fifty-four days in sparsely populated Mizque, to seven and a half months in Huánuco, and more than eight in Vilcashuamán. Most judge-inspectors were responsible for one or two provinces only, but several had entire blocks assigned to them. Manuel de Araindía was made responsible for all the provinces subject to the Huanavelica mita that were left uncounted by López de Ezeiza, and he eventually visited six of them. Manuel Venero de Valera was commissioned to inspect eleven provinces subject to the Potosí mita and actually visited six provinces and the Villa Imperial itself. Simón de Amesaga accounted for the majority of *provincias mitantes* not visited by Venero, inspecting at least seven provinces between 1732 and 1735. The process was not without its complications, and several commissions were altered due to the death or incapacity of the judge first appointed. The thirty-one repartimientos of Quispicanches were divided between Miguel Antonio de Elorga and Manuel Venero de Valera. In Tarma, Francisco López de Ezeiza withdrew after inspecting a single repartimiento, delaying for a decade completion of the remainder by Juan Antonio de Rivera. When the census of a given province was completed, there was further delay while the results were scrutinized by the contador de retasas and other authorities in Lima before the retasa was finally approved and a copy was returned to the relevant province. This process of review itself could take up to a year to complete.

The period of time occupied in completing the census in fact became a notable feature. We know that the first revisitas undertaken on Castelfuerte's orders were begun in 1726. When Castelfuerte departed from Peru in January 1736, the census was still unfinished, and a number of provinces were completed after that date, either on Castelfuerte's orders or those of his successor as viceroy, the Marqués de Villagarcía (1736–1745). The last such late inspection was undertaken in 1739 and its results certified in 1740.<sup>26</sup> Yet the earliest "revisita" listed on table 1, that of Calca y Lares, dates from 1720, while the revisitas of Pilaya y Paspaya and the parishes of Cuzco

25. For accounts of judges at work, see Teodoro Hampe Martínez, "Visita de los Indios originarios y forasteros de Paucarcolla en 1728," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 15 (1985):209–40; and Hutchins, *Rebellion and the Census*, 175–78. The only example of a judge's instructions to come to light is "Provisión ordinaria de revisita para que la eecute el Dr Dn Clemente del Castillo, en los repartimientos de la provincia de Porco . . .," Lima, 25 June 1727, AHP, Cajas Reales 665, fols. 232–37. With the striking exception of the measures concerning mestizos and forasteros yet to be discussed, this document is an unremarkable one, of a type in use since the sixteenth century.

26. "Tube por conveniente nombrar en algunas de las provincias que no se habían revisitado jueces particulares de mi maior satisfacción que las actuasen." See Marqués de Villagarcía, preamble, "Provisión de retasa para el repartimiento de Chaves Barrientos (Vil-

date from 1725, possibly also too early to have formed part of the census proper. In these cases, it appears that no formal inspection was carried out in the provinces concerned and that the provisional tribute rolls prepared by the corregidores during or after the epidemic were subsequently adopted as the basis for the new formal tax lists. (It will be observed that where known, the retasas for these provinces were issued much later than the revisitas, at a time when the census was already underway.) In addition, as noted, formal revisitas were undertaken in Cotabambas, Chumbivilcas, Lucanas, and Parinacochas in 1723–1724 on Viceroy Morcillo's orders, the retasas for which were issued in 1728 alongside others of the census. Consequently, the total body of data that makes up the census returns was collected between 1720 and 1739, a period of almost twenty years, a fact that must be borne in mind when considering the utility of the returns as a source for demographic history.

Figure 1 illustrates provinces that were subject to the general census. There was some early concentration on provinces subject to the *mitas mineras* of Huancavelica and Potosí, but eventually virtually all the highland provinces of Upper and Lower Peru were included, as were at least three coastal provinces with significant Indian populations (Ica, Piura, and Saña). In 1733 Castelfuerte ordered that revisitas be undertaken in the Audiencia of Quito also, although no evidence has been found that the order was implemented.<sup>27</sup> Figure 1, however, shows only provinces for which documentary evidence of revisitas was found during research for this article. Published guides to archives that could not be visited, chiefly the Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires, strongly suggest that the remaining highland provinces were also included, and Castelfuerte stated repeatedly that his intention was to cover the whole of the viceroyalty.

Two additional features of the census remain to be discussed. Both these features had a major impact on its development, and both were products of special clauses in the judges' instructions. The first concerned the status of mestizos, persons of mixed Spanish and Indian descent. The documentation accompanying the judge-inspectors' *instrucciones de revisita* described the problem of Indians who passed themselves off as mestizos, thus gaining exemption from tribute as well as freedom from the spiritual au-

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cashuamán),” Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Sala de Manuscritos (cited hereafter as BNP), cuaderno 108. The revisita of 1739, the last that can be regarded as forming part of the general census, was conducted in the province of Paucartambo.

27. Luis J. Ramos Gómez, “Dos pareceres sobre el salario de los mitayos de Quito en 1735: El informe a la Audiencia de Martínez de Arizala, visitador de Cuenca, y el parecer del fiscal Luján,” *Histórica* (Lima) 20, no. 2 (Dec. 1996):271–83, 273, n. 5. A census of the city of Buenos Aires and its rural hinterland carried out in 1726 appears to have been a local initiative unrelated to the general census. See *Documentos para la historia argentina*, 20 vols., edited by Ricardo Levene (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1913–1929), 10:xiii–xiv, 3–11.

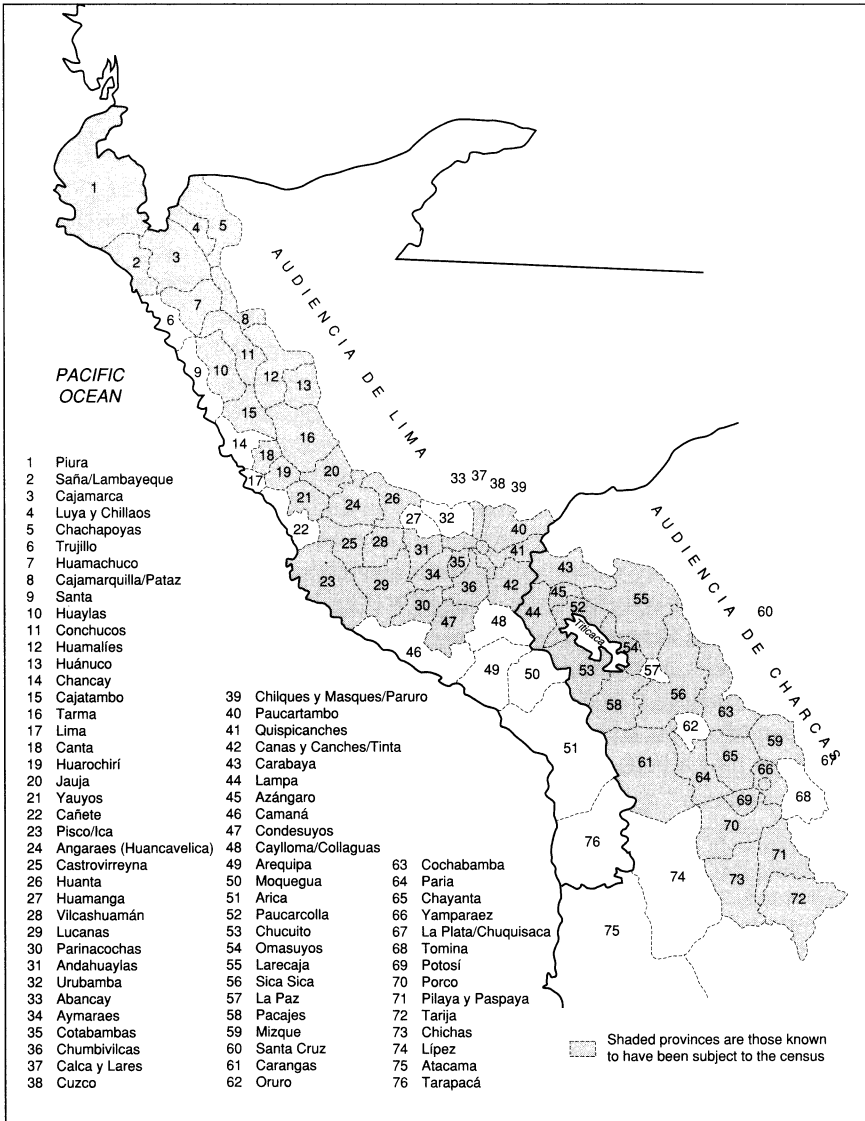


Figure 1.

thority of the Spanish priests in their communities. As mestizos, they similarly became exempt from service in the mita. To counter this problem, it was ordered that all individuals claiming to be mestizos must provide documentary proof of their ethnic status (essentially, certified baptismal records) or face registration on the new tribute rolls as Indians.<sup>28</sup> Any mestizo thus

reregistered as an Indian would immediately become liable for both tribute and the mita, giving the measure the potential to provoke considerable unrest among the population.

A second special clause concerned *forasteros* (literally, strangers or outsiders), Indians living away from their ancestral communities. The final part of the instrucción ordered that all *forasteros* owning land and property in their villages of residence should be registered for taxation there at the same rate as *originarios* (natives) of the village, and that *forasteros* so registered should become liable for mita in exactly the same way as *originarios*.<sup>29</sup> As implemented, this measure also extended to *yanaconas* (a third category of Indians with origins dating back to the Inca period) not legally assigned in *encomienda*.<sup>30</sup>

This measure was an extraordinary act by Castelfuerte's government. *Forasteros* represented a sector of the Indian population of Peru that had emerged in large part subsequent to the legislative and economic ordering of the viceroyalty by Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s. In consequence, they occupied an ill-defined position within the tributary system, which in practice meant that they were exempt from service in the mita and paid tribute at a lower rate than *originarios*, if at all.<sup>31</sup> Ann Wightman's standard study of *forasteros* in Peru suggested that they were often not even recorded on the tribute rolls, and to that extent, they did not exist so far as the tribute system was concerned.<sup>32</sup> This outcome exemplified the sort of extreme fossilization experienced by the colonial system after the early years, in that for a century and a half after Toledo's reforms, successive royal and viceregal

28. "Provisión ordinaria de revisita . . .," Lima, 25 Jun. 1727, AHP, Cajas Reales 665, fols. 232–37, see 234v–35. On this measure, see also Castelfuerte, *Relación*, 423; Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 7 Apr. 1727, AGI, Lima, leg. 506; and Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 22 Oct. 1728, AGI, Lima, leg. 412.

29. "Haréis padrones separados de los Indios originarios, y de los forasteros que conozen su orijen, y de los que no lo conozen, con la exempción necesaria; y estaréis advertido que los Indios forasteros que tubieren tierras, y bienes raíces, se han de poner entre los originarios para que paguen el tributo, y mita, como los suso dichos." See "Provisión ordinaria de revisita . . .," Lima, 25 June 1727, AHP, Cajas Reales 665, fols. 232–37.

30. I refer here to *yanaconas de la real corona*, in counter-distinction to *yanaconas de españoles*. See Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*, 16–18.

31. On *forasteros* in the tributary system prior to the census, see Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*, esp. 19, 28–29, 35, 42, 53–54, 68–69, 90, 130; Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, 92–95, 109; and Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, *El tributo indígena en el Perú (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1979), 86–90, 156–58.

32. According to Wightman, "Officials were reluctant to recognize the migrants within their jurisdictions, and few of the sporadic reenumerations of individual communities distinguished between the native-born *originarios* and the newcomers. The data generated by these surveys were inconsistent and incomplete; usually just the *originarios*, who were the only Indians liable for a community's tax and mita assessments, were included." Settled *forasteros* were "consistently and consciously omitted from census records." See Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*, 68–69.

administrations forewent the mita and much of the tribute of the forasteros (who by the late seventeenth century already made up half the Indian population in many regions) rather than revise the fiscal and labor structures that Toledo had created.<sup>33</sup> In ordering that forasteros and many yanacunas should in effect be reregistered as originarios in their villages of residence, Castelfuerte overturned at a stroke a century and a half of Habsburg precedent. And the reform went further still in instructing that wherever possible, the judges of the census should distribute vacant or uncultivated land to forasteros with no access to any as a prelude to their reclassification as originarios. The extent to which this distribution of land took place is obscure, but it seems to have been extensive.<sup>34</sup> In effect, the census was accompanied by a bout of agrarian reform.

The transfer of forasteros to the originario sector provided for in the judges' instructions occurred on a considerable scale. In Canas y Canches, a province subject to the Potosí mita, the census recorded 1,251 forasteros. Of these, 489 (39 percent) were found to own land in their villages and so were reclassified among the originarios. In Tarma the census identified 685 forasteros, of whom 433 (63 percent) owned land and were reregistered as originarios. In Huánuco, of 679 forasteros recorded during the census, 511 (75 percent) were reclassified as originarios, and in three of the four repartimientos of the province, all forasteros were reclassified as originarios during the census.<sup>35</sup> We have seen that Castelfuerte envisaged that forasteros reclassified in this way should be obliged to serve the mita and pay tribute in exactly the same fashion as originarios. With regard to the mita, the evidence as to the incorporation of forasteros is conflicting. Castelfuerte issued decrees ordering that the forasteros of particular provinces serve the mita alongside the originarios.<sup>36</sup> Royal decrees of 1732 and 1733, which were issued as a direct consequence of Castelfuerte's actions in Peru, formally ordered extension of the mitas mineras of Potosí and Huancavelica to forasteros.<sup>37</sup> But by the 1750s, the miners of Potosí were protesting that these decrees had not been acted upon and pressed the viceregal government for

33. A prime reason why successive viceroys of the seventeenth century were reluctant to undertake censuses was that they tended to be associated with attempts to reform or renew Toledo's system of Indian *reducciones*. See Cole, *Potosí Mita*, 78, 84, 91–95, 107; and Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*, 24–37.

34. Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 22 Oct. 1728, AGI, Lima, leg. 412; Zavala, *Servicio personal de los Indios*, 1:32–33; and Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, 43, 166, 180–81.

35. Extracted from the detailed census returns as follows: for Canas y Canches, AGN, Tributos, leg. 1, cuaderno 3, and AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 21; for Tarma, AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 14; and for Huánuco, AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 23.

36. Silvio Zavala, *Servicio personal de los Indios*, 1:17, 29; and González Casanovas, *Dudas de la Corona*, 429.

37. Decree of 22 Oct. 1732 concerning Potosí in Juan Joseph Matraya y Ricci, *Catálogo cronológico de las pragmáticas, cédulas, decretos, órdenes y resoluciones reales emanadas después de la Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias* (1819; reprinted in Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investiga-

new measures to enforce them.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, both of the principal mitas mineras were reinforced as a result of the census. With regard to tribute, all forasteros reclassified as originarios paid tribute at the originario rate from this period onward.

### SOCIAL REPERCUSSIONS

The social repercussions of the census were both substantial and complex and lie beyond the scope of this work. Their discussion cannot be avoided altogether, however, because the significant wave of unrest that swept the Indian and mestizo population of Peru in the 1720s and 1730s not only occurred simultaneously with the general census undertaken on Castelfuerte's orders but was in good part directly provoked by it. Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy explored this phenomenon in her book on rebellions and revolts in eighteenth-century Peru and Bolivia. She rightly identified it as "una primera coyuntura rebelde," the first widespread wave of unrest to confront the viceroyalty under the Bourbons.<sup>39</sup> Even O'Phelan Godoy may have underestimated its full scale, however. The mass of relevant documentation in Peruvian and Bolivian archives gives an impression of sharp tension surrounding tribute and its collection at this time.

This wave of unrest had a number of causes. In the years immediately following the epidemic, a diminished and impoverished tributary population was obliged to pay the tribute of many victims of the disease in addition to its own. Once the census began, the appearance in the villages of officials making records of the population naturally provoked suspicion among a people long accustomed to heavy taxation. In many provinces, the completed tribute rolls brought about an increase in the demand for tribute. Even where the new rolls adjusted the burden of tribute to match the real Indian population, this outcome may have limited the scope of corregidores and other local authorities to enrich themselves by retaining a portion of tribute and may have pushed them to exact wealth by alternative means, including increased *repartimiento de mercancía* (forced distribution of goods). During the census, mestizos were obliged to provide proof of their ethnic status on pain of registration as Indians and immediate liability for

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ciones de Historia del Derecho, 1978), 305–6. For the decree of 17 Apr. 1733 concerning Huanavelica, see Zavala, *Servicio personal de los Indios*, 1:32–33. The 1732 decree was issued in the light of lengthy opinions on the mita ordered by the crown from judges of the audiencias of Lima and Charcas and submitted in 1728–1730; several judges argued for extending the mita to forasteros, one of them citing Castelfuerte's recent actions with approval. See *ibid.*, 18–32.

38. José Antonio Manso de Velasco, *Relación y documentos de gobierno del virrey del Perú, José A. Manso de Velasco, Conde de Superunda (1745–1761)*, edited by Alfredo Moreno Cebrián (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," 1983), 238–89 (cited hereafter as Manso, *Relación*).

39. O'Phelan Godoy, *Siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales*, chap. 2 and p. 296, fig. 4.



tribute and the mita. Many mestizos may have been unable to provide such proof, and in some cases, individuals evidently of mixed race were recorded as Indians by judge-inspectors seeking to amass as large a tributary population as possible.<sup>40</sup> Forasteros and yanaconas who were reclassified alongside the originarios similarly became liable for the mita, as well as for tribute at a rate that was higher by 10 to 30 percent. The distribution of land to many forasteros in conjunction with the census, however, provided a measure of compensation and may have limited the potential extent of forastero unrest.

A further factor arose from abuses committed during the execution of the census, chiefly the registration by certain judges of more tributary Indians than really existed. Just as some mestizos were registered as Indians, so some forasteros were unjustifiably registered as originarios. In other instances, Indians dead or long absent might be registered as present in a given village, or the same Indian might be registered twice in different villages.<sup>41</sup> On occasion, large numbers of males were registered as tributaries at far too young an age—some as young as eight or nine.<sup>42</sup> This overcounting of Indians reflected more than simply an excess of zeal on the part of inspecting judges. The salaries of the officials involved were usually paid from whatever increase in tribute resulted from their inspections, so that they had a personal interest in ensuring that such increase was as great as possible.<sup>43</sup>

It is difficult to determine with precision how widespread these abusive practices were. In the worst cases, however, overregistration of Indians was so severe that protests from the provinces prompted the Lima govern-

40. In Porco, Manuel Venero was said to “haver numerado . . . muchos mestissos notorios, y aún españoles por tributarios”; see “Auto de acuerdo,” Lima, 22 Aug. 1737, AGN, Juicios de Residencia, leg. 38, cuaderno 114. A similar allegation is found in “Recurso de Lucas Copacava,” n.p., n.d., ANB, E., año 1731, no. 4. For a specific instance, see Pedro Vásquez de Velasco and treasury officials to Castelfuerte, Potosí, 15 Dec. 1730, AHP, Cajas Reales 588, fol. 363; and Treasury officials to Castelfuerte, Potosí, 13 Feb. 1731, *ibid.*, fols. 371–v.

41. “Recurso del casique Pedro de Pinaya,” n.p., n.d., ANB, E., año 1733, no. 36; “Recurso de Lucas Copacava,” n.p., n.d., ANB, E., año 1731, no. 4; “Auto de acuerdo,” Lima, 22 Aug. 1737, AGN, Juicios de Residencia, leg. 38, cuaderno 114; Treasury officials to Castelfuerte, Potosí, 31 Mar. 1731, AHP, Cajas Reales 588, fols. 374v–75; and Mathias de Astorayca, n.p., n.d. (late 1736), *impreso*, AGI, Charcas, leg. 230.

42. Statement of cacique of Pocoata, Chayanta, June 1735, ANB, EC, año 1735, no. 48.

43. “Regularmente en las revisitas que se hacen en las provincias de este Rno se han asignado los salarios en el aumento de Yndios que se descubren, lo que sin duda ha ocasionado la quexa y clamor de los miserables Indios porque a fin de no impender los jueces revisitadores los gastos necesarios que hacen de su propio caudal, y que le sea inútil y grabosa la actuación ponen toda la mira al fin de dicho aumento sin reparar en la justificación de los medios de que se valen.” See Juan de Soasnabar to Marqués de Castelfuerte, n.p., n.d. (Mar. 1736?), AGN, Derecho Indígena, leg. 14, cuaderno 255. For evidence on funding of the census, see the list “Libramientos que se dieron . . . por razón de revisitas,” in Manuel Fernández de Paredes, “Certificación,” 23 Feb. 1736, fols. 243v–47v in the first book, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 555A.

ment to annul the census returns and to order corrective revisitas in their place. This sequence of events occurred in the provinces of Huaylas, Jauja, Mizque, Porco, Vilcashuamán, and possibly Paria. In the case of Vilcashuamán, census returns are extant both for the first revisita of 1728–1729 and for the corrective inspection of 1737–1738 and suggest that the first count overstated the real number of tributary Indians by a factor of almost two to one.<sup>44</sup> In Porco, to judge from data regarding only the mita, the first revisita of 1729 overrepresented the real number of tributaries by half, an abuse that came to light during a corrective inspection in 1733–1734.<sup>45</sup> Over-registration of Indians on such a scale rendered Indian communities, caciques, and even corregidores responsible for far more tribute than was their legal obligation and can only have fueled the prevalent social tension.

Much unrest found expression only in reports from the provinces of sullen discontent and warnings that the tributary populace was being subjected to intolerable pressure. On perhaps a score of occasions, this lurking unrest broke out into open acts of violence or revolt directed against the agents of the fiscal system (especially the corregidores and their assistants), often occurring during attempts to collect tribute.<sup>46</sup> Among the more serious incidents of these years, during Castelfuerte's administration no fewer than four corregidores were murdered in the course of disturbances in the Peruvian provinces (although not all these disturbances can be related directly to the census).<sup>47</sup>

The most serious episode, indeed the most serious revolt in settled Spanish territory in Peru of the early Bourbon period, was the revolt of Cochabamba—a province with pockets of heavily mestizo population. The judge-inspector assigned to Cochabamba, Manuel Venero de Valera, arrived in November 1730 fresh from the revisita of the province of Porco, where his abuses had provoked unrest in which the corregidor himself became

44. The first and corrective revisitas showed 1,975 tributaries and 1,013 tributaries respectively; extracted from original returns for Vilcashuamán for 1728–1729 (BNP, cuadernos 1937, 1939, 1949–50, 1952–53, 2052–54, 2062, 2077), and 1737–1738 (BNP, cuadernos 108–9, 111, 113–15, 1962, 2065, 2070, 2073–74).

45. A mita *de continuo trabajo* for Porco of 136 Indians was given in “Nueva numeración general de Indios de las dieciseis provincias . . . afectadas [sic] al servicio de la mita minera de Potosí,” Lima, 15 Jun. 1733, ANB, Colección Ruck no. 31, fols. 66–90. A figure of 91 Indians was given in “Nuevo empadronamiento de los Indios de mita de la provincia de Porco . . .,” 1736–1737, ANB, Colección Ruck, no. 31, fols. 90–101v.

46. O'Phelan Godoy, *Siglo de rebeliones*, chap. 2; and “El Norte y los movimientos antifiscales del siglo XVIII,” *Histórica* (Lima) 1, no. 2 (Dec. 1977):199–222. Two revolts not covered by O'Phelan Godoy are discussed in “Autos sobre la sublevación de Yndios del pueblo de Guañamarca en la provincia de Carangas,” ANB, E., año 1732, EC no. 50; and Félix Alvarez-Brun, *Ancash: Una historia regional peruana* (Lima: 1970), 116–17.

47. Viz, the corregidores of Azángaro, Carabaya, Cotabambas, and Castrovirreyna: Castelfuerte, *Relación*, 278–79; Esquível y Navía, *Noticias cronológicas*, 2:232–23, 239, 249; Arzans de Orsúa, *Historia de la Villa Imperial*, 3:344; Vargas Ugarte, *Historia general*, 4:170–71; and O'Phelan Godoy, *Siglo de rebeliones*, 99–104.

implicated. His reputation apparently preceded him. Within days of beginning the census, rumors spread that Venero was inscribing many mestizos on the tribute lists as Indians and demanding up to two hundred pesos in bribes for exemptions. A violent revolt broke out that rapidly attracted two thousand adherents; Venero fled for his life, the first Spanish force mustered to suppress the revolt was routed, and eighteen Spanish *vecinos* were slain. For a time, the situation appeared extremely serious: Castelfuerte ordered that fresh forces be gathered by the corregidores of the surrounding provinces and contemplated going to Cochabamba himself to direct operations. The revolt collapsed within a few weeks, however, after its leader was captured and executed.<sup>48</sup>

The abuses that characterized the census in some provinces, together with the wave of unrest it provoked and especially the Cochabamba revolt, seem to have dented Castelfuerte's enthusiasm for the undertaking as a whole. He appears to have sent no further report on it to the crown after December 1730, a fact that goes some way toward explaining the apparent paucity of documentation on the census in Spanish archives. Nevertheless, Castelfuerte continued to issue commissions for *revisitas* and to approve *retasas* throughout the remaining years of his administration.

#### TRIBUTE AND THE MITA

No complete guide exists to the overall results of the census and its impact on two institutions that it was in part designed to restore: Indian tribute and the *mita*. Historians have, however, a number of partial sources. The most important are two tables prepared on Castelfuerte's orders in November 1730 by Pedro de Acosta, the *contador de retasas*, and forwarded by the viceroy to the crown. The first table details the total number of tributaries recorded in twenty-two provinces (the number completed by this date) and includes comparative data for the same provinces, both preceding the epidemic of 1718–1723 and according to the provisional tribute rolls drawn up by the *corregidores* in its immediate aftermath. The second table details the amount of tribute owed by twenty-one of the same provinces, with comparative data only from the rolls taken after the epidemic.<sup>49</sup> A further important source consists of an extract of a report prepared by Acosta's successor, Juan de Barreneche, in October 1735 and reproduced in Castelfuerte's *Relación de gobierno*. This document presents data for the total number of tributaries recorded in forty-two provinces completed by then, again with information on revenue from tribute.<sup>50</sup>

48. Hutchins provided an exhaustive account in "Rebellion and the Census."

49. Pedro de Acosta, informe, Lima, 19 Nov. 1730, with Marqués de Castelfuerte to the crown, Callao, 27 Dec. 1730, AGI, Lima, leg. 413.

50. Castelfuerte, *Relación*, 609–10, also 622.

The tables prepared by Acosta have naturally attracted the attention of the few scholars who have discussed the census, and they were published by Hutchins and O'Phelan Godoy.<sup>51</sup> The one that concerns the Indian population is reproduced here in modified and amplified form as table 2 (see the accompanying note for alterations). The evidence that this and other sources for the census present for the demography of Indian Peru at this time will be discussed in the following section. All that needs to be stressed at this point is the most striking feature of the data: the sharp increase in the number of tributaries recorded by the census as compared with tribute rolls in use after the epidemic. Of twenty-two provinces for which full comparative data are available, all but four showed increases. The greatest rise in absolute terms occurred in Lampa, where 3,097 more Indians were found than were recorded after the epidemic. The largest percentage rise took place in Cotabambas, where the census brought about an increase in recorded tributaries from 476 to 1,538, a rise of 223 percent. The total number of tributaries newly recorded in all twenty-four provinces shown was 20,348, representing an overall increase of more than 68 percent. The figures prepared by Juan de Barreneche suggest that by late 1735, in forty-two provinces the census had recorded a total of 35,867 more tributaries than were registered in the aftermath of the epidemic, of whom 22,200 were originarios and 13,667 were forasteros.

Such an increase in registered population had clear implications for Indian tribute and the mita. The table prepared by Acosta on revenue from tribute is reproduced here in modified form as table 3 (see accompanying note for alterations). The data the table presents for the impact of the census are ostensibly impressive. Eighteen out of nineteen provinces show increases in revenue, with only a negligible fall in Conchucos, the exception. Elsewhere the increases are often very large: some 3,743 pesos (a rise of 189.4 percent) in Parinacochas; 3,822 pesos (190.5 percent) in Huánuco; and 9,097 pesos (278.6 percent) in Cotabambas. The overall increase in revenue was 106,680 pesos, or plus 70.5 percent. These cases broadly represent what occurred elsewhere. A striking case not shown on the table was that of the new sedentary population of 1,815 forasteros recorded by Manuel Venero in Potosí, whose 12,705 pesos of tribute represented entirely new income.<sup>52</sup> The data covering forty-two provinces prepared by Barreneche suggest that from a base of 419,371 pesos, revenue from Indian tribute rose to 673,387 pesos as the retasas resulting from the census came into effect, an increase

51. Hutchins, "Rebellion and the Census," pp. 99–101, tt. 1–2; and O'Phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones*, pp. 81–82, tt. 6–7.

52. "Retasas de Indios de las Parrochias de la Jurisdicción de esta Villa de Potosí . . . [1731]," AHP, Cajas Reales 704. Venero noted that all the tribute of these Indians represented an increase, "por haver usurpado sus tributos hasta oy los Capitanes enteradores de Mita de esta Villa" or "por haver caresido siempre de sus tassas."

TABLE 2 *The General Census of 1725–1740: Data on Population*

<i>Province</i>	(1) <i>Tributary Indians by Retasas Current before Epidemic</i>	(2) <i>Tributary Indians by Padrones Prepared after Epidemic</i>	(3) <i>Tributary Indians according to Revisitas of the Census</i>	(4) <i>Increase or Decrease, (3) over (2)</i>	(5) <i>Increase or Decrease, (3) over (1)</i>
Angaraes	2,222	1,133	1,811	+678	-411
Azángaro	3,427	2,740	2,659	-81	-768
Canas y Canches	2,703	1,466	3,839	+2,373	+1,136
Canta	1,764	919	1,492	+573	-272
Carabaya	1,991	1,096	1,512	+416	-479
Castrovirreyna	1,211	974	1,219	+245	+8
Chucuito	7,018	3,563	4,535	+972	-2,483
Chumbivilcas	958	958	1,823	+865	+865
Conchucos	2,583	2,910	2,788	-122	+205
Cotabambas	476	476	1,538	+1,062	+1,062
Huanta	1,668	1,740	1,689	-51	+21
Huánuco	1,430	381	993	+612	-437
Huarochirí	2,042	1,319	1,801	+482	-241
Lampa	4,582	1,882	4,979	+3,097	+397
Lucanas	309	309	952	+643	+643
Mizque	432	632	811	+179	+379
Parinacochas	345	345	917	+572	+572
Paucarcolla/Puno	189	108	138	+30	-51
Pisco e Ica	644		805	+805	+161
Porco	3,412	1,317	2,548	+1,231	-864
Potosí parishes			1,815	+1,815	+1,815
Quispicanches	3,101	2,731	3,833	+1,102	+732
Sica Sica	6,637	1,772	4,665	+2,893	-1,972
Vilcashuamán	827	1,056	1,013	-43	+186
Totals	49,971	29,827	50,175	+20,348 (+68.2%)	+204 (+0.4%)

Sources: Pedro de Acosta, informe, Lima, 19 Nov. 1730, with Marqués de Castelfuerte to the crown, Callao, 27 Dec. 1730, AGI, Lima, leg. 413; "Tributo de los Indios de la provincia de Castrovirreyna" (1731), AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 24; "Vizita general hecha a los Indios . . . de Mizque," ANB, A.M., año 1718, no. 2; "Últimas provisiones de retaza despachadas para los Yndios de la provincia de Mizque . . .," ANB, Colección Ruck no. 29; "Retasas de Indios de las Parrochias de . . . Potosí . . . 1731," AHP, Cajas Reales 704; "Nuevo empadronamiento de los Indios de mita de la provincia de Porco . . . 1736–1737," ANB, Colección Ruck no. 31, fols. 90–101v; and for Vilcashuamán, BNP, cuadernos 108–9, 111, 113–15, 1962, 2065, 2070, 2073–74.

NOTE: Based on report of Pedro de Acosta, modified as follows: data for Castrovirreyna, Mizque, and Potosí parishes added from original census returns; data for Porco and Vilcashuamán substituted from returns of corrective revisitas; data for Jauja deleted (because the revisita for this province was annulled and no results from the corrective inspection have been found). Where further comparison has been possible between original census returns and Acosta's tables, there is usually some variation between the two sets of statistics. In such cases Acosta's data have been allowed to stand.

TABLE 3: The General Census of 1725–1740: Data on Tribute

Province	Tribute Due according to Padrones Compiled during or after the Epidemic	Tribute Due according to Revisitas of the Census	Increase or Decrease
Angaraes	6,621	10,583	+3,962
Azángaro	13,618–7-2	15,206–0-2	+1,587–1
Canas y Canches/Tinta	16,676	25,033–4-1	+8,357–4-1
Canta	5,081–2	8,297–4	+3,216–2
Carabaya	5,480	11,408–3	+5,928–3
Chucuito	23,420	28,359–1-2	+4,939–1-2
Chumbivilcas	7,289–7-2	13,106–0-3	+5,816–1-1
Conchucos	14,238–3-3	13,863–7	- 374–4-3
Cotabambas	3,264–4-1	12,361–3-1	+9,096–7-2
Huánuco	2,005–7-2	5,828–2-1	+3,822–2-3
Huarochirí	7,628–6-1	10,631–5	+3,002–6-3
Lampa	11,813–0-1	33,498–5-3	+21,685–5-2
Lucanas	1,977–0-3	4,895–5-3	+2,918–5
Parinacochas	1,976–0-2	5,718–6-2	+3,742–6
Paucarcolla/Puno	724–2	944–1-1	+ 219–7-1
Pisco e Ica		5,611–6-2	+5,611–6-2
Quispicanches	12,174–2-2	27,239–7-3	+15,065–5-1
Sica Sica	13,130–3	19,989–1	+6,858–6
Vilcashuamán	4,259–5	5,482	+1,222–3
Total	151,379–2-3	258,059–2	+106,679–5-3

Sources: Pedro de Acosta, informe, Lima, 19 Nov. 1730, with Marqués de Castelfuerte to the crown, Callao, 27 Dec. 1730, AGI, Lima, leg. 413; for Vilcashuamán, BN, cuadernos 108–9, 111, 113–15, 1962, 2065, 2070, 2073–74.

NOTE: Figures listed in pesos-reales-quartillos. Based on report of Pedro de Acosta, modified as follows: data for Vilcashuamán substituted from returns of corrective revisita; data for Jauja and Porco deleted.

of 254,016 pesos.<sup>53</sup> In these forty-two provinces, the census thus brought about an increase in tribute of almost 61 percent.

Difficulties accompanied this apparent increase, deriving from technical aspects of the tributary system. Most Indian tribute (that paid by originarios and by settled forasteros) did not enter the treasury system directly but after collection was administered by the corregidores, who used it to pay their own and other judicial salaries, clerical stipends, and other local costs. Where encomienda survived, tribute was paid in part or whole to the

53. Castelfuerte, *Relación*, 609–10. All figures here are rounded to nearest peso.

TABLE 4: Distribution of Tribute in Provinces Subject to the Cuzco Treasury

Province	Date of Latest Retasa	Annual Tribute	Distributed by the Corregidor	Entering Cuzco Treasury	Percentage Distributed by Corregidor
Abancay	1734	21,419–1	8,006–3	13,412–6	37.4%
Andahuaylas	1734	9,093	7,475–7	1,617	82.2%
Aymaraes	1734	15,806–3	14,555–4	1,250–6	92.1%
Azángaro	1728,1730	18,290–1	12,191–7	6,098–2	66.7%
Calca y Lares	1730	5,804	3,500–5	2,303–3	60.3%
Canas y Canches	1729	25,733–2	12,605–4	13,127–6	49.0%
Chilques y Masques	1737	15,109	9,032–2	6,077	59.8%
Chumbivilcas	1728	13,422–7	10,407–3	3,015–4	77.5%
Cotabambas	1728	11,880–3	10,361	1,520–1	87.2%
Cuzco (8 parishes)	1725	5,342–3	0	5,342–3	0.0%
Lampa	1728/30/43	32,164–7	15,367	16,797–6	47.8%
Marquesado de Oropesa	1500s	8,165–4	3,037–4	5,128	37.2%
Parinacochas	1728	5,875–7	5,875–7	0	100.0%
Paucartambo	1740	6,983–7	3,167–7	3,816	45.4%
Quispicanchis	1728,1730	28,399–2	11,010–7	17,388–2	38.8%

Source: Carta cuenta de la ciudad del Cuzco, with Joseph de Herboso to the crown, Potosí, 18 Nov. 1746, AGI, Lima, leg. 429.

NOTE: Figures in pesos-reales; *tomines* and *granos* omitted. Percentages rounded to one decimal place.

encomenderos.<sup>54</sup> Only after these local costs were satisfied was the tribute remaining as surplus forwarded to the local treasury office. The proportion retained locally varied from province to province with the level of costs. Table 4 illustrates the case of the thirteen provinces and two lesser jurisdictions subject to the Cuzco treasury. The proportion of tribute that never entered the treasury system varied among the provinces from 37.4 percent (Abancay) to 100 percent (Parinacochas), with the average figure approaching 63 percent. The summary for forty-two provinces provided by Barreneche suggests that of the total tribute income of 673,387 pesos, some 467,927 pesos (over 69 percent) were retained for expenditure locally. This was a feature that Castelfuerte apparently did not anticipate, and one he came to rue: “siendo la lástima de que todo el producto, o, lo más de él se convierta en venefizio de los encomenderos, sínodos de curas, y salarios de Corregidores, sin que sirva a venefizio de los Reales Haveres de Vuestra Magestad.”<sup>55</sup>

54. Castelfuerte described these costs as “sínodos de curas, salarios de justicias y caciques, de rentas de encomiendas, de fábricas de iglesias, diezmo de las especies de la tasa y salario de protector.” See *Relación*, 610.

55. Castelfuerte to the crown, Callao, 27 Dec. 1730, AGI, Lima, leg. 413.

The registration as Indians of individuals formerly calling themselves mestizos and of forasteros and yanaconas as originarios brought its own problems. It is true that mestizos paid no tribute, and forasteros and yanaconas paid at a lower rate than originarios, so that their reclassification as Indians or as originarios should have boosted revenue from this branch.<sup>56</sup> Set against this point was the fact that the tribute of both vagrant forasteros and yanaconas not legally assigned in encomienda was not subject to the local costs just described but passed directly to the treasury. The transfer of large numbers of forasteros and yanaconas to the originario sector thus threatened disposable royal income in that where local costs were high, such a transfer could increase the total amount of tribute generated but might provoke a reduction in the proportion of tribute entering the treasury. The point is illustrated by the 350 yanaconas of Saña province classed en masse among the originarios in the course of the census. As yanaconas, these Indians paid 4 pesos tribute per year, yielding 1,400 pesos in all, of which 1,000 entered the local treasury (400 paid the salaries of two coastal guards). Once registered as originarios, their tribute rose to 12 pesos per year, provoking an impressive increase in total tribute to 4,200 pesos, but this income was now subject like other originario tribute to the full range of local costs, to the dismay of officials at the nearby treasury.<sup>57</sup> These difficulties notwithstanding, an increase in income with which to pay the salaries of corregidores, priests, and caciques did redound ultimately in favor of the royal exchequer. Even after local costs were deducted, the increase in revenue from Indian tribute resulting from the census was sufficient to make a real impact.<sup>58</sup>

In gauging the impact of the census on the mitas mineras, several additional, albeit fragmentary, sources may be consulted. In 1733 Castelfuerte had Acosta draw up a statement of the mita quotas yielded by the new retasas in ten provinces completed by that date out of the sixteen subject to the Potosí mita. This document was designed to assist the newly appointed superintendente de la mita, Pedro Vásquez de Velasco, in secur-

56. Indeed, the latter point implies that in a province where large-scale reregistration occurred and large numbers of former forasteros appeared on the tribute rolls for the first time, the increase in tribute should have been proportionately greater than the increase in Indians registered for taxation.

57. Bonifacio de Gastella to Marqués de Casa Calderón, Lima, 26 Sept 1737, and "Respuesta del señor fiscal," Madrid, 24 Mar. 1738, both in AGI, Lima, leg. 506. Gastella was a treasury official at Saña; Casa Calderón was regent of the Tribunal de Cuentas, a body that reviewed complaints from other treasury officials making analogous points. See Joseph de Valdés (*tesorero* at Trujillo) to Marqués de Villagarcía, Soledad, 29 Aug. 1740, and Tribunal de Cuentas, informe, Lima, 18 Jan. 1741, both in AGN, Tributos Informes, leg. 1, cuaderno 6.

58. Analysis of treasury records appears to confirm an upward trend in tribute levels during these years. See Adrian J. Pearce, "Economy and Society in Early Eighteenth-Century Peru: The Viceregal Administration of José de Armendáriz, Marqués de Castelfuerte, 1724–1736," M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1994, p. 23, fig.1.



ing full mita complements.<sup>59</sup> Castelfuerte's *Relación* incorporated another general summary prepared by the contador de retasas of the Potosí mita as it stood in 1734, now covering eleven provinces subject to census, with quotas in the remainder still based on retasas predating the epidemic of 1718–1723. A further summary also of 1734 suggests the overall impact on the other major mita, that of Huancavelica, all of whose obligated provinces appear to have been completed by this date.<sup>60</sup>

For the Potosí mita, Acosta's statement of 1733 indicated a *mita gruesa* (the one-seventh of the tributary population that would serve in a given year) for the ten provinces surveyed of 2,024, and a *mita ordinaria* (the number of *mitayos* working at the mines at any one time) of 648. The summary of the following year indicated a total *mita gruesa* for all sixteen provinces of 3,199, yielding a *mita ordinaria* of 1,025. The previous assessment of the mita, that of the Conde de la Monclova in 1692, had yielded a *mita gruesa* of 4,145 and a *mita ordinaria* of 1,367, so that the census appeared to have resulted in a substantial reduction in the size of the draft. The real number of *mitayos* serving, however, had long fallen well below the official level set by Monclova: reports of 1728–1733 indicate an effective draft of just 650 to 700 Indians.<sup>61</sup> This estimate suggests that the 1734 figures, if realized in full, represented an increase in the real draft of some 350 Indians, or more than 50 percent. It is true that one or two of the obligated provinces (Porco and possibly Paria) were subject to corrective *revisitas* during or after 1734, in the case of Porco because of heavy overcounting of tributary Indians. Acosta's statement of 1733 was drawn up because Vásquez de Velasco was already

59. "Nueva numeración general de Indios de las dieciseis provincias . . . afectadas al servicio de la mita minera de Potosí," Lima, 15 June 1733, ANB, Colección Ruck, no. 31, fols. 66–90. Provinces included are Azángaro, Canas y Canches, Carangas, Chucuito, Lampa, Paucarcolla (only the main town of which had been counted by this date), Paria, Porco, Quispicanchis, and Sica Sica. Enrique Tandeter listed the individual mita quotas and added those from provinces not yet subject to new *revisitas* at this time; see Tandeter, "Forced and Free Labour in Late-Colonial Potosí," *Past and Present* 93 (1981):98–136, 103, t. 2. On Vásquez's commission, see Pearce, "Early Bourbon Government," 153–54.

60. Castelfuerte, *Relación*, 441–42, 454–55. The body of the *Relación* was prepared prior to Castelfuerte's anticipated departure in 1734, and a supplementary section was added before his actual departure in January 1736; both these summaries form part of the main section, hence their dating to 1734. On the *Relación*, see Moreno Cebrián, *El virreinato del marqués de Castelfuerte*, chap. 6; and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las relaciones de los virreyes del Perú* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1959), 117–21.

61. See Ignacio del Castillo, oidor de Charcas, voto particular, La Plata, 9 Nov. 1728 (700 *mitayos*); Joseph Casimiro Gómez García, fiscal de Charcas, voto particular, La Plata, 7 July. 1730 (672 *mitayos*), both in Ramón Ezquerria Abadia, "Problemas de la mita de Potosí en el siglo XVIII," in International Mining Congress (1959–1975), *La minería hispana e iberoamericana: Contribución a su investigación histórica*, 8 vols. (León: Cátedra de San Isidro, 1970–1974), 1:483–511, 498, 507; Pedro Vásquez de Velasco to Marqués de Castelfuerte, Potosí, 19 Apr. 1733 (650 *mitayos*), reported in "Nueva numeración general de Indios . . ." 15 June 1733, ANB, Colección Ruck, no. 31, fols. 66–90. See also Cole, *Potosí Mita*, p. 120, fig.3.

complaining that corregidores in the obligated provinces “se escusan a la remisión de los Yndios con desir que no alcansan segun las revisitas nuevamente hechas, y aprovadas.” Moreover, the figures reproduced in Castelfuerte’s *Relación* offer only provisional totals pending completion of the census in all the provinces subject to Potosí.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, the mita gruesa in fact remained at a level reasonably close to the 3,199 claimed by Castelfuerte for the rest of the century: a reported 2,817 in 1740; 2,800 in 1750; 2,919 in 1754; and 2,809 in 1801.<sup>63</sup> This longevity is significant because it implies that the census, besides giving an immediate strong boost to the Potosí mita, marked the end of a century and a half of continuous decline in the labor draft.

At Huancavelica the mita had officially remained unchanged since 1645, at 620 mitayos. The summary reproduced in Castelfuerte’s *Relación* indicated a new total of 550 Indians, so that once again the census appeared to have brought about a drop in the draft. But as at Potosí, the real number of mitayos had for many years fallen far short of the official tally. In 1726 some 447 mitayos actually served at the mines, such that the post-census figure again represented a significant increase on this real draft.<sup>64</sup> The problems affecting the census in the provinces obligated to Potosí, however, were replicated in those subject to Huancavelica. In Andahuaylas, where Manuel de Araindía’s revisita of 1732 had indicated a mita quota of “26 and two-thirds Indians,” a new revisita in 1743 revealed substantial overcounting and reduced the quota to 16 and two-thirds.<sup>65</sup> A different case was Huanta, where the revisita undertaken by Joseph de Mendieta in 1726 revealed a lower tributary population and so a lower mita quota (for this reason the returns for Huanta were contested by the Huancavelica miners’ guild, and their approval by the contador de retasas was delayed for some seven years).<sup>66</sup> And in contrast to Potosí, in Huancavelica the new mita

62. Cole took the 1734 figures as definitive, dated them to 1736, and suggested that Castelfuerte made a new *repartimiento de la mita*, a formal redistribution of mitayos among mines and mills. I found no evidence of any new repartimiento, although I do not know how the new number of mitayos was distributed among miners. See Cole, *Potosí Mita*, 132–35.

63. Figures for 1740, 1754, and 1801 taken from Tandeter, “Forced and Free Labour,” p. 103, t. 2. Figure for 1750 from Zavala, *El servicio personal de los Indios*, 3:47.

64. On the quota of 620 and its decline, see Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las minas de Huancavelica en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1949), 331–33, 354, 360, 378–79, 396–97, 404; and Adrian J. Pearce, “Huancavelica 1700–1759: Administrative Reform of the Mercury Industry in Early Bourbon Peru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (Nov. 1999):669–702, 672–73.

65. Corregidor of Andahuaylas to Gaspar de la Cerda y Leiva, Guancaray, 2 May 1753, in the *expediente* marked “Gaspar de Leyva solicitando providencia . . .,” AGN, Superior Gobierno / Real Acuerdo de Justicia y Junta de Tribunales, leg. 1.

66. Contador de retasas, informe, n.p., n.d., in “Autos relativos a la retaza del tributo que deben de pagar los Indios de . . . la Provinzia de Huanta,” AGN, Contaduría General de Tribu-

total appears not to have endured. Already by 1738, the governor of Huancavelica reported that a maximum of 500 Indians served the draft. A further statement of the mita prepared by a later contador, Joseph de Orellana, in 1753, revealed a total draft of 396 and two-thirds Indians from the thirteen obligated provinces, of whom only 368 and two-thirds actually served at the mine,<sup>67</sup> despite the fact that only the province of Andahuaylas had been subject to a fresh revisita since the general census.

To gauge the essential fiscal and economic significance of the census, one must return to table 2. The final column compares population figures for twenty-four provinces as recorded during the census with figures for the same provinces taken from tribute lists in force before the epidemic. Totals for the two columns are virtually identical: the difference is just 204 Indians, an increase of 0.4 percent. The colonial state, then, could count on the same number of tributaries after the epidemic as it had before; the census had wiped out, in fiscal terms, the effects of disease. The epidemic had certainly caused mortality on a huge scale, but by registering a large part of the forastero population for taxation for the first time, Castelfuerte made good this mortality, as far as the Exchequer was concerned, almost exactly. The census thus had the effect, although not at first glance, of a major fiscal reform: it allowed the viceregal finances to survive virtually unscathed the worst demographic disaster of the century. Reregistration also preserved and at Potosí actually increased the size of the effective mita minera. Castelfuerte was sometimes disingenuous in describing the impact of the census. In presenting the population data, he ignored the fact of large-scale reregistration and presented the population increases in absolute terms. In discussing the mita, he sought to obscure the fall in the size of the official draft by portraying previous official drafts as mita gruesa instead of mita ordinaria. He too, however, identified this basic characteristic as early as 1728: “reconociéndose hoy credidísimas ventajas a los enteros que se hacían antes de la epidemia sin que la mortandad de tan crecido numero de yndios ocasiona a la Real Hacienda menoscabo alguno.”<sup>68</sup>

tos, leg. 1, cuaderno 8. A striking analogous case was that of Caylloma, whose internal mita fell from 800 to 125.5 Indians by the new retasas; see Nelson Manrique, *Colonialismo y pobreza campesina: Caylloma y el valle del Colca, siglos XVI–XX* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo, 1985), 118–20.

67. Jerónimo de Sola y Fuente to the crown, Huancavelica, 30 Dec. 1738, AGI, Lima, leg. 1326; Joseph de Orellana to Conde de Superunda, Lima, 19 May 1753, AGN, Superior Gobierno/Real Acuerdo de Justicia y Junta de Tribunales, leg. 1. The 28 mitayos of Castrovirreyna were retained for use in the mines of that province.

68. Marqués de Castelfuerte to the crown, Lima, 22 Oct. 1728, AGI, Lima, leg. 412.

THE CENSUS RETURNS AS A SOURCE OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The amount of documentary material on the census in Spanish-American archives is extensive.<sup>69</sup> Research for this article encountered documents scattered throughout provincial and national archives in Peru and Bolivia, including instructions from government, reports from the inspecting judges, related official correspondence, and other material. The key documents for demographic historians—the census returns themselves—were prepared in Lima. One copy for each province was kept there, while a second copy was dispatched to the province concerned. These detailed full returns have thus far come to light for seven provinces and one municipality: the provinces of Canas y Canches, Castrovirreyna, Huanta, Huánuco, Mizque, Tarma, and Vilcashuamán, and the town of Potosí.<sup>70</sup> The Archivo General de la Nación in Lima appears to contain detailed returns for several additional provinces, and it is probable that research in other collections in the region will yield further examples.

Until more of the original census returns are located and analyzed, a detailed picture of Peru's indigenous population at this time will remain beyond scholarly reach. With regard to the overall population of the viceroyalty, however, a further source can supply much the same information. In 1754, Castelfuerte's successor but one, the Conde de Superunda, had the contador de retasas, José de Orellana, draw up "un mapa . . . en que con distinción de Arzobispados y Obispados diese razón de los [Indios] existentes de ambos sexos, según las últimas revisitas, con separación de provincias." The resulting tables were incorporated in Superunda's *Relación de gobierno*.<sup>71</sup> It has generally been assumed that they present the results of a census undertaken at this time on Superunda's orders, although the viceroy made no such claim. In fact, Superunda never undertook any general census; as the citation indicates, the tables are based on "the latest revisitas," which in most cases can only have meant those belonging to Castelfuerte's census.<sup>72</sup> The

69. To cite a single example, a substantial part of the correspondence of the treasury officials of Potosí is taken up with matters related to the census during the period of its execution. See AHP, Cajas Reales 588; Cajas Reales 690.

70. For Canas y Canches: AGN, Tributos, leg. 1, cuaderno 3, and AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 21. For Castrovirreyna: AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 24. For Huanta: AGN, Contaduría General de Tributos, leg. 1, cuaderno 8. For Huánuco: AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 23. For Mizque: ANB, Ruck 29. For Tarma: AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 14. For Vilcashuamán: BNP, cuadernos 108–9, 111, 113–15, 1962, 2065, 2070, 2073–74. For Potosí: AHP, Cajas Reales 704.

71. Manso, *Relación*, 241–26; also reproduced in the edition by Fuentes, *Memorias de los vireyes*, 4:1–340, 7–15 of appendix. The latter version has numerous typographical errors; most are resolved in the edition by Moreno Cebrián, but cross-reference between the two is still required.

72. For references to "Superunda's census," see Sánchez-Albornoz, *Population of Latin*

point is illustrated by table 5, which compares population data from table 2 with figures from the tables prepared by Orellana. Twenty-three provinces are included. In fifteen, the difference between the census returns and Orellana's statistics amounts to 10 percent or less; in nine provinces, the difference is 5 percent or less; and in two (Cotabambas and Parinacochas), the figures correlate exactly. In some provinces, certainly, the difference was much more significant, probably reflecting fresh revisitas undertaken between the general census and 1754; this was the case in Lampa (subject to fresh inspection in 1743) and Huarochiri (1746 and 1754).<sup>73</sup> Despite such local discrepancies, the difference between figures for total population drawn from the two sets of statistics is negligible: 73 Indians, or 0.15 percent. Assuming, as seems reasonable, that these twenty-three provinces are a sufficiently representative sample, Orellana's tables constitute the best guide available to the overall population of Peru when the census was in full progress around 1730.

Table 6 reproduces the summary results given by Orellana for the eight bishoprics of Upper and Lower Peru (the original tables also supply detailed data by individual province). The table covers some seventy-four provinces, towns, and sundry jurisdictions in two audiencias (Lima and Charcas) incorporating most of the Indian Andean heartland. It shows Peru's indigenous population at its lowest known historic level: the total indigenous population recorded was 612,780. Tributary Indians numbered 143,363, of whom only 88,006 were registered as native to their ancestral communities. Such was the legacy of a recent major epidemic, crowning two centuries of catastrophic demographic decline since the conquest.

Beyond this evidence for the total Indian population, the census returns should also give wide scope for assessing demographic trends in the period in which they were compiled. They offer population figures for the whole of the viceroyalty, collected within a relatively narrow time frame (mostly between 1726 and 1735); it should be possible to compare them with previous general censuses and other population data to assess broader changes in the population. Table 2, most of which was compiled during the census itself, is ostensibly an example of precisely this kind of comparative exercise.

*America*, 14, 91, 112; Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "La sociedad colonial andina," in *Historia del Perú*, edited by Fernando Silva Santisteban, 12 vols. (Lima: Juan Mejía Baca, 1980), 6:129–337, 201–2; and Franklin Pease, *Perú: Hombre e historia entre el siglo XVI y XVIII*, 2 vols. (Lima: Edubanco, 1992), 223–26. Superunda makes no reference to a census in his lengthy *Relación*, and I found no evidence for one in more than four years' study of his and other administrations of the period.

73. "Carta cuenta de la ciudad del Cusco," with Joseph de Herboso to the crown, Potosí, 18 Nov. 1746, AGI, Lima, leg. 429; and Simón Cayro to Conde de Superunda, San Pedro de Mama, Huarochiri, 14 Nov. 1754, AGN, Superior Gobierno / Oficios al Virrey, leg. 1.

TABLE 5: Correlation between the Census Returns and José de Orellana's Tables of 1754

Province	(1) Tributaries according to Revisitas	(2) Tributaries according to Mapa of 1754	(3) Increase or Decrease, (2) over (1)
Angaraes	1,811	1,876	+65 (+3.6%)
Azángaro	2,659	2,849	+190 (+7.2%)
Canas y Canches	3,839	3,509	-330 (-8.6%)
Canta	1,492	1,444	-48 (-3.2%)
Caravaya	1,512	1,359	-153 (-10.1%)
Castrovirreyna	1,219	1,160	-59 (-4.8%)
Chucuito	4,535	3,559	-976 (-21.5%)
Chumbivilcas	1,823	1,704	-119 (-6.5%)
Conchucos	2,788	2,731	-57 (-2.0%)
Cotabambas	1,538	1,538	0 (0.0%)
Huanta	1,689	1,688	-1 (-0.1%)
Huánuco	993	960	-33 (-3.3%)
Huarocharí	1,801	1,534	-267 (-14.8%)
Lampa	4,979	2,274	-2,705 (-54.3%)
Lucanas	952	932	-20 (-2.1%)
Mizque	811	675	-136 (-16.8%)
Parinacochas	917	917	0 (0.0%)
Pisco e Ica	805	822	+17 (+2.1%)
Porco	1,317	3,663	+2,346 (+178.1%)
Potosí parishes	1,815	1,540	-275 (-15.2%)
Quispicanches	3,833	3,835	+2 (+0.1%)
Sica Sica	4,665	6,382	+1,717 (+36.8%)
Vilcashuamán	1,013	1,928	+915 (+90.3%)
Totals	48,806	48,879	+73 (+0.2%)

Sources: Column (1): table 2, column (3) (Paucarcolla, only part of which was subject to census, has been deleted). For Column (2): Conde de Superunda, *Relación y documentos de gobierno del virrey del Perú, José A. Manso de Velasco, Conde de Superunda (1745–1761)*, edited by Alfredo Moreno Cebrián (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983), 241–46; cross-referenced with Conde de Superunda, “Relación que escribe el Conde de Superunda, Virrey del Perú, de los principales sucesos de su gobierno . . .” in *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del coloniaje español*, edited by Manuel Atanascio Fuentes, 6 vols. (Lima: Felipe Bailly, 1859), 4:1–340, 1–15 of appendix.

NOTE: Percentages rounded to one decimal place.

In fact, the potential for comparative use of data from the general census is limited. One major problem is the inconsistency in the dates of earlier census returns. General censuses were rare occurrences, and with the passing of time, they were gradually superseded by fresh revisitas of individual provinces commissioned on an ad hoc basis. As a result, taking

TABLE 6: Peru's Indigenous Population in the Tables of José de Orellana, 1754

Bishopric	Caciques and Principales	Tributaries, Originarios	Tributaries, Forasteros	Exempt from Tribute	Males under 18	Women	Total Population
Arequipa	6	3,483	767	805	3,175	6,124	14,483
Chuquisaca	14	10,985	15,366	6,440	27,093	56,155	116,391
Cuzco	14	20,711	12,083	7,698	28,452	57,986	127,569
Huamanga	8	8,587	1,933	3,912	8,689	23,532	46,897
La Paz	7	10,550	14,244	6,001	28,402	48,944	108,337
Lima	15	17,720	5,071	5,381	23,408	50,310	102,153
Mizque	3	3,182	506	1,021	4,538	8,571	17,836
Trujillo	7	12,788	5,387	3,131	19,422	38,149	79,114
Totals	74	88,006	55,357	34,389	143,179	289,771	612,780

Sources: Conde de Superunda, *Relación y documentos de gobierno del virrey del Perú, José A. Manso de Velasco, Conde de Superunda (1745–1761)*, edited by Alfredo Moreno Cebrián (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983), 241–46; cross-referenced with Conde de Superunda, "Relación que escribe el Conde de Superunda, Virrey del Perú, de los principales sucesos de su gobierno . . ." in *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del coloniaje español*, edited by Manuel Atanascio Fuentes, 6 vols. (Lima: Felipe Bailly, 1859), 4:1–340, 1–15 of appendix.

table 2 as an example, the population data drawn from retasas current before the epidemic were the product not of a general census but of piecemeal revisitas of provinces carried out at different times over the previous 150 years. Thus, the data for Canas y Canches was collected between 1650 and the 1690s, that for Huánuco in 1687, and that for Vilcashuamán in 1717. For this reason, the data in the first column of the table do not represent the population of the viceroyalty at any single period, so that comparison with Castelfuerte's census is inappropriate. Certainly, it should be possible to compare the returns of Castelfuerte's census with those of earlier general censuses covering the whole of the viceroyalty. Unfortunately, the returns from the previous general census, that of the Duque de la Palata in the early 1680s, were annulled in a number of provinces, where earlier retasas remained in force, and only a limited number of the Palata returns survive, mostly for Upper Peru. Even comparison with earlier censuses for which complete results are extant is problematic because Castelfuerte's survey was the first to record systematically a sector of the population (forasteros) that had previously been partially or wholly invisible on the tribute rolls. The first and third columns of table 2 thus record different sectors of the Indian population: the first column probably lists mostly originarios, while the third column lists both originarios and forasteros, so that comparative analysis is again inappropriate.

Given all these difficulties, the conclusions that can safely be drawn from table 2 about population trends in early eighteenth-century Peru are

strictly limited. Assuming (as appears to be the case) that most of the data in the first column were collected in the late seventeenth century, then given the systematic incorporation in the third column of the large forastero sector, what the broad parity of the total figures for the two columns indicates is a substantial fall in the total Indian population between the late seventeenth century and the mid-1720s, almost certainly due in the main to the epidemic of 1718–1723. This conclusion is all that can be deduced on the basis of evidence currently available. Table 2 does not itself support either of two conclusions suggested by Castelfuerte himself: that mortality from the plague had been lower than at first thought, or that real numbers of Indians were grossly underrepresented to fraudulent ends in the provisional padrones compiled after the epidemic.<sup>74</sup>

Data from the census are of greater comparative use at the level of individual provinces. Where returns for a given province or smaller territory are available from both Castelfuerte's census and an earlier revisita, with caution they can serve for useful comparative analysis.<sup>75</sup> Particularly valuable is the fact that the detailed returns for revisitas commissioned by Castelfuerte often recorded summary data from the previous retasa of the province in question, including its date and the gross population figures set down. These data are particularly useful when they relate to one of the revisitas of the Palata census because Palata attempted to record both originarios and forasteros and his information is in this sense fully comparable with Castelfuerte's. (A further value of the Castelfuerte returns is that they can serve as a source of summary data for revisitas of Palata's census, many of the original returns for which, notably those of virtually all of Lower Peru, are thought lost.<sup>76</sup>) Where such information exists, it can be used to gauge broad population trends in given provinces or repartimientos and also to measure changes such as shifts in the population of those territories between the originario and forastero sectors.

The detailed returns for the different provinces are a source of far more demographic and other historical data than gross population levels alone. They include separate headings for originario Indians, forasteros, women, individuals absent from their villages, those exempt from tribute through age or infirmity, and children. These data were supplied not only for the whole province but also at the level of individual villages and repartimientos and can be used to analyze the social composition of the population within all these jurisdictions.<sup>77</sup> The detailed returns also offer full in-

74. Castelfuerte, *Relación*, 424.

75. An example is Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, 159–66.

76. This appears to be the case for Huánuco, the detailed returns for which give summary data (total population and numbers of originarios and forasteros) for a retasa of 1687 presumably relating to a revisita of the province during Palata's census. See AGN, Tributos, leg. 2, cuaderno 23.

77. See, for example, Ann Zulawski, "Frontier Workers and Social Change: Pilaya y Paspaya



formation on Indian tribute, including total tribute owing from each repartimiento, the different rates for originarios and forasteros, and the proportion to be paid in cash or kind. Costs to be paid locally out of tribute revenue are usually recorded, including surviving grants of encomienda, often with the name of the recipient. And this and other documentation associated with the census constitute a rich source for the study of distinct but related subjects of real importance, such as the epidemic of 1718–1723 and the extensive social unrest of the 1720s and 1730s.

The key question regarding the census returns is their reliability—whether the demographic data they supply can be trusted. There are certainly major problems with the census returns. Official population surveys in the early modern period were rarely better than crude affairs, and the difficulties were exacerbated in the extreme conditions of the Andes, with the limited resources available to the colonial state. The broad time frame employed, almost twenty years for the collection of all the data, possibly vitiates the purportedly general character of the census, although this span presents less of a problem to historians concerned with a particular province or town. The most serious issue is overcounting: overregistration of Indians occurred on a large scale in several provinces, a phenomenon that might generate distrust of the results of the census as a whole. It is particularly unfortunate that the instances where abuses occurred on such a scale as to merit corrective revisitas, or where census returns are otherwise suspect, included provinces inspected by Manuel de Arandía, Manuel Venero, and Simón de Amesaga—three judges responsible among them for inspecting at least nineteen provinces and the town of Potosí. But in mitigation, the fact that in some cases census returns were actually annulled and new inspections were undertaken provides a measure of guarantee that the worst excesses did not pass unnoticed. The census returns pose formidable challenges of reliability and interpretation, but there is no reason to consider them markedly less reliable than the results of any Spanish American census of the early modern period. They are an extensive and rich source, and if used with due caution, they undoubtedly constitute, despite all their drawbacks, the best source for the demography of early Bourbon Peru.

## CONCLUSION

The general census of 1725–1740 was among the most ambitious programs of government undertaken by any viceregal administration in Peru during the early Bourbon period. It recorded the indigenous population of most of the viceregal heartland but also went much further by distributing land to forasteros without access to it and making all forasteros

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(Bolivia) in the Early Eighteenth Century,” in *Migration in Colonial Spanish America*, edited by David J. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 112–27.

owning land and property in their communities of residence liable for both mita and tribute at the higher rate paid by originarios. As a result, the devastating demographic impact of the epidemic of 1718–1723 was neutralized from a fiscal and (via the mitas mineras) economic perspective. Revenue from tribute was safeguarded, and the mita was reinforced at least in part. The effects of the census long outlived Castelfuerte's administration. Many of the tribute rolls it produced remained valid for decades; those for at least nine provinces were still in force in 1782, on the eve of the general survey of the population ordered by *visitador-general* Jorge de Escovedo in 1784.<sup>78</sup> Assuming that the Castelfuerte retasas reflected at least approximately real population levels around 1730, this longevity over decades characterized by marked indigenous population growth might actually have lessened the burden of mita and tribute on Indian communities in the middle of the eighteenth century. The societal repercussions of the census may, in the longer term, have outweighed its purely fiscal and economic consequences.<sup>79</sup> These themes remain to be explored. It is perhaps appropriate to close with the reflection that the Bourbons are associated in America with two concepts more than with any others: those of reform, and of the reaction to it, in terms first of revolt and ultimately of revolution. Castelfuerte's administration, with the general census at its heart, marked the first episode of concerted Bourbon reform in Peru and immediately provoked the first significant wave of social protest and revolt—a suggestive and ominous precedent.

78. Núria Sala i Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: Tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el virreinato del Perú, 1784–1814* (Lima: IER José María Arguedas, 1996), 34–35. For late-colonial censuses in Peru, see David G. Browning and David J. Robinson, "The Origin and Comparability of Peruvian Population Data: 1776–1815," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 14 (1977):199–223.

79. Wightman has interpreted the census reforms affecting forasteros as crowning a process long in evidence by which the Indian *ayllu* underwent "the profound internal transformation from a kin-group with a common ancestry to a village with communal lands, an important initial step in the progression from a caste to a class society." The reforms also formalized the division already apparent in Indian society between forasteros settled and owning land and property in their communities of residence and forasteros who were vagrant and landless, the latter being the group that "would form the basis of the wage labor and colonato sectors of the eighteenth century." See Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change*, 56, 72–73, 102, 151.

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