

WHAT'S IN A NAME? AN INDIAN TRICKSTER TRAVELS THE SPANISH
COLONIAL WORLD

by

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*It is not the act of imagining which creates the unreality,
but what is imagined.*

(R.B. Collingwood. *The Idea of History*)

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INTRODUCTION:

JERÓNIMO LORENZO LIMAYLLA IN ANDEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The history of the conquest and integration of the Andean peoples into the Spanish empire is usually seen as a flow of persons, cultures, and ideas from the Iberian Peninsula towards the King's domains in Spanish America. Due to the works of several scholars, we now have a good grasp of the most important issues surrounding the Spanish emigration to America in colonial times. These authors have focused on the social origins and regional background of the migrants, the patterns of emigration, the various sources of financial support, the indispensable transatlantic networks, the migrants' deeds and activities in America, and the life of the returnees in their homeland.¹

Nevertheless, the extraordinary journeys of several Indian lords or *curacas* from the Andes to the heart of the Spanish empire during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries—some of which demanded a long residence in Spain and a remarkable preparation before the trip—remain a topic almost totally unexplored in the historiography of colonial America. Despite some fragmentary evidence in books and articles about anonymous Indian slaves and early *mestizos* taken to the Iberian Peninsula by force², very few authors have dealt with the virtually unknown group of *curacas* who showed themselves at the King's court.³

Since the sixteenth century, native lords traveled to the royal court. There, they requested privileges, titles of nobility, and coats of arms for themselves and their

¹ See, for instance, Boyd Bowman (1963, 1967, 1972, 1973, 1985), Jacobs (1983), Martínez (1999), Torres Ramírez and Hernández Palomo (1983), Altman (1987, 1988, 1989, 2000), Altman and Horn (1991), Herzog (2003), and Azcona (2004).

² See Franco Silva (1978), Mira Caballos (1994, 1996, 1998, 1999), and Gil (1997).

³ See Temple (1948), Pease (1988, 1992), and Mira Caballos (2000, 2003).

subjects, usually in recognition of their rank and of the supportive role during the Spanish conquest. More importantly, they denounced the abuses against the Indian populations, committed by the inhabitants and local authorities of Spanish America. It is my general impression that these journeys, a clear example of political and cultural negotiation, were crucial not only for the emergence of a pan-Andean “Indian” identity in the seventeenth century, but also for the constant shaping and reshaping of the ties between the Spanish King and the native populations that formed the *República de Indios*. Religious pilgrimages and their secularized version, political journeys, have an important role in the development of a strong sense of *communitas*, and they can eventually lead to the construction of “imagined communities” (Anderson 1991: 55-56; Turner 1969: 132; 1974: 169). In experiencing themselves as “traveling-companions,” religious and political pilgrims such as these Andean lords saw themselves and their traveling path as marked by “secular fellowship” and “sacred communion,” thus developing a full potential for *communitas*.⁴

As stated, traveling lords of variable hierarchy usually went to Spain to denounce a series of abuses and excesses that were the natural consequence of colonial domination. Overall, journeying *curacas* were successful in calling the King’s attention to their claims—a fact shown in the correlation between these voyages and the subsequent royal decrees granting protection over the native populations. Nonetheless, these journeys reinforced rather than questioned the King’s authority as a benevolent father and a righteous monarch. Traveling lords usually held the local

⁴ See Turner (1967, 1969, 1974, and 1978). According to Turner, in ‘normative’ *communitas*, the original ‘spontaneous’ or ‘existential’ human *communitas* is organized into a perduring social system. This system fulfills the need to mobilize and organize resources and to keep the members of a group alive and thriving. The system highlights the necessity for social control among its members, pursuing collective goals. Normative *communitas* begins with a non-utilitarian experience of unity and fellowship. The resulting group, now organized within a perduring social system, tries to preserve—by religious, ethical, legal, and political means—the original *communitas* experience (Turner 1969: 132; 1974: 169).

authorities responsible for the suffering of their subjects, while leaving the King's image as a pious ruler virtually intact. In the end, their voyages and *memoriales* fed a personal and unmediated relationship between the King and his native subjects in America, a solid colonial "pact" that would break into pieces during the last decades of the eighteenth century. This process of political deterioration would further intensify especially after political independence from Spain, thus bringing negative consequences to the native communities during the early Republican period.

Despite these initial insights, the different patterns and the basic chronology of these apparently isolated travels remain unknown. Furthermore, we have only recently started to surmise the Andean lord's local and transatlantic motivations for undertaking the trip. Moreover, we are still far from a satisfactory explanation of how these traveling lords combined, in a single enterprise, their various personal concerns with the specific collective interests of the subjects they represented before the King and the metropolitan authorities. More importantly, scholars have not studied the social, political, and economic networks that supported these journeys. We know virtually nothing about the life of Andean lords in Spanish cities such as Madrid and Seville. Finally, we still have to undertake the key issue of how these voyages influenced the traveling lords' legitimacy and status after their return to their homeland in the Andes—if they returned at all.

This thesis, a piece of the broader research project outlined above, is a single-case study of an alleged traveling lord, and hence a first journey into the journey itself. Among academics, Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla, the main character behind this story, is a well-known seventeenth-century *curaca* and a fascinating individual in his own right, though it seems not quite for the correct reasons. In 1990, the Peruvian historian Franklin Pease called scholars' attention to Limaylla by publishing a printed

*memorial*⁵ presented by this traveling lord to the King *c.* 1677, during a long stay at the Spanish court.⁶ In several works, Franklin Pease (1988; 1990; 1992; 1999) portrayed Limaylla's deeds in the Peninsula as an outstanding example of what he labeled a long Andean tradition of *curacas gestores* or "managing curacas." According to Pease (1992: 149, 166), throughout the colonial period, some lords based their inherited, traditional authority, as well as their ethnic status, on their ability to protect, administer, and expand their native communities' wealth. This "parallel" source of prestige, other than the authority that stemmed from their condition as colonial wage-earning bureaucrats, emerged from the *curacas*' skill to maneuver within the colonial system and secure the greatest possible benefit for their subjects. The preservation of the colonial *curacas*' ethnic status granted them access to human and economic resources. These lords distributed the considerable wealth amassed through the labor and economic activities of their communities as a means to improve their subjects' welfare.

One of Limaylla's "managing" abilities especially impressed Pease: the *curaca*'s journey to denounce the excessive tributes, official and informal labor quotas, and other colonial burdens imposed upon his subjects. Even so, the famous Peruvian scholar paid little attention to Limaylla's fifteen-year pursuit of the *curacazgo* [Andean chiefdom] of Luringuanca (in the Peruvian central highlands), a story in its own right. Instead, he focused on analyzing the *c.* 1677 *memorial* at some length, though this document was only one of several writings addressed to the monarch and

⁵ *Memoriales* were petitions or solemn handwritten or printed statements—usually of an accusatory tone--addressed to the King or the superior colonial authorities, in the long tradition of advise to the prince.

⁶ See Pease (1990). Included again in Pease (1992: 173-179) and Pease (1999: 173-178). The original printed *memorial*, dated *c.* 1677, is in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Indiferente, 640. A handwritten version is in Biblioteca de Palacio Real (Madrid), Mss. II/2848, f. 204r-210v. Previous mentions to Jerónimo Limaylla, in Pease (1982; 1984: 62; 1988).

signed by Limaylla, now dispersed in Peruvian and Spanish archives.⁷ In the 1677 *memorial*, Limaylla petitioned the King for the establishment of a knights' order under the auspices of Saint Rose of Lima. The creation of the order, established by royal fiat, would honor noble Indians, descendants of the prehispanic kings of Mexico and Peru, in recognition of their illustrious origins and Christian services to the monarchy. This mediievally-inspired innovation, the author of the *memorial* argued, would increase the status of Indian nobles in the eyes of the Spanish Americans, who would then refrain from committing abuses and injustices against the native populations.⁸

The Argentine scholar Ana María Lorandi (1997: 91-97) built upon Pease's suggestive argument. Through a further elaboration of the contents of the 1677 *memorial*, Lorandi framed Limaylla's story into the more general history of the construction of indigenous memories in seventeenth-century Peru. She presented Limaylla's struggle in Spain as a notorious precedent for the indigenous rebellions that threatened the colonial order after 1660 (see also Pease 1982). According to Lorandi, the natives' constant (and usually neglected) claims, such as Limaylla's, stimulated these uprisings against what people regarded as bad colonial government. Lorandi highlighted Limaylla's links to *fray* Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, the prominent Franciscan creole—an American of Spanish descent—and advocate of the

⁷ Other *memoriales*, which neither Pease nor other authors have discussed directly, are a 1662 *memorial*, in which Limaylla asks for permission to travel from Lima to Spain, in Archivo Vargas Ugarte, Mss., T. 32 (16), n° 35, f. 66r-66v. A copy submitted by the King to the Council of the Indies in 1664, in AGI, Lima, 17. Other *memoriales* dated 1665-1666, in AGI, Escribanía, 514C. A *memorial* in which Limaylla claims to be representing other ethnic lords from the Andes, c. 1665, in Biblioteca de Palacio Real, Mss. II/2848, f. 211r-247v [glossed in Zavala (1979: 150-151)]. Finally, another *memorial*, c. 1665, asking for financial support from the Council of the Indies, can be found in AGI, Lima, 17. Monique Alaperine-Boyer (2004: 123) cites even another *memorial* in AGI, Lima, 11, which I have not seen.

⁸ See Pease (1990; 1992; 1999). See also Konetzke (1958:653-657), who published the Council of the Indies' 1678 response to the King suggesting he decline the creation of such an order. The monarch did it so.

Indians, with whom Limaylla visited Mexico and Spain in 1646. Lorandi also reminded us about the Friar's crucial influence in the *curaca*'s formal petitions to the King.⁹ Finally, Lorandi hypothesized about Limaylla's family origins, as well as the local sources for financing the voyage to the Spanish court.¹⁰

Other scholars have given more emphasis to Limaylla's legal actions to become *cacique principal* [paramount lord] of the chiefdom of Luringuanca.¹¹ In his institutional study of colonial *curacazgos*, the Spanish scholar Carlos Díaz Rementería (1977: *passim*) discussed some of the complex legal aspects of this transatlantic court case, in which Limaylla confronted the heirs of the last undisputed lord of Luringuanca. More recently, in what is the most detailed analysis of Limaylla's case to-date, the French historian Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer (2003, 2004) portrayed Limaylla's defeat in the Spanish courts as a typical colonial dispossession, and Limaylla, as a "curaca without a curacazgo." According to her, the clash of Andean and Spanish notions regarding "legitimate" authorities explain Limaylla's defeat. By recognizing his rival as the succeeding lord of Luringuanca, the colonial authorities deprived a legitimate Andean lord of his *curacazgo*. Limaylla did not become *curaca*, Alaperrine-Boyer argued, despite his "evident" ability to rule according to native principles of traditional authority—in Franklin Peace's terms, a "managing *curaca*." By appointing an "incompetent" individual, the judges disrupted

⁹ About Salinas' "influence" on Limaylla, see Lorandi (1997: 44), and Pease (1992).

¹⁰ Lorandi makes several mistakes regarding Limaylla's personal background. She includes Limaylla as a member of one of two paramount *curaca* families in the Jauja Valley, when in fact there were clearly three at that time. One of these noble lineages was the head of the curacazgo of Atunjauja, but there was no "province of Hatunjauja," as stated by Lorandi. The alliance through marriage of the other two native lineages—Apoalaya and Limaylla—did not happen in the seventeenth century, as stated again by Lorandi, but late in the eighteenth century. Therefore, Jerónimo Limaylla could not have possibly financed his trip with the combined income of the "lands" and cattle of these two families. Finally, there is no proof that Limaylla received financial support from the local indigenous *cofradías* [brotherhoods], as suggested in Lorandi (1997: 93-95). For the noble lineages of Jauja, see Puente Luna (2004).

¹¹ The main source for Limaylla's transatlantic legal battles is an enormous *expediente*, located in AGI, Escribanía, 514C [1656-1671].

traditional Andean patterns of succession, while privileging Spanish notions about what the colonial government expected from a “legitimate” native lord.

Although Alaperrine-Bouyer presents some original ideas about the life of the persons involved in the legal suit, her interpretation of Limaylla’s story remains that of the *curaca* without a *curacazgo*. Her reading of the documents pertaining to the dispute over the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca is somehow literal and biased, built upon the classic idea of the competent, but “dispossessed” *curaca* whose acculturation the authorities perceived as a threat. The author follows the arguments of one of the parties involved—that of the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla—but dismisses those of the other party—that of his supposed uncle, Don Bernardino Limaylla—on the basis of the too simplistic opposition between an “intelligent,” “hispanized” Jerónimo and a “boorish,” “incompetent” Bernardino (Alaperrine-Bouyer 2004: 119, 126-127).¹²

Indeed, by presenting Jerónimo Limaylla as a “wealthy noble of Jauja” (Spalding 1984: 230), that is, as he introduced himself in the legal courts, previous authors have overlooked the claims of Limaylla’s rivals to the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca. There is always *another* side of the story in the thousands of similar legal battles for colonial *curacazgos*. How would this story change if, as claimed by Limaylla’s political opponents, somebody tried to pass himself off as the real Jerónimo? What if the man who visited Spain in 1646, pursued the title of *curaca* of Luringuanca in the 1650s, and embarked again for the Peninsula in 1662 was not the real Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla but a cunning trickster? Current interpretations dismiss the

¹² “Ce procès oppose donc un homme intelligent, au fait du droit espagnol, qui vit la plupart du temps à Lima, à un homme plus rustre qui ne sort pas de son village mais qui s’est allié, vraisemblablement par le fait même de son incompétence, les autorités locales” (119). About Bernardino, Alaperrine-Boyer writes: “La personnalité de don Bernardino qui se dessine à travers ces documents est celle d’un homme peu intelligent, menteur, peu scrupuleux [...]” (115). About Jerónimo, on the other hand, the same author writes: “ce cacique, très hispanisé, avait non seulement acquis la connaissance de ses droits mais également l’intelligence politique qui faisant de lui un juste représentant des Indiens” (126).

counterclaimants' solid arguments about this traveling lord's real identity because Limaylla's self-portrait, that of a "managing curaca" and a dispossessed lord, best suits the scholars' preconceived ideas. By assuming that he was telling the truth about himself in the courts, previous analyses have overlooked the political use of reinvented identities in Spanish America, a strategic means to find a better place in colonial society. Moreover, the study of Limaylla's alternative biography and uncommon "evolving identity"—from a common coastal Indian to a prominent though fictitious Andean lord eating at the King's court—will shed light on the crucial connection between transatlantic journeys and *curaca* legitimacies, as well as on the complex dynamics of constructing transatlantic Indian identities within the Spanish empire.

In the first chapter, based on a new examination of the available materials and a more accurate understanding of the local context, I will connect unexplored primary sources to offer a more sensitive reading of the legal suit for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca. Using archival sources located in Lima, Junín, and Lambayeque—the three main scenarios of Limaylla's deeds in Peru—and independent primary sources located in Spanish repositories, I will break open the contradicting arguments, conflicting facts, and dubious testimonies that inform the litigation over the title of *curaca* of Luringuanca. By presenting the new evidence and discussing the old one, I will prove that Lorenzo Ayun Chifo attempted to pass off as Jerónimo Limaylla, thus trying to become *cacique principal* of Luringuanca. This argument, crucial to understand the ideas of the next two chapters, not only corrects previous interpretations about Limaylla's life, but also urges us to set up a new interpretation for this strange case of mistaken identity.

The fake traveling lord started his long journey even before he set foot on a ship for the first time. As Lorenzo Ayun Chifo, a clever, young tribute-paying Indian from the small coastal town of Reque, who was fluent in Spanish and a diligent assistant in the local parishes run by the Franciscans, the clever “Jerónimo” set sail by placing himself under the patronage of the benign Fathers. In the second chapter, I will retell the supposed Limaylla’s *real* life until his first trip to Spain by using the transatlantic voyage as the articulating principle. I will frame the alleged Limaylla’s story into the broader context of Andean lords traveling to Spain and the old pattern of collaboration between friars and traveling *curacas*, the roots of which go back at least to the 1560s. I will argue that the Franciscans’ role in Lorenzo’s transatlantic voyages goes far beyond an imprecise “influence” on the *memoriales* of this self-made *curaca*. The Franciscans were the model of Lorenzo’s identity. By supporting the journey of a fake lord to the source of all power and justice, the fathers could push their own ideological claims and political agenda, both destined for reshaping, in the mendicant order’s terms, the relationship between the King and his Indian subjects. The Franciscans could cite Lorenzo, the Christian lord they had educated, as a proof of their success in evangelizing the Indians and an example for the neophytes to follow.

For Lorenzo Ayun, in turn, the colonial church offered a great avenue for social improvement and acculturation. It even acted as the institutional framework where he rehearsed his life as a *curaca*. Lorenzo’s deeds overseas followed the course of the fervent new Christian, the virtuous Catholic Indian who emulates the exemplary lives of some of his Franciscan patrons. Like his first religious trainers and then fray Buenaventura de Salinas, Lorenzo followed the path of Christian virtue. As Buenaventura de Salinas, Lorenzo journeyed to the King’s court and addressed several *memoriales* in defense of the Indians, thus soothing his Christian conscience

and that of the monarch by denouncing the abuses that his fellow subjects suffered in America.

Despite his fake identity as a native lord, however, Lorenzo Ayun Chifo almost won his case and became *curaca* of Luringuanca. He enjoyed a partial though undeniable success in Peru and in Spain—not only in the imperial courts but especially among the native populations. Indeed, some native lords and common Indians openly supported him in the Valley of Jauja, where he presented himself as the lost heir to the *curacazgo*. This political success indicates that he indeed enjoyed a considerable amount of prestige and legitimacy among his contemporaries, something we must explain *in spite of* his not being a “true” native lord.

I will address this problem in the third chapter, by focusing on the crucial years after Lorenzo’s arrival from Spain (1655-1663). During this time, Lorenzo went to the Valley of Jauja and conducted legal actions to become *curaca* of Luringuanca. By delving into the more general history of the weakening of “traditional” native authorities and the emergence of new, “intruder” authorities in the Valley, I will show that previous authors have overstated the scope of the people’s support of Lorenzo. Though this support indeed existed, earlier interpretations have also misunderstood its real nature. Lorenzo was not a “real” *curaca*. However, the people of Luringuanca decided to support somebody who was not only a common Indian but also native of another region because the newcomer embraced some striking features that reinforced his role as a potential Indian authority. The supposed Limaylla’s legitimacy emerged neither from traditional Andean forms of authority nor from his noble lineage as hereditary lord. Rather, the traveler’s ethnic prestige and self-pride were the result of a set of skills acquired during a marked process of acculturation, which carried the construction of a new transatlantic identity, and in which the journey to Spain with the

Franciscans was the crucial feature. Lorenzo's transformation, embraced in his transatlantic experience, gives full sense to his supporters' emphasis on Lorenzo's ability to talk, read, and write in Spanish (and his apparent refusal to speak the native language). Among his social skills, Lorenzo could also count his Spanish *and cacique* manners and appearance. More importantly, thanks to his trip, he could also refer to his connections with the Franciscan friars, his alleged personal interview with the King, his addressing the monarch with a *memorial*, and his public statement of carrying the monarch's personal instructions to relieve the Indians from labor and tribute quotas. Therefore, the final explanation for Limaylla's enthusiastic reception and notorious success rests on the transformative power of his wanderings through Peru, Mexico, and Spain, a means for a dramatic improvement of his previous status. In this sense, the study of Limaylla's colonial identity will finally take us into the transatlantic journey as a historical subject.

Other cases of colonial "social climbers" or upstarts (Spalding 1970; Stern 1993), *indios ladinos* or acculturated Indians (Adorno 1991), *caciques intrusos* or "intruder" lords (Saignes 1987; Powers 1991, 1995), and even *mestizo* cultural mediators (Ares Queija 1997) partially account for an explanation of Lorenzo's biography. Throughout his life, Lorenzo moved within the interstices of colonial society, which seemed to take great pains to assign him a place. His transatlantic travels crisscrossed not only the colonial world but also the different cultural and social barriers that informed colonial difference, thus subverting the classic Indian-Spaniard dichotomy. His personal trajectory fulfilled the set of criteria defined by Rolena Adorno in her typology of *indios ladinos*: the Andean leader, the assistant to the church or civil inspector, the plaintiff-petitioner against colonial abuses, and the chronicler-historian or writer of *memoriales* (Adorno 1991: 238-239). Lorenzo's life ties all these

“images” together, but he adds “something” more to them, the unexplored dimension of the (fake) traveling lord. Adorno has convincingly argued that acculturated Indians such as Lorenzo constantly adapted their positions as colonial subjects. Further, in their “search for an adjustment to various models of identity,” *ladinos* “belie[d] the multiple subject positions [...] not merely sequentially but most often simultaneously” (Adorno 1991: 258). Lorenzo’s life as a fake traveling lord sheds light on this process, but it also illustrates a simultaneous sequential development. By following a path analogous to his voyage from the Andes to Spain and then back to Peru, Lorenzo’s case shows the complex process of *alienation* from Indian society and later attempt of *reinsertion* into that same society, a movement implied in the trajectories of acculturated Indians. Paradoxically, Lorenzo’s new cultural skills, Hispanicized manners, and transatlantic experiences ended up separating him from the native society in which he was born. Those same skills and experiences, however, would mark his attempts to reinsert himself into the Indian world, this time as a Christian Indian and a legitimate *curaca*. Lorenzo’s life as a fake traveling lord may be neither exceptional nor paradigmatic, but it will remain so until new investigations uncover similar colonial experiences.

CHAPTER 1:

THE STRANGE CASE OF JERÓNIMO LIMAYLLA AND LORENZO AYUN

A llegado a [mi] notiçia que vn yndio nombrado Lorenço Geronimo de Reque en los Valles de Trugillo a ynsinuado auiertamente y con falsedad perteneserle dicho casicasgo [...] con que se ataxara su mal fundado yntento, y la osadia con que a ojos de Vuceleensia pretende desnaturalisarse haçiendose çerrano siendo berdaderamente yunga y tributario.

(*Memorial* of Don Pedro Milachami, 1655)

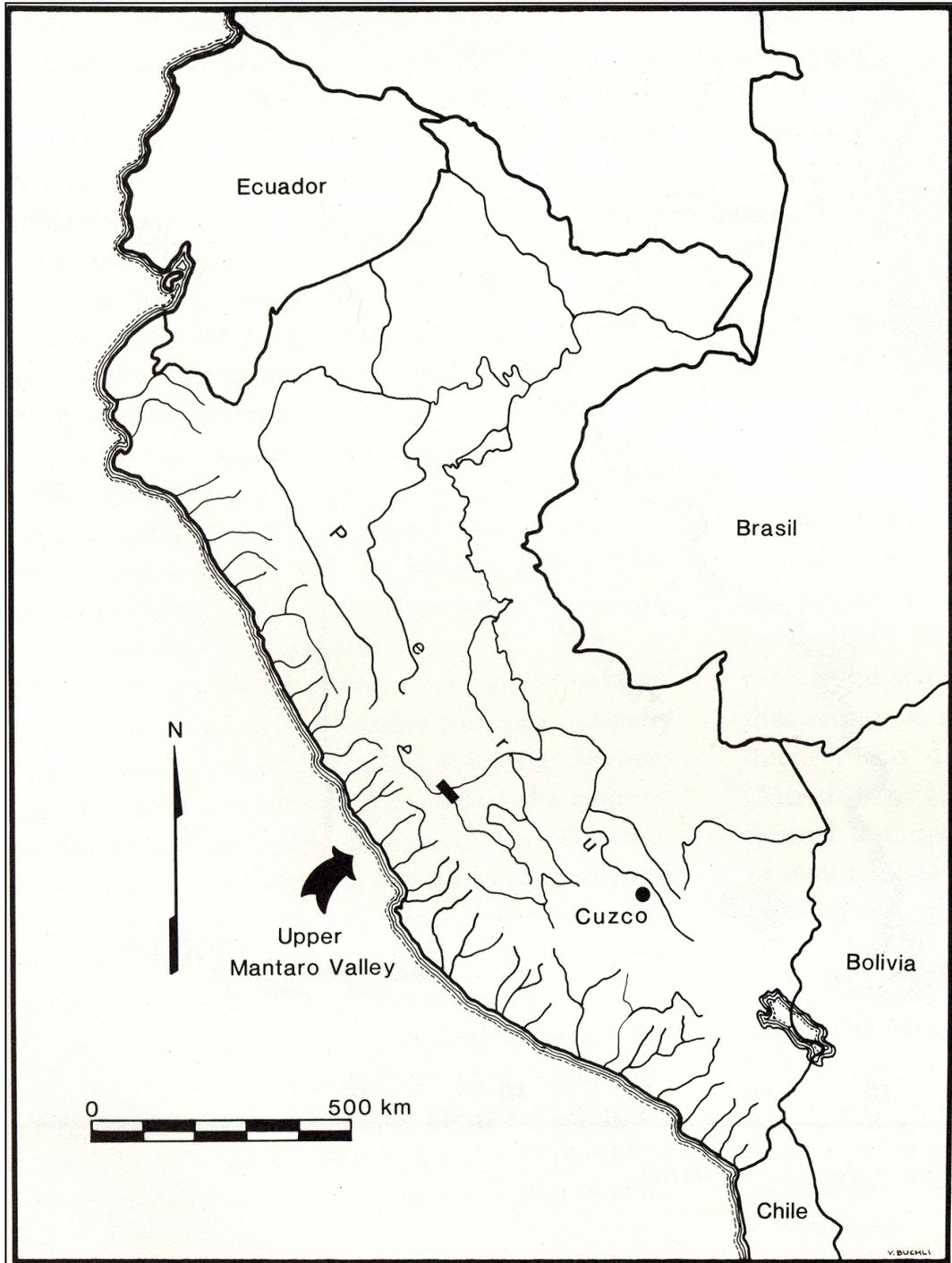
In this chapter, I will confine myself to exploring two main issues. In the first part, I will outline the litigants' opposing arguments as presented in the legal suit for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca, situated in the mountains of central Peru (1655-1671). I will summarize the different stages of the court case, as well as provide background information to understand the discussion that will unravel in the following chapters. My goal is to prove that the litigant under the name of Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla, alleged noble Indian, traveling lord, and heir of the last *curaca* of Luringuanca, was in truth Lorenzo Ayun Chifo, a clever tributary Indian from the North coast. By doing so, I will retell the story already told by many, but from a drastically different perspective that shows how the fake *curaca*'s voyage to Spain resulted in a great transformation in his identity and status, thus weaving a complex network of disputed legitimacies, transatlantic alliances, and evolving identities.

In the first days of August 1655, a man who called himself Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla made his way from Lima to the Valley of Jauja, in the Peruvian central

highlands.¹³ Located in the intersection of several important roads and commercial networks, the province of Jauja was a fertile region of small towns situated along the banks of the famous Mantaro River.¹⁴ The ancient Inca road that connected the northern highlands of present Ecuador and Colombia with the former ceremonial center of the Inca Empire, now the Spanish city of Cuzco, divided the province and signaled Jauja's strategic location between Lima and the central and southern highlands. The native populations and their ethnic lords, usually called *Huancas*, enjoyed a great reputation as wealthy communal landholders, good farmers, and prosperous cattle raisers (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1992: 1019; Puente Luna 2004: chap. 3).

¹³ Unless otherwise stated, the following information comes from the court case for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca. AGI, Escribanía, 514C [1656-1671].

¹⁴ That name only became famous in the nineteenth century. During colonial times, the river was usually referred to as "río de Xauxa" (Rivera Serna (1963: 29 y ss.).



MAP 1: The Jauja or Mantaro Valley¹⁵

Soon after his arrival in the Valley, the newcomer introduced himself as the returning heir of the last undisputed *curaca* of Luringuanca. By the mid seventeenth century, Luringuanca was one of the three paramount chiefdoms, with jurisdiction

¹⁵ This map appears in D'Altroy (1992: 4).

over the middle part of the Valley, ruled by one of the three great native lineages that had dominated the peoples and towns of Jauja since the Spanish conquest.¹⁶ According to Jerónimo's testimony about his sudden arrival, some local chiefs of lesser rank, the natives of the towns of Luringuanca, and even his alleged mother had recognized him after his striking return. Although at first everybody had thought of him as dead—Jerónimo declared—they finally welcome him as someone who would continue the benevolent government of his father, a great Andean lord. Nonetheless, more than ten years had passed since a Franciscan friar took him to Lima as a seven or eight year old kid, enough time however for some memories about the newcomer to have become vague.



FIGURE 1: View of the Jauja Valley from the South

¹⁶ For an overview of the Andean chiefdoms of the Valley, see Puente Luna (2004: chap. 3).

The last *curaca* of Luringuanca, Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla, born in 1615, had died around 1648, leaving no sons to succeed him but one legitimate daughter. She, however, had died shortly afterwards, complicating the matter of succession. On September 1653, the colonial authorities had designated Don Bernardino Mangoguala Limaylla, the nephew of the last *curaca* and the widower of his sole daughter, to succeed in the *curacazgo*. The sudden arrival of the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla in 1655, as well as his determined legal actions toward his recognition as the true successor of his father, posed a direct threat to Bernardino and his allies' interests.

In the previous years, between 1648 and 1653, close relatives of the deceased lord Don Lorenzo Valentín and other claimants had begun legal actions to attain the title of *curaca* of Luringuanca themselves, and thus benefit from the substantial wealth attached to the *curacazgo*.¹⁷ According to some testimonies, the succeeding Don Bernardino had been a weak candidate not only because of his tender age and inability to govern (he was around 21 when he officially became *curaca*), but also because the traditional lords of Luringuanca were his relatives only through Bernardino's mother's side.

Bernardino's maternal affiliation turned out to be an important issue. According to Spanish law, potential heirs of the father's side were always to be preferred, as was the case of Bernardino's strongest rival at that time, his uncle Pedro Limaylla. However, among his credentials, Bernardino included his undisputed noble condition, his being married to the deceased *curaca*'s daughter and, above all, his status as

¹⁷ For a classic study of the typical struggles among *curacas* and relatives to succeed, see Rostworowski (1961). For the wealth attached to the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca, see the lists of lands, trees, livestock, houses, and domestic goods that belonged to D. Jerónimo Limaylla (1571-1621?), *curaca* of Luringuanca. Archivo Regional de Junín (ARJ), Protocolos, t. 3, f. 241v-260v [1655]. For other wealthy *curacazgos* in the Valley, see Puente Luna (2004: chap. 3).

“legitimate” son, born to a Catholic marriage. Pedro, his adversary, though more closely related to the ruling lineage—and indeed de facto *cacique* for some time—was nevertheless a “natural” son.

Natural sons were the result of an illicit union consummated before marriage and thus not sanctioned by God, the Church, and their partner, the colonial government. According to Spanish rules of succession, Pedro was a less suitable candidate. Both claimants reached a mutually beneficial agreement, and Pedro desisted from pressing further claims. After the traditional ceremony of ascension, a fine mixture of Hispanic and native symbols of power, and with the authorization of the colonial authorities, Bernardino became the next *curaca* of Luringuanca in 1654 by sitting in the famous *duho* or ceremonial seat, and receiving the ritual and political approval of the other *caciques*.¹⁸

Following these initial struggles came a short period of peace, only disrupted by the arrival of the supposed Jerónimo Limaylla. A new legal suit for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca unfolded almost immediately, when everyone in Luringuanca became finally acquainted with the arrival of the *true* heir. The story partially resembles countless similar cases, which constantly opposed Andean lords throughout the entire colonial era. Nevertheless, it embraces at least three remarkable features: the long duration of the case (1651-1677) the enormous amount of documentation involved (the suit alone is a two thousand-page manuscript) and above all, the fact that the legal battle developed both in Peru and in Spain—thus revealing surprising transatlantic

¹⁸ Besides the court case aforementioned (esp. ff. 27r-33v, 215r-v, 337v), see also ARJ, Protocolos, T. 3, f. 41v-44r [1649], 158r-v [1651], and 215r-v [1651]. For the complex legal aspects of the case, see the analysis offered in Díaz Rementería (1977: 184-185). About the ceremony, see Martínez Cereceda (1995). Examples of these ceremonies in the Valley can be found in AGI, Escribanía 514C, f. 33r [1654], 36v-63r [1585]; Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Derecho Indígena, L. 31, C. 622, f. 12r [1594] and Leg. 23, C. 390, f. 13r-13v [1762].

“Jerónimo” and Bernardino Limaylla fought the first stage of their legal dispute in the Valley of Jauja (August 1655-January 1656), before the local authorities and within a context of political uncertainty. The newcomer presented himself as the “natural” son of the last undisputed *curaca*, born in 1631 to a single native woman and the still single lord of Luringuanca. Jerónimo told the colonial authorities that his father would later marry a woman other than Jerónimo’s mother, in 1635, with whom he had his only legitimate daughter.¹⁹ Shortly afterwards, the *curaca* decided to put his six-year-old natural son under the care of a Franciscan friar. Putting friars in charge of the education of young nobles was common practice among colonial native elites of Peru. In the Valley of Jauja and elsewhere, the Franciscans had become involved with the education of *caciques* and Native American elites from the early days of Spanish colonization onward (Puente Brunke 1998: 462, note 11). The Franciscans had been in charge of indoctrinating the natives of Luringuanca since the 1540s and had had an influential role in the foundation of the first colonial towns. They established their first convent at La Concepción de Achi—one of the settlements under the jurisdiction of the lords of Luringuanca—around 1548 (Tibesar 1953: 55-56). According to Jerónimo’s testimony in court, he left the province of Jauja with the Franciscan Father Andrés de Cuesta and went to Lima, perhaps to enter the famous school for Indian nobles or Colegio del Príncipe. The sources list three *curacas* from Jauja, Don Joan Çapata, Don Pedro de Mendoça, and Don Albaro Pauçes, among the first students of the recently founded Colegio del Príncipe in 1619

¹⁹ About *curacas* and their several concubines in Jauja, as well as these women’s political role in succession, see Puente Luna (2004: chap. 5).

(Eguiguren 1940-51: III, 443). Entering the school for Indian nobles is a possible fact that, however, the alleged Jerónimo never mentioned.²⁰

After a relatively short stay in Lima, and motivated by the harsh character of Father Cuesta, it seems, Jerónimo decided to escape and then embark to Spain, only to return after ten years and claim his family rights to the *curacazgo*.²¹ More capable than the young designated *curaca*—Bernardino Limaylla—and the only direct male heir of his father, Jerónimo argued, he was the best to succeed the former lord, as well as inherit the *curaca*'s extensive patrimony as his only son, a material incentive that neither of the parties behind the legal dispute was prone to minimize.²²

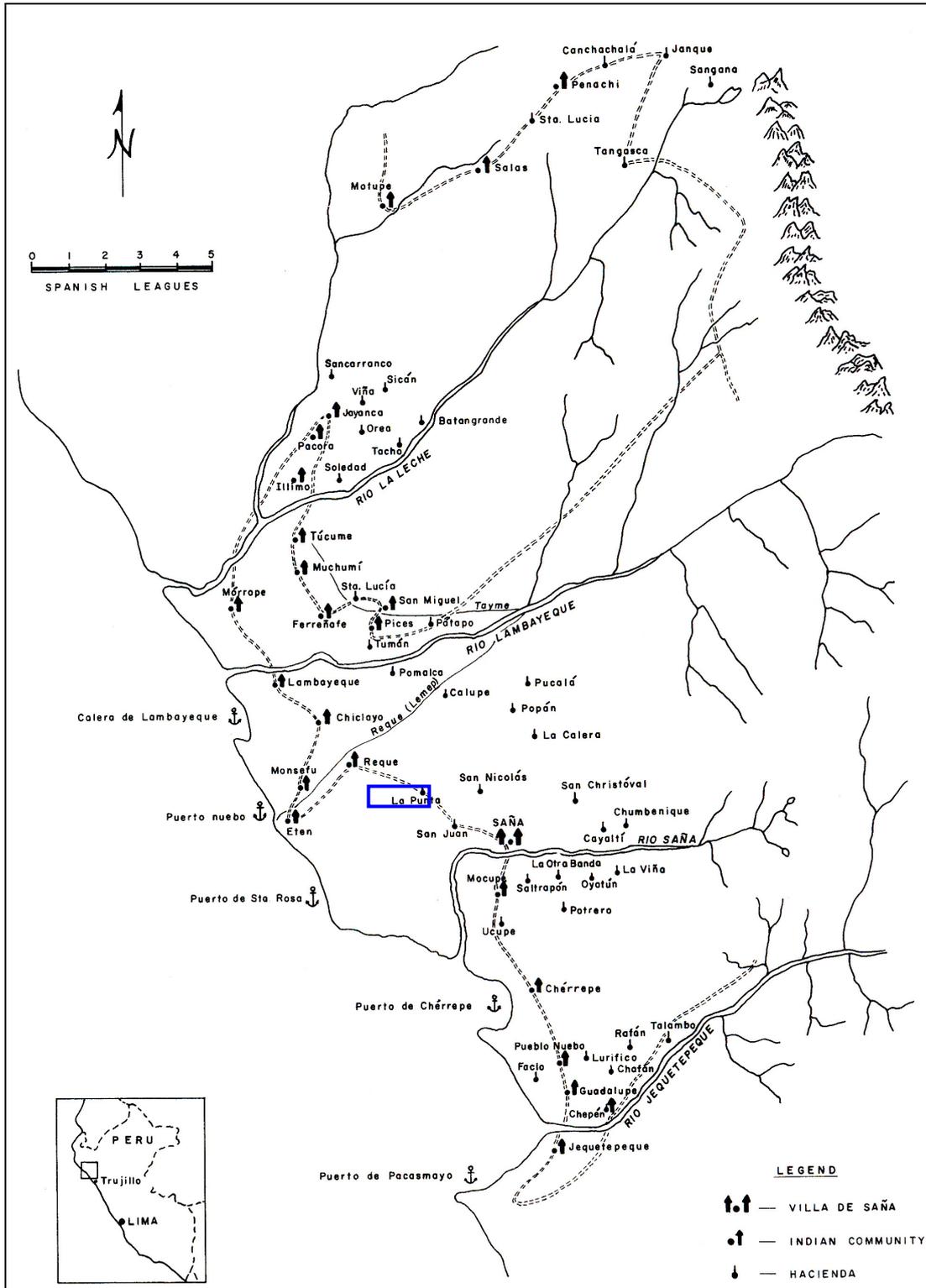
Bernardino's party—in truth, an alliance with at least two other prominent lords of Luringuanca—built a surprisingly different story. It seems that the unexpected return of the lost heir caught them by surprise (for it was possible that the “true” Jerónimo had not died after all). Even so, they built a strong defense almost immediately. Bernardino reiterated his own abilities to rule, his Christian virtues, and his having formed a new family with potential heirs. What is more, he surprised the authorities by claiming that the story told by the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla intertwined not one but two different lives. One belonged to a boy—the “true” Don Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla—who died at a young age and under tragic circumstances when taken from Lima to the Franciscan convent of Huaura (to the north of the capital city). The life of

²⁰ About the school, see Puente Brunke (1998) and Alaperrine-Bouyer (2002). According to the “natural” daughter of Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla, the last undisputed *curaca* of Luringuanca, her father sent her to Lima to become a nun in the prestigious convent of La Concepción (ff. 527r-527v).

²¹ Regarding angry friars and their protégées, Guaman Poma de Ayala (1992: 903-904) writes: “Sobre cómo algunos padres sacaban de sus pueblos a los indios huérfanos para servirse de ellos como criados. Se los llevaban a la fuerza a las ciudades, maltratándolos y castigándolos. Castiga cruelmente y le da mala uida a estos dichos güerfanos. Y ancí de sus poderes tornan ausentarse de ellos. Y porque no le hagan gran daño, no se buelben a sus pueblos y rreducciones y se uan a otras ciudades estos dichos yndios, yndias güerfanos.”

²² Limaylla's initial arguments are summarized in AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 67r-70r. The first set of witnesses of Limaylla in ff. 70r-127r (September 11-October 21, 1655). See, also, the second set of declarations on his behalf in ff. 281r-348r (January 17-29, 1656).

the “other” Jerónimo, the legal claimant, truly belonged to a clever forger who wanted to appropriate the *curacazgo*, an “indio de los llanos” [Indian from the coast] born in the town of Reque, by the plebeian name of Lorenzo Ayun Chifo.



MAP 2: The Lambayeque region, including Reque²³

²³ The map appears in Ramírez (1986: 19).

The last *curaca* of Luringuanca had indeed had an illegitimate son named Jerónimo, Bernardino agreed. However, he could not possibly be the person now claiming the *curacazgo*. Bernardino cleverly noted that, had the true Jerónimo been alive, he would be 19 or 20, while the claimant clearly looked at least like a 30-year-old man. This crucial aspect would imply in turn that the alleged Jerónimo was only 8 or 9 years younger than his alleged father, a highly improbable situation. According to Bernardino, Father Cuesta took the true Jerónimo first to Lima and then to the small village of Huaura, where he died at the age of seven or eight. His body lay in the local cemetery, as the Franciscans would later certify.

Moreover, Bernardino's defense had a strong, tricky legal argument. Even if Jerónimo was not buried in Huaura and thus the two Jerónimos—the lost heir and the claimant of 1655—were the same individual, the true Jerónimo had been born around 1636 and not in 1631, that is, after his father's Catholic marriage in 1635. Thus, instead of a "natural" son—someone born to the union of two unmarried persons—the "true" Jerónimo had been a "bastard," born of the illicit intercourse of a man already married to a woman other than the mother.²⁴ Though the difference may not sound very relevant today, it had enormous consequences in the outcome of the court case. A legitimate son like Bernardino, even if related to the *curacas* of Luringuanca through his mother's side, had better chances to succeed than a "bastard" heir had, according the Spanish law (Díaz Rementería 1977). Indeed, Bernardino had already fought and won other legal battles with a slight variation of the same argument.²⁵

²⁴ Both parties presented baptismal and marital records to clarify this specific issue, but the transcriptions cannot be totally trusted. They were taken from the original parish records but, according to the alleged Jerónimo, they were altered to make him appear as a bastard son. Other evidences, however, point to the fact that the true Jerónimo was born in 1636 and not in 1631, as we will see.

²⁵ Bernardino's arguments and witnesses appear in AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 128v-251v (November 9-16, 1655).

As prescribed by colonial law, *curacas* had the prerogative to access the highest tribunals in Spanish America. If local authorities were unable to settle the disputes and reach an easy solution, *curacas* had the right to take their case to Lima before the *Audiencia*, the highest court in the viceroyalty of Peru. The litigants could appeal a sentence of the *Audiencia* only twice for, if the legal claimants disputed the second verdict, they had to take their case directly to the Council of the Indies in Madrid (the highest court in American affairs), being this the final and unquestionable tribunal (Díaz Rementería 1977).

And so was it. Both parties ended up accusing the local authorities of being biased. They rejected them and petitioned for the remission of the dossier to Lima. The legal suit finally arrived at the *Audiencia*, the next judicial level and the legal scenario for the second stage of the dispute, which lasted from April 1656 to January 1664. In further *probanzas*, both candidates refined their arguments, presenting relevant documents, new witnesses, and a sea of contradicting declarations and facts. Jerónimo reiterated his version of the story, adding that a *curaca* “tirano intruso” (“intruder tyrant”) actually controlled Luringuanca, Bernardino being only the puppet of this bad ruler. The natives of Luringuanca, he declared, had immediately celebrated his arrival, recognizing Jerónimo as their legitimate lord, of the bloodline of the traditional *curacas*, thus offering their open support. Jerónimo also gave further details about his trip to Spain. In Lima, he served a merchant named Pedro de Ceuallos, who took him to Panama. He later sailed to Spain (c. 1644), when he was around eight years old, and met Father Buenaventura Salinas y Córdoba in Madrid for the first time. With this advocate of the Indians, whose life we will revisit in the next chapter, Jerónimo had voyaged to Mexico (1646-1653) and, after the death of the friar in Cuernavaca (November of 1653), had returned to the Andes some time in January

or February of 1655. Jerónimo added that Father Cuesta, the Franciscan who supposedly took him to Lima, had recognized him as the true Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla in a set of letters (an assessment the friar would later deny).²⁶

Bernardino presented a series of documents—some of them of disputed authenticity— as well as declarations of a few Franciscans who, after several ambiguous declarations, confirmed that the real Jerónimo had in fact died in the convent of Huaura and was buried there. In truth, Father Andrés de la Cuesta’s role in the court case—as well as that of other Franciscans—though crucial, was nevertheless highly ambivalent. Their ambiguous role will deserve a brief commentary later.

Even more revealing for the judges than the declarations of the Franciscans was the baptismal record of one “Lorenzo de Ayun,” a common, tributary Indian born in the town of Reque in 1622. According to Bernardino’s party, their legal opponent was in truth this Lorenzo Ayun Chifo, and not Jerónimo Limaylla. Several witnesses traveled from Reque to Lima, and declared before the judges of the *Audiencia* that the local priest and later the Franciscans had indeed raised one Lorenzo Ayun and taught him how to speak, read, and write in Spanish. After some years, however, father Ayllón had taken Lorenzo to Lima, where he had lived for a while and then sailed to Spain. Thanks to Jerónimo’s correspondence with some of his relatives in Reque, the inhabitants of the town learned that he was serving Father Buenaventura Salinas in Madrid and then Mexico. In 1655, he had a striking return in Reque.²⁷

In fact, the ethnic lords of this coastal town demanded the traveler’s several years of unpaid tribute—a responsibility of all male Indians between 18 and 50 years of

²⁶ The new set of arguments by Limaylla is included in AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 462r-542v (July 24-October 5, 1656). Some dates of Limaylla’s story, in accordance with the names and events he recalls, have been completed using Salinas y Córdoba (1957) and Hanke (1978: IV, 85).

²⁷ Bernardino’s arguments and witnesses appear in AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 543r-570r (July 29-October 23, 1656).

age. This was a very powerful cause for his escape to Lima and Jauja. According to the *caciques*, Lorenzo Ayun had not paid his quotas for the periods before and after his trip to Spain. This situation was tricky, for an accusation had emerged within another accusation. The lords of Reque went to Lima—in truth, to collect the debts of another 28 absentees—and presented a series of documents in both Chiclayo and Lima. Chiclayo was the closest relatively important town to Reque, where the authority with jurisdiction over these matters resided. Between January and March 1659, the lords finally succeeded in having the authorities in Lima throw Jerónimo/Lorenzo into jail. His advocate managed to obtain his freedom in April. However, the authorities granted this freedom only until the more important battle for the *cacicazgo* of Luringuanca reached the final sentence and Lorenzo faced the accusation for unpaid tribute.²⁸

After four demanding years, Bernardino partially convinced the colonial authorities. The *Audiencia* issued its first verdict against the alleged Jerónimo and in favor of Bernardino on September 3, 1660. According to the judges, Jerónimo had failed to prove his case, while Bernardino's defense had been enough to demonstrate his rights to the *cacicazgo* of Luringuanca.²⁹

Jerónimo appealed, for it was his right, and both parties presented a new set of *probanzas* in Lima. The alleged Jerónimo, perhaps surprised by the solid case built against him, confirmed that he had been in service of fray Buenaventura Salinas in Spain, with whom he had traveled to Mexico, a key fact in this story. He did not deny the existence of Lorenzo Ayun, but claimed that “Aillum” had worked in Lima as a

²⁸ See ff. 625r, 629v, 634v, 644r.

²⁹ “fallamos que la parte de el dicho Geronimo lorenzo Limaylla no prouo su açion y demanda como prouar le combino declaramosla por no prouada y que la de el dicho Don Bernardino mangobala limailla prouo sus exepziones y defenssas bien y cumplidamente las quales declaramos por bien prouadas en consequençia de lo cual lo absoluemos y damos por libre de lo contra el pedido” (ff. 676r).

tailor until 1648. Then, he had embarked to Chile, the inhospitable region in which he found his death. Among other details that will become important to us later, the alleged Jerónimo declared that he and Lorenzo Ayun did not even look alike. Lorenzo had a “lunar con cabello” (hairy mole) in his face, an unmistakable sign whose absence in Jerónimo’s face was evident.³⁰

Bernardino, on the other hand, confined himself to presenting a new series of six witnesses, all from Reque, who reinforced the story about the incredible life of Lorenzo Ayun, the fake Jerónimo Limaylla. It was enough to keep the judges attached to their previous opinion, for a second sentence of the *Audiencia* –issued on June 23, 1663—confirmed Bernardino’s appointment as *cacique principal* of Luringuanca and dismissed Jerónimo’s claims.³¹ The sentence reflected the judges’ perplexity when faced with the potential existence of at least three different persons: the “true” Jerónimo Limaylla, Lorenzo Ayun from Reque, and the strange combination of both, who seemed to be litigating for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca. Although Bernardino was triumphant, the mild sentence indicates how difficult it became to pursue truth and justice at this point. Despite all the usual legal rhetoric, the judges preferred Bernardino because he was a legitimate son, thus taking the safe path of not deciding about Jerónimo/Lorenzo’s identity. It appears that the judges did not force “Jerónimo” to pay the tribute debt (although the opposite might have been one of the reasons for his next travel to Spain in 1664 or 1665). Furthermore, the authorities did not formally accuse him as an impostor, for the false supposition of name and person, or for identity theft, no doubt serious crimes. Moreover, Jerónimo/Lorenzo gave away with the potential accusation of trying to appropriate the significant patrimony of the lords

³⁰ See AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 910r-938v (October 25-November 13, 1660).

³¹ See AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 942v-969r (April 28, 1661) and ff. 1008r, 1010v, 1011v, and 1019r.

of Luringuanca, for as the fake heir of the last *curaca* he would have obtained almost unrestricted access to it.

But the final battle was yet to end. A second and final appeal by the alleged Jerónimo took him and the case to Madrid, before the Council of the Indies, initiating the last stage of this transatlantic court case (July 1664-October 1671). Nothing much happened there, however. The supposed Jerónimo was very active during these years, presenting new *memoriales* –for him and for several Andean lords—as well as pursuing the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca. But Bernardino never sent any representatives or attorneys to continue his case before the Council in Madrid. In spite of that, after reviewing the proceedings brought from Lima, the members of this Supreme Court, exhausted by the complexity of the case, issued the ultimate judgment on October 7, 1671. They confirmed Bernardino’s legal victory. Conversely, the sentence marked the alleged Jerónimo’s legal defeat. Had Bernardino really defeated Jerónimo/Lorenzo, however? I will ponder such issue in the next chapters.

To overcome the sea of contradicting declarations, dubious documents, and conflicting stories contained in the legal dossier, I will not take for granted that the story of the weakest party, just because of having been legally defeated, was indeed “right” about the facts. Instead, we must consider the dates, places, and persons involved and try to make sense of the stories by constructing a logical sequence of possible events. Second, we must take those facts, names and dates that none of the parties disputed and make them our somehow precarious point of departure. Moreover, and above all, we must try to verify or refute them by means of external,

independent documents. By following these guidelines, I will retell the strange case of Jerónimo Limaylla and Lorenzo Ayun in order to foreshadow the argument for the next chapters. In this perplexing story, at least three different persons and their respective biographies end up being only one: Lorenzo Ayun—the common Indian born in Reque—Juan Lorenzo Ayllón—a mysterious Indian who served fray Buenaventura in Madrid—and Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla—the missing heir of the last *curaca* of Luringuanca.

Let us start with the famous trip to Spain. Bernardino Limaylla and the several witnesses from coastal Reque who went to Lima agreed on this fact. Lorenzo Ayun, the clever Indian who in the mid seventeenth century was trying to make inroads into the *curacazgo*, had sailed to Spain. There, he had entered into the service of fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba. Similarly, during the legal dispute for the title of *curaca* of Luringuanca, the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla proudly emphasized that he had indeed been in Spain and Mexico, where he rendered his services to the friar. Moreover, in an independent *memorial* written on November 30 1662, just before the *Audiencia* issued its final sentence against him, the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla asked for the King's authorization to embark on a second journey to Spain. Perhaps he had already anticipated his legal defeat in the Peruvian courts. In this document, "Jerónimo Limaylla" made express mention of his having been at the court in 1646 denouncing the sufferings of his fellow Indians to the monarch.³² Another *memorial*, dated 1662, includes almost the same information. In this document, the alleged Jerónimo claimed he had visited the court in 1646 and personally informed the

³² The *memorial* is in Archivo Vargas Ugarte, Ms., T. 32 (16), n° 35 [1662], f. 66r-66v.

monarch about torments of the Indians from Jauja, especially in the mercury mines of Huancavelica.³³

Therefore, at least in this part of the story—the sojourn of Lorenzo Ayun/Jerónimo Limaylla in Spain between 1644 and 1646, as well as his close relationship with the friar—both parties of the legal suit agreed. As a starting point, I will assume that these events really happened. Independent sources verify that the King himself had demanded the presence of Buenaventura de Salinas, who had already left Peru on June 1, 1637, and arrived in Spain on December 23 (Salinas y Córdoba 1957: lxxvii; Medina 1965: 407-408).

Fray Buenaventura is a central figure in this story. He was born in Lima circa 1592 into a prominent Creole family. The clan had strong political connections within the court of the Viceroy in Lima. Since age nine, Buenaventura served as page to several Viceroys, strengthening his ties with the center of local power. From the Jesuits, he received a privileged education, and he took the habit of Saint Francis around 1616, at age 24. In 1630, he published his famous *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*. The *Memorial* dealt with two main issues, which defined Buenaventura's path in the following years. The first was a clear expression of creole patriotism (Lavallè 1993). The Father complained about the official preference for *Peninsulares*—Spanish born in Spain—the postponed rights and unmerited sufferings of creole elites in Peru, and the greatness of the Peruvian land and its injured inhabitants. The second was a direct and determined defense of the native populations. Fray Buenaventura pushed forward a harsh denunciation of the shocking abuses committed against the Indians.

³³ AGI, Lima, 17 [1662].

An advocate of the Indians and a defender of the Creoles, Buenaventura had powerful enemies in Peru and in Spain. Even so, he made a remarkable transatlantic career and fulfilled extremely important offices representing the Franciscan order in Peru, Spain, Rome, and Mexico. He spent at least two periods at the court, 1637-1639 and 1644-1646. There, he published several *memoriales*. In 1645, Buenaventura's superiors appointed him "Comisario General" for the Viceroyalty of New Spain. He received the license to take two friars and a native "criado" (personal servant) to Mexico on March 23, 1646. He was already there in 1647. Fray Buenaventura died in the convent of Cuernavaca in 1653, just when the Metropolitan authorities had appointed him bishop of Arequipa, Peru. He was 61 (Riva-Agüero 1952; Salinas y Córdoba 1957).

It is highly improbable that two different natives from Peru, both serving the same prominent friar and denouncing the exact same series of abuses to the King, were in the Spanish court at the same time: Lorenzo Ayun and the supposed Jerónimo Limaylla. In addition, it is hard to believe that both traveled to Mexico as "criados" of Buenaventura Salinas in the same exact date. As we will see, the contradicting stories included in the dossier of litigations for the *cacicazgo* of Luringuanca demands only one actor. Who was really in Spain in 1646?

An initial clue comes from a previously unknown document. It is a *memorial* elaborated in Spain and dated, precisely, on April 4 1646. The author signed the *memorial* more than ten years before the legal suit for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca even started, so it is fair to consider the manuscript as an independent document. Its author, one "Juan Lorenzo Ayllón," addressed the King introducing himself as "Indio natural de las provincias del Peru decendiente de Caçiques prinçipales del

repartimiento de Luringuanca.”³⁴ In this *memorial*, Juan Lorenzo Ayllón accusingly stated that the natives of Jauja were the victims of a series of abuses, such as the compulsive obligation to work in the mercury mines near the Valley. Some of the topics and even the words he used to describe the penuries of the natives were very similar to those used by the alleged Jerónimo in one of his *memoriales* of 1662.³⁵

The reason this “Juan Lorenzo Ayllón” chose to introduce himself as a descendant of the lords of Luringuanca appears to have depended directly on the influence exerted by his protector in Spain. Indeed, another independent document offers further clues in this respect. Surprisingly enough, the author of this 1646 *memorial*, Juan Lorenzo Ayllón, was no other than the person who served fray Buenaventura de Salinas in Madrid and later accompanied the Franciscan to Mexico. Fray Buenaventura had preached in Jauja, among other places in Peru. A “licencia de pasajero” (akin to a modern passport) granted authorization to one “Lorenzo Ayllón Atahualpa,” “indio natural del valle de Jauja,” to travel to México as “criado” of Buenaventura de Salinas.³⁶ The local authorities issued the license on May 9 1646, roughly one month after Juan Lorenzo Ayllón presented his *memorial* to the King. Furthermore, thanks to this document we know not only that Juan Lorenzo could sign his name, but also that he used several personal names (or variations) at that time. Though he authored the 1646 *memorial* as “Don Juan Lorenço Ayllon,” he signed the license as “Don Lorenço ayllon ata gualpa.” The authorities called him “don Benito Ayllonata Gualpa.”

³⁴ This *memorial* is in AGI. Lima, 15 [1646].

³⁵ In the 1646 *memorial* (Juan Lorenzo Ayllón), “donde solo la dicha prouincia [Jauja] an perecido con el polbillo del metal de açogue pasmos y resfriados y otros males mas de un millon de Indios”. In the 1662 *memorial* (the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla), “las opresiones agravios y molestias que padecian los Yndios en el Peru y en especial los de su Prouinçia [Jauja] que siendo assi, que acerca de cien Años, que acuden a la labor del mineraje de Guancavelica donde an perecido Los mas con el poluillo del metal en tanto grado que estan los pueblos Desiertos y arruynados.”

³⁶ AGI, Contratación, 5427, N. 3, R. 33 [1646] and 5539, 1.3, f.78v-79 [1646].

I will analyze the complex question of names and naming as a main component of Lorenzo's "evolving identity"—for he used several others—in the next chapter. For now, let us bring one specific point into consideration. It made more sense for a common Indian such as Lorenzo Ayun Chifo to appropriate a "noble" name, especially while at the court, than for a noble Indian such as Don Jerónimo Limaylla to take one the other way around. The latter would be an unwise political move, especially when having to face the monarch himself. In other words, why would the true Don Jerónimo Limaylla alter his name in the 1646 *memorial* when it was precisely the proof of his noble lineage?

The license of 1646 further informs us that "Lorenço ayllon ata gualpa," the *criado* who voyaged to Mexico with Buenaventura de Salinas, was a 22-year-old man. This in turn implies that he had been born around 1623 or 1622, a year that matches neatly with Lorenzo Ayun's date of birth in Reque. The witnesses who declared in the license, all of them Franciscan Fathers, told the authorities that they had known Lorenzo in Peru for more than ten years, and that he had come to Spain with them. The sole fact that Lorenzo the traveler was a 22 year-old man in 1646 makes it impossible for him to be the true Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla, the infant son of the last undisputed *curaca* of Luringuanca who, it seems, died in Huaura at a young age. The true Jerónimo was at least ten years younger. Moreover, the last undisputed *curaca*, Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla, was born in 1615.³⁷ It is clear, then, that he could not possibly be the father of this Lorenzo Ayun or Juan Lorenzo Ayun, who was born in 1622.

With regard to Lorenzo Ayun's date of departure from Peru, it seems unlikely that the fake or even real Jerónimo Limaylla could have traveled to Spain with

³⁷ See ARJ. Protocolos, T.1 (Pedro de Carranza) [1634], ff. 13r-16v.

Buenaventura de Salinas, who left Peru in 1637, never to return. Had he done so, something claimed a couple of times by the pursuer during the legal case, he would have been either one or six years old at that time, depending on which version about the true Jerónimo's date of birth we choose to follow. According to Don Bernardino's version, the real Jerónimo Limaylla was born in 1636. If such was the case, then it becomes clear that he could not have voyaged to the court with fray Buenaventura Salinas (for the true *curaca* would have been one year old at the time of the trip). According to the alleged Jerónimo, the true Jerónimo Limaylla was born in 1631.³⁸ Nonetheless, this second option is as improbable as the first one. If we stick to the alleged Jerónimo's version during the court case—that he was born in 1631—it is hard to believe that, at the age of six, he had managed to escape from the custody of the Franciscan Fathers in Lima and then embarked—with other Franciscans—to Spain in 1637.

If we take the second hypothesis—that the true Jerónimo Limaylla was born in 1636—we must consider the possibility that he did not sail to Spain until 1644, where he met with Buenaventura de Salinas, as sometimes claimed by the alleged Jerónimo and more recently stated by Monique Alaperrine-Boyer (2004: 115-116). Nonetheless, inconsistent facts and improbable events also fill this thorny path. First, the alleged Jerónimo claimed 1631 and *not* 1636 as his date of birth, which implies that he lied at the courts in this crucial fact. Second, if the true Jerónimo Limaylla did embark in 1644, he would have been eight years old by that time and ten when he addressed his *memorial* to the King (1646), a bizarre situation to say the least, which Alaperrine-Boyer nevertheless considers possible. Third, independent historical evidence shows that Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla—not the alleged but the real

³⁸ See AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 17r, 67v.

curaca—entered the school for Indian nobles in Lima in 1648 (Colegio 1923: 805). Therefore, if we go along with this second version—that the real Jerónimo was born in 1636 and traveled to Spain in 1644—our supposition would imply three issues. A. He would have made the trip back to Peru at age 10 or 11, in 1646. B. He would have traveled from Lima to Mexico shortly afterwards to serve fray Buenaventura (who was there since 1646 and never returned to Peru). C. He would have chosen to hide the crucial fact of his admission in the school of *caciques* in 1648 rather than showing it as an uncontroversial proof of his noble status and real identity as Jerónimo Limaylla.

In fact, the true son of the *cacique* of Luringuanca entered the school for nobles in 1648, when he was 12 (thus, he was born in 1636, as claimed insistently by his rival Don Bernardino). It is true that this might prove that he did not die in Huaura at the age of seven or eight, for the Franciscans could not show any documental evidence of that fact. However, far more important for this story is the true Jerónimo Limaylla's admission at the school in 1648, for it indicates that he could not have been in two places at the same time. He could not have traveled to Spain in 1644. Nor could he have written a *memorial* to the King in 1646 or have served fray Buenaventura in Mexico between 1646 and 1652. However, as we will see in more detail, all were deeds appropriated by the alleged Jerónimo in several *memoriales* and during the court case but, in truth, they belonged to the biography of an individual other than the true Jerónimo Limaylla.

Therefore, the previous information clarifies several aspects of this strange case. First, it shows that “Lorenço ayllon ata gualpa”—author of the 1646 *memorial*—and Lorenzo Ayun Chifo—the common Indian from Reque who traveled to Lima and then to Spain in 1644—were but the same person under a different name (and identity).

Three letters confirm the previous identification. They were written in Mexico by one “Juan Lorenzo de Aiun y Cordoua” between 1649 and 1653. “Juan Lorenzo” sent the letters to his uncle and sister in Reque, as well as to the local priest, Father Fernando de la Carrera.³⁹ Second, the previous evidence shows that, since the real Jerónimo Limaylla entered the school for Indian nobles in Lima in 1648, it is highly doubtful that he had journeyed to Spain in 1644 (at age 6) then wrote a *memorial* in 1646, entered the school in 1648, and served fray Buenaventura in Mexico sometime between that year and 1653.

Having established that Lorenzo Ayun, the tributary Indian born in Reque, was the author of the 1646 *memorial* to the King who later traveled to Mexico with Buenaventura Salinas—and that he could not have been the true Jerónimo Limaylla as well—there is one task left in this chapter. I will offer further evidence to show that this Lorenzo Ayun was also the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla, he who cunningly claimed the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca in 1655 as the lost heir of the last undisputed *curaca*. This second identification will not only open new avenues for studying the complex life of this supposed Andean lord in the next chapters, but it will also show the importance of transatlantic voyages for the crafting of transatlantic identities among Andean peoples and traveling *curacas*.

It is a highly improbable fact that both Lorenzo *and* Jerónimo were in Spain living the same lives at the same time. Even so, the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla, though

³⁹ The three letters are in AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 638r-640-643r. For the testimony of fray Fernando de la Carrera, the local priest, see ff. 447v-449r.

denying the accusation of being Lorenzo Ayun Chifo, appropriated on his behalf some of the most crucial events of Lorenzo’s unique stay in Spain. In fact, while trying to become *curaca*, the alleged Jerónimo had no other choice than to appeal to some of Lorenzo’s (his own) transatlantic deeds in order to reinforce his legitimacy and display his skills to govern. This evidence proves most convincing that, sometime between 1644 and 1656, Lorenzo Ayun decided to live the life of Don Jerónimo Limaylla.

As already stated, during the court case, the alleged Jerónimo mentioned in several occasions that he had traveled to Spain and Mexico, and that he had served fray Buenaventura de Salinas. As if this fact were not enough, in two *memoriales* written in 1662, the supposed Jerónimo reminded the King that he had been at the court in 1646, on behalf of the natives of Jauja and advocating for the suppression of forced labor in the mercury mines of Huancavelica.⁴⁰ In 1655, the supposed Jerónimo highlighted that he had visited Spain and “otras partes de el mundo” ten years before [1645-1646], “de donde viene aora capaz entendido y de toda suficiencia.”⁴¹

Table 1: Chronology of events regarding the life of Lorenzo Ayun

DATE	EVENT
c. 1592	Birth of Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba in Lima into a prominent Creole family
1616	Buenaventura de Salinas’s entry into the Franciscan order in Lima
1619	Birth of Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla in the Valley of Jauja
1622, June 12	Baptism of Lorenzo Ayun Chifo in Reque

⁴⁰ See Archivo Vargas Ugarte, Mss., T. 32 (16), n° 35 [1662], f. 66r-66v and AGI, Lima, 17 [1662].

⁴¹ AGI, Escribanía, 514C, f. 69r.

1630	Publication of Salinas' Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú in Lima
1631	Birth of Don Jerónimo Limaylla, according to the alleged Jerónimo
1633	Arrival of the priest Fernando de la Carrera in Reque, where Lorenzo Ayun is serving in the local church
c. 1633	Birth of Don Bernardino Mangoguala in Concepción, Jauja
1635, July 26	Marriage of Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla and Doña Antonia Yalotiqui in Sincos, Jauja
1636, March 22	Birth of Don Jerónimo Limaylla, according to Don Bernardino Mangoguala Limaylla
c. 1637	Lorenzo Chifo learns the doctrina cristiana from his curaca in Reque
1637, June 1	Buenaventura de Salinas leaves from Lima to Spain. He arrives on
December 23	
1637, Dec. 23	Buenaventura de Salinas in Madrid, at least until March 2, 1639
1641, Oct. 25	Buenaventura de Salinas leaves from Spain to Italy
1642	Father Juan de Ayllón takes Lorenzo Ayun to Lima. Fray Andrés de la Cuesta takes the real Jerónimo Limaylla from Jauja to Lima
1644, June-Sep.	Lorenzo Ayun embarks to Spain
1644-1646	Buenaventura de Salinas is in Madrid
1646, March 23	License for Buenaventura de Salinas to go to Mexico with one criado issued in Spain
1646, April 4	Memorial of "Don Juan Lorenzo Ayllón" to the King
1646, May 28	License for "Don Lorenzo Ayllón Atagualpa" to travel to Mexico as criado of Buenaventura
1647 – 1648	Buenaventura de Salinas and his criado Lorenzo in Mexico
c. 1648, Jan.	Death of Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla in the Valley of Jauja
1648, July 17	The true Jerónimo Lorenzo enters the school for Indian nobles in Lima
1649, Sep. 28	Letter of "Don Juan Lorenzo de Ayun y Córdoba" to his uncle Francisco from Mexico

1651	Legal battle bet. Don Bernardino Mangoguala Limaylla and his uncle Don Pedro Limaylla
1651, March 31	Letter of “D. Juan Lorenzo de Ayun y Córdoba” to his sister from Mexico
1651, Nov. 24	Agreement bet. Don Pedro Limaylla and Don Bernardino Limaylla
1653, July 22	Letter of “D. Juan Lorenzo de Ayun Córdoba” to Father Carrera from Mexico
1653, Sep. 22	Don Bernardino Mangoguala appointed cacique principal of Luringuanca
1653, Nov. 15	Death of Buenaventura de Salinas in Cuernavaca, Mexico
1654, June 14	Don Bernardino takes possession of the title of cacique principal in Concepción, Jauja
1655, Aug. 3	The alleged Jerónimo introduces himself as the heir to the curacazgo of Luringuanca
1655, Aug.-Jan. 1656	First stage of the legal battle for the curacazgo bet. the alleged Jerónimo and Don Bernardino
1656, Apr.-Jan. 1664	Second stage of the legal battle for the curacazgo of Luringuanca
1656, Jan 27	The alleged Jerónimo already in Lima
1656, March 3	First letter of the alleged Jerónimo to Bartolomé de Mendoza, cacique of Huancavelica
1656, March 23	Second letter of the alleged Jerónimo to Bartolomé de Mendoza, cacique of Huancavelica
1658, May 18	Memorial of certain caciques of Luringuanca supporting the alleged Jerónimo
1658, Feb. 13	First testimony of Father Cuesta in Lima
1658, March 22	Testimony of Catalina Tantalva, mother of the real Jerónimo Limaylla, in Lima
1658, July 23	Second testimony of father Cuesta in Lima
1659, Jan. 28	In Chiclayo, Don García Millon, cacique principal of Reque, raises charges against Lorenzo Ayun for 280 pesos of unpaid tribute
1659, March 20	In Lima, the alleged Jerónimo imprisoned for his debts
1659, April 29	The alleged Jerónimo out of jail

1659, Aug. 30	Third testimony of father Cuesta in Lima
1660, Sep. 3	First sentence of the Audiencia against the alleged Jerónimo and in favor of Bernardino
1660, Nov. 9	Presentation of two letters written by Don Bernardino to the alleged Jerónimo (signed in Concepción, 24 Aug. 1660 and 25 Jan. 1661)
1661, May 23	Bernardino recognizes the letters to be authentic
1662, Nov. 30	Memorial of the alleged Jerónimo to the King asking for permission to travel to Spain
1663, June 26	Second sentence of the Audiencia against the alleged Jerónimo and in favor of Bernardino
1664, Jan. 12	The Audiencia orders that the dossier be sent to Spain
1665, Oct. 9	“Jerónimo Limaylla” already in Madrid, Spain
1665, Nov. 27	Memorial of “Jerónimo Limaylla” to the King asking for the legal cause to be reopened
1668, Jun 26	Don Bernardino is officially notified about the pending cause in Madrid by the Council
1669, Feb. 13	Don Bernardino receives the news about the pending court case in Jauja
Bet. 1669-1671	Death of Don Bernardino Mangoguala Limaylla in the Jauja Valley
1671, Oct. 7	Final sentence of the Council of the Indies, ratifying the previous two sentences against the alleged Jerónimo and in favor of Don Bernardino
1672, Aug. 4?	“Jerónimo Limaylla” writes another memorial to the King
1678, Mar 26	The alleged Jerónimo still at the court in Madrid

So far, however, there is no trace of a Jerónimo Limaylla or any other Limaylla in Spain during the 1640s. No passenger record is available, though there is one for Lorenzo Ayllón Atahualpa to go to Mexico in 1646, as already mentioned. What is more, the passenger record of fray Buenaventura does not refer to any Limaylla as a

criado, though in Lorenzo Ayllón's available record the authorities clearly state that he was going to Mexico as the only *criado* of the friar.

A propos of this record, during the legal suit for the *curacazgo*, the alleged Jerónimo tried to prove that he and Lorenzo Ayllón were different persons by declaring that Lorenzo Ayllón had, as a distinctive mark, a "lunar con cabello" on his face. Nonetheless, the physical description of Lorenzo Ayllón Atahualpa contained in the passenger license of 1646 does not allude to this remarkable feature, though the colonial authorities registered such detailed features as that of Lorenzo having a wound and a broken vein in his left wrist. In fact, they described Lorenzo as

de nasion Yndio Y de hedad de beinte Y dos años poco mas o menos con poca barba con algun bigote ojos negros Y sejas Y la nariz algo aguileña Y en La muñeca de la mano Ysquierda tiene vna herida al soslayo que tiene partida Vna bena.⁴²

Had Lorenzo Ayllón had such a mole, it would have been a personal feature difficult to hide in such circumstances. Almost certainly, the colonial authorities issuing the license would have had to mention such a feature, as was common in these cases. More importantly, if the alleged Jerónimo was in truth Jerónimo Limaylla, how did he know that Lorenzo Ayun had a mole?

The *memorial* that "Jerónimo Limaylla" supposedly addressed to the King in 1646 is not available, though the one written by Juan Lorenzo Ayllón in that year indeed is. To support his claims, both the alleged Jerónimo and the witnesses presented on his behalf alluded to the contents of the 1646 *memorial* (though a Juan Lorenzo Ayllón in truth signed it). For instance, one of the questions posed by Jerónimo to his witnesses was to confirm if Jerónimo "ablo al Rey nuestro señor con memorial" during his first

⁴² AGI, Contratación, 5427, N. 3, R. 33 [1646], f. 3r.

sojourn in Madrid. One witness who met with the supposed Jerónimo after his arrival to Lima was in fact impressed that Jerónimo had “spoken”/“talked” to the King with a *memorial*. Another witness, who made the trip with the false Limaylla to Spain, ran into Buenaventura Salinas and Limaylla once in Madrid. Just after his departure for Mexico, the friar proudly told the witness that his protégée “Acabaua de hablar al Rey nuestro Señor Con Un Memorial.”⁴³

Clearly, the alleged Jerónimo used the *memorial* that he signed as “Juan Lorenzo Ayllón” for political revenue. After his arrival in Jauja in 1655, he spread the word that he had talked to the King in person. In order to attract those who would later support him and testify on his favor, “Jerónimo” declared he had a “*cédula del Rey*” [royal decree] “para que los yndios que fuesen sus subditos no pagasen tributos ni mitasen a Guancavelica,”⁴⁴ as we will see in chapter three with more detail. As already mentioned, one of the central issues of the 1646 *memorial* was the problem of forced labor in the mercury mines of Huancavelica, near Jauja. On that occasion, Lorenzo signed a document that denounced the abuses suffered in the mines by the natives of Jauja. One million natives had died in Huancavelica, according to the *memorial*. Lorenzo petitioned the King for a *cédula* excusing the natives of Jauja from this heavy duty for a period of twenty or thirty years.⁴⁵ He even prepared (or signed) several other *memoriales* in the 1660s and 1670s, thus showing he had mastered this channel for addressing the King. As I will show in the next chapter, the initial travel to Spain was crucial for Lorenzo Ayun’s legitimacy in both his hometown and in the towns of Luringuanca.

⁴³ AGI, Escribanía, 514C, ff. 467r-467v, 491v-493v, 922v-924v.

⁴⁴ AGI, Escribanía, 514C, f. 546r.

⁴⁵ AGI, Lima, 15 [1646].

In view of this evidence, therefore, we are dealing with the same person under different names. While litigating for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca, Lorenzo Ayun used the events of his own deeds to improve his chances of social and political success, although *stricto sensu* they corresponded to no other than his life. He constantly projected his own stay in Spain (1644-1646), as well as his *memorial* to the King, into the imaginary life of the real Don Jerónimo Limaylla, who nevertheless was never a traveling lord and lived a different—and unknown life—after being taken to Lima in 1642. Doubtless, through these performances in Spain, Mexico, and Peru, Lorenzo Ayun from Reque made the life of Jerónimo Limaylla his own.

The set of external documents and internal proofs analyzed so far portrays a clearer picture of Lorenzo Ayun's "true" life, which nevertheless intertwines with that of the true Jerónimo Limaylla, blurring the differences between fact and fantasy, and complicating the distinctions between life as history and life as performance. After his initial years with the Franciscans in Reque, Lorenzo made the trip to Lima. Then, he sailed to Spain with the friars in 1644. Somehow, he became acquainted with the deeds of the Limayllas of Luringuanca. How he gained this knowledge, along with the fate of the true Jerónimo Limaylla after his entrance into the school for Indian nobles, remains the unresolved mysteries of the story. But it is relatively easy to understand why the alleged Jerónimo kept both as secrets, even if he knew what happened to his nemesis. Lorenzo's whole case and possibilities of success rested on the true Jerónimo Limaylla's being missing. Perhaps Lorenzo Ayun heard about Luringuanca and the Limayllas in the ship that took him and the Franciscans to Spain. Maybe he gathered that information from long conversations held with the Franciscans in Mexico and Madrid, or even after he went back to Peru in 1654-1655. The Franciscan Fathers had been in charge of indoctrinating the Indians of Luringuanca since the

1540s. Moreover, fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, his mentor in Spain and Mexico, had preached in the Valley of Jauja before he sailed to Spain. Information about Jauja fills Buenaventura's *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú* (Salinas y Córdoba 1957: xlv-xlvi). Therefore, Father Salinas is another potential, and perhaps the more reliable, source of information for Lorenzo Ayun. That would explain why the latter, after becoming acquainted with Buenaventura in Madrid, introduced himself as a descendant of the *caciques* of Luringuanca in his *memorial* of 1646. Moreover, it is even possible that Lorenzo Ayun met the true Jerónimo Limaylla in the friar's monastery in Lima before 1644, where they could have exchanged confidences. We know that Lorenzo Ayun arrived there in 1642. Father Cuesta took the true Jerónimo Limaylla to Lima when he was six, that is, around the same year. According to Jerónimo's mother, she heard news about him serving as a cook in the Franciscan cloister. By the mid 1600s, the main convent of the Franciscans, the biggest of the city, housed almost 300 people, among the residents Fathers, novices, slaves, and *donados* (Riva-Agüero 1952: 253). If indeed Lorenzo Ayun did not travel with fray Buenaventura in 1637 and thus went to Lima around 1642, he could have met Jerónimo Limaylla at the Franciscan main convent or even in Huaura, when Lorenzo Ayllón was in route to Lima, only to witness Jerónimo's death there.

While in Madrid, Lorenzo Ayun started to serve fray Buenaventura Salinas. Away from his homeland, he built a new identity for himself. His status increased enormously. Many witnesses declared he "looked" and "behaved" as a true Andean lord. He started to use several consecutive names. Each of them marked a next step in the social ladder that took him from Reque to the King's court. In 1646, just before leaving Spain for Mexico, he addressed a *memorial* to the King denouncing a series of

abuses against the native populations of Jauja. Both the friar and Lorenzo finally left, and he continued to live his privileged life in Mexico City until the friar's death in 1653. His plans were to return to Spain. Having lost his great protector but feeling himself a different man, Lorenzo decided to return to Peru. He arrived in Reque in the first months of 1655, but a gross debt of unpaid tribute forced him to flee to Lima, where the native lords of Reque had him thrown into jail. Some time before, he visited the Valley of Jauja, where he found a great opportunity: Luringuanca was a *curacazgo* without a legitimate *curaca*.

CHAPTER 2:

LORENZO GOES TO SPAIN: CRAFTING A TRANSATLANTIC IDENTITY

No ai mejor Cosa que ir a beuer el agua donde tiene Su
origen que es la Cortte
(Letter written by Lorenzo Ayun to Father Carrera in 1653)

Having established in the previous chapter that the legal claimant under the name of “Jerónimo Limaylla” was in truth Lorenzo Ayun Chifo, a coastal Indian from the town of Reque, I will attempt in this chapter a more detailed reconstruction of Lorenzo’s life before he returned to the Andes for the first time in 1654-1655. The chapter focuses on some crucial aspects of Lorenzo’s personal transformation because of his journey to Spain. I will contrast Lorenzo’s initial years as a young tributary Indian in Reque with his refurbished identity after his pompous arrival from Spain in 1655, emphasizing the immense importance of Buenaventura de Salinas as a role model for the Christian Indian with noble pretensions. I will also explore Lorenzo’s evolving identity through the several names that he used during the process of becoming “Don Jerónimo Limaylla” and the set of cultural skills and practical experiences gained during his travels.

The telling of this story, then, will make the “transformative power” embraced in these colonial voyages evident. Lorenzo’s long journey through a complex process of acculturation, a journey for which his trip to Spain serves as an allegory, carried the forging of a new transatlantic identity. Due only to the specific abilities that Lorenzo acquired throughout his life, Andean *curacas* of the central Andes recognized him not only as a social peer, but also as an authorized representative and advocate, a sort of transatlantic broker for the native populations as well. This recognition explains the

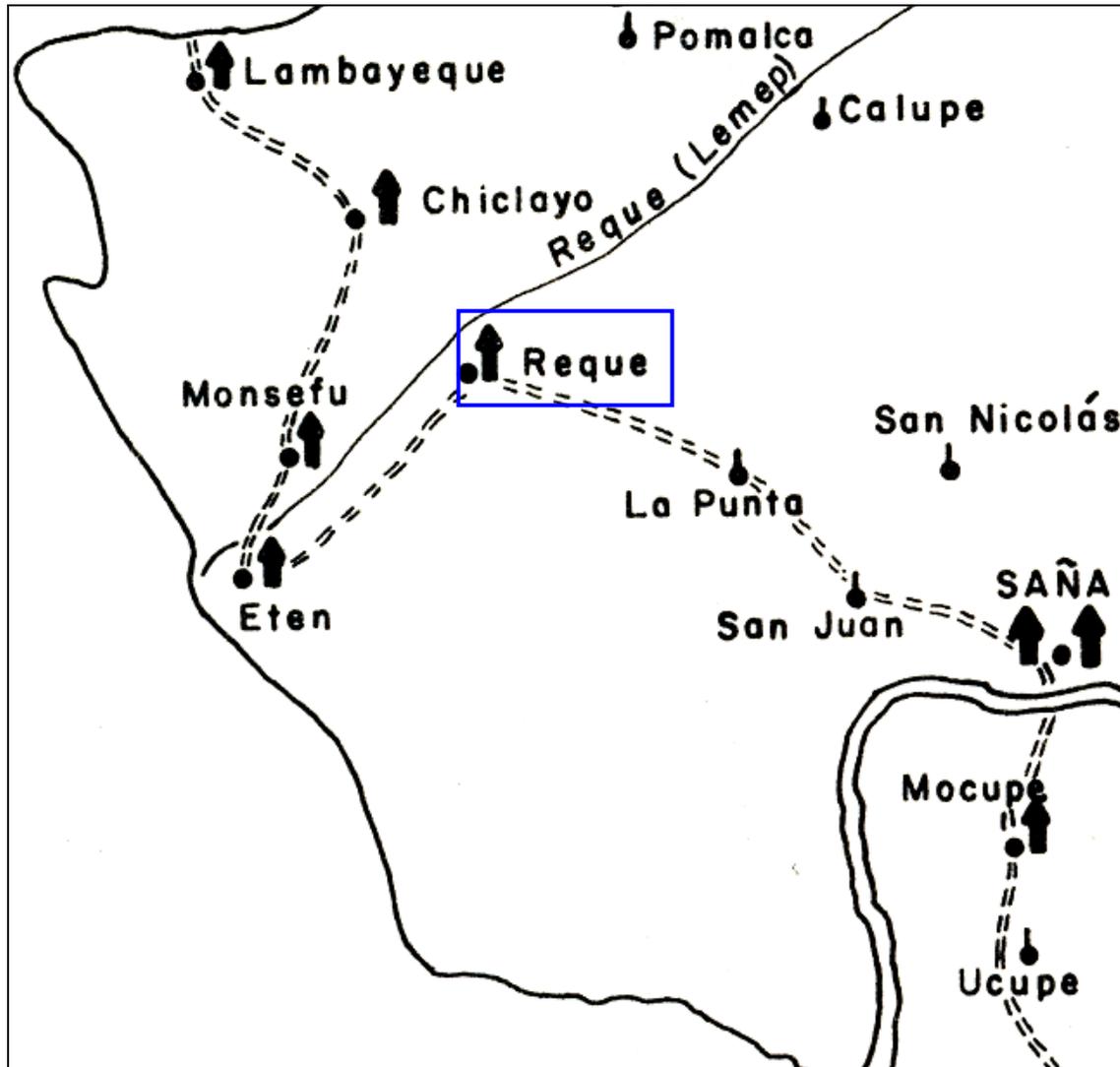
partial support he received in Jauja, as I will state in more detail in the next chapter. To this end, the following pages delve into the set of cultural skills and practical experiences that, in direct connection with his wanderings in Spain and Mexico, gave Lorenzo enough political legitimacy and ethnic prestige to dispute the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca to its traditional lords between 1655 and 1671.

Lorenzo Ayun Chifo was born in San Martín de Reque in 1622.⁴⁶ Reque was a small indigenous town established around the 1560s, located in a coastal Valley between Chiclayo and Saña. In prehispanic and early colonial times, the lords of Reque had been somehow dependant on the neighboring *curacas* of Collique, but they and their people managed to become an independent *pueblo* sometime in the early 1540s, when the Spanish made them a separate entity and gave them in *encomienda*.⁴⁷ Reque had 536 Indian tributaries—males between 18 and 50—*circa* 1575. Eighteen years later, the archbishop of Lima counted only 326 out of a “total population” of 1326 inhabitants. The number of tributaries seemed to have slightly increased in the following years, for the colonial authorities counted only 404 around 1620, the time when Lorenzo was born.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The following information, unless otherwise stated, comes from AGI. Escribanía, 514C.

⁴⁷ *Encomiendas* or royal grants gave rights to perceive labor and tribute (in money or goods) from a specific ethnic group or part of it.

⁴⁸ See Cabero (1907: 94), Angulo (1920: 234), Rostworowski (1961: 12), and Zevallos Quiñones (1995: 22).



MAP 3: The town of Reque⁴⁹

Lorenzo's parents, Juan de Ayun and María Fallem, belonged to the tributary population of Reque. In Reque and elsewhere, Indian males between 18 and 50 years had to pay tribute in money to their *encomendero* [*encomienda* holder] (and later to the Crown), as well as to fulfill other colonial levies.⁵⁰ Since the time of the Inca, close members of the nuclear family had worked together to accomplish this task, though the new Spanish rulers did not conceive "tribute" exclusively as labor anymore (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1992: 197 y ss.). Juan de Ayun "ttenia por oficio

⁴⁹ This map, which I have slightly modified, appears in Ramírez (1986: 19).

⁵⁰ AGI, Lima, 201, N.18 [1644].

hazer Usos,” that is, he manufactured spindle whorls (f. 951v). With this craft, we can surmise, he had managed to fulfill his tribute quota and support his family, composed of at least one daughter and Lorenzo.

In theory, the male offspring inherited the parents’ tributary condition. This situation meant that Lorenzo would have to pay his quota when he turned eighteen. In the social terminology of the time, tributary Indians, one of the lowest statuses within native society, were “indios del común” or common Indians, in order to distinguish them from the native elite, composed of several levels of lords, and the lesser-ranking officials of the Indian *cabildo* [town council] (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1992: 755 y ss.; Chocano Mena 2003). These officials were sometimes *curacas* or *principales* and sometimes not, but they were not subject to tribute during their term of office.

It is not easy to establish Lorenzo’s initial status in Reque. An interesting fact, however, is that Juan de Ayun and María Fallem, Lorenzo’s parents, seem to have had some remote kinship ties with the ruling native lineages of Reque. The local priest described Lorenzo’s parents as members of the “parsialidad” [moiety] “del casique segunda persona,” although it is true that this moiety was just one of several, and the fact of belonging to it did not necessarily mean sharing direct blood ties with the rulers. Don Martín Minllon, almost certainly the *cacique* of Reque at that time, appears as one of the witnesses in Lorenzo Ayun’s baptismal record of 1622, even though, again, this practice seems to have been common (f. 393v-394r).⁵¹ Although with brief interruptions, the Minllones had been *curacas* of Reque since the mid sixteenth-century (Rostworowski 1961: 15, 19; Zevallos Quiñones 1989: 113-121). Lorenzo refers to several members of this lineage as his uncles and close relatives in a

⁵¹ This is not to say that, as stated by Alaperrine-Bouyer (2004: 121), the local priest declared that Lorenzo’s father was a *cacique* when he presented the baptismal record to the authorities.

letter written to his sister, whom he called “Hermana mia de mi alma y de mi Coraçon Corona de todo mi linaxe” [Sister dear of my heart and soul, crown of my entire lineage] in 1651.

More relevant than these dubious ties with the ruling lords of the town was Juan de Ayun’s craft as a spindle whorls maker and perhaps a weaver. Weaving and manufacturing tribute cloth was a central activity in prehispanic and colonial Indian societies. The native people of Reque depended on weavers, spindle whorls, and cloth for their tributary duties, as well as for key ritual and ceremonial purposes. Weavers, along with metal smiths and other artisans, musicians, jesters, concubines, and sorcerers, made up the entourage of Andean lords in the North Coast and elsewhere.⁵² As suggested by Susan Ramírez (n/d: 18), the importance of *huseros* such as Juan de Ayun may have even increased after the Conquest, given the colonial institutionalization of cloth as a widespread tribute item. Furthermore, artisans such as Juan de Ayun could sell or trade their products and hence provide themselves and their families with some *pesos* in cash. In light of this evidence, then, it is safe to include Lorenzo Ayun within the middle sector of Reque’s peasantry, somehow situated between the peasant tributaries and the different ranks of the native authorities. His early connections with the local church confirm this identification.

At first glance, life did not present the young Lorenzo with various options if he wanted to improve his condition and better his luck. Reque must have been as relatively isolated and subject to the same time-space constraints as many other small towns in the Andes. But, even though many natives remained in their communities throughout their entire lives, and thus only knew the outside world indirectly, to generalize that condition can only lead to a distorted image. Indians who left their

⁵² See Murra (1975), Martínez Cereceda (1995), and Ramírez (2002, n/d).

communities to start a better life elsewhere are not easy to trace in the historical sources (Lowry 1991; Wightman 1990; Powers 1995). However, there is evidence that Indians from coastal towns such as Reque did move around the area, offering their services as peasants, artisans, and urban workers in the cities, towns, and *haciendas* of the area (Zevallos Quiñones 1995:61-62). Besides migration, there were several paths to escape from tributary stains and colonial burdens, which usually meant becoming “less Indian.” A native could increase his or her social status through wealth, marriage, ethnic “whitening,” or learning a set of social skills usually praised by the Indians and feared by the Spanish. However, only a very few could ever dream of traveling in the same scale as Lorenzo did.

Having reviewed his social background, let us take a closer look at the beginnings of Lorenzo’s ascending career. Rather than inheriting his father’s craft, Lorenzo’s take-off occurred within the institutional framework of Catholicism, among the officers and institutions of the colonial Church. As for other *indios ladinos* or acculturated Indians, this path was one of the typical avenues for social promotion in the colonial world. *Ladinos*, according to Rolena Adorno, constituted “a flashpoint of Spanish/Andean interaction.” They usually served as interpreters, translators, and scribes, among other roles “that made possible transactions and negotiations of all sorts between Spanish colonial and native Andean societies” (1991: 233-235). According to Rolena Adorno, the term *ladino* did not allude to a homogeneous group but “brought together under a single rubric a diverse constellation of social types.” Mestizos as well as ethnic Andeans, *curacas* as well Indian commoners, were potential *ladinos*. Even though *indios ladinos* were typically active in a variety of colonial settings, the Church provided the most propitious context for them (Adorno 1991: 233-235).

In 1633, at the age of 11, Lorenzo was already serving the clergymen of the local church as a *monaguillo* or altar boy. Besides his status in Reque, the local clerics must have chosen him among other children due also to certain abilities that now we can only surmise. By the time he was 15, his *curaca* had taught him the *doctrina cristiana* [Christian doctrine]. The doctrine, only poorly known by the native populations, was a basic but important piece of knowledge, for in mainstream colonial society paganism could be a synonym of “Indianess.”⁵³ Most likely, the members of the native nobility and the town council, as well as the Indians serving the local churches were the ones who knew the doctrine, and so the teachings of the *curaca* must have placed the young Lorenzo above that of a significant part of Reque’s Indian population.

Around 1638, after Lorenzo’s parents died, the local priest, Father Fernando de la Carrera, took care of the sixteen-year-old boy. The Father appointed Lorenzo his “sacristán menor” or sacristan. Carrera, a well-regarded cleric, was one of the best connoisseurs of the language spoken in the area, now extinct. It was in Reque where, around 1644, he prepared his fundamental “Arte de la lengua yunga de los valles del Obispado de Trujillo,” the only systematic description of colonial “Mochica” or “Yunga” (Carrera 1880). Carrera’s family included *conquistadores* and *encomenderos*, who had settled in Trujillo since early colonial times, so the priest’s roots in the region were deep. He could preach in Yunga, and it seems that his relationship with the natives—or at least with the ruling lineages—was good. After arriving at Reque in 1633, he invested 600 pesos out of his own pocket to rebuild the

⁵³ For examples of Indians not knowing the *doctrina*, see Duviols (2003). For a recent discussion about the intricacies of the Indians’ religious conversion, see Estenssoro (2003).

local church and decorate it with ornaments and paintings.⁵⁴ Most likely, he used informants like Lorenzo Ayun to enhance his *Arte de la lengua*, prepare his sermons, and refine his Yunga. The Father's linguistic work accounts for his serious efforts to Christianize the Indians in their own language (Carrera 1880: 73 and ss.). In this sense, Carrera's concerns with the religious education of the inhabitants of Reque reveal the importance of assistants such as Lorenzo for fulfilling his goals.

As in the case of Lorenzo, sacristans were usually ten to fifteen years of age and received a small salary (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1992: 678-679). Exempt from tribute and forced labor quotas, sacristans helped the local priest conduct weddings and baptisms, and lent their aid during mass and confession as well. Priests expected them to inspire the faithful with the example and serve as a model of Christianity. One of their most important tasks was to make sure that everyone attended mass, calling the parishioners by ringing the church's bell.

⁵⁴ AGI, Lima, 235, N. 12 [1643] and AGI, Lima, 243, N.1 [1649]. See also Carrera's interesting printed account of a miraculous apparition titled "Relacion De vn hermosissimo, que fue visto en la Hostia consagrada la vispera de la fiesta del Corpus, a dos de Iunio del año passado de 1649, en la Iglesia del pueblo de Etem, Diocesis del Obispado de Truxillo del Perú" (Madrid, 1651). Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Diversos-Colecciones, 27,N. 12 [1651].



FIGURE 3: *Sacristán de la Santa Iglesia*

A short time after Lorenzo's appointment as sacristan, Carrera decided that it would be good for his able protégée to assist the priests on weekly services and special religious occasions, so he should become a musician and learn how to play the

organ. It seems that Indian performers were common throughout the Andes. In fact, in cities such as Cuzco, most of the musicians were natives, in high demand for work in local churches and monasteries. Indians who became musicians usually increased their status, for there was social prestige attached to this activity (Baker 2002: 196-197).

Therefore, Lorenzo took the next step in the social ladder when Fernando de la Carrera entrusted his musical training to fray Juan de Ayllón, a Franciscan residing in the neighboring town of Saña. The Franciscan Fathers, who would be among Lorenzo's most prominent protectors and role models, had settled in the nearby city of Trujillo in the late 1530s or early 1540s. From their main convent in Trujillo, the Fathers had founded monasteries, erected churches, and Christianized the natives throughout the different valleys of the north Coast (Tibesar 1953: 62-63; Arroyo 1953; Zevallos Quiñones 1995).

There seems to have been a close relationship between Father Fernando de la Carrera and fray Juan de Ayllón, for the latter praised Carrera's "Arte de la lengua" with a sonnet included in the former's publication of 1644. With Father Ayllón, Lorenzo not only learned how to play the organ. From this early benefactor Lorenzo acquired or perhaps refined his highly esteemed skill of reading and writing in Spanish. More importantly, the indigenous people and the Spaniards saw in the native musicians affiliated to the colonial church the model of the virtuous Christian Indian, as argued by Juan Carlos Estenssoro (2003: 463). The esteem and importance that Indian musicians gained within their native communities emerged from their participation in the religious ritual; the faithful perceived them as the substitute for an impossible Indian priesthood (for natives could not be ordained). Lorenzo would soon reenact this role of Indian semi-priest in a very specific manner. By following the

steps of the Franciscan fathers, who had been traveling to Spain to call the King's attention upon the harsh treatment of the Indians, he would pursue the life of virtue reserved for—but sometimes denied to—the true Christian Indians.

Lorenzo could rely on several models to live the life he had chosen. Father Ayllón took him from Saña to the Franciscan monastery in Lima in 1642 (Vargas Ugarte 1960: 120). There, the young man from a now distant Reque further improved his musical technique.⁵⁵ Interestingly enough, Father Ayllón had other young Indians under his care in Saña. There, Lorenzo must have met the famous Nicolás Ayllón (1632-1677), the “Indian saint,” one of the favorite protégés of Father Ayllón. Because of Nicolás’ “modesty” and good voice, Father Ayllón had taken the eight-year-old kid from Chiclayo to the convent of Saña. There, Nicolás learned how to read and write, as well as play the organ and sing for religious occasions. Father Ayllón traveled to Lima with Nicolás, Lorenzo, and perhaps others in 1642. Nicolás left the convent in 1648 to become a tailor, but Lorenzo fostered his relationships with the Fathers and followed the life that, in his own terms, Nicolás also pursued. Indeed, Nicolás would later become famous for his life of Christian virtue. After his death, lay and religious authorities pushed Nicolás’ cause of beatification and sanctification (Vargas Ugarte 1960: 21; Zevallos Quiñones 1995: 57; Estenssoro 2003: 468-492).

We must not overestimate the unquestionable improvement of Lorenzo’s position in colonial society, however. The clergymen with whom he interacted considered Lorenzo an *indio ladino* or Hispanized Indian, someone who played an ambiguous role in the Andean world. Even though the Church praised them as an example for the neophytes to follow, neither the natives nor the Spanish always regarded *ladinos* well. They could be dangerous, especially due to their role as plaintiffs and petitioners

⁵⁵ See ff. 447v-449r, 551v-552r, 570r-575v, 643r-643v.

against the colonial system, as will become clearer later in Lorenzo's life. Oftentimes, people viewed *indios ladinos* as real or potential troublemakers, and scorned them as "self-righteous and zealous convert(s)." Depending on their own interests, Spanish and Andeans usually placed a series of images with negative and derogatory connotations upon *ladinos*. The members of colonial society may regard *ladinos* as "great complainers," "pusillanimous," "incompetent," "great and impertinent takers," and "scoundrels."⁵⁶

In this sense, Lorenzo could easily attract feelings of both affinity and distrust. In Reque, people called him a "sacristanejo," not without small doses of scorn. A Franciscan friar declared that, in Lima, the Fathers "only" knew him as "Lorencillo," but never as "Don Juan Lorenzo," "Don Jerónimo Lorenzo," or any other names, typical of ethnic lords of some prestige (f. 563r). The labels placed upon Lorenzo indicate that, in certain colonial contexts, even the friars could still look down upon him. These imposed names mark his ambiguous status, and show the dangers that someone who moved across cultures could elicit.

⁵⁶ See Adorno (1991: 252-253), Guaman Poma de Ayala (1992: 497, 676-677, 920), and Estensoro (2003: 484-485).



FIGURE 4: *Fiscal, Cantor y Sacristán*

Even so, and more importantly, hardly anyone would have identified Lorenzo merely as a common Indian at this point of his life. After his sojourn in Lima, Lorenzo went back to Reque. There, the *curaca* Don García Minllon reminded the

returnee that, despite his being a protégée of the friars and assistant to the local church, he owed his tribute quota since 1642, since the time he left for the capital of the Viceroyalty. However, the *curaca* offered to ignore the debt if Lorenzo agreed to play the organ at the local church. Moreover, he offered to exclude him officially from further tribute and forced labor, as if he were a privileged non-tributary Indian. Interestingly enough, the *curaca*—and thus the community—had been covering Lorenzo’s quota almost since he started his ecclesiastical training serving at the church. It is possible that the people of Reque considered Lorenzo’s religious role a crucial component of the community’s fluid relationship with the sacred, a requirement for the spiritual well-being of the group. Hence, they had decided to exempt him from tribute burdens.⁵⁷ As in many other parts of his unusual life, the circumstances had placed Lorenzo in the position of the cultural mediator.

This time, however, he refused to accommodate. Lorenzo dismissed the *curaca*’s offerings. He accepted neither to pay the debt nor to perform at the church. Moreover, he conceitedly demanded a salary of 300 pesos a year, the *curaca* would recall with some acrimony.⁵⁸ An Indian harpist in Cuzco received only 10 pesos for his lessons during four months. Many Indian parishes did not even pay their musicians with money (Baker 2002: 203-204). A priest in Reque received 400 pesos a year (Angulo 1920: 235). Local *caciques* received inferior amounts as their annual salary: 120 *pesos* for the governor of the important town of Lambayeque in 1654, and only 48 *pesos* for the *cacique* of both Collique and Reque in 1663.⁵⁹ Though technically he

⁵⁷ For native musicians and exception of tribute in Cuzco, see Baker (2002: 202-203). For musicians as intermediaries between the sacred powers and the community, see Estenssoro (2003: 463). For similar cases in colonial Cuernavaca, Mexico, see Haskett (1991).

⁵⁸ See ff. 568r, 570r-575v, 644r, 647r. By 1659, Lorenzo owed 25 years of tribute and *mitas*, that is, more than 280 pesos.

⁵⁹ Archivo Notarial de Carlos Rivadeneira (Lambayeque). Rentero (15-VII-1654) and Álvarez (11-VII-1663). I thank Dr. Susan Ramírez for sharing this information with me.

was still a tributary, Lorenzo's links with the local church, as well as his intentions to live a life of Christian virtue, had created a cultural gap between him and his townspeople. But a new stage of his life had yet to unfold. After some months, a rumor spread in Reque: Lorenzo had sailed to Spain as part of a Franciscan entourage.

Even though we know little about Lorenzo's deeds after departure, the life of the alleged *curaca* in Spain and later in Mexico follows the previous pattern of marked acculturation, pragmatic ennoblement, and emulation of Christian models. Just as Garcilaso Inca de la Vega and some of his Inca relatives in Spain (Solano 1991: 94, 108), Lorenzo Ayun must have changed his name to Don Juan Lorenzo Ayllón Atahualpa upon his arrival. The long voyage granted a "new beginning" for many travelers. The great geographical and cultural distance that separated Spain and Peru made the invention of a new identity something not so difficult to achieve. In 1582, one Don Carlos Tito Amaro made his way to the Spanish court. He wrote two *memoriales* to the King, introducing himself as an Inca noble, great grandson of King Huayna Capac and brother of the last Inca, beheaded in 1572. He claimed to have served the Spanish monarch in America, Africa, and Europe, but he regretted that someone had stolen his personal papers—some of which supposedly proved his noble origins and services to the King—near Seville. In great need, Don Carlos was asking the King for some financial support to stay at the court. The monarch consulted the members of the Council of the Indies. Their advice was to make Don Carlos return to

America. People who had been in Peru for a long time had recognized the alleged Inca, unmasking a different and definitively more humble origin.⁶⁰

In similar terms, and thanks to his Christian education and musical training in Reque, Saña, and Lima, our Lorenzo had managed to throw his modest past overboard. A Spanish passenger on the same boat that took Lorenzo to Spain for the first time recalled many years after the trip that the young man had introduced himself as the son of the lord [*cacique*] of Luringuanca, in the Valley of Jauja (ff. 923v-924r). It is hard to believe that Lorenzo had already made up the entire story about his being Jerónimo Limaylla at this early point. However, as already suggested, he may have met the true Jerónimo in Lima, a young fellow comrade also under the patronage of the Franciscans, and learned about the situation of Luringuanca from him. But even if he never got to know the “real” Jerónimo Limaylla, and thus received the story from the friars, this fact makes the impostor all the more fascinating. As Natalie Zemon Davis remarks about the famous case of impersonation of Martin Guerre/Arnaud du Tilh, the second option would represent “the difference between making another person’s life your own and merely imitating him” (Davis 1983: 39). In any case, the deposition of Lorenzo’s traveling partner is a clear indicator that Lorenzo left Peru not as a common Indian but as someone with *something* else. If Jerónimo Limaylla were dead, then Lorenzo would have to rehearse the life of the young *curaca* and live it as his own.

Detached from the burdens of his humble past, Lorenzo cemented a solid relationship with the primordial sources of colonial power in Madrid. In a warm letter written to the priest of Reque in 1653, he graphically declared that “no ai mejor Cosa que ir a beuer el agua donde tiene Su origen que es la Cortte” (ff. 638r-640v). During

⁶⁰ AGI, Lima, 1, N. 44 [1582].

this process, the “external” and “internal” transformations he experienced in the 1630s and 1640s became crucial. People saw him at the court very often where, according to a witness, he always “behaved” as “hijo de cacique.” In traditional societies such as the one portrayed here, how somebody was expected to “look” and “behave” were not two separate realms of one’s identity.

Lorenzo’s Hispanized manners granted him the high esteem and personal company of fray Buenaventura Salinas. He even pointed out Buenaventura’s famous brother, fray Diego de Córdoba y Salinas, as someone who belonged to his transatlantic network, a person helping the circulation of Lorenzo’s letters between Europe, Mexico, and Peru⁶¹. In Madrid, Buenaventura’s proud remarks about Lorenzo’s address to the King in 1646 open up the question of the exact role of the former in the elaboration of the *memorial*. Previous authors have suggested a Franciscan influence in Lorenzo’s writings (Lorandi 1997: 44; Pease 1999 [1992]), though what we understand by “influence” will remain unanswered until academics undertake an extensive comparative analysis of these writings.

At this point, it will suffice to bring up some key connections between the prominent Franciscan and the false *cacique*. In his *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Piru* (1630), Buenaventura bitterly denounced the abuses committed against the Indians in the Huancavelica mercury mines, among other issues. In his polemic *Memorial*, the friar made specific mention of the natives of Jauja and the obligation of the *mita* or forced labor. In his eloquent words, the Indians of Jauja

⁶¹ Fray Diego de Cordoba y Salinas was another famous Franciscan priest at that time. He acted as guardian of the main convent in Lima and chronicler of his order in Peru. Among other works, he is known for his “Corónica de la religiosissima prouincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú,” published in 1651 (Riva-Agüero 1952).

“lloran lagrimas de sangre” [“cry with tears of blood”].⁶² The publication of the *Memorial* had not been the only occasion on which the Father had specifically mentioned the agony of the Indians who went to work in Huancavelica, for he had been a first-hand witness. In a harsh sermon given in Cuzco in 1635—a piece of speech that dared to call the King “tyrant” and thus confronted the friar with the bishop of Cuzco—fray Buenaventura told the people gathered in the Cathedral about the story of how

viniendo a guan / cabelica el dho predicador o junto a guancavelica bido venir con muy grande rruido un español con un mosquete atrauessado y atado un yndio y muy maltratado y que le dixo que advirtiese que aquel yndío no era fiero sino xpiano como el por cuya rrazon andauan los yndios huyendo en las grutas quebradas y cuebas.⁶³

Moreover, fray Buenaventura published an extra *memorial* in Spain in 1646, the same year of Lorenzo’s *memorial* to the King. In this writing, the friar lamented that the colonial authorities in America never obeyed the monarch’s decrees protecting the natives. In his 1646 *memorial*, Buenaventura included the Indians among “las más liberales gentes en dar cuanto suyo es, que se sabe de otras naciones y lenguas,” thus showing his high-esteem for the natives (Riva-Agüero 1952: 257; Salinas y Córdoba 1957: xlv-xlv).

⁶² “Aquí dan voces las Prouincias del Pirú, antiguamente pobladas de infinitas gentes de Indios poderosos, tan ricas, opulentas, y llenas de tesoros (como ya diximos en los dos capitulos, segundo, y tercero del primer Discurso) y aora tan pobres, y asoladas. Aquí lloran lagrimas de sangre, y se lamentan los valles de Xauxa, las Prouincias de los Yauyos, y muy grandes poblaciones, porque se acaban sus Indios en la opression, trabajos y agonias, que passan, forcibles, y violentos, no tanto en las minas, quanto en la detencion, que les hazen los mineros. Y viendo las madres quan poco ganan sus hijos, y lo inmenso que padecen hasta llegar a la muerte, los mancan, quando nacen, los hazen corcobados, les sacan los ojos, y les tronchan los pies, para que pidan limosna, y queden con esto libres de la seruidumbre en que los ponen los que passan de Europa, y otros Reynos, puesta la mira solo en boluerse ricos” (Salinas y Córdoba 1957: 278).

⁶³ “Información de la Palabras que predicó el Padre Fray Buenaventura por otro nombre Fray Sancho de Salinas contra el Rey Nuestro Señor que dios prospere y guarde por muchos años”. Personal copy of Prof. Pedro Rodríguez Crespo, kindly lended to me by Eduardo Torres. No signature, but the manuscript comes from AGI. See also Vargas Ugarte (1938: 111-112) and Medina (1965: II, 407-408).

The recurring theme of the Indians and the *mita* was also the main subject of Lorenzo's 1646 *memorial*, as mentioned already. Lorenzo denounced the more than one million Indians of Jauja who had perished in Huancavelica. He suggested the King, in terms analogous to those of fray Buenaventura, that if the Crown were to exempt the natives from this obligation, they would return from the "tierras extrañas y partes ocultas" in which they were hiding. In the following years, Lorenzo's *memoriales* became far more elaborate.⁶⁴ The opinion of the members of the Council of the Indies about his writings of the 1670s, however, sheds light about the problem of the "author." According to the Council, an Indian could not have possibly authored these *memoriales*. Instead, a priest using "the voice of this Indian" was behind these pieces of writing. This suggestion exemplifies the opinion of at least some of the metropolitan authorities in this regard.⁶⁵ The fact that Lorenzo received aid from one or more friars also casts serious doubts upon the idea held by previous authors that these *memoriales* were the "true," unmediated expression of a seventeenth-century *curaca*.

Therefore, seeing that both fray Buenaventura and the alleged *cacique* arrived together to Spain, one can make an educated guess that the friar must have lent his "advice" to his native *criado* when it came time to address the *memorial* to the King. The Father was very fond of *memoriales*, as we can tell. In a typical symbiotic relationship, Buenaventura—and the Franciscans in general—could push the charges against those who mistreated the Indians further if supported by the *memorial* of an Andean *cacique*, who also happened to be a prototype of the Christian Indian and the

⁶⁴ See, for instance, the one in Biblioteca de Palacio Real, Mss. II/2848 [c. 1665], f. 211r-247v.

⁶⁵ The Council of the Indies wrote to the King in 1678 that "se reconoce que este memorial no puede ser formado por el dicho Don Gerónimo (aunque está impreso en su nombre) sino por algún religioso que con la voz deste indio ha querido discurrir largamente en la materia [el abuso contra los indios] por punto general" (Konetzke 1958: II, 2: 656).

product of the friars' educational efforts in America. In this sense, Buenaventura and the other friars were behind Lorenzo's identity change and lent it their support, for it advanced their own purpose of advocating for the Indians at the court (Phelan 1970). This symbiotic relationship becomes evident in the alleged Don Jerónimo's *c.* 1677 *memorial*, printed in Madrid. The document he presented to the King included a printed letter, written by the Franciscan Alonso Zurbano to his brother, who happened to be on his way to Spain. In his letter, Zurbano, priest in one of the towns of the Valley of Jauja, eloquently denounced the miseries that the natives experienced at the hands of the Spaniards, who dared to call themselves "Christians." Zurbano compelled his brother to denounce these and other abuses to the King, for the authorities in America ignored the royal decrees in favor of the natives. The friar signed his letter in 1667, at least two years after the alleged Jerónimo left Peru. Clearly, then, somebody—most likely a friar—handed the letter to the false *curaca* while he was in Spain already, so he could attach it to "his" *memorial* of 1677.⁶⁶

Moreover, the basic contradiction that supported the symbiotic relationship between Lorenzo Ayun and the friars—that the former was not who he said he was—accounts for the Fathers' ambiguous behavior during the legal suit for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca. Indeed, in 1656, at least two friars—Fathers Francisco Sánchez and Diego Galán—confirmed they had known a boy named "Jerónimo" in the convent of Huaura. The boy used to say he was from Jauja and the son of the *curaca* of Luringuanca. He had arrived at the convent as a servant of fray Andrés de la Cuesta, where he had died around 1644. Father Sánchez himself buried the deceased Jerónimo in the local cemetery (ff. 387v-389r; 390v-391v; 648r-649v).⁶⁷ Nonetheless, Father

⁶⁶ AGI, Indiferente, 640 [c. 1677].

⁶⁷ See also the letter of fray Luis de Céspedes supporting Don Bernardino Limaylla in ff. 394v-396r.

Juan de Montalván, another supposed witness of these events, surprisingly declared in 1658 that he did not know any Jerónimo and that he did not remember burying any Indian under that name in Huaura (ff. 622v-623v).

Neither was Father Andrés de la Cuesta, a key character in this story, clear in his declarations. In a letter written on September 1655, he indeed confirmed he had taken the seven-year-old Jerónimo Limaylla to Huaura, where he had gotten sick and died (ff. 399r-401r). However, he contradicted himself shortly afterwards by declaring that he had been absent from Huaura when his protégée had supposedly died, so he could not assure this fact being the truth (ff. 441-443r). Moreover, on February 1656, Father Cuesta even wrote a letter to the alleged Jerónimo, calling him “Hijo mio, Don Geronimo” and supporting his legal claims (ff. 438v-439r). But in 1658 he wrote a last letter, this time to the *protector de los naturales* [protector of the natives] of the *Audiencia* who was following the case. In that occasion, Cuesta wrote:

sierto yndio que con siniestras rraçones se a querido yntrodussir, a gouernador de Jauja siendo natural de los llanos junto a Chiclayo y siendo como es la mesma verdad que no es el que a mi me siruio porque el otro murio, y oy dia hauia de tener quando mucho dies y nueue años y este que lo pretende tiene mas de beinte y ocho, y ayer en la plaça supe como porfiaua y que tenia su negoçio en buen estado con que me movi a escriuir a Vmd este papel suplicandole por una parte y por otra encargandole la conçiencia que no permita tal cossa sino que si fuere menester able Vmd a su Exseleçia y le ynforme de todo y diga que yo lo digo = assi y que si Su Excelençia gustare, que Yo le ynforme lo mande que luego yre a haser mi obligaçion todo esto hago porque no se haga, una cossa tan absurda Y tan contra la justiçia que tendre muy grande escrupulo y disgusto, de que se quite de legitimo por dar a lo de forastero (ff. 596r-597v).

By finally unmasking the impostor, Father Cuesta was trying to “unburden his conscience,” rectify his previous declarations, and dismiss his letter to the alleged Jerónimo as a joke (ff. 618r-618v). Perhaps other Fathers, who offered ambiguous declarations or even supported the alleged Jerónimo, had also succumbed to this

concern and hence they tried to clear their conscience in the end. However, the Franciscans were trapped between the need to tell the truth in the legal courts and the need to continue lending their support to the alleged Jerónimo. Other fathers as prominent as Buenaventura de Salinas had given their aid to Lorenzo Ayun during his first trip to Spain and Mexico during the previous decade. They had even sanctioned his addressing the King in 1646 as a native lord of Jauja. Lorenzo Ayun/Jerónimo Limaylla was, to a great extent, a product of the Franciscans, who saw in the Christian Indian a means to further their policies in favor of the natives. His sole presence at the court in 1646 had empowered the Franciscan claims. Now, confronted with the legal suit and with Lorenzo's pretensions to become a *real curaca*, the Franciscans in Peru finally opted to tell the truth about the true Jerónimo Limaylla's death in Huaura and hence clear their conscience. But once the court case was over, they continued helping the alleged traveling lord during his second sojourn in Spain.

In Lorenzo's forging of a new *curaca* identity, his first *memorial* to the King played a central role. He—or the Franciscans—framed this initiative into the long tradition of Andean lords personally addressing the monarch on behalf of their native communities. But we must remember that the friars played a key role in this respect. Traveling Franciscans, for instance, had acted as attorneys and spokespersons of the Indians of Tlaxcala, Mexico, in the 1550s, right before the Tlaxcalans organized their first travels to the Spanish court. Until 1548, the Franciscans had housed the royal decrees and privileges issued in favor of the Indians of Tlaxcala in their main convent (Lockhart 1986: 17-18).

Curacas in the Andes—including some lords from the Valley of Jauja—had prepared *memoriales* and visited the court since at least the 1560s.⁶⁸ Some chiefs had worked closely with religious persons to articulate their requests and get them delivered to the King. In January of 1562, several *curacas* of the central Andes gathered in the town of Mama, near Lima. The ethnic lords gave their powers of attorney to fray Bartolomé de Las Casas—the most famous advocate of the Indian cause—fray Domingo de Santo Tomás—future bishop of Charcas—and fray Jerónimo de Loayza—archbishop of Lima—to present their claims against the *encomienda* at the Spanish court.⁶⁹ This pattern of *cacique*-friar collaboration seems to have been operating in Lorenzo’s case too, as already stated. In 1646, the same year that Lorenzo Ayun addressed his *memorial*, Don Carlos Chimo, *curaca* of Lambayeque—a town nearby Lorenzo’s hometown of Reque—had traveled to the court to present his own *memoriales*.⁷⁰ Others, from the Lambayeque region and elsewhere, would follow soon. It is possible that they had arrived at the court in the same Franciscan entourage.

Lorenzo’s communication to the King *implied* his *curaca* status in the eyes of his contemporaries. In truth, however, the *memorial* reinforced Lorenzo’s new transatlantic identity by presenting him as a traveling lord. This piece described the author and his arduous journey in the following terms:

Diçe que con deseo y ansia de conoçer a su Rey y Señor natural Legitimo suçedor de los Reyes Ingas a venido a esta corte a los ojos y real presençia de V. Mg. padeçiendo en tan larga nauegazion los trabaxos y descomodidades que se dejan

⁶⁸ About Don Felipe Guacrapaucar, *cacique* of Luringuanca who visited the court in 1562, see AGI, Lima, 205, N. 16 [1558-1561] and Puente Luna (2004: chap. 4). About Don Jacinto Ramos Chuquillanqui, “yndio de naçion natural del balle de Jauxa” in Spain, see AGI, Contratación, 5386, N. 88 [1623] and AGI, Contratación, 5388, N. 54 [1624].

⁶⁹ AGI, Lima, 121 [1562].

⁷⁰ See Konetzke (1958: 440-442); AGI, Lima, 15 [1646]; AGI, Indiferente, 1660 [1642-1663].

considerar, no obstante las proyiçiones que ay y rigores de su execucion en orden a que no puedan pasar Indios a estos Reynos por el rriesgo de su salud con la mudança de temple porque el çelo y rendimiento lo a atropellado todo y venzido. Al fin su buena fortuna con auer mereçido el besar los pies de Vuestra Majestad que a sido su prinçipal motiuo.

Self-fashioning, as applied by Greenblat to sixteenth-century England, suggests “representation of one’s nature or intention in speech” (Greenblat 1980: 3). Identities are always an outcome of negotiation, and Lorenzo started his with the King by using the somehow aristocratic name “Don Juan Lorenço Ayllon.” He identified himself as “Indio,” born in Peru, and “desçendiente de Caçiques prinçipales del repartimiento de Luringuanca.”—note that he did not state at this point that he was the illegitimate son of the last *curaca*. Considering that, since 1563, the metropolitan authorities had banned the voyage of Indian lords to Spain without express authorization of the King, Lorenzo’s 1646 *memorial* could be his only chance to be heard (Recopilación 1841: Lib.6, Tit. 8, L. XVII). Moreover, the critiques to the *mita* to Huancavelica included in the document made more sense if coming from a local *cacique* of Luringuanca—subject to the *mita*—than from a coastal Indian from Reque who, nevertheless, had few or no actual concerns with this problem.

The *memorial* further implied that, at least theoretically, Lorenzo knew and could write in good Spanish, the prestigious language of the rulers. Therefore, he was addressing the King with the humbleness of an Indian subject but with the authority of a true colonial *curaca*.⁷¹ The 1646 *memorial* was the first step towards a lengthy career of writing several *memoriales* to the King and other colonial authorities,

⁷¹ “Diçe que con deseo y ansia de conoçer a su Rey y Señor natural Legitimo suçedor de los Reyes Ingas a venido a esta corte a los ojos y real presençia de V. Mg. padeçiendo en tan larga nauegazion los trabaxos y descomodidades que se dejan considerar[...] el besar los pies de Vuestra Majestad que a sido su prinçipal motiuo y porque segundariamente pretende y soliçita su vtilidad y el premio desta fineça por ser de los mas benemeritos entre los suyos y auer añauido a sus seruiçios el de esta larga peregrinaçion [...]”

always under the mask of a noble Indian, authorized representative of the natives, and advocate of their release from long-term sufferings. As Rolena Adorno reminds us, “Writing was an institution of colonization, the *indio ladino* quickly understood, and to enter into its use ultimately became an anticolonialist stance” (1991: 257). Intercultural travelers such as Lorenzo could turn the written text, so often an enemy, to their advantage.

As an invented *curaca*, Lorenzo had gained access to the source of all colonial justice and authority, and thus had not just *written* to the monarch but, according to the political symbolism of the time, he had also *talked* to him—“como tal ablo al Rey nuestro señor con memorial” (ff. 467r-467v). Lorenzo may have actually seen the King. In a letter written in 1656 to a *cacique* from the mining region of Huancavelica, he claimed that he had entered “a besar la mano a Su Magd. y informarle en el estado de la provincia del Valle y rrepartimiento de Lurin Guanca y mitas de esa Villa de Guancabica [sic].”⁷²

As explained by Guaman Poma de Ayala—the Indian author of a unique, two-thousand page illustrated “letter” to the monarch—the eyes of an Indian who bravely denounced the excesses and abuses committed by the Spaniards against the natives were the same as those of God and the King (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1992: 1115). Through *memoriales* and letters, the King was able to *see* the deplorable condition of the natives in America, the disease of “bad government” infecting the lands overseas. When misinformed by malicious local reports and bad colonial authorities, the King was said to be “blind,” a common metaphor among the Franciscans who, besides writing several *memoriales* themselves, took Indians such as Lorenzo Ayun Chifo to

⁷² Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad Provincial de Huancavelica (AHMH), Expedientes Coloniales, Leg. 1, Exp. 1 [1667], ff. 40r-40v.

Spain (Phelan 1970, 1978). Fray Buenaventura de Salinas (1957: 297) himself wrote in 1630 that “Reinar es velar. Quien duerme no reina [...] y el Rey que cierra los ojos, da la guarda de sus ovejas a los lobos”.

The native populations had consolidated the strong political and cultural symbolism of the scene—an interview with the monarch himself—since the initial years of the Conquest. By the early 1560s, they were sending several letters to the monarch. Also at that time, the native communities took the next step towards the court and sent the first Andean lords to refer the Indians’ grievances and ask for privileges directly from the King. Guaman Poma de Ayala’s imaginary dialogue with King Philip, in which he personally delivers his *Nueva crónica* to the King and sets forth the sufferings of the native populations illustrates the importance of this kind of interview (1992: 974 and ss.). During the 1780s “Great Rebellion” against the Spanish government, no doubt the most effective uprising of the Indian populations during the colonial period, some of the accused leaders denounced Tomás Catari, one of the paramount chiefs, for gaining many followers by describing a non-existent personal conversation with the King.⁷³ Many native commoners, ethnic lords, prestigious *mestizos*, Indian upstarts, and even Spaniards would have done anything to fill Lorenzo’s position. His “parliament” with the King would strongly influence Lorenzo’s later political success. Lorenzo Ayun’s several *memoriales*, some of them printed in Spain, were a far cry from Guaman Poma’s impressive *Nueva crónica*. However, his prodigious life gave Lorenzo the opportunity that an advanced age and other still-unknown circumstances ironically denied to Guaman Poma: to see his

⁷³ According to another leader, Catari claimed “no solo haver parlato familiar y estrechamente, con el Rey, sino comido y bebido juntos en una meza, y que en Demonstracion de hacerlo Governador, y principal Cabeza de la Provincia, le havia cortado el Pelo, como Coronandole y entregandole un Bastón de Barba de Ballena, con un sombrero de tres picos, todo lo qual, les dava a entender simulando que traia cedula, y otras reales ordenes, sobre el particular, y que esta creencia, y suposicion, ha dado merito a los alborotos” (Penry 1996: 361, footnote 2).

Nueva corónica in print and to journey to Spain to “abisalle a su Magestad y descargargalle su real consencia” [to advise the King and unburden his royal conscience].⁷⁴ Lorenzo Ayun did not write the *Nueva corónica* but Felipe Guaman Poma never made his way to the Spanish court. Their complementary lives represent, from this perspective, two faces of the same long-term native-colonial project.

⁷⁴ See Guaman Poma de Ayala (1992: 1117). I use Rolena ’s translation of this passage (1991: 253).



FIGURE 5: *Pregunta Su Magestad*

After Lorenzo Ayun's wanderings in the Spanish court, things did not change but somehow improved for him in Mexico. As in Peru, the Franciscan Fathers had been in charge of the education of Indian nobles in the former Tenochtitlan (Estarellas 1962). Lorenzo lived with the friars in the main convent of the city. In the chapel of San José, adjacent to the monastery, Indians received instruction in reading, writing, singing, and performing mechanical arts, as well as in learning the Christian doctrine (Gibson 1964: 372). It is not far-fetched to think that Lorenzo attended the school, where he continued his musical training and Hispanization during his eight-year stay in Mexico.

In the former capital of the Mexicas, Lorenzo "era tenido por todos como indio noble y principal," and he always behaved "como tal hijo de cassique."⁷⁵ Some witnesses assured that "por el proceder y estimacion que de si hasse el dicho Don Geronimo Lorenço muestra ser tal dessendiente de casique, y persona noble y prinçipal" (ff. 467r-467v). As another witness put it, in México Lorenzo "se portaua como hijo de caçique, y lo mostraua ser, y persona noble y prinçipal, porque uio este testigo que como tal se daua a estimar" (f. 491r). Self-fashioning is "a way of designating the forming of a self" (Greenblat 1980: 2-3). One can link self-fashioning to "manners or demeanor," among other domains. It seems that, in the "single arena" of the entire Hispanic world (Altman 1989: 261-262, 276), far away from the Andes, the difference between performing as a *curaca* and actually being one could become a blurry distinction.

Throughout his almost ten years in Europe and Central America, Lorenzo kept fluid correspondence with his relatives in Reque, as well as with some of the friars

⁷⁵ See ff. 463v-467v, 485v-486r, 488v, and 514r.

who had sponsored him in the Andes. In 1649, seemingly a proficient writer in Spanish, he told his uncle about his plans of marrying the orphan daughter of a Mexican (Indian?) “Governor,” a “Señora Prinzipal” [principal woman] by the sound name of Doña Úrsula de Rivera.⁷⁶ Lorenzo’s plans were to take Doña Úrsula with him to Peru. Yet no historical evidence certifies that he did indeed marry this “Señora Prinzipal” or any other woman whatsoever; his “marry up” to Doña Úrsula would have been a neat and almost logical finale for the story of Lorenzo’s adventures overseas.

Lorenzo went back home sometime between 1654 and 1655. His deeds in Peru unfolded in two main scenarios: San Martín de Reque, where things did not seem to have changed too much since he left, and the Valley of Jauja, far away across the Andes, a place Lorenzo must have heard about from the Franciscan friars. In both Reque and Jauja, the return of two missing persons, long awaited, had always been a latent possibility. Thanks to the news spread by the Franciscans and to Lorenzo’s own correspondence, the inhabitants of Reque knew well about Lorenzo Ayun’s wanderings in Spain and Mexico, but did not necessarily expect him to come back in 1655. It seems that Lorenzo’s plans, as stated in a letter written in 1653 in Mexico—only a few months before fray Buenaventura de Salina’s sudden death in Cuernavaca—were to go back to Madrid and not to Peru (ff. 638r-640v). In the Jauja Valley, the members of the native elite of Luringuanca had been fighting to attain the

⁷⁶ “Señor mio yo me cassó en esta Ziudad de Mexico con Una Señora Prinzipal hija de Vn Gouvernador ella esta Guerfana sin Padre ni Madre llamase Doña Ursula de Riura de que Se ira conmigo a lima quando yo me baia lo ello zierto es que lo lleuare con mucho gusto esto diçe no se yo si se arepentira despues” (ff. 640r-641r).

title of *cacique principal* and rule over the *cacicazgo* for the last few years. In the Valley, nobody had seen Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla—natural son of Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla, *cacique principal* of Luringuanca— for almost thirteen years, when the Franciscan Fathers took the young lad to Lima. Although news stated that he had died tragically in the convent of Huaura, it was a fact difficult to prove, and so it seems that the people in Jauja had chosen to forget about Jerónimo Lorenzo and carry on with their lives. Thanks to the charm of the transatlantic voyage, both persons were about to become one and both stories to merge into a single series of events. Lorenzo Ayun, who now called himself Don Juan Lorenzo de Ayun y Córdoba, had set foot in the Peruvian coast in 1655.

A few months earlier, Lorenzo had boarded in Acapulco the same ship that was taking the Count of Alba de Liste, the former Viceroy of Mexico newly appointed to Peru. The ship made a few stops along the Peruvian north coast before reaching El Callao and then Lima where, as was the custom, the inhabitants of the city eloquently received Alba de Liste. But Lorenzo missed the celebrations because he was not on the ship anymore. A friar who knew “Jerónimo Lorenzo” since he had served Father Ayllón in Saña recognized the traveler in Trujillo early in 1655. At that time, some of the Viceroy’s *criados* accompanied Lorenzo, who “benia a [sus] espensas” [was traveling at their expense]. Due to his skills for self-promotion and “self-fashioning,” Lorenzo had developed some affinity with the Viceroy’s *criados* and most intimate circle during the trip. In Mexico, the Count of Alba de Liste had become acquainted with the story of Lorenzo, the Peruvian *cacique* who had addressed a *memorial* to the King. Perhaps he heard the story from fray Buenaventura, who acted as counselor of his predecessor (Riva-Agüero 1952: 256, note 2). Some years later, the friar who saw the newly arrived Lorenzo in Trujillo

declared to the judges of the Audiencia that “Jerónimo Lorenzo” had given him a letter to deliver to Father Ayllón. He however drew the judges’ attention to the fact that “antes que fuese a España no se llamaua ni firmaua Geronimo Sino Lorenço” [before he left for Spain, he signed and was called ‘Lorenzo’, not “Jerónimo”] (ff. 489r-491v, 550r-552r).

After setting foot on the northern port of Paita, Lorenzo wandered south to Trujillo, as already stated, and then headed to his hometown of Reque, after ten years of absence. He carried a set of Spanish knives for his relatives; perhaps he wanted the knives to serve as proof of his deeds overseas. Everyone in town knew of his arrival even before he officially showed up. Father Carrera—the local priest who had appointed him a sacristan and sent him to Saña—told everyone about Lorenzo’s return from Spain. Since he had come back “hecho hombre y muy ladino” [a grown man and a *ladino*], everyone should go and see him, the father advised. Not all was good news, however. Don García Minllon, the local *cacique*, had sold one of the wooden doors of Lorenzo’s parental house to cover the traveler’s unpaid tribute (f. 569r). It was Lorenzo’s time to face some of the consequences of his long absence.

Almost four hundred years later, we can only surmise the great impact that the return of Don Juan Lorenzo de Ayllón y Córdoba, once Lorencillo the “sacristanejo,” must have had among the inhabitants of Reque. The testimonies, though not so many, are nonetheless very revealing. Lorenzo went to see his close relatives first, but it seems that he planned his further official appearance carefully. Lorenzo decided to show up when “all the Indians” of Reque were cleaning the town’s irrigation canal (f. 655r, 959r). This event was important in the life of Andean communities, for it had strong political and religious connotations (Taylor 1999; Duviols 2003). Cleaning and maintaining irrigation canals was crucial for a good agricultural year, and thus for the

survival of the group. The members of the community undertook these tasks within a context of ritual and celebration. The community worked as a whole, thus emphasizing communal values such as solidarity and organized labor. Nonetheless, along with communal identity and cooperation, the different moieties and their leaders had to negotiate their rights over water, as well as their preeminence when it came to establishing how and when to distribute this resource. Ancestral rivalries, latent hostilities, and open struggles among the lineages were also a component part of the community's inner nature, and they could find expression in occasions such as the cleaning of the irrigation canals. It was then, when the interior forces that both separated and tied the community of Reque together materialized, that Lorenzo made his dramatic appearance.

Lorenzo talked to the *caciques* and *principales*, “dándose a conocer” [making himself known] among the other Indians. He told the people about his incredible voyage to “los Reinos de España” [the kingdoms of Spain]. It seems that the inhabitants of Reque had some difficulties when it came to recognizing the returning son of Juan de Ayun and María Fallem. They found two of his features the most striking. One of Lorenzo's townspeople recalled having recognized the newcomer *in spite* of his being “mui ladino y uestido Galan” [very *ladino* and dressed gallantly] (f. 655r). Another person was even more specific: Lorenzo returned “Vestido como Español” [dressed as a Spaniard] (f. 658r). Still a third witness summarized Lorenzo's transformation in the following terms: “llego al dicho Pueblo de Reque Vestido en hauitto de Español mui galan y ladino” [he arrived to the said town dressed in a Spanish outfit, very gallant and *ladino*] (f. 660r).

By the mid seventeenth century, Spanish clothes, ways, and words had become a way to differentiate the Indian elite (Inca nobles, *caciques principales*,

curacas, and lesser-rank *principales*) from the peasantry, the “indios del común” (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1992: 752 and ss.). For many contemporaneous observers, distinguishing Inca princes and a few paramount great *curacas*, on the one hand, from the middle and upper sectors of the Spanish and Creole populations, on the other, could prove a difficult task. Since early colonial times, the King and other authorities had granted the native elites permission to carry swords, usufruct *encomiendas*, ride horses, keep coats of arms, wear hats and gloves, and appropriate other symbols of Spain’s cultural hegemony. In this sense, Lorenzo’s new ways talk for his advanced stage of acculturation and increased social status. In this case, being a *ladino* especially implied knowing how to read and write in Spanish, which almost automatically added power and status alongside (Alaperrine-Bouyer 2002). We can surmise that, after spending a decade with the Franciscans in Mexico and Spain, Lorenzo had improved his linguistic, religious, musical, and even legal skills, to an extent that his townspeople found it difficult to recognize the young Lorençillo in him. In his own words, he had returned from Spain and other parts of the world “capaz entendido y de toda suficiencia” [capable and competent] (f. 69r).

Nevertheless, Lorenzo had very few real chances of becoming a *curaca* in Reque. Pressed by a debt of almost 25 years of unpaid tribute, he was thrown into jail early in 1655 (it is not clear whether in Reque or Lima). Somehow, he managed to escape and ended up in Jauja in August of that year. News had spread fast, though, and Don García Minllon, the *cacique principal y gobernador* of Reque living in Lima at that time, knew from his son that Lorenzo had arrived from Spain.

After his escape from Reque and his sudden appearance in Jauja as “Don Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla,” Lorenzo went to Lima in 1656 to pursue the *curacazgo* of Luringanca in the Spanish courts. Don García finally caught the fugitive there

almost three years later, and had him imprisoned for his old debts. The *curaca* evoked their first encounter vividly, and told the authorities that he recognized Lorenzo despite his “se hauia hecho graue y no le quitaua el sombrero” [becoming grave, as well as his refusing to remove his hat before the *curaca*] (f. 574v). Don García also recalled that “Lorenzo aiumChifu” showed him the 1646 *memorial*—signed under the name “Don Juan Lorenço Ayllon,” we must remember. Lorenzo even read it to Don García. The *cacique* said, however, that “no uio la firma de Su Magestad” [he did not see the signature of the King] (ff. 575r-575v, 953v).

Lorenzo begged him to lie about Lorenzo Ayun Chifo’s death or, at least, to declare that the litigant was not the tributary Indian missing in Reque. He even dared to offer Don García some money. Don García declined and insisted on collecting the tribute. Lorenzo surprised him when he said that “una yndia de Jauja lo hauia reconossido por Hijo, y que pretendia ser casique” [an Indian woman from Jauja had recognized him as her son, and therefore he pursued the title of *cacique*]. Don García could only warn him about God’s power, so he should “mirase su consiençia y su alma” [care for his conscience and his soul] (f. 574v). Interestingly enough, in a letter written shortly after the beginning of the legal suit for the *curacazgo*, Lorenzo had described himself in almost auto-accusatory terms. Then, he presented himself as “el mayor pecador que tiene Dios criado en este mundo[;] me conosco a mi mesmo y a mis malas mañas” [the greatest sinner God has created in this world: I know myself and my evil ways].⁷⁷

⁷⁷ AHMH, Expedientes Coloniales, Leg. 1, Exp. 1 [1667], f. 41v.

The consecutive names used by Lorenzo Ayun throughout this story deserve a short commentary. Six or even seven names accompanied his pilgrimages in Reque, Jauja, Lima, and Madrid between 1622 and 1678, when we lose track of him during a second sojourn at the Spanish court. The obvious and safest interpretation consists of the simple statement that the hierarchical sequence of names marks the improvement of Lorenzo's status within colonial society, from an Indian tributary to an alleged *cacique* without a *curacazgo*. That is pretty much all one can say without forcing the available evidence. The practice of changing names and surnames due to economic, political, and social reasons was still relatively common among the Spanish and Spanish American populations during the sixteenth century (Solano 1991). In this sense, an individual was not necessarily subject to the common restraints of today's world. Nonetheless, although there was a relative freedom to alter some family names—and, for instance, to start using those of a prominent ancestor—the motivations for that change remain a matter for further inquiry. Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, the famous *mestizo* author of the *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, was born Gómez Suárez de Figueroa but took the name of his father, a common practice among the members of El Inca's noble Spanish lineage. However, he did so only after his arrival in Spain in order to vindicate the memory of his father, the famous *conquistador* Sebastián Garcilaso, against the accusation of having been a traitor to the King. Why did people pick one name instead of another? We can gain a closer look at Lorenzo Ayun's mindset by discussing two issues. The first issue is whether Lorenzo drew from a Prehispanic tradition or a Spanish custom (or even both) in order to change his name several times throughout his life. If, as it seems, it was the latter rather than the former, then we must ask from whom Lorenzo took his names—

the different sources of this identity—and try to understand what this appropriation meant at the different stages of his life.

TABLE 2: The different names of Lorenzo Ayun Chifo

DATE AND PLACE	NAME
1622 (Reque)	Lorenço de Ayun/Ayum/ Ayunchifu
1638? (Reque, ¿Saña?)	Lorenço de Ayllon
c. 1644 (Lima)	Lorençillo ⁷⁸
1646 (Madrid)	Don Juan Lorenço Ayllon
1646 (Madrid, Seville)	Don Lorenço ayllon ata gualpa
1646 (Madrid, Seville)	Don Benito Ayllonata Gualpa
1649-1653 (Mexico)	Don Juan Lorenço de Aiun y Cordoua
1655-1678 (Jauja, Lima, Madrid)	Don Jeronimo Lorenço Limaylla

Lorenzo was baptized “Lorenço de Ayun” in 1622. Although the absence of the word “Don” at this point indicates that people in Reque considered him neither an Indian noble nor a native authority, the word “de” before both Lorenzo and his father’s last name already alludes to some degree of ennoblement. As explained already, Lorenzo’s possible ties to the governing elites and his father’s artisanship somehow detached Lorenzo from the Indian commoners.⁷⁹ It is possible that Lorenzo’s father, Juan de Ayun, acted as a *cabildo* [town hall] official in Reque at some point of his life, which in turn could explain the use of “de” before his surname. James Lockhart detects, among the *cabildo* members of Tlaxcala (México), “the

⁷⁸ “Lorençillo” seems to have been more a name placed by others upon Lorenzo than his own choice to identify himself.

⁷⁹ About the use of “Don” in early Spanish America, see Lockhart (1968). About its use among native authorities in Mexico, see Lockhart, Berdan, and Anderson (1986: 22 and ss.).

strong tendency to adopt Spanish surnames, which in the context can be equated with high rank and prestige” (1986: 21).

Moreover, the phonetic similarity—perhaps a Yunga language adaptation—between “de Ayun” and “de Ayllón” suggests the family’s previous links to the Franciscan Fathers, especially to the well-known friar Juan de Ayllón. There is evidence that some artisans, such as Juan de Ayun, rendered their services in the Franciscan convents of the area (Ramírez n/d: 13, 15). The father’s craftsmanship was an important legacy for Lorenzo. The inhabitants of Reque did not consider “Ayun” as Lorenzo’s “complete” Indian name. Don García Minllon, *cacique* of Reque, declared in 1661 that upon Lorenzo’s birth, they added the word “Chifu” to his surname because “Chifu significa Vso y Su Padre ttenia por ofiçio hazer Usos” [“Chifu” means “spindle whorl,” and his father manufactures spindle whorls] (f. 951v). This naming practice explains why Lorenzo appeared as “Aium Chifu” in the *Padrón general* [census list] of Reque, and may refer to a traditional local custom of naming a son after his father’s craftsmanship. More importantly, it helps us understand why, early in his life, Lorenzo discarded the term “Chifo” from his personal name, for it bespoke his relatively humble origin, and replaced his “de Ayun” for “de Ayllón.”

Within the hierarchy of names and surnames present among the nobles of Tlaxcala, the “double first names [were the] lowest, religious surnames and plebeian Spanish surnames [were] next up in the ladder, and Spanish surnames taken from *encomenderos*, governors, and ecclesiastics [were] at the top” (Lockhart 1986: 21, note 126). Following a similar pattern, Lorenzo took the next step in this “nominal ladder” when he improved his Christian education and musical training with Father Juan de Ayllón in Saña. It seems that, among the Indian students of Father Ayllón, the

most outstanding pupils acquired their tutor's surname. For instance, the famous *siervo de Dios*, Nicolás Ayllón, Father Ayllón's favorite student, replaced his original Yunga last name (Puicon) with the friar's Spanish "Ayllón." In Reque and elsewhere, *curacas* could also take the surnames of prominent clergymen. Either Don Pascual Mateos de la Carrera, *cacique segunda persona* of Reque between 1670 and 1692, or one of his ancestors took Father Fernando de la Carrera's family name (Zevallos Quiñones 1989: 121). In this context, Lorenzo Ayun appropriated Father Ayllón's last name, which marked Lorenzo's change of status as *indio ladino*.

It was just before traveling to Spain—or perhaps soon after the arrival—that Lorenzo started to go by the more prominent name of "Don Juan Lorenço Ayllon." Although it remains a matter for further study, many Indian nobles and prominent *mestizos*—Garcilaso Inca de la Vega and his Inca nephews, for instance (Temple 1948; Solano 1991: 94, 108)—embarked in this nominal change upon reaching the Spanish coast. Lorenzo also added the title of "Don" to his name, a strategic move in his self-reinvention as an Andean *curaca*. In theory, only native lords among the Indians had the right to use this distinction. However, in regard of those who "acquired" the title throughout their life, what Lockhart writes about the native elites of Tlaxcala and the use of "Don" applies to the Peruvian case very well. According to Lockhart, "What happened more regularly was that a person, having been consistently without 'don' at first, acquired the title at some point of a rise toward greater prominence and retained it consistently thereafter" (Lockhart 1986: 22). The evidence strongly suggests that this was also Lorenzo's case.

The possible origins of this new personal name—Don Juan Lorenço Ayllon—reveal some interesting connections. Lorenzo's self-fashioning as a *curaca* was in need of a more aristocratic name. Perhaps the traveler took it from his "uncle," Don

Juan Lorenzo Minllon (ff. 641r-643r). As already stated, members of the Minllon family had been native rulers in Reque since the sixteenth century. Thus, the striking similarity between both names—and the will to symbolically “succeed” his relatives in the office—may account for Lorenzo’s choice. Susan Ramírez (2006b) has traced, among ethnic lords from the Peruvian North coast, an interesting prehispanic and colonial practice. Ethnohistorical data supports the hypothesis that the heirs and successors of northern great *curacas* usually took the “names”—that is, the status, social rank, and political position—of their predecessors. This, added to the well-known fact that Andean people acquired different names throughout the different stages of their life, might have been the pattern underlying Lorenzo’s name change. Given the available sources, however, it must remain as a hypothesis.

Clearer is the fact that Lorenzo’s new name was inseparable from his invented identity as a transatlantic *curaca*. He signed his *memorial* to the King as “Juan Lorenço Ayllón,” the descendant from *curacas* of Jauja. The reception of the *memorial* by the court sanctioned Lorenzo’s acquired status. After this crucial event, he would keep his new name in the following years, especially in Mexico, where he “always behaved” as the son of a *cacique*. In this sense, the *memorial* was not only the material proof of his identity and importance. It also acted as a turning point during this period of identity accommodation and transatlantic acculturation. After the King and the metropolitan authorities *recognized* him as the author of the 1646 *memorial*, that is, as a traveling lord, Lorenzo left Spain as an Indian noble, carrying a sanctioned identity he would never want to get rid of. The fact that only one month after having delivered the *memorial* Lorenzo signed his passenger license as “Don Lorenço ayllon ata gualpa” reveals his new identity. “Atahualpa” was the name commonly attributed to the last Inca king, though considered by many a “bastard” and

illegitimate ruler. A bastard and usurper, Atahualpa had been a King nevertheless. Natives and colonial authorities in both Spain and America considered Atahualpa's descendants as nobles. Some of them even made their way to the Spanish court. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they received several privileges that included pensions, *encomiendas*, and offices in Quito and Cuzco (Oberem 1976). Natives often used the "Inca filiation" argument to legitimate political positions and claim prominent nobility (Lorandi 1997: 88-89). Similarly, it was one of Lorenzo's best cards. In a later printed *memorial* to the King (c. 1677), he would resort to this strategy again by claiming descent from the ninth, eighth, and seventh Inca kings through an invented genealogy.⁸⁰

Fray Buenaventura de Salinas must have exerted a decisive influence in this stage of Lorenzo's life. The Father was very used to writing *memoriales* and traveling to Spain. He himself had changed his name at some point of his life. Fray Buenaventura was the grandson of prominent *conquistadores* and a member of an illustrious creole family. Although he was not the firstborn, the Franciscan had inherited his father's surname and so he was baptized as "Sancho de Salinas y Córdoba" (Riva-Agüero 1952: 255-257). For Lorenzo Ayun's story, it is interesting to mention that, despite Buenaventura's change of name due perhaps to his entry into religious life, the friar still used (or was known by) different names, all variants of both his original and his ecclesiastic name. In their declarations before the colonial authorities, some of the spectators of Buenaventura's famous sermon against the King (1635) emphasized the change of names. They referred to the Father as "buenaventura de salinas que por otro nombre dicen llamarce fr sancho de cordoua" [Buenaventura de Salinas, although

⁸⁰ "y assimismo [soy] descendiente de los Reyes que fueron de aquel tan dilatado Reyno del Perú (Pachacutec Inca, Noveno Rey;) nieto de Viracocha, Octavo Inca, reviznieto de Yaguarhuacac Septimo Inca." AGI, Indiferente, 640 [1678]. Note that there is no mention to Atahualpa whatsoever.

others say his name is fray Sancho de Córdoba], “Fray Buenaventura por otro nombre Fray Sancho de Salinas” [Fray Buenaventura, by other name, fray Sancho de Salinas], or even “fr. sancho de cordoua por otro nombre fr. buenaventura de salinas” [Fray Sancho de Córdoba, by other name, fray Buenaventura de Salinas].⁸¹ The pseudo Jerónimo Lorenzo told the Franciscans in Jauja that he had gone to Spain while serving Father “Sancho de Salinas” (ff. 556r-556v). It is clear, then, that after Father Buenaventura and Lorenzo Ayun met, the man from Reque had a new and stronger role model to emulate. The changing of names was part of that emulation. While serving the Father in Madrid, Lorenzo would write his first *memorial* (1646) under a name other than his original name.

In social and political terms, fray Buenaventura was an extremely distinguished protector for Lorenzo, even more than fray Juan de Ayllón, his musical trainer in Saña, and fray Benito Tamayo, a witness in Lorenzo’s passenger license from whom he seems to have taken a name, though briefly.⁸² Lorenzo left the “de Ayllón” behind and went back to the original “de Ayun.” This was clearly a wise decision, for the “Ayun” signaled his native origins and rendered his further claims as a traveling *curaca* possible. In Spain and later in Mexico, fray Buenaventura considered “Juan Lorenço” as a “son.” Lorenzo added the prestigious “Córdoba” of his new protector, someone he admired to a high degree.⁸³ By the late 1640s, the traveler had become “Don Juan Lorenzo de Aiun y Cordoua,” encapsulating in this new name the complexities of his transatlantic identity.

⁸¹ “Información de la Palabras que predicó el Padre Fray Buenaventura por otro nombre Fray Sancho de Salinas contra el Rey Nuestro Señor que dios prospere y guarde por muchos años”, pp. 1-2. See also Medina 1965: II, 407-408.

⁸² On that occasion, the authorities identified the traveler as “don Benito Ayllonata Gualpa.” AGI, Contratación, 5427, N. 3, R. 33 [1646], f. 2v.

⁸³ For Buenaventura’s ancestors, see Riva-Agüero (1952), Salinas y Córdoba (1957: xxx-xxi), and Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, 1207, exp. 24 [1634] and 1575, exp. 14 [1634].

In light of all this evidence, the key to understanding Lorenzo's first journeys and *memoriales* in Spain, and even his later *curaca* claims in Peru, does not rest upon his alleged condition of "managing lord" or *curaca* without a *curacazgo*, as stated by previous authors. Instead, it rests upon his attempt to emulate the Christian virtues, inquisitive *memoriales*, pious concerns, and transatlantic career of his master, fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba.

Juan Carlos Estenssoro has argued that, to become virtuous, Indians required the institutional support of the Church. Natives who devoted themselves to the spiritual life were in need of a model. When virtuous Indians demanded a highly structured model that could suggest a pious way of life, they turned to their local priests (Estenssoro 2003: 461). In fact, Lorenzo would follow this pattern since his early Christian education as a sacristan in Reque. But he would also expand the model further and further by following the teachings of Fernando de la Carrera in Reque, Juan de Ayllón in Saña, and Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba in Mexico and Spain, thus reaching a transatlantic (and perhaps previously unknown) scale. He would reenact the role of the virtuous Indian at every step of his career, constantly expanding the social networks that finally took him from the small community of Reque to the King's palace in Madrid.

In view of this constant reenactment, therefore, we must frame Lorenzo's life during these initial years into the long Spanish tradition of the *Lives of the Saints* or hagiographies, which every true Catholic should try to imitate. The image of the Christian Indian was a representation others could impose upon Lorenzo, but it also embraced a self-image and implied a conscious decision. Lorenzo's was the transatlantic identity of the Christian Indian and the pious native lord. The native from Reque was just trying to emulate the life of his role models, pious Christian Fathers

and advocates of the Indians, the same way Buenaventura emulated that of Saint Francis, and Nicolás Ayllón, Lorenzo Ayun, and other Catholic Indians would have emulated the life of anyone dying “in odor of sanctity.”

Lorenzo’s failure to reinsert himself into the community of Reque, however, warns us about the risks and contradictions faced by *indios ladinos* and *virtuosos*. Paradoxically, virtuous Indians had the urgent need to take control of the surrounding sacred space (the local church) and to remain close to their priests and models, if they wanted to gain legitimacy and recognition within the community (Estenssoro 2003: 462). But the *ladinos*’ high levels of acculturation and proximity to the colonial institutions threatened them with detachment from their community, whose members could start seeing them more as accomplices of colonial oppression than guardians of the sacred. These contradictions forced *ladinos* to rely more and more on the institutional support offered by the Church and the members of the religious orders, thus becoming isolated figures, “suspected by natives and colonizers alike as being a potentially subversive cultural ‘half-caste’” (Adorno 1991: 258). Lorenzo’s gradual detachment from his community becomes evident throughout his life, from his initial refusal to perform at the local church, to his clash with the local *curacas* and later escape to Spain, and final imprisonment for unpaid tribute.

Despite his failure in Reque, however, Lorenzo’s story also shows the efforts and partial successes of *indios ladinos* to reinsert themselves into the broader Indian society. Lorenzo’s trajectory follows the common path of temporal separation from the Indian community. But his separation only occurred in order for him to come back enhanced with a set of cultural skills and transatlantic experiences, and thus try to make inroads into the native world again. From his roots as a Christian Indian and transatlantic traveler, Lorenzo chose the path of becoming *curaca* in the Jauja Valley.

But Lorenzo's rights and chances stemmed from his life overseas rather than from tradition or lineage, a fact that clearly polarized his followers and detractors, as we will see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3:

LORENZO GOES TO JAUJA: THE ART OF BECOMING CURACA

In this chapter, I will go back to Lorenzo's deeds after his return from Spain and flight from Reque in 1655. I will frame the following discussion within the crucial years of Lorenzo's legal actions to attain the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca in both Jauja and Lima (1655-1671). Lorenzo's renewed attempts to reinsert himself into the indigenous society followed the period of separation or estrangement embedded in his flight from Reque and further trip to the Iberian Peninsula, described in the previous chapter. Rather than retelling the long and complex court case, however, my main concern is the crucial issue of the people's partial support of Lorenzo, as well as his own partial success in the Valley of Jauja, two faces of the same coin. Previous authors have overstated and misunderstood the nature and scope of the political backing attained by Lorenzo in the towns of Luringuanca. They have interpreted the opposing sides behind the legal suit by appealing only to the alleged Jerónimo's own explanation of the events. According to his version—or that of his advocates in Lima—he was a capable and legitimate lord, while his rival Bernardino was an alien to the ruling lineage, an incompetent *intruso*, and a puppet of a de facto ruler, Don Pedro Milachami. It is relatively easy to understand why previous interpretations have followed this traditional version. The thesis of the *curaca* without a *curacazgo* fits neatly within a common historiographic image, that of the injured though capable *curaca*, dispossessed of his rights by wicked “illegitimate” and well-connected *caciques intrusos*. In light of the evidence presented in the previous chapters, however, the strange case of Lorenzo Ayun and Jerónimo Limaylla deserves reinterpretation.

Past interpretations have either uncritically assumed or clearly overstated the amount of political support received by the alleged Jerónimo. Moreover, other authors have presented a false monolithic image of the communities of Luringuanca, thus minimizing their agency when responding to outside influences and pressures, such as the arrival of a lost heir, in an active way. I will show that, in the context of Jerónimo Limaylla's return, the native communities of Luringuanca did not act as solid, univocal blocks. Internal struggles and breaks within the ruling elite usually emerged in contexts related to succession matters and political loyalties. The political situation in Luringuanca during the seventeenth century, characterized by harsh intra-elite struggles, is a clear indicator of the internal divisions that opposed the native communities facing the return of Jerónimo Limaylla and the uncertain outcome of the legal battle for the title of *curaca*. I will devote the first sections of this chapter, then, to discuss the tensions and contrasts unleashed by Lorenzo's arrival. By analyzing the *curacazgo* as a political entity and exploring the political situation in the towns of Luringuanca, I will attempt a first characterization of the alleged Jerónimo's followers and detractors. This argument will help us revise preceding interpretations of the amount of popular support gained by the newcomer, as well as help us present a more balanced image of the real impact of the return of Jerónimo Limaylla in the Valley of Jauja.

Not only have past scholars exaggerated or presupposed Lorenzo's partial political support; where it existed, academics have also misunderstood it. As shown in the previous chapters, Lorenzo Ayun was not a *real* lord. Nevertheless, some people in Luringuanca welcomed him for other important and revealing reasons, which I will discuss in the last sections of this chapter. Rather than emerging from a traditional *curaca* identity (which he nevertheless did not possess), the alleged Jerónimo's

political support stemmed from three crucial components of his rehearsed life and transatlantic identity. Indeed, the social and political credentials of the newcomer depended on his journey to Spain and his “interview” with the King, his Christian education and degree of acculturation, and his conscious emulation of prominent fathers who denounced the poor condition of the Indians in the mercury mines, all issues that I have analyzed in the previous chapters.

Let us not let Lorenzo’s dramatic transformation blind us, however. Even though the power to transform embedded in the transatlantic journey made Lorenzo a more suitable candidate than his rival, Bernardino, previous readings about his being an incompetent and illegitimate ruler are too simplistic. An analysis of the motivations behind the natives’ partial support of the fake *cacique* who almost became *curaca* will lead us to the crucial issue of forced labor in the Huancavelica mercury mines. More specifically, this analysis will take us to Lorenzo’s striking argument that his subjects would not have to fulfill this task due to the authority delegated to him by the King in person.

Furthermore, we must try to look at this story also from the perspective of Lorenzo’s chief rival, Don Bernardino Mangoguala. Contrary to previous interpretations, the true ancestral lords of Luringuanca considered the new Jerónimo as the real intruder, a threat to their power, an element causing great instability in an already turbulent political landscape. When different *curaca* legitimacies were at stake, people usually chose to follow one of several candidates, depending on their own interests. In other words, which of the pretenders would be the best ruler was a matter under discussion and did not necessarily imply communal consensus. For an author to say that a *curaca* was legitimate and enjoyed political support in his community (let us say, the false Jerónimo Limaylla) should almost automatically

bring up the crucial issue of who specifically considered that lord as legitimate and who did not. In the end, the opposition between legitimate and illegitimate lords in seventeenth-century Peru did not always refer to the typical polarization between the Spanish and the Indian world. Hispanicized *caciques*, appointed by the Crown, could sometimes become legitimate, whereas more “Indian” *curacas* that had inherited the title from their forebears could become illegitimate. With all these ideas in mind, let us now turn to the events after Lorenzo’s return to his supposed homeland, the Valley of Jauja.

By the time of this story, *curacazgos* or *cacicazgos* in Spanish America bore only a remote resemblance to the traditional Andean chiefdoms of the pre-contact era. Due to deep social, political, and economic innovations, colonial *cacicazgos* had come to embrace different and even contradictory meanings in seventeenth-century Peru. In the Valley of Jauja and beyond, *curacazgos* were in the process of becoming more and more territorial units with somewhat defined boundaries, composed several Indian towns with their respective communal fields and pasturelands. The process of territorialization had started in the first decades after the Spanish conquest, when the Europeans “identified” Andean chiefdoms—a group of people who shared common ancestors, worshiped common gods, and recognized common authorities—with territorially-defined and mediievally-inspired *señoríos* (Ramírez 1997; 2002). Among their strategies for cultural survival, Andean lords and their subjects had gradually assimilated foreign notions of limits and boundaries, continuous territoriality, fixed towns, individual and communal fields, hereditary rulership, and territorial identities.

Only forty years after the arrival of the Spanish, for instance, the lords of Luringuanca were already fighting in the Spanish courts to establish the “boundaries” between their now territorially defined *cacicazgo* and that of their neighbors (Medellius and Puente Luna 2004). Only in a loose sense, then, *cacicazgos* still resembled the previous social and political units, composed of people united by kinship and religious ties, and living on dispersed settlements, scattered through the landscape.

In a primary sense, and due the growing process of territorialization outlined above, *caciques principales* or paramount lords had come to exert territorial control and political jurisdiction over the area occupied by the peoples and towns under their authority, within their *curacazgo*. The *curacazgo* of Luringuanca covered the middle part of the Jauja Valley, with fertile agricultural fields but relatively few pasturelands. Seven towns were under the jurisdiction of the lords of Luringuanca. La Natividad de Apata, La Concepción de Achi (where the Spanish political authority resided), San Jerónimo de Tunan (traditional residence of the *curacas*) and La Asunción de Mataguasi had been founded on the left bank of the river. On the right side, there lived the people of La Ascensión de Mito, Santa Ana de Sincos, and San Francisco de Orcotuna.⁸⁴ In 1605, the total population reached 16,490 inhabitants. In 1618, the *curacazgo* had officially 2258 Indian tributaries. By 1632, the number of tributaries had decreased to 1778.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ For colonial maps of Jauja, see Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Sala José Toribio Medina. Colección Diego Barros Arana, Mss. BA 102 [1725], p. 588, and AGI. Mapas. Perú y Chile, 86 y 86bis [1750]. For geographical descriptions of the towns, see Lizárraga (19xx: 160-61); Vega (1965: 169-174), and Vázquez de Espinoza (1969 [1672]: 322-23).

⁸⁵ See Vázquez de Espinoza (1969 [1672]: 457), Cook (1982: 97), and Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), Mss. 1482, ff. 241r-241v.



FIGURE 6: View of present-day Jauja Valley from the North

Curacas, aided by other lesser-ranking chiefs, were responsible for collecting colonial tribute and organizing collective labor in public and private colonial enterprises such as the silver and mercury mines. From this point of view, *cacicazgos* were territorial units as well as tax units, for the people under a specific paramount lord would have to pay tribute as a whole. This concept traced its roots to the old *encomienda* system (*caciques* and the natives under a paramount lord had to render tribute to their *encomendero*). Nonetheless, not all the indigenous inhabitants of Luringuanca paid tribute or went to the *mita*. At least in theory, only the *originarios* or native-born, as opposed to the *forasteros* or outsiders in the Valley, were subject to these tax and labor obligations (Wightman 1990).

In spite of the burdensome duties with the colonial state, such as collecting tribute and organizing labor in turns, *caciques* enjoyed many social, political, and economic privileges, usually recognized by both the Spaniards and the natives. In this sense, by the mid-seventeenth century, the term *cacicazgo*, as in the case of Luringuanca, also alluded to the prestigious title attached to this territorial domain, that of *cacique principal*. Very few lineages had come to monopolize the title of *cacique principal* “in” the three paramount *cacicazgos* of the Jauja Valley. Inheriting the title or controlling the *cacicazgo* by any other means gave the right of access to a considerable family patrimony. This patrimony, in a way “attached” to the title, usually consisted of lands, cattle, mills, textile workshops, and urban properties spread “throughout” the *cacicazgo*. Alongside this family patrimony, *caciques* had the obligation (or the benefit, depending on the perspective) to administer the common wealth of his people, usually lands, cattle, and money. During the last decades of the sixteenth century, the complex process of privatization of common resources that ran parallel to that of territorialization outlined above gave sense to the distinction between the private “hacienda” of the *curacas* and the “bienes del común” or common wealth of their subjects (Medellius and Puente Luna 2004).

In very few aspects was the profound and complex transformation of *cacicazgos* more subtle, though more powerful, than in language. The negotiation of new terms and concepts between the natives and the Spanish were crucial features of the dynamics of cultural exchange. New “names” (whether imposed or negotiated) favored the gradual transformation of *cacicazgos*. Still in the 1560s, the lords and natives of Jauja—and the Spaniards as well—would refer to themselves as the Ananguancas, the Chongos, or the Xauxas, the plural form emphasizing human community over common territory. Likewise, the outside observers, members of other

ethnic groups, would identify them as the Luringuancas, the Ananguancas, or the Xauxas.⁸⁶

Even so, in the colonial world, terms with clear territorial implications would gradually replace the previous ones (Ramírez 2006a). The new terms described more a place than a people. In a dramatic process, the *plurals* of community became the *singulars* of place. The Spanish authorities and missionaries concentrated previously dispersed homesteads into new settlements, the Indian towns founded in the mid-sixteenth century. Different groups mingled in a single village or the same group split into different towns. Therefore, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century, the Ananguancas became the people *of* Ananguanca, the Chongos became the people *of* the town of Chongos, and the Xauxas became the people living *in* the town of Atunjauja. Similarly, colonial authorities increasingly identified the old ethnic lords of the Luringuancas as “the *caciques* of the seven towns of Luringuanca.”⁸⁷ In the legal battle between Don Bernardino Mangoguala and the new Jerónimo Limaylla for the title of *cacique*, Catalina Tantalva, the supposed mother of the returnee, declared that she was a “natural” of “Luringuanca” (f. 606r). Thus, her testimony confirms that, by the mid 1600s, the inhabitants themselves increasingly identified the *cacicazgo* also as a fixed and bounded place.

The indigenous populations reworked this imposed territorial identity, combining it with previous forms of identification. Despite the profound transformations of Andean polities outlined above, some of the prehispanic meanings of native chiefdoms, especially the sense of a common identity and of belonging to a political

⁸⁶ See, for instance, AGI, Lima, 121 [1566] and 136 [1603]. The first *encomienda* deeds also emphasize the traditional meaning embraced in the old terms. See AGI. Justicia, 448, N.2 \2 [1541] for an example.

⁸⁷ See, for instance, the last will and testament of Don Nicolás de Córdoba, prepared in 1664 (Hurtado Ames and Solier Ochoa 2003: 82-95).

community, remained alive until the eighteenth century and beyond, intertwining with the new colonial realities. From this point of view, *cacicazgos* were cultural hybrids with several complex definitions and implications. Depending on the context, they could encompass territorial or non-territorial meanings. Furthermore, they could still serve as a source for the group's identity (later replaced by the "indigenous community").

Again, language is revealing at this point. During the seventeenth century, the people of Luringuanca still identified themselves as the "Luringuanca" (in plural form) in three different contexts. The first context emerged when they had to deal with the "bienes del común" or common wealth. As mentioned already, *caciques principales* administered communal wealth, usually lands, cattle, food, houses, and money. These goods had originated in the communal labor of the Luringuanca. These sources of wealth belonged neither to the lords nor to a specific individual, but to the Luringuanca. They used the profits to favor the community as a whole. In 1649, for instance, the *cacique principal* of Luringuanca and the *caciques* of each of the seven towns gave their power of attorney to Don Martín de los Ángeles Aylas and to Don Juan Milachami, both in route to Lima. They had to collect the rent of a house that the "Luringuanca" had had in the city almost since its foundation in 1535.⁸⁸ Similarly, the "Luringuanca" made effective an old debt and took possession of houses and lands that had belonged to their former *encomendero* in 1652.⁸⁹ In 1720, "la comunidad de indios de Lurin Huancas" [the community of the Luringuanca], as a whole, decided to sell some lands located to the south of the Valley.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ ARJ. Protocolos, T. 3, ff. 41v-44r [1649].

⁸⁹ BNP, Archivo Astete Concha, Z338 [1663], f. 800v.

⁹⁰ BNP, Archivo Astete Concha, Z1010 [1720].

The issues surrounding colonial tribute and forced labor or *mita* provided the second context for a collective identification among the “Luringuanca.” The chiefs of each of the lineages settled in the towns were responsible for raising the right amount of tribute and organizing the right number of workers among their people. However, colonial authorities demanded tribute and labor quotas according to the overall population of Luringuanca, making no distinctions among each of the towns (Vázquez de Espinosa 1969 [1672]: 314). The *caciques* of every lineage would provide the *cacique* of each of the seven towns with their tribute and labor quota. Similarly, but on a next level, the *caciques* of the towns would in turn do the same with the *cacique principal*, in the apex of the pyramid of native authority (Puente Luna 2004: chap. 3). The Spanish authorities held the *cacique principal* responsible for the quotas of the whole *cacicazgo*, for he had to cover any deficits from his own pocket. Further proof of the links among tribute, *mita*, and a sense of community is the fact that oftentimes the *caciques principales* covered tax and labor demands by using the money obtained from the “bienes del común” of Luringuanca. During the 1550s and 1560s, for instance, all the *curacas* of Luringuanca gave money and other goods to their *cacique principal* in order to fight in the courts for a reduction of tribute payments and labor quotas in the nearby mines of Atunsulla (Medellius and Puente Luna 2004). In 1634, the Luringuanca used 826 pesos of the communal funds to pay for the tribute of the previous year.⁹¹ The *caciques* used these funds also to hire workers other than the Luringuanca, in order to cover their labor quota in the mercury mines of Huancavelica.⁹²

⁹¹ BNP, Mss., B160 [1634]. Other examples can be found in ARJ, Protocolos, T. 3 [1655], ff. 306r-307v.

⁹² AGI, Lima, 414 [1730], f. 65r-66v.

The third context in which a “Luringuanca” identity could emerge was precisely the crucial issue of native rule and *curaca* succession, which, along with the *mita* to Huancavelica, will finally take us to the center of this story. Still in the seventeenth century, *curacas*, in their facet as political chiefs, embraced the group’s identity. One of the witnesses of Jerónimo Limaylla’s case referred to the last curaca in 1655 as the “gouernador que fue de los luringuanas” [former governor of the Luringuanas] (f. 330r). People relied on the ability of these *caciques principales* to manage the community’s wealth, as part of the “collective enterprise of survival” (Farris 1984). Highly important matters such as the *mita*, the administration of the “bienes del común,” and the collection of tribute were in the hands of the *cacique principal*. Nonetheless, since these issues concerned all the inhabitants of Luringuanca, who should be the *cacique* and how he should rule were matters discussed among the Luringuanas as a whole. In this sense, the *cacique principal* acted as symbolic center of power and identity. By the mid-seventeenth century, the colonial government had firmly established hereditary rule from father to son among the *caciques principales* of the Jauja Valley. The Limaylla lineage had held power in Luringuanca—though not necessarily effective government—since the 1570s.

In sum, the matters revolving around *curaca* succession, the administration of common wealth, the collection of tribute, and the organization of *mita* contingents embraced a “Luringuanca” identity and were all tied under the key Andean notion of *sapsi*, “cosa común de todos” [what is common to all] (Murra 1992).

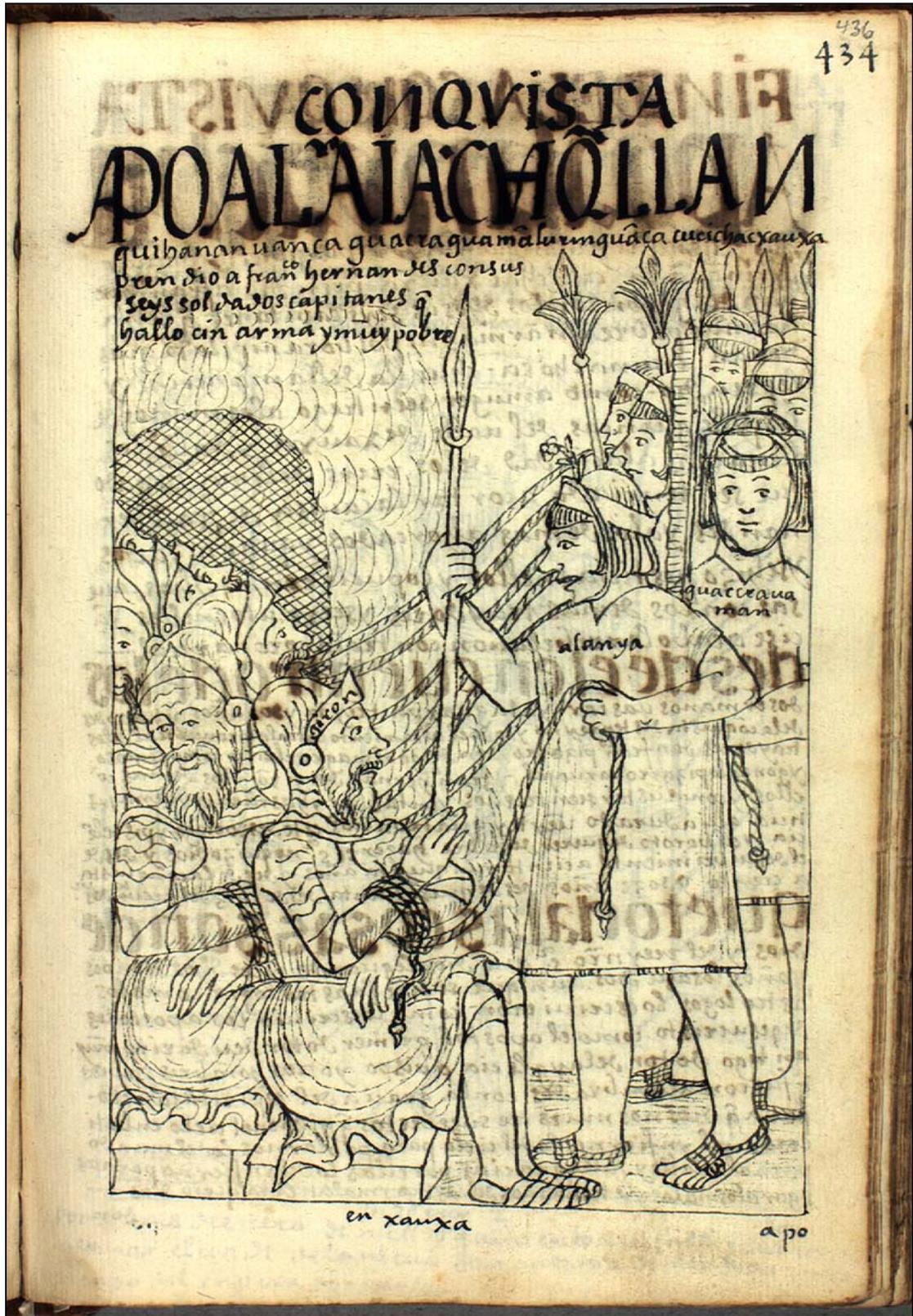


FIGURE 7: *Curacas* of Jauja in the sixteenth century (as depicted by Guaman Poma de Ayala)

However, harmony, common identity, and *sapsi* were but one dimension of the Janus-faced community life in Luringuanca. The dynamics of opposition and fragmentation could find a means of expression in the three contexts that we have previously characterized as embedding a “Luringuanca” identity. People held personal, communal, and political loyalties other than that of the “Luringuanca.” As in other societies (Geertz 2000: 66), an individual’s identity—rarely conceptualized in “individual” terms—worked by opposition and its definition depended on the specific context. Along these lines, outsiders and insiders would indeed identify the Luringuanca as such in contrasting them with the Ananguanca or the Atunjaujas, the other two major groups that inhabited the Valley. However, *within* the Luringuanca, an individual could identify himself, especially during the seventeenth century, as being born in Apata, Mataguasi, San Jerónimo, or any other town of the *cacicazgo*. But even inside a single town, the different lineages and their *caciques* would interweave these previous identifications with their own specific lineage identity (shared with other members of the lineage living in different towns), and hence defend their own interests as opposed to those of their neighbors inside or outside their town. This pattern followed the scheme of concentric circles, with the outer embracing the more general (“ethnic group”) and the inner covering the more specific (a lineage inside the town).

This sort of identity crossing among ethnicity, *pueblo*, and lineage surfaced in the political sphere of succession. The *cacique principal*’s authority (or that of his immediate successors) could only endure if emerging from the preservation of good relations with the subordinate *caciques*, who were the representatives of the multiple lineages and several towns that informed the community of Luringuanca. Were the *curaca* to do otherwise, he would end up alienating himself from the very people

whose well-being he must administer. The *cacique*'s supremacy did not necessarily imply consensus, however. Intra-elite struggles—oftentimes the expression of conflicts among the lineages—had been common since time immemorial in the Valley of Jauja. Hereditary succession could become a complex matter due to the absence of direct heirs, the proliferation of candidates with different sources of legitimacy, the intervention of the Spanish authorities or even episodes of witchcraft and poisoning (Puente Luna 2004). As a result, succession affairs usually became a highly disputed and controversial issue. Although the Spanish authorities kept the last word on who they would appoint *cacique principal* to themselves, the numerous *caciques* of lesser rank who formed the native elite in Jauja had a lot to say during the process or even after.

From this perspective, and despite its considerable length, transatlantic scope, and political impact, the legal thread posed by the new Jerónimo Limaylla to the ruling *cacique principal* was not a novel or unexpected situation, as previous authors seem to think. In fact, constant instability, negotiation, and compromise had been the norm rather than the exception. Historical evidence shows that *caciques* had been fighting for the title of *cacique principal* already between 1560 and 1600 (Puente Luna 2004: chap. 4). Additional sources indicate that the same pattern went on during the seventeenth century. Bernardino Mangoguala, our Lorenzo's rival, and his uncle Pedro Limaylla fought for the *cacicazgo* in the courts in the early 1650s. After they settled the dispute, Pedro would aid Bernardino in the crucial task of recruiting the workers and collecting the money they would take to the Huancavelica mines (f. 408v). Indeed, Pedro, half brother of the previous *cacique principal* of Luringuanca, had already acted as *cacique* in the late 1640s, but Don Jacinto de Córdoba Chimo Pacaguala, claiming the title, had forced him to go to court in 1651. In the following

years, local lords would accuse Don Jacinto of murdering the next appointed *cacique principal*, Don Lorenzo de Zárate Valentín Limaylla.⁹³ These struggles went on and on during the rest of the century. Disputes usually emerged when middle-rank *curacas* did not accept subordination to *primus inter pares* that the authorities had appointed as *gobernadores*. This situation seems to have occurred during the immediate years before the legal suit confronting Lorenzo and Bernardino, discussed here.⁹⁴

If we pay attention to the historical context, then, rather than following previous interpretations of the alleged Jerónimo as a dispossessed lord, we should include the complex web of alliances underneath both sides of the dispute in our analysis, as well as the previous background of political confrontation in Luringuanca. The people and their lords had extensive experience in dealing with these situations. Even though the “Luringuanca” could represent themselves as a loosely unified entity in political contexts such as the succession and ability of their paramount lords, there is no reason to think that, in the specific case of Jerónimo Limaylla’s return, they acted as a monolithic group of “people” blindly supporting the newcomer. The alleged Jerónimo was right when he stated in court that “legitimacy” and “ability to rule” were at stake. Nonetheless, these concepts had no absolute meaning and usually rested on the eye of the beholder. A more balanced picture of the real impact of Lorenzo’s return will emerge from the characterization of the supporters of both Don Bernardino and the new Jerónimo Limaylla. Why assume that the natives and lords of Luringuanca acted only in favor or against one side, as if they were a compact block? Was it true that, as stated by previous authors, the “people” of Luringuanca supported the return of the

⁹³ ARJ. Protocolos, t. 3 (Pedro de Carranza) [1651], f. 158r-158v.

⁹⁴ See, for instance, AGI, Lima, 136 [1603].

alleged Jerónimo Limaylla, regarding him as their savior from the bad *cacique* Bernardino Mangoguala and his governor Don Pedro Milachami? Was this really a “popular” matter or, more precisely, did it remain as an intra-elite dispute?

Sometime in 1655, Lorenzo arrived in Jauja. His reception was neither less dramatic nor less polemic than his difficult return to Reque a few months before, after touring in Spain and Mexico, as shown in the previous chapters. No one in the towns of Luringuanca had seen Jerónimo Limaylla, the son of the last undisputed *curaca*, for more than ten years, when the young Jerónimo accompanied Father Andrés de la Cuesta to Lima. The arrival of the new Jerónimo caught many people by surprise, although it seems that others had longed for the lost heir.

Unfortunately, the number of days that passed between the new Jerónimo’s arrival in the Valley, on the one hand, and the royal decree issued in Lima ordering that the *corregidor* make the official inquiries leading to his recognition as *curaca*, on the other, remains unknown. However, what is certain is that one of Lorenzo’s first moves in Jauja was to pay a visit to his alleged mother (ff. 281r-286r, 606r-609v). Catalina Tantalva, for that was the name of the thirty-six-year-old woman, “recognized” her son Jerónimo in the person of the newcomer, thus boosting the latter’s possibilities of success. Indeed, Catalina’s testimony was one of the pillars of Lorenzo’s case. A *principal* from the Valley of Jauja testified that, *since* Lorenzo’s alleged mother had recognized him, “todos lo quisieron tener por gobernador” [everyone wanted him as their governor] (f. 307). Don García Minllon, *cacique* of Reque, declared that Lorenzo told him in Lima about this “woman” having

recognized him as her son, a fact that was pushing his determination to claim the government of Luringuanca further. As simple as it sounds, Lorenzo's case would have been almost lost without Catalina's "recognition."

Catalina declared before the authorities that somebody had told her about the arrival of her offspring even before he reached Jauja. The mother and her supposed son finally met in the town of Concepción, in the middle section of the Valley. The new Jerónimo had come asking for her and had even pointed to the home in which he had supposedly grown up.⁹⁵ During the previous decade, uncertainty had clouded Catalina's thoughts regarding her missing son. Sometimes, she had gotten used to the idea of him being dead, she declared. Other times, she had preferred to pay attention to the voices saying that Jerónimo served as a cook at the Franciscan monastery in Lima before having supposedly sailed to Spain.

It was natural for a man to change with age. In light of this truth, the colonial judges asked Catalina Tantalva how she recognized her alleged son Jerónimo with such ease, after twelve or more years. Catalina declared that the newcomer "se parecía a su padre" [looked like his father] (after all, the witnesses wanted to emphasize his being the successor, one may point out, so why should he resemble his mother?). Catalina added to her testimony that "como no lo a de conoser siendo su sangre y Su Hijo que lo pario Y crio" [how could she not possibly have recognized him, given that Jerónimo was of her blood and of her womb?]. Both (supposed) physical resemblance and maternal recognition would become the cornerstones of Lorenzo's case. In fact, these two arguments, as well as the rumors and "news" about his striking arrival,

⁹⁵ It must be said, however, that the real Jerónimo Lorenzo Limaylla was born in the *estancia* of San Lorenzo de Piroa, near the town of Apata.

would convince many people about the newcomer's identity as the son of Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla, the deceased lord of the Luringuancas.

Whether Catalina was telling the truth to the colonial authorities, we may never know. Nonetheless, since Lorenzo was not Jerónimo (as established in the previous chapters), she was either the beneficiary of a bribe or the victim of an illusion. According to Father Juan de Aguilar, a Franciscan who witnessed Lorenzo's arrival in Jauja, Catalina spoke to her son "Jerónimo" in the native tongue of the region—*quechua huanca*—during their initial reunion in Concepción. Clearly, this language was different from the one spoken in Reque, the hometown of the clever Lorenzo Ayun Chifo (Cerrón-Palomino 1989). Lorenzo could not answer, the Franciscan declared, and hence Catalina denied him immediately as her son. Catalina added that the newcomer was too old to be the real Jerónimo, for both were clearly about the same age. In that occasion, she even added that her son was, anyway, dead. Despite the initial unmasking of the newcomer, the fake Jerónimo finally persuaded the poor woman by getting her inebriated and giving her presents, according to Father Aguilar (559r). "Gifts" of this sort—sometimes considered bribes—as well as requesting aid with liquor, were common among the inhabitants of Jauja (Puente Luna 2004: chap. 5-7). Guaman Poma (1992: 1021) qualified the natives of Luringuanca as "testimunieros," that is, people prone to support false accusations and offer false testimonies in court. But one can also interpret Lorenzo's "gifts" to Catalina within typical Andean patterns for requesting the aid and services of a person or a group for one's own legal purposes and otherwise.⁹⁶ Liberality was, after all, the defining mark of a great Andean chief, an image that the new Jerónimo wanted to spread throughout the Valley.

⁹⁶ See, for instance, AGI. Lima, 259, N. 11 \2\ [1669], f 51r-52v.

More interesting than the supposed bribe is a second option. Perhaps Catalina finally came to believe, as many others would later believe, that the newcomer was the true Jerónimo Limaylla. Such psychological processes of collective belief usually occur in similar situations. It is not far-fetched to think that, although Catalina was unsure about the fate and identity of her real son, she never gave up her hopes of witnessing Jerónimo's long awaited return. Revealing that her hopes were with the newcomer's cause, Catalina followed the new Jerónimo from Jauja to Lima twice, a long and demanding journey after which both she and her husband finally succumbed. In her last will and testament, Catalina would put her "son" in charge of her two daughters, indicating how important she considered Lorenzo/Jerónimo to be.⁹⁷ For Catalina, a non-elite native woman in the end, having a son as *curaca* appeared not only as possible but also as highly desirable. During one of the interrogatories, the judges even called her "Doña Catalina," a subtle change in status that, nevertheless, points to an increase of her social prominence during the court case.

The legend of Lorenzo's voyages in Spain and Mexico had already spread throughout the Valley and beyond. The return of Lorenzo was a matter of public discussion and private gossip, as several testimonies reveal.⁹⁸ As in Reque, Lorenzo's Spanish manners, appearance, and degree of acculturation caused a great impact among the inhabitants of Luringuanca. A group of Franciscans witnessed Lorenzo's striking arrival to San Jerónimo, where the traditional native lords had resided since the sixteenth century. They still remembered Lorenzo approaching by the street, accompanied by a group of Indians who offered a contrasting image to that of the other natives, for they were "muy galanes Y con guantes puestos" [very gallantly

⁹⁷ See ff. 469r, 472v-473r, 482v and 1006v.

⁹⁸ See, for instance, ff. 353r, 354r, 358r, 361v.

dressed and wearing gloves]. One of the friars recognized him as Lorenzo Ayun from Reque or “Lorençillo,” and hence inquired about Lorenzo’s musical skills as an organist. Nevertheless, the traveler boasted about the fact that his early days as an organ player in the convent of Lima were gone for good, and that now he had improved his abilities thanks to his travel to Spain. Another friar asked him about this last issue. Lorenzo answered that he had gone to Spain with Father “Sancho de Salinas,” that is, fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba (f. 556r-556v). To his musical ability, Spanish manners, and transatlantic travels, Lorenzo could add his skills with the Spanish language. According to the *curaca* of Reque, he had gone to Jauja to claim the *cacicazgo* “por ser ladino en lengua castellana” [because he had become a *ladino*, proficient in the Spanish language] (f. 647r).

His travel to Europe and the skills and manners he had acquired during his life gravitated toward his identification as the long lost heir of the *curacazgo*. People wanted to see him in office “assi [porque es de] sangre de sus caçiques como por buen agasajo rrespeto y cortessias que el sussodicho [Lorenzo] tiene” [as much as for his descent from their *caciques* as for his sumptuous hospitality, respect, and refined manners] (f. 298v). A local *principal* declared that “hauendolo bisto y sauido que biene de España [Lorenzo], le tiene por tal y por las señas referidas, y por uerle tan capaz entendido y de toda suficienssia, que de todo da bastantes señas” [having seen him and knowing that he came from Spain, he recognizes him as such, and for the fact that he seems so capable, knowledgeable, and totally apt] (f. 290r). Even Francisco Fresco, a tailor who lived in Lima, declared in 1656 that he

oyo desir en la dicha ciudad de Mexico, que en la uilla de Madrid y en otras partes de España, se hauia aportado el sussodicho [the alleged Jerónimo] de la mesma suerte [que en México] publicando el susodicho, ser hijo del casique contenido en

la pregunta y que como tal hauia ablado al Rey nuestro Señor, con memorial (f. 486r).

The interesting identification between *looking* as a *cacique* and actually *being* one was crucial for Jerónimo's partial support. Numerous testimonies portray emotional public demonstrations of sympathy towards, and political adherence to, the alleged Jerónimo. Among the most impressive is the following. In the fields surrounding the town of Sincos, as soon as the Indians saw Lorenzo, they ran towards him,

y puestos en un lado los hombres, y en otro las mugeres assi que bieron, a don geronimo lorenço limaylla, que biene con nosostros a sus aueriguaciones, empesaron, a cantar en su lengua, y a tocar ynstrumentos de su usansa y asiendole parar en la caualgadura en que Yua todos ellos Con grande alegria y so Goço le llegaron a abrassar disiendo hera su cacique Y gouernador a boçes, y hijo de don lorenzo balentin limaylla por que hera su proprio rretrato y el dicho don geronimo lorenço los abrasso y agasajo (ff. 328r-328v).⁹⁹

In another town, a native woman by the name of Juana Carguamango saw Lorenzo when he was on his way to the next town on the road. Juana “se abalansso, a el abrasandole, y disiendo a boçes en su lengua, este es el hijo, de don Lorenço Balentin Limaylla, gouernador que fue de los luringuancas, que yo lo crie desde chiquito” [lunged at him, hugging him, and shouting in her native language: “This is the son of Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla, governor that was of the Luringuancas, that I raised him since he was a kid”] (f. 330). Nonetheless, when asked by the colonial officials about how she could possibly know that this was Lorenzo, she declared that her son-in-law had previously told her about Lorenzo's return, thus predisposing her attitudes towards the newcomer. Juana knew already that “Jerónimo” had come back to fill his father's position as *curaca*, and “que ya uenia hombre, y con barba” [that he has come back a full-grown, bearded man]. Juana “lo deseaua uer” [desired to see him], so

⁹⁹ Similar testimonies can be found in ff. 291r, 298v, 317r.

when she finally did, she *discovered* a prompt physical resemblance between the newcomer and his supposed father (f. 332r-332v).

The previous testimony points towards a crucial aspect of Lorenzo's acceptance in Jauja. Lorenzo was wanted. More importantly, he had come announced. These two important premises partially account for the psychological mechanisms operating behind Lorenzo's positive approval, despite the discrepancies between himself (age, incapacity to speak the language, and physical appearance) and the true Jerónimo. The newly arrived Lorenzo predisposed his "mother" and other people to perceive him as the heir of the *curacazgo*. As in the famous case of the return of Martin Guerre—an impostor who even tricked the wife of the real Martin Guerre for several years—the newcomer's "compelling words" and "accurate memories" must have "confirmed" the people's perception about who he supposedly was (Davis 1983: 43).¹⁰⁰

Indeed, people had already spread the news about the alleged Jerónimo's return prior to his arrival, thus conditioning the natives' perception of the newcomer. As those who believe that they "discover" the aggressor of a magical attack when in fact they just assign that role to a preexisting enemy or rival (Thomas 1999), previous voices about Jerónimo's return only favored his "recognition" as the heir of the last *curaca*. A witness declared that

los caçiques yndios e yndias, de los pueblos de este rrepartimiento [Luringuanca], por hauer oydo que el dicho [es hijo de] don Lorenço Valentin limaylla, le an abrasado y agasajado por ser descendiente de aquel tronco y por que disen se pareçe a su padre (f. 75v).

Another witness rendered his testimony in very similar terms:

¹⁰⁰ These "memories" sometimes failed, for the supposed Jerónimo introduced himself as "prinçipal del pueblo, de la Consepcion" in 1655, when in fact the true Jerónimo had been born in the estancia of San Lorenzo de Piroa, an annex of the town of Apata.

quando este testigo hablo con el dicho don Geronimo Lorenzo Limaylla en los pueblos de Çincos, Mito y Orcotuna bido que los yndios de los dichos pueblos que son de el dicho rrepartimiento abrasauan y Reçiuian con mucho amor, a el dicho don Geronimo por haber oydo desir hera hijo de don lorenso balentin limaylla Su gouernador, ultimo (f. 86v-87r).

In other words, many “people” in Luringuanca had *recognized* the newcomer as the successor only after “having heard” (or, more precisely, having been told) that he was the missing Jerónimo Limaylla. Although Lorenzo, and several authors with him, constantly stated in court that the “people” of Luringuanca supported him, the previous evidence casts a shadow over this argument. Lorenzo’s return was not only possible but, to a certain degree, also expected. Therefore, one can partially understand his acceptance through mechanisms such as the people’s predisposition to see the son of Lorenzo Valentín in him or through legitimizing testimonies and events, such as his alleged mother’s statement and the warm popular demonstrations.

My argument, however, is not that Lorenzo magically deceived all the natives of Jauja. Nor that they were victims of some sort of collective illusion. We must not forget that the new Jerónimo did gain some important political support and was relatively close to winning his case and becoming the new *curaca*. Some of the inhabitants of the Valley, especially the members of the ruling elite, must have promptly realized that the new Jerónimo Limaylla was a trickster, an “indio nasido en los llanos” [an Indian born in the coastal region] to use Bernardino Mangoguala’s words (365r). Why accept him and support him in the court, then?

To understand Lorenzo’s partial success and measure its real scope, we must identify those who were behind the news about Jerónimo’s return. In August 31, 1655, the Spanish political authorities publicly announced the rights of the recently

arrived Lorenzo/Jerónimo to succeed in the *cacicazgo*, so other candidates could have the chance to oppose their own rights to those of the newcomer. Nonetheless, some sort of generalized silence surrounded this important proclamation. Only the people in the town of Sincos received the newcomer as their *cacique*. When the surprising news reached the other towns of Luringuanca, the natives and their *principales* chose not to reveal their political stance (ff. 3r-9r). It would be only during the following four or five months that political support for Lorenzo's cause would take a clearer shape, a fact often dismissed in previous interpretations stating a supposedly widespread support.

Earlier readings of the court case have overestimated the real scope of Lorenzo/Jerónimo's support in the *curacazgo* and have implicitly portrayed the Luringuanca as a monolithic group without the agency to respond to outside incentives in various and not always consensual ways. Indeed, a finer analysis of the court case breaks up the "people" of Luringuanca into at least two geopolitical sectors. The social and political support for the newcomer remained largely confined to the three towns of the right bank of the river: Mito, Sincos, and Orcotuna.¹⁰¹ With very few exceptions, Lorenzo/Jerónimo's relevant witnesses in the Valley were *caciques* and *principales* of these three towns.¹⁰²

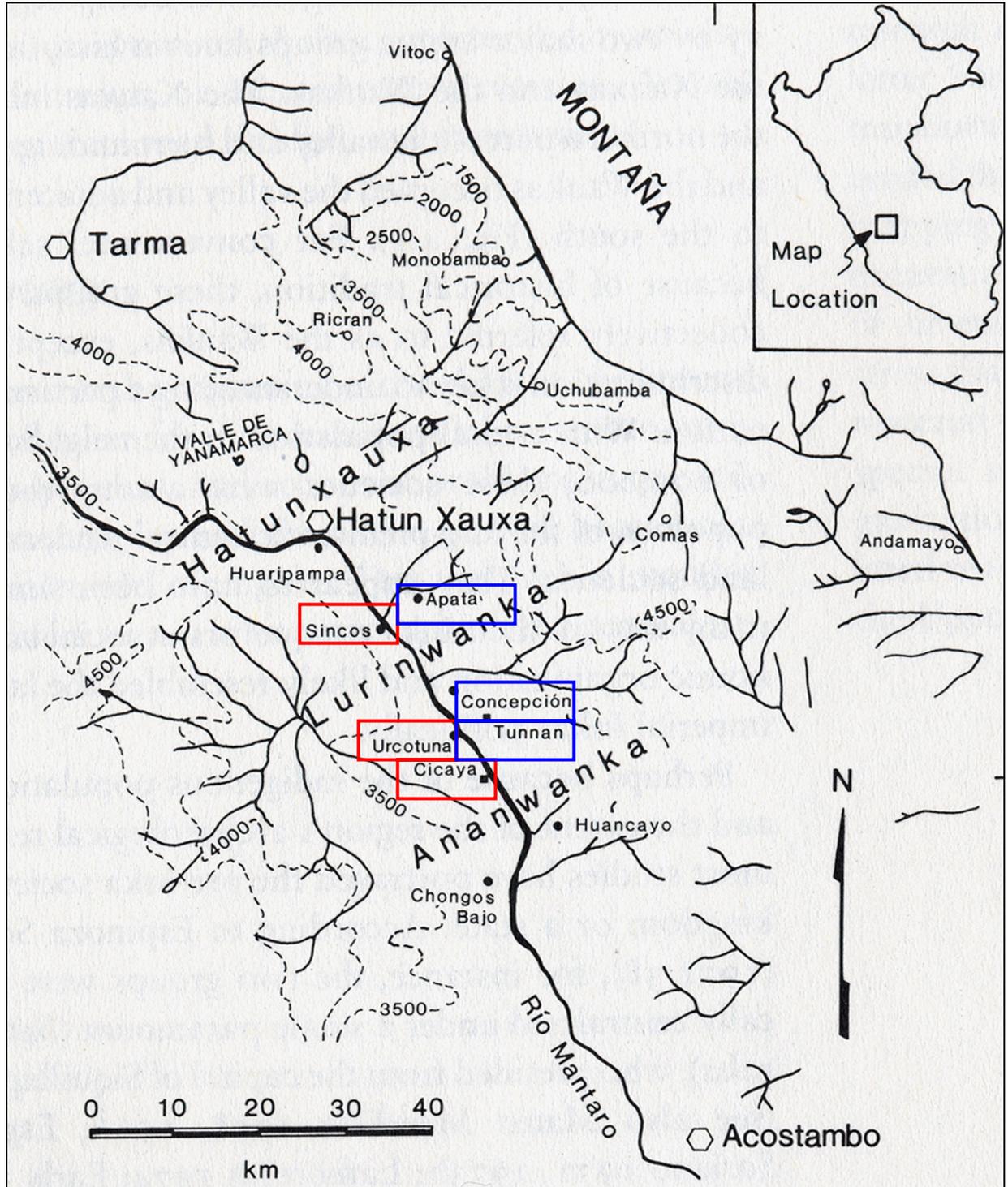
On the other hand, the four towns of the left side remained either neutral or loyal to Don Bernardino Limaylla and the actual *gobernador interino*, Don Pedro Milachami. Don Bernardino's witnesses came mainly from the towns of Apata,

¹⁰¹ See ff. 23v, 86v-87r, 314r-317v, 329r.

¹⁰² Don Vicente Quispiatis (*cacique principal* of the Llacuaz in Mito), Don José Nina Guaman (*indio principal* of Orcotuna), Don Juan de Salas (*indio cacique principal* of Orcotuna), Don Andrés Minamancho (*indio principal* of Orcotuna), Don Bernabé Llactayoc (*indio principal* of Mito), Don Juan Uisauala (*cacique principal* of Sincos), Don Juan Caryran Picho (*cacique* of the Pallamarca in Sincos), and D. Juan Mosalpico (*principal* of Sincos), among others.

Concepción, and San Jerónimo.¹⁰³ Bernardino and the Limaylla family had kinship ties in both Concepción and San Jerónimo, the most prominent towns in Luringuanca, where the lineage had been residing since the sixteenth century. Don Pedro Milachami, the *gobernador interino*, was a powerful *cacique* in the neighboring town of Apata, also on the left side of the river.

¹⁰³ Don Pedro Dionisio Auquillampi (*cacique* from Apata), Don Fernando Caymiçela (from Apata), Don Juan Guacaluco and Don Carlos Chuquiclayco (from San Jerónimo), Don Francisco Mangobala (*cacique* of the Alapas of Concepción), Don Diego Paytan Yatampa, Don Juan Yalupachi, Francisco Manco uyba, and Don Pedro Chiguanpibas (from Concepción) (137r-251v).



MAP 4: The seven towns of Luringuanca¹⁰⁴

If we take into consideration the aforementioned division, then, the river that snakes through the Valley emerges as a prominent—and previously ignored—actor during

¹⁰⁴ This map appears in D'Altroy (1992: 48).

the dispute for the *curacazgo*. Interestingly, Don Martín Quispi Aylas, one of Lorenzo/Jerónimo's most fervent supporters, had been *segunda persona* of Luringuanca at least since 1647. Colonial *segundas personas* still deserve more attention from scholars. Nonetheless, it will suffice here to say that, even though they exerted their authority over the total population of the *curacazgo*—almost surely a colonial innovation—natives sometimes associated them with one of the traditional moieties in which Andean societies had divided their chiefdoms since time immemorial. Therefore, historical evidence suggests that Don Martín Quispi Aylas, the *segunda persona*, was the provisional head of one of these moieties in Luringuanca, which the Spanish settled on the right bank of the river, facing the settlements of the opposite side. For instance, this spatial and political division was present in the case of the *cacicazgo* of Atunjauja, immediately to the north of Luringuanca, where each of the moieties occupied one bank of the river. Moreover, other evidence shows that, since prehispanic times, the indigenous populations of the Valley had constructed political and ritual oppositions along the axis of the river.¹⁰⁵ This fact accounts for an enhanced explanation of Lorenzo/Jerónimo's support during the court case analyzed here. After all, old rivalries between both “sides” of the river would emerge again in the immediate years after the transatlantic court case was over, when a new *gobernador interino* ignited the hatred of the *caciques* of one of the moieties of Luringuanca (Puente Luna 2004: chap. 6).

The intra-elite struggles behind the strange case of Lorenzo Ayun/Jerónimo Limaylla found other less subtle ways of expression. The most articulated form of “focalized” support to the alleged Jerónimo was a *memorial* prepared by three *caciques* of the “right” side of the river, presented in Lima. In fact, these lords and

¹⁰⁵ See Vega (1965: 169) and AGI. Lima, 259, n°. 11 \2\ [1669], f. 48v.

some of their subjects had made the journey to back their candidate (ff. 510v, 521r, 527v-528r). More a diatribe against Don Pedro Milachami than a defense of the alleged Jerónimo's virtues as a ruler, the *memorial* portrayed Milachami as an *intruso* and Bernardino, as a *cacique* not from the "blood" of the traditional rulers. Lineage and kinship affiliations were certainly important issues in Andean societies. Nonetheless, at this point in history, the natives had become very aware of the preference given by the Spanish to succession between fathers and sons, as well as to Spanish notions of legitimacy and ability to rule. We must not read the arguments of the *memorial* literally. As we will see, Lorenzo/Jerónimo's supporters were using the bloodline argument more because of its importance in the Spanish courts than because of its relevance when it came to establishing the legitimacy of a certain lord. To the bloodline argument, Lorenzo/Jerónimo's supporters would add the public support offered to the newcomer. Even so, as already demonstrated, this support remained confined to only some of the towns of Luringuanca.

More important to us, the 1656 *memorial* made clear that the *caciques* who authored the document, all of them Lorenzo Ayun's witnesses during the trial, were open enemies of the *gobernador interino* of Luringuanca. Consider one representative case, that of Don Vicente Quispiatis, a *cacique* from the town of Mito (right side of the river) who supported the alleged Jerónimo. Don Vicente, a "indio de mucha capacidad y entendimiento" [an Indian of great capacity and intelligence] was a "capital enemy" of Don Pedro Milachami, according to some witnesses. The latter had reported Don Vicente as a tributary, when in fact he was a prominent member of the local elite. Milachami had insulted Don Vicente's publicly by questioning his noble status (f. 588v), and thus had given him a strong motive to support the newcomer against the established rulers.

Furthermore, Don Vicente's father-in-law, Don Martín Quispi Aylas, another paramount *cacique*, was also opposed to the ruling *curacas*. During the long trial, Don Martín served as the link between the alleged Jerónimo and the Franciscan Father Andrés Cuesta, carrying letters in support of the newcomer back and forth different places in the Andes (ff. 517v-519r). Don Martín also acted as the sole and suspicious witness when the mother of the alleged Jerónimo "recognized" the newcomer as her son (f. 285v). As if this evidence about the motives of Lorenzo's supporters was not enough, Don Martín's son, named Don Bartolomé Aylas, had been in Madrid with the alleged Jerónimo. According to a local Franciscan, even though Bartolomé knew that his comrade was a fake lord, he had said openly to the priest that "somos amigos y lo e de ayudar" [we are friends and so I will help him] (f. 559r-559v). In sum, the opposition to the current *cacique* and his *gobernador* crossed three generations of this lineage of local *curacas*. It is not surprising that, in 1663, Milachami counterattacked by retaining the salary of these and other rival *caciques*.¹⁰⁶

The author of the *memorial* supporting the newcomer used other interesting arguments. He denounced Don Pedro Milachami's condition as an "outsider ("*estraño e yntruso*") to the native elite of Jauja. In several instances of the court case, Lorenzo's supporters portrayed Don Pedro Milachami as strange to the bloodline of the traditional lords of Luringuanca. This argument of the *memorial* is more delicate than the previous ones. Don Pedro was indeed the head of the Cañaris, originally a different ethnic group from present day Ecuador, which they had Incas resettled in the Valley during the fifteenth century (Pärssinen 1992: 340). At least for two generations

¹⁰⁶ ARJ. Protocolos, t. 4 (Antonio Venegas de las Casas) [1663], f. 332v-334r.

during the seventeenth century, the Milachamis had ruled over the Cañaris established in the towns of Apata, Concepción, and Mataguasi.¹⁰⁷

Nonetheless, we should not fall in the trap of reading this new argument literally either. The idea of a “foreign” ruler was not necessarily alien to the history of Luringuanca. In fact, several *gobernadores* before Don Pedro Milachami had belonged to lineages other than the Limayllas (Puente Luna 2004). Moreover, as in the argument about Don Bernardino’s supposed “incapacity,” Lorenzo and the *caciques* who supported him had designed these “proofs” to fit the colonial judges’ notions about legitimate and illegitimate rulers. What really lay behind these arguments, again, were the tensions existing among the native lords of Luringuanca. The attacks against Don Pedro Milachami were the direct response to his outstandingly privileged position—and that of his subjects—in the social frame of the *curacazgo*. In the years before the legal suit discussed here, the political career of the Milachamis had been rising due to their political skills and their ties to the colonial bureaucracy. Members of this lineage fulfilled increasingly important positions during the 1640s and 1650s, from lords of the Cañaris to *gobernadores interinos* and *segundas personas* of Luringuanca.¹⁰⁸ Even more importantly, the exoneration from working in the Huancavelica mercury mines was among the privileges granted to the Cañaris of the Valley for their aid during the Spanish conquest. Therefore, it is clear that Don Pedro Milachami’s ascending career had provoked the envy of other local lords who, despite the fact that he had been born in the local town of Apata, did not

¹⁰⁷ See Toledo (1935-40: 22) and Dean (1999: 190-192). Also, ARJ, Protocolos, T. 1 (Pedro de Carranza), f. 884v, T. 2 (Pedro de Carranza) [1642], f. 34r-35v, T. 3 (Pedro de Carranza) [1654], f. 172r-172v.

¹⁰⁸ See Celestino (1984: 549, 551) and ARJ, Protocolos, T. 3 (Pedro de Carranza) [1649], f. 41v-44r and AGI, Escribanía, 514C [1655], f. 405v-406r.

hesitate to portray him as “natural de la prouinçia de Quito” [native to the province of Quito] (ff. 481r) in order to further their case.¹⁰⁹

In sum, the complex rivalries among *curacas* outlined so far help explain the partial support given to the new Jerónimo within the towns of Luringuanca. They demystify, however, previous assumptions about the “popular” backing of a supposedly long-awaited Jerónimo Limaylla. These intra-elite struggles also account for the motivations behind both the supporters and the enemies of the newcomer during the years of the court case. It was the *caciques* opposed to Don Bernardino and his governor, Don Pedro Milachami, who spread the news about Jerónimo’s return, and thus influenced the general perceptions about the newcomer’s identity. They were also the main witnesses during the court case. They rendered their testimonies and thus they let us know their standpoint in the legal battle. However, we cannot assume that their perspective was necessarily that of the “people” of Luringuanca. My analysis suggests that the return of Jerónimo Limaylla, at least as presented in the court case, remained more an intra-elite issue than a widely-spread “public” matter.

Alongside intra-elite struggles, however, the issues surrounding the *mita* offer another great inroad into the political alliances operating behind Lorenzo’s surprising arrival in Jauja. The crucial issue of the *mita* or forced labor by turns in the Huancavelica mercury mines also aligned the different loyalties and interests beneath the court case for the *cacicazgo*, and hence it takes us finally to the center of political struggle in Luringuanca at this time. It also leads us to one of the main reasons for Lorenzo’s partial support in Luringuanca: a *cédula* granting exemption for him and his subjects to work in the dreadful mercury mines.

¹⁰⁹ ARJ, Protocolos, T. 4 (Antonio Venegas de las Casas), ff. 356r-369r.

By the time of Lorenzo's return to Jauja, work was so harsh in the cold mining region of Huancavelica that, instead of sending workers to the mercury tunnels, *caciques* from Jauja were willing to pay the Spanish miners an amount equal to the salaries of the absentees. Miners in turn used that money to hire independent Indian laborers settled in Huancavelica or arriving from other places, attracted by the mining economy (Lohmann Villena 1999: 291 and 379). Since 1571, the natives from Jauja had been subject to this arduous obligation. According to a detailed list, between January and June of 1576, over 3300 Indians from Jauja served in the mines, many of whom never returned.¹¹⁰ Numerous striking testimonies account for the severe consequences that the work in the mines had for the population of Jauja. Indians were the victims of a series of abuses by miners, local authorities, and even *caciques* in charge of organizing the groups of workers. Due to these harsh conditions, many of the unlucky workers died intoxicated or exhausted while serving their period in Huancavelica or even after having gone back to the Valley (Lizárraga 19xx: 160-163; 250; Salinas y Córdoba 1957: 295). Other potential or already-selected *mita* workers decided to escape to the nearby regions. By doing so, they avoided the *mita* in their new locations, for the authorities and local *curacas* there could only enroll *originarios* (people born specifically in one place) in the *mita* labor turns. Conversely, *curacas* from the original regions of the absentees took great pains to find those who had fled and to force them to return (Wightman 1990, Powers 1995). In a sort of middle solution, instead of going to the mines or fleeing from the region, many natives from Jauja paid their *caciques* an amount equivalent to their salary as workers in the mines,

¹¹⁰ AGI. Patronato, 239, R. 10 [1576].

so they could avoid the journey. The lords in turn gave that money to the miners, who hired other workers. In practice, then, *mita* service had become another kind of tribute for the Indians of the Valley.

Historical evidence, external to the court case of 1656-1671, shows that the native lords of Luringuanca were experiencing serious difficulties in collecting tribute and gathering *mita* workers by the mid-seventeenth century. In contrast to the other two main *curacazgos* of Jauja, the lords of Luringuanca had but a few head of cattle among the *bienes del común*. Therefore, the *caciques* were depleting the *bienes del común* in order to hire outside workers who could cover them in the mines. As they declared in 1663, this relative lack of resources diminished their capacity to obtain cash money to cover *mita* and tributary obligations.¹¹¹ Along with economic difficulties, official population figures show a significant decrease in the number of tributaries between 1600 and 1632, from 3361 to 1778. The drop in the number of tributaries may point to different scenarios. First, it could indicate that *caciques* were hiding part of the labor force from official records in order to use it for either private or communal enterprises, as was common in the Valley during the eighteenth century.¹¹² Second, and this is more possible given the available evidence, the missing workers could indeed represent Indians who had fled from the Valley to avoid tribute and *mita* duties, and thus were beyond the *caciques*' control in Huamanga, Lima, and other cities. This issue was becoming crucial at the time of Lorenzo Ayun's arrival in Jauja in 1655. For instance, *mita* obligations, as well as the Indians' will to avoid them, were among the motives behind a truncated native uprising in the Valley around 1666. The problem of "indios fugados" [escaped Indians] was especially acute during

¹¹¹ ARJ. Protocolos, t. 3 (Pedro de Carranza) [1663], f. 306 y ss.

¹¹² AGI, Lima, 414, Primer and Segundo cuaderno [1730-1731].

the 1650s. In 1650, Don Pedro Limaylla—uncle of Don Bernardino—gave his power of attorney as *cacique principal* of Luringuanca to several individuals in route to Huamanga. They had to collect the tribute and *mita* quotas from the Luringuanca “del tiempo que por aquella ciudad y su distrito andan ausentes” [from the time they have been absent in Huamanga and its surroundings]. Moreover, the *curaca* Limaylla expected his emissaries to compel the absentees and their families to go back to the Valley.¹¹³

As stated already, if tribute and workers were missing, colonial authorities held native lords responsible. The lords, especially the *cacique principal*, had to pay for the debt of their subjects. And the Limayllas were experiencing this very type of situation. On October 1665, right after the Audiencia issued the second sentence of the transatlantic court case in Lima and the supposed Jerónimo Limaylla went to Spain for the second time, the Spanish authorities threw the *caciques* of Luringuanca in jail for unpaid tribute quotas of 1664 and 1665. The list of lords imprisoned included the very Don Bernardino Mangoguala and another fifteen *caciques*.¹¹⁴ Additional documents indicate that, during this time, the *caciques* from Luringuanca and those from other *cacicazgos* in the Valley experienced a similar fate, due to the great difficulties of tribute and *mita*.¹¹⁵ Lorenzo’s arrival in Jauja occurred within this difficult context. Almost immediately, he cleverly stated that he had a royal decree in his possession, which ordered that “los yndios que fuesen sus subditos no pagasen tributos ni mitasen a Guancavelica” [the Indians who accepted being his subjects would neither pay tribute nor fulfill labor duties in the mines of Huancavelica] (f. 546r).

¹¹³ AGN. Derecho Indígena, C. 128, L. 9, f. 4r.

¹¹⁴ ARJ. Protocolos, T. 10 (Juan Francisco de Pineda) [1665], f. 595r.

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, BNP, Mss., B1482 [1644].

An obvious way for the ruling *caciques*, such as Don Bernardino Mangoguala and Don Pedro Milachami, to overcome the decrease of available labor force was to intensify the demands over the tributary populations that, for different reasons, had remained in the Valley. Don Bernardino and Don Pedro could compensate the absentees' tribute and work force with that of the *forasteros* or outsiders who had settled in Jauja as well. Were they to choose who would cover the absentees' tribute and workforce, they would prefer to alleviate their most direct subjects and supporters, as well as the inhabitants of the towns they could control more closely, those of the left bank of the river (Apata, San Jerónimo, and Concepción). The Cañaris of Don Pedro Milachami, most of them living in Apata, were already in a privileged position concerning the *mita*, for they were not subject to this duty.

Burdening some and alleviating others, however, was a dangerous move. Don Bernardino and his governor Don Pedro Milachami—directly in charge of *mita* and tribute—could not postpone their obligations with the colonial government, or they would go to jail. Therefore, the enforcement of the strategy of privileging some towns over others would clearly alienate them from those directly harmed by *mita* and tribute: the numerous *forasteros* and—the evidence points towards this interpretation—the *caciques* and Indians of the towns on the right bank of the river, precisely those who supported Lorenzo Ayun/Jerónimo Limaylla. Both *forasteros* and *caciques* from the right bank would unite against Milachami's demands, especially his requests concerning the *mita* to the mercury mines. The *caciques* who supported the new Jerónimo Limaylla emphasized in their 1656 *memorial* that the very presence of Milachami was among the reasons for intra-elite struggles, as well as for the natives' being “ausentes y descarreados” [missing and beyond control], that is, not subject to tribute and *mita*.

Don Bernardino and Don Pedro's were in the difficult and contradictory position of acting as appointed servers of the colonial system (through *mita* and tribute) as well as keepers of the community's welfare. Many seventeenth-century *curacas* had to face this same "dilemma" (Rivera Cusicanqui 1978; Spalding 1981; Saignes 1987). In most respects, they had no choice because they had fallen into the trap of having to serve the two worlds. The natives would expect *curacas* to fight for lower tributary quotas and *mita* services. Conversely, the local authorities would demand from *curacas* the prompt collection and payment of those obligations, gradually eroding the lords' legitimacy among their subjects. The tensions and contradictions of *mita* and tribute, the flight of tributaries, the decrease of communal wealth, and the ambiguous situation of *forasteros* in Jauja (whether or not they should pay tribute) were all contradictions embedded in colonial rule. If we take a broad historical perspective, these elements were, largely, beyond the actual control of individual *caciques* such as Don Bernardino Mangoguala. Some seventeenth-century *curacas* managed to cope with the contradictions embraced in their two legitimacies—at least for some time—while others succumbed to colonial pressures or took the easy path of embracing the colonizers' world.

Even though *mita* and tribute demands, as well as the non-acceptance of Don Pedro Milachami by other local *caciques*, were undermining Bernardino and his close supporters' legitimacy as Andean rulers, these circumstances do not necessarily imply that they were "incapable" lords, as previous literal readings of Lorenzo Ayun's arguments have assumed. A more nuanced interpretation, different from the typical historiographic view of *good* and *bad curacas*, does not deny the obvious fact that some of the Luringuancas indeed regarded Don Bernardino Mangoguala and his aides

as “bad *caciques*.” Nor does it neglect that their policies—enforcing colonial demands—alienated them from the native populations of Jauja.

Nevertheless, intra-elite struggles and the problems surrounding the *mita*, the two central issues behind the polemic arrival of Jeronimo Limaylla in Jauja, do not automatically prove Don Pedro Milachami’s tyranny and Don Bernardino Mangoguala’s incapacity, as some academics have assumed. To adopt this premise would definitely imply a biased reading of the court case. Doubtless, intra-elite struggles, *mita* problems, and the mysterious royal decree add to the list of causes of Lorenzo/Jerónimo’s partial success. Both also account for his supporters’ negative depiction of the *caciques* in power. Nevertheless, we must not understand their arguments literally.

The fact that Don Pedro Milachami was Don Bernardino’s *gobernador* did not prove that the former was an intruder—as argued by Lorenzo’s supporters—for this situation had been common in Luringuanca for more than a century. As in Don Bernardino’s case, the Limaylla *curacas* (the “official” lineage of lords since the 1570s) only rarely ruled during their youth. Colonial law mandated that older native lords from within or from without the ruling lineage (called *gobernadores interinos* during their term of office) had to aid young *caciques principales* in collecting tribute, organizing labor quotas, and managing the community’s welfare until the latter were old enough to become *gobernadores* themselves (Díaz Rementería 1977). These *gobernadores interinos* usually came from within the lineage itself (usually paternal uncles) for they were more likely to keep the title of cacique in the hands of the family. However, this option was not always available and, for reasons still unknown, the Limayllas resorted to ethnic lords from other lineages to act as their *gobernadores* during the seventeenth century. These *gobernadores interinos* came from the middle

ranks of the *cacique* elite and were themselves lords heading specific lineages or *caciques principales* of one specific town. For several years, Don Bernardino Limaylla had two *gobernadores*: his uncle Don Pedro Limaylla and Don Pedro Milachami.

This common pattern of alternate ruling by members of different lineages does not turn the Limayllas such as Bernardino into “incapable” rulers automatically. To a certain extent, alternate ruling prepared young *caciques* to fulfill the role of a legitimate lord, given that Spanish succession had altered the previous mechanisms for electing the most capable. Moreover, this practice allowed the necessary sharing of power among the members of the elite. From this point of view, that Pedro Limaylla, paternal uncle of Don Bernardino, and later Don Pedro Milachami, acted as *gobernadores interinos* during Bernardino’s youth, does not make of Bernardino an *incapaz per se*. On the contrary, this pattern fits neatly into what had been the norm of alternate ruling since the conquest. The political history of Luringuanca provides several examples. Even Lorenzo de Zárate Limaylla (supposed father and “role model” of his successor, the fake Jerónimo) did not rule the affairs of the *cacicazgo* in the 1620s and 1630s. During that period, Don Juan Felipe Guacrapaucar and Don Juan Francisco de Quirós—probably a *mestizo*—acted as *gobernadores interinos* of Luringuanca.¹¹⁶ Thus, this kind of evidence contradicts the argument about Bernardino’s incapacity and Milachami’s tyranny as a supposedly foreign ruler. It becomes clear that the fake Jerónimo and his supporters during the court case of 1655-1671 targeted their rhetorical weapons (*memoriales*, witnesses’ depositions, and

¹¹⁶ ARJ. Protocolos, t. 6 (Melchor de los Reyes) [1627], f. 580r-581r; t. 6 (Damián de Arauz) [1629], f. 163r-163v. AGN. Derecho Indígena, leg. 7, C. 84 [1630], f. 19r.; BNP. Mss. B1482 [1635], f. 241r-241v; ARJ. Protocolos, t. 1 (Pedro de Carranza) [1636], f. 141v-142r, f. 155r-155v [1635], f. 189r-189v [1636], f. 398v-404r [1637], f. 587r [1638], f. 623r [1639], f. 664v [1639], f. 835r-835v [1639], 850v [1640]; t. 2 (Pedro de Carranza) [1640], f. 1r-1v. t. 2 (Pedro de Carranza) [1647], 410r-411v.

“documentary” proofs) to match with Spanish notions of nobility, rulership, and legitimacy. But their attacks against Don Bernardino and his *gobernador*, Don Pedro Milachami, reflect their deep knowledge of the ways to succeed in the Spanish judicial system more than they reflect Andean concepts of legitimate authority, as well as the ruling *cacique*’s ability to govern.

In sum, we must not underestimate the capacity of Don Bernardino Mangoguala, Don Pedro Limaylla, and Don Pedro Milachami as rulers. Some evidence points towards a different direction. Don Pedro Milachami had worked his way from a *curaca* of the Cañaris of Apata to his acceptance into the highest ranks of the *caciques principales*, *segundas personas*, and *gobernadores*, something very difficult to achieve without at least some ability to rule. Furthermore, in 1651, several *caciques* of Luringuanca signed an interesting power of attorney. Among the authors were Don Pedro Limaylla, Don Bernardino’s later *gobernador*, and one of Bernardino’s close relatives.¹¹⁷ In this document, the *caciques* gave their power to three *curacas* from regions now a part of present-day Peru and Ecuador, who were traveling to Spain. They were to represent the Luringuancas at the court and petition the King for an exemption of their obligations in the Huancavelica mercury mines for twenty years. By doing so, the lords offered a clear picture of the crucial dilemma that emerged from the colonial system itself, which demanded *curacas* to fulfill their role as loyal vassals—that is, collecting tribute and organizing labor in the mines—while maintaining their ethnic legitimacy as administrators of the community’s welfare. About the issues of the *mita*, the *caciques* wrote in 1651:

¹¹⁷ ARJ, Protocolos, T. 3 (Pedro de Carranza) [1651], f. 209v210v.

[es la] caussa de que el dia de oy Esta El dicho Repartimiento muy falto de yndios, y tan pobres que apenas se pueden sustentar y por la falta que ay para poder suplir quien acuda a servir por Ellos, necessitan de bender sus haciendas para alquilar yndios de otras partes que siruan Las dichas minas En lugar de los muchos que se an muerto y ausentado y passado de tassa con que totalmente Esta destruido El dicho rrepartimiento.

Behind all the rhetoric lay the central problem concerning the *mita*, faced by the *curacas* of Luringuanca in the mid-seventeenth century, as explained above. But more importantly, this document also shows that Don Pedro Limaylla, one of Bernardino's *gobernadores*, was active in seeking a twenty-year exoneration from the *mita* service in Huancavelica and thus was not necessarily an inept ruler.

Moreover, the Jesuits had educated Don Bernardino Mangoguala, Lorenzo Ayun's main rival, in the school for native nobles in Lima. Bernardino was fluent in Spanish and knew how to read and write in that language. The fact that he entered the school in 1648, almost immediately after the sudden death of the last *curaca* of Luringuanca, should not remain unnoticed (Colegio 1923: 805). That the native elite of Luringuanca sent the true Jerónimo and Bernardino for their admission in the school points to the fact that they were considering both as potential successors of the deceased *curaca* Don Lorenzo Valentín Limaylla.

Two letters that Don Bernardino addressed to his "nephew" Jerónimo in 1660-1661—more a proof of his fine sarcasm and social ability than an approval of the alleged identity of Lorenzo/Jerónimo—deserve a commentary. If Don Bernardino had usurped Jerónimo's *curacazgo*, then why would the latter write to Bernardino in such a friendly tone, as follows from Bernardino's letters themselves? Furthermore, why would the alleged Jerónimo represent Bernardino in legal matters and other personal businesses in Lima, as the second letter shows? More importantly, as the second letter also implies, why would the alleged Jerónimo contradict his own witnesses in Lima

when they testified about the incapacity of Don Bernardino? Indeed, in the second letter Don Bernardino refers to Nicolás Ramírez, one of the alleged Jerónimo's witnesses, implying that Jerónimo had defended Bernardino's honor and cause by minimizing Ramírez's declarations against him. For Monique Alaperrine-Boyer, the letters account for Don Bernardino's foolishness of calling the alleged Jerónimo "nephew" and "relative" while they were litigating for the *cacicazgo*. However, this interpretation is another example of a biased reading. By the time of the second letter (January 1661), the Audiencia had already issued the first sentence in favor of Bernardino (September 1660). I will suggest that, feeling himself the legal winner already, Bernardino had little to risk by sending the letter, and he was not aware that Lorenzo/Jerónimo would appeal the sentence and use the correspondence against him. He needed to remain on good terms with the man who was legally representing him in Lima. Writing the two letters was, in the end, a bad move on Bernardino's part, for he had to explain their very existence to the judges. Nonetheless, they raise as many questions about Bernardino's motivations as they do for those of Lorenzo/Jerónimo, who exchanged correspondence with his supposed enemy and represented him at the courts in Lima. Additional evidence might clarify this aspect in the future. For now, we will have to go along with Bernardino's own justification for having authored the letters, which, by the way, makes perfect sense:

el llamarle en ellas pariente y sobrino no fue por ser ziertto lo sussodicho sino solo por burlarle i darle algun genero de esperanza en alguna pretension y maiormente porque le a auido menestter en la ziudad de los reies en pleitos y negoçios que oi sigue estte declarante y por estta razon le escriuio con algun amor y blandura pero que no le reconoze por tal pariente en sanguinidad ni en afinidad (ff. 905v).

More importantly, the letters portray Don Bernardino as an active *cacique* in the matters of government.¹¹⁸ In previous letters, now missing, the alleged Jerónimo had requested that Bernardino travel to Lima, but Don Bernardino had excused himself for staying in Jauja. At that time, he was busy organizing some important religious celebrations and conducting a new tribute inspection in Luringuanca. In one of the letters, Don Bernardino thanked God for having given him “capacidad i entendimientto” [the capability and wisdom] to deal with these issues. Indeed, he fulfilled the position of *cacique principal* and *gobernador* of Luringuanca between 1661 and 1669 undisputedly. More importantly, his last will and testament reveals that he had inherited the ancestral titles of *cacique* of Luringuanca from his ancestors, the Limayllas living in Concepción and San Jerónimo, titles that he listed among his

¹¹⁸ The first letter is as follows: “Señor Don Geronimo Lorenço Limailla mi Sobrino= esttara Vmd ezpantado i admirado el no hauer ido a essa Ziudad aunque Umd me a llamado por Sus Carttas no se espantte Umd porque lo uno ha sido por no tener platta que poder ajudarne y lo otro no tener Un besttido Con que poder pareser en essa Ciudad estta ha sido la caussa de no hauer ido luego a uer a Umd i berlo que me mandaua a mediado de settiembre Se haze la fiesta de la aSumpcion de nuestra Señora y es alferes de la fiestta mi cuñado Diego Roman y es fuerça ayudarle para fin de Septtiembre esttare en essa Ziudad= una Cartta que Umd auia escrito a françisco de paz a ssido tan buen hombre que lo a andado mostrando a todo que bien podia Su merzed no mostrarlo a nadie no se que es su pensamiento Los dias passados escreui a Umd y desde enttonzes aca no e tenido letra de Umd ni sauído de su salud holgare me goze Umd della por mui largos años en la buena compañía de mi Señora Doña Pettronila a quien bessa sus manos con la de Umd a quienes Guarde Dios felices años Conzepcion y Agosto ueinte y quatro de mil y seisçientos y sesentta años de Umd ttio y Seruidor= Don Bernardino Limailla= a Don Geronimo Lorenzo limailla mi sobrino que Dios Guarde en la Ziudad de los reies= Lima” (ff. 696r-697r.).

The second letter is the following: “Señor Don Geronimo lorenzo Limailla= el de Umd por mano del Señor nicolas ramires que fue para mi de gran gustto y contentto estimando las onrras y faoueres que Vmd por la suia me haze que al fin como dize aquel refran que Siempre la Sangre tira y reconose a Los parientes y como a ttal me da Luz de lo que este buen hombre ha depuestto de mi que soi incapaz y inauil en Todo dize lo que quiere por no dezirle que mientte que a Dios graçias tengo capacidad i entendimientto que Dios me dio y assi ttodo quantto dize es falsso yo esttoi indispuesto para poder uajar lo uno por estar temiendo las grandes calores de essa ziudad y porque el dia de oi esttan de proximo para Començar la Reuissitta y no quisiera que este mal hombre usara alguna traiçion conmigo que es ttan falsso como Judas y el me a querido acarear mas de fuerça que de gana porque hemos tenido Veinte quiebras por las maldades que a ussado Conmigo y assi puessto que Vmd estta alla mire por mis caussas en Rason de lo que de mi ttiene prouado Como Umd me dize por la Suia y ssi Umd me perdone la ida aqui me tiene Umd para mandarme que me holgare goze de enttera salud en la buena compañía de mi Señora Doña Pettronila a quien beso sus manos mil Vezes y a la Señora Doña Cattalina madre de Umd. y a ttodos los parientes en comun les dara Umd mis saludes y que esttoi con gran desseo de berle i que passado pasqua siendo Dios seruido esttare en essa Ziudad y nos beremos las Caras y disporna [dispondrá] nuestro Señor lo que combiniere para onrra Y Gloria Suia a quien guarde Dios felices años= Conzepcion henero Ueinte y Zinco de mil y seisçientos y Sesentta y uno= de Umd ttio= Don Bernardino limailla=” (ff. 697r-698v).

other possessions (Hurtado Ames and Solier Ochoa 2003: 96-107). The Limayllas did not oppose his appointment as *cacique*. Both Bernardino and his brother Antonio would use the surname “Limaylla,” an indicator of their sense of belonging to this lineage and of their condition as only successors to the title of *caciques*.

In sum, despite Bernardino’s ability as a ruler, the undeniable fact of dead and missing tributaries had increased the pressure upon those native-born Indians who had remained in the Valley. Since the Crown had exempted the *forasteros* and the Cañaris from fulfilling *mita* and tribute obligations, these privileges could only worsen the existing tension between the ruling *caciques principales*, such as Don Bernardino, and the local *caciques* in charge of collecting these impositions. In the long term, this situation undermined the ruling *caciques*’ legitimacy, for they could no longer guarantee the community’s well-being. Moreover, these thorny issues aggravated the struggles among the native elite of Luringuanca. In this difficult scenario, *caciques* such as Don Bernardino Limaylla and Don Pedro Milachami would have to privilege their direct subjects over the interests of other lineages and towns. Therefore, if one explains the complex situation in Luringuanca by merely opposing “capable” *curacas* to “incapable” *caciques*, one is not only oversimplifying but also blaming the victims of broad historical processes that transcended the lives of single individuals.

Upon Lorenzo’s arrival in Jauja, the people of Luringuanca met with a difficult choice. Their political loyalties were divided, as indicated by Lorenzo’s only partial support. Bernardino was a capable lord, though he had to face the difficulties and contradictions of colonial rule. Lorenzo could exhibit some striking cultural skills and legal abilities, which could turn him into a very successful leader. Nonetheless, Lorenzo Ayun’s cultural appropriation also embraced the risks of colonialism. The opposition between good *curacas* and bad *caciques* expressed the emerging

contradictions in two different but coexisting ways of legitimizing ethnic authority in the Andes. The native populations exhibited ambiguous and even contradicting attitudes towards the possible outcomes of their lords' process of acculturation.

For some, it meant the appropriation and incorporation of the rulers' internal sources and material signs of power into the *curacas*' own domain, thus reinforcing their authority and ability to deal with the colonial situation.¹¹⁹ For others, Hispanicized *caciques* actually betrayed traditional Andean forms of legitimacy and cultural identity, thus losing their influence among the native people.¹²⁰ Guaman Poma praises the "buena ley" [good government] of ancient *curacas*, who ate in public plazas and, accompanied with music and dances, distributed food among the members of the community. He adds that one of the reasons for colonial *curacas* not to be "obedecidos and rrespetados" [obeyed and respected] is that "no se cirue bien ni se rregala de casa y de comida y mesa" [they do not serve their subjects well or provide them with food and provisions] (Guaman Poma 1992: 48, 415, 692, 716). But acculturation was also the path followed by *indios ladinos*, usually common Indians, to become *de facto curacas*, to privatize lands and other communal resources, and to benefit from the colonial order in several other ways. Again, attitudes and opinions towards these social climbers were ambiguous among the native populations. Some communities welcomed these characters, for they were usually versed in the Spanish language, knew how to succeed in the colonial legal system, and had valuable ties with the different levels of the authority. Communities would try to use them for their own material well-being and cultural continuity. This role could have been Lorenzo's

¹¹⁹ See, for instance, Guaman Poma de Ayala (1992: 48, 415, 692, 716), who writes that a colonial *curaca* "A de bestirse como español [...] Trayga camisa, cuello, jubón y calsa, botas y su camegeta y capa, sombrero y su espada, alauarda y otras armas como señor y prencipal y caballos y mulas", agregando "que no proeue uino ni chicha ni coca [...] Y que se trate como español en el comer."

¹²⁰ An interesting case is included in AGI, Lima, 259, N. 11 \2\ [1669], f. 186v-187r. I have discussed its particular context in Puente Luna (2004: chapter 6).

in Reque—if an unpaid debt had not forced him to escape to Lima. In other cases, Indian communities and their traditional lords regarded these *ladinos* as a direct threat to their autonomy and social structure. Social climbers could profit from their linguistic and legal skills. By using their political connections and economic power, they could easily become *caciques intrusos*. Intruder *caciques* sometimes received support from within the members of the community. *Intrusos* were a disturbing presence but they could also be beneficial in the long term. They inserted themselves into the game of alliances and enmities typical of Andean communities.

The arguments explained so far outline the historical setting for Lorenzo Ayun's arrival in Jauja. Despite the ruling *curacas'* credentials and ability to rule, and in part because of the colonial pressures put on the native populations of Jauja, the new Jerónimo Limaylla was an enemy hard to defeat. Even though previous authors have overstated his political support in the Valley, we must not forget that, as shown in the first chapter, he was close to succeeding in the courts. It will be evident by now that two of Lorenzo's crucial experiences overseas lay behind the political support he achieved in the Valley: the 1646 *memorial* to the King and the interview—real or fictitious—with the monarch himself.

Back in Jauja, he claimed that he had obtained a *real cédula* from the King that abolished the generally hated *mita* services and tribute payments for those Indians of Luringuanca who became his subjects. He even claimed that his only reason for pursuing the *curacazgo* was to enforce the *cédula* in the Valley, and thus free the natives from their heavy duties.¹²¹ His predicament was especially influential among

¹²¹ In a *memorial* addressed to the King in the early 1660s, Lorenzo defended the convenience of his rule in Luringuanca, so that “dicha prouincia se restituia y libre de la ruina y detraimiento de los naturales, que son en numero de dos mil personas las que se an ausentado por aberse visto desamparados de los gobernadores yntrusos que an gobernado sin afiçion y cuidado de su

the *forasteros* who lived there. In both the *cédula* and his bearer, they saw a great chance to sanction their privileged condition of exempted workers. For reasons similar to those of the *forasteros*, some local *curacas* and their subjects also embraced Jerónimo as a potential leader, as someone who had made his way to the Spanish court, had talked to the King, and was capable of accomplishing great achievements for the natives, including the suppression of *mita* duties and the reduction of tribute quotas. *Caciques* and Indians who were in Huancavelica at the time of Lorenzo's arrival went back to Jauja as soon as they heard the news about the new Jerónimo and his mysterious *cédula*. They even threatened the *caciques* in power by claiming that, were Jerónimo not to be their new lord, they would leave their houses and towns, go live somewhere else, and become *forasteros* themselves. Thanks to this document, Lorenzo/Jerónimo recruited witnesses who were willing to testify and even to lie in order to see him appointed *cacique*.¹²²

One can find fascinating that, during the long legal suit in which Lorenzo became involved, no witnesses ever claimed to have seen his famous *cédula* abolishing *mita* services and tribute quotas for his subjects. Nonetheless, the evidence points to the fact, though, that Lorenzo showed his 1646 *memorial* as his “proof” of having talked to the King in person. The *cacique* of Reque clearly stated that “el dicho Lorenço Ayun, o don Lorenço Geronimo le leyo a este testigo un memorial [...] pero este testigo no uio la firma de Su Magestad” [the said Lorenzo Ayun or Don Lorenzo Jerónimo read a *memorial* to this witness, but he did not see the signature of His Majesty on it] (f. 575r-575v). The *memorial* of 1646 proved no exoneration for the Indians of Jauja whatsoever. Even so, Lorenzo's refashioning due to his transatlantic

[con]serbaçion Y para ser reducidos a sus naturalezas no esperan mas que la Restitucion de su lexitimo cacique y gobernador” (f. 1v).

¹²² See ff. 378r, 445r, f. 473v-474r, 546r.

voyage (his noble manners, European clothes, fluency in spoken and written Spanish, and dominion of the legal system) made his words and his claims feasible among the populations of Jauja: he almost became *cacique* of the seven towns of Luringuanca. He had forged this new identity within the complex transatlantic networks that tied the small coastal town of Reque with the King's palace in Madrid: the local church, Fathers Carrera and Ayllón, the Franciscans, fray Buenaventura de Salinas, the Viceroy and his *criados*, and even the royal court. He had gained most of his skills and social status, first, as a sacristan and a protégé of priests and Fathers, and, second, through his voyage to Spain in the 1640s and his empowering experience at the King's court. From this point of view, the outstanding story of how he almost became *curaca* could not have been possible had he not been an Indian traveler to Spain.

One must keep in mind that Lorenzo/Jerónimo could not speak the native language of the Jauja Valley. Furthermore, we can assume that, being an Indian from the coast, Lorenzo did not even look like the inhabitants of Jauja, in the highlands of Peru. Instead of a returning *cacique*, Lorenzo truly posed a threat to the traditional *curacas* of Luringuanca. From this perspective, he was the real intruder in this story. Lorenzo's authority and legitimacy did not depend on his identity as a real *cacique*, which he was not, as must have been clear to many of his contemporaries. Nor did it come out from some sort of divine or human justice that should return to him the *cacicazgo* that others had usurped from him. Lorenzo's success emerged from his long journey from Reque to Spain.

Lorenzo's Spanish appearance and transatlantic adventures, his crafting of a new Christian, *ladino*, and *curaca* identity, made the truth contained in his story possible or even desirable. When forced to choose between the traditional lords and the Indian traveler, even if they knew he was lying, the community of Luringuanca chose a man

who seemed to have the ability to solve their immediate concerns. Throughout his life, Lorenzo's refashioned identity as a traveling lord became more important than his original identity as an Indian commoner of Reque. People chose to believe in Lorenzo's story because he turned the impossible into something achievable: a world without the constraints of burdensome colonial levies and taxes. His charisma, the sign of the rulers that one can define as "being near the heart of things" (Geertz 2000: 123), materialized in the *cédula/memorial* that offered a solution to one of the contradictions that most vitally affected the Luringuancas: the *mita* to the mercury mines.

Lorenzo/Jerónimo's fame, due to his interview with the King and his transatlantic affairs in favor of the Indians, went beyond the Valley. In 1666, the colonial authorities confiscated three of Lorenzo's letters, signed as "Jerónimo Limaylla." Interestingly, the letters were among the possessions of a *cacique* of Huancavelica, accused of leading an anti-*mita* and anti-tribute native rebellion.¹²³ The connections between the alleged Limaylla and the supposed rebels are not clear, though it seems that the native authorities of Huancavelica were planning to benefit from Lorenzo's legal experience. For the purpose of this story, it is also revealing that Lorenzo wrote these pieces of correspondence in 1656, while he was litigating for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca in Lima, and thus wanted to portray himself as a legitimate lord fighting to free the indigenous populations from labor duties in the mines. In this task of refashioning himself, he was very successful. Inspired by his Franciscan protectors, he

¹²³ AHMH, Expedientes Coloniales, Leg. 1, Exp. 1 [1667], ff. 40r-41v.

performed the role of traveling lord and advocate of the natives even after the legal suit for the *curacazgo* was over.

In late 1664 or early 1665, Lorenzo sailed to Spain for the second time. As he declared in 1666 in Madrid, British pirates attacked the ship between Cartagena and Havana, taking the money he had brought to support himself at the court. Nonetheless, he managed to save several *memoriales*, which he was carrying on behalf of the Andean lords from the regions of Tarma and Huamanga, surrounding the Valley of Jauja. In these *memoriales*, the lords denounced abuses against the natives and petitioned the King for exemption from colonial burdens. The *caciques* gave their instructions to Lorenzo. They placed their trust upon him, a highly acculturated Indian (and perhaps a *cacique-to-be*, for the court case was not closed yet) who had been to Spain already and knew the vicissitudes of the trip, the intricacies of the Spanish court, and the mechanisms of the legal system first hand.

From this perspective, Lorenzo's legal defeat in the courts of the Viceroyalty was also a triumph for the impostor. Indeed, Lorenzo appealed the second sentence of the Audiencia favoring his rival Don Bernardino, and thus this appellation allowed the alleged Jerónimo Limaylla to ask for the King's permission to travel to Spain and continue the legal suit there. Lorenzo requested the King's authorization with another *memorial*, this time prepared in Lima. The authorization to leave Peru implicitly recognized his identity as a litigating *curaca*.¹²⁴ From 1665 onward, Lorenzo was able to live near the King's court, although his life in Madrid remains unknown. The Spanish authorities even supported him financially during this new transatlantic enterprise, though they were not always willing to do so. For almost fifteen more

¹²⁴ See Archivo Vargas Ugarte, Mss., T. 32 (16), n° 35 [1662], f. 66r-66v and Recopilación (1841: Lib.6, Tit. 8, L. XVII).

years, Lorenzo constantly disobeyed the orders of the Council of the Indies to go back to Peru, thus using the money allotted for the trip to sustain himself in Spain. In 1678, the King still refused to authorize Lorenzo's forced return.¹²⁵ The legal suit for the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca had finally taken Lorenzo to Spain. The court case gave him the chance to represent other native lords in Madrid, as well as continue addressing *memoriales* in favor of the Indians. He signed all his petitions to the King as "Don Jerónimo Limaylla," the dispossessed though legitimate lord of Luringuanca whose life he was now enacting.

In light of this second transatlantic voyage of 1664-1665, some of Lorenzo's most powerful motivations to go back to Spain start to emerge more clearly. In one of his most puzzling statements, he had declared to a Franciscan that "no pretendo Gouierno sino hacer ynformaçion de los agrauios que rreçiven estos yndios para boluerme a España y quitarles estas bexaçiones" ["I do not aspire to obtain the government of Luringuanca; rather, I want to collect information about the abuses that these Indians receive in order to go back to Spain and put an end to their sufferings"] (f. 558r).

If we believe his words, then, the crucial time in which he pushed legal actions to attain the *curacazgo* of Luringuanca finally crowned him with relative success. After a relatively long period of estrangement that took him out of Reque and into the King's court, Lorenzo, the Christian and *ladino* Indian, went back to Peru and attempted to reinsert himself into the native society; first, in his town of Reque, and then, in the Jauja Valley. He partially failed, for the local lords of Reque persecuted him and he never became *curaca* of Luringuanca. Even so, Lorenzo went to Spain for

¹²⁵ See, for instance, AGI. Indiferente, 439, L. 22, F. 283r-283v [1664]; Indiferente, 440, L. 25, F. 266v-267r [1670] and Konetzke (1958: 440-442).

the second time, following the steps of one of his most prominent role models, fray Buenaventura de Salinas, from whom Lorenzo took a name at some point of his life.

At the royal court of Spain, Lorenzo continued to address the King about the sufferings of his fellow Indians in the Andes. As a reinvented *curaca*, he managed to go on with his life of Christian virtue, appeasing his conscience (and that of the monarch), and denouncing the bad government and injustice implicit in colonial rule. Throughout his life, he achieved what most *curacas* could only dream about: to “speak” directly to the King. More importantly, he managed to frame his new life into a long pattern of collaboration, carried on by Indian communities, Andean lords, and friars, which we have only started to surmise. The transatlantic travels that stemmed from this common enterprise had a great influence on Lorenzo’s evolving identity, as shown in this work. Beyond Lorenzo’s life, however, only further research will reveal how these journeys, as well as the traveling Andean lords who accomplished them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, helped shape a pan-Andean Indian identity, while feeding a peculiar relationship between the Spanish King and the indigenous populations, bound together by the Habsburg notion of *buen gobierno*.

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- Jose Carlos de la Puente Luna
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Education

- Bachelor of Arts (History). Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002
- *Licenciado* (History). Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2004

Experience

- Teaching Assistant. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1990-2004
- Editor Assistant. *Histórica* journal. Lima-Peru, 2000-2004
- Research Assistant in M. Cueto, *El valor de la salud* (Washington: PAHO, 2004)
- Research Assistant. Texas Christian University, 2004 -present

Honors

- Tuition scholarship, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998-2002
- Research scholarship, Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Seville-Spain), 2002, 2003
- Best paper, *Coloquio Internacional de Estudiantes de Historia*, Pont. Universidad Católica del Perú, 2004
- Annual award for best thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2004
- Full scholarship, M.A. and Ph.D. programs, Texas Christian University, 2004-2008
- Boller-Worcester Travel Grant, Texas Christian University; 2005
- One month scholarship, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos (Seville-Spain), 2006
- Annual Award for best research paper, History Department, Texas Christian University, 2006

Professional Memberships

- Instituto Riva-Agüero, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999
- The American Historical Association, 2005
- The Latin American Studies Association, 2005

Publications

- (w/ Marcos Cueto) “Vida de leprosa: testimonio de una mujer viviendo con la enfermedad de Hansen en la Amazonía peruana, 1947”. *História Ciências Saúde Manguinhos* 10.1 (2003): 337-360. Rio de Janeiro
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ABSTRACT

WHAT'S IN A NAME? AN INDIAN TRICKSTER TRAVELS THE SPANISH COLONIAL WORLD

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This work offers a new interpretation of the life of Jerónimo Limaylla (1622-1678?), previously identified as a famous ethnic lord of the Peruvian Andes, a transatlantic traveler to the Spanish royal court, an advocate of the indigenous populations, and a legal claimant to the Andean chiefdom of Luringuanca in the Peruvian central highlands. The alleged Jerónimo was in fact a trickster, a common Indian from the coast by the name of Lorenzo Ayun Chifo. His early Christian education and religious training, his highly hispanicized manners, and his striking legal abilities allowed Lorenzo to pass off as the real Jerónimo and almost become lord of Luringuanca. The political support he received in Peru stemmed from the transformative power embraced in his transatlantic experience, which shaped Lorenzo's evolving identity from a common Indian to a fictitious lord at the court of the Spanish King. The Franciscans, with whom Lorenzo traveled, acted as the paramount model of his identity, that of a Christian traveling lord, an advocate of the Indians, and a fierce denouncer of the abuses against the natives of colonial Peru.