

BORN OF PUMAS AND LIONS:
CULTURAL MESTIZAJE IN THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU,
1532-1650

By

CHAD BRANDON MCCUTCHEN

Bachelor of Arts, 1999
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

Master of Arts, 2011
University of Texas at Arlington
Arlington, TX

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
AddRan College of Liberal Arts
Texas Christian University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August, 2016

Copyright by
Chad Brandon McCutchen
2016

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction.....	1
II. The <i>Dos Repúblicas</i> in a Multicultural Society.....	20
III. Intermediaries and Interlopers.....	65
IV. Sons of Conquistadors and Daughters of Curacas.....	109
V. The Fifth Column	151
VI. Culture of Conquest	192
VII. Conclusion.....	235
VIII. Bibliography	
IX. Vita	
X. Abstract	

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation examines the sociocultural and political role that cultural mestizaje played in the formation of the Viceroyalty of Peru from the arrival of the Spanish in 1532 until around 1650, when Spanish hegemony was stabilized and the *castas*, an ethnically mixed plebian group, had emerged in colonial society.¹ I argue that cultural mestizaje was central to both the development of colonial society and to the policies the Spanish Crown implemented in response. Furthermore, cultural mestizaje posed a threat to Spanish hegemony. Therefore, the Spanish had to incorporate or coopt cultural mestizaje by employing both official and unofficial policies. In this regard, philosophical concepts such as the *dos repúblicas*, or two republics (one Spanish, one indigenous), became increasingly important within Spanish policy and adapted over time.

In addition, this dissertation will deconstruct notions of “conquest” and “colonialism”. I argue that the term “conquest” inaccurately describes how the Spanish established hegemony, and that the Spanish themselves constructed and propagated an ethos of conquest in order to help them in this purpose. I also argue through this research that colonialism was a complicated and negotiated process that is often misconstrued due to its association with concepts that most likely developed later as consequences of colonialism, such as racial determinism.

Mestizaje is ubiquitous in the historiography of Latin America. It is difficult to treat any subject without at least mentioning the mestizo population. However, the ways in which scholars have viewed mestizaje and the mestizos has varied immensely. In the traditional

¹ I use the word ethnicity due to its connotations of shared culture, language, religion, etc. rather than race, which I argue was more of a modern concept. For hegemony and *casta* construction in 1650, see R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination : Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 232 pp.

historiography, historians have depicted the mestizos as a lower class group that existed on the fringe of Hispanic society, without ever gaining entry. These notions generally stemmed from modern biological concepts of race.

Historian Magnus Mörner, writing at the onset of the American Civil Rights Movement and attempting to address what he considered some of the historical inaccuracies that developed, was among the first modern historians to approach the subject of mestizaje in the Americas more broadly. In his book *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, he suggests that the Spanish attempted to create a caste system in order to implement a social hierarchy during the colonial period, which the increasingly prolific racially mixed populations undermined through the “demographic disaster” of the indigenous populations coupled with miscegenation.²

In many respects, Mörner’s work was ahead of its time. He was slow to label Spanish policy as “racist” in a modern sense, suggesting rather that Spanish attitudes simply had “to be evaluated in the context of the hierarchic concept of society that held sway” during the era.³ He also drew distinctions between the legal and social aspects of stratification and stressed many non-biological contributing factors that were at play. Yet despite these insights, Mörner still heavily centered his interpretations on anachronistic concepts of race. Furthermore, while the scope of the book covers the entire colonial period and beyond, the bulk of the research on Spanish social stratification and its breakdown focus on the late colonial period when a variety of factors had influenced and altered perceptions of ethnicity.

His influence was pervasive in the historiography for many years, as most of the scholarship that followed equally placed race at the forefront. The notion of Spanish officials who, obsessed with racial categorization, created a hierarchy based on the biological superiority

² Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1967), 178 pp.

³ *Ibid.*, 48.

of the Europeans was ubiquitous in the analyses of colonial society. Most scholars, including Mörner, stopped short of embracing the practicality of the application of over 100 different racial categories, many of which grew in popularity based on their depictions in the aforementioned *casta* paintings of the 18th century. Nevertheless, there was a consensus on the existence of racial stratification, with the white Spaniards on top, followed by the mixed-race *castas*, with Indians and blacks at the bottom of the social ladder. The desire of the mixed-race *castas* to “whiten” themselves, either by passing as a “higher” race or through “marrying up,” was a dominant theme.

For this reason, much of the recent historiography has focused on untangling modern concepts of race from the historical narrative. Scholars began to look at race as a social construct and analyzed how the Spanish applied it within the colonial structure. Among the first scholars to challenge the notion of Mörner’s racial hierarchal system in the Americas, R. Douglas Cope, in his work *The Limits of Racial Domination*, questioned the notion of a Spanish-imposed racial hierarchy.⁴ He posits that the Spanish never developed racial stratification in order to “divide and conquer,” nor did the racially mixed *castas* continually attempt to “pass” as another race in order to improve their lot. Rather, various other socioeconomic factors functioned to maintain social stratification, such as labor relations and the “patron-client” relationship.⁵ For Cope, the multiethnic plebian society that emerged within colonial Latin America developed different concepts of race and ethnicity than their Spanish counterparts. Race really only became a social impediment to those elite members of the *castas* who attempted to break into Spanish high society.

⁴ R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 232 pp.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

Following Cope, a wide variety of scholars began to question the validity of modern racial perceptions as an effective lens through which to view colonial society. Kathryn Burns, in “Unfixing Race,” a chapter in the book *Rereading the Black Legend*, stresses the importance of addressing the origins of colonial identities by understanding the newly unfolding contexts out of which they evolved, rather than making retroactive assumptions based on hierarchal concepts that developed over time and solidified during the late colonial period.⁶ She suggests that the continually changing cultural landscape in Spain, coupled with the novelty of the miscegenation taking place in the Americas, created a variety of influences and interpretations all of which influenced how various groups were perceived. She notes that some of these perceptions changed over time while others took root.

To build on the “unfixing” of race, scholars began to analyze how race was developed. In her book *Genealogical Fictions*, Maria Elena Martinez demonstrates how “racial” identities based on blood were not fixed during the early colonial period. On the contrary, she determines that purity based on blood and lineage evolved out of colonial and early modern sociopolitical factors that had originally addressed an individual’s religious practices, namely those recently converted to Christianity from Judaism or Islam. The Spanish later “racialized” these interpretations and applied them to various ethnic groups in the Americas.⁷ Thus, *limpieza de sangre*, or purity of blood, became a means of identifying biological “cleanliness” and therefore superiority over other biologically “tainted” individuals.

⁶ Kathryn Burns, "Unfixing Race," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 188-202.

⁷ Maria Elena Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 424 pp.

In the same fashion of demonstrating how social concepts evolved into racial constructs, Rachel Sarah O'Toole studies the interaction between the African and the indigenous populations of Peru. In her book, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*, she highlights the differences between the legal aspects of the *casta* system, with how the indigenous and African populations perceived difference and incorporated and manipulated their status as *castas* for their own benefits.⁸ She also demonstrates how the Spanish officials used the *castas* in the same ways that race would later be used, which she argues helps explain how these earlier colonial perceptions of difference evolved into later categorizations of race. *Casta* designation became both an important distinction for the Spanish, as well as an important aspect of identity formation for the native and African populations.

Thus, scholars have slowly been untangling modern notions of race from mestizos and the other ethnicities during the early colonial period. This shift in the historiography also coincided with scholars beginning to look at mestizaje from a more cultural perspective. Concepts such as class and gender became the tools to analyze mestizaje. For example, James Lockhart, in his classic social history *Spanish Peru*, includes the mestizos and other mixed ethnicities in his chapter discussing the “second generation.”⁹ Lockhart focuses on Spanish concepts of hierarchy and class to determine how these groups functioned in society, and avoided the pitfalls of suggesting that their place was founded on race. He focused on the social factors, such as the status of the blacks as slaves or the notion that mestizos were illegitimate, in order to address their place within the colonial structure.

⁸ Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 257pp.

⁹ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 352 pp.

In her book *Colonial Habits*, Kathryn Burns analyzes the role that gender played in how the Spanish perceived mestizos.¹⁰ She argues that with the lack of Spanish women in the colonies, the mestizas were to become important arbiters of Hispanic culture, and therefore it was vital for them to learn Spanish customs in order to serve as good wives and mothers to the Spanish. The male mestizos did not provide the same advantages to the Spanish, and therefore were more of a threat to Spanish hegemony. For Burns, cultural concepts of gender, rather than biological concepts of race, determined the mestizo's agency in the emerging colonial society.

Serge Gruzinski, in his book *The Mestizo Mind*, analyzes mestizaje from a strictly intellectual and cultural perspective.¹¹ He attempts to understand what he calls cultural *mélange* (hybridity) in the mindset of the indigenous muralists in Mexico. He demonstrates the complexity found in their art, which represents a fusion of traditional pre-Columbian imagery with Greek and Roman mythology. For Gruzinski, the mestizaje is not biological. It stems from a new cosmology that evolved out of the intermingling of two cultures and demonstrates how quickly the aspects of different civilizations can be forged into one mentality. The fact that educated native elites could not only understand complex facets of European history, but also combine them with their own understandings and apply them suggests more than just cultural hybridity. It also implies the emergence of a new cosmology that only those experienced in both European and indigenous cultures could truly understand.

Most recently, Joanna Rappaport has attempted to build on this unique understanding by interpreting how mestizos envisioned their own identities within the context of colonial society. She addresses the fluidity of the terms used to designate difference in the colonial lexicon in her

¹⁰ Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 320 pp.

¹¹ Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002) 272 pp.

book *The Disappearing Mestizo: Configuring Difference in the Colonial New Kingdom of Granada*.¹² By demonstrating the variety of ways in which Spanish colonial society used the term mestizo, as well as how mestizos themselves continually transcended the identifier through their self-perceptions and their behaviors, she calls into question the validity of colonial terms as indicators of collective, or even personal, identity. The term mestizo was fluid, and could indicate Hispanic and indigenous parentage, or it could be applied metaphorically and interchangeably depending on the context and desired connotation. Furthermore, often various terms applied to the same individual depending on the situation, which only added to the fluidity of the term. Rappaport also demonstrates the various ways in which these mestizos “passed” from one identity to another. Rather than attempting to “move up” in society, they had a variety of reasons to adopt other identities. Their ability to transcend colonial labels not only spoke to the inefficacy that these colonial identifiers held in society, but also an understanding of the multicultural characteristics of society which contributed to their mobility.

The recent historiography has definitely come a long way towards “unfixing race” in regards to mestizaje. Nevertheless, to understand the phenomenon of cultural mestizaje, it is not enough to analyze mestizos. Mestizaje was occurring within the specific confines of an emerging colonial society, and it is important to reanalyze how this social structure evolved. Just as it is important “unfix race” within the historiography, it is also important to reanalyze the power structures involved in formulating colonial society. In other words, the Spanish did not merely arrive in the Americas and implement their colonial will. The process evolved over time, and the Spanish were not the only ones to contribute to its development.

¹² Joanna Rappaport, *The Disappearing Mestizo: Configuring Difference in the Colonial New Kingdom of Granada* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 368 pp.

Among the first scholars to recognize this fact was Miguel León Portillo. His book *Broken Spears* was the first to consider that there might be another viewpoint to the “conquest.”¹³ Through an analysis of indigenous source material, he attempts to reanalyze the conquest through the eyes of the Aztecs. His book demonstrates that the Aztecs had their own cosmology that formed the basis of their interpretations, and it did not necessarily coincide with the viewpoints of the Spanish. While many of the sources are suspect in that they were written after the arrival of the Spanish, León-Portilla’s book opened the doors for other historians to find the indigenous voice in the history of Latin America.

Another among the earliest historians to readdress the native perspective of the conquest was Charles Gibson. In his book *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*, Gibson illustrates how the indigenous populations could be active participants in the “conquest.” According to Gibson, the Tlaxcalans acted out of their own interests based on their perceptions of the arrival of the Spanish. Gibson also demonstrates the aspects of acculturation on the indigenous groups as well as their reactions. The Tlaxcalans attempted to maintain their previous ways of life within the colonial system, and did not view themselves as conquered. Yet, as the natives began to adapt to life within the Hispanic colonial structure, their acculturation began to undermine their endeavors. Rather than relying on how the Spanish imposed this colonialism, Gibson analyzes the ways in which the natives acted and reacted to the social change, and how this change affected the evolution of Tlaxcalan culture.

In his book *Vision of the Vanquished*, Nathan Wachtel attempts to apply a similar approach to the “conquest” of Peru.¹⁴ He relates the defeat of the Incas through the eyes of the

¹³ Miguel León Portilla, *Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1962), 204 pp.

¹⁴ Nathan Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes* (Trowshire, England: Redwood Burn, ltd., 1977), 328 pp.

vanquished, and demonstrates that the Spanish “conquest” was a slow and multifaceted endeavor. He attempted to study the indigenous groups in order to create “a mirror” that would serve to reflect the differences in Western and indigenous processes. Wachtel was also ahead of his time as he tried to implement anthropological approaches in combination with the historical in order to better understand the native perspective. He divided the book into three significant sections. He first analyzes the “trauma” of the arrival of the Spanish and how this forced a change in the indigenous worldview. He next focuses on how the natives dealt with the cultural process of change and then ends the book with their reaction to it. From Wachtel’s viewpoint, the natives, although eventually “vanquished,” were involved in every aspect of the implementation of colonial society.

Within the more recent historiography, scholars have applied these approaches from the earlier historians and reanalyzed Spanish “colonialism.” Gonzalo Lamana, in his work *Domination without Dominance*, equally attempts to give the indigenous groups more agency, and endeavors to remove the “colonial imprint” while providing an “alternative historical narrative.”¹⁵ Lamana tries not to view the conquest through the Western viewpoint, and in turn identifies that the Incas were not formulating their responses within the scope of colonialism, but rather through their Andean ways of interpreting events. Most importantly, Lamana introduces the idea of a “mestizo consciousness” that is beginning to develop in Peru. He argues that this new consciousness stemmed from the natives’ ability to incorporate Spanish concepts and utilize them for their own endeavors. For Lamana, this mestizo consciousness was not necessarily a sign of a loss of power or indigenous influence. On the contrary, its intentions were to “appropriate and subvert” Hispanic culture.

¹⁵ Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca–Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 304 pp.

Similarly, Jeremy Ravi Mumford addresses the indigenous participation, both proactively and reactively, to the restructuring of indigenous society during Toledo's reforms. In his book *Vertical Empire*, Mumford addresses how Toledo's organization was not the colonial imposition that previous scholars had suggested.¹⁶ Rather, it was based off existing Andean concepts that predated the arrival of the Spanish. While it did have serious cultural consequences and ramifications for the native populations, many others recognized the precolonial aspects of the restructuring and were able to adapt and function within the system. The natives were at times equal advocates of the changes the Spanish officials were introducing into colonial society.

Even with the "unfixing" of race and the reanalyzes of colonialism, no study of cultural mestizaje would be complete without the understanding of the pre-Columbian cultures in Peru. Only recently have scholars been able to read through the Spanish texts in order to understand native voices. Furthermore, the traditional boundaries that have divided disciplines have begun to erode. Ethnohistorians have benefitted from the work of archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists to formulate a better understanding of the Andean past. This understanding has also contributed to the ability to discern the differences that evolved and changes in perceptions that occurred upon the arrival of the Spanish.

Maria Rostworoski, in her book *History of the Inca Realm*, alludes to the problems in meshing Andean history with the respective Spanish perceptions.¹⁷ She argues that the Inca state was unique in its civilization, in that it did not have the influence of other cultures outside of the Andean past with the exception of some sporadic interactions with Mesoamerican populations. She reconstructs Inca society from its origins to its establishment as a state. Most importantly,

¹⁶ Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 312 pp.

¹⁷ Maria Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 259 pp.

she demonstrates how the Incas were able to develop a complex civilization from a small chiefdom based on their deep understanding of Andean culture and cosmology. This allowed the Inca to thrive in the Andes but would later cause problems after the Spanish arrived.

Aligning with the focus of the Inca state within Andean Cosmology, in her book *To Feed and Be Fed*, Susan Ramirez addresses the Andean kinship structure as well as how the indigenous groups created the basis for legitimacy among their leaders.¹⁸ She ties in the importance of Andean cosmology and their spiritual beliefs in how they asserted authority as well as allowed themselves to be governed. She then addresses how the arrival of the Spanish and the indigenous conversions of Catholicism upset Andean identity. Ramirez illustrates the intermediary roles of the curaca and the Inca and the respective roles of both between the ayllus and the gods. In so doing, she establishes the cosmological bases of authority in the Andes that the Spanish often considered blasphemous or idolatrous.

Ramirez also analyzes the aftermath of conquest on the indigenous communities in her book *The World Upside Down*.¹⁹ In this work, she examines how the traditional indigenous structures and perceptions evolved and transformed after the arrival of the Spanish. The traditional roles of the curaca changed drastically, and the indigenous perceptions of land tenure were also modified to acclimate to the changing social environment. She addresses how the Spanish tried to combat traditional indigenous customs through the destruction of the *huacas* (sacred spiritual objects or locations). Ramirez also notes that some indigenous customs and institutions remained intact though often altered, and some were permanently lost to history.

¹⁸ Susan E. Ramirez, *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 376 pp.

¹⁹ Susan E. Ramirez, *The World Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru* (Stanford, Ca: Stanford University Press, 1998), 252 pp.

Other scholars have built on this foundation and concentrated on how the natives utilized their traditional experiences to adapt to changing societal structures. Along this same line of thought, Karen Vieira Powers demonstrates how the native groups utilized migration as a tool to destabilize the effects of colonialism in her book *Andean Journeys*.²⁰ Powers addresses the migration of natives and its effect on the Spanish colonial endeavors, but she also notes how these movements restructured indigenous society as well. In this sense, natives were contributing to the formation of Hispanic society while simultaneously undermining it. The desire of certain natives to migrate, either to the Spanish cities or to other indigenous groups countered the desire for the Spanish to get accurate counts for their tribute and assigned labor requirements. The natives, sometimes voluntarily integrated into the Spanish system, and other times they utilized their mobility in order to avoid it.

Along with Powers, Cynthia Radding demonstrates that the effects of colonialism may never have completely consumed indigenous cultures. In *Wandering Peoples*, the author proves that the natives relied on a mixture of both precolonial and contemporary concepts in order to survive.²¹ Analyzing the ethnic groups in Northwestern Mexico, Radding demonstrates that the natives were able to revert to traditional practices and establish new kinship ties in order to function and endure. At the same time, other groups chose to adapt to the colonial presence by participating in Spanish colonial society and adapting to the changing economic realities with the Hispanic context. Radding's work effectively demonstrates that despite years of Hispanic rule, the indigenous groups demonstrated a remarkable ability to navigate both the Spanish and indigenous spheres of society.

²⁰ Karen Vieira Powers. *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis and the State in Colonial Quito*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 237 pp.

²¹ Cynthia Radding. *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 432 pp.

To synthesize the historiography, scholars have broken down the traditional notions of a Spanish implemented, racially based hierarchy in the Americas. Indigenous society did not cease to exist upon the arrival of the Spanish. On the contrary, it continued to function, first through the attempt of drawing on its own cosmology, then by adapting to, or incorporating, a more Hispanic worldview. Furthermore, throughout the colonial period, the natives demonstrated the ability to resist or consolidate within the Spanish sphere. For the most part, the natives never passively accepted colonialism, and yet continued to be an integral part of colonial society.

It is within this context that I will analyze the social and political aspects of cultural mestizaje in the formation of early colonial society. This research has three major objectives. The first is a reanalysis of “conquest” and “colonialism” through the lens of cultural mestizaje. Scholars have debunked many myths surrounding the arrival of the Spanish, yet the current explanations of how they achieved hegemony need revision. Placing the early Spanish endeavors in the Americas within the context of the colonialism that would later develop is also problematic. It creates a dividing line between the indigenous past and Hispanic future that did not actually exist. Colonialism was not merely imposed on the natives, but rather evolved as a process that included the indigenous groups. In this regard, I hope to reconstruct the conquest demonstrating how both the Spanish and the native populations were drawing from their past experiences to make sense of the new emerging culture, and how both groups had a policy of incorporation which shaped how early colonial society developed. In essence, cultural mestizaje evolved from the very origins of colonial society.

The second major concept that is vital to understanding cultural mestizaje is to comprehend how the ethnic groups interacted with one another and how their perceptions of each

other changed over time. Spanish society without a doubt had a hierarchal structure based on a variety of factors that contributed to an individual's *calidad* (overall individual "quality"). Yet this concept was not based on modern biological perceptions of race that would develop much later in society. When the Spanish, African, and indigenous populations converged in Peru, there were no pre-established social norms that could be applied in the Americas to immediately determine each group's status. Further complicating the matter, miscegenation between these ethnic groups occurred almost instantaneously, which allowed for a variety of other ethnic groups to emerge. Spanish officials had to develop policies based on their immediate experiences on how they were to perceive these groups, both practically and legally. Moreover, these decisions were additionally clouded by the lack of consensus on the indigenous populations, coupled with the wide range of motivations and personal agendas of those arriving from Spain. In other words, how the Dominican friar may have felt about the native population was not necessarily similar to those of the *encomendero* (an individual who had received a grant of indigenous labor or tribute).

The third concept I address is how *mestizaje*, particularly cultural *mestizaje*, directly affected both Spanish policies and the indigenous responses, and explain how these policies determined how colonial society would evolve. The philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*, or two separate republics for Spaniards and natives respectively, was a chief philosophy that guided many of the decisions of the Spanish Crown, yet it has not received enough scholarly attention. The concept evolved over the course of the early colonial period and began to change as the Crown reacted to new social pressures. The potential for an alliance between the creole (individuals born in the Americas to Spanish parents), *mestizo*, and indigenous groups brought about though cultural *mestizaje* was at the root of these emerging pressures. The Spanish

officials adapted the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* to include all other ethnicities outside of the indigenous groups in an attempt to incorporate or coopt mestizaje to be better able to limit or control its social ramifications. The indigenous population also developed perceptions based on their own version of the two republics that changed over time. The Spanish developed policies stemming from cultural mestizaje and their desire to maintain the *dos repúblicas*, which helped the Spanish construct and negotiate hegemony in Peru that would last for centuries.

An important subtheme I address through this research is the origins of the *casta* class in Latin America. While scholars have addressed the significance of the *castas* as well as how this ethnically mixed group operated in colonial society and their connection with modern concepts of difference and race, few scholars have addressed how they came to exist. Furthermore, with the trend in the current historiography to reanalyze early modern concepts of race and difference and their function in the Americas, doubts have been raised as to whether or not the *castas* really existed in society or whether they warrant study as a collective group. I suggest that the existence of the *castas* in colonial society is largely a question of how one chooses to define and employ the term, but it did not evolve from racially based hierarchies. Through the analysis of cultural mestizaje, I will also address these opposing philosophies of whether or not the *castas* existed as a group in colonial society and clarify how a plebian culture emerged in the sixteenth century with no real fixed notions of race or ethnicity.

In order to accomplish this, I have organized the dissertation into five chapters. The terms “New World” and “Old World” have fallen out of favor, mainly because of the predominantly Western or Eurocentric connotations that accompany them. If there is a benefit to their use, it is the novelty implied in the “New World.” In Chapter 1, I reintroduce the novelty by reanalyzing the formative years of early colonial Peruvian society within the context of cultural mestizaje.

James Lockhart, in his book *Spanish Peru*, establishes the fact that the Spanish were able to establish Hispanic society quickly in the years following contact, besides the fact that they were involved in civil wars for control.²² It is important to note that Lockhart was addressing a different problem. The prevailing thought process during the 1940s and 1950s was that the Spaniards never truly developed a society until the arrival of Toledo, and Lockhart was correcting the misconceptions. While he was correct in his argument, it is incomplete.

In reality, the natives were also scrambling to establish their footprint in the emerging society in wake of the arrival of the Spanish. Both populations were relying upon their past experience and cosmological understandings to comprehend one another. Because of the opposing worldviews, misconceptions and misunderstandings were common. These cultural misinterpretations and misunderstandings favored the Spanish and helped them establish their foothold in Peru. They also helped break down the traditional kinship networks of the natives and forced the natives to adapt more to the Hispanic notion of indigeneity.

I also analyze how the Spanish philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* became an increasingly important aspect of Hispanic goals in the Americas. The desire to maintain the natives as subjects of the King and utilize their labor, all while trying to maintain two distinct cultures created a large number of complex problems. The natives too had their own strategies that often were counterintuitive of the Spanish designs. In this regard, I reexamine the reforms of Toledo within the context of cultural mestizaje and the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*.

In Chapter 2, I analyze the roles that intermediaries and interlopers played in breaking down the loosely implemented barriers of the *dos repúblicas*. I study the multiculturalism that develops among these intermediaries, who come from both the indigenous, Hispanic, and even

²² Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 3-10.

African spheres of society. I also address the growing role of intermediaries from the newly emerging mestizo and creole societies and the pressures that their social mobility created for the Spanish officials. The intermediaries were both a necessary aspect of early colonial society and a point of contention for the Spanish, who had to place control in the hands of many subjects they deemed unreliable. The roles of intermediaries from the various ethnic groups in Peru contributed to cultural mestizaje and quickly led to the erosion of the sociocultural divisions that the Spanish desired. At the same time, by analyzing how these intermediary positions changed and evolved over time, a more accurate picture of how society was becoming more culturally integrated comes to light.

Chapter 3 focuses on the indigenous and Spanish perceptions of mestizaje and touches on the theme of mestizo identity. Perceptions of mestizaje varied wildly and developed over time. Both the natives and the Spanish had very unique ideas about mestizaje, and both evolved and changed based on their experiences in the Americas. While there was no collective mestizo identity that developed in colonial Peru, mainly due to the variety of factors that determined an individual's *calidad* and station in society, there was a unique perception of mestizaje that developed among the early generations of mestizos in Peru. Gender was at the center of this perception, as both the indigenous and Hispanic spheres incorporated notions of gender. This section attempts to both build off and reanalyze Joanna Rappaport's descriptions of gender within mestizaje as well as her assertions of the absence of forms of mestizo unity and identity.²³

Chapter 4 serves two purposes. The first aim is to revise countless descriptions and assumptions that stem from the civil wars and subsequent encomendero revolts. I argue that the conflict between the encomenderos and the crown stemmed from a growing sense of a

²³ Joanna Rappaport, *Disappearing Mestizo*, for mestizo identity see chapter 2, for gender concepts see chapter 3.

transcultural identity, in which the encomenderos and the *soldados* in their ranks felt closer ties to Peru than to Spain. While many remained loyal to the crown, the revolts were a clear harbinger of the culture that was developing in Peru. The second half of the chapter is devoted to the mestizo revolts. I demonstrate that these revolts were much more complex than previously considered, and that they demonstrated the potential for mestizo, creole, and indigenous alliances that posed a very serious threat to Spanish hegemony. I also argue that the nature of the revolts change over time, and become more indicative of the changing social structures within the viceroyalty.

The last chapter addresses the way in which the Spanish create hegemony through the cooptation of mestizaje and the implementation of a culture of conquest. The Spanish adapted their philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* in order to stem the tide of mestizaje and maintain their hegemony in the growing threat of the alliances discussed in the previous chapter. Creoles enter into the Hispanic fold, and mestizos are continually hampered with legislation limiting their prospects. The indigenous groups also adopt their own philosophy in accordance with the *dos repúblicas* and began to change their own perceptions of how they fit into colonial society.

Within the viceroyalty, my focus is mainly on the areas where the Spanish colonial structure had the most influence, namely Lima, Cuzco, and the audiencias of Quito and Charcas. While the viceroyalty expanded beyond these audiencias, their influence was less evident.²⁴ I do draw a distinction between frontier areas of Eastern Peru (modern day Bolivia) and the center of power in Lima, but the influence and importance of Potosí drastically increased Spanish administrative involvement. There are also distinctions between the indigenous groups along the

²⁴ Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 4-5.

frontiers in the cordillera (modern day Bolivia) and those further West who had survived under Inca rule.

The size and the diversity of the Viceroyalty of Peru is also indicative of the potential problems that existed in trying to govern it. Cultural mestizaje was an important phenomenon in both the potential threat it imposed as well as the potential solution. Spanish hegemony was not secured through conquest, but rather through continual negotiation and the ability to control mestizaje through its incorporation. Ironically, the Spanish had to begin to think along indigenous lines in order to introduce Hispanic hegemony. Understanding how and why this shift occurred is central to gaining a deeper understanding of the complexities of colonial society in Peru.

Chapter 2

The *Dos Repúblicas* within a Multicultural Society

In 1615, the departing official Juan de Mendoza penned a letter offering advice to the king on how his successor should govern Peru. After decades of experience in matters concerning the Indies, initially as governor of Seville in Spain and later by serving as the viceroy in both New Spain and Peru, he counseled, “As Your Excellency already knows, much care must be taken in your governing to properly employ the two republics, Indians and Spaniards. Generally, it has been understood that the conservation of both is contradictory, and that one grows at the expense of the other.” In the same letter, he also suggested that, “these two nations are so mixed that one could speak with difficulty of only one.”²⁵ On the surface, these two statements seem to be conflicting. Mendoza’s words imply that mestizaje has undermined Hispanic colonial objectives in Peru. In reality, his advice demonstrates a keen understanding of both the realities of an emerging colonial society as well as the shifting aims of the Spanish in response.

To explain how the Hispanic philosophy of *dos repúblicas* could paradoxically foster a hybrid culture in Peru without abandoning the ideology behind it requires a reanalysis of how society and culture developed in early colonial Peru. Spanish colonialism has proven to be an insufficient lens through which to analyze the formation of Spanish America. The problem with colonialism as an analytical tool for early Latin America is that it relies too heavily on the Western narrative of progressive history, retroactively applies concepts and ideologies that did not exist in 1492, and suggests that the indigenous populations were merely acted upon.

²⁵ “Relación del Marques de Montesclaros, virrey del Perú, a su sucesor” 12/12/1615. Found in Luis Torres de Mendoza, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino y muy especialmente del de Indias* (Madrid, Spain: Frias y compañía, 1866), VI:208.

Indigenous culture did not cease to exist with the arrival of the Spanish, nor did its past, and the natives drew on their own sense of history and cosmology to contribute.

It also does not directly reflect the myriad of personal objectives and goals that accompanied the diverse groups of individuals who arrived in the Americas. The collective terminology used such as Spaniard, Indian, African, or the various mixes thereof, does not capture the complexity. The conquistador may have had very different designs than the priest, the Inca was a far cry from an indigenous laborer living in the city, and the mulatto carpenter did not always have the same point of view as the *cimarrón* (runaway slave) living among the natives. The term “colonial” in the earliest context should conjure images of a variety of extremely dissimilar cultures coming together and contributing in various ways to the creation of society in the Americas. The real focus should not be how Spain forced its “colonial” objectives on the peoples of Peru, but rather how these cultures interacted and how the Spanish were able to negotiate hegemony. In this regard, cultural mestizaje played a vital role in how early colonial Peru developed, and it provides a much more valuable lens through which to analyze the emerging society. Colonial Peru was a multicultural society from its origins.

This multicultural society did not develop as a result of a conscious effort on the part of the Spanish or the natives, but rather through a long process of interaction. The Spanish did not impose colonialism on the people of Peru. Rather, it was a continual negotiation involving individuals from distinct cultures and various social spheres, each with their own individual intentions. The society that developed was a product of this negotiation, and the Spanish Crown had to react to changes, both in the Americas and Europe, and decide how the newly formed colonies were going to serve Spain’s greater purpose. Yet, Spain’s purpose did not always align with the indigenous or Hispanic populations in Peru, and the emergence of creoles (individuals

born in the Americas to Spanish parents), mestizos (individuals born to indigenous and Spanish parents), Africans, and other ethnic groups only served to further complicate the Crown's decisions.

If any sense is to be made from Juan de Mendoza's advice to the Crown, it is essential to unravel the contradictions in his letter. In other words, how can the Crown continue to employ the philosophy of *dos repúblicas* within a society so culturally mixed it could be considered to be only one? Why does the advancement of one republic have to come at the detriment to the other? By analyzing the arrival of the Spanish in Peru through the context of cultural mestizaje rather than conquest, a new interpretation of how early colonial Peru evolved comes to light. The confluence of two extremely unique cultures fostered misunderstandings that affected how the early stages of colonialism developed. To overcome these misunderstandings, both the Spanish and the indigenous groups attempted to explain one another within the contexts of their own cosmology. The increasing experience of "men of the Indies," a budding population of those "born in this land" (*nacidos en esta tierra*), and the continual indigenous participation in Hispanic endeavors allowed for an erosion of the previous cultural boundaries and an establishment of a society with a growing transcultural identity that was growing more and more dissimilar from Spain's. The Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's reforms in response to these societal changes demonstrated the Crown's desire to adopt to local customs while increasing control.

From Misunderstanding to Mestizaje

Pizarro's arrival in Peru marked the last great "conquest" of the Indies. It also signified a shift in Spanish royal philosophy from conquest to colonization.²⁶ Many of the Spanish groups

²⁶ Roberto Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo supremo organizador del Peru: Su vida, su obra, 1515-1582* (Madrid, Spain: Espasa-Calpe S.A., 1935), 145-148.

who ventured to the Americas left Spain with specific goals in mind. The Crown, however, was still unsure how to proceed in the Americas. The native populations posed practical problems in Peru and philosophical problems in Europe. The early conquistadors, through a combination of Hispanic tradition and misconceptions of indigenous culture, developed a sense of local superiority that helped shape how early Hispanic society would unfold. The natives also misinterpreted the Spanish culture and customs, which had dramatic effects on their way of life. Spanish intellectuals, mainly members of the clergy documenting their experiences in the Americas, began to try to bridge the gap by understanding the native populations. Their theories influenced royal policy, and eventually became absorbed into the mestizo and indigenous philosophy.

From the earliest days following their first contact, the native populations became the fundamental challenge for the Spanish in establishing their colonial identity. The indigenous inhabitants were the central concern of almost every group travelling to the Americas, regardless of their individual perceptions. For many among the clergy, the voyage provided the opportunity to bring millions of souls into the Catholic faith, which was of increasing importance in the face of rising Protestantism and the continual Islamic threat. Even many among the early explorers and conquistadors fashioned themselves in this light. Columbus, whose cruelty to the natives in Hispaniola tarnished his reputation with the Crown, envisioned his role within a religious more so than economic context.²⁷ For those voyaging strictly for financial gain, the natives were to provide the inexpensive labor for their endeavors.

The motivations for individuals travelling from Spain were not always clear-cut. Many had both personal and altruistic designs. Clergy members could travel to the Americas and

²⁷ Carol Delaney, "Columbus's Ultimate Goal: Jerusalem." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48, no. 2 (2006): 260-92.

increase their reputation in order to garner better positions upon their return to Spain. Conquistadors, often motivated by the potential for social mobility that had become increasingly difficult to achieve in Spain, could grow wealthy while continually serving the Catholic faith. This ideology was born in Spain's medieval past, where the fledgling Spanish kingdoms lacked the funds to finance their wars against the Muslim presence and made individual concessions to those willing to fight and populate the frontier areas.²⁸ When the Reconquista assumed religious rhetoric in the context of the Crusades, these individual efforts seemed less self-serving. In other words, personal glory brought status and wealth not only to the individual, but also to the Spanish kingdoms. Since these kingdoms were Catholic, the victories were victories for Christianity as well. By the time of the union of the "Catholic Monarchs" Ferdinand and Isabelle, and the defeat of the last Islamic stronghold of Granada, this thought process was ingrained in the Spanish mindset.

For the Catholic Monarchy, the indigenous question was more problematic. The Reconquista had given the Spanish King and Queen a great deal of authority over matters of the Church, and the Pope required a powerful Catholic nation like Spain to confront both Islamic and Protestant threats. At the same time, Spain needed justification for its incursions into the Atlantic, and papal backing for the proselytization of the native populations carried with it both political weight and moral validation. The *Patronato Real* (royal patronage), a papal grant from 1494 that gave the Spanish monarchy a great deal of autonomy over religious matters, created a codependency. Yet Spanish intentions had also been clearly economic beginning with the financing of Columbus's first voyage, and they quickly realized there would be no commercial

²⁸ Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 41.

gain without indigenous labor. As a result, the Spanish Crown was in the almost impossible position of assuming the role of both conqueror and protector.

The decimation of the indigenous population of Hispaniola, coupled with the subsequent experiences in Mexico demonstrated both the hazards and the potential benefits the natives of the Americas could provide. The Crown quickly identified and began to incorporate the famous saying, “sin indios, no hay Indias” (without Indians, there are no Indies).²⁹ The balance between conqueror and protector seemed to lie within the adaptation of an institution utilized in the *Reconquista*. The *encomienda*, from the Spanish word meaning to entrust (*encomendar*), was a grant of labor tribute from an assigned number of natives. In exchange for service, the *encomendero*, or grant holder, would provide religious instruction and see to the general well-being to the natives of his *encomienda*.

By the time Pizarro arrived in Peru in 1532, the situation was changing. Spain was in the process of organizing its colonial structure in other parts of the Americas. The *encomienda* system was well established, and the Spanish Monarchy was already growing wary of its use. The Laws of Burgos, a series of laws intended to protect the indigenous populations from excessive exploitation, had been in effect for nearly two decades. Within a few years, Charles V would have a viceroy in place in New Spain and establish a series of *audiencias* (jurisdictional royal councils within the viceroyalty) to help govern his growing empire. On the surface, it seemed Spain was beginning to impose its colonial will.

In reality, however, Spanish officials were still in limbo about how to govern the Indies. The four decades of experience that the Spanish had gained in the Americas allowed them to understand the failures and limitations of many of the medieval institutions that they had applied

²⁹ Emilio Rodriguez Domoritz, *Refranero dominicano* (Rome: Stab. Tip. g. Menglia, 1950), 245.

in the Indies. They were still searching for a viable solution for their replacement. Charles V, who relied on the wealth of income from the Indies to fund his continual conflicts in his European affairs, still had the same problem of protecting the native populations while utilizing their labor. In addition, as more people began to arrive in Spanish America, a variety of backgrounds and opinions came with them. Through increased interaction between the natives and the Spaniards, a variety of perceptions emerged as to the character and identity of the indigenous groups, which would serve as the basis for royal policy. Yet royal policy was not always indicative of local custom, and Peru was in the process of developing an independent spirit rather quickly.

By the time the Spanish were beginning to establish a foothold in Peru in the 1530s, several of the men who accompanied Pizarro had been in the Indies for years. Pizarro himself had lived there for nearly three decades before his famous encounter with the Inca emperor Atahualpa. He was as much a man of the Americas as he was of Extremadura, and he undoubtedly considered his lengthy tenure as justification for his prowess in Peru. He had the habit of preferring men who shared experience in the Indies to those newly arrived from Spain.³⁰ His relationship with the Inca princess Inés Huaylas, known to the Spanish as simply Doña Inés, provided ties with the Inca nobility who supported Pizarro through his “conquest” as well in defense of Lima from the Inca revolt of Manco Capác.³¹

In many ways, Pizarro exemplified the characteristics that would develop in Peru. While his roots were in Spain, he had lived a majority of his life in the Americas and had solidified kinship ties with powerful indigenous allies. While remaining loyal to the Crown in theory, he

³⁰ James Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1972), 145.

³¹ Rafael Varón Gabai, *La ilusión del poder: apogeo y decadencia de los Pizarro en la conquista del Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1996), 194-197 and 237-253.

felt he had earned what was due to him. While he had received an *encomienda* in Panama and was more comfortable financially than a majority of those who ventured to the Americas, Pizarro was still unsatisfied with his lot. The conquistador, an illegitimate son of a lesser hidalgo in Spain, felt he was more suited to govern, particularly in Peru. Not only had he conquered it with his own daring, but he also understood the region and its people better than anyone from Spain possibly could. He was outwardly resentful of any attempt by the Crown to send officials to oversee his actions.³²

Like many of the creoles, mestizos, and even indigenous groups that would follow, he had to choose between Hispanic and Peruvian endeavors, and ironically it was his decision to honor his kinship ties to Extremadura over those in the Americas that may have proved to be his undoing.³³ Pizarro was far from the only conquistador who felt his service to the Crown deserved recompense. His decision to divvy a heavier share of the spoils among his family members and fellow Extremadurans would create enough enemies to assist his old friend and new rival Diego de Almagro and spark the civil war that would end in his own assassination.³⁴

Even those who had arrived in Panama or Peru shortly before the conquest developed a similar mentality. The wealth that Peru had provided the Crown gave those involved an inflated sense of entitlement. The civil wars provided further opportunities to serve the Crown, and after the dust settled, those who survived had a special claim of seniority that no Spaniard that followed could claim. The shifting loyalties also left many feeling that their service to the Crown went unrewarded while others less deserving received undue compensation. The ability

³² Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, 145-147.

³³ *Ibid.*, 151-152.

³⁴ The civil wars in Peru refer to the period after the arrival of the Spanish when the supporters of Francisco Pizarro and his brothers, known as the *Pizarristas*, and the supporters of Diego de Almagro and his son, known as the *Almagristas*, vied for administrative control of Peru. They continued from the 1530s until the death of Francisco's brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, in 1548.

to trace one's service in Peru to its earliest origins contributed to a sense of indigeneity, which would help shape early colonial Peruvian identity.

The broad misunderstanding of the cultural differences between the Hispanic and indigenous populations of Peru perpetuated the ethos of conquest in the minds of the Spanish. In some ways, the Spanish were at an advantage. While they had never come face to face with Inca culture, they did have experience with the natives in other parts of the Americas. At the same time, by drawing on European interpretations they misunderstood a vast number of their experiences stemming from their interactions with the Andean cultures. Equally, Andean cosmology proved ineffective in comprehending the actions of the Spaniards. Misperception was the basis for the first impressions that would dictate how early colonial society would unfold in Peru. Atahualpa would later capture the sentiment that may well have mirrored the feelings of the Spanish when he suggested of them, "these are people whom it is impossible to understand."³⁵

The first word that the Inca Emperor Atahualpa heard about the Spaniards from the coastal natives was that the viracochas (Inca creator deities) had risen from the sea. These viracochas rode large sheep whose hooves of silver let off sparks, had white skin with long beards, and used weapons that imitated the thunder from the sky.³⁶ After the initial shock of the arrival of the newcomers wore off, several natives who had observed the Spaniards up close suggested that these individuals were clearly not gods, nor even human beings of any merit. Rather they were beggars and thieves.³⁷ Embroiled in a bitter dynastic war with his half-brother

³⁵ Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, ed. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996), 255.

³⁶ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *How the Spanish Arrived in Peru*, trans. Catherine Julien (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co., 2006), 8-9. Natives typically had less facial hair than the Spaniards. In Spain, facial hair corresponded to gendered concepts of masculinity and helped contribute to the perception of the natives as effeminate.

³⁷ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 249.

Huáscar, and most likely undaunted by their limited numbers, Atahualpa chose to honor the Spaniards after much consideration. Even before their arrival, the Spanish had a hand in the politics of Peru. The previous ruler, Huayna Capac, had died of a European disease, most likely small pox, before ever seeing the Spanish set foot in Peru. His son and most rightful heir succumbed to the disease as well, leaving an unclear succession to the throne.³⁸

By traditional Inca practice, Huáscar most likely held a more legitimate claim to be the Sapa Inca (highest ruler). He was of “purer” lineage since his mother was the sister (*coya*) to his father, the previous Sapa Inca. Atahualpa was also a son of Huayna Capac, but his mother was not a relative, rendering him a “bastard” in the eyes of some members of the Inca nobility.³⁹ At the same time, a powerful group of lords in Quito favored Atahualpa, as they felt that Atahualpa’s regional ties to Quito would help them maintain their power and influence in the region more so than the Inca in Cuzco.⁴⁰ Atahualpa’s military achievements also helped him gain favor. Demonstrating his military prowess not only validated his ability to rule, but also had other important cultural consequences. Military victories and other favorable accomplishments additionally revealed the favor of the gods.

Despite hearing from trusted advisors that the Spanish were not divine, nor even worthy of the Inca’s respect, Atahualpa continued to entertain the idea. It is possible that Atahualpa sensed that the Spanish provided a potentially powerful alliance. By perpetuating the notion that the Spanish were gods, it was a noticeably visible and tangible manifestation of their support. Even if they proved otherwise, they might be beneficial allies in battle if rumors of their

³⁸ Terence N. D’Altroy, *The Incas* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 76.

³⁹ Pedro Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas* (Lima, Peru: Instituto de los Estudios Peruanos, 1967), 234-235.

⁴⁰ Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1979), 163-164.

powerful weapons were true. If wrong on both accounts, the sheer limitation of their numbers would allow the Inca to dispose of them easily when the time came.⁴¹

Assessing the divinity of the Spaniards did not carry the same cultural significance as it would have in Spain. Divinity and humanity were more closely intertwined in Inca cosmology. As descendants of the Sun, the Inca themselves were divine. Only the highest Inca voiced the phrase “our father the Sun,” and they considered it blasphemous if spoken by those unworthy of its use. Equally, the Incas permitted no man to speak, under penalty of stoning, the proper name of the Sapa Inca (translated from Quechua as the great or only Inca), the highest ruler as the son of the sun.⁴² The profound cultural and physical differences originally confused the natives and were significant enough that contemplating their divinity was not extraordinary within the contexts of their cosmology.

For the Orejón (Inca nobleman) warrior Ciquinchara, whom Atahualpa sent as an emissary to study the Spanish, Pizarro and his men were no viracochas. They asked an infinite amount of questions and demonstrated very little knowledge of the Andes or its peoples for individuals who had supposedly created the earth. They performed no miracles, and ate, drank, and slept just as the natives did. Their weapons and animals proved much less daunting and effectual after growing accustomed to them. Most importantly, they took anything that they wanted in their sight, be it gold, silver, or women, and behaved more like thieves than gods. The interpreters, natives of Peru that Pizarro had captured and sent to “the ends of the earth” (Spain) to learn the Spanish language, corroborated Ciquinchara’s impressions.⁴³

⁴¹ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 248-249.

⁴² Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1966), I:42.

⁴³ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 260.

Spanish misconceptions also contributed to Ciquinchara's impression of them. After seeing the regard in which the emperor Atahualpa held the noble, they understood that he was an individual of worthy status. They treated him in a similar fashion to Atahualpa, which in turn, debased the Spanish from Ciquinchara's perspective.⁴⁴ Regardless, the Spanish interpreted the mistaken identity of their divinity as a sign of an indigenous belief in their superiority, and they attempted at every turn to use it to their advantage. Initially, while Spanish technology served no real military advantage against the vast numbers of the natives, it did provide a psychological advantage when coupled with other cultural misunderstandings.

Ironically, cultural misperceptions most often aided the Spanish endeavors in Peru. The conquistadors and early colonists misinterpreted many gestures of strength on the part of the natives as coming from a position of weakness. Inca nobility would offer women to the Spanish, which the Spanish perceived as a gesture of submission and respect. In reality, the gesture was an indigenous custom intended to broaden and diversify kinship networks in order to increase status and political potential. The number and diversity of an individual's kinship ties was directly proportional to his political power and status in the community. Since money was not valuable, the more members within a kinship network signified more potential labor, and diversity indicated access to a wider variety of goods as well as a larger sphere of influence. If an indigenous leader offered a sister or someone else close to his line, or if the offer included multiple women, the gift extended beyond kinship ties in that it offered future prosperity to the receiver, either through the quality or quantity of the potential bonds. The Inca practice of polygamy centered on this concept of increasing kinship ties.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 247.

The Spanish greatly misconstrued the indigenous kinship networks. The networks, known as *ayllus*, were often under the leadership of individuals known as *curacas* in the Andes, or *caciques*, which became the general term used by the Spanish based on their experiences elsewhere in the Indies. The leaders of larger *ayllus* were lead by powerful *curacas principales*, who usually had lesser *ayllus* led by lesser *curacas* under their jurisdiction. Often the position of *curaca* would remain within the family, but this was not a guarantee and could change if the *curaca* proved ineffectual or someone was better suited to lead an *ayllu*. The Inca state spread across the Andes by incorporating these *curacas* and *ayllus* into the Inca state, through either voluntary incorporation or warfare. Voluntary incorporation was not automatically a sign of submission. Many *curacas* did submit to the will of the Incas because they lacked the ability to defeat them. Nevertheless, there were advantages to joining the Inca state. If a *curaca* was unable to provide for the members of his ayllu for reasons out of his control, he could rely on the Inca to supplement him, which would help protect his legitimacy.⁴⁵

The Inca, by understanding how the *ayllus* functioned, preferred incorporation to conquest. Conquest demonstrated military might, and was an available asset when necessary. Mostly it served as a deterrent for difficult ethnic groups outside the Inca state who might cause trouble for those ayllus within the Inca fold, as well as any within it who might consider rebellion. The Inca would issue warnings before any campaigns in the hopes that the threat of military intervention alone would suffice. Military might demonstrated the powerful connections and control the Inca possessed, and more importantly, it was evidence of the favor of the gods. Yet the Incas preferred voluntary submission in that it was indicative of their cultural superiority. If the Inca had to subdue his enemies, he also needed to reconstruct and establish cultural

⁴⁵ For the distribution of necessities, see Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Inca*, 62-64. For legitimacy, see Ramirez, *To Feed and Be Fed*, 113-115.

dominance. The Incas placed the *huacas* of the conquered groups in the temples in Cuzco as a means of demonstrating the power of the Inca gods over their own.⁴⁶ Betanzos relates how after the conquests during the reign of Inca Yupanqui, that the ruler would parade the defeated lords in front of his army, pour *chicha* and crumbs over their heads, and lock them in cages with the wild animals that they had retrieved from their conquests. Adversely, for those curacas who had submitted to the Inca, he ordered all the remaining spoils of his conquests be brought before him, including captive native men and women, and had them divided among them.⁴⁷

Alternatively, voluntary incorporation brought a recognition of the Inca's ability to provide for his subjects, which indicated their legitimacy without any need for coercion. Some weaker curacas chose to join the Inca state to strengthen their positions. Garcilaso relates the tale of the "good" Huamanchucu, who had desired to see his subjects reform their "beastly" customs, which included the worshiping of colorful stones and human sacrifice. He was reluctant to make any changes in fear that the natives of his ayllu would rise up against him and kill him if he implemented any changes. He welcomed the Inca and willfully submitted to their rule so that they could impose law and order on his natives. In turn, the Inca greatly favored and rewarded the curaca. Huamanchucu was able to implement his desired reforms while strengthening his position as curaca.⁴⁸

Incorporation did not mean abandoning the cultural and religious practices of the *ayllu*. By absorbing the *ayllu*, the Incas were also absorbing its culture as well, while transmitting the central aspects of their own. The Inca allowed worship of other deities, so long as *Inti*, the god of the sun, was chief among them. Paradoxically, having the local *ayllus* maintain their previous

⁴⁶ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:264-265.

⁴⁷ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 89-91.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

culture helped aid the Incas in their social control. Often, if a local group got out of line, the Incas would conduct religious ceremonies demonstrating the superiority of their own gods over those of the local population. Many groups would fall in line just to spare the public humiliation of their gods.⁴⁹

The Inca state, while powerful, consisted of a vast number of *ayllus* with questionable loyalty to the Incas. Though they adopted and incorporated Inca cultural practices into their own, many ethnic groups maintained an understanding of their historical past and culture. Other groups developed a hybrid culture, interspersing elements of their past with the Inca present. Many of those groups furthest from the centers of Inca power were Inca in name only, and maintained a great deal of social and religious autonomy.

The Spanish ignorance of the *ayllu* system in Peru again contributed to their sense of superiority. The conquistadors marveled at the passivity of the natives in Peru. Many of the natives seemed weak and accepted Spanish rule with very little resistance. In the eyes of the Spanish, this trait was inherent and existed well before the arrival of the Spanish, as the natives would believe anything regarding Inca culture and religion that they were told.⁵⁰ They offered their women to the Spaniards, accepted conversion to the Catholic faith, seemingly abandoning their gods, and even at times tried to emulate Hispanic dress and culture.⁵¹ For the early conquistadors and settlers of Peru, the ease at which they seemed to conquer the Andean peoples was further proof of the righteousness of their cause. The thousands of natives joining the

⁴⁹ Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1990), 3-4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵¹ Pereyra Plasencia Hugo, "Indios y Mestizos en Lima de los Siglos XVI y XVII," *Cielo Abierto* XI, no. 32 (April 1985): 49-50.

Catholic fold justified the gold and silver that was filling Spain's coffers to help finance Charles V's wars against the Muslims and the new Protestant threat.

What was mistaken for passivity was activity on the part of the curacas. When the Spanish arrived, the curacas had to choose sides, and many felt that an alliance with the Spanish better served their interests. Absorbing culture, including religion, into their own cosmology was customary and not indicative of a rejection of their own way of life. Before the Spanish arrived, dressing and behaving in a similar fashion to the Inca was reserved only for those subjects in the highest favor, and it seemed fitting among the Spanish as well. Even many curacas who seemingly adopted Spanish ways were quick to draw the line when confronted. These curacas were behaving as they had before the Spanish arrived, in which the Inca system centered on reciprocity, and they had misunderstood Spanish sentiments towards their alliances. In other words, the natives understood their alliance as a gesture of support in favor of reciprocity, not an act of submission in the way the Spanish perceived it.⁵²

As an early example, Don Gonzalo Taulichusco, a curaca of Lima and descendant of the Taulichusco lineage that had been in power there before the arrival of the Spanish, and whose family had aided the Spanish during the siege of Lima by the Cuesqueñan Incas, rode a horse, dressed like a European, and threatened to whip anyone not willing to accept Christianity. His father had been a local curaca when the Spanish arrived, and he assumed the curacazgo from his brother. Yet when he found himself at odds with local Spanish officials he was quick to remind them, "This city is founded on my lands, the farms of the *vecinos* and settlers belong to me and my Indians."⁵³

⁵² See Ch. 3.

⁵³ Hugo, "Indios y Mestizos en Lima," 49-50.

For the individuals within an ayllu, it traditionally did not matter who specifically was above the curaca. With the exception of modifying cultural practices with the addition of new gods, which could be advantageous if they were powerful enough, or adopting new rites, rituals, and at times language, their daily lives did not drastically change. Tribute in the form of labor was familiar and widespread, as it came with the expectation of reciprocity. In Andean cosmology, the tribute to the Inca was a tribute to the gods, and similar results were expected. In the pre-Columbian times, the ayllus remained mostly intact unless they were absorbed into a larger culture (as often occurred with the Inca). Yet the curacas had the opportunity for social mobility. Their leadership did not stem from noble bloodlines. If a curaca was able to gain more natives under his control, whether directly related or not, he could increase his power and kinship ties. The curacas that hedged their bets with the Spanish as allies had hopes that they could remove the Inca yoke and improve their positions through Spanish reward. Other curacas behaved as they had with the Inca and decided that if they did not have the military might to defeat the Spanish, they would be better served by becoming their allies. If they had already sided with Huascar during the dynastic conflict before the Spanish arrived, then they had little choice but to collaborate with the Spanish in the hopes of disposing of their problem.

Among the clergy, what the conquistadors viewed as passivity appeared to be eagerness to join the Christian fold. The joys of the success from their proselytization efforts were short lived. The passivity of the natives in their acceptance of the Catholic faith quickly turned to obstinacy as they continually returned to their traditional religious practices. Other groups blended elements of Christianity with their own religious customs and beliefs. Scholars have labeled the hybridity of the indigenous religions after the arrival of the Spanish as syncretic, and put forth the notion that it was a unique consequence of the conquest. While shocking to the

Spanish clergy, and certainly novel with its inclusion of European religious elements, the natives were merely relying on pre-Columbian traditions. Spanish priests considered the survival of these traditions within indigenous religiosity to be a failure on their part, which would also eventually become an indictment of the natives' capacity to learn.

Some of the members of the clergy placed the full burden of the blame on the Spanish. Bartolome de las Casas, a Dominican friar who had been among the earliest to arrive in the Indies, had been an encomendero who found inspiration in the sermons of Montesinos and had recanted his previous lifestyle. He committed the rest of his life to advocating for the ethical treatment of the indigenous populations. Las Casas became the primary voice for those clergy members who shared his point of view, developing the challenge to the opposing set of ideas that dictated that the natives committed unspeakable sins, including cannibalism, and deserved to be enslaved as their punishment. The ideas of Bartolome de las Casas had a profound effect on the royal policies that would govern Spanish America.

Ironically, his account on the decimation of the native populations of the Indies may have had its most influential impact in the Viceroyalty of Peru, despite the fact that he had very limited experience in the Andes.⁵⁴ His debate with Sepulveda over the nature of the indigenous populations for the benefit of Charles V had much more complex issues at stake than solely the well-being of the natives. The idea that indigenous labor was an absolute necessity for the Spanish economy was not up for debate. Rather, how the Spanish should obtain this labor was a major underlying issue. The Spanish legal view of the natives carried with it widespread political consequences. It was difficult for the Spanish to argue that their presence in the Americas rested on garnering souls for Christianity while at the same time enslaving them.

⁵⁴ Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, 141-145.

Charles V had carried the burden of battling the serious Protestant threat throughout Europe, and the moving arguments presented by Las Casas provided the kind of ammunition that justified the claims of hypocrisy against the Catholic Church.

Obviously, the debate between Las Casas and Sepulveda carried serious implications outside of the protection of the natives in Peru as well. Economically, few available incentives existed to coerce the natives into toiling in the mines that also maintained the desired profit levels for investors and the Crown's royal share. Charles V and other officials in Spain were very weary of the growing power of the *encomenderos* in Peru. The *encomienda* system created a group of powerful *encomenderos*, which was growing in influence to the point they began to rival the aristocracy that comprised the *cortes* (royal councils usually composed of nobles) in Spain that had proved to be a continual challenge to royal autonomy on the peninsula. Granting the *encomenderos* unlimited power to dominate natives was not a viable option.

Critics and revisionist historians are quick to point out that while advocating strongly on their behalf, Las Casas actually did very little to help the natives himself.⁵⁵ While labeled as one of the earliest advocates of human rights, Las Casas also suggested enslaving Africans in order to replace indigenous labor. The Dominican adopted the belief in the child-like innocence of the natives. The indigenous populations were uncorrupted by the sins of the Europeans, which provided them the greatest opportunity to become the purist Christians. The Africans, on the other hand, already had obtained their opportunity to accept the faith and had rejected it.

The idea that slaves needed to convert to Christianity before arriving in the Americas was a new concept that had to do more with their acculturation and control within society, as well as possibly attempting to contain the influence of other foreign religions in the Americas. The

⁵⁵ Daniel Castro, *Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 5.

actual process seemed to be done in name only, with little evidence that the slaves understood what was happening.⁵⁶ The slavery in the early colonial period was not the same variety of slavery that would develop within the plantations. A “*ladino*” (understanding Spanish language and culture) or *criollo* (born in the Americas) was more adapted to the kind of work they would be doing in society. On the other hand, some individuals found the slaves to become lazy as soon as they were baptized.⁵⁷ In medieval Spain and elsewhere, public perception dictated that it was problematic, albeit legal, for a Christian to own a slave that was also Christian (it was illegal for non-Christians). As a result, slave owners were far less inclined to proselytize their slaves or to have them baptized. Yet slavery was not an obvious answer to the labor problem for those in Peru.

A prevailing philosophy in early modern thought was that individuals were perfectly adapted to live in the climate in which they were born. God had dispersed a large variety of peoples who had settled into the regions that were most conducive to their body types and habits. Slaves from Africa were originally not a viable option for many of the mines in the cooler climate of the Andes. Even when considering the natives, there was a growing amount of legislation prohibiting the transport of natives from the mountain regions to work in areas along the coast and vice versa.⁵⁸ The experiences in Peru and elsewhere in the Americas caused many Spaniards to challenge these ideas.⁵⁹ As the native population began to go through periods of decline, some in the mining industry began to question the fortitude of the indigenous, considering them too frail and sickly for the difficult task. Some felt that the Africans,

⁵⁶ Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 47.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁵⁸ "Regreso en libertad de indios a sus tierras de origen," September 28, 1543, Lima 566,L.5,F.75R-75V, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

⁵⁹ Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 13-19.

accustomed to strenuous manual labor and more aggressive by nature, could handle the work, while others had the same concerns about their adaptations to new climates. Furthermore, slave labor was often cost prohibitive, reducing the financial gains from the mines.⁶⁰

Charles V decided that the best option would be to continue to use native labor, but increase the Crown control over its maintenance. In 1542, he handed down the *Leyes Nuevas* (New Laws) to effectively end the encomienda system in Spanish America within a few generations. The natives became free subjects of the King, and the monarch now had control of the labor supply. The New Laws also propagated the idea of a benevolent king and elevated the status of the natives within Hispanic society. The indigenous populations, as *gente sin razón* (people without reason) were still required to provide tribute payments and meet specific labor demands, but the Crown was to make those decisions in Peru, not the encomenderos. The encomenderos were clearly furious about the laws limiting their power and status. In Mexico the laws were not implemented, in Central America they were not enforced, and in Peru they led to outright revolt.⁶¹

To Peruvians, Las Casas was just another *peninsular* (person from Spain or the Iberian Peninsula), who did not understand the local situation. Despite his years of experience in the Indies, he was not a man of Peru. As mentioned previously, a spirit of independence existed very early on in Peru. The mestizo chronicler, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, despite being notoriously sympathetic to the natives, echoed these same sentiments. Garcilaso, looking back at the time before the laws were put in effect, suggested that both the indigenous groups and the Spanish were content since the Spanish had adopted a style of governing very similar to Inca rule before them. For the most part, the curacas (indigenous leaders) maintained their positions of

⁶⁰ Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, 113-120.

⁶¹ See Ch. 5.

authority over their kinship groups, and Inca nobility received the recognition deserving of their station. He is quick to note that those members of the Council of the Indies who were opposed to the New Laws were those individuals who had lived and even governed in the Indies. While Garcilaso did admit that atrocities towards the natives did occur, he argued that most encomenderos treated their natives well, and that individual cases involving these “conscienceless Spaniards” deserved harsh, individual punishments rather than dismantling a functional system.⁶² While Garcilaso’s depiction paints an idealistic picture of the political climate before the New Laws, it is clearly indicative of a unique multicultural understanding and independent spirit of the colonial society that was developing in Peru.

One of the unintended consequences of the spread of Las Casas’s ideas in Peru was an increase in the intellectual and philosophical interest in Inca history and culture. This interest intensified after the fall of the last visage of the Inca Empire in Vilcabamba with the execution of Tupac Amaru I and the imposition of Toledo’s reforms. Undoubtedly, the accounts that this newfound interest in the Inca past fostered are problematic in that indigenous culture manifests itself through the filter of the Hispanic mindset. Even indigenous chroniclers wrote after the arrival of the Spanish, so it is difficult to discern that which existed before the Spanish arrived and that which stemmed from the culture that evolved after. Regardless, these sources reveal a wealth of information about the transcultural society and the hybrid mindset that existed at the time that the authors put pen to paper, and demonstrate the level of cultural fusion that existed.

One such scholar who devoted a great deal of attention to the subject was the Jesuit missionary Bernabé Cobo, documenting his experiences after having passed more than half of the seventeenth century in Spanish America. Although writing later than other chroniclers, Cobo

⁶² Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:931-939.

was reacting to the debates that had been going on in Peru throughout the previous decades. Recounting the origins of an indigenous ethnic group in Peru, he related the tale that on a mountain range of the Andes near Cuzco, thousands of years before the arrival of the Spanish, the llamas became so overcome with sadness that they were unable to eat and passed their nights gazing up at the stars. When one curious herder took notice and questioned the llamas, they pointed to the sky to a cluster of stars. The llamas informed the herder that the stars were meeting to discuss a great flood that would destroy the earth and its inhabitants. After discussing the matter with his sons and daughters, the herder decided to gather as much food and livestock as possible and travel with his family to the peak of Ancasmarcha, which continually rose to stay above the floodwaters. When the waters finally began to recede and the peak came to rest in its original place, the region again flourished with the herder's descendants.⁶³

Countless years later, what amazed Cobo was not this particular description of a people's origin, but rather that it was similar to a seemingly infinite number of others in Peru. Each individual ethnic group seemed to place more significance on their own ancestries over any universal cosmological roots.⁶⁴ Despite over two centuries of Inca and Hispanic rule, local kinship groups still had an idea of their own history that meshed well with other imposed religious worldviews. At the same time, these histories often had commonalities, such as the great flood, that existed in the Bible as well as the various accounts related to Cobo.

The Inca also believed that their ancestors had survived a great flood. Inti, the sun god, sent his children that he had fathered with Mama Quilla, the moon goddess, to find a suitable location to begin their reign. Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo walked westward prodding a golden staff into the ground along the way. Where it sank into the ground, they were to begin

⁶³ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, p. 16.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-18.

their reign. The staff finally submerged into the ground near Cuzco, and the Inca state was born. The king travelled northward as the queen moved southward, bringing the people of the Andes into their fold.⁶⁵

Cobo marveled at what he considered the seemingly infinite number of “fabrications” and “nonsense” held as beliefs by the Andean peoples.⁶⁶ At the same time, he was impressed with the sophistication and complexity of the religion of the Incas. It was easy for Spaniards like Cobo to cast dispersion on the natives with simple societies who in his opinion lived like beasts in the wild. However, civilizations such as the Inca were more problematic. On the one hand, the Spanish classified the natives of the Americas as people without reason (*gente sin razón*), placing them on a child-like level needing the paternal guidance of their Spanish counterparts. On the other hand, the advanced civilization of the natives challenged Hispanic notions of historical superiority.

Columbus’s misidentification of the people of the Caribbean as *indios*, and Spanish officials’ subsequent classification of all the natural inhabitants of the Americas as such would have far reaching consequences. Despite the obvious differences in cultural norms and social behaviors, the classification of *indio* implied a connection between all the natives of the Americas. Since the *indios* were collectively *gente sin razón* (people without reason), it no longer mattered the level of intricacy and complexity they found among certain ethnic groups. This collective distinction made the sophisticated culture of the Incas a curious anomaly that warranted scrutiny.

It was impossible for several of the early chroniclers to ignore the similarities that they found among the Inca society and those of classical antiquity. Drawing comparisons to Rome

⁶⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:41-43.

⁶⁶ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, p. 17.

and Greece became a common occurrence in the accounts of the Incas. Cobo is quick to point out that their pagan religion is not indicative of their lack of sophistication. After all, the Greeks and Romans, who had been masters of philosophy and laid the foundations for civilized polities, also had adopted pagan religions and worshipped a wide variety of gods. The Inca were somewhat more advanced in Cobo's mind on matters of religion in that the Inca at least recognized the existence of a supreme creator god. Unlike the pagans of old, it was not surprising that the Inca "so given to scientific study and investigation into the nature of things, ever succeeded in finding the true Architect of all creation."⁶⁷

Another Jesuit priest, José de Acosta, equally praised the Inca by alluding to the Greeks and Romans. Acosta chose to write an account of the laws and customs of the natives in order that he might "refute the fact that they are a gross and brutish people." He noted that the Greeks and Romans had many customs that were "so full of ignorance, and so worthy of laughter," and that if the laws and customs of the Mexicans and the Incas had been known, they would have been held in equal esteem.⁶⁸ It was fitting to Acosta that the great empires of Peru and Mexico should come to an end at the heights of their civilization at the hands of a Christian sovereignty, in the same way that Rome had found Christianity at the height of its reign.⁶⁹

For Acosta and Cobo, along with a great number of Spaniards, the decisive factor in their perception of the natives was not their ethnicity or their religion, but rather their level of civilization compared with Spanish standards. Both divided the native population into three categories. At the top, the civilized and organized "monarchies" of the Incas and the Aztecs garnered the most praise. On the next level, those groups who were somewhat organized under

⁶⁷ Ibid., 7-8.

⁶⁸ Jose de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Clements R. Markham, Hakluyt Series 1 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010), I: 307-308 and 390-391.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 528.

collective leaders, and who had a more advanced agricultural means of production. The nomadic groups who seemed to have no hierarchal organization in society and lived little better than “beasts” occupied the lowest levels of indigenous society.

This organization adversely affected their religion. The lowest level of indigenous society, according to Acosta, cared little for spirituality and practiced the eating of human flesh and other abominations. Like the beasts to which the priests compared them, they had little need for organized religion. At the highest level, the religion of the Incas and the Aztecs proved to be much more developed and complex, with a variety of rituals and ceremonies that had become entrenched into the fabric of their respective societies. Civilization was a significant indication of the openness of the natives’ ability to receive Christianity, and undoubtedly, Acosta viewed the great “empires” of the Americas as an assisting factor of Spain’s greater cause, but it did not necessarily make the task of converting them any less daunting.

The intellectual rationalizations of the Spanish began to be incorporated and utilized by the native groups as well. The “civilizing” aspect of the Inca state began to permeate their social memory. The Incas, along with those who were apologetic or sympathetic to the Inca state, began to stress their sophistication and organization as redeeming qualities worthy of a high status. Garcilaso repeated a tale that had been told to him by his uncle, a member of the Inca nobility. He discussed the origin of the Inca but was careful to add that Inti (the sun god) had specifically sent the brother and sister westward so that they might tame and civilize the natives who were living like “wild beasts,” who knew neither religion nor government, dressed in animal skins if anything at all, and “ate the herbs of the fields and roots of the trees...and also human flesh.”⁷⁰ He played down the aggressive and belligerent acts of the Inca conquest and suggested

⁷⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:42.

that most of the indigenous groups willingly assimilated into the Inca state upon recognition of their cultural and political superiority.

Garcilaso also describes the tale of two powerful caciques, or indigenous leaders, who had continued a war with each other that they had inherited from their fathers before them. After decimating their own subjects for years to gain an upper hand in the conflict, they decided to welcome the Inca Capac Yupanqui to resolve it. It was natural choice, as they were “moved by the fame of the Incas, both past and present, whose justice and rectitude, together with the wonders said to have been wrought on their behalf by their father the Sun, were so widely noised abroad among those tribes that all desired to experience them.”⁷¹ After experiencing the evenhanded laws of the Incas and the fair treatment by Inca Capac Yupanqui, they resolved their quarrels and willingly submitted to his rule. The Inca rewarded them favorably reaffirming their status among their people within the Inca fold. The native and mestizo chroniclers, as well as those Spaniards with familial ties or sympathetic to the Incas, utilized the Hispanic intellectual classifications of the Inca and began to propagate the notion of their law and order.

Spanish intellectuals also had a strong desire to reconcile the erudition of Inca culture with their own contradictory classification of a people without reason. The natives of Peru, including those under Inca rule, lacked the knowledge of Christianity and its saving graces. On the other hand, they seemed to have knowledge of a wide range of concepts from the Old Testament, such as the belief in a supreme creator, *Viracocha Pachayachachi*, who made man from clay in his likeness and knowledge of the great flood they called *uñu pachacuti*, or water that overruns the land.⁷² With its complex religious organization and civilized social structure

⁷¹ Ibid., 164-165.

⁷² Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 16-17.

and systematized laws, the origins of the Inca state needed explanation. Theories varied wildly about the origins of the indigenous populations in Peru.

Those who saw the civilization and the complexity in the Incas felt that they must trace their roots back to descend from a similar civilization in the past as had the Spanish. They felt that the natives had spread to the Americas at the height of the Roman Empire just as it had seemingly spread across the world. For his part, Cobo found it hard to believe that a literate society that relied on writing as much as the Romans would not forget the skill to the point of possessing no writing at all. He saw the most similarities with the populations in Asia, and despite proof to the contrary, felt that there must have been a connection between the Americas and Asia.⁷³ Others found that the indigenous populations explained previous mysteries written by earlier philosophers or described in the Bible. The natives could well have been from the lost city of Atlantis described by the Greek philosophers. Many others believed that the Americas, and especially Peru, was the city of Ophir, which delivered gold to King Solomon in the Bible. Columbus himself had suggested that he had discovered the kingdom.⁷⁴ Another possibility referenced within the scripture was that the natives were descendants of a lost tribe of Israel.

The need for a significant connection of the two worlds was reflective in the growing cultural mestizaje, and again it infiltrated indigenous cosmology. Writing in the early years of the seventeenth century, the Andean chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala had identified the Three Wisemen at Jesus's birth as Melchior, Indian, Gaspar, African, and Baltazar, Spaniard.⁷⁵ He also suggested that Saint Bartholomew had travelled to the Americas to preach and perform miracles,

⁷³ Ibid., 47-48.

⁷⁴ Delno C. West, "Christopher Columbus, Lost Biblical Sites, and the Last Crusade." *The Catholic Historical Review* 78, no. 4 (1992): V-541.

⁷⁵ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009), 66.

and that God had sent friars to Peru pretending to be poor in order to test the charity of the Inca.⁷⁶ He argued that none of this was known to the Europeans due to the lack of a written language amongst the Inca. It was significant in the mind of Guaman Poma for the Christianity of the natives to predate the arrival of the Spanish. By incorporating the Catholic faith into the history of the natives, it validates the indigenous populations and it weakens the justifications of the Spanish presence in the Americas. In essence, if the natives were loyal vassals to the Crown and solid practitioners of the Catholic faith, there was no real need for the Spanish officials to remain in the Americas. By tracing Christian roots back to one of the apostles of Jesus and weaving the Biblical narrative into the history of the Incas, Guaman Poma was also attempting to elevate their status above other populations in Spain, such as the *conversos* (recently converted from Judaism). Guaman Poma was incorporating Hispanic religious ideologies and integrating them into the indigenous cosmology to serve both spiritual and political needs, as well as validate his own desire for the Crown to appoint him ruler over the other Andeans.

Guaman Poma was not the first to apply Christian concepts retroactively to the Andean cosmological past. The mestizo Jesuit priest, Blas Valera, who was born in Peru around the middle of the sixteenth century and served the order until dying in exile in Spain in 1597, also blended aspects of Andean religion with Christianity. While there was a belief that the Inca creator god Viracocha was in actuality Jesus's disciple St. Thomas, Valera took it a step further. Valera argued that Viracocha was actually Jesus himself, and it was he who had appeared in front of the Inca Emperor divining his conquests. He also suggested that the Inca Emperor Atahualpa was a saint now occupying heaven. Valera, who was praised by his superiors as being a "good linguist" and having "good sense," began to argue that the religion of the Incas was

⁷⁶ Ibid., 66-70.

more advanced than the that of Mesoamericans and, even more suggestively, than the religion of the Romans. Furthermore, he used Catholic theology to justify his claims against the Roman religions.⁷⁷

The significance of Valera and Guaman Poma's theology stems beyond their syncretic qualities. It designates a real understanding of both the Andean and the Hispanic understandings. The Catholic Church obviously did not support the religious beliefs of Roman antiquity, but they were more sympathetic given the profound influence that Roman and Greek philosophy had on contemporary thought. If Romans, who had a great civilization based on order and influenced by great thinkers and philosophers, could be respected and appreciated by the Spanish, then it stood to reason that the Inca Empire could equally be praiseworthy, particularly if its pre-Christian religious beliefs were closer to finding the true Christian God than that of the Romans.

Regardless of their origins or their religious beliefs, the Spanish undeniably considered the Inca the most advanced society and culture they had encountered in the Americas. Thus, the question remained to the members of the clergy as to why they had fallen so far from the truth and were overwrought with sin. They had managed to understand that there was one true creator, but included countless other deities within their cosmology. The devil was the most likely culprit, and the chroniclers are quick to demonstrate his devious work in the Americas. The Inca especially were "blind" and "so thoroughly accustomed to his misguided sect."⁷⁸

For others, including Guaman Poma de Ayala, the Spanish were the corrupters of Peruvian society, not the devil. Under Inca rule, society had functioned as it should under the

⁷⁷ For the praise of Blas Valera, see Antonio de Egaña, *Monumenta Peruana* (Roma, Italy: Apud Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1954), I:283 and 446. For Valera's religious beliefs, see Sabine Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003)143-160.

⁷⁸ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 8.

guidance of just and fair laws, despite the errors in their religion. The arrival of the Spanish and their endless hypocrisy caused the ills in society. It would be better for the Spanish to leave Peru again to the natives, who would continue to serve as Christian vassals to the king. Guaman Poma suggested that God “did not send the most perverse animal but the Spaniards,” and that they “did not follow the laws of God nor the gospel nor preaching.” Worst of all, the “Spaniards taught the Indians of this kingdom bad habits, and they did not obey God nor their fathers and mothers nor their elders, nor justice as God commands.”⁷⁹

Guaman Poma was not alone in his thoughts, and even many Spaniards felt burdened with their own culpability. The conquistador Mancio Serra de Leguizamo, in an attempt to clear his conscience, put forth in his final will and testament:

...touching what is needed for the health of my soul, seeing that I took a great part in the discovery, conquest, and settlement of these kingdoms, when we drove out those who were the Lord Incas and who possessed and ruled them as their own. We placed them under the royal crown, and his Catholic Majesty should understand that we found these kingdoms in such order, and the aforementioned Incas governed them in such ways that throughout them there was not a thief, nor a vicious man, nor was an adulteress, nor bad woman admitted among them, nor were there immoral people. The men had honest and useful occupations. The lands, forests, mines, pastures, houses, and all kinds of products were regulated and distributed in such sort that each one knew his property without any other person seizing or occupying it, nor were there law suits respecting it. The operations of war, though they were numerous, never interfered with the interests of commerce nor with agriculture. All things from the greatest to the most minute had their proper place and order. The Incas were feared, obeyed and respected by their subjects, as men very capable and well versed in the art of government. As in these rulers we found the power and command as well as the resistance, we subjugated them for the service of God our Lord, took away their land, and placed it under the royal crown, and it was necessary to deprive them entirely of power and command, for we had seized their goods by force of arms. By the intervention of our Lord, it was possible for us to subdue these kingdoms containing such a multitude of people and such riches, and [we made their lords our servants and subjects.]

As is seen and as I wish your Majesty to understand, the motive which obliges me to make this statement is the discharge of my conscience, as I find myself guilty. For we have destroyed by our evil example, the people who had such a government as was enjoyed by these natives. They were so free from the committal of crimes or excesses, as well men as women, that the Indian who had 100,000 pesos worth of gold and silver in his house, left it open merely placing a small stick across the door, as a sign that its master was out. With that, according to their custom, no one could enter nor take anything that was there. When they saw that we put locks and keys on our doors, they supposed that it was from fear of them, that they might not kill us, but not because they believed that any one would steal the property of another. So that when they found that we had thieves amongst us, and men who sought to make their daughters commit sin, they despised us. But now they have come to such a pass, in offence of God, owing to the bad example that we have set them in all things, that these natives from doing no evil, have changed into people who now do no good or very little.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle*, 45.

⁸⁰ Clements R. Markham, *The Incas of Peru* (New York, NY: Smith, Elder, 1911) 299 (paraphrased).

Guaman Poma would echo these sentiments when describing the indigenous past. He too suggested that before the Spaniards, people respected the laws and there was “no evil of any kind.” There were no “loose” or “adulterous” women, and they remained virgins for around thirty years before marrying and living humbly and living within their means.⁸¹ The Crown also understood the potential for a Hispanic corruption of the indigenous populations and had every desire to proliferate its philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*.

Creating the *Dos Repúblicas* through Cultural Mestizaje – Explaining the Paradox

The *dos repúblicas*, the idea of separate and distinct republics, one indigenous and one Spanish, was an extremely complex colonial ideology despite its apparent simplicity. The notion of republics, in a philosophical sense, was well known to the Spanish intellectuals of the day. Most likely, the Spanish were referring to the idea that the natives and the Spanish would fall under the jurisdiction of the king and have the same religion, yet still maintain separate laws, customs, and culture.⁸² The Crown also allowed some autonomy originally in that it intended for the natives to remain under the control of their curacas. The natives who were not baptized were also allowed to swear to their own gods or the sun and the moon in court, and the Crown desired that indigenous customs be considered when resolving complaints between the Spanish and the natives.⁸³ The encomienda system was not designed for the encomenderos to govern the natives. Most likely, the Crown had specific wishes for the natives, namely religious and economic, and could exist on their own outside of these requirements. The two republics also allowed the Crown to administer separate laws for the natives and the Spaniards.

⁸¹ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, 44.

⁸² Aberlado Levaggi, "Republica de indios y republica de espanoles en el reino de Indias," *Revista de estudios historico-juridicos*, no. 23: 419-428.

⁸³ "Para que en los pleitos de indios no hagan precesos ordinarios," September 23, 1580, Cedulaarios, Title XI 227, f. 304, Archivo General de Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador and Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*. I:74-75.

At the same time, it seems like the philosophy must have been more rhetorical in the early years of Hispanic colonization. In other words, the idea behind the *dos repúblicas* was philosophical, and never actually put into law. The indigenous populations were at the center of every endeavor one pursued in the Americas, whether hoping to garner reputation and fame through conquest, to grow wealthy in the mines, or to win souls for the Catholic faith. The institutions and the systems that the Spanish officials put into practice also required continual interaction between the two populations. The *encomienda* system required the *encomendero* to provide religious instruction, and despite royal disapproval, many of the early *encomenderos* lived with the natives. Missions and the *reducciones* (reallocation of native populations) also created environments conducive to interaction, as the Spanish institutions became centers of the new communities.

On the other hand, the Spanish Crown never had any intention or desire to foster an integrated and culturally assimilated community in the Americas. While proselytization was both strategically and morally crucial, and undoubtedly the Spanish Monarchs continually anticipated sovereignty over the native populations and their leadership, the end goal was not to have one unified population in the Americas. To the contrary, their aim was for an indigenous population, independent yet subject to the crown, who had converted and sincerely practiced the Catholic faith. While subjects of the Spanish King, the initial hope was that the natives could also maintain their indigenous leadership. The execution of the Inca emperors, both Atahualpa and Tupac Amaru I respectively, met with royal disapproval and condemnation. Phillip II reminded the Viceroy Francisco Toledo that he had sent him to Peru “not to kill kings, but to serve them.”⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1483.

Furthermore, from very early on the Spanish officials respected the nobility of the Incas. Many of the Incas received encomienda grants along with the Spanish conquistadors. Several years after the conquest, Spanish officials were requesting to the Crown that those members of the Inca royal family that had fallen on hard times be rewarded with royal grants that could help restore them to a position in society more worthy of their status.⁸⁵ The Crown even granted certain Inca lineages with a coat of arms, which indicated their status as nobles within the Spanish sphere of society as well.⁸⁶ The noble status of the Inca was so pervasive in the Americas that as late as the eighteenth century, individuals were petitioning the Crown to prove their status as descendants of the Inca.⁸⁷

The separation of the republics was not indicative of equal status however. The natives maintained their classification as people without reason. The Hapsburg Kings were to provide the paternalistic support and protection in exchange for the labor demands to support their economy. However, it was the labor demands that created the problem, as the natives were in demand among the Spanish in Peru as well. The Spanish officials had failed miserably in their first attempts to implement the New Laws, and the labor system needed reform for a variety of sociopolitical reasons. A resolution to the sustained influence of the *encomenderos* was chief among them.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the civil wars between the conquistadors had finally quieted down. Yet, the situation in Peru was hardly quiet. Though a remnant of its

⁸⁵ "Para que los hijos y deudos de incas principales que se ven pobres y desfavorecidos se les socorra." March 10, 1555. Lima,567,L.7,F.520R-522R and "Para que si se averigua que Antonio Silquigua, indio y sus hermanos, son descendientes de los incas" April 21, 1987, Quito,211,L.2,F.197V-198R Archivo General de Indias. Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

⁸⁶ "Escudo de armas concedido por el emperador Carlos V a los descendientes de los incas," May 9, 1545, MP Escudos, 78, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

⁸⁷ "Probanza de Nobleza de Doña Tomasa Medina de Guzman Atao Yupanqui Apoalaña Canchari Gaurilloella," February 5, 1779, Notariales, Protocolos Agustín Ccacón y Becerra, 1778-1779, Archivo Regional de Cuzco, Cuzco, Peru.

former self, the Inca state still existed at Vilcabamba and was powerful enough to cause problems for the Spanish. Encomiendas had changed hands recurrently in the hopes to placate potential rebels, which only seemed to alienate many more. Other encomenderos still felt betrayed by the New Laws. Those who had ended up on the wrong side of a given conflict watched their power and prestige diminish as the victor divided the spoils among individuals much less deserving that had guessed correctly. As the Spanish Crown turned more towards developing their colonies as opposed to exploring in lands in search of further conquest, many soldiers and colonists who had pursued wealth in the Indies for many years felt their chances had closed. A few distinguished encomenderos chose open revolt, with countless others teetering on the brink awaiting the slightest excuse from the Crown to do the same.

Phillip II knew he needed to bring order to Peru, but that had proven many times to be a task easier said than done. The Crown still very much wanted to implement the concepts behind the New Laws, yet had to be careful about how they approached the endeavor. Behind the Crown's desire for order within colonial Peruvian society was a clear shift in their desire to implement the concept of the *dos repúblicas*. The rationale was that in order for society to function properly, the king needed to be the link between the natives and Spaniards. As it stood, the encomenderos, clergy, lower level Spanish officials, and numerous curacas held too much sway over the indigenous population.

Philip II, along with other important officials began to view the problems in the Americas as severe and held a council in 1568 to address some major concerns. Many prominent Spanish officials with ties to the Indies and important members of the clergy attended. The first major issue that needed addressing was the inability to proselytize the natives. Phillip II was reminded that his entire justification for rule overseas rested on the conversions of the natives, and Spanish

efforts were encumbered with a seemingly endless list of impediments.⁸⁸ The council was also concerned with indigenous labor, mining, and financial administration and taxation. The issue of the *encomiendas* and perpetuity also lingered.

Don Francisco de Toledo, the newly appointed Viceroy to Peru designated to remedy the problems that plagued the region, was among those in attendance. Toledo had the seemingly impossible task of placating the *encomenderos* while simultaneously protecting the indigenous populations and aiding the efforts of the clergy with their conversion. He also inherited a Peru that was beginning to see the first few generations of *mestizos*, *mulattoes*, and *creoles* come of age in the viceroyalty. The emergence of these new populations created new dynamics, which added to the already complex issues that existed in society. On the surface, Toledo arrived from Spain to impose the will of the Crown, yet the Viceroy's actions prove to be far more complex.

Scholars have focused on the two extremes of Toledo: the shrewd authoritarian that finally brought a restless Peru under control or the scourge of the native populations for the execution of the last Inca and his implementation of indigenous repopulation and labor requirements. Neither of these extremes capture the true nature of Toledo's reforms. Undoubtedly, Toledo was in Peru for no other reason than to implement the reforms of Phillip II that derived from the *Junta* of 1568. Toledo was to restructure colonial society applying the King's vision of the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*. Toledo's approaches are indicative of a Spanish administrator's attempt, albeit misguided, to understand and navigate the changing tide brought about by cultural *mestizaje* and the emergence of the transcultural society in Peru.

⁸⁸ Manfredi Merluzzi, "Religion and State Policies in the Age of Phillip II: the 1568 *Junta Magna* of the Indies and the New Political Guidelines for the Spanish American Colonies," found in Joaquim Carvalho, ed., *Religion and Power in Europe : Conflict and Convergence* (Pisa : Plus-Pisa university press, 2007), 188.

Among the events under Toledo's administration, few draw more scrutiny from both contemporary chroniclers and scholars of subsequent generations alike as the aforementioned execution of Tupac Amaru I. For those critical of Toledo's actions, the execution was unnecessary and demonstrative of Toledo's potential for tyranny and mistreatment of the native populations. Toledo ignored the pleas of several Spaniards, including prominent members of the clergy, who begged the viceroy to spare the life of the Inca.⁸⁹ For Toledo apologists, the Inca had received several opportunities to reach a peaceful settlement, and had responded with violence. Toledo was only following the letter of the law along with the Crown's request to manage the natives legally as they would any Spaniard.⁹⁰

In reality, Toledo was attempting to implement the reforms of Phillip II stemming from the Junta Magna of 1568. The Crown was facing intense pressure to find a more effective way to proselytize the natives, with the Pope posturing to remove the *patronato* (grant of sovereignty over religious matters in the Americas) and take over the responsibility of converting the natives. Furthermore, Phillip II was in need of the wealth that the colonies provided, and needed to clean up the methods in which royal officials acquired the funds. The philosophy in Spain toward the Indies was changing from the arrival of the Spanish to their colonization efforts, and it was time in Phillip's mind to change the culture in the colonies as well.

Toledo, after extensively touring the viceroyalty, decided that both of the *repúblicas* needed reform. The notion that both the indigenous populations and the Spanish would be completely separate entities under Hapsburg rule was naïve, but the philosophy behind it was rooted in the vision the Phillip II had in order to organize the Indies. In Toledo's mind, the preservation of the indigenous populations did not correspond with the preservation of the Inca

⁸⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1480.

⁹⁰ Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, 302, 316.

state. As long as the Inca state continued to exist, the natives could potentially serve two masters, and the continued threat of an alliance with the local Spanish, creole, and mestizo populations seemed all too real. As Inca Garcilaso phrased it, Toledo extirpated and extinguished “the royal succession of the Inca kings of Peru, so that no one could any longer claim or suppose that the inheritance and succession of the empire belonged to the Incas and so that the Crown of Spain might possess and enjoy it without the shadow of fear that any pretender should arise to claim it.”⁹¹ The execution of the last Inca was indicative of Toledo’s resolve to secure Spanish hegemony. Even if many of his contemporaries, including Phillip II himself, disapproved of the act, no one could question Toledo’s resolve.

The motive behind the execution becomes evident when analyzing Toledo’s other associations with the Inca civilization. Toledo had to move beyond solely ending the political aspects of the Inca polity. He had to discredit the Inca, both on a cultural and moral level. In order to accomplish this, Toledo commissioned Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to write the authoritative history of the Inca in 1572. On the surface, the history carried a great deal of weight as its author asked elders among the Inca, as well as many of the earliest conquistadors and settlers who interacted with them, to sign off on its veracity. Yet, the work is undoubtedly tainted by Toledo’s influence, almost assuredly after the aforementioned individuals approved of its content. Sarmiento and Toledo structured the *History of the Inca* to depict the Inca as tyrants who had invaded Peru and usurped authority through warfare. According to Sarmiento’s account, “Their violent Incaships took place against the will or choice of the natives...each of the

⁹¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1483.

Incas not only continued the tyranny of his father, but also began the same tyranny anew through force and killings, robberies and plunder.”⁹²

Undoubtedly, the Inca did not originate in Cuzco, as their own history suggests, but the oversimplification found in Sarmiento’s version of events is overtly political. By focusing on the interruptive aspects of the rise of Inca civilization, as well as the harsh punishments and retributions the Inca doled out, the Spanish could portray themselves as liberators of the indigenous populations. This narrative of events justified Spanish actions in Peru beyond the conversion of the souls and helped alleviate the concerns of the Pope, while at the same time addressing the criticisms of Spanish presence in Peru.

Many of the chroniclers of Inca history were critical of a variety of their customs and religious rites, and there was no shortage of Spanish critics of Inca civilization. At the same time, as mentioned previously, many of the chroniclers were impressed with the order and organization of the Inca state. Furthermore, there had been an admiration of Inca nobility, and the Incas had been trying to negotiate for that status to remain intact within Hispanic society. What was at stake for Toledo was to shift the civility of the Incas to tyranny and the interloper status of the Spanish to liberators. Furthermore, by discrediting the Incas, it also was an affront to those *encomenderos* in Cuzco who had developed kinship ties with the Incas, through marriage or other endeavors, as well as the creole, mestizo, and other populations who sympathized with the Inca.

The irony of Toledo’s depiction of the disarray of Inca civilization, as well as further indication that his treatment of them was political, lies in his incorporation of Inca policies in order to govern Peru. Toledo understood that publically the Inca state could no longer exist. He

⁹² Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, ed. Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007), 203.

also understood that the natives had not adapted well to Spanish rule, and that even the Spanish had grown accustomed to specific, transcultural policies in the Americas. On the surface, it seems illogical that Toledo would choose to adopt indigenous policies, particularly in the face of the *encomenderos* and *primeros pobladores* who had used the argument themselves. In other words, the ability to justify the Hispanic colonial actions by suggesting their existence in the pre-Colombian past had already been attempted by the *encomendero* class in the face of the New Laws. Yet, Toledo, by incorporating the justifications of the *encomendero* elite, effectively removed their own rationale and made it clear, as indicated in the junta of 1568, that any affront to Spanish administration of the Indies was an impediment to the proselytization of the natives. In turn, it would be an attack on the entire foundation of the Spanish presence in the Americas.⁹³

The most significant institution that Toledo adapted from Inca culture was the *mita* system, which was a system of draft labor in which natives, known as *mitayos*, were assigned temporary positions to work in the mines or on other public projects for a specific period of time, then returned to their native communities. The idea behind the adaptation of the *mita* system was to maintain the contributions of indigenous labor while transferring control to Spanish officials and the Crown. Just as it had been with the Inca, the question of power stemmed from who controlled the labor, and while the *encomienda* system did not cease to exist, the power of the *encomenderos* was diluted. For the natives, the *mita* system of the Spanish was very different from that of the Inca, in that although clearly involuntary, the *mita* system was intended to support the public good within Inca civilization. Service in the Spanish *mita* system often included labor in the mines, to the sole benefit of the Spanish.

⁹³ Merluzzi, "Religion and State Policies," in *Religion and Power in Europe*, 194.

Toledo also attempted to revamp the *encomienda* system by redefining the amounts of tribute. Toledo hoped to return tribute amounts to those that existed before the arrival of the Spanish. The goal was to limit the abuses of the *encomenderos* while redefining the nature of the tribute system. While the natives appreciated any reduction in tribute payments, the reciprocity that came with service and tribute still was nonexistent. Yet it did serve its purpose as a political gesture to the native populations.

Toledo continued to implement the *reducciones*, or reallocation of indigenous populations. The reallocation of natives did occur in the Inca state, yet for very different reasons.⁹⁴ In the minds of Phillip II and Toledo, the indigenous populations were not converting to the Catholic faith due in large part to the influence of too many Spanish officials and indigenous lords, and by reorganizing and concentrating the populations in specific areas, the clergy could administer the faith much more straightforwardly and effectively. The *reducciones* also helped the Spanish in other areas of administration, such as the collection of tribute and employment of the *mitayos*. The Spanish Crown, misunderstanding the roles that *curacas* played within the broad kinship networks, believed that there were too many involved in the daily lives of the natives, and hoped to simplify the *curacazgo* system by implementing a single *curaca* over each *reducción*. Again, this relied on an oversimplified perception of the *ayllu* system in the Andes, and it did not always work out the way the Spanish intended.

The successes and failures of Toledo's reforms depended largely on perspective. On one hand, Toledo effectively strengthened administrative control over almost every aspect within the Viceroyalty of Peru, especially labor (and thus the economy). The *encomenderos* were able to maintain power at the local level, but royal authority was becoming more assertive. The shift

⁹⁴ See Ch. 3.

from the conquest and exploration phase to the colonial phase was echoed in the alteration of administration. The Crown had grown weary of allowing those who had conquered to govern and began to implement Spanish administrators to check the power of the local aristocracy. In other words, official positions were created, such as the *corregidor de indios* (provincial official over a jurisdiction of natives) that helped limit the power of the local elite, such as the *encomenderos*.

For the natives, the political aspects seemed like an improvement by some, as it seemed Toledo was trying to govern as the Incas had before him. New administrative positions, such as the aforementioned *corregidor*, offered the natives other avenues outside of the *encomenderos* to air their grievances. The Andean chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala states that Toledo “ordered an inspection tour in which he was informed of these ancient laws and ordinances from which he selected the best.”⁹⁵ Yet in practice, most of the reforms had serious consequences. The reducciones and redistribution of the curacazgos severely disrupted the traditional kinship networks, which had already weakened due to the fragmentation inherent in encomienda system. Additionally, the natives despised the mita system, and it caused continual problems for Spanish administrators.

While they undoubtedly solidified the Crown’s commitment to implementing the philosophy of the two republics, Toledo’s reforms also inadvertently contributed to cultural mestizaje. The reducciones and mita system put considerable pressure on the native communities. Many fled to the cities and tried to work for daily wages or find apprenticeships. The mestizo and creole population also were growing every day, and were beginning to form a very significant part of the population. As mentioned previously, Peruvian society was

⁹⁵ Guaman Poma De Ayala, *First Chronicle*, 147.

transcultural, and the growth of the potential for mestizo, creole, and indigenous alliances was present. Even encomenderos had already demonstrated the capacity for problematic alliances and the possibilities of rebellion. Administrative control helped assuage some of the rebellious tendencies, yet at the same time, it also alienated other populations who resented royal control.

The increased Spanish administration also affected the way in which the indigenous groups perceived authority. With the alteration of the ayllu system, it opened new channels for the indigenous groups, both elite and non-elite, to vent their frustrations or to seek out justice for problems that occurred. It was also hard to reconcile the indigenous aspects of the reforms. The philosophy was clear; the natives were subjects of the king. Yet the aspect of labor still affected the willingness of the natives to conform to the *Hispanic* notions of society or completely buy into Spanish paternalism. Toledo's reforms also demonstrated the areas in which royal power was concentrated within the Viceroyalty. In effect, Toledo's reforms were the first steps in a significant change in royal philosophy. The rationale behind the *dos repúblicas* would remain a vital part of the colonial process. Yet the societal factors that helped to break down the separation between the two republics were abundant. The Crown would eventually adapt the philosophy to address the evolving society, and the indigenous groups would incorporate the philosophy for their own uses.

Conclusion

The Inca state had spread across the Andes by incorporating the curacazgos and their ayllus into their political system. The Incas had such an in-depth understanding of how the Andean kinship networks functioned that they were able to utilize the system of reciprocity in order to gain political sovereignty. The more ayllus they were able to absorb, the more power they possessed based on labor and military support. Yet when the Spanish arrived, this system

began to break down. The Inca had not solidified their power across the Andes, and many curacas chose to support the Spanish over the Inca. As Rostroworski suggested, their strength became their weakness as various curacas withdrew their support.⁹⁶

The Spanish, on the other hand, lacked the knowledge of the kinship networks, and misunderstood the indigenous gestures as signs of indigenous passivity, if not a sign of Spanish preeminence. The curacas, behaving as they always had, expected reciprocity. By the time they understood that the Spanish tribute system functioned differently, it was too late. The Inca state was crippled, and the *encomienda* system had interrupted traditional kinship networks, which were the bases of indigenous society. In many ways, the Spanish were able to establish a foothold in the Americas due to these cultural misunderstandings, which in the mind of the Spanish all pointed to their military and cultural superiority.

At the same time, the Spanish misunderstanding of the indigenous groups also fostered intellectual curiosities, which lead to various perceptions of the indigenous past. Unlike all the populations of the “old world” who, although very culturally different, had been interacting with one another for centuries, the indigenous groups and their customs were very difficult to explain. The Spanish intellectuals began to try to understand the indigenous populations and their world based on European concepts. Ironically, as cultural *mestizaje* began to take root in colonial society after decades of interaction coupled with the introduction of new, ethnically mixed groups such as the *mestizos*, these depictions of the indigenous past were incorporated by the natives and the *mestizos* and used against the Spanish.

As society was transitioning and becoming more multicultural, the Crown needed to reform its policies and solidify its presence in the colonies. Cultural *mestizaje* had given men of

⁹⁶ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 221.

the Indies, such as the encomendero class, too much power and influence. Phillip II also misunderstood indigenous society and felt that too many curacas also had a say in the day-to-day lives of the natives. At the same time, proselytization efforts were producing fewer results, and the Crown was receiving external pressures to produce. Phillip II desired the natives to be Christian vassals to the king without all the interference from local populations. In essence, the original vision of *dos repúblicas* needed to be applied. The king sent Toledo over to implement his reforms. Toledo, after extensively touring the viceroyalty decided that the best way to implement this philosophy was to rule as the natives had ruled, and created his vision of an organized, but separate indigenous society in the *reducciones*. In this regard, Juan de Mendoza's seeming contradiction regarding cultural mestizaje and the *dos repúblicas* becomes clearer.

Chapter 3

Intermediaries and Interlopers

While the notion of the separate indigenous and Spanish republics was the mitigating philosophy behind many decisions from the Crown, it did not always translate well to the actual problems that individuals in a multicultural society experienced. Cultural intermediaries became a chief aspect in daily colonial society. In many ways, those who possessed cultural duality thrived as they could transcend the existing cultural boundaries. On the other hand, they also fostered multiculturalism as a multiethnic society began to emerge. In some cases, the intermediary roles changed to fit the fluctuating needs of society.

These intermediary roles began to break down the boundaries of the *dos repúblicas*. Some intermediaries were immediately necessary, while others developed along with the colonial society. In essence, these intermediaries were reflective of the cultural mestizaje that was developing in Peru, and they served as the go-betweens between the two republics. Other populations also emerged in colonial society whose mobility between the Hispanic and indigenous spheres of society proved problematic for the Spanish. These interlopers were able to disrupt the balance between the Spaniards and natives that the Spanish hoped to achieve in Peru. It is important to analyze the roles that intermediaries and interlopers played in colonial Peru, and how this affected both Hispanic policy and indigenous reaction within the context of the *dos repúblicas*.

By analyzing three specific types of intermediaries and interlopers, it becomes evident how cultural mestizaje influenced change in society and challenged the original royal philosophy behind the *dos repúblicas*. The Spanish intentionally utilized the first group, the curacas, in intermediary positions in order to help establish their position in the emerging society. The

second group, the Africans, while employed initially in some intermediary capacities, became a threat to the separation of the two spheres of society and forced the Spanish to reanalyze their policies in regards to the natives. The third population, the emerging group of creoles, mestizos, and acculturated natives, represented the multiculturalism that was developing in society. The Spanish were forced to rely on their services due to their ability to transcend both spheres, yet this reliance fostered suspicion and distrust of the new populations and helped influence Spanish perceptions of their roles in society.

Curacas

Inca Garcilaso recounts the tale of two feuding curacas who were causing so much disorder that the Spanish had to send an official to intervene. After rendering his decision, the two curacas held a dinner in order to demonstrate their newfound amity. However, one of the curacas harbored resentment in the belief that he had been treated unfairly, and decided to poison his adversary. He set out two drinks and proposed a toast to his rival. His intended victim sensed something was amiss, and suggested that the two switch drinks. Not to appear cowardly, the curaca drank from the poisoned glass and died shortly after.⁹⁷ The story of the two curacas could very well serve as an allegory to what occurred when the Spanish arrived in 1532. Many curacas were eager to liberate themselves from the yoke of Inca power and sided with the Spanish. In their eagerness to dispose of their enemy, they unwittingly brought about their own demise.

The Spanish, like the Inca before them, attempted to rule through the curacas. The philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* required a separation between the Spanish and natives, and by controlling the curacas, the Spanish could control the indigenous populations. Yet, unlike the Inca, the Spanish had very little knowledge of the complexities of the indigenous kinship systems.

⁹⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:177-178.

Equally, the natives had little understanding of how the Spanish political system functioned. The intermediary role of the curaca adapted and evolved to meet the changing society. As the curacas and the native populations began to acculturate to the emerging colonial society, the sociological bases of their control also began to change. In this regard, cultural *mestizaje* was at the root of the diminishing role of the curacazgos in colonial Peru, and the changes that came about as a result threatened the division of the *dos repúblicas*. In order to understand the significance of these changes, it is necessary to first understand how the curacazgo system worked in the Andes prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

According to Inca cosmology, the first Incas arrived, ordained by their father the Sun, to bring law and order to the native inhabitants in Peru who were living like beasts.⁹⁸ Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo began the task, imposing the will of the Inca god Inti with the goal of bringing all the natives under the harmony of Inca laws and customs. Like all others in the Andean cosmology, these first *curacas*, or indigenous leaders, were intermediaries. At the highest level, the curacas were the connection between the worldly and the divine. As divine beings themselves, they could communicate with the gods and determine what was best for their subjects. As leaders of kinship networks, known as *ayllus*, the curacas were also the link to their communal ancestors, and thus the memory of the people.

Susan Ramirez discussed the differences between the curacas “de los viejos antiguos” of the ancient mold, and the new style of curacas that began to emerge after the arrival of the Spanish.⁹⁹ The curaca was still in an intermediary position, but his role became to communicate between the Spanish and the natives. In essence, the curacazgo would become an unofficial

⁹⁸ Ibid., 142.

⁹⁹ Susan E. Ramirez, "The 'Dueño de Indios': Thoughts on the Consequences of the Shifting Bases of Power of the 'Curaca de los Viejos Antiguos' under the Spanish in Sixteenth-Century Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 4 (November 1987): 575-610.

position within the Spanish administration of Peru. The Spanish, who were solely responsible for the shift, and the curacas themselves, were often responding to the changes in a transforming, multicultural society. Mestizaje, in a cultural as well as biological sense, was a big part of the change.

The lower curacas became intermediaries between their ayllus and the larger kinship networks of which they formed an integral part. Between the decline of previous civilizations and the rise of the Inca state, the Andes lacked any major ethnic polity, and the curacas administrated at local levels. Many kinship networks were based on familial ties. As kinship networks grew, communal bonds transcended the familial and centered on culture, which was developed and justified through religious rites and customs. Ayllus were complex and never static, and the position and functions of curacas within them became multifaceted. These kinship networks evolved along economic, political, and religious lines.

Economically, the broad kinship network provided an opportunity to diversify crops and other commodities to meet the needs of the larger populations. In smaller circles, the curaca was responsible for meeting the demands of specific crops. Within the ayllu, the curaca would diversify these distinctions further, as certain members of society (women, elderly, children, etc.) had specific functions within them. Once an individual became too old for certain tasks, he or she might move on to another role that fulfilled the needs of the ayllu. Curacas of larger ayllus were in charge of distributing various necessities and goods within the network. Despite his position, the curaca's authority stemmed primarily on what he could provide for his subjects.

The curacas also played the role of intermediary for religious purposes. Many ayllus had specific deities with which they were associated. In Andean society, dating back well before the rise of Inca culture, incorporation was a vital aspect of indigenous spirituality. By absorbing

those gods into the larger framework of the kinship network, the ayllu was also absorbing the potential power that these deities might provide. The Inca also worshiped the gods from some of the ethnic groups incorporated within their state, but they never placed them on equal footing with the gods of the Incas.¹⁰⁰

Societal changes and political maneuvering also affected the curacas. Most of the secondary indigenous leaders administered at the local level. The ayllu system was structured in a way that currency was of no importance. Power came from labor potential, which stemmed from the number of individuals within a curaca's ayllu. Marriages and familial alliances often shifted the dynamics of power and influence, which could affect the balance of power. This could cause rifts between ayllus and lead to further political maneuvering and alliances. At the same time, it allowed the potential for social mobility. More individuals translated to an increased potential for labor, thus augmenting the power of the curaca. Adversely, if this labor potential was lost for whatever reason, the curaca lost all legitimacy and influence. The curacazgo system was very distinct from the European concept of nobility.

Altogether, the political, religious, and economic characteristics of the curacazgo lead to a culture of legitimacy. The curaca's rule was not a divine right, as their link to the divine did not guarantee them the fidelity and devotion of their subjects. The division between the spiritual and the material world did not exist in the same way that it did for the Spaniards that would follow, and the sacred was everywhere. Economically, the curaca had to assure that the distribution of food and necessities took place and provide for the entire ayllu. Politically, the curaca often had to prove his worth on the battlefield to demonstrate that he could protect the interests of the group. Spiritually, the curaca had to assure the status of the *huacas* (sacred

¹⁰⁰ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 3.

spirits, objects, or locations) associated with the ayllu. Furthermore, if he failed in any of these regards, it was not necessarily indicative of an administrative failure, but rather that he had fallen out of favor with the gods or ancestors of the ayllu.

For this reason, the curacazgo did not always pass on to the son of the previous curaca, although this did occur with some frequency, especially after the arrival of the Spanish in 1532. Some natives chose their curaca from the most able within their ayllu. Other instances the successor was among the immediate male heirs of the curaca, but the eldest did not reserve the right. Rather, the previous curaca would choose the son that would make the best leader, was most beloved by the people, or was the wisest choice for other political reasons (kinship ties with other ayllus, military skills in times of conflict, etc.). The idea behind this philosophy was to avoid the tyranny that came with inherited rule, in the hopes that those in line to be a curaca would naturally acquire the qualities fitting of their station.¹⁰¹

Undoubtedly, the military strength of the Incas facilitated the spread of their authority. However, the Inca also had a keen understanding of the Andean kinship networks. They utilized these networks skillfully in order to both spread Inca culture as well as maintain control. The Inca would work through the curacas to incorporate them into the Inca fold. The Inca nobility richly rewarded and favored those curacas who decided to welcome the Inca and willingly acquiesced to their rule, and some obtained permission to dress in similar fashion to the Inca. On the other hand, those who were defeated in battle were subsequently publicly humiliated and their gods mocked. Many a curaca was very reluctant to join the Inca State, but understanding their military inferiority, decided it was better to join voluntarily and enter in a position of favor than risk a war that would almost certainly end unsuccessfully.

¹⁰¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:208-210.

The Incas also used religion to pressure the curacas into conforming to Inca rule. The religion of the newly incorporated populations was absorbed into the common religion and worshipped by the Incas.¹⁰² When a population became unruly, the Incas would hold religious ceremonies to celebrate Inti while taking special care to emphasize the Sun God's superiority over the other deities. Many of the disobedient ayllus complied with Inca customs in order to spare their gods further public mockery. Since the curaca was the intermediary between the ayllu and their gods, this also shamed and discredited the leader. The idea of demonstrating the superiority of one ethnic group over another through the superiority of their religion was an Andean tradition before it was Incan, as is evident by the custom of bringing the mummified remains of ancestors to battle.¹⁰³ It is also evident in the destruction of the huacas of one's enemies, which became enemies as well.¹⁰⁴

The destruction of huacas becomes even more complex within the context of ancestral worship. Within Inca culture, the ancestors were as much a part of the living as they were the dead. Most ayllus believed that their ancestors still affected their daily lives. They were dressed in traditional and ceremonial garb and were integral in many religious ceremonies. The ancestors were a direct link to the past and helped unite the ayllus. For the Inca, ancestral worship had political overtones. The presence of the ancestors became an immediate reminder of the nobility and legitimacy of the Inca. By propagating the tradition, the Inca was assuring that his own legacy would endure after he was gone. The Incas reaffirmed their identity by putting servants to death to accompany the Inca into the afterlife. This in turn reaffirmed the divinity of their lineage. The destruction of the huacas and specifically the ancestors was not just

¹⁰² Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 3

¹⁰³ Ivan Ghezzi, "Religious Warfare at Chankillo," in *Andean Archeology III: North and South*, ed. William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (New York, NY: Springer Science Business Media, 2006), III:70.

¹⁰⁴ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 231-234.

to prove the supremacy of one's own gods and ancestors. In effect, it also erased the collective social memory of the ayllu while delegitimizing the individual curaca.¹⁰⁵

The worshiping of ancestors had become an instrumental aspect of Inca culture. Yet beyond the political benefits garnered from ancestral worship, the Inca had become experts at creating the ethos of their preeminence. As children of the Sun, only the highest of Incas maintained certain privileges, and only they could utter the name of their gods. They proliferated their status as divine intermediaries to the most powerful gods in the land. By reserving some rites for only the Inca and a few select people they chose, they maintained the illusion of a specific connection with the gods, which as a contemporary stated, "was a contrivance of the Incas to enhance the prestige of their religion, and by means of it to keep their subjects the more subdued and obedient."¹⁰⁶

The Spanish also initially tried to rule through the curacas. When the Spanish arrived in 1532, the Inca state was embroiled in a civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa. Many curacas who had already had to choose which side to support again found themselves forced to hedge their bets on the best option for the future of their ethnic groups. Others, who had supported Huascar, were in a position of weakness as Atahualpa enjoyed continued military success. They had little choice but to ally themselves with the newcomers. It is also important to note that the Spanish came from the northern portion of Peru and traveled southward along the coast. They encountered a larger number of ethnic groups who were under the Inca sphere of political influence, but who were much further from the center of Inca power. Many were part of the Inca state in name only, while others had adopted a hybrid culture, mixing their traditions with newly distributed laws and customs implemented by the Incas.

¹⁰⁵ Ramirez, *To Feed and Be Fed*, 97-98.

¹⁰⁶ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 5.

Aside from providing alliances, the curacas played intermediary roles in Hispanic colonial designs from the earliest attempts at establishing Spanish administration. The curaca was originally the mediator in the encomienda system, and he supervised and facilitated the tribute payments to the encomenderos. The curacas, drawing from their past experiences with the Inca, originally saw this as a favorable position. They maintained their status among the native populations and were allies with a powerful new ethnic group who seemed capable of defeating the Incas. Tribute payments and the required incorporation of a new religion were not novel concepts. Most importantly, they still controlled the labor, and their status was solidified.

The Spanish also intended to utilize the curacas as arbiters of Hispanic religion and culture. As early as 1535, Spanish officials requested a school for the "*hijos de caciques*" (sons of the native leaders) so that they could be taught "the faith and customs of the Spanish."¹⁰⁷ The sons of prominent curacas learned from Spanish tutors, often alongside other creoles and mestizos, the first offspring born in the Indies to the conquistadors. Acculturation of the natives seems to belie the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*, with separate republics for the natives and the Spaniards, yet the rationale behind the education was not complete assimilation into the Hispanic fold. Rather the goal was to aide in the conversion to the Catholic faith, provide a more stable and sedentary lifestyle for the indigenous communities, and develop the potential for the curacas to serve as intermediaries. By the middle of the sixteenth century, church officials felt this was the best policy. One member of the clergy requested that more schools be built "for the well being of the natives and use of the Catholic faith and good and praiseworthy customs, one of the methods most effective that is available is the instruction of the sons and principal Indians,

¹⁰⁷ "Por la que le manda trate con el Obispo de la provincia el sitio mejor para edificar una escuela, donde sean enseñados los hijos de los caciques," December 8, 1535, Lima,565,L.2,F.99, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

on which without a doubt the good or evil of the natives depends, because they are their subjects in every way, that the wins and losses of these principal natives [indicates] a certainty to win and lose all of the rest.”¹⁰⁸ In other words, the desired end was peaceful, Christian indigenous populations who were subjects of the Crown, yet remained separated from the Spanish centers and governed by *curacas* who served as the intermediaries to Spanish officials and *encomenderos*.

The outcome was much different. Unlike their Inca counterparts, the Spanish greatly misunderstood the Andean kinship system. The Spanish could not overcome their own mentality of territorial sovereignty and did not understand the fluidity of the indigenous networks. Spanish misinterpretations, coupled with the transcultural colonial society that was developing in Peru, led to a restructuring, both intentional and unintentional, of the *ayllu* system and a drastic change in the functions of the *curacas*.

In the 1530s and 1540s, as the Spanish began to divvy the natives into allotments for the *encomiendas*, they awarded them based on size according to rank. Spanish officials assigned the natives through their *curacas* often with the assumption that the ethnic groups had regional components. Several lesser *curacas* who fell within the larger kinship framework of other *curacas* were elevated in status. Since they answered directly to the *encomendero*, it upset the balance of the *ayllu* systems. These lesser *caciques* often enjoyed their newfound position and were not interested in relinquishing their status.

This confusion also caused some of the *encomenderos* to interfere with indigenous politics. By disrupting the *ayllus*, the Spanish had also confused the flow of tribute, and any *encomenderos* caught up in the conflict were not willing to relinquish a share of what they

¹⁰⁸ Emilio Lissón Chávez, *La Iglesia de España en el Perú. Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, que se encuentran en varios archivos* (Seville, Spain: Ed. Católica Española, 1943-1948), I:86-87.

considered their rightful tribute. As an example, in the audiencia de Quito in 1587, the encomendero Juan Palomino became involved in a dispute with Caicatagua, the curaca over the natives of his allotment. Palomino accused the curaca of murdering another native of his encomienda. Caicatagua suggested politics was the motivating factor causing Palomino to bring forth the accusation. Another encomendero, Pedro Gonzales de la Costa, had brought suit against Palomino suggesting that Caicatagua was actually a subject of Origua, the curaca of his grant of natives. When Caicatagua testified to the Spanish officials, he verified that in fact while he was the curaca of his own natives, he too was subject to Origua, which threatened the integrity of Palomino's encomienda.¹⁰⁹

Another unintended consequence of the encomienda system is that it upset the economy of the indigenous groups. While the burdens of tribute obviously took their toll on local economies, the shifting roles of the curacas and the restructuring the ayllus, it also affected the redistribution of goods within the kinship networks. This shift was particularly harsh when coupled with the native decline in the second half of the seventeenth century. Within the Inca state, the natives provided the labor to produce items for future need, but the Inca nobility also redistributed these goods when needed. Reciprocity was an extremely important concept to the Inca. Before they were powerful, they relied on the alliances of other local curacas. In order to secure their loyalty, the Inca had to lavish them with gifts in return for their services. The system of reciprocity was so ingrained in Inca culture that even after they rose to power, some curacas refused to follow the Inca without proper recompense. The Inca often capitulated, as the custom was understood.¹¹⁰ The Spanish style of tribute evolved from its use in the Reconquista, where

¹⁰⁹ "Causa entre Juan Palomino and Pedro González de Acosta," August 21, 1587, Serie Indígenas, Caja 1 ex. 2, Archivo General de Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.

¹¹⁰ Rostrowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 38-43.

tribute payments, known as *parias*, secured peace.¹¹¹ While the natives viewed tribute as a form of redistribution and reciprocity, the Spanish viewed it as a sign of superiority.

Competition and shifting demand for goods also affected the indigenous economy. The Crown made it clear with the New Laws in 1542 that the *encomienda* system was not going to be the method of controlling indigenous labor moving forward. Although the subsequent revolts during the following decades helped prolong the institution, the Spanish began to understand that it would be best to diversify their economic interests. The Spanish became more interested in land acquisition, either for agricultural pursuits or for a place to allow their cattle to graze. Since the majority of the Spanish lived in the cities, pursuit of land usually meant that they had to interact with the curacas, either directly or indirectly. The disruption of normal redistribution patterns again took its toll on the indigenous economy. Spanish economic diversification and increasing demand for land, coupled with the perception that the natives did not utilize their lands properly, caused many Spaniards to interfere. Many natives complained to Spanish officials about land sale disputes or Spanish cattle roaming on indigenous properties.¹¹²

Spanish efforts at proselytization affected the ayllu system as well. While the Spanish viewed the conversion of the curacas as chief to the overall spiritual well-being of the natives, they found themselves further removed from the spiritual ceremonies, where in the past they had been directly involved. In the early 1570s, the clergy was again suggesting that in the wake of the changing landscape through the reductions and the understaffing of ecclesiastics, the best way to to proselytize the natives was through the sons of the curacas.¹¹³ At the same time, the

¹¹¹ MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, 17.

¹¹² For example, see "Reclamación hecha por Juan Imbalago y otros indios del pueblo de Píntag, que han sido invadidas por Juan Ruiz," May 23, 1609, Serie Indígenas, Caja 2 ex. 10, Archivo General de Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.

¹¹³ Egaña, *Monumenta Peruana*, I:375-376.

exclusion of the natives from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition by Phillip II in 1571 served as a catalyst for the Spanish extirpation campaigns (designed to completely destroy aspects within the indigenous religions that the Spanish considered to be idols), which had serious consequences to the religious characteristics of the curacas. Since a major component of the curaca's role within the ayllu was religious, the destruction of the mummified remains and sacred objects (often possessed or representative of the spirit of the ancestors if the remains had been lost) went beyond affecting his legitimacy. It distressed the identity of the ayllu, and in some cases, created a shift in how natives perceived their own spirituality at the expense of the curaca.¹¹⁴

Francisco de Toledo's reforms during the final decades of the sixteenth century probably put the most strain on the traditional ayllu system. The Crown felt that the vested interests of too many individuals between the encomenderos, the clergy, and the numerous curacas, had been the culprit for the lack of effective evangelization of the natives. The motivation behind the *reducciones*, or relocation of indigenous populations, was to simplify the organization of indigenous society and facilitate the proselytization efforts. Most of the time, the Spanish decided to select one cacique for each *reducción* to help clarify indigenous leadership. Toledo also tried to transition Peruvian society from the *encomienda* system (in which the *encomendero* had more control over labor and tribute) to the *mita* or *repartimiento* system, in which the Crown or Spanish officials allocated native labor.

Ironically, Toledo had attempted to reorganize Spanish rule over the indigenous populations by implementing Inca customs. However, the Spanish misunderstandings of the ayllu systems again caused the opposite effects. As mentioned previously, the authority of the curacas centered on economic, political, and spiritual legitimacy. The Spanish reforms

¹¹⁴ Thomas A. Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 220.

effectively removed the last visages of all three. Since the tribute payments to the Spanish did not involve reciprocity, and the appointment of lesser curacas and the implementation of *reducciones* severed agricultural production and redistribution, the curacas could no longer assure a steady food supply. Unlike capitulation to the Inca, submission to the Spanish did not grant assurance and reinforcement of legitimacy. The continual looting and destruction of huacas in the growing extirpation campaigns, including the burning of mummified ancestral remains, continually undermined the curacas' spiritual accountability, as did the presence of Spanish religious authorities. Even within traditional indigenous cosmology, the influence of Christianity was creating a spiritual shift from the physical to the ethereal, and a great deal of the visual representations of their religious past was disappearing.

Legitimacy became less important to the curacas themselves. The Spanish were clearly trying to negotiate hegemony in Peru. At the same time, the governing philosophy behind the *dos repúblicas* required a survival of indigenous power structures. The Spanish never intended to destroy indigenous culture. In their desire to maintain a balance between implementing Spanish hegemony and protecting native hierarchies, the Spanish incorrectly applied the Hispanic concepts of nobility to the curacas, which began to permeate Andean culture. While many curacazgos had remained within the family, primogeniture became a common practice. The curacas no longer governed due to their legitimacy, but rather their nobility. Not only were the curacas unable to legitimize their rule, many felt like it was no longer necessary. After the Inca State had collapsed and the ayllu system had been thrown into disarray, the Spanish were in a position to choose the curacas in the *reducciones*. Legitimacy became less a question of ability, and more a question of Spanish patronage, which drastically shifted the focus of curaca behavior.

The curacas who were able to maintain their status the longest were those who most quickly adapted to the Spanish system.¹¹⁵ Many curacas sustained their control of labor by shifting the means of supply. These curacas “rented” out laborers to the Spanish in addition to whatever labor demands may have been required through the *encomienda* or *mita* systems.¹¹⁶ Other curacas began to shift their perceptions of land ownership. They would manipulate the Spanish legal system in order to obtain land, then sell it or rent it to the Spanish. If not directly profiting from the land by dealing with the Spanish, they began to utilize the land for personal economic purposes, rather than for the horizontal distribution system of the *ayllus*. While this did not increase their power through legitimacy with the natives, it did prove profitable and allow them to exercise influence through different channels.

Other caciques tried to maintain their legitimacy among the native populations, but had to shift their tactics. Many of the curacas, realizing the changing social climate and the difference in how the Spanish perceived them (collectively Indian), began to pool their resources and appeal directly to the monarchy. The aftermath of the New Laws implemented in 1542, called into question the survival of the *encomienda* system, and the curacas quickly realized in the following decades that they had a vested interest in the outcome. By fighting against perpetuity, or the passing of *encomienda* grants from generation to generation, the natives could potentially see an end to their burdens of tribute. Unlike the conflict between Huascar and Atahualpa, and later Pizarro and Almagro, this conflict mutually affected almost every indigenous group. In response, the curacas became more collectively interested in policies that affected all of their positions as natives and decided that their strength might lie in numbers.¹¹⁷ While the curacas

¹¹⁵ Ramirez, "The 'Dueño de Indios,'" 609-610.

¹¹⁶ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 235.

¹¹⁷ "Pleito fiscal: Antón Ruiz," July 5, 1564, Justicia, 434, N.2, R.1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

utilized traditional kinship networks in order to pool resources, other alliances formed out of the necessity to preserve their common interests.

By the 1570s, positions within the Spanish sphere of society were also beginning to evolve to replace many of the roles traditionally fulfilled by the curacas. Spanish officials either directly implemented new titles, such as the *corregidor* (provincial administrator), or modified the responsibilities of preexisting titles, such as the *protector de naturales* (protector of natives), in order to assist in the governance of the *república de indios*. The breakdown of the curacazgo system began to occur when their intermediary status was no longer necessary. The *corregidor* began to fulfill the administrative needs and oversee the tribute payments, mita allotments, and other day-to-day necessities involving the labor. The diminishing control of labor alone was enough to greatly reduce the curacas' power and influence. But the natives under the jurisdiction of the curacazgos were also beginning to better understand the Spanish legal system, and other mestizo, creole, or Spanish intermediaries were available to help them self-advocate. For example, so many *procuradores* (legal intermediaries) functioned in Cuzco that Spanish officials began to complain. Furthermore, the position of protector of the natives evolved over time as well. Originally, the Crown created the position to manage the Spanish, making sure that they were running the *encomiendas* effectively and that the *encomenderos* were not enslaving or mistreating the natives. Over time, the natives began to utilize the position themselves, bringing common complaints directly (or through *procuradores*) to the protector.

The result was not that the curacazgos completely disappeared, as many maintained some form of power into the eighteenth century.¹¹⁸ The Spanish, adhering to their philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*, had a desire to maintain indigenous channels of leadership. Many curacas who did not

¹¹⁸ Rostrowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 151

adapt to Spanish rule did adapt to the notion of the *dos repúblicas*, and maintained their status by assuring tributes and work requirements were met, which they discovered would essentially allow them a sort of relative independence from the Spanish society. Others found themselves relegated to the “new style” of curaca described by Ramirez, in which their legitimacy was solely dependent on the Spanish and their position completely replaceable. When this transition occurred depended a great deal on the location of Spanish power centers (either economic or administrative), and was a gradual, not an immediate, process. Nevertheless, cultural mestizaje had dramatic effects on the curacazgo system in Peru.

Africanos

The slave populations brought to Peru from Spain, Africa, and other parts of Iberia were the first population outside of the Spaniards themselves to challenge cultural boundaries established in the philosophy of the *dos republics*. Unlike the curacas, who were intentionally placed in intermediary positions by the Spanish, the African populations and newly established *cimarrón* groups (runaway slaves) became a thorn in the side of the Spanish officials in Peru. The Crown had established hierarchies in Spain regarding where the slave and free black populations fit in to society, but with the introduction of the natives, the scenario had changed. The Crown had to quickly decide how to deal with the interaction of the African and native populations. The way in which they determined to deal with the threat would have lasting consequences in how Peruvian society evolved.

In 1529, while preparing for his incursion into Peru, Francisco Pizarro requested horses and slaves to aid in the conquest effort. Five years later, he requested one hundred more slaves,

half male and half female, to help him construct a Spanish society.¹¹⁹ In Lima, slaves toiled alongside natives building the first houses for the Spanish settlers.¹²⁰ Thus from the onset, slaves of African descent were involved in almost every aspect of the Hispanic designs in Peru. The use of African slaves in Peru never reached the proportions seen in other parts of the Spanish empire, and it had a very different face than the slavery employed on the sugar plantations that would later become such a lucrative trade for the Iberian empires in the Americas. Yet the African influence was profound in shaping society in colonial Peru. Furthermore, their influence and interaction among the European and indigenous began to challenge the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*.

During the early colonization efforts, the Spanish had no set ethnic hierarchal distinctions in mind. Most social distinctions in early modern Spain hinged on religious backgrounds or sociopolitical factors, and had nothing to do with biology. Furthermore, Spain had just emerged from over seven hundred years of cultural miscegenation with various religious groups whose ethnic backgrounds varied greatly. If any distinctions evolved in the Americas, the Spanish had to conceive them from experience. Despite hierarchies existing in Spain, in the sense that an African slave was not the equal of a Spanish tailor, these did not center on modern senses of racial hierarchies, such as degrees of Hispanicity.

James Lockhart, in his book *Spanish Peru*, avoids the pitfall of a hierarchy based on biological factors and warns against assuming that the early slaves of African descent were automatically placed at the bottom of the social structure. In turn, he suggests that the black

¹¹⁹ "Licencia de esclavos y caballos a Francisco Pizarro," June 20, 1529, Lima,565,L.1,F.53V, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹²⁰ Bertram T. Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima* (Lima, Peru: Torres Aguirre; San Martí, 1935), I:17. Many of the documents from the Lima cabildo concerning the various forms of punishment for the African population were first published in Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*.

slaves enjoyed a higher status initially than the natives did, since they often used their slaves in a military capacity.¹²¹ Undoubtedly slaves were used in a variety of ways which forced them to interact with the indigenous groups, including doling out punishment, as depicted in the sketches of the Incan chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala.¹²² Lockhart places blacks below the Spanish for reasons beyond their association with slavery by suggesting that the Spanish did not allow the slaves to participate in the civil wars and fight against other Spanish soldiers, which is uncertain.¹²³ His argument also suggests a developing notion of stratification between the black and indigenous groups due to their social roles in the first few years after the Spanish arrived.

If the Spanish forbade the slaves to fight alongside them against other Spaniards, the Spanish did seek indigenous military support on both sides of the civil conflict on several occasions. The various indigenous groups equally served the Spanish as intermediaries by serving as guides and translators. Also, as Lockhart himself suggests, most of the slaves and free blacks that came to Peru in the early colonial period were not directly from Africa, but rather from the Iberian Peninsula or from other Spanish colonies. Many were *esclavos criollos* (born in the Americas) or *ladinos* (fluent in Spanish) and thus hispanicized and most likely sharing many cultural attributes with their Spanish counterparts. While they served their master's bidding and performed intermediary roles, initially they lacked the cultural ambiguity of the *mestizos* and even the emerging creole populations to serve as true cultural intermediaries. Rather, in this capacity they were serving as extensions of Hispanic colonial designs.

More telling are the African and indigenous interactions that stemmed from their own agency. Rachel Sarah O'Toole, in her book *Bound Lives*, examines how the African and

¹²¹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 193-195.

¹²² O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians*, 158-159.

¹²³ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 193-195. Lockhart also addresses the group of Africans recruited to fight along with Francisco Hernández Girón but suggests it was inconclusive. See also Ch. 5.

indigenous groups along Peru's northern coast interacted with one another within the scope of colonialism, which helped in construction of the societal divisions.¹²⁴ Both Africans and the indigenous groups utilized both the perceived differences of the developing populations as well as the legal means provided under Spanish law to their advantage, which further distinguished the two groups. Thus, as the colonial conceptualizations of "black" and "Indian" as social distinctions began to take on cultural and legal distinctions as well, each group tried to play on these identities to assert their own agency.

By examining the legislation passed by the Crown and the strategies of the local *cabildo* in Lima within the first fifty years of the attempted colonization of Peru, as well as analyzing the actions and reactions of the indigenous and black populations, a clearer picture emerges of how the Spanish perceived the black and indigenous populations. First, society was by nature multi-ethnic, and the Spanish colonial power structure was too weak and loosely configured to assert Spanish dominance. Even within the ethnic categories of Spanish, black, and indigenous, a variety of sociopolitical factors were at play affecting the social consciousness within each group. As the black and indigenous groups began to interact, both positively and negatively, it upset the delicate balance that existed in the two republics and put pressure on the Spanish to react.

Next, these growing pressures forced the Spanish to assert their authority. It was through this attempt to construct hegemony that the Spanish introduced ethnic divisions into early colonial society. The first perceptions of the African and indigenous populations intermixing were negative and perceived as threatening. The Spanish officials began to implement policies established in the face of these apparent challenges to Hispanic authority. Without being able to

¹²⁴ O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians*, 17-34.

conquer the natives and while relying on their alliances, the Spanish developed a paternalistic approach and attempted to assert their authority through legitimacy. In other words, the Spanish Crown needed the natives for both the religious justification through their conversions as well as the labor they provided. The Crown wanted to be viewed as a protector or father figure to the natives. On the other hand, with the smaller black populations within the Hispanic sphere, the Spanish attempted to assert their authority through demonstrations of power to elicit fear, often through public displays of violence. Ironically, how the indigenous and black populations responded to the Spanish attempts to limit interaction established cultural and legal norms that helped reify the social and cultural differences between them.

Undoubtedly, the Spanish were attempting to establish a Hispanic society in Peru even in the face of their own political strife during the civil wars, as posited by Lockhart.¹²⁵ As mentioned before, the indigenous groups equally were attempting to reestablish their societies or forge new ones based on their own values and traditions. While the arrival of the Spanish was extremely disruptive to the native populations, it did not signal an end to indigenous culture or to their understanding of their traditions and their historical past. The natives were still attempting to reestablish their cultural norms in the same way the Spanish were establishing their own. Additionally, black populations entered into Peruvian society from Africa and other parts of Spain and the Americas during the arrival of the Spanish in 1532. New opportunities presented themselves, and they drew on their diverse backgrounds to assert their agency as well. All three groups were attempting to establish their foothold in Peru and continually interacted. Sometimes they established kinship ties and beneficial relationships, and other times they worked to undermine or directly challenge the designs of their counterparts. A variety of factors helped

¹²⁵ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 6.

establish certain elements that defined the balance of power between the Spanish, black, and indigenous groups.

While the Spanish were still figuring out how their relations with the indigenous groups were going to function in Peru, the various black populations were challenging the balance between the two republics and forcing the issue of how to maintain the fragile equilibrium that existed. From the onset, blacks began to interact with their native counterparts in a variety of ways. The Spanish began to perceive these interactions as problematic and divergent of their designs for a variety of sociopolitical reasons.

During the first decade of the arrival of the Spanish in Peru, the emerging black populations began to intermingle with the natives outside of the Spanish sphere. Many black males were taking on indigenous brides, often more than one.¹²⁶ Polygamy was widely practiced by ethnic groups in Africa, and was equally common among the indigenous groups in the Americas. For the slaves, marrying a variety of indigenous wives provided access to a broad range of kinship networks and communities, which increased their social mobility and status outside of the range of Spanish influence. Many indigenous women preferred to marry outside of the indigenous sphere in the hopes that it would exempt their offspring from the burdens of tribute payments.

As blacks began to create these kinship ties within the indigenous communities, they also began to live among the natives. The Spanish became alarmed as the numbers of blacks in indigenous communities began to grow and become disruptive. The local *cabildo* considered the problem serious enough in Lima that any Spaniard who saw a black with a husk of corn could

¹²⁶ "Por la que le manda provea que los negros que residen en aquella provincia se casen con negras," October 26, 1541, Lima, 566, L.4, F.260, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

have him brought to justice.¹²⁷ The Spanish were concerned at how the black populations “aided [the natives] in drunkenness and other bad customs, stole their lands, and caused many other harms.”¹²⁸ In addition, many blacks took indigenous women on as their servants, and they would “kill the Indian women for not bending to their will or fulfilling their ruinous intentions...and sometimes they kill them for defending themselves against the poor treatment or thefts.”¹²⁹

Taken at face value, it is obvious why these early interactions were problematic for the Spanish. On a philosophical level, the Crown needed to protect the native communities as the bulk of their justification for being in Peru rested on their conversion to the Catholic faith. Economically, the intrusion of blacks into the indigenous community caused a potential disruption of the native economy and placed competitive pressure on a population that was beginning to decline. Together, this had the potential to interrupt tribute payments and affect the overall labor pool.

Yet O’Toole suggests that even later in the seventeenth century, when the black population would have been significantly larger and more diverse and the indigenous population further in decline, it is questionable how much the African intrusion could have affected the economy. She also points out that the Spanish possibly exaggerated a great deal of the atrocities and violence acted upon the natives by the blacks in order to perpetuate Spanish paternalism and their desire to serve as protector.¹³⁰ This ethos was not only utilized by the Spanish to satisfy their moral requirements, but indigenous groups began to play upon the impression of black

¹²⁷ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, I:46-47.

¹²⁸ "Prohibición a los españoles de tener negros en sus encomiendas," December 17, 1551, Lima,567,L.7,F.83R, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹²⁹ "Por la que le manifiesta haber sido informado de que los negros que en aquella tierra tienen los españoles, para su servicio tienen indios y que roban para poder mantenerlos," October 26, 1541, Lima,566,L.4,F.252, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹³⁰ O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians*, 18-25.

violence in order to gain legal leverage with the Spanish. In other words, the native adapted the philosophy behind the *dos repúblicas* in order to serve their own interests.

Therefore, a paradox emerges within the Spanish response to the African and indigenous interaction. If the problem is predominantly economic, then there could potentially be some benefit to having the natives and the blacks intermix, as it would bolster the workforce.

According to O'Toole, by the seventeenth century, many Spaniards began to see both the Africans and natives collectively as laborers and cared little about the ethnic or social distinctions of slave, *mitayo*, *yanacóna*, etc.¹³¹ Within the first decades of the colonization of Peru, social divisions along ethnic lines were even less concrete. Coupled with no concept of racial distinctions, it seems like protecting the labor force by augmenting its numbers would be beneficial. In 1574, the Spanish also solved the potential legal loophole with tribute payments by requiring that the black and *mulato* populations pay tribute as well.¹³²

With the economy only being a partial factor, more pressing issues caused the Spanish to deem it necessary to begin to address the intermingling of the African and indigenous cultures. The immediate threat that the Spanish perceived stemmed from the sociological pressures stemming from their need to use the natives as justification of their presence in the Americas while maintaining the use of their labor potential. The potential intermingling of the natives and blacks threatened to undermine both. The cimarrónes (runaway slaves) traded and interacted frequently with indigenous communities, and the potential of them taking over would prove to be a real threat. A shipwreck of slaves in the Audiencia de Quito caused the natives and the Africans to mix. Within a few generations, Spanish officials were complaining about the

¹³¹ Ibid., 18.

¹³² Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, 303.

“mulato caciques” (mulato, usually referring to a mixture of African and European, was used broadly here by Spanish officials to refer to mixed indigenous and African ancestry) of the Esmeraldas that proved to be a thorn in the side of the Spanish. Local officials were so elated when the ethnic group was finally pacified as Francisco de Arobe converted to Christianity that they commissioned a painting and sent it to the Spain, where it resides to this day.¹³³

Because of the importance of Spanish paternalism, the methods of keeping the two groups separated favored the native populations. There became an evident distinction to the harshness of the Spanish punishments toward the African populations. The Spanish employed harsh punishments to many of the natives as well, but it is clear that there were two philosophical distinctions. O’Toole indicates that during the seventeenth century, the Spanish afforded the indigenous groups much more leeway within the legal system than they afforded the black populations.¹³⁴ While a part of this discretion lies in the preexisting laws for slaves in Spain, when coupled with new legislation put forth by the Crown and the local *cabildo* in Lima, it becomes clear that the Spanish were intentionally developing two different approaches.

While violence against the natives at the hands of the Spanish clearly occurred in the hopes of inciting fear and establishing control, it was far less frequently a manifestation of policy. For the most part, the Spanish attempted to create a legal air of legitimacy when dealing with the natives. Caciques maintained relative autonomy and functioned initially within the Spanish system as local figures of authority. The Spanish recognized and respected Inca nobility and rewarded the nobles with Spanish titles, coat of arms, and *encomiendas*.¹³⁵ The Spanish often

¹³³ "Juan del Barrio de Sepúlveda sobre varios asuntos," April 12, 1599, Quito,9,R.2,N.15, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹³⁴ O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians*, 163.

¹³⁵ "Escudo de armas concedido por el emperador Carlos V" May 9, 1545, MP-Ecudos,78, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

found themselves siding with the natives over the interests of other Spaniards. The Crown was in accordance with the indigenous leaders on the issue of perpetuity, which helped foster its image as a protector of the natives while simultaneously attempting to limit the growing power of the *encomenderos*. The members of the clergy frequently sided with the natives, advocating for the growth of African slavery to replace the indigenous as a labor force. The Crown created local offices to look after the well-being of the natives, such as *protector de los indios*. While abused by some Spanish officials, many *protectores* proved to be a thorn in the side of local *encomenderos* and mine owners looking to meet labor demands among the local indigenous populations.

Adversely, the Spanish brought blacks with them to Peru, and therefore they had always existed within the Spanish sphere. They also were much smaller in number than their indigenous counterparts. For this reason, the Spanish employed a distinct strategy within Lima. The first step was to attempt to cut off possible kinship ties with other ethnic groups outside of the Spanish sphere. A *real cédula* sent to the Governor of Peru in 1541 decreed that blacks could only marry other blacks, and that only those blacks who were married could take on natives in their service.¹³⁶ Ten years later, they prohibited any Spaniard from having blacks among the natives of their *encomiendas*.¹³⁷ The rhetoric propagated the idea that the Spanish were trying to protect the indigenous groups from harm, but the laws also carried the effect of attempting to limit the mobility of the black populations while keeping them closer to the Spanish center.

The black populations in Lima proved more difficult to control, as many formed *cimarrón* bands and lived on the outskirts of Lima where they continually harassed both the indigenous

¹³⁶ "Real Cédula", October 26, 1541, Lima, 566,L.4,F.260, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹³⁷ "Prohibición a los españoles de tener negros en sus encomiendas," December 17, 1551, Lima,567,L.7,F.83R, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

and Hispanic communities. Gangs as small as twenty men proved extremely difficult for the Spanish to control.¹³⁸ In an attempt to deter slaves from joining these communities, punishments became public and increasingly harsh. Punishments for similar crimes became more severe for blacks than the other groups. One hundred lashes from the whip was standard, but it soon grew to two hundred lashes. The Spanish repeatedly demanded that these punishments be administered publicly as an “example for the other blacks.”¹³⁹ The sexual threat was clear from very early on. As early as 1535, if a male slave was attempting to run away in search of a black or indigenous woman, he was to be castrated in the square.¹⁴⁰ The *cabildo* also felt that recaptured runaway slaves were getting off lightly often with only pecuniary punishments. Their masters on the other hand could resell the problematic slave to unsuspecting buyers. To rectify both situations, the *cabildo* chose to brand the faces of the slaves with the Greek letter H (*huir*).¹⁴¹

Yet by denying kinship ties outside of the Spanish sphere and exacting harsher punishments, the Spanish unintentionally encouraged kinship ties within the black populations. Most of the free slaves in Lima had recently been slaves themselves, and they equally benefitted from these relationships. The Spanish continually complained that the free blacks were hiding and covering up the actions of the slave populations and assisting the *cimarrones*.

While it is extremely difficult to gauge the extent of these kinship networks among the black populations within Lima, the Spanish reaction is telling. The language in the laws passed by the *cabildo* continually grew to encompass all black populations. For example, a law passed prohibiting the right to carry arms that applied only to black slaves in 1537 grew to include

¹³⁸ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, IV: 111-112.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁴⁰ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, I: 46-47.

¹⁴¹ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, IV: 120.

negros, *mulatos*, *berberiscos* (a native of Africa, particularly North Africa), and *zambaigos* (a mixture of African and native) by 1574.¹⁴² The idea was to cover all African populations, as the terms for African mixtures tended to be as fluid as those used to describe other ethnicities, and only grew more confusing as populations continued to miscegenate. For example, the term *mulato*, which usually referred specifically to a mixture of European and African ancestry, was used applied at times to almost any population with African parentage. For example, Garcilaso actually gave the definition of *mulato* as a mixture of Spanish and Indian, although the specific term for this particular ethnicity was *zambo*.¹⁴³

Within two decades after the Spanish arrived in Peru, they had already grown suspicious of blacks gathering in groups, even those within the context of Hispanic society. Due to the “dancing” and “drinking”, no more than four blacks could gather within their *cofradías*.¹⁴⁴ By 1574, for this same reason they extended the policy to include baptisms or wedding ceremonies, which only ten or fewer could attend.¹⁴⁵ These limitations are especially indicative of the potential influence of these kinship networks as *cofradías*, weddings, and baptisms were all-important societal aspects within the Hispanic colonial structure and existed well within the Spanish sphere of influence. The Spanish even limited the number of blacks who could go into the countryside to gather wood to two.

Moreover, the *cabildo* tried to curb African influence within the communities. The Spanish perceived the Africans to be more inclined to practice witchcraft, and in the late sixteenth century, it became common practice to hire African medicinal specialists for specific occasions. Ironically, the Africans were also partially responsible for adapting Spanish religious

¹⁴² Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, VII: 566.

¹⁴³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:607.

¹⁴⁴ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, IV: 55.

¹⁴⁵ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, VII: 570.

customs within the Andean rituals.¹⁴⁶ What developed as African medicines found their way into the local apothecaries and proved to be popular among the black slaves and indigenous alike, they were subsequently prohibited and the black and native populations banned in 1572.¹⁴⁷ Yet in the early seventeenth century, as the Africans began to experiment more with indigenous medicines, a fusion developed between Spanish, Andean, and African medicinal practices.¹⁴⁸

In another attempt to break the kinship ties, the Spanish authorities in Lima contracted certain slave groups to capture any of the *cimarrones* causing trouble around the city. In 1548, the Crown implemented a reward of 200 pesos was to be awarded to whomever aided in their capture.¹⁴⁹ Spanish officials grew so wary of the persistence of these *cimarrón* groups that by 1573, if they could not be apprehended alive, the *cabildo* would reward twenty-five pieces of silver for each head of a member of a *cimarrón* group that was brought to them.¹⁵⁰ The reward money could be applied towards purchasing their own freedom. Anyone attempting to capture a *cimarrón* could use whatever means necessary to aid in his or her capture with impunity. While it is evident that several slaves took advantage of this possibility, it clearly was not successful in breaking the kinship networks existing in Lima as the number of *cimarrón* communities continued to grow.

Conversely, the indigenous groups around Lima in the sixteenth century maintained more cultural autonomy and retained many of their previous kinship networks, while forging new ones with the newly emerging groups. The Spanish initially used them to their advantage by playing the ethnic groups off one another and forging their own alliances. By ensuring labor demands

¹⁴⁶ Leo J. Garofalo, "Conjuring the Coca and the Inca: The Andeanization of Lima's Afro-Peruvian Ritual Specialists, 1580-1690," *The Americas* 63, no. 1 (July 2006): 54.

¹⁴⁷ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, VII: 270.

¹⁴⁸ Garofalo, "Conjuring with Coca and the Inca," 54-55.

¹⁴⁹ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, IV: 12-14.

¹⁵⁰ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, VII: 500.

and tributes were met, the caciques could maintain more of a buffer between the indigenous groups and Hispanic society in Lima. The exceptions were those natives who left their communities. It is no coincidence that the term *yanacona*, a term in Quechua used to describe those who left their communities and kinship networks to serve independently, came to be used alongside terms such as *indio ladino* (a native who speaks Spanish) and understood as a common indigenous laborer. Therefore, the Spanish wanted to incorporate them into society and limit their mobility since they lacked communal ties. They were soon included with the *mulatos*, mestizos, and Spanish forbidden from residing in indigenous communities.

Due to the conflicting policies of governing through legitimacy and through fear in order to maintain control, various differences emerged within the ethnic groups in Peru. Allowed more leeway and the ability to maintain broader kinship networks, the indigenous groups never truly adopted a sense of community or saw themselves as *indios* during the early colonial period. Only within the legal sphere in the second half of the sixteenth century, in which they retained more recourse, did their leaders employ a collective identity in order to assert their agency (i.e. against perpetuity). The natives maintained their noble titles, developed ties with creoles, mestizos, and the Spanish in early colonial society, and potentially had several powerful advocates in the regular and secular clergy.

The black populations, on the contrary, were widely denied kinship ties outside the Spanish sphere and were forced to develop them within the local community. This helped break down social distinctions, such as free and slave, *mulato* or *zambo*, and created more of a collective identity often associated with negative connotations such as slavery or Islamic descent (when considering the terms used such as *morisco*, *berberisco*, etc.) Laws began to address all *negros*, regardless of *calidad*. However, it was extremely uncommon to see similar laws passed

that would address mestizos and natives collectively based on their indigenous backgrounds in the same fashion.

Due to the sociopolitical factors, as well as the desire to protect the integrity of the two republics, hierarchal distinctions developed as a result. Rather than being based on biological perceptions, ethnic stratifications and their associating levels of *calidad* (overall quality) stemmed from various policies employed by the Spanish to curb indigenous and African interaction. The threat of the African populations and their ability to adapt and intersect with the indigenous culture forced the Spanish to consider the consequences of the erosion of the *dos repúblicas*, and in turn would strengthen their resolve to protect it. While the curacas' role in society had diminished due to the shifting political infrastructure and the misunderstanding of indigenous culture within the framework of their own, the Spanish intentionally subjugated the African populations, and the lessons learned would have consequences for how society would develop.

Mestizo, Creole, and Native Intermediaries

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the Incas had desired that they be addressed “man to man,” rather than through a third party.¹⁵¹ Given the vast number of dialects that ranged across the Andes and along the coastal regions of their empire, this task required both a common language and individuals capable of teaching it to populations within the newly acquired ethnic groups. The Inca chose their own dialect of Quechua, a language that had already spread in many forms across the Andes, to be their *lingua franca*. In order for the language to spread within their growing empire, the Inca royalty would install masters of the language, most likely royalty themselves, among the diverse populations. Since the chosen dialect was their own from Cuzco,

¹⁵¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:403.

they would also transplant natives from the region among other native populations to serve as teachers. Those chosen as educators were well provided for in their new homes, and the Incas often chose local political leaders based on their acquisition of Cusqueñan Quechua, thus providing extra incentive to quickly learn the language.

The rationale for placing such importance on a common language went beyond practicality. The Inca felt their mandates would carry more weight if their subjects comprehended the orders directly from the mouths of the elite rather than through an intermediary. A common language helped form a common culture. Yet the Inca recognized the most valuable aspect of the ability to communicate with their subjects stemmed from the ability to maintain peace. “Foreign peoples [that] held themselves as enemies and waged cruel war because they did not understand one another, might come to love one another as if they were the same family and kinship by talking and revealing their inmost hearts to one another, thus losing the fear that arises from not understanding each other.”¹⁵² Language was an important political component in the Incan efforts to acculturate and thus pacify hostile populations.

This lack of understanding the Incas strived to avoid manifested itself in the early exchanges between the newly arrived Spaniards and the Inca emperor Atahualpa. The subsequent interpretations of the event by the chroniclers demonstrated the sociocultural and political complexities involved in translation. The traditional account states that upon meeting Atahualpa at Cajamarca, a member of Pizarro’s group, the Dominican friar Vicente de Valverde, attempted to explain the Christian faith to the emperor. Upon handing Atahualpa a book to explain, either a bible or a breviary depending on the source, the Inca tossed it aside to the

¹⁵² Ibid.

ground. The Spanish, outraged by such an affront to their religion, fell upon the unsuspecting Incan army and captured Atahualpa.

While the accuracy of this exchange is impossible to determine, and the details vary even among contemporary accounts, how the various indigenous, mestizo, and Spanish chroniclers interpreted this event in early colonial Peru is indicative of the complexities of both translation and transculturation.¹⁵³ The account most favorable to Pizarro suggests that Atahualpa was indignant by the request to serve any other man or God and insulted at the audacity of the Spanish even to suggest it. Atahualpa understood the message and rejected it and his subsequent capture and execution were justified.

Other chroniclers understood the obstacles involved in communication, yet differed as to how and why the breakdown occurred. For some contemporaries, Atahualpa had no contextual background to understand the message, and like a vast majority of the Spaniards present, lacked the ability to read. Gaining any understanding from the book handed to him was an impossibility from the start. For others, the issue was not Atahualpa's inability to understand, but rather Valverde's inability to teach. If the priest had the ability and the foresight to explain the message in a context that Atahualpa could have understood, the emperor would have received it more openly. Furthermore, Pizarro and Valverde likely hoped for miscommunication, in that the Inca's predictable response could provide the moral and political justification they needed for his capture.

Even if Valverde's intentions were pure and Atahualpa was receptive, other complications proved problematic in the translation. There were many different dialects of Quechua, and its usage differed within various ethnic groups. Many Christian concepts did not

¹⁵³ For a linguistic and literary analysis of the chronicler's interpretations of Atahualpa's reaction see Julio Ortega and Christopher Conway, "Transatlantic Translations." *PMLS*, Vol. 118 no. 1 (Jan. 2003) pp. 25-40.

have Quechua translations, and attempts to decipher them literally often proved confusing. Even simple terms often translated out of context. Valverde's implications that the book contained the "word" of God, and his use of phrases such as what the book "said" led Atahualpa to believe that the book would speak to him. This was not illogical in the mind of Atahualpa, as he was accustomed to consulting the *huacas* and having them speak to him. When it did not, he tossed it aside. Even illiteracy proved to have cultural contexts as Atahualpa lacked the knowledge of the distinguishable characteristics between the written and spoken word that even the most illiterate of the Spaniards possessed.

Others placed the blame directly on the translator. The translator lacked the language skills in Quechua or Spanish to convey the message accurately to Atahualpa. The translator was most likely Felipillo, a native from the northwestern coast of Peru. It is possible that Felipillo, despite being educated in the language in Spain, still lacked the cultural understanding to translate the complexities of the message in a way that Atahualpa could understand. After all, many missionaries would later complain of the struggle to present the concepts of Christianity to the natives despite knowledge of the indigenous languages and years of experience. It was unreasonable to think that Felipillo could do it in a matter of minutes.

On the other hand, Felipillo's mistakes might not have been so innocent. Rumor indicated that Felipillo had been having an affair with one of Atahualpa's wives, and if the Inca had uncovered the affair, it would mean instant death. If the Spanish were to depose or execute Atahualpa, he could pursue his relationship with impunity. The cultural duality that most translators possessed would continually breed mistrust in translators, and Felipillo's alleged self-serving actions would not be the last that the Spanish would see.

Felipillo was one of a handful of natives captured off the coast in Northwestern Peru who were chosen to become translators. He most likely was a trader, and indigenous traders often made the best translators in that their trade dictated that they be able to communicate in a variety of native dialects. After traveling in Spain to learn the language and culture for the upcoming conquest of Peru, they returned before 1532 in order to aid Pizarro in his pursuits. The fact that Pizarro assured he would have adequate translation demonstrated the high value of importance in which the Spanish held translators. His choice of Felipillo also demonstrated his understandable ignorance of the Peruvian indigenous population. Despite the native's working knowledge of Quechua, he was from the Northern Coast, where Inca influence was less pervasive. It is highly likely that Felipillo spoke a bastardized version of imperial Quechua, if it was comprehensible at all. Even Spaniards familiar with the language acknowledged that the further away from the center of Inca power, the worse the Quechua becomes.¹⁵⁴

The mistrust that many Spaniards felt towards interpreters only grew as the Spanish began to develop a society in Peru. At the same time, interpreters would only increase in importance. For example, in 1564, Spanish officials charged a mestizo interpreter, Antón Ruiz, with falsifying translations in an attempt to incite riots among the native communities. Lima natives pooled their financial resources in order to send money to the Crown and make their stance against perpetuity heard. Perpetuity, or the notion that *encomienda* grants should continue from generation to generation, was a growing debate in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Obviously, the *encomenderos* supported perpetuity and argued that it was better for the welfare of the indigenous groups. They contended that if allowed to pass the grant generationally, the *encomenderos* would want to protect their interests and would naturally be more benevolent to

¹⁵⁴ John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* (Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 48.

the natives in order to do so. Although concerned for the welfare of the natives, the Crown wanted to limit the influence of the *encomenderos* to avoid the creation of another class of powerful nobles, the likes of which were a constant problem for the Spanish monarchy. If the nobility was this difficult to control on the home front, the Crown was especially weary of a creole aristocracy developing in Peru that was only strengthening in power. The natives saw their opportunity to appeal to the Crown and lighten their loads as tributaries. If the Crown granted perpetuity, the natives feared they might never break free of the burden of tribute.

According to the Spanish accounts, Antón Ruiz grossly misrepresented the Spanish position to the natives and suggested that they would lose their lands, their women and children, “be branded and sold as slaves,” and become “keepers of pigs and the cleaners of horse manure.”¹⁵⁵ This caused great concern among the natives and minor upheavals and unrest. The indigenous groups proactively and judiciously argued their case, which caused great commotion in the city. Ruiz’s words supposedly inspired the natives to riot against the injustice they seemingly were to receive.

Ruiz’s own version of events differed greatly. He argued that he had been straightforward in his role, and the problem existed in the translation. Without being able to find a word fitting for perpetuity, Ruiz had used “landi,” which could also be used for a variety of words, among them buying, selling, and tricking. Upon his translation of these words “some Indians began to cry, and others became very sad.” Despite other testimony that Ruiz was telling the truth, the Spanish were convinced that he instigated much unrest among the native community.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ "Pleito fiscal: Antón Ruiz," July 5, 1564, Justicia,434,N.2,R.1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

Regardless of Ruiz's innocence or guilt, this incident exhibits the power cultural duality allowed the mestizos. The ability of the mestizos to incite riots amongst the natives genuinely concerned the Spanish. Furthermore, mestizo mobility between the indigenous and Hispanic communities meant that they could function in either sphere when it served their purpose. Creoles also stood to gain from a breakdown in the communication between the natives and the Crown, which were in agreement on the issue of perpetuity. Continual granting of *encomienda* rights assured a legacy similar to that of the nobility in Spain and assured the status of the family name.

In other ways, the Spanish did not always utilize mestizo and indigenous interpreters for altruistic reasons, and not only the Spanish that became weary of the multicultural nature of the interpreters. In the Audiencia of Charcas, Spanish officials were sending mestizo and native interpreters into the indigenous communities in order to steal and enslave the women (*ranchear indias*). Spanish officials hoped that the ability of the mestizos to communicate with the women, coupled with their working knowledge of their culture, would allow them to develop trust with the women and facilitate their enslavement. While this sometimes was successful, other times the natives responded with outrage and killed the interpreters. Despite the direct involvement of Spanish officials, the seemingly duplicitous nature of the mestizos allowed for the Spanish to lay the brunt of the burden of blame on their shoulders.¹⁵⁷ Examples of their treachery lead to their mistrust in both the indigenous and the Spanish spheres.

In the aftermath of Toledo's campaign against the Incas, one of the key arguments against the judge involved in the sentencing of several prominent Incas was his reliance on a mestizo interpreter. Not only should he have relied on at least two interpreters, he should have at

¹⁵⁷ "Expeditions to capture Indian women," 1556, MG 725m Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, TX.

least relied on one with a solid reputation. Gonzalo Jimenez, the mestizo interpreter, was not only disreputable, but had also been accused of homosexuality (*pecado nefando*). He had been accused of misrepresenting the testimony of the principal individuals in the case.¹⁵⁸ The judge, Dr. Loarte, was accused of continuing to use the mestizo although he had discovered his duplicitous nature. Even after a second mestizo interpreter indicated that Jimenez had mistranslated the natives' testimony, the judge dismissed the mestizo accuser and named Jimenez as the chief interpreter of the case. The judge was so defiant against the complaints that he had any native whipped who spoke against Jimenez's translations. In the end, the accusations were fruitless, as it was determined that Dr. Loarte had acted justly.¹⁵⁹

The importance of translation in the Americas caused many individuals with knowledge of both indigenous and Hispanic cultures to find themselves in positions of importance. Regardless of their station, they began to break down the barriers that separated the *dos repúblicas*. As more creoles and mestizos, who often possessed an intimate and working knowledge of both Hispanic and indigenous cultures, began to fill the ranks of the interpreters, the distrust began to grow, while simultaneously contributing to their ability to navigate within both spheres of society.

Translation, at least where the Spanish are concerned, was one of the most important aspects of the proselytization of the natives. The fact that the Crown continually pushed for the clergy to learn the indigenous languages, rather than the natives learning Spanish, is a key example of how truly important the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* was to the Spanish monarchs. Within the context of the events in Spain, it is even more amazing. The Tridentine Reforms, which began to influence Catholic society around the middle of the sixteenth century,

¹⁵⁸ Levillier, *Don Francisco Toledo*, 377.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 378-381.

occurred in the face of the onslaught of Protestantism and decreed that the Latin Vulgate was the truest version of the Bible. They were wary of the Word of God being defamed by being translated in other languages.

Yet in the Americas, while no translation of the Bible was underway, the onus was on the priests to learn the language well enough to spread the faith to the natives. Numerous decrees came down from the Monarchy ordering the regional bishops not to ordain any priest who was not fluent in the language of the natives. Ironically, the priests became adept in certain specific dialects, usually those closest to the center of power (Cusqueñan, as opposed to coastal versions of Quechua). They continued to spread the language, which became the *lingua franca* of the intermediaries of Peru. Fray Luis Geronimo de Ore, a priest in the convent of San Francisco in Cuzco, published a book “for the benefit of all the natives of this land” in Peru, which had a number of important masses and sermons translated into the “general languages” of Peru, namely Quechua, Aymara, Puquina, Mochica, and Guaraní.¹⁶⁰

The prestigious clergy, and the most authoritative, came from Spain, where they had already had a bishopric or were deserving of the opportunity in Spain. The creoles and mestizos in Peru, however, soon became the most adept. Mestizos in particular made excellent priests initially, as they had the cultural experience and understanding of the natives’ religion and cosmology, as well as being more naturally skillful in the languages. Creoles of the first several generations in Peru had also grown familiar with indigenous languages, and if not fluent, were at least more comfortable with pronunciation and various important phrases.

The mestizos were originally the perfect choice for the priesthood in the Americas. Indigenous communities often accepted them due to their ties of kinship. They had come of age

¹⁶⁰ "A los curas de los indios del piru," 1607, R1767 fol. 2145, Archivo Historico Riva Agüero, Lima, Peru.

hearing their relatives discuss their native religion. The Spanish often struggled to present Catholic ideas that were foreign to the natives' worldview, whereas the mestizos were able to draw connections between the two cultures that helped explain difficult concepts. At the same time, the ability to make these connections also caused problems for some of the mestizo priests. What made them such able priests also gave others pause, because "they learn too much from the mothers (natives) who raise them."¹⁶¹

The best known and controversial of the mestizo priests to exemplify this was Padre Blas Valera. Valera had risen through the ranks as a scholar and an expert in the Quechua language. His superiors lauded his language skills as a "buen latino y buena lengua" in several evaluations, and he assisted in some early translations of certain documents.¹⁶² Yet he met his demise in Spain. The official record indicates that he found himself condemned for fornication in 1583, but many scholars suggest that the Jesuits had him jailed for his transcultural views. For Valera, the Inca religion was as important as the Christian religion, and the similarities were not coincidental.

Despite the contradictory feelings regarding mestizos, it was most likely socioeconomic issues that caused the most problems. Ironically, the creoles began to put the most pressure on the mestizo priests. The clergy from Spain always garnered preference when positions were available in Peru. Yet for those clergy members born in the Americas, the creoles were the second choice. While they were more proficient and knowledgeable of the local languages and customs than their Spanish counterparts, they still could not match the skillset of the mestizos. In many ways, they were not Spanish enough to warrant preference, and not indigenous enough to

¹⁶¹ Egaña, *Monumenta Peruana*, 2:332.

¹⁶² Egaña, *Monumenta Peruana* 1:446.

claim specific skillsets. To remedy their situation, the creoles began to propagate the notion that mestizos were unfit for the clergy.¹⁶³

The documents began to demonstrate that the mestizos were “de mal vivir” (living sinfully) and spoke of their unworthiness.¹⁶⁴ Their indigenous backgrounds became a mark against them in order to question their sincerity in the Christian faith. The creoles should gain preference as they had many of the qualities of the mestizos and less of the vices. The creoles began to push the Spanish concept of “limpieza de sangre,” or purity of blood, which had traditionally applied to people of Jewish decent in Spain to distinguish the “*cristianos viejos*” (old Christians) from the *conversos* (converts). The argument perpetuated in Spain, where the Crown found itself having to account for the disparity between the strict enforcement of purity on the Peninsula, which restricted any Jewish or Muslim impurity, while carelessly letting the former heathens who could only possibly prove their Christian bloodlines one or two generations at the most.

The creoles knew that purity of blood requirements would put them on equal footing with the *peninsulares*. The mestizos attempted to defend their ability as priests to the Crown. The mestizos believed they were the most qualified. Unlike their Spanish equivalents, they did not have plans to return to Spain. They were from Peru, and had every intention of staying there. Many *peninsulares* used the Americas as a stepping-stone to move to a better position Spain. The mestizos also argued that the Spanish priests were greedy and often invested in several other worldly pursuits in the hopes of financial gain. The mestizos noted their traditional qualities, mainly their language skills and ability to understand both Hispanic and indigenous cultures.

¹⁶³ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "De mestizos y criollos en la Compañía de Jesús (Perú, siglos XVI-XVII)," *Revista de Indias* 68, no. 243 (2008): 37-66.

¹⁶⁴ "Proceso contra Francisco Rodríguez," June 17, 1577, Quito,82,N.9, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

Despite the turning tide and eventual prohibition of mestizo priests in the second half of the sixteenth century, some bishops did not comply. Particularly, the Archbishop of Quito always seemed to prefer mestizos beginning with Pedro de la Peña (1565-1583) through the turn of the century with Luís Lopez de Solis (1592 -1605). The Diocese of Quito was renowned for continually ordaining mestizos despite Crown pressure to do otherwise. On one occasion, the bishop even stripped the titles of almost every clergy member in his district to replace them with mestizos.¹⁶⁵

Despite the propaganda, most church documents supported the notion that the mestizos were good priests. When comparing the descriptions of mestizos to creoles, the superiors most often described mestizos more favorably than the creoles for the traditional skill sets.¹⁶⁶ Many other priests described the love that the indigenous people had of their mestizo priests, while also mentioning their own love of the priesthood. Regardless, it seems that socioeconomic factors won out over practical experiences and the ordaining of mestizos fell out of favor in many bishoprics. Ironically, in the early seventeenth century, the Spanish clergy would target creoles for similar reasons and they would respond with arguments similar to the mestizos' in their defense.¹⁶⁷

The mestizos were natural intermediaries in almost all walks of colonial life.¹⁶⁸ They became procuradores (legal intermediaries), scribes, priests, translators, *mayordomos* (overseers) and many other occupations that required intermediary roles. Equally, just as had occurred in the priesthood, their cultural duality became their chief deterrent. Their ability to transcend both the

¹⁶⁵ "Ofensa a los religiosos de San Francisco," October 14, 1580, Quito, 209, L.1, F.52V-53R, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹⁶⁶ For examples see Egaña, *Monumenta Peruana*, I: 446, 447, 512, 513.

¹⁶⁷ "Problemas de los frailes franciscanos criollos," August 15, 1593, Quito, 83, N.47 and "Ventajas de los religiosos criollos," February 28, 1628, Quito 88, N. 24, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹⁶⁸ Berta Ares Queija and Serge Gruzinski, eds., *Entre dos mundos: fronteras culturales y agentes mediadores* (Seville, Spain: CSIC - Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1997), 37-59.

Hispanic and indigenous spheres deemed them untrustworthy in the eyes of many Spaniards. In many cases, their connections could cause problems. Such was the case of the mestizo in Quito who brought a suit, as the son of an Indian woman, against a Spaniard who was letting his cattle roam on the land of his mother, causing damage to their crops. A short time later, another *indio* filed suit against the mestizo for allowing his cattle to roam on the property of the native.¹⁶⁹ Also in Quito, several natives accused a local priest of the “abominable sin” (*pecado nefando* or sodomy). As it turns out, an enemy of the priest, who was a mestizo, utilized his connections with a local curaca to frame the priest. Spanish officials punished the curaca, and the mestizo fled.¹⁷⁰

The duplicitous reputation of the mestizos as well as many creoles, *indios ladinos*, and even some Spaniards who had existed in the Indies for many years, stemmed from their transcultural nature. Despite the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*, intermediaries were a necessary aspect of society. They broke down several barriers and often existed between the republics, which raised the level of concern and caught the attention of several Spanish officials, particularly the creole and mestizo populations.

Conclusion

Cultural mestizaje and the interaction of various ethnicities were emerging threats to the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*. The curacas, who were originally intended to serve as intermediaries between the Spanish and the native communities, were affected by both their own acculturation and the acculturation of the natives within their ayllus. The Spanish misunderstanding of indigenous culture facilitated the decline in their power. Those curacas who

¹⁶⁹ “Autos sobre el litigio de tierras,” August 9, 1621, Serie Indígenas, Caja 2 ex. 1, Archivo General de Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.

¹⁷⁰ “Acusación hecha contra el fraile doctrinero,” 1601, Serie Criminales, Caja 1 ex. 2, Archivo General de Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.

were able to maintain power adapted to Hispanic ways of thinking to the detriment of their natives. Since their traditional system of legitimacy had been undermined, the power of the curaca had diminished greatly.

Adversely, the Spanish were immediately threatened by the interaction of the native and African populations. Spanish officials quickly adopted new legislation and harsh punishments in order to dissuade the Africans from entering the native villages. By creating these social boundaries, the Spanish were beginning to develop unique versions of difference that had not existed in Spain. The lessons that the Spanish learned from the Africans would become significant as colonial society developed, and would be adapted and employed as new populations were beginning to materialize in Peru.

The mestizo, creole, and native intermediaries proved the ability to transcend both Spanish and indigenous spheres. The reliance that the Spanish had on these individuals was problematic as their multiculturalism was proving to be an asset. Furthermore, the perceived problems that stemmed from their use only fostered more distrust, which began to be applied to all the individuals with similar attributes. Therefore, the creole, mestizo and native populations were beginning to emerge as a genuine threat to Spanish power in Peru. Taken all together, the various populations and their roles as intermediaries or their potential threat as interlopers reiterated the importance of the *dos repúblicas* to the Spanish officials and reminded them of the legitimate threat that cultural mestizaje potentially posed to Spanish hegemony.

Chapter 4

Sons of Conquistadors and Daughters of Curacas: Perceptions of Mestizaje

The ideology behind the concept of the *dos repúblicas*, due to its complexity, continually struggled to find a connection between the distance between Spanish philosophy and Peruvian practicality. Undoubtedly, the physical boundary between the two social groups never truly existed in Peru. Internal and external factors, both intentional and unintentional, contributed to an almost continual interaction between the Spanish and the natives. The introduction of slaves from both Spain and Africa further complicated the matter, particularly as miscegenation between the various populations increased.

Mestizaje was not solely a biological phenomenon. The concept of the *dos repúblicas* continued to be a fundamentally significant aspect of Hispanic political and social philosophy regardless of practicality, and it definitely influenced royal policies in Peru. At the same time, the Spanish were not the only arbiters of mestizaje. Indigenous groups equally had their own perceptions of both biological and cultural mestizaje stemming from their experiences before and after the arrival of the Spanish in Peru. How each individual group viewed mestizaje was often fluid, and changed over time. Understanding how the various ethnic groups in colonial Peruvian society perceived mestizaje, and how these perceptions changed over time, reveals much about how colonial society functioned as well as how these individuals perceived their place within it.

Cultural Aspects of Biological Mestizaje

From the onset of contact between the Spanish and the natives, a variety of sociopolitical factors existed that contributed to mestizaje. The most obvious factor in the relationships that developed was the lack of Spanish women living among the men in Peru. A vast majority of the *primeros pobladores* (first settlers) were males. Conservative estimates around the middle of the

16th century list the ratio of Spanish men to women at one woman for every ten men, with the actual number being closer to one in seven or eight.¹⁷¹ The vast number of available women were indigenous. The Spanish found other potential relationships within the ranks of the household servants brought to Peru as slaves. Often male heads of households, particularly those who were able to secure *encomiendas*, surrounded themselves with indigenous women or African slaves taking several on as mistresses. These relationships were hardly discreet, and some Spanish women demanded that the situation change before a marriage could take place. Yet the imbalanced ratio alone cannot account for the vast numbers of relationships that occurred in the years following the Spanish arrival.

Indigenous views of sexuality varied starkly from those of their Catholic counterparts. In particular, the Incas viewed sex as natural, and sin and moral guilt were concepts they struggled to learn from their Catholic instructors. Sexual purity became necessary only for those women occupying religious roles. Premarital sex was societally permissible and was an essential part of the Inca “trial marriage,” a period of time predating the official ceremony in which individuals could test their compatibility before confirming their union.¹⁷² Chastity was not a prized quality in potential mates. Religion, aside from the aforementioned women who maintained a celibate lifestyle in order to fulfil religious roles, hardly interfered with sexuality. Even within Inca cosmology, many of the female deities were sexually potent, representative of the maternalistic aspects of their fertility. This concept obviously differed greatly from the chastity exemplified through the Catholic Virgin Mary, who symbolized the desired feminine qualities among the Spanish.

¹⁷¹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 170-171.

¹⁷² Karen Vieira Powers, "Andeans and Spaniards in the Contact Zone: A Gendered Collision," *The American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 514.

Aside from sexuality, the Incan views on marriage were divergent from the Spanish. While marriage was an important part of Inca society, polygamy was standard, particularly among the elite. While polygamy was rarely an aspect of native society for non-elites, commoners were accustomed to the practice and never considered it morally wrong. In this regard, if a Spaniard took on several indigenous mistresses, particularly if considered politically powerful within the indigenous community, it would have been expected. Polygamy also served an important political role within the Inca political structure. Marriage linked the husband to the kinship networks of the wife.¹⁷³ A greater number of wives equaled the potential for a more extensive kinship network. These marriages not only provided more allies, but also provided more potential for labor. Gold and silver carried only symbolic value within Inca society, and therefore labor potential became the indicators of power and wealth. As the Spanish arrived and began to interact with the Inca nobility, the native elites offered the newcomers women as wives. For the Inca, such relationships were not indicative of submission, but rather were attempts to extend kinship ties and foster potential allies within their political fold. Coupled with the less-restrictive notions of sexuality and the Inca concept of “trial marriage,” the social atmosphere within indigenous circles was conducive for sexual encounters to occur.

Hispanic concepts of sexuality were rooted in Christian morality, though what the clergy preached did not always predicate social behavior. Fundamentally, sex according to Catholic faith was for reproductive purposes only, and only then within a formally recognized marriage. In practice, the clergy held a more pragmatic view that male urges had to be satisfied. Relations outside of wedlock were the lesser of two evils when compared to large numbers of men in society with no outlet for their frustrations. Sexual indiscretions were even commonplace within

¹⁷³ Ibid.,514.

the secular and regular clergy themselves, as indicated by the underlying message in the continual ordinances outlawing indigenous female “household servants” living among the clerics.¹⁷⁴

Culturally, sexual prowess became an important part of masculinity, while chastity and virginity became important concepts for women. In the patriarchal Hispanic worldview, the women became the temptresses capable of corrupting male virtue, and male sexual transgressions were more easily forgiven than those of their female counterparts. Female sexuality thus encompassed two key biblical figures, Mary and Eve.¹⁷⁵ Class and status also played a large role as reputation and concepts of honor governed sexuality within Hispanic society as much as Catholic morality. Many among the lower classes maintained non-traditional relationships similar in practice to the Inca “trial marriage” as is evident in the Spanish refrain regarding false marriages being better than bad marriages.

Sociopolitical advantages in both the indigenous and Hispanic spheres also created opportunities for sexual relations to develop. *Encomenderos* who had fallen ill took advantage of the loopholes within the Spanish legal system and married indigenous women anticipating that their concessions and grants would pass to their heirs. One official complained that the encomendero “did not even have enough time to confess, but he could marry an Indian.”¹⁷⁶ Indigenous women sought similar relationships with hopes that the arrangement would relieve their children of the burdens of tribute. The issue of these hasty marriages presented itself frequently enough that the Crown attempted to pass legislation in Peru requiring a relationship

¹⁷⁴ "Tercero Concilio Limeño," 1560, Archivo Arzobispal de Cuzco, Cuzco, Peru.

¹⁷⁵ Sara Vicuna Guengerich, "Virtuosas o corruptas: Las mujeres indígenas en las obras de Guaman Poma de Ayala y El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," *Hispania* 96, no. 4 (December 2013): 672-683.

¹⁷⁶ Roberto Levillier, ed., *Gobernantes del Peru: Cartas y Papeles* (Madrid, Spain: Imprenta de Juan Pueyo, 1924), 6:19.

between a Spaniard and an indigenous woman to have existed for at least six months prior to the marriage.

Given that the vast majority of the *primeros pobladores* were men, very few of which were members of the upper nobility, sexual encounters with indigenous women proved a highly likely and expected phenomenon. The various encounters produced the fastest growing population group in the Americas, the mestizo, who did not easily fit into either of the *dos repúblicas*. Unlike the cultural exchange occurring between the indigenous and the Spanish that could be difficult to measure, the mestizos provided physical proof of the transcendence of the two republics. If the Spanish wanted to maintain separation between native and Hispanic spheres, they had to decide how the mestizos would fit into their designs.

Spanish Views of Mestizaje

Hispanic views on mestizaje varied starkly depending on the period and the cultural context. The mestizo population grew rapidly, and the Spanish were uncertain as to which social sphere they should belong. Many historians, using modern conceptualizations of race, have incorrectly assumed that the Spanish considered the mestizos inferior stemming from their indigenous blood.¹⁷⁷ This assumption is problematic beyond the fact that it is anachronistic. There was no standard shared perspective of Spaniards at the time, much less their indigenous counterparts in the Americas. Therefore, merely reducing the mestizo population to half-native, half-European falls short of describing the complexities involved in understanding how the Spanish conceptualized the emerging group.

Hispanic opinions on the native populations fluctuated wildly, based on a number of social and political factors. Some Spaniards, particularly among the clergy, saw the indigenous

¹⁷⁷ Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 69.

groups as pure and untarnished by the immorality and depravity common in European society. The native became the “noble savage”, and their uncorrupted innocence provided the perfect opportunity to create the perfect Christian society in the Americas.¹⁷⁸ Their classification as “gente sin razón” (people without reason) conjured notions of their child-like nature, which required the protection provided by Hapsburg paternalism. On the other extreme, some Spaniards argued that this “gente sin razón,” who practiced idolatry and cannibalism, were only marginally better than beasts.

Politics often influenced these perceptions as well. As mentioned above, the Spanish relied on the conversions of natives in order to justify their presence in the Americas. In their portrayal of the native as a “noble savage,” the religious orders could gain favor with the Crown and increase their influence. On the contrary, the perpetuation of the natives as animalistic justified their subjugation and enslavement. Individual opinions fell somewhere between and were most likely influenced by preconceived Hispanic concepts of hierarchy. As one Spaniard wrote to the king, “As your majesty knows, society is naturally set up among those who should govern and those who should be governed.”¹⁷⁹ In other words, the son of an Inca emperor educated by Spanish tutors would not be held in the same regard as a “cannibal” on the frontier leading raids against Spanish settlements solely on the basis of their sharing the same social categorization (*indio*).

Therefore, as the Spanish often collectively viewed mestizos in a negative light, this had more to do with traditional Hispanic concepts of social stratification than racial bias. It is easy when examining the documentary evidence to assume that the Spanish held an overall negative

¹⁷⁸ John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley University Press, 1970), 66.

¹⁷⁹ Torres de Mendoza, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 224.

view of mestizos and of mestizaje in general. When analyzing various aspects individually, Hispanic conceptualizations of mestizaje are much more fluid and complex. To understand how the Spanish perceived mestizaje, both biological and cultural, it is important to understand the Hispanic concept of *calidad*.

Calidad, literally translated as quality, encompassed a variety of sociological factors that collectively determined an individual's status within society. Obvious factors included material wealth or aristocratic titles of nobility. Other less concrete factors played a role, such as exemplifying ideals of masculinity and honor for men as well as chastity and charity for women. Reputation was also an important factor of *calidad*. Reputations improved through military feats, by entering respectful professions, such as the clergy, or through favorable marriages. Adversely, reputations diminished based on unscrupulous behavior, shifting family fortunes, or changing social attitudes. Other social and legal factors, such as legitimacy, also directly influenced perceptions of an individual's *calidad* as it directly indicated his or her ties to the family as well as any potential claims to its legacy.

Elites often responded to changing social structures by adapting and implementing new standards for *calidad*. In Spain, the aristocracy found itself competing with a variety of recent Jewish and Islamic converts in a society emerging from the *Reconquista*. In response, they began to proclaim their status as *crisianos viejos*, or old Christians, who could trace their familial Christian lineage for generations. On the contrary, newly converted Jews and Muslims, known as *conversos* and *moriscos* respectively, were often recent converts who were under constant suspicion that their conversions were a superficial response to the expulsion of all non-Christians from Spain. They began to stress their *limpieza de sangre*, or purity of blood, which appealed to a king and queen that embraced their designation as *los Reyes Católicos*, or the

Catholic Monarchs. As a result, it quickly became a significant factor in determining *calidad* and would eventually influence perceptions in the Americas as well.¹⁸⁰

Collectively, the Spanish naturally associated numerous negative qualities with the mestizos directly influenced by *calidad*. Chief among them was illegitimacy. Whether or not a father recognized his child could be the difference in enormous wealth or poverty, noble status or social inferiority, and opportunity and social advancement as opposed to stagnation. Even in cases where the fathers provided for their illegitimate offspring, they still found themselves cut off from their legacy and denied the hereditary benefits inherent within the familial inheritance. Restrictions existed in many distinguished social titles and professions denying access to those who were illegitimate. As much as ninety-five percent of the first few generations of mestizos were illegitimate.¹⁸¹ Being mestizo was virtually analogous with being illegitimate.

At the same time, while recognition and illegitimacy were legal distinctions with social consequences, it did not necessarily indicate a complete severance of familial ties. Illegitimate children were common, and often lived within or close to their fathers, and many within the communities knew their parentage.¹⁸² An illegitimate child could grow up with strong social ties to his or family members despite having the legal restrictions to benefit from their estate after the death of the patriarch. While maintaining an inferior familial status legally, mestizos often still benefited from close familial kinship ties with their creole offspring.

The attitudes surrounding illegitimacy carried over into colonial Peru. Since very few Spanish fathers recognized their mestizo offspring, most grew up among the indigenous groups in poverty. It was a common occurrence, although very often overstated by the Spanish, to refer

¹⁸⁰ Alexandre Coello "De los mestizos y criollos en la compañía de Jesus", 38.

¹⁸¹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 188.

¹⁸² Nancy E. van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 39.

to the deplorable state of the mestizos living among the indigenous. Poverty became another associative aspect of illegitimacy for the mestizos, further affecting their *calidad*. Some Spanish fathers were willing to recognize, but not legitimize their mestizo offspring. The fathers would assure that their sons were better educated and cared for or that their daughters were provided suitable dowries, but they still faced the various obstacles that accompanied illegitimacy in Spanish society. Mestizos with some formal Spanish education, but hampered by their illegitimacy often existed within both Hispanic and indigenous spheres, and they quickly developed the reputation of being vagrants and vagabonds, who not only contributed very little to society, but also corrupted the native communities with their vices. Those mestizos fortunate enough to gain recognition from their fathers received formal Spanish education, obtained *encomiendas*, or entered into respectable trades or joined the clergy. For those whose father's were prominent members of society, few if any restrictions hindered their social advancement.

Habsburg paternalism also played a major role in constructing Hispanic views of mestizaje. As the Spanish began to grow in numbers in Peru, so too did the number of their mestizo offspring. Spanish officials continually lamented the fact that the mestizos were living in horrid conditions among the native communities or in abject poverty on the streets of the Spanish cities. While in many ways this exacerbated the generally negative perception of the mestizos, the Spanish were equally cognizant of their own responsibility, both collectively and individually. In addition to essential Christian charity, these mestizos were also the "sons of conquerors and first settlers" who had died in service to the Crown, and it was seemingly obvious that they belonged within the Spanish fold. By the time this first generation was coming of age in Peru, the Spanish had already begun establishing schools in other parts of the Spanish Americas to train mestizos and incorporate them into society. Some elites in other parts of the

Americas even advocated sending mestizos to Spain to fill trade positions.¹⁸³ The mestizos already enjoyed the status of *gente de razón*, or people of reason, separating them from their African and indigenous counterparts and exempting them from tribute payments.

The Crown appreciated the association between the mestizos and the conquistadores, and allowed many concessions to those mestizos whose parentage was widely known or verifiable in an attempt to remove the social impediment of illegitimacy. The mestizo offspring of the conquistadors sought legal recognition, and the Crown often granted it after the death of the father. In addition, if the father's service to the Crown warranted it, the Crown would reward their mestizo offspring with additional *encomiendas*, perpetuities, or dowries worthy of their status.

For example, in 1552 the Crown decided legally to recognize the mestizo offspring of Diego Centeno, the conquistador who had served Spain well during the revolt of Gonzalo Pizarro and had died a few years before. Due to their father's "notable and distinguished services," his daughter Maria was granted 12,000 gold pesos as a dowry "so that she may marry well," while his son Gaspar received 4,000 gold pesos "for every year of his life" from the income generated by his father's sizeable *encomienda* in Puno.¹⁸⁴ The legitimation also allowed Gaspar the rights to all the "honors, professions, and inheritances in the Indies." Diego Centeno's inheritance had originally passed to his mother, not his children. It was only on her passing that the Crown decided to reward his mestizo offspring. Some two weeks after the offspring of Centeno received their legitimacy, Charles V went so far as to legitimize several mestizo heirs of

¹⁸³ "Detalle del número de mestizos huérfanos que hay en ella para ver si es posible que sean enviados a España para ponerlos en oficios," April 17, 1553, AI. 23.203, Archivo General de Centro América, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

¹⁸⁴ "Legitimación de Maria Centeno, Gaspar Centeno," May 17, 1552, Lima,567,L.7, and "Merced a María Centeno de 12.000 pesos de oro.," September 27, 1552, Lima,567,L.7, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

conquistadors attempting to pacify the native population in Chile, despite the fact that several of their fathers were still alive, though unmarried.¹⁸⁵

The perpetual conflict between Spaniards during the first few decades following their arrival in Peru left many other prominent fathers dead on the battlefield and their illegitimate mestizo children behind. The problem was not just theoretical, but carried political implications. Many of those conquistadors who died in service to the Crown were also encomenderos, and the lack of a legitimate heir meant that they would not be able to pass along their grants to their offspring. By recognizing and legitimizing the mestizos, they were perpetuating the various royal grants. At the same time, the Crown had been trying to limit the use of the same encomienda grants and deny perpetuity. Within this context, the legitimization of these mestizos in recognition of the service of their father becomes even more indicative of the paternal responsibility that the Spanish officials felt towards the mestizo population.

Other conquistadors and *primeros pobladores* consciously chose to assume personal responsibility for their mestizo offspring. The conquistador Diego de Maldonado recognized and provided for his son, Juan Arias de Maldonado, due to the “natural duty a father owes to a son”.¹⁸⁶ He provided his son a formal education along with other important first generation Peruvians, such as sons of other prominent conquistadors, members of Incan royalty, and the famous mestizo “el Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega.¹⁸⁷ The Pizarro brothers shifted between recognizing and legally legitimizing their mestizo offspring, and most provided means for them to be taken care of regardless of their legal status. Hernando even went so far as to marry his

¹⁸⁵ "Legitimacion de Francisco Jofre," May 31, 1552, 1552 Lima,567,L.7, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹⁸⁶ "Testamento de Diego de Maldonado," 1571, Notariales, Escribano Antón Sánchez, Archivo Regional de Cuzco, Cuzco, Peru. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹⁸⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:133, I:620, II:1475-1476.

mestiza niece in Spain in order to consolidate his family's holdings. Pizarro's page, Francisco de Ampuero, married his previous mistress, Atahualpa's sister, and subsequently recognized his mestizo offspring. Among the very first mestizos in Peru, although born elsewhere in the Spanish Empire, was Diego de Almagro "el Mozo" (the youth), who would play a prominent role in the civil wars that would follow.

Although definitely the exception rather than the rule, the mestizo offspring of these first conquistadors were better off than many of their Spanish counterparts. The *encomienda* grants they inherited from their fathers allowed for great prosperity for the men and large attractive dowries for the women, thus attracting desirable husbands and adding to their wealth. They enjoyed the best of both worlds, as they were both sons and daughters of the first conquistadors and of Inca royalty. They sat on the town councils and held enormous political influence.¹⁸⁸ While it certainly would have been common knowledge that they were mestizos, the documents rarely make mention of the fact in a negative light. The Spanish may have looked down on the mestizos collectively, but individual *calidad* easily outweighed any perceived connotations of impurity. Even if certain members of society held their own negative notions, it hardly affected their social mobility and status.

Despite the specific concessions, there were large numbers of mestizos who lacked any verifiable connection to the conquistadors. The distinction of mestizos as *gente de razón* created a style of Spanish paternalism toward the mestizos that was distinct from their indigenous counterparts. It seems that initially the Spanish Crown expressed a strong desire to integrate the mestizos into the Hispanic fold based on a sense of responsibility, though the rationale for this

¹⁸⁸ "Expediente de Confirmación del oficio de regidor de Lima a Martín de Ampuero y Francisco de Ampuero," April 28, 1570, Lima, 178, N.5, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

integration would later change.¹⁸⁹ It became quickly problematic to put so much effort into winning the souls of the natives while neglecting the mestizos, who possessed their own Christian blood as well that of the natives whom they were trying to save. In order to incorporate mestizos into Hispanic colonial society, the elite would rely on adaptations of various institutional practices from Spain.

From the onset of Hispanic colonization, the Spanish were concerned about the well-being of the mestizas.¹⁹⁰ The early conquistadors understood that there were few women coming over from Spain, so it was vitally important to acculturate the mestizas and assure that they were raised sufficiently Spanish. In 1551, as the first generation of mestizas would have had time to come of age and the violence of the civil wars had finally dissipated, the Spanish thought it necessary to found convents in both Lima and Cusco to address these concerns.¹⁹¹ Aside from their apprehension, the Spanish also understood that reproduction, particularly within the emerging transcultural society, was vital to their cultural and political survival in Peru.¹⁹² The convents went beyond Christian obligations and attempted to acculturate the mestizas so that they could serve as Spanish wives and mothers, as thus progenitors of Hispanic culture in Peru.¹⁹³ The Spaniards could have married the mestizas without the creation of the convent; acculturation to Spanish gender roles as well as protecting sexual virtue were vital concerns that the convents addressed.

¹⁸⁹ See Ch. 6.

¹⁹⁰ For this argument on mestizas and Spanish concepts of gender, see Burns, Kathryn. *Colonial Habits*.

¹⁹¹ "Casa de acogida de mestizas huérfanas de Lima y términos," February 7, 1552, Lima, 567, L.7, F.104R-104V, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>. See also Powers, "Andeans and Spaniards in the Contact Zone," 511-536.

¹⁹² Powers, "Andeans and Spaniards in the Contact Zone," 511-536.

¹⁹³ For the role of *recogimientos* see See Burns, Kathryn. *Colonial Habits* and Van Deusen, Nancy. *Between the Sacred and the Worldly*.

The Santa Clara convent in Cusco was much more successful in its endeavor than its counterpart in Lima, the *Casa de Recogimiento* de San Juan de la Penitencia. The convent in Cusco was funded primarily through the donations of the conquistador Diego Maldonado, who developed his moniker “the rich” both through his service to the Crown as well as his marriage into Inca royalty. It is likely he found it necessary given his experiences in Peru coupled with those of his own mestizo offspring. Despite the fact that the officials in Lima considered the convent equally urgent based on the Viceroy’s backing and allocation of funds for the project, the clergy members were still seeking support over a decade later, and the archbishop eventually became involved in the dispute.¹⁹⁴ By 1576, with as few as three mestizas benefitting from its services, the new viceroy repurposed the location despite further petitioning to support and foster its original designs.¹⁹⁵ It is not clear why the convent in Cusco thrived while the Lima convent struggled to fulfill its purpose. It is possible that Lima, being closer to the Spanish center of power, as well as surrounded by indigenous allies, was more likely to find mestizas who were the offspring of *indias ladinas*, or who were already more closely acculturated. Adversely, Cusco had been the center of Inca political power and was again key in the uprising of the Incas against the Spanish.

Scholars have suggested that the initial focus on mestizas over mestizos stemmed from a form of “gendered double vision” that developed within Hispanic society, where the mestizos were to be feared as rivals and mestizas protected as potential conductors of Hispanic culture.¹⁹⁶ While gender was absolutely a factor in determining Spanish attitudes towards mestizaje as well

¹⁹⁴ "El Convento de San Francisco contra el Arzobispo de Lima," December 11, 1561, *Justicia*, 403, N.6, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Kathryn Burns, "Gender and the Politics of Mestizaje: The Convent of Santa Clara in Cuzco, Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (February 1998), 9.

as how they shaped their policies, it formulated from Hispanic traditions more so than gender differentiation. Mestizaje in general posed a threat, regardless of gender, as both mestizo men and women could formulate kinship ties and perpetuate the formulation of a transcultural consciousness. Just as the indigenous groups were trying to adapt their own traditional experiences to fit the rapidly changing society, the Spanish drew from their own experiences. The *recogimiento* was a gendered construct that the conquistadors and *primeros pobladores* imported from Spain, which applied well to the aforementioned problems with the mestizas. It was not a functional solution for mestizos.

While perpetuating Hispanicity in Peru was definitely on the minds of the conquistadors, many had designs of accumulating wealth and returning to Spain. In addition, the perpetuation of Hispanicity depended equally on the envelopment of the mestizos, in order to avoid their potential alliances with the indigenous groups. The *recogimiento* was an adaptation of a Spanish institution, but its use has been overstated. It was a gender specific solution to the perceived problem that the mestizas, whose fathers had died in service to the Crown, were living in unfavorable conditions among the indigenous groups. Undoubtedly, the perpetuation of Spanish culture through providing suitable brides was an important aspect. On the other hand, scholars have stressed the violent and psychological aspects of severing kinship ties. Viewed through the lens of conquest and colonialism, the *recogimiento* strictly as a tool of acculturation conjures images of Spanish soldiers ripping screaming daughters from the arms of their indigenous mothers and placing them in isolation where the clergy could indoctrinate them. The sheer lack of numbers in the Lima *recogimiento* San Juan de la Penitencia indicates the limitations of this approach. Either the Spanish did not have the power to cloister all the mestiza women living in indigenous communities, or they had no real interest in doing so. The mestizas placed in

recogimientos by their by Spanish fathers who were unwilling to legitimize them, yet still maintained a sense of paternal obligation must also be included among these numbers. Teaching the mestizas to become good Spanish wives was only one potential aspect the *recogimiento*, and the Spanish knowledge of indigenous sexuality would have made seclusion imperative to maintain the virtue of chastity. The mestizas needed to learn simple European domestic skills, such as sewing and cooking, so they might fulfill various duties based on concepts of gender within Hispanic society. Learning these skills was not merely important within the context of marriage. Some mestizas left the convent to perform personal service rather than marry. Such was the case with Maria de Sotomayor, who upon reaching the age of eighteen, received placement in the service of Alonso Manuel de Anaya, an official in Lima.¹⁹⁷ Outside the lens of conquest, the *recogimiento* still provided the Christian piety and charity within the context of Hispanic paternalism.

It is difficult to determine the psychological effect this had on the mestizas or their indigenous mothers. The sixteenth-century convent in Peru was far less cloistered than their European counterparts, and it is not known whether the native mothers lost all ties to their mestiza daughters. The *recogimiento* did have economic and political ties to the indigenous communities. Even the earliest mothers would not have been completely ignorant to the concept of religious seclusion, as the institution was very similar to the *acllaguaci* in the Inca state, in which the Incas would select women, usually among the most noble, and would send them into seclusion in order to receive religious instruction. These women became the *acllas*, or “chosen women,” and maintained their virginity for religious purposes for the remainder of their lives.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ "Asiento de Maria de Sotomayor," March 13, 1566, Notariales del siglo XVI, Prot 38, 869, Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Peru.

¹⁹⁸ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*. Pp 172-173.

Protection of chastity as a feminine virtue was not the main goal, but the Incas considered it vital, as these women became the wives of their gods. Acculturation was an important aspect as the *apupanaca* trained them extensively on the Inca religion so that they might serve the gods well. The “chosen women” of the most important gods often came from within the Inca nobility.¹⁹⁹

The *recogimiento* was not the only paternalistic institution the Spanish adapted to their colonies in Peru. Mestizos also lived among the indigenous groups, which Spanish officials found equally concerning. Nor was every mestiza whose father had died fitting for the *recogimiento*. The *padre de huérfanos*, or father of orphans, also called the *padre de menores*, or father of minors, had functioned as an honorary title bestowed on individuals in Spanish cities who helped provide orphans with homes and apprenticeships. Despite not carrying any financial benefits, the title of *padre de huérfanos* was directly associated with piety, status, and the wealth and or connections necessary to fulfill the task.

In Lima, the term *padre de huérfanos* became interchangeable with *padre de mestizos* or *padre de mulattos*, indicating that the role in Peru had a more specific function.²⁰⁰ The title was mostly honorary, although it could come with some small compensation. However, it did signify an individual’s Christian piety and charity, as well as his influence. Not only did the president of the *audiencia* have to confer the title, but also the recipient had to demonstrate the ability to facilitate and arrange the placement of the mestizos and mestizas utilizing his connections. Most of the *padre de mestizos* in Lima during the sixteenth century were prominent citizens. In 1549, the cabildo named the *procurador* (legal representative) of Lima, *Marcos Perez*, to be the *padre*

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 173.

²⁰⁰ For examples, see “Padre de mestizos y mulatos” Notariales del siglo XVI, Prot. 8,93 and Prot. 8, 116, Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Peru.

de menores due to his being “a person of conscience and capable of it.”²⁰¹ Lima officials named Pedro Romero, a cobbler who was far from being a member of Spanish elite yet extremely connected and well respected, as the *padre de menores* in 1575. In addition to his service as head of the cobbler trade guild, he also served in other small administrative positions, which allowed him to develop connections across a variety of professions in Lima. Spanish officials gave him significant authority stating, “if you find any man that is being a vagabond and he does not want to take a master be they Spaniards or mestizos you may take them directly to the local magistrate.”²⁰²

The role of the *padre de mestizos* in Lima was to find trades for the young mestizos living in poverty in Lima who would otherwise be inclined to vagrancy and idleness associated with the “vagabond mestizos” roaming between the Spanish and indigenous communities. For the mestizas, the *padre de mestizos* found households where mestizas served as personal servants, or they would help place them in *recogimientos*. For example, in 1564 the *padre de mestizos* Antón Sánchez, preferring the more formal title of “*curador general de los huérfanos de la Ciudad de Los Reyes*” (*Guardian of the orphans from the City of Kings*), placed Isabela de Santa Tome, a mestiza, in the care of Doña Ana de Ayala in the *recogimiento de San Juan de la Penitencia*.²⁰³

Spanish officials felt that it was most important for the mestizos to learn a trade. The *padre de mestizos* acted on the authority of the president of the audiencia in order to arrange *asientos*. The *asiento* was a basic contract between two parties, in front of a notary, stipulating the labor involved in exchange for some type of compensation. Where mestizos were concerned,

²⁰¹ Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, III:35.

²⁰² Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, IV:328.

²⁰³ “Asiento de Isabela de Santa Tome,” May 10, 1564, Notariales del siglo XVI. Prot 41 771-771v, Archivo General la Nación Peru, Lima, Peru.

the *asiento*, while remaining simple in nature, proved to be more complex. The contract usually specified an apprenticeship, where the mestizo promises to serve a master for a period of time, in exchange for room and board. However, most also specified learning to read and write, as well as continued instruction in the Catholic faith. The clothes to be provided were usually specific, down to the material, and often included a cape or a hat.²⁰⁴ It is significant that the language of the *asiento* was very similar, regardless of gender, and paralleled the language used upon placing mestizas in the *recogimientos*, suggesting that their purpose was similar.

The *padre de mestizos* was only one facilitator of the *asiento* in Peru. Many times, Spanish fathers would at least arrange for their illegitimate sons to learn trades and secure at least some form of education, similar to the *recogimiento*. Some Spanish fathers named other prominent citizens within the community *tutor y curador*, or mentor and guardian, who would then try to use their connections to find *asientos* for the mestizos. Spanish officials deemed the *asientos* significant enough that they would often arrange an *asiento* themselves. The Spanish artisans utilized within these *asientos* were wide-ranging, including tailors, cobblers, hosiers, hatters, and even the more prestigious swordsmiths.²⁰⁵

Just as the *recogimiento* carried specific purposes of acculturation, so too did the apprenticeships. The contracts, along with the learning of a specific trade, the provisions of food, clothing, and religious and academic instruction, all suggested that the *asiento*, along with the *recogimiento*, were effects of the desire for acculturation and paternalism. The intended result for both was for the mestizo or mestiza to come of age both acculturated and able to contribute to society. In the case of the mestizas, that contribution often rested on marriage. In

²⁰⁴ For examples, see Notariales del siglo XVI, Prot. 8, 83, Prot. 11, 258, and Prot. 13, 43, Archivo General de la Nación Peru, Lima, Peru.

²⁰⁵ Notariales del siglo XVI, Prot. 15, 184, Prot. 19,247, Prot. 29, 2637 and Prot. 30, 3246, Archivo General de la Nación Peru, Lima, Peru.

the case of the mestizos learning trades, they trained to be productive and important members of society. In either situation, they were closely tied to the Spanish and placed in situations where social mobility was limited. Furthermore, both the *recogimiento* system and the apprenticeships provided for by the *padre de mestizos* attempted to sever ties of kinship, as the trade guilds often were isolated by trade well within the Spanish sphere.²⁰⁶

Indigenous Perceptions of Mestizaje

“There must be a stop in the increase of mestizos, *cholos*, mulattos, zambos, who do no good for the Royal Crown; more bad than good comes from the race of vicuña and taruca. Those who are not from the same father and mother of the same race do great harm to the Royal Crown and to the poor Indians of this kingdom”²⁰⁷ Based on these words from Guaman Poma de Ayala, the famous Inca chronicler writing here in 1615, it would seem that the indigenous held the mestizos in very low esteem. Undoubtedly, by the time Guaman Poma was writing, many natives shared his sentiments. Yet, even for the chronicler, it was not so clear-cut. Like so many natives, he had kinship ties to mestizos. Among them was his half brother, the mestizo priest Fray Martin de Ayala, who helped him author his book. Although he spared no words in criticizing the priests who “deflower” the young native girls and enhance the mestizo population, he has nothing but kind words in his description of Fray Martin.²⁰⁸

This seemingly contradictory perception of mestizos is similar in nature to how the Spanish viewed mestizos, having both individual and collective interpretations. The natives had shared many experiences with the mestizos, both positive and negative, by 1615. Determining how the indigenous felt about mestizaje in the first few years after contact becomes more

²⁰⁶ Susan Verdi Webster. "Masters of the Trade: Native Artisans, Guilds, and the Construction of Colonial Quito." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 1 (2009): 10-29.

²⁰⁷ Guaman Poma. *The First New Chronicle*, 162.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 171.

problematic. While it is impossible to understand how every native perceived mestizos, examining Inca cultural policies before and after the arrival of the conquest can shed some light on their views.

Inca society functioned through kinship networks, known as *ayllus*. Most of the commoners practiced marriages within these kinship networks, the majority of which were monogamous. Those that left these *ayllus* to work with the Inca became *yanaconas*, and while they were individuals who had left their kinship networks, their close approximation to the Inca nobility elevated their status. The Inca nobility, on the other hand had different marital customs. They often practiced polygamy for political purposes. As a result, they produced large numbers of “illegitimate” offspring.²⁰⁹ While the Incas had very different concepts of legitimacy than their Spanish counterparts, those born within the *ayllu* carried higher regard than those born outside of it. Yet, those born outside of the *ayllu* were not social outcasts. They served a special purpose for the Inca nobility.

Since they were born outside of the *ayllu*, the nobility intended that they establish kinship networks with the outside group. In essence, they were the cultural intermediaries that created the kinship networks that bound the two societies together. While society did not hold them in the same regard as the Inca nobility or the lesser members within the *ayllu*, they were an essential part of society. Outside of the nobility, an “illegitimate” child who lacked any parental ties became a communal child, and raising it became the responsibility of the community.

The Incas also relocated various populations to encourage cultural assimilation. Often the Incas would move large numbers from loyal indigenous groups and place them within the newly conquered populations in order to help demonstrate expected cultural and political

²⁰⁹ It is important to note here that this is the Western concept of illegitimacy and was not used with the same connotation by the Incas.

norms.²¹⁰ Adversely, skilled members of society within the conquered populations found themselves redistributed within other Inca communities where their skills could be utilized and dispersed. Rather than homogeneously assimilated groups, the outcomes often created multicultural communities, particularly among those populations farther away from Inca centers of power or those whom the Inca relocated shortly before the cultural disruption brought about by the arrival of the Spanish.

In the political views of the Inca, dominance did not always come in the form of supplanting one culture over another. Rather the ability to incorporate some cultural elements from the conquered culture proved the superiority of the conquerors. It also helped bridge kinship ties and minimize revolts, as many cultural elements became aspects of the new dominant culture. Therefore, the Inca practiced cultural *mestizaje* as policy, not only through the dissemination of their own culture throughout their empire, but also through the incorporation of other beliefs and practices into their own.²¹¹

As devastating as the arrival of the Spanish in 1532 was to the Incas, they still were drawing on past experiences and using their understanding of their world to deal with the changes. Furthermore, Inca culture had not had time to become the prevailing culture in some parts of the Andes, particularly in the face of the civil war dividing the Incas when the Spanish arrived. With this in mind, how the indigenous communities viewed *mestizaje* becomes clearer. As was the custom, the Incas passed along brides to the Spanish conquistadors. Those who wished to rebel against the Inca saw the newcomers as potential allies and adopted Spanish customs or lent military support. However, neither intended their gestures to be a sign of submission, as the Spanish interpreted them to be, but rather an attempt to establish kinship

²¹⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:265.

²¹¹ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 3.

networks. Initially, the indigenous nobility likely would have considered the mestizo offspring of these unions as a positive thing, as they would have provided more opportunities to establish and develop these kinship ties.

Those sexual relationships not fostered through politics also produced offspring. Since notions of illegitimacy were different among the indigenous, the mother would have raised the child as a native. If for some reason the mother were unable to do so, then they most likely would have raised the child communally, as was the case before the Spanish arrived. The notion of raising the mestizos communally could help explain some of the Spanish lamentations of large numbers of mestizos living in terrible conditions among the natives, and could exacerbate the early fears of the mestizos “being lost among the Indians.”²¹²

As far as cultural mestizaje is concerned, the incorporative nature of the indigenous groups also lead to a false sense of superiority for the Spanish. Some natives accepted the Spanish as potential allies against other indigenous groups. They also learned Spanish and quickly adapted to the Spanish way of life. One *cacique principal* (principal indigenous leader) in Lima, baptized under the Christian name Don Gonzalo, quickly incorporated Spanish customs and lifestyles. He always rode a horse, dressed in Spanish clothing, spoke Spanish, and had a custom of whipping the natives under his authority who did not accept Christianity. He also fought alongside the Spanish against the Cusqueñan Incas during their siege of Lima. Yet, during a disagreement with the Spanish, he was very quick to point out that “this city was founded on my land. The farms of the *vecinos* and the settlers are mine and of my people.”²¹³

²¹² Jane E. Mangan, "Moving Mestizos in Sixteenth Century Peru: Spanish Fathers, Indigenous Mothers, and the Children in between," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (April 2013): 2.

²¹³ Hugo, "Indios y Mestizos en Lima," 49-50.

Initially, it would seem that indigenous views of mestizaje were generally positive. The impact and cultural change brought about by the Spanish cannot be understated. As the various indigenous groups changed their opinions of the Spanish, it is also possible that their views of mestizaje changed as well. The natives were adapting to Hispanic society, and their traditional views were equally being adapted. For the Inca nobility, mestizo offspring still carried the potential for the kinship networks they desired. These nobles maintained enough political weight within the society to make the agreement worth their while. It is most likely for this reason that Pizarro left his first Inca mistress, marrying her off to his page, and then taking the principal bride of the Inca. There is every possibility that he was considering the powerful kinship connections that this union could provide.²¹⁴

For the commoners, mestizos living among their population were more problematic, and their perceptions likely depended on Spanish legal classification. If a group of mestizos was living in an indigenous community and the Spanish officials recognized them as such, then they were exempt from tribute payments. In this case, they provided no burden to the community but could potentially help with the labor process. Adversely, if the same mestizos were living in the community but not identified by the Spanish, then they increased the tribute burdens of the community. Yet, the labor they were able to provide mostly assuaged this burden. If they lived as natives, then either scenario probably would not be an issue, as the members of the community would most likely accept them as their own. If they were living in Spanish cities and possessed no long-lasting ties to the community, then this created a much bigger problem for the natives.

²¹⁴ Maria Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro: Una Ilustre Mestiza*, 5th ed. (Lima, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2011), 30.

On the frontiers in eastern Peru, the situation was more fluid. Mestizo and indigenous alliances were common, along with the creoles. By the last few decades of the 16th century, Potosí was on its way to becoming one of the highest populated cities in the Americas. The wealth that *cerro rico* (rich hill) provided attracted large numbers from all ethnic groups. However, some preferred to live in the indigenous communities. Many mestizos lived among the natives, but were accepted as *indios ladinos* (Indians who speak Spanish). These mestizos had strong ties to the communities, and dressed, ate, and acted as the natives did. They were often so integrated into the indigenous community that when these mestizos appear in the documents, the natives refer to them simply as *indios*. Often, the only mention of the term mestizo was by the Spanish official, as they were described as mestizos *en traje de indio* or *habito de indio* (mestizos in Indian's clothing).²¹⁵

Ironically, for the legalistic Spanish officials the problem of the mestizos *en traje de indio* was more a cultural problem than a legal one. Those mestizos who lived as natives and never transcended the cultural boundaries established in the *dos repúblicas*, were deemed innocuous and their rationale for living among the natives seemed logical. Even as late as 1615, the Viceroy Juan de Mendoza, writing instructions to his successor, suggested that “each one of these blacks, mulattoes, and mestizos are against the natives, so that they should not live among nor converse with them, as much for their bad treatment of them, as for the ruinous customs they learn in their presence. It is necessary to separate them, although generally not so much for the mestizos, who often happen to live in the houses of their mothers, and who are going to benefit their haciendas and are not harmful to the natives.”²¹⁶ Another Spanish official in Potosí noted

²¹⁵ “Obligación de Doctor Don Julio Velásquez de Vargas.” July 28, 1639, EP-216, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.

²¹⁶ Torre de Mendoza, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 224-225.

that these mestizos living among the natives “in these parts are always treated as Indians, which in effect, they are.”²¹⁷ For the Spanish, if the mestizo continued to live as the natives did, it was not problematic and often could result in increased tribute.

It was when the mestizos living among the natives maintained and utilized kinship ties outside of the native communities that events became more problematic in the eyes of the Spanish. Such was the case for Francisco Mestizo, who donned native clothing and lived among the natives in Potosí. He stood accused of stealing and killing several bulls from a prominent citizen and Spanish official Juan Dominguez Cabello. Even the natives had testified that Francisco had in fact stolen and butchered two bulls and had shared the meat with several other *yanaconas*, yet they were clear he had not acted alone. Among the guilty party was another mestizo acquaintance who lived in the city and was the brother-in-law of Juan de Vasconzuela, the Spanish *mayordomo* (overseer) of Juan Dominguez Cabello’s estate.²¹⁸ It was exactly these connections, leading to the corruption of the natives, the Spanish had hoped to avoid in their ordinances prohibiting mestizo and native cohabitation.

In many ways, the rhetoric of the documents are reflective of the reality of the situation. The mestizos living among the natives did not necessarily consider themselves socially different from the natives in their community. Several other natives appear in the documents described as *ladinos* just as the mestizos were. The mestizos were not trying to “pass” as natives, but rather they chose to live with their kin within their indigenous communities. Yet they would have been aware of their mestizo identity because of its importance as a legal distinction, which would have

²¹⁷ “Pleito criminal contra Alonso Charca, Indio.” September 8, 1640, Min. 125-02, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.

²¹⁸ “Querella criminal contra Francisco Mestizo hecho por Juan Domínguez Cabello.” 1606, AM 1606-10, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.

exempted them from tribute payments and lightened the burden on the others in their communities.

To the mestizos *en traje de indios*, then, the issue became a matter of legality. Within the indigenous communities in which these mestizos were living, the natives never considered themselves collectively as “indios.” Yet when navigating the Spanish legal system, they understood Spanish classifications and learned to pool their resources to present a more collective front. In similar fashion, the mestizos *en traje de indio* most likely did not distinguish themselves from other members of the community by identifying as mestizo, but they learned when to apply it legally. The versatility of self-identification was not intended as a form of “passing,” but rather an understanding of the Spanish legal system.

For example, in 1640, the son of a lesser cacique and a mestiza, Alonso Charca, faced being pressed into labor in the mines under the *mita* system in Potosi. When he refused, the Spanish magistrates had him jailed. In his defense, he argued that he was exempt from such service since his mother was a mestiza, and mestizos were exempt from tribute and labor requirements. Since the Spanish could verify that his mother was in fact a mestiza, they countered with the patriarchal nature of Spanish legality, arguing that his father’s lineage should determine his legal classification in this case.²¹⁹ While not resulting in a victory for Alonso Charca, the case does exemplify the complexity of social identity at the time. Coming of age within the indigenous community, it is highly unlikely that Alonso self identified with being half-mestizo or one-quarter Spanish. However, when his identity became a legal matter, he understood the Spanish system well enough to use his identity to create a credible defense.

²¹⁹ “Pleito criminal contra Alonso Charca, Indio.” September 8, 1640, Min. 125-02, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.

Both of the above cases also reflect the problems that began to bring a cultural shift in how the indigenous groups began to view mestizaje. By the turn of the seventeenth century, disease had hit many of the indigenous groups hard, and they struggled adjusting to the Hispanic way of life. The *caciques* learned from experience that if they satisfied their tribute payments and *repartimiento* (shared labor system) requirements then for the most part they could live in relative independence. While not adapting the ethnic components that were becoming part of the Spanish concepts of mestizaje at the time, the natives were getting wary of the mestizos who were not members of their communities, or any other outside intervention, even those natives who had left and begun to live in Spanish cities. The *caciques* began to petition the Spanish officials to keep mestizos, *mulatos*, and even *indios ladinos* in some cases, out of their communities and began to share those sentiments expressed by Guaman Poma.²²⁰

Challenges of “Mestizo Identity”

The son of a conquistador and an Incan princess, Garcilaso de la Vega wrote of his counterparts in Peru, “the children of Spaniards by Indians are called *mestizos*, meaning that we are a mixture of the two races...I call myself by it in public and am proud of it, though in the Indies...it is considered an insult.”²²¹ In his statement, Garcilaso de la Vega, known as “el Inca” rather than “el mestizo,” sums up the complexity of mestizo identity. Mestizo was originally a term used in Spain to refer to mixed-bred animals, so it is easy to see why the term was not instantly endearing to those who bore the label. It was sufficiently insulting that in 1554 in Spain, a man summonsed another to court, merely for calling him a mestizo.²²²

²²⁰ “Petición de los caciques indios” Quito,212,L.4,F.71V-72R, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²²¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:607.

²²² Registro de Ejecutorias Caja 817,1, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, Valladolid, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

Yet El Inca Garcilaso also suggests that he says the term “con boca llena” (with pride). Despite being a mestizo, the fact that his father was a conquistador and his mother was Inca royalty would have provided him with a great deal of esteem in early colonial Peru. Furthermore, he was extremely well educated, and he recalls his tutor and his overall experience of his childhood fondly in his chronicle. Throughout his work, written mostly while living in Spain, Garcilaso de la Vega writes sympathetically about the Inca way of life, and it is clear in those situations that he is critical of the Spanish for their part in the destruction of the Inca Empire.

In many ways, Garcilaso’s entire narrative was an inference of what society could have become. By stressing the law and order of the Incas, the capabilities of the creoles and mestizos, and the religion and culture of the Spanish, the ideal society could have emerged. Garcilaso’s apologetic tone about the Inca stresses the positive aspects of their culture, but he is not afraid to be critical of many of their religious customs or of the actions of individual Incas with whom he disagrees. Most telling is his dedication, in which he wishes upon “to the Indians, mestizos, and creoles of the kingdoms and provinces of the great and wealthy empire of Peru, from the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, their brother, compatriot, and countryman, health and happiness.”²²³

While historians have the luxury of reading the thoughts of Garcilaso de la Vega, most mestizos did not record their thoughts on the past. Undoubtedly, how mestizos understood their own identities varied so wildly that it is impossible to discuss a collective mestizo identity. However, it is not impossible to discern various patterns in the documents or to analyze how cultural mestizaje influenced the perceptions and actions of various groups of mestizos. Since the term lacked any true use as racial identifier in the modern understanding that would later

²²³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:xvii.

develop, it has become too easy to dismiss the use of the term *mestizo* altogether. Scholars have often pointed out the fluidity in which individuals, whether they be native, mulato, *mestizo*, or Spaniard employed the term. This fluidity has fostered the interpretation that the term had little meaning to the *mestizos* themselves.²²⁴

Momentarily putting aside the obvious and often consequential legal implications that came with the term, *mestizo* also had a strong cultural significance. The fluidity of the term as a form of self-identification does not signify its lack of importance, but rather implies the power that came with cultural *mestizaje*, which a vast majority of *mestizos* naturally possessed. To use the aforementioned Garcilaso de la Vega as an example, he self identified several times as a *mestizo*, a creole, a Spaniard, a native, and specifically as an Inca throughout his work.

Garcilaso used these intentionally, with specific connotations in mind. The fact that he used these terms interchangeably does not speak to their lack of significance, but rather his understanding of his own multiculturalism and the role that cultural *mestizaje* played in his own cosmology. In other words, no single *mestizo* identity develops in early colonial Peru not because *mestizos* had no sense of their own multicultural identity, but rather because of their awareness of it. *Mestizo* identity should be considered along the lines of a continuum.

It is often overlooked when analyzing *mestizos* that all colonial terms were fluid. An individual from Iberia who identified as Basque or Extremaduran might only identify as *español* in Peru when confronted with other sociocultural terms, such as *mestizo*, mulato, and *indio*. Similarly, various indigenous groups might collectively identify as *indio* only when attempting to operate within the Spanish legal system. The fact that neither the “*indio*” nor the “*español*” would have regularly self-identified as such does not distract from the cultural awareness that the

²²⁴ See Rappaport, *The Disappearing Mestizo*, Ch. 2.

term applies to them, and that they possess the ability to employ it when needed. The first generations of mestizos, particularly because they bridged the *dos repúblicas*, could often utilize their mestizaje in similar fashion. Therefore in the sense of a continuum, the fluidity of the term mestizo, and the use of both Spanish and indigenous identifiers, was a result of their identity and not based on a denial of it. Thus analyzing how these various groups of mestizos identified along this continuum can offer more insight into how these mestizos viewed cultural mestizaje.

On one extreme, the esteem of the sons and daughters of the wealthiest *encomenderos* and Inca royalty provided them more opportunities in Peru than they could ever have obtained in Spain. Many Spanish fathers sent their mestizo children to live with relatives in Spain so that they could be educated.²²⁵ If their parents remained in Peru, they received the highest education possible, more than likely from another Spaniard or tutored with other privileged creoles, mestizos, and members of Incan nobility. The daughters, when they came of age, could offer sizeable dowries, which would attract other prominent Spaniards. The sons, being educated and recognized by their fathers, became very important members of the community that commanded respect. For example, the aforementioned Francisco de Ampuero had three children with the Inca princess, two sons and a daughter. Both sons became prominent citizens in Lima, and served on the town council. They were also heirs to an enormous encomienda grant from their mother and father, both provided by Pizarro.

The documents, including the local town *cabildo* records, rarely if ever refer to the Ampueros specifically as mestizos, possibly due to the negative connotation associated with the term. Yet the Spanish officials did specifically mention their indigenous background in some of the documents, only in a positive light in order to denote the overall *calidad* (overall quality) of

²²⁵ Mangan, Jane. "Moving Mestizos," 2.

the individuals. In the document confirming Martin de Ampuero as *regidor* (town councilman) in Lima, one Spanish official stated that “no person could provide said office with more merit than Martin de Ampuero, in that beyond his father having served in these parts and his mother being Doña Ines Yupanqui, descendant of the Inca lords from those lands, the aforementioned Martin de Ampuero is very skilled and adequate for said office.”²²⁶

It is most likely that Ampuero shielded his mestizo children as much as possible from his wife’s native influence, showing particular concern for his daughter’s upbringing and her potential attachment to her mother.²²⁷ His relationship with his native bride was tumultuous at best, yet Ampuero undeniably benefitted from the arrangement as well as the significant encomienda grants that he would pass to his heirs. Well known for his ambition and greed, his humble status as a page quickly changed as he became one of the richest in men in Peru carrying distinction as a *primer poblador* (first settler) with ties to the Inca nobility. It seems his mestizo sons Martín and Francisco desired to follow their father’s example and took advantage of their wealth and good name to get ahead. Yet it is also clear that they were willing to evoke their noble indigenous heritage, and that it hardly served to hinder their social advancement. In a legal dispute over some property close to the town square, the Ampueros gladly noted their Inca lineage by claiming that the house was part of their inheritance stemming from their Inca mother’s will, which suggested the property was granted to her many years before.²²⁸

Undoubtedly, the sons of wealthy conquistadors and Inca princesses were rare, and most mestizos did not enjoy such status. While some fathers immediately placed their mestizo

²²⁶ “Confirmación de oficio: Martin de Ampuero, etc.,” April 28, 1570, Lima, 178 N.5, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²²⁷ Rostworowski, *Dona Francisca Pizarro: Una Ilustre Mestiza*, 30-32.

²²⁸ “Pleito ejecutivo que trataba con los bienes y herederos del difunto Francisco de Ampuero,” 1590, Causas Civiles, Leg, 25, cuad. 133, Archivo General de la Nación Peru, Lima, Peru.

children in Spanish homes or sent them to Spain, a large amount grew up in an environment where they experienced both cultures. Even if not their own mothers, many Spanish households in Peru had indigenous nursemaids and servants who were involved in childrearing. The mestizos often acquired the indigenous aspects of their acculturation more informally, either through their mothers or through the stories told by their native relatives. In many ways, this created a gendered duality that played a significant role in the development of their identity.

Prior to Spanish contact the Inca gender roles existed in two unique, but equally important spheres. Even within Inca cosmology, the men worshiped and were descendants of the sun, and women worshiped and were daughters of the moon. When men were born, they descended from the male line, and women from the female. The two were not exclusive, as from its origins Inca cosmology centered on the notion of a couple. Powers also notes that the ideal religious and political leaders had both masculine and feminine qualities.²²⁹

The first few generations of mestizos embodied the gendered duality set forth in the Inca cosmology. The vast majority of mestizo offspring were from Spanish males and indigenous females. Consequently, mestizos of the first few generations developed an especially gendered identity, as they would inherit all their indigenous qualities along a female line, and all their Hispanic qualities from the male lineage. The Spanish, with their concepts of masculinity and honor and female virginity and seclusion, would only have reinforced this mentality. In addition, the continual criticisms of native effeminacy through their dress, long hair, inability to grow facial hair, sickliness, etc. would have fostered this gendered duality.²³⁰

²²⁹ Powers, "Andeans and Spaniards in the Contact Zone," p. 511-513.

²³⁰ See Cobo's description of the physical make-up of the natives in *The History of the Inca Empire*, Ch. 3 and Ch. 4.

The first generations of mestizos well understood their ties to both the Spanish and the indigenous spheres of society along gendered lines. When approaching Tupac Amaru to fight alongside his Inca soldiers against the Spanish in 1572, the mestizos suggested that although they were “sons of the conquerors,” that they were also the children of women who were “the daughters, nieces, and grandchildren of the *curacas*.”²³¹ This gendered double consciousness allowed mestizos to claim ties to Peru that no other ethnic group could equal. While the indigenous groups had lived in the Andes for centuries, in the eyes of the Spanish they were a conquered people. Adversely, the Spanish were transplants in the Americas, yet the mestizos could claim indigenous ties to Peru.

The cultural blending between the Spanish and the indigenous only reinforced this duality. Just as a majority of the mestizos would have been growing up in the Catholic faith and learning of the Virgin Mary, their indigenous mothers and kin would have been telling them stories of Pachamama (Mother Earth), one of many connections that the missionaries themselves utilized to convert the natives.²³² In other words, while this duality was often politically conflicting, it was culturally representative of the syncretic society in which they came of age.

El Inca Garcilaso reflects this duality throughout his *Comentarios Reales*. The author takes a scholarly approach and discusses the Hispanic society through research and experience, but often relates the Inca history and cosmology based on what he “imbibed from [his] mother’s milk,” a phrase he repeats several times throughout the work.²³³ El Inca Garcilaso also begins the last of his history in gendered terms:

²³¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1474-1475.

²³² The natives often drew connections between their own cosmology and the new religion they were being taught. At the same time, many members of the clergy also drew comparisons between Andean religion and their own in order to explain certain concepts. See Magda von der Heyt-Coca, “When Worlds Collide,” *Dialectical Anthropology* Vol. 24 (March, 1999), 25.

²³³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:51.

“Having begun this history with the commencement and origin of the Inca kings of Peru, and having noticed at length their conquests and generous deeds, their lives, their government in peace and war, and the idolatrous religion they had in heathen times – all of which were performed in the first part of these *Commentaries*, with divine aide – we fulfilled the obligation we felt towards our mother country and our maternal stock. In the second part, as we have seen, a long account was given of the deeds and heroic actions that the brave and valiant Spaniards performed in conquering that wealthy empire, wherein we have fulfilled, even though not completely, our paternal obligations, which we owe to our father and his illustrious and generous companions.”²³⁴

It is common in the rhetoric to make gendered references to mestizos as products of a “Father Spain” and a “Mother Peru,” and that this concept continually manifested itself in the daily lives of the mestizo. Yet the vast majority of mestizos never set foot in Spain. Those Spanish fathers who adamantly sent their children to Spain often did so with the specific intention of avoiding the indigenous influence that came with almost certainty to those who remained in Peru. Those mestizos who travelled to Spain after spending significant time in Peru often expressed a strong desire to return to their native Peru.

This attachment to Peru could also define itself in directly gendered terms, as was the case when mestizos specifically petitioned Spanish officials to leave the house of their father in Spain to live with their mothers in Peru.²³⁵ Most mestizos living in Spain simply expressed their desire to return to “mi tierra” (my land).²³⁶ Other mestizos banished to Spain for their transgressions in Peru, equally lamented their fate. The idea was in line with the Spanish paternalism of those fathers who sent their children to Spain; by removing their ties to the indigenous communities and influence, they would no longer be a threat to Hispanic society. One such mestizo was the aforementioned Juan Arias Maldonado, who avoided garroting for his

²³⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1485-1486.

²³⁵ “Pedro Luis”, 1560, Indiferente General 2080 N.35, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²³⁶ “Expediente de concesión de licencia para pasar a Perú, a favor de Alonso, mestizo, natural y vecino de Perú,” 1570, Indiferente, 2084,N.38, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

role in an open rebellion only after the vehement pleading of his father, the conquistador Diego Maldonado “el rico.” Allowed one last trip to Peru to get his affairs in order before permanently returning to Spain, Juan Arias Maldonado died just before reaching Peru, denied the “pure joy and pleasure of being back in his own country.”²³⁷

While the actual number of mestizos who were the offspring of Inca royalty and the Spanish elite accounted for a small number of the overall mestizo population, this gendered duality became common in the social consciousness of the mestizos and various indigenous groups. When the mestizo child of an indigenous mother was being held captive after being involved in a conspiracy against the Spanish Crown, she wept uncontrollably and shouted from the streets for him to be strong, crying out for the fate of these offspring of conquistadors who should have such an unfitting demise. She wondered how those sons of the men who conquered the Incas could end up in such a lowly position. At the same time, she burdened herself with the largest share of the blame on behalf of all Inca women, “for it was [they] who loved the Spanish men and betrayed their own people, and thus doomed their mestizo offspring to the fate of the gods.”²³⁸

The mestizos had a real connection with Peru and came of age possessing a gendered duality. In accordance with the notion in Inca cosmology that the possession of both masculine and feminine characteristics were ideal for religious and political purposes, it is not surprising that the first few generations of mestizos made excellent priests and felt that they were more qualified than their Spanish counterparts to function in the multicultural society emerging in Peru. When they felt the Spanish attempted to deny them their proper place within society, they quickly developed the reputation as dissidents. There was a real sense among the first few

²³⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1476.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1475-1476.

generations of mestizos that they were more adept to ascend the ranks in Peru because they were the only generation who truly possessed the necessary multiculturalism.

As Peruvian society progressed into the 17th century, many of the mestizo attempts to assert agency had failed. The mestizo populations swelled and they began to marry both within and outside their ranks. The cultural duality that existed among the mestizos became less clear as they integrated into Hispanic society. The mestizos, a term that had been fluid since its first use, became even harder to define. The Spanish, who were present in larger numbers, implemented cultural and social policies in order to curb the indigenous influence on the mestizos as well as check the potential threat of their duality.

“Nacidos en esta tierra”

Within the context of mestizaje as a cultural phenomenon and the fluidity of these early colonial terms, the creoles as a group need serious historical reevaluation. Scholars have traditionally presumed that the first few generations of creoles were inherently Spanish, since both parents came from Spain. The assumption is primarily due to creole activity during the late colonial period. Only when the Bourbon reforms alienated the creoles did they supposedly begin to break away from the Spanish and form alliances with the other ethnic groups. This theory fails to take into account how colonial society functioned in the years after the Spanish arrived. The creoles could hardly have existed without close contact with the mestizos and the natives. If they came from wealthy Spanish households, then they interacted daily with a large contingency of native laborers, and were likely nursed by indigenous women. If they were less fortunate, they interacted with the natives on the fringes of cities, or traded with them in the markets. Many creoles spoke native dialects fluently.²³⁹

²³⁹ “Ventajas de los religiosos criollos,” February 28, 1628, Quito, 88, N.24, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

It is also important to understand how the Spanish applied the term creole. Scholars have learned to become skeptical of terms in other ethnic categories, pointing to the fluidity of their use.²⁴⁰ The positive aspects of Hispanicity associated with the term creole seem to lend the term more authenticity in the documents. Yet the term is used in equally fluid ways depending on the context. In an official visit to Potosi in the 1580s, a Spanish official discusses the dealings of several prominent creoles, then upon describing their parentage lists a few of the mothers as mestizas.²⁴¹ While in all likelihood the men described could have easily passed as creoles in their daily lives, it is important to note the potential disparities of the term. The familial kinship ties and potential loyalties are easily different with a mestiza mother in Potosí than when compared to the offspring of two *peninsulares* in Lima. The term often carried a metaphorical context, as even some Spanish officials were described as “creole” due to their preference for local affairs and ties with the community over their Spanish counterparts.

The Spanish officials often made little distinction between the creoles and the mestizos, as culturally they were often indistinguishable. Other collective terms often applied to broadly to mestizos, creoles, transient Spaniards and acculturated natives, such as *vagamundo* (vagabonds) and the oft-misunderstood *soldado* (soldier).²⁴² Many of the documents use the all-encompassing term of “*nacidos en esta tierra*” (born in this land) to jointly address the creole and mestizo populations.

The creole, as well as mestizo, perceptions of Spanish Peru also need to be taken into account. Many of their fathers’ loyalty changed during the civil strife. The line between rebel and loyalist was easily blurred, and the difference most often depended on who won the conflict.

²⁴⁰ For example see Burns, “Unfixing Race,” 188-202 or Rappaport, *The Disappearing Mestizo*, 1-368.

²⁴¹ “Relación hecho al Exmo. Sr. Dn. Juan de Mendoza y Luna,” 1613, LML C4, no.3, Archivo de la Ciudad de La Paz, La Paz, Bolivia.

²⁴² See Ch. 5.

Many who remained loyal felt bitter about their rewards and felt that the Crown owed them more for their service. Either way, the lesson could be clear to a young creole coming of age. If the father's potentially disloyal actions were successful, they gleaned the reward for taking personal risks for personal gain. If they were unsuccessful and died in battle, or if the Crown punished them, then they could potentially desire to avenge their fathers and take up their cause.

Furthermore, as more and more Spanish came over to Peru with the arrival of each ship, the creoles and mestizos were often resentful of having to defer to *peninsulares* fresh off the boat from Spain, without the vast knowledge and skillsets that they possessed from their experience of living in the unique society. While the loyalties of individual creoles, mestizos, or natives depended on a variety of factors, common experiences existed that helped to bond them together.

This emerging society was not lost on Spanish officials. In a letter to the Council of the Indies in 1567 Lope de Castro lamented that “the people of this land are different than what was before because the Spanish that have to [live] here, the majority of them are old or have died and their children have succeeded them in their repartimientos and they have left many other children to which this land is full of creoles which were born here and full of mestizos and mulattos and as such they have never known the king nor do they hope to know him.” He continues to discuss the fact that both the creoles and the mestizos feel that their fathers died for the advancement of the Crown, yet they are forced to walk the streets, “lost” and “starving” of hunger.²⁴³

In the frontier areas the situation was even worse by Spanish standards. It is quite likely that a majority of the population was partially indigenous, regardless of whether they were classified as mestizo, *mulato*, etc. The documents are full of mestizos appearing in many of the communities, which was especially problematic in some frontier areas as many of the indigenous

²⁴³ Levillier, *Gobernantes de Peru*, p. xi.

populations had yet to be pacified. In Santa Cruz de la Sierra, a frontier town on the far eastern edges of the viceroyalty (in modern day Bolivia), the population was rough, independent, and accustomed to frontier living. The mestizo and mulato populations were increasing problematic for the Spanish. Not only were they “audacious and without regard,” but implied that they were “disposed to any ruinous opinions that exist in this realm.”²⁴⁴

Therefore, in Peru the creoles, mestizos, and the indigenous populations were all “American” groups with a potentially common transcultural consciousness, and the *peninsulares* were easily the minority. *Peninsulares* knew the reality of the threat of losing their overseas colonies to a growing “American” contingency, even in the early years. In this environment, the creoles and mestizos who lived within Hispanic society formed a fifth column that challenged Spanish hegemony. That is not to say that creoles and mestizos intentionally joined together to incite revolution. However, together they formed a “swing” population; if they united, even more so if they could incorporate the natives, they would be too powerful for the Spanish to control. The potential threat of this fifth column manifested itself in a series of plots, revolts, or conspiracies that occurred in Peru during the second half of the sixteenth century. The civil unrest warned the Spanish that they would need to do something to establish their dominance in the Americas.

Conclusion

Hispanic and indigenous perceptions of mestizaje evolved along inversely proportional and yet similar lines. The mestizo immediately created problems for the Spanish who had clear philosophical distinctions between the two “republics”. Spanish paternalism insisted that policies be put into place to help the mestizos while at the same time limiting the cultural duality

²⁴⁴ “Informando sobre ciertos sucesos de la Provincia del Perú,” January 31, 1581, MG 1797, Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

that posed a threat to Spanish hegemony. Adversely, the indigenous groups attempted to utilize mestizaje as a means to establish kinship networks and political alliances through incorporation. The duality of the mestizos also proved challenging for many of the indigenous communities as the mobility of the mestizos allowed for them to move in and out of their villages and disrupt their local economies. They became a threat to their independence, which they increasingly came to value.

Gender was a mitigating factor behind the decisions of both the indigenous and the Spanish when treating mestizaje. Both groups drew upon their past experience and incorporated gendered societal constructs from before the contact in order to adapt to the new issues they were faced with in the emerging society. For the Spanish, the *recogimientos* and the use of honorary positions such as the *padre de huérfano* helped incorporate the mestizos as well as acculturate them to Spanish norms. The indigenous utilized their practices of marriages and kinship networks in an attempt to pacify the Spanish and create important alliances.

As a result, the first generations of mestizos to come of age in Peru developed a gendered duality, which developed from the Hispanic concepts of masculinity and femininity as well as Incan cosmological concepts of gender. This duality allowed them to create a unique identity that transcended traditional indigenous or Hispanic spheres. While the Spanish and the native groups were scrambling for agency in the years after contact, the mestizos were also establishing kinship networks among their Spanish, indigenous, and creole counterparts. In many ways, their duality was an asset within a society that lent itself to cultural blending.

By the time a few decades had passed in the 17th century, Peruvian society had changed. Spanish hegemony was more concrete, mestizo and native challenges had been spurned, and demographic decline had affected traditional indigenous ways of life. Many among the natives,

mestizos, and other ethnic groups had moved to the cities and lived on the fringes of Hispanic society. The Indigenous groups began to value their autonomy and the Spanish had learned to utilize incorporation in order to protect the philosophical distinction between the *dos repúblicas*. The cultural duality and the unique identity that the first few generations of mestizos possessed had become less clear and more problematic.

Chapter 5

The Fifth Column: Mestizaje as an Emerging Threat to Spanish Hegemony

In 1538, the famous conquistador and Spanish discoverer of Chile, Diego de Almagro, pleaded for his life with speech that could “soften a heart of steel.” His passionate words fell on deaf ears as Hernando Pizarro, brother of Francisco, was unmoved. He questioned how a man of Almagro’s spirit could fear death so much. Accused of conspiring with Manco Inca, causing the death of fellow Spaniards and acting without the authority of the Crown, Almagro died at the garrote. Spanish officials displayed his decapitated body in the square as a warning for others.

Despite this public warning, the civil conflict between the Almagristas and the Pizarristas continued to rage. Diego “el mozo” (the youth), Almagro’s mestizo son from an indigenous woman in Panama, soon took up his father’s cause with the aid of Almagro’s contingency, mainly consisting of conquistadors who knew that their dreams of a lucrative encomienda grant died with their leader. He also benefitted from some support from Manco Inca. Three years later, Diego exacted his revenge as several of his followers stormed the palace and murdered Francisco Pizarro. His fellow compatriots proclaimed him governor, making him the first de facto mestizo governor of Peru. The mestizo’s time in power was short. A little over a year later, royal forces defeated “el mozo” and subjected him to the same fate his father received a few years before. After a brief trial and swift execution, Spanish officials granted his last request and laid his remains below the cathedral in Cuzco, next to those of his father.

In many ways, the struggle between the followers of Almagro and Pizarro was a harbinger of how things would unfold over the next century. Yet scholars have oversimplified the civil wars in early colonial Peru as a mere play for power among Spanish conquistadors and reduced men such as Diego Almagro “el mozo” to footnotes in the larger narrative. The term

civil war itself is somewhat misleading in that it portrays the conflict as an internal struggle, thus neglecting the large number of indigenous and African participants who played vital roles in the process. This approach is logical when viewed through the traditional lens of conquest, and classifying the conflict as a civil war creates a convenient delineation after the suppression and death of Gonzalo Pizarro, the last of the brothers to vie for control of Peru. In this regard, the almost continual unrest that followed was “not an undoing of the conquest...thus it may be regarded rather as a troublesome episode in the early history of Peru.”²⁴⁵

However, the rationale behind the conflict during the civil wars and the numerous insurrections that followed proved to be far more complex. Rebellions ascribed to various individuals or certain ethnic groups often had deeper roots whose causes were both complicated and multifaceted as indigenous, African, Spanish, and emergent creole and mestizo populations all were attempting to establish footholds in a changing society. By analyzing a series of revolts and uprisings within this multicultural context, it is evident that traditional explanations based on Spanish ambition and greed or assumed notions of racial superiority are insufficient. Rather, a transcultural consciousness began to develop through continual, multiethnic interaction within early colonial society. Cultural mestizaje gave rise to a fifth column that grew to challenge the establishment of Spanish hegemony in Peru.

Even the early clash between the Pizarristas and the Almagristas demonstrated flashes of the transcultural nature of the struggles that would follow in Peru. The friendship both Almagro and his mestizo son enjoyed with Manco Inca demonstrated a potential alliance between the Spanish and the indigenous that could have easily changed the course of events in Peru. For the most part, Manco Inca seemed content to allow the Spaniards to destroy each other. While the

²⁴⁵ F.A. Kirkpatrick, *The Spanish Conquistadores*, p.271.

young mestizo's overtures towards forming a strong alliance with the Inca failed, the Inca was willing to aid the Almagrista cause by supplying copious amounts of armor and weapons before the Battle of Chupas.²⁴⁶ Francisco Pizarro equally understood the power of an indigenous alliance. Originally, Manco Inca sided with Pizarro on behalf of his brother Huascar, as it appeared the conquistador could be a strong ally in his clash with Atahualpa. It is also possible that Pizarro's motive for leaving his mistress, Doña Ines Yupanqui, to be with another Inca princess previously promised to Atahualpa was that he had a strong intention to form a union that would solidify his power in both spheres.²⁴⁷

The fact that Almagro's son was a mestizo who had never set foot in Spain is another often-overlooked aspect. Raised entirely in the Americas, probably arriving in Peru at the age of ten or eleven, he had accompanied his father throughout his campaigns in Chile and in Peru against Pizarro.²⁴⁸ While the rhetoric on both sides emphasized loyalty to the Crown, it is unlikely that the younger Almagro felt motivated by a sense of royal duty and allegiance. It is equally difficult to believe that ambition was his sole incentive, as he had a lucrative inheritance from his father, which unlike the allotments of the men who fought alongside him, Pizarro protected in the hopes to diminish his desire for revenge. Yet his lack of ambition did not stop him from riding into the square and proclaiming that, "there was no other governor or king in Peru above him."²⁴⁹ While many of his followers pushed hard for Almagro to revolt, and even went so far as to take matters into their own hands on several occasions, the twenty year old mestizo was hardly weak. He had no shortage of admirers on either side of the conflict. The

²⁴⁶ Many Spaniards adopted the indigenous style of textile armor as it was more readily available and conducive to the region.

²⁴⁷ Rostworowski, *Dona Francisca Pizarro: Una Ilustre Mestiza*, 30.

²⁴⁸ Diego Almagro "el mozo" accompanied his father to Peru from Panama and was born around 1520.

²⁴⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:889.

Andean chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala suggests that his intentions were noble, as Almagro “did not rise against the Royal Crown with in interest in Indians or gold or silver or a desire to rule, but rather in order to avenge the death of his father. He died honorably as a Christian and a knight.”²⁵⁰ Almagro clearly wanted to avenge his father’s death, but this explanation alone is inadequate.

The sociopolitical environment in Peru would only grow more complex. The relative calm following the resolution of the strife between the Pizarristas and the Almagristas was short lived. The seeds that Almagro “el mozo” and Pizarro planted were beginning to grow in Peru. In 1542, the Spanish Crown, wary of the power the encomenderos were wielding, issued *Las Leyes Nuevas* (New Laws) in order to protect and assure the good treatment of the natives. The legislation would effectively put an end to the encomienda system and severely limit the power of the encomenderos in Peru. The protection and perseverance of the natives were undoubtedly at the center of the New Laws. The indigenous groups not only supplied the labor for the growing Spanish economy, but they also provided the moral justification for Spain’s presence in the Americas. Yet the Spanish Crown was equally hoping to avoid the emergence of an elite aristocracy in Peru, the likes of which had proved to be exhaustingly contentious and tiresome back in Spain.

The trend in the historiography has been to analyze the subsequent revolt within the context of the Peruvian civil wars, which on the surface is fitting. The encomenderos enthusiastically chose Francisco’s brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, to confront the newly arrived viceroy sent to enforce the New Laws and maintain the peace. In reality, the justification and rationale behind Gonzalo Pizarro’s revolt ties in better with the unrest that was to follow in Peru.

²⁵⁰ Guaman Poma. *First New Chronicle*, 415.

The rebellion was a manifestation of transculturation and the Crown's misunderstanding of a rapidly changing society in colonial Peru. Analyzed within the context of cultural mestizaje, the revolts of the Spanish encomenderos Gonzalo Pizarro, Sebastian de Castilla, and Francisco Hernández Girón take on new significance.

The most obvious point of contention for the encomenderos in regards to the New Laws was their loss of power. Being stripped of their allotment of Indians was not only an affront to their financial situation but also their social status, as possessing an encomienda grant within colonial society was an elevation of standing and a significant social distinction. Furthermore, losing the ability to pass on the encomienda from generation to generation diminished their service to the king and affected their potential legacy. Yet underlying these aspects was a growing sense of disparity. In other words, those *conquistadores, adelantados, y primeros pobladores* (conquerors, explorers of the frontiers, and early settlers) felt that they had a better understanding of the land and its diverse populations, and therefore knew better how to govern them.

The mestizo chronicler, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, despite being notoriously sympathetic to the natives, echoed these same sentiments. According to Garcilaso, both the indigenous groups and the Spanish were content since the Spanish had adopted a style of governing very similar to Inca rule before them. For the most part, the caciques (indigenous leaders) maintained their positions of authority within their kinship groups, and Inca nobility received the recognition deserving of their station. He is quick to note that those members of the Council of the Indies who were opposed to the New Laws were those individuals who had lived and even governed in the Indies. While he did admit that atrocities towards the natives did occur, he argued that most encomenderos treated their natives well, and that individual cases involving these

“conscienceless Spaniards” deserved harsh, individual punishments rather than dismantling a functional system.²⁵¹ While Garcilaso’s depiction paints an idealistic picture of the political climate before the New Laws, it is clearly indicative of a unique multicultural understanding of the colonial society that was developing in Peru.

It is important to note here that *mestizaje* was not only a second-generation phenomenon. The cultural environment in Peru required an almost continual interaction between the Spanish and indigenous groups on one level or another. Just as indigenous groups quickly adapted in order to function in Spanish culture, many Spaniards were able to acclimate and incorporate indigenous customs. Native labor requirements were not necessarily indicative of Spanish dominance but rather a continuation and adaptation of the Inca *mita*. It is in this same regard that *yanacona*, a Quechua word for a laborer who left his kinship network to become a servant to the Inca, became a generic term for native laborer in Spanish society. In addition, natives were involved in several aspects of Spanish daily life. Many *encomenderos* preferred to live with the indigenous groups under their jurisdiction, so much so that the Crown repeatedly had to pass legislation to stop the practice.²⁵² Natives would accompany the Spanish on expeditions, usually in much greater numbers. Many Indians lived with the Spanish and worked as personal servants. Garcilaso suggests that many relationships between the indigenous and the Spanish developed to the point to where they treated each other like family. Upon the death of one of Gonzalo Pizarro’s indigenous servants who had accompanied him on his ill-fated campaign in search of the “Land of Cinnamon” (País de la Canela), he reportedly wept, “as if it were the life of one of his brothers, and he said as such many times.”²⁵³

²⁵¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:931-939.

²⁵² "Respuesta del príncipe a la Audiencia de Lima," May 10, 1554, Lima,567,L.7,F.415R-422V, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²⁵³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:915.

Thus, when Gonzalo and the other encomenderos decided to revolt, individual rationales and justifications often contained transcultural elements and varied far beyond spite and greed. After the battle of Añaquito, where Gonzalo's victorious soldiers paraded around with the viceroy's decapitated head mounted on a pike, Francisco Carvajal encouraged Gonzalo to declare himself king of Peru, "for anyone who can become king through the strength of his arm should not remain a serf for lack of spirit."²⁵⁴ He continued to suggest that Gonzalo take an Inca princess as his bride, and restore the Inca state to its previous glory. As for the Spanish, he suggested granting titles of nobility and encomienda grants with a perpetual title, as to correct the error the Spanish Crown had made. The Inca would be so grateful for having their state restored that they would bestow all the gold and silver in Peru in gratitude, and all their subjects would remain loyal to their Inca queen. The Spanish would all have their titles and thus continue to serve him. All of this was not only justifiable, but also natural, since he and his brothers had conquered Peru themselves, and he would only be restoring to the Inca what was rightfully theirs originally. While Carvajal's plan was naïve, it is indicative of the transcultural consciousness that had developed within Peru. There was no Peru without the natives, and an alliance seemed like the perfect way to establish a new and independent kingdom. It is even more remarkable that it came from Carvajal, who was in his eighties at the time, and had served the Spanish Crown throughout Europe and the Americas for decades.

Carvajal was not alone in this sentiment. Pedro de Puelles also wrote a letter to Gonzalo Pizarro suggesting that he should crown himself king. Puelles similarly argued that the Indians knew neither the King nor the Pope, and it was only through his actions, and those of his brothers, that they discovered the Christian faith. It was Pizarro blood that spilled in Peru with

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 1071-1073.

no help from the King, and it was his natural and divine right to proclaim himself ruler over all the land he had conquered and won. Furthermore, Puelles argued that the King had only become interested in Peru after it was conquered, and he had sent his beloved governors to Peru to cause disturbances and undeservingly claim the royal taxes.²⁵⁵

In the end, Gonzalo Pizarro decided to remain loyal to the Crown in the hopes his actions could be forgiven. But as Carvajal had stated, “there is no hope for a royal pardon, nor any compromise, even though Your Lordship...proves himself more innocent than a suckling or babe.”²⁵⁶ The Crown sent a much less obstinate representative in Pedro de la Gasca, who arrived with pardons for those who put down their arms, together with a revocation of the New Laws. Gonzalo Pizarro’s army melted away to desertion, and the royalists soon captured and executed him, along with Carvajal.

The aftermath of the conflict between the Pizarristas and Almagristas did not just effect the Spanish. Manco Inca, since exhibiting overtures of an alliance with the younger Almagro, had been running his military campaign against the Spanish from his hideout in Vilcabamba. After the conflict, he decided to harbor some of the principal members of the rebellious army who had fought alongside “el mozo,” such as Diego Mendez and Gomez Perez. Manco Inca perceived of the newly arrived Blasco Nuñez Vela as a friend to the natives, given his goal of imposing the New Laws, and therefore encouraged the Spaniards to seek forgiveness. Unfortunately for both Diego Mendez’s cohort and the Inca, Gonzalo decided to rebel. The men decided to wait out the conflict in the company of Manco Inca.

²⁵⁵ Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara, "Quinquenarios o Historia de las guerras civiles del Peru," in *Cronicas del Peru*, vol. 166, *Biblioteca de autores Espanoles* (Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Atlas, 1963), 197-199.

²⁵⁶ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1072.

The Spaniards seemed to be enjoying the Inca's hospitality when a mestizo, dressed in rags, arrived from Cusco under the premise that he was fleeing the Spanish. Manco Inca replaced the rags with clothes of velvet, and the mestizo joined the others. He solicited information from Cusco to continue his revolt, and the mestizo obliged. While enjoying the Inca's company, the mestizo devised a plan in order to get back into the good graces of the Spanish Crown. He convinced his Spanish counterparts that they could all receive pardons and potentially rich rewards if they were to kill the rebellious Inca.²⁵⁷

The Andean chronicler, Guaman Poma de Ayala, identified Diego Mendez as the mestizo and suggested that the act was accidental. Mendez had been a frequent guest of Manco Inca, and most often arrived with news of the whereabouts of Spanish cattle left free to graze, which the natives would subsequently slaughter and consume themselves. One night, in the midst of heavy drinking and revelry, an argument ensued in which Mendez turned on and killed his friend Manco Inca. It is plausible that both stories have elements of truth, in that the mestizo had been a friend and served the Inca well, but also understood in the back of his mind the potential for gain that such access to the Inca provided him. Either way, the Spanish cohort fell on the Inca, and the royal guard killed the assassins in retaliation as they tried to flee. The episode would foreshadow the cultural duality of the creoles and mestizos that would soon come of age in Peru and help explain their reputation for duplicity that would develop among many Spaniards and natives.

In Lima, in order to buy back the loyalty of so many who had rebelled against the Crown, the president of the audiencia Pedro de la Gasca redistributed the encomiendas. At the same time, he redistributed the discontent. Many among those who had not received new allotments,

²⁵⁷ Juan de Betanzos. *Narrative of the Incas*, 289-296.

and even several among those who had, felt that the spoils had gone to too many Spaniards undeserving of such reward. It was widely known who had served Almagro or Pizarro, Gonzalo or the viceroy. Even worse were those who had continually changed allegiances, selling their loyalty to the highest bidder. Gasca returned to Spain in 1550 to a very satisfied king and lived out his final years in his bishopric. Yet the end of the civil wars in Peru and the buying back of loyalties through encomienda grants would not be the last of the unrest. As stated in the observation of a contemporary encomendero concerning the unworthy who had benefitted from these reallocations, “so much good bodes ill!”²⁵⁸

A few years later in 1553, two more rebellions occurred in La Plata and in Cusco. While Charles V had relaxed his stance on the encomiendas, he was not willing to bend on the forced labor of the natives and again prohibited their personal service.²⁵⁹ Sebastian de Castilla, along with a number of other disgruntled encomenderos, decided to rebel. After failing in his attempt to kill the *corregidor* (provincial official) in Cusco, he and his band fled to the Audiencia of Charcas and this time succeeded, killing the *corregidor* Pedro de Hinojosa. Hinojosa had been one of the fortunate ones whose new title and generous encomienda had purchased his wavering loyalty, though few felt as if he gained them deservedly. The rebellion was over just as it was beginning to spread. One of Castilla’s principal co-conspirators turned on him and killed him, as well as any others who could speak to his participation in the revolt. He then quickly relayed to the Spanish officials his feats of loyalty shouting, “Long live the King! The tyrant is dead, and I killed him!”²⁶⁰ His ploy initially worked, as the King was extremely grateful for his services, but

²⁵⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1232.

²⁵⁹ “Real Cédula al presidente y oidores de la Audiencia de Lima,” March 23 1549, Lima,566,L.6,F.104R-106R, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²⁶⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1299.

eventually his deceit came to light. The Crown's representatives executed him and sequestered his estate.²⁶¹

Spanish officials proved to be extremely weary of the unrest and attempted to eradicate it through sweeping punishments. Anyone who had the slightest connection to the conspirators, regardless of their innocence, fell victim to Spanish retribution. As "the branches had been cut in Potosi, but the roots remained to be pulled up in Cusco," one dissident with loose ties to the rebels decided he should act before he met the same fate. Francisco Hernández Girón gathered his army and began an open rebellion.²⁶²

Hernández Girón's rebellion proved to be a much larger threat. Due to several tactical mistakes by the Royal forces, the rebellion enjoyed early military success, thus fostering its legitimacy. Men would change sides repeatedly, even as the battles were occurring, and loyalty was questionable on both sides of the conflict. After the insurrection that started in Cusco spread to Arequipa and Quito, the Spanish officials decided that they should accompany the army themselves and set off in pursuit of Hernández Girón and his rebels. At the battle of Pucara, the rebel commander finally made a mistake by overestimating the strength of his position, and most of his army deserted the cause once the prospect of defeat became imminent. Many prominent leaders in the rebel camp defected to the royalists with the promise of a full pardon, but most were still holding these pardons in their hands as royal officials garroted them. Hernández Girón managed to escape the battle, but with the help of a group of natives who referred to the rebel as

²⁶¹ For the King's gratitude see "Agradecimiento del príncipe al capitán Vasco Godínez" May 10, 1554, Lima, 567, L. 7, F. 426V, For the confiscation of his estate see "El fiscal con los herederos de Vasco Godínez, difunto, sobre secuestro de sus bienes como cómplice en las alteraciones del Perú." 1562, Justicia, 1082, No. 1, ramo 1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²⁶² Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1318-1321.

an *auca* (Quechua word *awqa* for enemy or savage), Spanish officials were able to capture and execute him.²⁶³

It is easy to dismiss these revolts merely as the actions of conquistadors who desired nothing more than to enslave the natives. Viewed through the traditional lens of conquest, the motivations of the encomenderos are straightforward, and the prohibition of native labor was undoubtedly a catalyst that helped spark the rebellions. Nevertheless, colonial society was much more complicated, and these revolts were indicative of the transculturation that was developing in Peru. A broader and more complete understanding emerges by reanalyzing the rebellions through the lens of cultural mestizaje.

The most telling aspect involving transculturation is the amount of indigenous participation that occurred on both sides of the rebellion. Natives chose sides based on their own perceptions of the risks and rewards of the outcomes, and their involvement did not always align with the Spanish politics within the conflict. For example, it would stand to reason that a struggle involving the personal service of the natives would immediately ally them with the Royalist cause. However, even after the betrayal of Sebastian de Castilla, the indigenous groups in the Audiencia of Charcas continually harbored the rebels within their communities, which made it increasingly difficult for the Spanish officials to bring them to justice. The fact that the natives took them in, as well as the fact that the rebels were comfortable living among them for such a long period suggests that certain kinship networks had existed before the rebellion. Castilla's first act after killing the *corregidor* was to raise an "Indian flag" over the town square.²⁶⁴ The rebellious in Peru often coopted such indigenous symbols and other entities

²⁶³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II: 1405-1412.

²⁶⁴ Diego Fernandez, "Historia del Perú," in *Crónicas del Perú*, vol. 165, *Biblioteca de autores Españoles* (Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Atlas, 1963), 312.

specifically native to Peru in order to represent their separation from Spain, and these symbols reappear in subsequent revolts.

Many of the native groups who chose to side with the Royal Army served as “carrier Indians” and merely supplied labor. Garcilaso describes an incident during Hernández Girón’s rebellion in which a large number of natives had the difficult task of hauling heavy cannons up treacherous terrain in order to facilitate the movement of Royalist troops. The fact that the encomenderos then released them from their service (or that the natives escaped upon the encouragement of the encomenderos, depending on the source) suggests that the Indians were ironically working to fulfil their tribute demands through personal service, and not necessarily acting collectively in the interests of the Crown. Other indigenous groups were content to abstain and attack both sides when the opportunity presented itself and the Spanish appeared weak.

Natives were by far the largest disseminators of information. Reports suggested that a native messenger, even over bad roads, could deliver information between Lima and Cusco in three days. The Spanish, using horses, required just under two weeks.²⁶⁵ As the natives travelled with the armies, worked or lived in the houses of Spaniards, and maintained broad kinship networks, they were often well informed of the events going on around them. The indigenous servants to the *corregidor* Pedro de Hinojosa warned him before he left for La Plata that he was in danger of assassination at the hands of Castilla, and he was greeted by the natives bearing the same news upon his arrival, which he subsequently ignored. Natives fighting alongside the Spanish armies during the civil wars and the revolts often revealed plans of attack, thwarting the

²⁶⁵ John Howland Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1846), 2:231-232, <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/ANTH/emeritus/rowe/pub/rowe.pdf>.

intended element of surprise. Indigenous messengers were so common that one Spaniard received the advise that he should dress like a native in order to easily pass between enemy lines.

Indigenous cosmology appeared to influence the mindset of the troops as well. While Hernández Girón preferred his own fortunetellers and dismissed native divination as child's play, others in his army wondered why he did not consult the natives, who were "great masters of these diabolical arts."²⁶⁶ The chroniclers continually bring up events that the natives interpreted as omens or bad signs, which indicates that it may have affected the morale of the Spanish soldiers as well. Sometimes the natives would withdraw due to an interpretation of a certain sign, which clearly caused problems for the armies involved. Even in pre-Colombian Peru, the indigenous groups often interpreted military success as approval from the gods and thus an affirmation of legitimacy. In similar fashion, Spanish soldiers were quick to change sides after a victory in the hopes that they did not end up on the wrong side of history. Taken together, it helps explain how both the Spanish and native groups continually justified their shifting loyalties.

The prohibition of the personal service of the Indians as the chief motivator for the unrest quickly falls apart upon an analysis of those involved. Don Sebastián de Castilla was "rather cut out for a court gallant than for a general of a rebellion."²⁶⁷ He was the son of a count in Spain and a relative of Balthasar de Castilla, a prominent citizen of Cusco. Yet, like Francisco Pizarro, he was most likely illegitimate, and similarly, his reach may have exceeded his grasp. With his young age, he might have been easily enticed to lead the rebellion. Regardless of his intentions, there is little to suggest that native labor was at the core, and even Pedro de Hinojosa, the *corregidor* he killed, was originally to lead the very rebellion that caused his demise until his

²⁶⁶ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1384.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 1281.

new title secured his loyalty. Even Castilla's turncoat co-conspirator, Vasco Godínez, seemed more focused on receiving royalties from the Crown than bringing about the reinstatement of the personal service of the natives.

Francisco Hernández Girón, while portrayed as the most outraged of the encomenderos at the prohibition of native servitude, proves to be the most complex. During Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, he chose to serve alongside the viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela, who was the first to bring the New Laws to Peru and had every intention to see their enforcement through. It was only when Gonzalo Pizarro spared his life that he changed his loyalty. Furthermore, he had shown signs of restlessness and a desire to rebel before the Crown reinstated their laws. Pedro de la Gasca had recognized this and awarded him the opportunity to explore and conquer the resistant indigenous groups populating the lands outside of Potosí, mainly in the hopes that he would expend his energy on combating belligerent natives rather than against fellow Spaniards. However, Hernández Girón chose to linger around Cusco with his army, much to the vexation of the city. Many feared a rebellion was in the works, and the restless soldiers caused countless problems for city officials. A revolt was probably only avoided by the implementation of a strong *corregidor* in the area.

Even after he did decide to revolt, Hernández Girón did not follow conventional Spanish norms. He established a division within his army of black troops, and allowed them to select their own leadership and chain of command within their army. The creation of the black army caused many slaves and freed blacks in the royal contingency to join his cause.²⁶⁸ While slaves were very much a part of any military campaign, they generally did not fight alongside Spaniards, much less with their own command.²⁶⁹ Many natives fought with Hernández Girón's

²⁶⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1356-1357.

²⁶⁹ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 194.

army, and the fact that Guaman Poma describes them as *yanaconas* (independent native laborers) is significant as it suggests they may have been there voluntarily and not in the form of service. They fought in conjunction with numerous mestizos who also filled the ranks. The mestizos were already developing a reputation as being particularly skillful arquebusiers, though they were likely from other parts of the Spanish empire. The mestizos, creoles, and lower-class Spaniards joined the class of *soldados* (soldiers) that made up the bulk of the rebel army.

This group of *soldados* needs reevaluation. James Lockhart was among the first scholars to demonstrate that the term “soldiers” was a misnomer.²⁷⁰ Rather than professional soldiers, the group was more of a transient population. Garcilaso repeatedly points out the difference between the *vecinos*, or citizens of a city who hold an allotment of Indians, and the *soldados*. The obvious distinction is economic, in that the *vecinos* would have access to more resources and would carry more influence and prestige within society. Culturally, it goes beyond socioeconomic distinctions. Lockhart suggests that the *soldados* were more adept at fighting the natives, as many of their expeditions were on the frontiers. Most of the *soldados* had become acculturated to the Americas. The economic distinction does not suffice, as other *vecinos* did not immediately equate the many prestigious encomenderos who lost their allotment of Indians in the civil wars with the plebian *soldados*. Garcilaso stresses that despite being a *vecino*, Hernández Girón only desired to associate with his *soldados*. He seemed completely disinterested in the social norms of the encomendero class and avoided the interaction with the elite members of society that other *vecinos* coveted. The chronicler is also very detailed in his description of the co-conspirators of Hernández Girón’s rebel army, suggesting that very few *vecinos* filled their ranks, and even fewer of those *vecinos* who did were prominent citizens.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 155-158.

Thus, the distinction that Garcilaso is making is cultural and goes beyond the demonstration of Hernandez Girón's rebellious nature.

The *soldados* were opportunists, and it is likely that many transient creoles and mestizos from other parts of the Spanish Empire had joined their cause. The idleness, restlessness, and vagabond nature frequently used to describe the *soldados* would be very similar to the language the Spanish officials later used to describe the mestizos and creoles of ensuing generations. Culturally, the *soldados* were men of the Americas. At the battle of Añaquito, Blasco Nuñez Vela hoped to disguise himself as a common soldier, so he donned the "shirt of an Indian." His desire to be inconspicuous was successful, although since he was not recognized, it served to hasten his death on the battlefield.²⁷¹ The fact that wearing indigenous attire was commonplace among the *soldados* signifies the cultural duality developing within their ranks. This increasing duality also suggests how they were able to seek refuge within indigenous communities with such ease. Garcilaso's suggestion that Girón and the other rebellious encomenderos identified more with the *soldados* than with other vecinos within their communities is indicative of their emerging transcultural identity and dissatisfaction with Spanish governorship and legislation that they felt could not possibly understand the local culture.

The names given to the conflicting armies is further evidence of Hernandez Girón and his conspirators' growing dissatisfaction of the Spanish governors and their inability to understand the changing culture. The rebels referred to their army as "the Army of Liberty" and to the royalist forces as "the Army of Judges".²⁷² The term liberty did not have the same connotation it would carry later on in the wars fought for independence. Rather, the name was revealing of the

²⁷¹ Gutierrez de Santa Clara suggests he was dressed as one of his soldiers, and Garcilaso de la Vega states he was wearing an Indian shirt.

²⁷² Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1337.

desire for local rule similar to the previous method described by Garcilaso de la Vega, in which customs employed under Inca rule became Spanish practice to the mutual benefit of both natives and Spaniards. Personal service was not just about indigenous subservience. It had been a common practice before the Spanish had arrived in Peru, and the ability to control the labor was as much a native concept of power and prestige as a Spanish one.²⁷³ Hernandez Girón argued that the opposing army was not a royalist force, as he would never raise his hand against the Spanish Crown, but rather an army of local Spanish officials who were covetous, corrupt, and driven by ambition. While seemingly contradictory, Hernandez Girón did not direct his revolt towards the King, but rather the local magistrates in the viceroyalty. Indigenous groups would echo a similar sentiment in later appeals to the king. The belief was that local governors and *corregidores* corrupted the benevolent intentions of the Crown.

This growing unrest was not just spreading among those who chose to rebel but was even present among many who remained loyal to the Crown. The infamous Lope de Aguirre, who decided to rebel several years later, received a leg wound from an arquebus shot defending the Crown against the uprising of Hernandez Girón that left him lame in one leg. In 1561, he addressed a letter to the Crown explaining that, despite twenty-four years of service to the king in Peru that the governors and judges had “usurped” the fame owed him and his fellow conquistadors. He warned the king:

Look here, King of Spain! Do not be cruel and ungrateful to your vassals, because while your father and you stayed in Spain without the slightest bother, your vassals, at the price of their blood and fortune, have given you all the kingdoms and holding you have in these parts. Beware, King and lord, that you cannot take, under the title

²⁷³ Within Inca custom, the ability to establish large kinship networks through marriage also allowed for a larger potential labor pool. Polygamy was practiced mainly among the nobility and thus control over large amounts of labor was equivalent to one’s social status.

of legitimate king, any benefit from this land where you risked nothing, without first giving due gratification to those who have labored and sweated in it.²⁷⁴

He goes on to suggest that the administrators newly arriving from Spain do nothing but serve their own interests, much to the detriment of the conquistadors and the indigenous groups alike. He argues that they live more simply and holy in the Americas, and that European concerns, such as the influence of Protestantism, do not effect them in Peru. Aguirre equally speaks poorly of the clergy sent from Spain, suggesting that they only seek to grow rich and do little to convert the natives. It is significant that he stresses the fact that those who conquered the land only seek rewards in Peru and are not asking for royal concessions in Spain. Remaining loyal to the Crown was not necessarily indicative of an undying allegiance to Spain, but rather a bet hedged on a prediction of which side would prevail and offer the most spoils.

Unrest was not isolated within the Spanish sphere, and mestizaje equally affected the native populations as well. In the 1550s and into the 1560s, a movement was gaining momentum among the indigenous populace. The effects of demographic decline, coupled with a growing mestizo population, were placing pressure on the natives. This demographic shift stressed customary native kinship networks as well as traditional ways of life. The strain brought about a religious movement, known as Taqui Onqoy, which had significant consequences. Taqui Onqoy, loosely translated as disease of the dance, was a spiritual movement in which the *huacas* (spirits that traditionally inhabited physical entities) grew angry that so many natives had submitted to a Christian baptism and had ignored them. The movement gained momentum as it promised a

²⁷⁴ “Copia de carta que el tirano Lope de Aguirre entregó al Padre Contreras,” 1561, GE-C, Archivo Arzobispal de Quito, Quito, Ecuador, Tom Holloway, trans., "Letter from Lope de Aguirre to King Philip II of Spain, 1561," Modern History Sourcebook, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu>.

death to Spanish hegemony, destroying them all in a flood, and a return to the indigenous way of life.²⁷⁵

Ironically, the Catholic religion created the possibility of Taqui Onqoy as cultural mestizaje directly affected indigenous cosmology. *Huacas* had traditionally been physical objects or geographic locations considered sacred. The destruction of much of the physical past, the pillaging of ancestral tombs, and the destruction of items the Spanish deemed idolatrous made the resurgence of such spirits nearly impossible. Christianity, with the concept of the spirit or soul being internal, made the notion of the *huaca* inhabiting the body more conventional. As Thomas Abercrombie phrased it, the Christians “had provided the Andeans with a solution to their spiritual crisis.”²⁷⁶ At its core, the movement’s appeal was a destruction of the Spanish and a reestablishment of the native way of life. However, two or three decades after contact, mestizaje had already changed Peru, and it was impossible to forget that which European influence ingrained into the new social consciousness. This ambiguity manifested itself when the mindset behind the Taqui Onqoy movement provided the rationale for an attempted indigenous revolt.

Scholars have generally described the Taqui Onqoy movement as an important emotional and psychological movement that spread through the indigenous kinship networks, but was cathartic in nature and lacked the serious spark that would ignite in violence.²⁷⁷ Yet Taqui Onqoy played a much more significant role among the indigenous in Peru, and its influence can be traced to several rebellions involving a variety of ethnic groups. While mestizaje provided the philosophical solution that allowed Taqui Onqoy to spread, it also obscured its practical

²⁷⁵ Cristobal de Molina, *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, ed. Brian S. Bauer, Vania Smith-Oka, and Gabriel E. Cantarutti (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 84-90.

²⁷⁶ Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power*, 220.

²⁷⁷ Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 187.

application. The first generations of mestizos and creoles were coming of age, and their cultural duality clouded the distinct line between the indigenous and the Spanish.

On one hand, as the natives began planning a large rebellion in 1565, their goal was to “kill every Spaniard they saw, then set free all the mestizos and slaves.” Yet they continued, “Once we have killed all the Spaniards, then we will kill the mestizos and slaves, and anyone else with a Christian name.” The specific reference to Christian names seems tied to the Taki Onqoy movement. Yet they were not totally against mestizaje in general though, as they were going to spare the mestiza women for the principal *caciques*.²⁷⁸ Unfortunately for the conspirators, the massive number of pikes constructed drew the attention of other native groups, who unwittingly relayed the information to the Spanish officials, and the potential revolt was quelled.

Without knowledge of the depth of the intended revolt, it seemed to Spanish officials that their hegemony in Peru was more secure. Inca power at Vilcabamba seemingly weakened, the encomenderos were placated, and Lima was beginning to live up to its title as the “Most Noble and Very Loyal City of Kings”. However, in addition to the native unrest, the decade also saw the first generations of creoles and mestizos come of age. These generations were the first born in Peru, and they had spent their youth watching their fathers wage war on each other for their rightful share of the Peruvian spoils. They had established kinship networks within the spheres of Spanish and indigenous influence, and had grown up in a multiethnic society with a very different worldview than that of their Spanish or indigenous parents. By this time, the indigenous groups also had years of experience within the colonial Spanish regime, and possessed an understanding of the Spanish that the previous generations did not. In essence, they

²⁷⁸ Jerry Mogrovejo Rosales, "La fracasada rebelion de 1565," *Boletin de Lima*, no. 52 (July 1987): 16.

were the products of Peru, as they had no knowledge of Spain or of any indigenous society without Spanish influence. They lived and had grown to adulthood in the reality that existed, and possessed a cultural duality and understanding that was both advantageous and potentially threatening to the tenuously new Hispanic hegemony.

There existed communally between the creoles, mestizos, and indigenous groups a transcultural consciousness more innate and developed than with the previous generations as many received the same education, lived in the same households, or were connected through familial bonds. A mestizo might live in a Spanish household with creole siblings and an indigenous mother with local ties to the indigenous communities. A rare few might possess a conquistador father and Inca princess for a mother, giving them extremely powerful ties in both spheres.

It is within the context of this transcultural consciousness that creoles need serious historical reevaluation. Scholars have traditionally presumed that creoles were inherently Spanish, since both parents came from Spain. The assumption is primarily due to creole activity during the late colonial period. Only when the Bourbon reforms alienated the creoles did they supposedly begin to break away from the Spanish and form alliances with the other ethnic groups. This theory fails to take into account how colonial society functioned in the years after the Spanish arrived. The creoles could hardly have existed without close contact with the mestizos and the natives. If they came from wealthy Spanish households, then they interacted daily with a large contingency of native laborers, and were likely nursed by indigenous women. If they were less fortunate, they interacted with the natives on the fringes of cities or traded with them in the markets. Many creoles spoke native dialects fluently.

It is also important to understand how the Spanish applied the term creole. Scholars have learned to become skeptical of terms in other ethnic categories, pointing to the fluidity of their use. The positive aspects of Hispanicity associated with the term creole seem to lend the term more authenticity in the documents. Yet the term is used in equally fluid ways depending on the context. In an official visit to Potosi in the 1580s, a Spanish official discusses the affairs of several prominent creoles, then upon describing their parentage lists a few of the mothers as mestizas.²⁷⁹ While in all likelihood the men described could have easily passed as creoles in their daily lives, it is important to note the potential disparities of the term. The familial kinship ties and potential loyalties are easily different with a mestiza mother in Potosí than when compared to the offspring of two *peninsulares* in Lima. The term could also have a metaphorical effect, as some officials were described as creole due to their preference for local affairs and ties with the community over their Spanish counterparts.

The creole, as well as mestizo, perceptions of Spanish Peru also need to be taken into account. Many of their fathers' loyalty changed during the civil strife. The line between rebel and loyalist was easily blurred, and the difference most often depended on who won the conflict. Many who remained loyal felt bitter about their rewards and felt that the Crown owed them more for their service. Either way, the lesson could be clear to a young creole coming of age. If the father's potentially disloyal actions were successful, they gleaned the reward for taking personal risks for personal gain. If they were unsuccessful and died in battle, or if the Crown punished them, then they could potentially desire to avenge their fathers and take up their cause. Furthermore, as more and more Spanish came over to Peru with the arrival of each ship, the creoles and mestizos were often resentful of having to defer to *peninsulares* fresh off the boat

²⁷⁹ "Relación hecho al Exmo. Sr. Dn. Juan de Mendoza y Luna," 1613, LML C4, no.3. Archivo de la Ciudad de La Paz, La Paz, Bolivia.

from Spain, without the vast knowledge and skillsets that they possessed from their experience of living in the unique society. While the loyalties of individual creoles, mestizos, or natives depended on a variety of factors, common experiences existed that helped to bond them together.

This emerging society was not lost on Spanish officials. In a letter to the Council of the Indies in 1567, Lope de Castro lamented that “the people of this land are different than what was before because the Spanish that have to [live] here, the majority of them are old or have died and their children have succeeded them in their repartimientos and they have left many other children to which this land is full of creoles which were born here and full of mestizos and mulattos and as such they have never known the king nor do they hope to know him.” He continues to discuss the fact that both the creoles and the mestizos feel that their fathers died for the advancement of the Crown, yet they are forced to walk the streets, “lost” and “starving” of hunger.²⁸⁰

Therefore, in the Americas the creoles, mestizos, and the indigenous populations were all “American” groups with a potentially common transcultural consciousness, and the *peninsulares* were easily the minority. *Peninsulares* knew the reality of the threat of losing their overseas colonies to a growing “American” contingency, even in the early years. In this environment, the creoles and mestizos who lived within Hispanic society formed a fifth column that challenged Spanish hegemony. That is not to say that creoles and mestizos intentionally joined together to incite revolution. However, together they formed a “swing” population; if they united, even more so if they could incorporate the natives, they would be too powerful for the Spanish to control. The potential threat of this fifth column manifested itself in a series of plots, revolts, or conspiracies that occurred in Peru during the second half of the sixteenth century. The civil

²⁸⁰ Levillier, *Gobernantes de Peru*, p. xi.

unrest warned the Spanish that they would need to do something to establish their dominance in the Americas.

In 1567 in Cuzco, the mestizos found themselves accused of another conspiracy and rebellion, although the participants came from diverse backgrounds. Lope Garcia de Castro, a Spanish official and interim Viceroy of Peru, was growing concerned about the power amassed by a creole family in Cuzco. Two creole sons of an *encomendero*, the Maldonado brothers, Arias and Cristobal, had consolidated great wealth and power through their connections with local networks. These networks included formidable Spaniards in the Audiencia in Lima, local mestizos in the city of Cuzco, and members of the Inca nobility. They were each heirs to valuable *encomiendas*, including one that had belonged to Pizarro himself.

These creole brothers were ambitious, and through their connections they had the ability potentially to eclipse the Viceroy in local prominence. Such opportunity presented itself when an Inca princess and her mother decided to stay in a local mestizo convent in Cuzco. The elder Arias Maldonado had been having an affair with the princess's mother, who bore him two mestizo children of his own. Arias considered the timing perfect to consolidate power. The Inca princess, the daughter of Sayri Topa, was heir to an enormous *encomienda*, worth ten to twelve thousand pesos in income. Therefore, Arias utilized his connections and removed the mother and daughter from the convent to live with him and his brother. Arias convinced Cristobal to marry the young princess and even encouraged him to consummate the relationship, despite the fact that the daughter was only around nine or ten years of age at the time. As a result of this alliance, the younger brother now possessed a massive fortune as well as kinship ties within the Inca nobility. The Viceroy now deeply feared that "if he gets the *encomienda* that the girl has, his brother already in possession of the *encomienda* of Pizarro, that they will be so powerful that

nobody will be able to lay a hand on them in Cuzco.” Unwilling to compete for such power, the Viceroy immediately attempted to annul the marriage and accused Cristobal Maldonado of kidnapping and raping the young princess. Eventually, he would imprison both brothers for conspiracy against the crown. Beyond their attempted alliance with Inca royalty, the brothers were the instigators of a much larger revolt brewing in Peru, the “mestizo revolt” of 1567. The incident became renowned as a mestizo revolt, yet as clearly indicated in the involvement of the Maldonado brothers, it had indigenous, mestizo, and creole roots.²⁸¹

As evident in the indigenous rebellion a couple years prior, discontent was spreading among those “*nacidos en esta tierra*” (born in this land). Several mestizos, tired of their lot in Cuzco, approached Titu Cusi in Vilcabamba and pleaded with him to allow them to serve him in his army. They expressed their willingness to fight along with the natives and die if necessary against the Spanish bureaucracy that had ignored their pleas despite their father’s deeds. In Cusco and Lima, the plot tied to the Maldonado brothers was more specific. A group of mestizos was to kill the local Spanish official, while another group of mestizos who had travelled to Lima was to fall upon the Viceroy himself. The perpetrators had powerful ties, as the plot included the Spanish *aguacil mayor* (elected official, similar to a sheriff) of Lima, the Melchor de Brizuela, who had held the position for over ten years and had earned the confidence of his peers.²⁸² Brizuela and the Maldonado brothers hoped to find allies among the poor Spaniards, creoles, mestizos and natives of Peru.²⁸³ Chief among them from the very beginning was a very prominent mestizo and cousin to the Maldonado brothers, Juan Arias Maldonado. As mentioned

²⁸¹ Ibid., 228.

²⁸² “Recomendación de Melchor de Brizuela al virrey,” December 14, 1551, Lima, 567,L.7,F.76R, and “Voz y voto para Melchor de Brizuela, alguacil mayor,” August 15, 1555, Lima,567,L.8,F.80V, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²⁸³ Hector Lopez Martinez, *Rebeliones de Mestizos y Otros Temas Quinientistas* (Lima, Peru: Talleres Graficos P.L. Villanueva S.A., 1972), 30.

previously, Juan Arias Maldonado was the mestizo son of Diego de Maldonado, who had the moniker “the rich”. He had recognized his son and provided him with a sizeable income. Juan Arias Maldonado hardly fell into the category of those mestizos who benefitted nothing from their fathers’ labors. He took a great risk of losing his fortune, if not his life. As the legitimate son of Diego de Maldonado, he stood to gain 30,000 pesos in income from his father’s wealthy encomienda.²⁸⁴ Joining him were several other prominent creoles, mestizos, and natives, such as the son of prominent men of Peru, including Pedro del Barco, who was hanged during the civil wars, as well as Carlos Inca, a prominent Inca noble from Vilcabamba.²⁸⁵

The goal was to kill as many prominent citizens and inhabitants in Cusco and wherever else possible, spread the rebellion to Lima, and assassinate the president of the audiencia, Lope de Castro.²⁸⁶ After the rebellion, they were to uproot all of the coca plants so that the natives could no longer be forced to pay tribute in the encomiendas.²⁸⁷ The mestizos, waiting in anticipation, rallied themselves with the cries of “one mestizo is better than all the Spaniards in Peru.” Unbeknownst to them, their co-conspirator, Juan Nieto, had turned on them. Fortunately for Lope de Garcia de Castro, the plot had been revealed to him shortly before it was to unfold. He quickly rounded up any mestizo in Cusco of fighting age, imprisoned them, and commenced in torturing them in the hopes that they would reveal all the conspirators involved. Officials spared Juan Arias Maldonado only after the pleading of his father, a man whose wealth and status as one of the early conquistadors granted him the influence to save the life of his son. Juan Arias Maldonado was banished to Spain, and spent the rest of his days there longing to return to

²⁸⁴ Jose Antonio Del Busto Duthurburu, "Maldonado: El Rico Senor de los Andahuayals," *Revista Historica* 26 (1962-1963): 13.

²⁸⁵ Martinez, “Rebeliones de Mestizos,” 31.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

his homeland in Peru.²⁸⁸ While the senior Maldonado had a great deal of political clout having been an early conquistador who had also amassed a great deal of wealth, it is equally likely that Castro relented because he placed the lion's share of the blame on the creoles rather than the mestizos. He also seized upon the opportunity to dispose of several of his powerful political rivals.

Determining whether the ultimate responsibility for the rebellion came from above or below is difficult to determine. In other words, whether the powerful creole brothers were the instigators of the rebellion, or whether they were in tune enough with the changing currents of society to take advantage of the social discontent to make a play at power is unclear. It is likely that the intended indigenous rebellion of 1565 influenced its origin, if the two were not directly connected. The ambiguous nature of mestizos in regard to Taqui Onqoy likely allowed for some division among the natives, and many mestizos undoubtedly knew of the upcoming indigenous desire to revolt. It is also entirely possible that the Maldonado brothers, in response to the challenge brought forth by the viceroy, did consider themselves powerful enough to use their connections to incite a rebellion. The mestizos always proved restive and willing to assist those rebelling against Spanish authority, a concept that would become apparent again in subsequent political strife. Either way, the viceroy needed an excuse to ruin his political adversaries and used the creole brothers' powerful connections against them.

Ultimately, the actual instigators of the revolt are irrelevant; the importance of the "Mestizo Revolt" of 1567 lies in its demonstration of a potential creole-mestizo-indigenous alliance, and the subsequent Spanish fears this possibility caused. The Maldonado brothers, existing within a transcultural society, were quick to utilize a variety of political connections at

²⁸⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1476.

their disposal. All groups proved equally important in consolidating power in Cuzco, and there was little reservation about creating social ties and kinship networks within each. Furthermore, even if the mestizo threat had never truly materialized, the viceroy's colleagues never questioned its potential, suggesting that the Spanish fears and mistrust existed and Lope de Castro was wise to play on them. The situation further demonstrates the power that the creoles and the mestizos prospectively had within colonial society in Peru.

The creole, mestizo, and indigenous connection would manifest itself again on the peripheries of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Echoing the sentiments of Lope de Garcia Castro a decade before, a Spanish official complained of imminent threat within the frontier areas of the Audiencia de Charcas. The Spanish had been waging a continual war against the Chiriguanos in the area and had been unable to subdue them. Those who lived in the area had to suffer frequent attacks, so much so that the town of Santa Cruz would have to be moved to help lessen the frequency. In order to protect themselves from the constant threat, there were large numbers of *arcabuceros* (arquebusiers) and soldiers. The problem was that a large number of these battle-hardened veterans were mestizos and creoles, whose loyalty had been wavering. Furthermore, their relations with the indigenous groups varied. The active missionaries in the area had Christianized some ethnic groups within the Chiriguanos. Even among the more bellicose indigenous groups, some of the Spanish settlers had developed relationships through trade and other endeavors.

In the frontier town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Nufrio de Chaves, the original governor and founder of the town, had died. While waiting for the viceroy to provide a replacement, the locals elected Diego de Mendoza as their interim governor, and the Spanish officials approved the appointment. When the viceroy quickly changed his mind and sent a replacement,

particularly one whose interests centered on creating war with the Chiriguanos, the locals revolted. Furious and personally determined to put down the rebellion, the viceroy had hoped to accompany his army to Santa Cruz, but the Chiriguanos had turned them back, possibly intentionally in support of the rebellion. Mendoza counted a vast majority of mestizos within the group of *soldados* in Santa Cruz among his allies. With the creole and mestizo assistance, including 80 arquebusiers, Diego de Mendoza was also able to rally indigenous support, with estimates of up to 1500 archers.²⁸⁹

Since the viceroy lacked the ability to put down the rebellion, he turned to deception. The Spanish officials promised Mendoza a full pardon as well as the ability to remain governor if he came to discuss the issue with them in Potosí. Upon his arrival, he was immediately taken into custody and decapitated. The significance of Diego de Mendoza's rebellion was his ties to the local populations. Isabelle Combés suggests that while Spanish officials in Lima desired to utilize Santa Cruz in order to combat the natives, Mendoza, along with the local populations with mestizos and creoles filling their ranks, had interests in the potential mines that were rumored to be in the area.²⁹⁰ Regardless, the rebellion diminished with the death of Mendoza. To placate the others in rebellion in Santa Cruz, the officials offered full pardons. A new governor arrived, and on the surface things seemed to calm down in Santa Cruz.

In 1587, upon the absence of the Spanish governor, a new rebellion erupted, caused by a local creole. The creole was a priest, Fray Alonso de Mendoza, and also the son of the former governor of the area, Diego de Mendoza. Reaching around twenty years of age, Alonso decided to incite a rebellion of his own, the opportunity finally presenting itself considering he was

²⁸⁹ Isabelle Combes, "Saypuru: El misterio de la mina oculta, del Inca chiriguano, el dios mestizo," *Revista Andina*, no. 48 (2009): 213-215.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 214.

already facing disciplinary action due to his scaling of the walls of a monastery in order to rob it. Under the cover of darkness, he left the Augustinian monastery where he was practicing and exchanged his religious habit for the habit and weapons of a soldier.²⁹¹ Crying out for the vengeance of his father, Alonso decided to start the uprising on St. Francis Day.

He found his first allies in his local kinship networks, fellow creole and mestizo relatives of the deceased governor. The second group that sided with the young priest were the family members of the original governor and founder of the town, Nufrio de Chavez. Again, the local contingency of mestizos and creoles both related through kinship networks or just through communal ties quickly came aboard. The Spanish officials described them as *soldados*, probably many among them either the same arquebusiers who had rebelled some fifteen years before, or their offspring. They also found allies among the local creoles and mestizos who had petitioned the viceroy to allow them to leave Santa Cruz and populate an area outside of Spanish jurisdiction currently inhabited by natives, possibly still interested in finding lucrative mines desired by Diego de Mendoza years before.

Unfortunately for Mendoza, his campaign for vengeance fell short. Certain citizens, concerned about the upcoming riots and perhaps political rivals of the mixed contingency, leaked the plans for the upcoming revolt. As was often the case, there were men among the conspirators who felt there was more advancement to be gained by remaining loyal to the Spanish. Either way, the conspiracy ended as quickly as it started. Authorities rounded up several of the conspirators, and only the intervention of some Jesuit priests on their behalf along with the

²⁹¹ “Sobre la rebelión de Alonso Mendoza” December 14, 1587 Cach 64, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.

surprise at the discovery of the vast number of potential collaborators, both prominent creoles as well as mestizos, spared them a garroting.²⁹²

While on the surface the cause of these revolts seems self-explanatory, there were deeper issues at play. The settlers who came and inhabited the dangerous frontier in the far reaches of the Peruvian Viceroyalty considered themselves *adelantados*, and as such warranted more rewards for their risks. They also began to establish kinship ties in order to function at a local level. The actions they took often were for their own advancement, or advancement within the community. The fact that so many among the kin of the first Governor in Santa Cruz, who had died almost two decades before the rebellion, were willing to conspire against the Crown with those associated with his replacement, indicates the strong sense of communal ties and connections that existed along the local level.

The viceroy intended to utilize Santa Cruz as a buffer colony to help deflect the belligerent Chiriguanos and keep them away from the lucrative town of Potosí. This policy was contrary to the desires of many of the local Cruceños (people from Santa Cruz) who often undermined royal policies to serve their own interests. The creoles and the mestizos were able to connect with the local indigenous populations, and even encouraged the Chiriguanos to continue their warlike ways. The mestizos were directly involved in the indigenous slave trade that was occurring in the area and created a market that could only be supplied through continual conflict.²⁹³

While some locals in the area, especially the mestizos, were able to establish ties with the Chiriguanos, the Crown was clearly at war with the belligerent natives. While the Spanish

²⁹² “Conspiración de los mestizos de Santa Cruz de la Sierra,” 1587, Patronato, 191, R.8, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

²⁹³ “Enslavement of Chiriguanos; their removal to Lima or Trujillo” MG 35d. Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

officials in Lima continually threatened to castigate the unruly natives, the local population along the eastern frontier bore the brunt of the attacks. Inhabitants resented the fact that they paid “sufficient tribute, import taxes, and royal fifths” to the king in order that he may provide them with the defense. By expecting the local population to deal with the Chiriguanos on their own, the Crown was not living up to its end of the bargain.²⁹⁴ If the king was not going to provide for the people of Santa Cruz, then they should no longer be expected to pay tribute.

As the Crown was sending missionaries in the area who were having some success among certain groups of Chiriguanos, the natives were quick to attack any group that converted. Their warlike ways also could be beneficial to the locals when needed. The conflicting local and central policies created a unique environment in which kinship networks among the groups were vital. Spaniards, creoles, mestizos, missionaries, and miners all had their own motivations and it was common to side with the Crown on one issue while vehemently disagreeing on another. Fray Alonso de Mendoza was a perfect example of this dichotomy. His religious affiliations probably associated him with those on the side of proselytizing the natives, and he was more than likely opposed to the slave trade. At the same time, he had no quarrels about rising against the viceroyalty based on his kinship ties.

Spanish officials continually sighted mestizos and creoles among the Chiriguanos. One Spanish official had lamented the fact that the locals, particularly the mestizos, were able to interact with such ease with the “belligerent Indians” who had “a feigned peace [with the Spanish] with a perpetual rancor and enmity of the Spanish name.”²⁹⁵ One mestizo, captured by the Spanish in an expedition against a group of Chiriguanos, had been leading them in their

²⁹⁴ “Suggestions for punishment and control of the Chiriguanos” May 16, 1573, MG 35b, Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

²⁹⁵ “Conspiración de los mestizos de Santa Cruz de la Sierra,” 1587, Patronato, 191, R.8, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

military affairs and assisting them with their weaponry. Ironically, the Chiriguanos were described in early Spanish reports as “mestizos,” since they were a mix between a Brazilian native group and a Guaraní group further south in Paraguay (the term Chiriguanos derived from this mixture). Their mestizaje provided even Spanish officials an explanation for their bellicosity.²⁹⁶

Despite its lack of success, these conspiracies in Santa Cruz are quite revealing. They demonstrate the potential power of the local kinship networks among the creoles, mestizos, and indigenous groups, as well as the various communal and familial ties that united them. In addition, the relative ease with which the mestizos and other creoles rallied to Alonso’s cause, even if to serve their own purpose, reveals the fragile loyalties that existed within Spanish hegemony. The political maneuvering of Alonso’s father, Diego de Mendoza’s, influenced his son’s life more than his Hispanicity. Despite receiving all the benefits of a being Spaniard, he was willing to rebel. The notion that the mestizos and creoles living on the periphery of Spanish society in Peru were able to establish strong connections with an exceedingly antagonistic native population is very telling, and only served to perpetuate Spanish fears of the growing transcultural consciousness brought about through cultural mestizaje.

Alonso Mendoza and Juan Arias Maldonado and his accomplices were not the only sons of famous conquistadors to rebel. The mestizo son of the well-known conquistador Sabastian de Belalcázar also chose to rebel against the Crown. Like his father, he too had tried to strike out as an *adelantero*, but had been denied the chance. He finally chose to revolt since he argued he was unable to find the means to live honestly. He suggested that he had to take up arms as the

²⁹⁶ “Francisco de Toledo, virrey de Perú : indios chiriguanaes,” 1571, Patronato 235, R.1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es> and Isabelle Combes, *Etno-historias del Isoso: Chane y chiriguanos en el Chaco Boliviano (siglos XVI-XX)* (La Paz, Bolivia: IFEA/PIEB, 2005), 330.

mestizos were treated like inferior beings to the Spaniards. What made Miguel Belalcázar's rebellion even more intriguing, is the fact that he suggested it was not just the mestizos who he had hoped to fight along side him, but also all the "*soldados pobres*" (poor soldiers) and vagabonds. Belalcázar was fighting not necessarily to overthrow the Spanish government, but because he felt like he was denied the potential social mobility that men like his father had gained. It was not lost on Miguel that his father was no hidalgo and had come to the Americas from Spain to improve his lot. In fact, the story of his father's arrival in Spain was one of local legend. Reportedly, Sebastian de Belalcázar had accidentally killed a mule and had fled to the Americas to avoid punishment. Yet the mestizos, the sons of these humble men who had risen to become heroes of the Indies, were denied the same privileges. The rebellion, which occurred in 1583, was quickly put down as again Spanish officials caught wind of Belalcázar's plans before they had the chance to cause any damage. The Spanish tried and executed Belalcázar, and his mestizo accomplices who failed to get away were jailed.²⁹⁷

The conflicting loyalties within the context of royal designs was not just occurring on the eastern edge of the viceroyalty's frontiers. In Quito, in the early 1590s, the Spanish officials introduced an *alcabala* tax, or a sales tax. The purpose of the tax imposed by Phillip II was to support the religious wars he was waging against the Muslims in the Mediterranean. His officials in Quito portrayed the justification for the tax to the local communities as a means to fund an armada to protect their economic interests from piracy. Although relatively low at two percent (they could be as high as twelve percent in some parts of the Spanish Empire), it proved to be extremely unpopular. While many among all the classes were dissatisfied, it seemed to specifically fall along ethnic lines. Many of the *peninsulares* supported the tax as it was

²⁹⁷ Lopez Martinez, *Rebeliones de mestizos y otros temas quinientistas*, 49-59.

beneficial to Spain, and the majority of the creoles and mestizos opposed it, feeling that the burden fell mostly on their shoulders. When the town council met and decided they were not going to pay the tax, the president of the audiencia requested help from the viceroy, who sent troops to Quito. Rather than back down, the residents formed their own opposition and prepared to resist. After multiple escalations and mediations, the rebellion subsided and the alcabala taxes were instated.²⁹⁸

Spanish troops, in an attempt to restore order, entered Quito once the rebels had disbanded. They rounded up the conspirators, executed them, and displayed their corpses in the town square as a warning. While this quelled any major opposition, the treachery led to civil unrest amongst many in Quito, and various forms of protest remained. While the alcabala revolts in Quito have received a modest amount of scholarly attention, the aftermath has not. Among those hit hardest by the tax, mestizos found themselves shouldering most of the blame for the continued unrest. One group, proclaiming themselves to be *mestizos montañeses*, continued to resist the alcabala taxes.²⁹⁹ The inability to pay the tax was an affront to their honor, and thus their Hispanicity. They considered themselves “punished” and “affronted with a bad name.” Inability to pay one’s debt was of primary concern in early colonial Hispanic society, not solely for the embarrassment of perceived poverty, but for the inability to defend oneself legally and in reputation.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ Federico González Suárez, *Historia general de la República del Ecuador* (Quito, Ecuador: Impresa del Clero, 1892), 2:200-243.

²⁹⁹ Garcilaso explains that *montañés* was a term originally meant to be derogatory as it had referred to a particular “barbaric” group of natives from the highlands and had been applied to the mestizos. Many mestizos, not understanding the nature of the term preferred it to the term mestizo. See Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, 1:607.

³⁰⁰ "Diego Ramírez sobre los montañeses mestizos de la region de Quito," April 24, 1594, Quito, 24, N.16, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

In response to the continued pressure, the highland mestizos reacted in a manner similar to indigenous groups. They elected a representative from one of their own, Diego Ramirez, to serve as an unofficial *procurador* (legal advisor) and collected money to send to the viceroy to have an *oidor* (judge) visit and hear their grievance. Ramirez relentlessly petitioned the viceroy to no avail. He continued to organize the highland mestizos, and they sustained their protest. The communal nature evident among the highland mestizos in Quito suggests a unique sense of identity, belying the notion that mestizos only existed on the fringe of Hispanic society with no real identity of their own. Their persistence was not lost on the local Spanish elites who saw the danger in this kind of mestizo unity. A local merchant wrote a letter describing Ramirez as their “caudillo” and discussing how influential he was in uniting various small groups where they would lead “scandalous talks.” He blamed Ramirez for the riots and suggested that if the authorities did not control Ramirez and his mestizo cohorts, “the Indies will be lost.”³⁰¹

A couple of decades later, in 1624, another conflict broke out in Potosí that also pitted *peninsulares* against local creole and mestizo groups. The conflict between the Vicuñas and the Vascongados started over the mining resources in Potosí, but it quickly escalated as other sociocultural issues rose to the surface. Historians have traditionally analyzed the conflict, sometimes referred to as a war, as a dispute between different factions from Spain. Those from the Basque Country created a virtual monopoly that smaller mine owners, those from other parts of Spain, attempted to break. Once the Vascongados held a monopoly over the town cabildo, violence erupted. The conflict, despite involving Spanish on both sides, was very much a local conflict. The Vicuñas, so called for the hats they wore made from vicuña fur, also consisted of large numbers of creoles and mestizos. It is also extremely telling that vicuñas are animals

³⁰¹ See Quito 24, N.16, Quito, 25,N.16, and Quito, 25, N.44, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

indigenous to the Andean region. The choice to wear vicuña hats and adorn other parts of their attire with their pelts escalated collectively when violence broke out, and it is not likely that the indigenous symbolism was coincidental.³⁰²

While the violence continued for several years, it did little to change the outcome. However, the idea that the creoles, mestizos, and the indigenous groups sided predominantly with the Vicuñas over the Vascongados further signifies the transcultural consciousness. Stemming from the fact that the *peninsulares* were able to control the resources in Potosí, the mestizos and creoles again felt as if outsiders had denied their potential advancement. Just as had been the case with the alcabala riots in Quito, the denial of potential wealth was a denial of their honor and limited their potential. It also signified how easily these different ethnic groups could solidify at the local level if given sufficient reason.

Analyzed collectively, these revolts make it readily apparent that the mestizos, creoles, and indigenous groups were capable of forming a fifth column brought about through cultural mestizaje. Despite the lack of any major revolution, the threat was always present in the mind of the Spanish. As one official remarked, "It seems to me that although there is only a spark, no matter how small it may be, that if we do not put it out in time it will grow into a pernicious fire."³⁰³ The Spanish elites considered the threat very real, to the extent that any collective group of mestizos proved threatening, including the religious brotherhoods. The head prosecutor in Quito warned not to let the mestizos "have meetings nor *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods) nor any other [association] where they find themselves without any Spaniard." A president of the *audiencia* advised the Crown to avoid letting mestizos meet in their *cofradías*, or any other

³⁰² Crespo, *Guerra entre las Vicuñas y Vascongados*, p. 34.

³⁰³ "Conspiración de los mestizos de Santa Cruz de la Sierra," 1587, Patronato, 191, R.8, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

setting, because even though “these people appear to be quiet right now, and in the cofradías no man living badly enters, nor vagabonds, none of them feel restless, but rather only employed married people who are calm,” that there exists a “desperation” in these people.³⁰⁴

The Spanish officials also became aware of the fact that kinship networks created within the provinces crossed ethnic lines. The emerging transcultural consciousness was a product of these affiliations, and posed a serious threat to Spanish hegemony. Many of the local communities utilized these kinship networks to serve their own agendas contrary to the Crown’s. Creoles and mestizos both possessed a cultural duality that they developed within a culture where Spanish hegemony was continually in doubt.

The Spanish elites scarcely doubted the harmful potential that the formulation of a Fifth column carried with it. Since the Crown lacked the ability or even the desire to have a large standing army in the Americas, there had to be another way to restrain the prospective threat and impose Spanish hegemony in the New World. A shift in policy was necessary and cultural mestizaje had to be controlled.

Conclusion

The period typically defined within the context of civil war takes on a very different connotation when analyzed through the perspective of cultural mestizaje. The men who were battling for control of Peru were fighting for what they felt they deserved beyond the service to the Crown. Almagro and Pizarro were men of the Indies and they knew better how to rule it than any Spaniard with orders from a king who had never set foot in Peru nor risked life and limb to conquer it. Furthermore, both Pizarro and Almagro had ties to the Inca nobility, as did their kin,

³⁰⁴ “La Audiencia de Quito sobre diversos asuntos,” April 17, 1602 Quito,9,R.5,N.42, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

through either marriage, friendship, or political alliance. From the beginning, the threat of a coalition with the indigenous groups was very real.

The idea of the disgruntled encomendero also does not capture the complexity of the second rounds of revolts. Controlling indigenous labor was as much a concept of the Andes as it was of Spain, and the encomenderos had more in mind when they chose to rebel against the king. The emergence of a vagabond *soldado* class, who in learning to fight the natives had also learned to emulate them, was indicative of an early change in Peruvian society brought about by cultural mestizaje. Just as the conquest had involved indigenous participation, natives also chose sides in the revolts. In many ways, the encomendero revolts were a harbinger of things to come.

With the rise of the populations who were “*nacidos en esta tierra*,” a new population with strong ties to the indigenous groups began to emerge. Possessing the same mentality as the encomendero class before them, identified by a strong sense of being more adept to control Peru than individuals an ocean away, they began to create political ties. Creoles were often more Peruvian than Spanish, and their strong connections to both spheres gave them political power that made Spanish officials uneasy. These fears came to fruition when these ties began to manifest in open revolts.

After the initial revolts had been put down, a second wave of revolts occurred in Peru. Rather than attempting to challenge the hegemony of the Spanish officials, these revolts occurred along class lines. The mestizos, creoles, and native populations were now allied not only through kinship ties, but also within their positions in society. Their struggle stemmed from frustration of losing footing on their own soil to individuals from Spain. Their alliances although still culturally based, were also becoming socioeconomic.

Either way, the revolts confirmed what many Spanish officials had been beginning to understand for decades, that cultural mestizaje was a serious threat to Spanish hegemony and needed to be addressed. The addition of the growing socioeconomic differences placed further pressures on the Crown to act. Cultural mestizaje had become a major threat to Spanish hegemony and was becoming an intrinsic aspect that was separating the Spanish from the populations in the Americas.

Chapter 6

Culture of Conquest: How the Spanish Invented Hegemony in Peru

In the early 2000s a debate was raging in Lima to remove a statue representing the famous conqueror of the Incas, Francisco Pizarro. Once considered a founding father of Peruvian identity, to many, Pizarro had become a victimizer and a symbol of imperial atrocities. Generations before, those who raised the statue took pride in their European past. Santiago Agurto Calvo, an architecture professor and descendant of an early conquistador, felt much differently as he campaigned to have the statue removed. "I think we inherited more defects from our Spanish forefathers than virtues. Pizarro was like all the other conquistadors of the epoch. They were all disgraceful characters."³⁰⁵ Others understood the complexities of Peru's historical past, seeing Pizarro as an integral part of that past that the people of Peru should not erase from their social memory. The well-known Peruvian historian José Antonio del Busto argued that Peruvians "were descendants of the conquerors and the conquered, but we are not conquerors or conquered."³⁰⁶

Nearly five centuries earlier, the individual in question, Francisco Pizarro, looked southward from Gallo Island and attempted to rally his disheartened troops. Drawing a line in the sand with his sword, he cried out, "on that side are toil, hunger, nakedness, the drenching storm, desertion, and death; on this side, ease and pleasure. There lies Peru with its riches; here, Panamá and its poverty. Choose, each man, what best becomes a brave Castilian. For my part, I go to the south."³⁰⁷ All chose to return save a select few, who posterity would forever

³⁰⁵ Hector Tobar, "Pizarro Knocked from His Pedestal," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), March 28, 2005, <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/mar/28/world/fg-pizarro28>.

³⁰⁶ "Nosotros descendemos de los vencidos y de los vencedores, pero no somos vencedores ni vencidos." Benito, Jose Antonio. "José Antonio del Busto, Maestro de la Peruanidad." *El Foro de Intereconomía*. <http://www.arbil.org/111bust.htm>.

³⁰⁷ William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York, NY: Random House, 1998), 189.

immortalize as the “*trece de fama*” (famous thirteen). Together, they discovered Peru with all its riches and glory.

The notion of conquest has proven to be so pervasive within the context of Latin American history that the myth that thirteen Spaniards defeated thousands upon thousands of natives under the Incas, who themselves had conquered many of the peoples of the Andes, survived for years. Even centuries later, the people of Peru felt the need to decide whether they would represent their past as conquerors or the conquered. Cultural *mestizaje* still affects the social memory and is at the heart of Peruvian identity.

The dividing line between the victors and the vanquished is an oversimplification and does not capture the full complexity of all the individuals that contributed to colonial Latin American society. As discussed in the second chapter, the Spanish were able to establish themselves in Peru through indigenous allies, fortunate timing, and a serious disruption of the infrastructure of the Andean sociopolitical system (the *ayllus*). Many indigenous ethnic groups, relying on their own cosmological views as a basis, reacted to the arrival of the Spanish in ways that made sense to them. Trusting in the system of reciprocity and kinship, many native populations allied with the Spanish, and did not understand that they had been “conquered” until it was too late.

There is no doubt that for a variety of reasons, the Inca civilization collapsed, and that the arrival of the Spanish was chief among them. They also proved unable to defeat the Spanish and their indigenous allies and uproot them from Peru. At the same time, the establishment of Spanish control came from the assistance of the indigenous allies, and the Spanish definitely benefited more from the misrepresentations and misunderstandings that stemmed from their cultural differences with the natives. Given the fragile hegemony the Spanish were able to

establish in the first decades in Peru, one question remains. How did the ethos of conquest become such a prevalent aspect in the history of Peru?

The most obvious answer lies in the familiar anecdote that the victors write the history. This fact was amplified in Peru, when the defeated population lacked the culture of the written record, and most of the information they disseminated after they began to write down their accounts filtered through Hispanic channels. The Spanish also already had a culture of conquest as part of their inherent social consciousness. The Reconquista was the foundation of early modern Spanish identity, and their foray into the Americas followed immediately after. The Spanish arrived as conquistadors, or conquerors, and by the time they set foot in Peru, they had already defeated many other cultures of the Americas, including the powerful Mexica (Aztecs). Traditionally, the history stemmed from Spanish chroniclers or from accounts to the Crown in the *probanzas de méritos y servicios* (descriptions of achievements and services to the Crown), in which the Spaniards often exaggerated in order to gain favor with the Crown. Regardless, the vast majority of the history of Peru emanates from the Spanish sources.

Upon further analysis, the rationale behind the notion of conquest becomes more complex. Conquest became an ideological tool for the Spanish to use to maintain control in the Americas. The populations of colonial Peru were so diverse that with the collapse of the Inca state, there was no unified internal threat to the Spanish. The Spanish soon recognized cultural mestizaje, particularly in the form of establishing a regional identity stemming from a transcultural singularity, was the largest threat posed to their establishment of hegemony. The *peninsulares* were most often the minority, outnumbered by the indigenous, creoles, mestizos, *mulatos*, Africans, and countless other combinations. Early on, the Crown had no standing army in the Americas, and even policing the cities was unorganized and left up to the local

magistrates. The Spanish needed to figure out a way to create an air of authority in Peru without having the position of strength to enforce it. The ideology behind creating a culture of conquest was twofold. It conveyed Spanish power and justified their dominion. By examining how this culture of conquest manifested in Peru, a new interpretation presents itself on how colonial society developed. In addition, the origin and evolution of the *castas*, the ethnically mixed lower classes that developed in Peru, becomes clearer.

It is important to note that the culture of conquest was a process that stemmed from experience. Unlike the *dos repúblicas*, it was not a concrete aspect of Spanish colonial rule. At no time did the Spanish Monarchy send a *cédula* to the viceroy and governors of Peru mandating that creating a culture of conquest was to be a central focus in the colonial administration. The ideology behind the actions of the Crown and the Spanish elite comes to light when analyzing how the colonial administration responded to the changes occurring in Peruvian society. Hapsburg rule in the Americas identified as both flexible and paternalistic, and the laws that Spanish officials implemented were usually a mixture of royal designs and local experience. The “*obedezco pero no cumplo*” (I obey but do not fulfill) was evidence of the willingness of the Crown to allow their representatives who had a better understanding of the local situations to adapt royal policy.

Again, the philosophy behind the *dos repúblicas* was central to explaining why the Spanish created the ethos of conquest. Originally, the idea behind the two republics was to allow the natives as much independence as possible within the framework of Spanish colonialism. The goal was for natives to continue under Spanish rule while subject to the authority of the Crown. While they were to live sedentary, agricultural lives and abandon their religion, there was never a point in time where the Spanish officials desired the natives to assimilate into Hispanic society.

Experience taught the Spanish from very early on that the intermingling of the populations was problematic for their designs in Peru. Encomenderos living among the natives, African *cimarrones* trading with indigenous communities, mestizos and creoles utilizing their kinship ties, and even *indios ladinos* who had acculturated enough to understand Spanish customs well enough to manipulate their position as translators, all had proven to be a threat to Spanish hegemony. The Crown would end up modifying the concept of the two republics. Separating the Spanish from the indigenous became a matter of maintaining control. The philosophy of the two republics evolved into the desire to incorporate cultural mestizaje. In other words, the ideology behind the *dos repúblicas* shifted from keeping the Spanish and the natives separate to containing multiculturalism and limiting the mobility of those populations who could transcend both spheres. The distinction was cultural. The Spanish were able to achieve this feat by propagating their role as conquerors.

Creating an identity based on conquest relied on several aspects that centered on three concepts within a framework of the *dos repúblicas*. The first and most obvious was to create a culture of Spanish superiority. This was accomplished both through establishing Hispanic preeminence through the narrative of conquest, and through the “Hispanization” of Peruvian society among the native elite. The second involved incorporating mestizaje into the Spanish fold, which proved to be the most complicated and evolved over time. The Spanish had to learn from experience how to deal with the ethnogenesis that came as a consequence of the intermingling of such a diverse set of cultures in the Americas. They had to work through trial and error to discover which elements gleaned from their own multicultural past applied and which were better left in Spain. The third aspect was to adapt the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* and try to stem mestizaje, both culturally and biologically, in order to assure

separation between the Hispanic and indigenous spheres. At the same time, the Spanish were not the only actors in the Americas, and the native groups also began to apply their own concept of the *dos repúblicas*, which had evolved out of the changing indigenous landscape in Peru.

Spanish Superiority

The notion of creating an identity of Spanish superiority seems like an unnecessary process. Very few Spaniards perceived themselves to be on par with the natives and ethnically mixed groups that followed in the Americas. Most of the early conquistadors came from humble backgrounds, yet became remarkably entitled after garnering their achievements in the Americas. While many stayed in Peru, most at least had desired to return to Spain to live out their days with the wealth that they had acquired. Those that stayed became *encomenderos*, secured with the labor and tribute of the natives and a seemingly endless supply of labor at their disposal. It seemed that their notions of superiority were safely intact.

Yet the issue was not superiority on an individual level, but rather a collective idea of Hispanic superiority. Many men had been in Peru for several years, and those who were among the first to set foot in Peru had survived the Inca Empire, the civil wars between the Pizarristas and Almagristas, the defeat and murder of a viceroy, and countless revolts. They were men of Peru, and many times it was only their kinship ties with fellow men from their respective regions in Spain that kept them connected to their past. Young men who came over on early expeditions found themselves spending the good majority of their life in the Americas.

The *encomienda* system, in the early years of Peru, existed as a reward specifically for conquest. The idea had developed during the Reconquista, when a monarch did not have the means or willingness to finance a war and would motivate others by allowing them to reward themselves. Unlike in Spain, the grant in Peru did not include land, as the Crown had no

intention of creating a landed aristocracy. Nonetheless, tribute to the Spaniards clearly indicated a distinction between the conquerors and the conquered. For this reason, the Indies often attracted the types of characters that lacked status and the potential for social mobility in Spain, but had the independent spirit to attempt to advance socially in the Indies.

Not every encomendero behaved the same. While some lived in houses off the town square, such as Jerónimo de Aliaga, whose family still owns the site granted by Pizarro only feet from the plaza in Lima, others lived among the natives entrusted to them. Some took on several concubines and lived like Inca nobility, a practice that the Crown frowned upon. A few married into Inca royalty, creating kinship ties and interacting with both Spanish and indigenous societies as powerful and influential figures. As an example, Juan de Betanzos, who often performed services for the Crown and would end up writing a chronicle on Inca history, married into Inca royalty and was said to possess an excellent knowledge of Quechua as well as intimate connections in important indigenous circles.³⁰⁸

The encomenderos in Peru became a class of their own. Their sense of entitlement seemed to transcend mere compensation for their service to the Crown. Pizarro had created a custom of seniority in Peru based on the length of time served in the Indies. Those who had taken this land by the sword from the Inca and had to spill Spanish blood to retain it, grew resentful of the Spaniards who were newly arrived from Spain and felt they knew how to govern the Indies. Even those who did not have the résumé of their cohorts in the Indies but had managed to secure an encomienda grant became distrustful of the intervention from Spain.

For several years, the Crown was wary of the encomendero class that had formed in Peru. Rather than continue to battle them, it proved easier to appease them. Spanish officials began to

³⁰⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II:1436.

perpetuate the same sentiment that Pizarro had when he was governing Peru. The Crown began to utilize titles that carried no specific legal distinction, but carried with them a great deal of prestige. *Adelantados* (explorers of new territory), *primeros conquistadores* (first conquerors), and *primeros pobladores* (first settlers) entered into the colonial lexicon and demonstrated the length of time someone had been in the Indies. While not specifically carrying any salary or position, the Crown would often reward such individuals for their lengthy service to Spain and give them preference for certain favorable positions. In 1537, the Crown mandated that the “primeros conquistadores y pobladores” be “assisted and favored, and placed in positions in our service, corresponding to the *calidad* of their person, and that they be honored and given every advantage.”³⁰⁹ They also held preferred status for certain administrative positions, such as governorships or seats in the local *cabildos* (town councils). For example, Sebastián de Belalcázar, an associate of Pizarro’s at Cajamarca who had been in the Indies for nearly two decades, received the title of *adelantado* and the position of governor of Popayán. His position as *adelantado* warranted enough esteem that after siding with the viceroy against Gonzalo Pizarro in his rebellion, the latter let him return home after his wounding and capture in the battle, most likely due to his seniority.³¹⁰

The main aim of the conferring of these titles was the prestige that they carried with them. The Crown was reluctant to award patents of nobility to the encomenderos in fear that their power would grow too strong, but these titles had regional connotations that would have much less application in Spain, and they definitely served their purpose in the Americas. The term *adelantado* came with the use of Don, which was generally reserved for nobility in Spain,

³⁰⁹ “Por la que le recomienda a los primeros conquistadores y pobladores de aquella tierra y le encarga que les favorezca” December 7, 1537 Lima,565,L.2,315, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³¹⁰ James Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, p. 127.

although the term was beginning to creep into the everyday vernacular.³¹¹ In Peru, a distinctly American hierarchy was beginning to develop. The only two individuals who originally warranted the true use of Don were the two elder statesmen of Peru who would wage war for its control, Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro. Despite the lack of titles of nobility awarded, the hierarchy in the Indies was clear and understood by the men of Peru. When Gonzalo Pizarro was in rebellion, there were several titles passed around to individuals fighting with him according to their rank; Pizarro was king, his captains counts and dukes, and others below received their respective titles. Lockhart states that this occurred mainly in jest, but in light of the previously discussed letter to Pizarro from Francisco de Carvajal, there may have been more substance to it.³¹² Regardless, it is indicative of an understanding of a hierarchy based on a combination of old Spanish concepts and new Peruvian principles. By awarding these titles, the Crown was attempting to coopt these social distinctions into the narrative of conquest.

The concept of Hispanic superiority had to transcend to all aspects of society, not just conquest and military superiority. The first conquistadors had little choice but to adapt to native customs of living. Even after the Spanish had secured a foothold in Peru and the encomiendas distributed, the crops available for tribute from the natives were indigenous. Some of the indigenous foods became a customary part in the Spanish diet. Yet it did not take long for the Europeans to begin to crave some of the comforts of home. Charles V became very interested in seeing Hispanic crops grown and commodities produced in the Americas. He offered an award of two bars of silver worth 600 ducats to the first man to produce a Spanish crop that could not be found in the Indies, namely wheat, barley, grapes for wine, and olives to produce olive oil.³¹³

³¹¹ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, pp. 40-42.

³¹² *Ibid*, p. 42.

³¹³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:596-597.

The Crown had a multitude of sociological and economic reasons for introducing these crops into Peru and stressing the superiority of the Spanish diet.

The demand for wine was of special importance because of its multiple uses. Wine was necessary for both consumption and religious purposes, and it became very clear Spain was not going to meet the demands of the colonies. Initially, the Crown was content with the production of wines in Peru to help placate the local demand. Winemakers in the viceroyalty found that the conditions in Peru lent themselves to the creation of very good wine, and the continued production began to put pressure on the Spanish industry. The desire to perpetuate the idea of the superiority of the Spanish product became both social and economic. The Spanish Monarchs tried repeatedly to curb the constructions of new vineyards and heavily taxed Peruvian wine.³¹⁴ While demand was high enough that the Peruvian wine industry continued, it definitely helped shift the preference to Spanish wine. The fact that Peruvian wine was so available, even after being overly taxed, made Spanish wine more select through its rarity.

Beyond wine, the everyday diet of the Spaniard became a complicated matter. On the surface, the demand for traditional Spanish staples was easy to explain, and it seemed only logical that the Spanish would quickly try to produce those familiar foods to remind them of home. Garcilaso de la Vega suggested “the anxiety of the Spaniards to have things of their own country transplanted to the Indies was so strong that no danger or trouble seemed great enough to prevent them from trying to realize their desires.”³¹⁵ As an example, in 1560, Don Antonio de Rivera had grossed a small fortune bringing various fruit trees from Spain and selling them “as novelties” in Lima. His most prized possessions were the olive trees that had grown from three

³¹⁴ Prudence M. Rice, "Wine and Brandy Production in Colonial Peru: A Historical and Archaeological Investigation," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 455-479.

³¹⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:595.

he had managed to keep alive on the trip from Spain. So many Spaniards coveted them that he had them guarded, behind a walled estate, by a hundred Africans and thirty dogs. Skillful thieves still managed to steal a tree (though the Africans were implicated in the plot) and began a successful orchard in Chile, where Garcilaso suggests the olives thrived due to the lower elevation than that of Cuzco.³¹⁶

For many Spaniards, the superiority was not just about taste or preference, but rather physiology. The prevailing thought process of the day was that individuals adapted to their climates, and that populations of the past had tended to migrate to where their compositions were best suited. Yet the observations of the Indies had run contrary to many of these assumptions, leaving many Spanish scholars perplexed. It was evident that the first generations of those born in the Indies did not look like their native counterparts, despite coming of age in the same environment. The most damning evidence came from the fact that the Spanish seemed to thrive in the Americas, yet the natives, in their own natural climate, seemed to be dying off rapidly.

When examining the humors of the natives, Cobo determined that they were phlegmatic and sanguine, whereas the Spaniards tended to be choleric. The fact that they were phlegmatic made them “softer” which was evident in their soft skin and the fact that they could grow no beards. Their sanguinity made them “warmer,” which allowed them to survive better in the cold, a trait that they passed on to the mestizos as well.³¹⁷ This phenomenon led to confusion for Cobo, because there were little variations, and they “ate mostly the same foods.” Many other Spaniards disagreed, and suggested that the Spanish diet allowed their humors to adjust and strengthen them. Too much food from the native diet, coupled with the climate in the Indies, would lead to a more phlegmatic composition, and thus a softer, more effeminate disposition.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 595.

³¹⁷ Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 13-19.

The shift in ideology is very telling of the changing attitudes in superiority. What began as nostalgic desires for the comforts of home became a belief in physical superiority brought about by the knowledge of the European diet. Economics played a role as well. As imported products from Spain were very expensive, not all members of society had the means to buy and consume Spanish foodstuffs. In this regard, only the elite in society, who were most often peninsulares or descendants of the *primeros conquistadores y pobladores*, were able to buy these items. The notion of Hispanicity equated with elite status, and thus superiority. Adversely, consumption of too much food most associated with the indigenous diet now not only translated into physical inferiority, but also into a sociocultural distinction.

This ideology proved applicable for the mind as well as the body. The elite would arrange for their creole (and often mestizo) children to travel to Spain to be educated. Though born in the Americas, the closest thing to being Spanish was to be educated and acculturated there. One of the central justifications the Spanish clergy made for their own superiority over the local priests was their formal religious instruction in Spain rather than makeshift seminaries in the colonies. The next best option was to find a *tutor y curador*, another Spaniard who was willing to take on the student and provide a formal Spanish education.³¹⁸ While it was not on the same level as living and learning in Spain, it did at least mean that the student acquired the basics of Spanish education and customs.

Other options in the Americas were less favorable. In the years immediately following contact, reputable tutors or clergy members instructed those creoles who were not sent to Spain alongside elite mestizos and sons of the indigenous nobility. This option fell out of favor as the bonds it created between the groups became problematic. Education was less common and also

³¹⁸ Notariales de siglo XVI, Prot. 30, 578r-581r, and Prot. 66, 52v-53r, Archivo General Nacional de Peru, Lima, Peru.

associated with status, so it is no surprise that the perceptions of the types of education fell in line with the traditional interpretations of the colonial hierarchy. A peninsular education was superior to one taught by Spaniards but acquired in the Americas, which still remained a class above instruction with a multicultural audience (peninsular, creole, mestizo/indigenous).

Spanish administration was another area where Hispanic superiority was vital. The Spanish monarchs never wavered on their policy to assure that Spaniards were in the positions of authority. Even the granting of governorships to the *adelantados* proved worrisome due to their strong ties to the Indies. The brutal conflict between Pizarro and Almagro was enough to prove the threat. The *encomenderos* also had strong sentiments of loyalty to the *adelantado* style governors (in other words those who had *earned* it) as they usually had ventured and fought alongside them, and it was those governors who had awarded them their *encomiendas* as their deserved award. The Crown understood the potential for disloyalty, a strong persuasion for local endeavors, and the troublesome alliances with the mestizo and indigenous groups that might accompany a creole governor or viceroy. Furthermore, the decrees passed down to the colonies were not always for their own benefit, but rather designed to assist Spain in other European matters (such as the aforementioned *alcabala* taxes). Having a peninsular Spanish official in charge served two purposes. The Royal Spanish presence was felt in Peru, and the Crown was assured that they had someone who would put Spanish designs ahead of the regional demands of a multicultural society.

Coopting mestizaje

As mentioned previously, the rationale behind the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* was shifting. While the Crown still had every intention to protect the indigenous populations, the rhetoric of which continually appears in the documents, the stakes had changed. The separation

of the two republics was now a matter of Spanish hegemony. The violent disruption, if not collapse of the traditional ayllu system, coupled with the fall of the Inca state, left the native populations fractionalized. Indigenous revolts were still a serious threat, but the potential alliance between the natives, creoles, and mestizos threatened to overthrow Spanish power in Peru. The Spanish response was to implement a series of policies that in effect were the cooptation of mestizaje.

The first step was to readdress the situation with the creoles. The creoles, with the exception of the elite, more closely resembled the mestizos in their culture than the Spanish. The Spanish often held them in low esteem, and included them with the other unruly mestizo and *mulato* populations. While friction between the *peninsulares* and the creoles would always exist, there needed to be a change in their roles within society. They needed the creoles to be less Peruvian and more Spanish. In order for this to occur, the Crown needed to make it more conducive for the creoles to join the Spanish fold and close off their ties with other ethnic groups.

The acceptance of the creoles as Spanish was not a given, as the traditional narrative has assumed. Cobo's observations notwithstanding, the philosophy that the environment greatly affected the individual was alive and well. Even more problematic for the creoles, many had indigenous nursemaids when they were young. Ironically, the practice originated in Spain, where the wealthy began to pay women from the lower classes to serve as nursemaids to their children.³¹⁹ Since a majority of the first women that arrived in Peru from Spain were elite, the practice was adapted and applied. Yet this also meant that there were few in the lower classes, so the custom transferred to indigenous women. The belief existed that there was biological

³¹⁹ Krogel, Alison. "Mercenary Milk, Pernicious Nursemaids, Heedless Mothers: Anti-wetnurse Rhetoric in the Satirical Ordenanzas del Bartillo de Mexico (1734), *Dieciocho*, 37.2 (Fall 2014), 233.

transference in breastmilk that changed the composition and the makeup of an individual. For this reason, many of the creoles were part native in the eyes of the *peninsulares*. Coupled with the environment in which they came of age, the creoles could easily be as closely related to the natives as the mestizos. With the ambiguity of the term creole, also used for some mestizos and even slaves of African descent born in the Americas, the term did not always conjure the perception of a Spaniard in the minds of the *peninsulares*.

The first step to coopting mestizaje was to incorporate intermediation. The Crown was relinquishing too much control to people with ambiguous loyalties brought on by their multicultural identities. Indigenous and mestizo interpreters had too much control over information, and the curacas held too much influence on the economy (tribute and labor). In addition, the single most important objective in the Americas, saving the souls of the natives, involved an over abundance of mestizos who had grown up hearing the tales of the Inca gods and ancestors from their relatives.

The desire of the Crown to control the intermediaries is most evident in the preference for Spanish translators. The Spanish, with the exception of a handful of men with close ties to indigenous culture, such as the aforementioned Juan de Betanzos, had the least favorable reputation in translation of the ethnic groups in Peru. Clearly, there was great need for adequate translation, and mestizo and indigenous translators continued to operate in abundance. Nevertheless, in official capacities, as well as those who carried the title as interpreters from the city, were preferably Spanish due to the growing mistrust of the indigenous and mestizo multiculturalism.

The Crown even took a larger role in the teaching of indigenous languages within the church. While every order was involved with both instructing and learning the languages of the

natives, the Jesuits developed a reputation for the most adept at teaching the languages. In areas where the need to learn native languages was most imperative, the Crown began to replace other religious orders with the Jesuits. While the renown that the Jesuits obtained for their language skills seems to have been justified, there are other possibilities as to why the Crown began to advocate for them. The Jesuits began to take an adamant stance against the ordination of mestizos. The mestizos had actually been an integral part of development of the Jesuit linguistic reputation, in that in earlier years the Jesuits had been among the earliest advocates of mestizo translators.³²⁰ Since the Spanish officials also understood the fact that the mestizos were usually more adept in native languages, it is possible that the Crown chose the Jesuits after their shifting philosophy on mestizos in part to increase the number of Spanish priests proficient in native languages so that they would be less dependent on the mestizos for their services.

The Spanish monarchs also began to reconsider the role curacas would play in Spanish society. The original plan to have the natives continue under their own indigenous leadership was proving to be more problematic than previously considered. The “old style” curacas, particularly those who became adept at navigating Spanish law, advocated hard for their subjects. They manipulated the Spanish system in order to lighten tribute burdens, and they did not immediately bend to Spanish will. The “new style” curacas often adapted to Spanish customs, usually in order to serve their own interests at the expense of their subjects. They lost their legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects, and therefore the Spanish had difficulties working through them when needed.

For this reason, the Spanish Crown decided to place Spanish officials in charge of the intermediation. The Spanish took over the typical administrative duties of the curacas. The first

³²⁰ Brewer-Garcia, Larissa. “Bodies, Texts, and Translators: Indigenous Breast Milk and the Jesuit Exclusion of Mestizos in Late Sixteenth-Century Peru,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 21:3, 365-366.

position they created was the *corregidor de indios*, which not only took over the administrative duties of the native tribute payments, but also checked the power of the encomenderos. In essence, they became the middleman between the encomenderos and the curacas, and thus checked the power of both. In theory, the *corregidor de indios* was another official protecting the welfare of the natives by assuring that the encomenderos were fair in their treatment.

Lope de Castro, the president of the audiencia in Lima who was acting as viceroy until Toledo's arrival, had suggested the addition of the *corregidor* in 1565. He laid out very specific reasons for needing such a position, the vast majority of them involving either maintaining the separation of the *dos repúblicas* or checking the power the curacas.³²¹ He first suggested that the *corregidor* would help limit the indigenous uprisings that the natives had been plotting when he arrived in Peru. Castro was also an early advocate of the *reducciones* as he suggested that the *corregidor* could help gather the natives together so they could be better instructed in the faith. The *corregidores* would be able to remove the priests who overstepped their bounds and acted as judges, doling out punishment for offenses that were secular in nature. This breach of jurisdiction was significant in that Castro felt that the natives refused to be honest in their confessions out of fear of punishment by the members of the clergy. He argued that by placing a *corregidor* over the natives, the Spanish would not be able to freely interfere with the natives as before, because as it currently stood, "the provinces are so large that by the time the *corregidor* in the cities discovered the offense the [Spaniard] who had done it was more than one hundred leagues away."³²²

Castro also discussed the benefits of the *corregidor* specifically in regards to the curacas. He felt that a *corregidor* could help prevent the "robberies" and "other harassments" to the poor

³²¹ Levellier, *Gobernantes del Peru*, III:70.

³²² *Ibid.*, 71.

natives. Among these harassments, Castro counted the continual cases brought before the *audiencia*. He felt that the expenses of pooling resources and employing *procuradores* to prepare the multiple cases came at the expense of the poorer natives. By placing a Spanish official with closer ties to the natives, Castro hoped to lessen both the quantity and cost of these complaints. Most importantly, the *corregidor* could help limit the control the *curacas* had over labor and tribute. He proposed that the *corregidor* conduct a yearly census of the natives of each *repartimiento* (*mita* or labor tribute system) within his jurisdiction in order to “avoid the frauds that these *caciques* and priests commit in hiding the natives.”³²³

The Crown agreed with most of Castro’s assertions, with the exception of the only suggestion that was not conducive to maintaining the *dos repúblicas*. Castro suggested in another letter to Phillip II that it would be beneficial to place some Spanish settlers who were married and virtuous among the indigenous populations, in order that the natives could see the errors in their continual practice of idolatry. The Crown never entertained the idea. The royal response stated:

In no way should this task correspond with the *corregidor*. It would not have a good effect, because the Spaniards who may be good, it is clear that they would not want to live among the natives...unless it were only to take their lands that the *corregidor*, being their friend would give them, and those who were not good Spaniards would provide no good examples, and [both] the good and the bad will do them harm, for they will try to have them as subjects to take advantage of them and have them serve them, which makes the Spaniards hateful towards the Indians, it would be better if the natives loved us well so that they may believe us when dealing with their salvation, and although there may be few Spaniards who at the present time live among them, they continue to multiply and they, their sons, and their servants come to occupy a lot of the natives’ lands, and the lands that they take are not the worst, and it is not sufficient to say that the *corregidor* will punish those who cross the line because if they remove the water that is used to water the fields or make the natives bring them wood, (*yerba*) or water, or they take some other small thing that to [the natives] is a lot, they will not be able to go everyday to the *corregidor* who will be fifteen or twenty or twenty-five leagues away.³²⁴

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid., 116-119.

In the eyes of the Crown, the desire to maintain the separation of the republics outweighed any possible benefits that could come from Spanish presence.

Yet, as mentioned previously, Phillip II's vision of the *dos repúblicas* desired that the king, or at least his officials, would be the intermediaries between the natives and the Spanish. In accordance, Castro desired that the Spanish officials "secretly inquire" if the priests and friars who were working among the natives ever "took their lands, inheritances, gold, silver or other things, or caused any harm to their cattle."³²⁵ In addition to the fears that these clerics were too involved in the daily lives of the natives outside the spiritual realm, Castro also expressed the fear that they utilized indigenous labor for various personal endeavors, and paid the curaca, rather than the natives. Adversely, the Crown seemed less concerned if the *corregidor* involved himself in spiritual matters. The *corregidor* could investigate to see if the natives were carrying on the traditions of their indigenous priests and practicing their preceding religions, even going so far as to check their livestock to see if any were being sacrificed to the sun. The Crown stopped short of condoning the latter, suggesting that the livestock helped meet tribute demands and thus should not be overly scrutinized.³²⁶

Culturally, the *corregidor* was to maintain certain distinctions between the natives and the Spaniards as well. He was to see that the natives did not ride horses, have any arms from Spain, nor own slaves or have any *mulatos* in their service. The *corregidor* was to give "particular care" to expel any mestizos, "who wander as vagabonds setting bad examples for the natives."³²⁷ Furthermore, the *corregidor* was to insert himself in the

³²⁵ Ibid., 119.

³²⁶ Ibid., 121.

³²⁷ Ibid., 118-121.

middle of the socioeconomic structure of the indigenous community. He was to know all the tribute demands with which the natives were burdened, not only by the *encomenderos*, but also by the *curacas*. The tributes to the native lords were acceptable in that they maintained the desired hierarchy and status of the *curacas*, and thus helped carry on the traditional social structure of the natives. At the same time, the *corregidor* needed to know the traditional tribute structure of the Incas in order to insure that the tribute demands were fair and according to indigenous custom before the Spanish arrived. In essence, the Crown envisioned that the *corregidor* would oversee and regulate, if not directly replace, a majority of the intermediary positions between the *dos repúblicas*.

The second position, the *protector de indios*, or the protector of Indians, had been around from very early on in the Indies. As early as 1529, three years before Pizarro arrived in Peru, the Crown named Fernando Luque as *protector de los indios*, suggesting that the position was important enough that it needed to be filled before the “conquest” even began. The instructions were simple. Luque was to see that natives were well treated and facilitate their proselytization.³²⁸ Before the colonial administration developed, the Spanish monarchs relied on governors rewarded with the position for their service during the conquest. Most, like Pizarro, rewarded their associates with *encomiendas*, reserving the most lucrative for themselves. This reward system naturally joined the provincial leadership with the *encomendero* class, which potentially left few administrators to hold the *encomenderos* accountable when it came to the natives. The Spanish Crown had originally envisioned the position to protect the natives from the *encomenderos*, similar to the *corregidor*, but without the administrative responsibilities. It generally went to members of the clergy, and existed independently from the governorship.

³²⁸ “Título de protector de los indios del Perú a Fernando Luque” July 26, 1529 Lima,565,L.1,F.29V, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

Over time, the position began to change. The natives began to address the protector directly with their concerns. The position began to resemble more closely a *procurador* (legal intermediary) for the natives. Curacas often went through the protector to air grievances.³²⁹ The biggest change in the position came when the natives circumvented their own hierarchies and brought their concerns before the protector. Some natives even brought suit against other curacas.³³⁰ The *protector de indios* began to fulfill the legitimate role of the curaca.

In addition to replacing intermediary positions with Spanish officials, there were social concerns that needed attention as well. It quickly became imperative to write the creoles into the narrative of the conquest. Much in the same way that they had done for the conquistadors, the Crown began to use titles of prestige to refer to the creoles. The creoles were the “*hijos de los conquistadores*” (sons of the conquerors) and the “*hijos de los primeros pobladores*” (sons of the earliest settlers). Again, these carried no specific position or grant with them, but the Crown continually passed down edicts suggesting that jobs be reserved for these “*hijos*,” particularly jobs where status was concerned. Like the *adelantados* and *primeros pobladores* before them, they were to be given special consideration for the positions on town councils. These positions added to an individual's influence and prestige within the local communities.

The decision to extend favor to the subsequent generations following the *primeros conquistadores y pobladores* was not as simple as it seems. It involved a number of sociopolitical factors that needed to be considered. As mentioned previously, the concept was rooted in a novel concept of hierarchy that stemmed from the Indies. Individuals who were at best lesser *hidalgos* in Spain needed a new rationale for their higher social status in Peru, and their bravery

³²⁹ “Don Domingo Sugno contra Juan Guaypar,” 1625, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, leg. 7 no. 126, Archivo Regional de Cuzco, Cuzco, Peru.

³³⁰ “Diego Yuriri contra Jerónimo Guauatinta,” 1624, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, leg. 7 no. 124, Archivo Regional de Cuzco, Cuzco, Peru.

in being the first to conquer and settle the region coupled with their longevity provided the justification. The conquistadors themselves were the first to petition the Crown to extend this status to their children, particularly the ability to pass on their *encomienda* grants to their offspring so that their legacy would be intact. The Crown's initial reaction was favorable.³³¹ Within a few years, the Spanish monarch would begin to see the potential danger in creating such a class of encomenderos, and the notion of perpetuity (passing of *encomienda* from generation to generation) would become problematic and lead to the aforementioned New Laws in 1542. In this context, elevating the status of the creoles ran the risk of perpetuating this new class of nobility.

At the same time, even in the immediate wake of the New Laws, the Crown had a real problem with the destitution of those "*hijos de conquistadores*" in the Americas who "not only did not have Indians, but remained poor and had no way of sustaining themselves" because their fathers had died in service to the Crown.³³² It was extremely difficult for the Crown to perpetuate conquest if the second and third generations of the conquistadors were living in poverty along with the natives. By the 1570s, the disarray from aftermath of the New Laws had quieted, and the Spanish officials desired to increase the prosperity of the *hijos de conquistadores* by favoring them with honorable positions. The Crown mandated that the *alcaldías mayores* and *corregimientos* (local or provincial administrative positions) be given to the *hijos de conquistadores* so that they could "maintain themselves and equip their households with arms and horses" more fitting of their station.³³³

³³¹ "Sobre la tasación de los indios y sucesión de las encomiendas en las mujeres e hijos de los conquistadores," March 21, 1539, Lima, 565, L.3, 91, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³³² Richard Konetzke, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica* (Madrid, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953), I:223.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 461-462.

The elevating the creoles to the status of *hijos de conquistadores* also had practical applications. The creoles were adept in native languages, as many came of age in the Americas having used them. They also understood the local culture, both indigenous and Hispanic, better than those who were arriving in Spain. By perpetuating their ties to the early conquistadors and settlers, it assured the *creoles* the necessary *calidad* to fulfill certain positions along with their Spanish cohorts. The King suggested that the “sons of the discoverers of San Francisco de Quito” as well as the sons of the early “settlers and people who had served [the king]” would make good priests because they “know the general language of the Inca and some are good students and virtuous and can sufficiently serve in whichever benefice or doctrine.”³³⁴

Yet the titles went beyond mere social and economic advantages. The civil wars had created fissures in Hispanic society in Peru, and many creoles had lost fathers in the conflict. There was also a good chance that some of the fathers had ended up on the wrong side at some point of the many conflicts. Sons and daughters of the disenfranchised held grudges as to how their fathers had been treated. By classifying them as *hijos de conquistadores*, they were erasing the bitterness of the civil wars. They became part of Peru’s earliest past, and an unfortunate necessity to establish Spain’s presence. Spanish officials were writing the creoles into the earliest history of the conquest. The ideology behind being the *hijos de conquistadores* became so pervasive in society that the indigenous descendants of the Inca nobility attempted to petition the Crown that their ayllu had sided with Huascar during the civil war between the Incas and had fought against Atahualpa. They too were sons of conquerors, although indigenous, and equally deserved compensations from the Crown.³³⁵

³³⁴ “En la provisión de doctrinas y beneficios prefieran a los clérigos hijos de conquistadores” November 17, 1593, Quito, 211, L.3,F.73V-74V Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³³⁵ John Howland Rowe, "Probanza de los Incas Nietos de Conquistadores," *Historica* 9, no. 2 (1985): 193-194.

The Spanish also began to encourage any rifts that occurred between the creoles and the mestizos. The friction between the mestizos and creoles within the clergy was a prime example. Despite individual instances of problematic mestizo priests (of which there were just as many if not more regarding Spanish and creole priests), the records seem to indicate that the mestizos were more qualified than their creole counterparts. Yet, despite the few pockets of dissenters mentioned before, the Crown sided with the creoles and began to incorporate *limpieza* (purity) requirements. With the alienation of the mestizos, less competition existed to block access to the important positions for which the creoles were favored. For example, the creoles most likely benefitted the most from the aforementioned law requiring translators to be Spanish.

This royal policy towards the incorporation of the creoles becomes most evident when analyzing how the creole priests maintained their positions in spite of their conflict with the Spanish clerics arriving from Spain. Ironically, it mirrored the clash the creoles had with the mestizos earlier, yet the results were quite different. For example, in 1593 a Spanish priest in the convent of San Francisco in Quito, Juan de Vergara, complained that, “with tears in [his] eyes,” he had to renounce his position³³⁶ He had been implicated with other friars as being traitorous to the Crown in the recent uprisings during the *alcabala* riots. Vergara maintained his innocence. After all, he had spent fourteen years of service in the Americas and had been promoted several times. Vergara suggested the creoles, who only justified their positions in the church “as being natives of the province and from conquistadors,” were behind the false accusations. He had no way of appealing since his superior was also a creole. Once the other creoles had joined him, they began to “solidify and behave like a very libertine and only slightly religious gang.”³³⁷

³³⁶ “Problemas de los frailes franciscanos criollos,” August 15, 1593, Quito,83,N.47, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³³⁷ Ibid.

Clearly, the clergy equally entangled themselves in the local politics involved in the *alcabala* riots, which highlighted the cultural differences between the creoles and the Spaniards. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the creoles, mestizos, and natives tended to oppose the *alcabala* taxes, whereas the Spaniards tended to be more supportive of the royal policy. It is unlikely, being Spanish, that Vergara was actually involved in rebelling against the Crown of which he stood accused. Yet the fact that the creole members within his order targeted him suggests that the sociocultural divisions highlighted in the revolts were beginning to cross over into other areas of colonial society.

These cultural differences were occurring before the riots as well. A couple of years before Vergara's complaint, five friars from the province of Andalusia in Spain wrote to the Crown to complain of the treatment they had been receiving at the hands of the creoles and *baquianos* ("experts" very familiar with a region) in Quito. The inclusion of the term *baquiano* points to the cultural aspects of the social distinctions. Men who had spent years in the Indies, whose fathers and uncles had been conquerors, were essentially creole and did not immediately identify with the Spanish priests who did not understand the important nuances and cultural topography of the land. The Spanish friars argued that clerics from Andalusia were among the best that Spain had to offer due to their language skills and hard working nature, and that they arrived from the peninsula with "a fervent desire to die for the Holy Catholic Faith, conquer the devil, teach evangelical law, and always do the will of God."³³⁸ Yet the continual friction between the Andalusians and the creoles had taken their toll on the friars. Rather than hoping for change, they requested that the king give them their own province strictly for Andalusian friars, where they could better serve god.³³⁹

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.

The conflicts between the creoles and the Spaniards would continue throughout the early decades of the seventeenth century. In 1631, the president of the audiencia in Quito was writing to the king to describe the state of affairs within the Augustinian order in his province. He complained that the order was “full of creoles, many of whom are mestizos, and those who come from Spain are treated in such a way that they have returned.”³⁴⁰ Their superior Francisco de la Fuente y Chaves, also a creole, was largely to blame for the disorder within his parish as well as the conflicts between the Augustinians and other orders within the city. Again, the president’s inclusion of the mestizos among the ranks of the creoles, spoke to the cultural aspects of the division between those from Peru and those coming from thousands of miles away.

The issue of creole priesthood was a serious enough issue that in 1628, the *procurador general* of the Franciscan order conducted an investigation in the matter to determine whether or not the creoles were an asset or a detriment to the proselytization of the natives. The questions centered on the overall behavior, dedication, and capabilities of the creoles. Outside of their overall performance, the *procurador* was eager to determine if the creoles were in fact “sons and grandsons of the early conquistadors and settlers of Peru” (*hijos y nietos de los primeros conquistadores y pobladores*), and if their intimate knowledge of the Spanish language attained during childhood (*por saber la lengua desde su niñez*) was an advantage for the creoles over their Spanish counterparts.³⁴¹ After interviewing several individuals in Quito, it was determined that most of the creole members of the clergy were descended from the conquistadors, they behaved sincerely and honorably in their duties, and that their knowledge of the indigenous languages was an invaluable asset to the Crown.

³⁴⁰ “Sobre la orden de San Agustín de Quito,” April 20, 1631, Quito, 32, N.5, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³⁴¹ “Ventajas de los religiosos criollos,” February 28, 1628, Quito, 88, N.24, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

Like the conflict between the creole and mestizo priests several years prior, the debate had both sociocultural and economic origins. Toledo, even before arriving in Peru in 1569, felt that a major impediment to the successful conversion of the indigenous populations was the sheer lack of numbers of clergy present to fulfil the spiritual needs of the natives.³⁴² Within this context, the mestizos and creoles had struggled to fill the remaining positions with those Spaniards who chose to come to the Americas. After the prohibition of ordination for the mestizos in the 1570s and 1580s, the creoles (as well as those mestizos who were ordained illegally) were able to establish a foothold in the Americas. The growth of the creole populations coupled with the increasing desire of the Crown to see larger numbers of priests in the Americas to aid in the conversion efforts, meant that there again would be competition for available positions between those *nacidos en esta tierra* and the peninsulares. However, the way in which the Spanish monarchs attempted to find a solution to a similar problem speaks to the Crown's desire to incorporate the creoles into the Hispanic fold.

The Crown was not willing to expel the creoles from the priesthood to clear the way for Spanish priests as they had previously done with the mestizos. An accord had to be reached. The solution was to alternate the leadership of the orders between the creole and peninsular clergy members. Each would maintain the leadership for three years, at which point a superior from within the opposing population would be selected.³⁴³ Neither group could conserve a monopoly of influence on the territory, and presumably both the creoles and the Spaniards would be able to find common ground. Although problematic and not always observed by the orders, the edict remained in effect into the nineteenth century.

³⁴² Manfredi Merluzzi, "Religion and State Policies," 194.

³⁴³ "Elección de Provincial de los dominicos," February 25, 1627, Quito, 212, L.5, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

It made little sense to elevate the status of the creoles without addressing the mestizos. They too could make the argument that they were the “*hijos de conquistadores*.” In fact, those Spanish officials had referred to them as such when attempting to appeal to the Crown to address their education and well-being. As they had come of age, the rhetoric regarding the mestizos was less paternalistic and stemmed not out of concern for the mestizos, but rather out of fear of their potential to rebel. The Spanish officials had a difficult problem on their hands dealing with the mestizos. On the one hand, some questions had been answered long ago. They were classified as *gente de razón* (people of reason), and as such had been exempted from tribute payments. In addition, the Crown knew they did not want the mestizo populations falling in with the natives. At the same time, they were not willing to give up certain positions of responsibility to the mestizos because their relationships with the natives proved dangerous. Spanish officials needed to relegate the mestizo socially while maintaining their Hispanicity.

The Crown slowly started to create a social separation by affecting their honor. The Spanish officials, just as they had done with the mestizos in the priesthood, imported the concept of *limpieza de sangre*, or purity of blood.³⁴⁴ The mestizo’s lack of “purity,” tainted by their indigenous blood, caused them difficulties when trying to gain access to those jobs that allowed social mobility or carried prestige. The Spanish elite in Peru continually lamented that the mestizos held positions on town councils or found employment as scribes that were above their perceived level of *calidad* (quality). Just as in Spain, the *limpieza* requirements stemmed from socioeconomic pressures.

The mestizos, a population that the Spanish continually stressed were growing larger everyday, were infiltrating all levels of society. Their cultural duality actually was a strength in

³⁴⁴ "Sobre que no se ordene mestizos." March 4, 1580, Quito, 80, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. See also Alexandre Coello de la Rosa. "De Mestizos y Criollos en la Compania de Jesus," pp, 37-66.

Peru, and therefore they excelled at several positions within society (intermediary positions in particular). As their numbers grew, this again put pressure on the creoles and the Spanish elite. For the most part, the members of the Spanish elite in Peru were not of the same caliber as the high nobility in Spain. Those individuals had no real motivation to take the trip to the Indies, unless rewarded an extremely powerful or prestigious position, such as governor or viceroy.³⁴⁵ Members who comprised the elite in Peru either earned it through longevity in the Indies, or were peninsulares of a high enough status that they would never consider joining the ranks of the artisans. Coupled with the shifting policy of the Crown to reward the creole *hijos de conquistadores* with positions fitting their title, it became quickly evident there were not enough to go around.

It is important to note that the logic behind the application of the *limpieza* requirements used against the mestizo was originally more in line with its Spanish application more so than the mestizo ties to the indigenous groups. In other words, *limpieza* did not stem from biological notions of race. The idea behind the *limpieza* in Spain was the ability to trace one's Christianity through familial bloodlines back generations. Since the mestizos were part indigenous, there was no way they could possibly assert that they were "old Christians" (*cristianos viejos*). The choice to implement *limpieza* requirements was important and calculated. If the Crown had used other forms associated with *calidad*, such as ties to nobility, it would have been problematic. The Crown had recognized the legal status of the Incas as nobles, and the mestizos could have made the argument that they too were descended from nobility. In fact, those closest to noble status in Peru, the mestizo sons and daughters of the wealthiest encomenderos (Pizarro, Aliaga,

³⁴⁵ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 38.

Ampuero, etc.) never had to worry about *limpieza* requirements, despite holding some of the most prestigious positions in Peru.³⁴⁶

Spanish officials also utilized existing laws dealing with legitimacy, which specifically targeted the mestizo's honor in Hispanic society.³⁴⁷ Legitimacy had long been an aspect of one's *calidad*, and most knew that the mestizo populations, even if the identity of the father was well known, were often not legitimized. Enforcing these laws not only tied in with the ideas behind the *limpieza* requirements, they also were a reminder of the mestizos intended inferior status.

In combination with the affront of the *limpieza* requirements, the Spanish began to chip away at their other connections with honor. The Crown implemented laws that forbade mestizos from carrying arms.³⁴⁸ The law obviously was aimed at a population with a propensity to rebel, and the desire to avoid their carrying arms was logical. Yet it also carried social significance. The law itself would have been very difficult to enforce, as it would have been unlikely to determine who was mestizo or Spaniard in many cases. Nevertheless, the law did make a clear-cut distinction of who in society had the right to be armed, which in Spain was associated with the concept of honor. By allowing Spaniards and creoles the right to carry swords and daggers that mestizos were denied, a clear dividing line emerged in terms of *calidad*.

The Spanish officials did not just create legal impediments. The paternalistic approach towards the mestizos seen in the first few decades began to fade, and the Spanish began to discredit the *hijos de españoles e indias* culturally as well as legally. The largest advantage available to the mestizos was their multiculturalism, and thus their ability to move about in both

³⁴⁶ "Expediente de Confirmación del oficio de regidor de Lima a Martín de Ampuero y Francisco de Ampuero," April 28, 1570, Lima, 178, N.5, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³⁴⁷ "Blas de Torres Altamirano, fiscal, sobre varios asuntos," April 15, 1600, Quito, 9, R.3, N.23, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³⁴⁸ Berta Ares Queija and Serge Gruzinski, eds., *Entre dos mundos: fronteras culturales y agentes mediadores* (Seville, Spain: CSIC - Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1997), 48.

spheres and serve as intermediaries. The Spanish officials frequently referenced their ability to disappear among the natives and hide with their kin, who had such love and admiration for them. To combat the social mobility of the mestizo, Spanish officials began to construct the myth of the mestizo vagabond.³⁴⁹ The lessons learned through trial and error with the African populations were now being applied to the mestizo populations as there were “many mestizos, *mulatos*, and blacks [that] are wandering vagabonds.”³⁵⁰ The population that was lamentably “lost among the Indians” in the 1540s and 1550s became aimless drifters in the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁵¹ Spaniards used the mobility of the mestizos against them to portray them as idle and lazy. The Crown went so far as to create legislation that allowed local magistrates to press mestizos into service in the mines or in military campaigns on the frontiers if they perceived them to be idle.³⁵² The notion behind creating the association between mestizos and *mulatos* with vagrancy was to help keep these populations within the Spanish sphere of society. The Spanish could ill afford to let the mestizos create alliances with the native communities outside of Spanish authority. Edicts trickled down in abundance to try to prevent the mestizos from living in the indigenous communities.³⁵³ These laws served two purposes. They kept the mestizos within the Spanish sphere, while relieving the pressure they believed that the mixed population placed on the indigenous economy.

The distinction between the native and the mestizo was largely cultural. Spanish officials did not seem to have much of an issue with the *mestizos in traje de indio* (mestizos dressed like

³⁴⁹ The Crown had always considered vagrancy to be a problem, but the documents began to include the mestizo and mulato populations more frequently.

³⁵⁰ Robert Levellier, *Gobernantes del Peru*, I:427.

³⁵¹ Mangan, “Moving Mestizos,” 273.

³⁵² “El Presidente de la Audiencia de Quito sobre diversos asuntos.” March 25, 1612, Quito,9,R.15,N.113, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³⁵³ For examples, see Charcas, 415, L.2, 49-51, and Quito, 209,L.1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

natives) who lived in the indigenous communities. These individuals lived as natives and their status as mestizos usually only became transparent in legal matters or issues concerning tribute.³⁵⁴ At the same time, *indios ladinos* (natives who spoke Spanish) and *yanaconas* (indigenous laborers exempt from tribute) who were too acculturated to Spanish ways began to appear in similar documents prohibiting them from living in the indigenous communities.³⁵⁵ In other words, Spanish officials generally disregarded the mestizos who lived culturally as natives, but full-blooded natives who dressed and behaved as Spaniards were required to live among the Spanish. Again, while these laws generally remained impossible to enforce, they do demonstrate the changing attitudes of the Spanish Crown.

To assure further cultural separation from the natives, the Spanish allowed the mestizos certain distinctions. Primarily, in Spanish legal terms, the mestizo remained exempt from paying tribute. This central exemption was enough to deter most mestizos from accepting the status of the indigenous populations.³⁵⁶ The lack of tribute payment indicated one's status as *gente de razón* (people of reason). While this carried no economic advantage, it did create a sense of hierarchy and social distinction and added a small amount of divisive superiority to the mestizos.

Spanish officials became very wary of mestizo unity. Generally, the mestizos did not form a cohesive group in society, since so many other factors in determining their *calidad*, coupled with their diverse interests, had served to divide them. Furthermore, just like the natives and the Spanish, they had different ideas of kinship and ethnicity. Nevertheless, there had been pockets that suggested the potential unity or establishment of a more collective cultural identity

³⁵⁴ "Querrela contra Francisco and Fernando, mestizos," September 7, 1606, Am 1606-10, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.

³⁵⁵ "Respuesta al Obispo de Quito," June 24, 1573, Quito, 209,L.1,10R-18R, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³⁵⁶ Probanzas de mestizos began to appear in which several individuals attempted to prove that they were a mestizo to avoid tribute payments. See Serie Mestizos, Caja 1, ex. 1, Archivo Nacional de Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.

of the mestizos. This potential was especially evident when the Spanish collectively denied them access to advancement in society. The mestizo priests had united in a common front to make their arguments to the Crown. The mestizos *montañeses* of Quito had joined together and pooled their resources, just as many native groups had done, in order to address their grievances concerning the alcabala taxes. The mestizos of Cusco had formed an exclusive *cofradía* (religious brotherhood), denying Spaniards any access. The *cofradía* was able to gather large amounts of money to spend on religious celebrations, and they chose St. Paul as their patron. At the same time, the mestizos had argued that he had preached in Peru, and the Spaniards had accused the mestizos of worshipping the Viracocha.³⁵⁷ Spanish officials had grown very concerned about the mestizos forming these types of groups.³⁵⁸ They had learned from their attempts to separate the African and indigenous populations that in doing so, they had also reinforced and strengthened their common association and self-perceptions. The Spanish had hoped to avoid a similar pitfall with the mestizos.

The goal was to keep them within the Hispanic sphere of society while also perpetuating minor social differences that kept them from forming a large social group. The best option, as the Spanish observed over time, served both their social and economic interests. The mestizos, now legally removed from many professions due to the *limpieza* requirements that were favoring the creoles, were funneled into the artisan groups. This not only helped keep the mestizos within the Spanish sphere, but it also gave them a productive role in society. Artisans who were exceptional at their trade became very well respected, but they were never a threat to rise to the ranks of the aristocracy. The artisans comprised a niche of society that was fundamentally

³⁵⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:291-292.

³⁵⁸ "Asociación de los mestizos" March 29, 1601, Quito, 209, L.1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

important, yet in which social mobility was limited. In addition, the artisan group was firmly planted within the Spanish sphere of society. Another important aspect in channeling the mestizos into the ranks of the artisans was the fact that many of the artisanal groups were identified along trade lines. Their guilds and *cofradías* originated from whichever trade they practiced, not from their status in society or their perceived ethnic makeup. While the mestizos, mulatos, or indigenous groups may have established their own guilds independent of the Spanish, they stemmed from hierarchies associated with the trades.³⁵⁹ These hierarchies helped to maintain subtle differences and fractionalize mestizo unity.

The Crown was also at a point where it had to come to a consensus on the native population. The junta of 1568 and the subsequent Toledan reforms in Peru were a clear demarcation of how the relationship between the Crown and the natives was going to evolve. The natives were to be protected above all, and the Crown still had a strong desire to keep the indigenous culture independent. Yet, this culture was going to be more in line with Spanish designs. The reduction of the native populations was as much about developing a sedentary, manageable indigenous population to aid in the economy, as it was for their spiritual well-being. The Inca were defeated, and the Spanish were in Peru to stay. The Spanish monarchs were going to create the kind of indigenous society they felt should exist in their domains.³⁶⁰

In many ways, this shift in policy was a serious setback to the supporters of the Dominican philosophy purported by Las Casas, who continued to advocate for the rights of the natives.³⁶¹ The Crown and Toledo affirmed without a doubt that the economic and religious

³⁵⁹ Webster, "Masters of the Trade," 10-15 and Karen Spalding, "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 50, no. 4 (November 1970): 646-647

³⁶⁰ Mumford, *Vertical Empires*, 78.

³⁶¹ Merluzzi, "Religion and State Policies," 194.

aims of the Spanish were not conflicting. Although the natives had rights, those rights were granted as subjects of the King. In this regard, the Crown would assure their protection by taking back control of their labor and spiritual well-being from the encomenderos and the curacas.

The shift in the royal philosophy occurred over time and was a reaction to several changes in the sociopolitical landscape in Peru. Initially, the Crown had to tread lightly with how they tested the Inca nobility. The Sapa Incas were the kings or emperors of their civilization, and by all accounts they ruled over a well-ordered society with established law. It was not too far back in Spanish history that the monarchs of the fledgling Spanish kingdoms had been negotiating with the nobles of Spain for their sovereignty, and Charles V and Phillip II's Hapsburg Empire in Europe did not come without continual contestation in areas outside of Spain. Neither was ready to unleash a group of lesser hidalgos to murder nobles with impunity, despite how events unfolded. For this reason, the Crown originally chose to perpetuate Inca nobility. After the garroting of Atahualpa, which met with royal disapproval, the Spanish quickly named a new Inca. The Spanish awarded the Inca nobles with highly profitable encomienda grants, and the Yupanqui lineage earned a coat of arms with patents of nobility in Spain. The early designs toward the native populations were clearly different in the early years.

Toledo's execution of the last emperor of the Incas was a different situation, although the act equally drew the admonishment of the Spanish Crown. The death of the Inca ended the empire, and regardless of how Phillip II felt about the individual act, the dye was cast. The collapse of the Inca state left little reason to perpetuate the Inca nobility. Those who maintained their encomienda grants were able to maintain some status in society, but it was no longer the responsibility of the Spanish to propagate their status.

Toledo envisioned his propaganda campaign against the Inca effectively to end the study of their culture and empire, and he tried to give Sarmiento's history the authoritative weight it would need to refute all other accounts. The effective end of Incan civilization actually brought about an understanding of a changing culture in Peru, and more chroniclers came forth to portray a different version of the Inca. In particular, chroniclers who had unique perspectives on the Inca, such as the mestizo Garcilaso de la Vega and the Andean Guaman Poma de Ayala revealed their perspectives on Inca culture and history.

The tones of both of these works, whether lamentation or frustration, are clearly in response to the changes that occurred in Peruvian society after Toledo's reforms. In many ways, Toledo's reforms helped clarify, if not justify, the changing sentiments. Despite the impact that these reforms had, they were not the sole cause of the shifting perceptions towards the natives. The extirpation campaign in Peru corresponded with the Junta Magna and the arrival of Toledo. The proselytization of the natives took on a more belligerent form. The natives continually returned to their previous forms of worship, and the only way to prevent it seemed to be the total destruction of their huacas that the Spanish considered idolatrous.

While the advanced civilization of the Incas took the Spanish by surprise, the other ethnic groups that they encountered after the Incas impressed the Spanish far less. The Spanish continually struggled to pacify the indigenous populations of Chile, and the Chiriguanos on the eastern frontier would be a thorn in the side of the Spanish for years. In addition to their refusal to submit, they committed unspeakable acts and barely behaved as humans. The Spaniards on the frontier complained that the human meat markets (*carnicerías de carne humana*) thrived in their communities, and their insatiable thirst for blood and their continual atrocities made it clear

to the Spaniards that they were "common enemies to all the human race".³⁶² Countless Spaniards testified that it was notoriously well known that the Chiriguanos consumed human meat and suggested that they kept other natives captive in order to fatten them up for their meals. Another Spaniard testified that upon a destruction of another indigenous village, the Chiriguanos burned the pigs and the chickens, and ate the other natives.³⁶³ In short, the Chiriguanos were "one of the worst nations of people known to this world."³⁶⁴

Undoubtedly, the Spanish had motive to over exaggerate the atrocities of the Chiriguanos. Convincing Toledo and the Spanish Crown to declare war on the Chiriguanos also allowed for their enslavement under the guise of a "just war." Several Spaniards petitioned the king to allow the enslavement of the Chiriguanos due to their atrocities.³⁶⁵ At the same time, the veracity of such reports is irrelevant, since they would spread across the viceroyalty and were credible to the Spanish. These natives made the Inca culture seem like an anomaly. The Spanish felt like such egregious behavior justified their enslavement, and the slave trade on the frontier did prosper. Toledo tried repeatedly to get both the populations in Chile and in the Audiencia de Charcas under control to no avail. After the fall of the Inca, there were no great indigenous civilizations to be found, and those Spaniards who still ventured into the frontiers to claim their status as *adelantado* usually returned unimpressed both with the natives they encountered and the return on their investment.

³⁶² "Geography, customs, and history of the Chiriguanos," 1583, MG 1489a, Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

³⁶³ "Testimony on Chiriguanos," October 24, 1571 MG 481, Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

³⁶⁴ "Geography, customs, and history of the Chiriguanos," 1583, MG 1489a, Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

³⁶⁵ "Enslavement of Chiriguanos; their removal to Lima or Trujillo" MG 35d, and "Permission to enslave Chiriguanos for limited period," 1450m, Manuel E. Gondra Collection, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

The continual population decline from the European epidemics also changed the way the Spanish perceived them. It was hard for the Spaniards to imagine how many natives died while the Spanish and African populations seemed to thrive. It only contributed to the sense of their superiority and was just another justification that they belonged in Peru. The various negative perceptions came together in a way that made sense to the Spanish. As Spanish honor was deeply rooted in masculinity, the traits of the indigenous became more effeminate. The believed passivity of the natives, their corporeal differences (no facial hair, soft skin, etc.), the ease in which they succumbed to disease, all pointed to their effeminacy and weakness.

With the decline of the noble savage and a more negative view of the natives prevailing, it became easier to create the dividing line between the two republics. Most of the native populations who assisted the Spanish had been under Inca rule, but had chosen to side with the Spanish to liberate themselves. For the Spanish, ethnic distinctions no longer mattered. It was a clear division between the conquered and the conquerors.

Becoming a República de Indios

The execution of the last Inca was an extremely important event in the history of Peru, both for the Spanish and the natives. Psychologically, it was a very tangible reminder that the pre-Columbian past was gone. While indigenous revolts and spiritual movements such as the Taqui Onqoy were still fresh in the indigenous social memory, many native groups began to adjust to life under the Toledan reforms. A large percentage of the natives were becoming subjects of the Crown, only as they understood it to be.

The relocation of the native populations to the reducciones and the reorganization of their leadership had serious effects on the kinship networks, but how it affected each indigenous community depended on a variety of factors. The indigenous communities centered on

relationships, not territory, and relocation did not necessarily indicate a drastic change in their social structure. Land was usually communally occupied (and later owned after adapting to Spanish customs) by the *ayllus* and utilized collectively. According to Guaman Poma, the most significant consequences of the *reducciones* stemmed from the Spanish creating an indigenous dependency on an unpredictable distribution of land.

Toledo seemed to choose the locations around Spanish convenience rather than basing it off traditional indigenous farming practices. In some places, the land the natives received was an improvement, and in other cases, the land was barely workable. It seemed to boil down to luck. Some indigenous groups were relocated to areas very close to their old farming areas, or at the very least, Toledo granted the natives access to them. In other cases, the new terrain was very inhospitable and strained the natives' ability to self-subsist, much less meet tribute demands.

If the natives were fortunate enough to receive desirable land, they again found themselves fending off Spanish interests due to the differences in perceptions of land tenure. The Spanish based the justification of land ownership on use, while the natives preferred to let some of their fields lay fallow for a few years. The Spanish also continually argued that the natives had more than enough land, which due to demographic decline may have been true in some areas. Those natives with poor allotments also had to fight the Spanish to relocate, and they were only moderately successful.

Another major factor outside of the native's control was the quality of Spanish administration assigned to the *reducción*. The *corregidores de indios* had a notoriously bad reputation for corruption. Since by design they were intended to administratively control tribute and labor requirements while serving as a buffer between the natives and Spaniards, a corrupt *corregidor* could wreak havoc on an indigenous community. The *protectores de naturales* had a

better reputation, but they were not above the possibility of corruption themselves. With effective administration, a few natives actually felt like they worked less, which gave them too much free time and allowed them to incorporate Spanish vices, such as alcohol and gambling.

The problem was not just that some of the officials were corrupt, but rather they insisted on corrupting the whole system. If the reducciones functioned as they were intended, then the natives would have avenues through which to air their grievances. For this reason, corruption begat corruption. Even the curacas and other indigenous intermediaries placed in their positions by Spaniards mostly exhibited the same behaviors. The corruption of the reducciones became the actual goal of some of the priests and corregidores in order to function with impunity.³⁶⁶

The continual clashes with the Spanish and their administrative intermediaries truly had a unique effect regarding the indigenous groups' relationship with the King. In order to repeatedly defend their resources against the Spanish, the natives had to become adept in Hispanic legality. While this did not always translate into positive outcomes in the Americas, it did allow the natives to develop an understanding of their status as subjects of the King. From the purely legal standpoint, the laws appeared to be on their side more often than not, even if the opposite seemed to be true in how the Spanish applied them in Peru. These discrepancies lead many of the natives to believe that the King of Spain was a benevolent ruler who had the native's interests at heart, but whose message was corrupted by greedy and hypocritical Spaniards in the Americas. As Guaman Poma suggested to the Spanish Christians in Peru, "His Majesty is such a great saint that all the prelates and viceroys come here to take charge of the poor natives. The sea brings desire to help the poor Indians. On reaching land, soon they turn against Jesus Christ's poor Indians."³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 149-151.

³⁶⁷ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First Good Chronicle*, 294.

For Guaman Poma, and many of the natives, it was not Spanish rule that was the most problematic. Rather it was the hypocrisy. The preached all the virtues that they did not follow, and yet continually questioned the sincerity of the natives' faith. Guaman Poma reminded the Spaniards, "I have not found that the Indians covet gold or silver. Neither have I found an Indian who owes one hundred pesos, tells lies, gambles, refuses to work, acts as a whore or a pimp, steals from you or fails to obey their father, mother, prelate, or king." It was the Spaniards, and according to the Crown, the mestizos, mulattos, and Africans as well, who taught the vices to the natives.

In response to all of the above factors, an indigenous version of the *dos repúblicas* was emerging among many of the natives. In some ways, it mirrored the Hispanic version. The indigenous groups were comfortable being subjects of the Crown without assimilating into the Hispanic sphere. Many natives, including Guaman Poma, were even accepting of the *reducciones*, if put to better application. Cultural *mestizaje*, however, was the root of the indigenous version rather than the prevailing threat. The arrival of the Spanish had allowed a transference of culture that, coupled with the Andean past, had created the opportunity for the best of both worlds.

The Spanish had brought Christianity and had overthrown the Inca Empire. Ironically, Toledo's propaganda may have found a more receptive audience among the indigenous groups than it did the Spanish, and many among the indigenous groups were comfortable with labeling the Inca as tyrants. Conversely, the Inca also instilled order and discipline to Andean society, which was something the Spaniards in Peru clearly lacked. The natives self-identified with many of the tenants of Christianity naturally, and they argued that the other negative qualities ascribed to them, such as drunkenness and laziness, came from Spanish influence.

The Spanish continually lamented that the indigenous groups returned to their native religions. In actuality, very little of the uniquely Inca religious customs survived. What was recurring, labeled as idolatrous by the Spanish, was ancestor worship and *huacas*. As mentioned previously, indigenous spirituality was changing and incorporation of Christian principles was becoming more prevalent within the Andean spiritual consciousness. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible to know the motivation for the natives application of *huacas*. Most of the accounts we have of the native religions after the conquest are complaints from Spanish officials and members of the clergy, who had their own agenda. Some were genuinely concerned that the *huacas* represented a turn from Christianity, while others overplayed the “idolatry” of the natives for political purposes to discredit certain indigenous individuals or groups who were attempting to use colonial channels to improve their lot.³⁶⁸ Guaman Poma also reminded the Spanish that they two had idols, and recounts the tale of the Spaniard with his silver cross, who wept when it was lost to him in the same manner in which the natives wept upon the destruction of their *huacas*.³⁶⁹

It had to have been extremely difficult for the natives to reconcile Spanish ideologies where idolatry was concerned, particularly after attending mass after mass and watching Spaniards bow and pray to the numerous crosses of wood, silver, and gold that adorned their churches. It is possible that to many natives, the incorporation of the *huacas* was an Andean way of interpreting newfound spirituality. Other examples, such as the indigenous incorporation of St. James in their own depictions of battle in addition to Guaman Poma’s description, depict a more complex layer of indigenous spirituality following the arrival of the Spanish than contemporary accounts or later scholarly analyses of religious syncretism can provide.

³⁶⁸ Mumford, *Vertical Empires*, 149-150.

³⁶⁹ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, 294.

Regardless, many within the indigenous groups did consider that they had the best of indigenous and Spanish culture, and that they were more exemplary of Spanish ideals than the Spanish themselves. Just as the Spanish perceptions of the “noble savage” began to fade from Spanish spheres, the natives too began to sour on the ability of local Spanish officials to carry out Spanish monarchs’ designs. The indigenous desire to incorporate the Spanish into their kinship networks had waned dramatically, and they lamented the fact that their appeals and grievances had to pass through corrupted channels. Just as they had done with the Spanish response to the African populations, the natives began to respond to the Spanish desire to keep the mestizos, *mulatos*, and Spanish out of their communities.³⁷⁰ Again, this was a cultural distinction, as the mestizos or *mulatos* (in this case part indigenous and Spanish) who lived as natives were not the issue. Rather, those individuals who would cycle back and forth through both Spanish and indigenous spheres were targeted.

What evolved was an indigenous understanding among those native groups who lived closer to the concentration of Spanish power that the *dos repúblicas* was equally advantageous to their communities as well. As long as they continued to meet their tribute demands and maintain their Christian responsibilities, they could maintain relative autonomy. Any interference from Spanish officials, mestizos, *mulatos*, or other non-indigenous interlopers usually involved corruption, either through their own vices, or through the introduction of those vices into the indigenous communities. As colonial society developed, the native groups appeared to equal the Spanish in their advocacy of the philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*.

³⁷⁰ “Petición de los caciques indios,” April 26, 1614, Quito, 212, L.4, F.71V-72R, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In 1615, Guaman Poma appealed to Phillip III about the situation in Peru. The corrupt Spanish officials and priests abused the “poor Indians” and set horrible examples for the natives. Making matters worse, the indigenous populations were not multiplying. Instead, they were dying off, only to be replaced with large numbers of “mestizos and half-breeds.”³⁷¹ Guaman Poma repeatedly lamented the fact that “there [was] no remedy.”³⁷² Yet the Andean chronicler was not writing as a conquered native but as a subject of the king. The issue was not independence from Spain, but rather the ability to live and thrive as a separate republic free from the influence of the corruption and bad behaviors modeled by the Spaniards and the emerging ethnically mixed groups.

The state of affairs bemoaned by Guaman Poma was reflective of the evolution of society after the arrival of the Spanish. The efforts of the natives and the Spanish to understand each other within their respective sociological and cosmological contexts gave way to a multiculturalism that developed in Peru. Intermediaries and interlopers broke down existing cultural boundaries and challenged the Hispanic sociopolitical philosophy of the *dos repúblicas*. This challenge increased with the advent of the creole and mestizo populations who were *nacidos en esta tierra* (born in this land) and who perpetuated the multiculturalism that was beginning to define colonial Peruvian society. Eventually, the threat these populations posed when forming alliances with the indigenous groups manifested in a series of revolts that exposed the insubstantiality of Spanish hegemony. In response, Spanish officials perpetuated the

³⁷¹ Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, eds., *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* (New York, NY: SR Books, 2002), 180.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 180-181.

superiority of their culture while simultaneously implementing changes to re-center Hispanic authority and limit the power of the local populations.

In this regard, it is evident that the notions of a Spanish “conquest” as well as Spain’s “colonial” endeavors were the result of their experiences in the Americas rather than the cause of them. This new interpretation also helps clarify why Guaman Poma could be loyal to a Spanish king and willingly accept and practice an Andean version of Christianity while despising Spanish interference and rejecting the emergence of mestizo populations. As a product of his time, Guaman Poma exemplified cultural mestizaje while at the same time rejecting biological mestizaje. Guaman Poma’s appeal in the early seventeenth century occurred at a time when Spanish hegemony was becoming more secure. Yet the cultural mestizaje that developed in Peru during its formative years would have consequences reaching far beyond the early colonial period.

By the 1650s, the decrees of the Junta Magna in 1568 and the subsequent Toledan reforms of the 1570s and 1580s had taken root in Peru. The Spanish had firmly established themselves and the major threats based on creole, mestizo, and indigenous alliances were diminishing. As previously mentioned, the latter revolts were less about overturning the political system and more about having a voice within it. The various colonial groups of mixed ethnicity were in the Spanish fold. They had migrated to the cities and were working various jobs for wages or had learned specific trades, and their ability to move between the two spheres was moderated.

The indigenous adaptation of the *dos repúblicas* had equally limited the threat that the mestizo, *mulato* and African populations had on their societies. To be clear, not all mestizos or *mulatos* had moved to Spanish cities, and many lived on the fringes of either Spanish or

indigenous communities. The mestizos that lived in the indigenous communities most likely lived as natives. The other mestizos, *mulatos*, and *indios ladinos* who intermingled with native societies had more of a symbiotic relationship in that they would have mutually benefitted from their economic or social relationship. The difference was in the understanding of the Spanish philosophy of the two republics and the indigenous ability to play off Spanish fears. Indigenous groups could now report troublesome interlopers to the Spanish and usually expect positive results. The Spanish cooptation of mestizaje and the subsequent indigenous reactions did not end interaction between the mixed ethnic groups and the natives, but rather gave the Spanish and indigenous groups more power to control it.

The Spanish had effectively relegated the Africans, mestizos, *mulatos*, and many natives who began to move to the cities in larger numbers to the plebian sectors of the cities. Some more fortunate mestizos or *mulatos* with powerful kinship ties were still able to gain access to positions associated with higher status, especially when the local Spanish officials began to sell certain positions that had previously been merit based. Spaniards complained that even those offices for sale should go to Spaniards or men of certain *calidad*, rather than people who were illegitimate (a common ploy along with *limpieza* requirements often used to target mestizos and *mulatos*).³⁷³ Even purchasing offices took considerable resources that the majority of the lower classes did not possess.

The most significant aspect of the origins of a plebeian society in Peru was the incorporation of mestizaje. The integration of the creoles into the Hispanic identity and culture of conquest notwithstanding, there was never any attempt to “divide and conquer” the various ethnic groups. In fact, the documents reflect quite the opposite. The archives are littered with

³⁷³ “Blas de Torres Altamirano, fiscal, sobre varios asuntos,” April 15, 1600, Quito,9,R.3,N.23, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

requests from Spanish officials and royal edicts that the Spanish, mestizos, *mulatos*, and Africans be prohibited from living within the indigenous communities.³⁷⁴ Yet little, if any, documentation exists requesting that mestizos not live among the Spanish or African populations and vice versa. Spanish officials even considered it preferable that the African populations lived among the Spanish and even attempted to pass legislation that groups of blacks had to live with a Spaniard master (*amo*). The Spanish did at times recommend mestizo reductions, similar to those of the native communities. These reductions were to aid in their control and to assure that they refrain from interfering with the indigenous, not Spanish, communities.

There were hierarchal differences within the plebeian groups, yet again, the Spanish did not create these differences in order to “divide and conquer.” In actuality, the various differences between the groups were based on a case-by-case scenario. For example, the Crown had to determine whether Africans and *mulatos* should pay tribute. It was determined that since slaves did not pay tribute, that the free blacks and *mulatos* should be grateful for their freedom and as such pay a tribute. The rationale was different for the indigenous groups. They were “conquered” and thus paid tribute in accordance to the traditions evolving during the Reconquista, which were more in line with *paria* payments.³⁷⁵ The Spanish considered the mestizo populations originally to be *gente de razón*, and therefore exempted from them tribute payments. Many Spaniards advocated for the mestizo populations to pay tribute, but the distinction remained. While these divisions may have contributed somewhat to a sense of hierarchy among the plebian populations, there is no documental evidence that the Spanish based these decisions collectively on preconceived notions of a social and ethnic hierarchy.

³⁷⁴ For example, such a cedula was sent to six different corregidores on the same day. See Charcas, 418, L. 2, F. 68R(5), Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. <http://pares.mcu.es>.

³⁷⁵ “Relación que trata de la necesidad del castigo y allanamiento de los indios de guerra Chiriguanos,” 1580, 32-1361 Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

While ethnic identities remained fluid throughout the colonial period, a more collective consciousness grew out of confrontation and adversity. The indigenous groups based their identities on their common ancestries and ayllus, yet would bond together and pool resources to address the Crown. Mestizos were not a collective group as previously mentioned, but bonded together to oppose the *alcabala* taxes and defended their ability to be priests by noting their collective characteristics. Africans came from different ethnic groups and maintained drastic differences from the black populations that came from Spain. Nevertheless, in the Americas they would bond together through their *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods), form *cimarrón* communities, and help each other hide from the Spanish. These commonalities were not enough to constitute fixed ethnic groups within the colonial structure, but enough to suggest an understanding of their bond based on shared cultural experiences.

This also helps explain why “passing” in order to “whiten” did not occur. The plebian culture that developed did not stem from racial hierarchies, but rather their potential to disrupt the balance of the *dos repúblicas*. In other words, the multiethnic plebian element in society was not a result of Spanish racial discrimination, but rather emerged due to Spanish desire to keep the Hispanic and indigenous spheres of society separate. In this context, it would have accomplished little for a black silversmith to pass as a *mulato*, or a mestizo tailor to pass as a Spaniard.³⁷⁶ The only real distinction of any value was the exemption of tribute payments awarded the mestizos. However, the Spanish officials had a very difficult time collecting tribute from the black populations, so this social advantage was somewhat negated.

In this regard, the plebian culture that evolved within Peruvian society by the middle of seventeenth century did closely resemble the *sistema de castas* described by Cope. However,

³⁷⁶ Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 76-85.

this correlation is not without its problems. Recently, Joanna Rappaport has challenged the validity of *castas* both as a tool the Spanish elite utilized to maintain hegemony, and as a lens through which to analyze difference in colonial society. She points out that *casta* rarely appears in the documents, especially outside of Mexico, and that mestizos or *mulatos* never self-identified as *casta*. Furthermore, she argues that the term has become a common identifier of the ethnic groups outside of its original scope. She questions whether a term that was scarcely used by elite or plebeian society could have been such an important concept in colonial power relationships.³⁷⁷

Rappaport is correct to challenge the validity of the term *castas* as a signifier of identity, and its use has spread beyond its valuable application in both geographical and sociological terms. What sense does it make to refer to Diego de Almagro's mestizo son as *casta* during his brief stint as Governor of Peru? Does the term equally apply to the *mulato* caciques of the Esmeraldas when they were living independently as the curacas of the indigenous communities? The term has significant connotations of social inferiority that may or may not have applied to various individuals within different contexts. Rappaport's assertion that *calidad* (overall quality), which was based on a number of sociological factors in which ethnicity was only one, is a much more accurate tool to describe social difference.

Geography was also a large factor in how this plebeian group emerged in society. The peripheries of viceroyal control often had larger populations of mixed ethnicities, sometimes constituting a majority. In this context, it was more difficult to deny them positions of authority or prestige. One Spanish official on the frontier lamented that he could not find anyone worthy

³⁷⁷ Rappaport, *Disappearing Mestizo*, 181.

of the position because the land was full of mestizos.³⁷⁸ As such, they often took on roles in the community that outweighed their mestizo status. This distinction often undermined the plebeian status of the individual's associates and kin, who may have also belonged to the lower levels of society.

The emergence of a plebeian class within the context of cultural mestizaje also had consequences in within late colonial society. The Bourbons saw an empire in disarray. Corruption seemed to permeate almost every aspect of society. The church had too much power. It was time to reevaluate the colonies that the Hapsburgs had apparently let fall into near ruin. The Bourbon Reforms were meant to reorganize the financial aspects of the empire and root out corruption in order to increase the flow of currency to Spain. The Bourbons also felt like they needed to increase the royal presence in the colonies and restructured the administration.

The reforms also had a social component. The Bourbons wanted to implement social order, with a hierarchical system based on the contemporary aristocratic notions of the day. The most affected, both in the social and administrative spheres, were the creoles. Due to an increase in peninsular Spaniards in the Americas as well as social changes that had occurred, the numbers of creoles among the plebeian element of society had already begun to swell at the end of the Hapsburg reign. The implementation of Bourbon rule not only served to facilitate their social decline, but also went after their honor as well.

The descent into the plebeian ranks, coupled with the philosophical rhetoric of equality spreading through the European colonies in the Atlantic, allowed for previously fractured groups to unite in a common cause. The creoles, mestizos, and mulattos rose up as people of the Americas to throw off the yoke of Spanish oppression. The African slaves became a swing

³⁷⁸ “Carta a S. M. informando sobre ciertos sucesos de la Provincia del Perú,” January 31, 1581, MG 1797, Manuel E. Gondra Collection, Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

population, with both those in rebellion and those loyal to the Crown promising their freedom in exchange for their service. It was to be a new republic, without the colonial hierarchal distinctions that had served to limit those born in Peru for years.

Scholars of the Latin American independence movements have coined the phrase “plebeian liberalism” to define the participation of the lower levels of colonial societies in the struggle for freedom from Spain. Their argument suggests that the independence movements were not creations of a creole intellectual elite, but rather were the result of the unification of the creoles and the ranks of the plebeian class. The creoles may have supplied the rhetoric, but it was a grass roots struggle stemming from the shared sense of belonging to a new “American” identity.

Scholars have also noted what seemed to be a strange phenomenon in that many of the native groups remained loyal to the Crown. That ethnic groups would remain loyal to a kingdom that had shackled them with the burden of tribute and labor requirements and relegated them to the lowest levels of society seemed contrary to logic. Those native groups who bought into the ideology of a society without social and ethnic hierarchies were easier to explain.

It is possible that the Bourbons get too much credit for their role in sparking the revolutions for independence. In essence, the underlying threat of a plebeian alliance based on an emerging sense of a new collective identity had been around since the earliest days in Peru. The Bourbons lacked the benefit of experience the Hapsburgs gained during the formative years of colonial society. By implementing their reforms, they were pulling at threads that had lightly held colonial society together for over a century. Adversely, the unraveling of colonial society after the reforms demonstrates how effective the Hapsburg approach to the potential plebeian alliance was in maintaining Spanish hegemony.

The fact that so many native groups remained loyal to the Crown is also not surprising within this context. The logic behind their decision stems from the indigenous adaptation of the *dos repúblicas* in response to the Toledan reforms. The logic was the same, just adapted to counter the rhetoric of those rebelling against the king. The idea of a society with no social distinctions was not appealing to many indigenous groups, in that they would lose their identity and independence. As they had learned when they began to eschew their policy towards creating kinship ties with the Spanish, as long as they met their requirements and could avoid getting tangled up in legal disputes with the Spanish, they could exist in relative autonomy.

The King was still the figure who tried to protect them, and the local magistrates and officials were the ones who had corrupted his designs. For the natives, it was a return to the traditional form of governing through reciprocity. The king provided protection and access to land in exchange for tribute and loyalty. The indigenous populations, particularly those in rural areas, were not overly concerned with their status within the social structure of the Spanish sphere, and again, tribute payments became their access to autonomy. Furthermore, their adaptation of the *dos repúblicas* was as much about the plebeian groups as it was the Spanish. The native groups had grown wary of the Spanish, mestizo, mulatto, and African interlopers, and there was nothing in the rhetoric of equality propagated by the revolutionaries that suggested things would be any better.

Undeniably, there were other factors involved in the late eighteenth century that did not exist in sixteenth-century Peru. Chief among them was the emergence of an Atlantic World where revolutions were brewing and ideas were spreading rapidly. The various American and Spanish groups were operating within different sociological contexts than the conquistadors, natives, and other emerging ethnic groups after the Spanish arrived. Nevertheless, the prevailing

narrative within the context of “plebeian liberalism” is indicative of the threat cultural mestizaje posed to colonial society, and the consequences of Bourbon reforms demonstrate the logic behind Hapsburg policy towards the American groups.

The issues brought about through mestizaje have continued through the independence movements into the modern Latin American identity. The pervasive nature of Spanish colonialism and its connection with modern concepts of race in Latin America has fueled many different interpretations of its significance. Rather than focusing solely on colonialism as the backdrop for the construction of racial hierarchies existing today, modern scholars are looking at colonialism as a structure in and of itself. They suggest that colonialism and the push for modernity that developed after the independence movements are two aspects that came out of the colonial period that affect modern behaviors and self-perceptions.³⁷⁹ The culture of conquest carried with it certain racial perceptions suggesting a contrast between the conquerors and the conquered. The aftermath of the colonial period fueled a push for modernization, which created the divisive and distinct structures of colonialism and modernity. This divide also exists within the context of mestizaje as a divide between the indigenous and the European. Given the significant role cultural mestizaje played in the colonial period, the independence movements, and the formation of modern national identities, its origins in the Americas should no longer be obscure.

³⁷⁹ Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 198.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abercrombie, Thomas A. *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998.
- Acosta, Jose de. *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Edited by Clements R. Markham. Vol. I. Hakluyt Series 1. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010.
- Ares Queija, Berta, and Serge Gruzinski, eds. *Entre dos mundos: fronteras culturales y agentes mediadores*. Seville, Spain: CSIC - Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1997.
- Betanzos, Juan de. *Narrative of the Incas*. Edited by Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996.
- Bowser, Frederick. *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974.
- Brewer-Garcia, Larissa. "Bodies, Texts, and Translators: Indigenous Breast Milk and the Jesuit Exclusion of Mestizos in Late Sixteenth-Century Peru." *Colonial Latin American Review* 21, no. 3 (December 2012): 365-90.
- Burns, Kathryn. *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- . "Gender and the Politics of Mestizaje: The Convent of Santa Clara in Cuzco, Peru." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (February 1998): 5-44.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2517377>.
- . "Unfixing Race." In *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, edited by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, 188-202. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Castro, Daniel. *Another Face of Empire: Bartolome de las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Chaplin, Joyce. *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Charles, John. *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671*. Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 2010.
- Cieza de León, Pedro. *El Señorío de los Incas*. Lima, Peru: Instituto de los Estudios Peruanos, 1967.

- . *The Incas*. Translated by Harriet De. Onis. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959.
- Clayton, Lawrence A. *Bartolomé de las Casas and the Conquest of the Americas*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 1988.
- Cobo, Bernabé. *History of the Inca Empire*. Translated by Roland Hamilton. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1979.
- . *Inca Religion and Customs*. Translated by Roland Hamilton. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1990.
- Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre. "De mestizos y criollos en la Compañía de Jesús (Perú, siglos XVI-XVII)." *Revista de Indias* 68, no. 243 (2008): 37-66.
- Combés, Isabelle. *Etno-historias del Isoso: Chane y chiriguano en el Chaco Boliviano (siglos XVI-XX)*. La Paz, Bolivia: IFEA/PIEB, 2005.
- . "Saypuru: El misterio de la mina oculta, del Inca chiriguano, el dios mestizo." *Revista Andina*, no. 48 (2009): 185-224.
- Cope, R. Douglas. *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Cox, Carlos Manuel. "Interpretación Económica de los 'Comentarios' del Inca Garcilaso." In *Ynca Garcilaso de la Vega: Primer Mestizo de América, Estudios*, 81-100. Lima, Peru: Instituto Cambio y Desarrollo, 1993.
- Crespo, Alberto R. *Guerra entre las Vicuñas y Vascongados*. La Paz, Bolivia: J. Camarlinghi, 1969.
- Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972.
- Cusi Yupanqui, Titu. *History of How the Spaniards Arrived in Peru*. Translated by Catherine Julien. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co. Inc., 2006.
- D'Altroy, Terence N. *The Incas*. Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014.
- Delaney, Carol. "Columbus's Ultimate Goal: Jerusalem." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48, no. 2 (2006): 260-92.
- Del Busto Duthurburu, José Antonio. "Maldonado: El Rico Señor de los Andahuaylas." *Revista Histórica* 26 (1962-1963): 113-45.

- Earle, Rebecca. *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Egaña, Antonio de. *Monumenta Peruana*. Vol. I. Roma, Italy: Apud Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1954.
- Elliot, J. H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Fernández, Amaya Fernández, Margarita Guerra Martiniere, Lourdes Leiva Viacava, and Lidia Martínez Alcalde. *La Mujer en la Conquista y la Evangelización en el Perú: Lima 1550-1650*. Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1997.
- Fernández, Diego. "Historia del Perú." In *Crónicas del Perú*. Vol. 165 of *Biblioteca de autores Españoles*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Atlas, 1963.
- "Fundación del colegio de San Borja en la ciudad del Cuzco, para hijos de caciques e indios nobles." *Revista del Archivo Nacional I*, no. 2 (1920): 342-70.
- Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca. *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*. Translated by Harold V. Livermore. 2 vols. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1966.
- Garofalo, Leo J. "Conjuring the Coca and the Inca: The Andeanization of Lima's Afro-Peruvian Ritual Specialists, 1580-1690." *The Americas* 63, no. 1 (July 2006): 53-80.
- Ghezzi, Ivan. "Religious Warfare at Chankillo." In *Andean Archeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, 67-84. Vol. III. New York, NY: Springer Science Business Media, 2006.
- González Suárez, Federico. *Historia general de la República del Ecuador*. Vol. 2. Quito, Ecuador: Imprensa del Clero, 1892.
- Gruzinski, Serge. *The Mestizo Mind*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2002.
- Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*. Edited by Roland Hamilton. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009.
- Guengerich, Sara Vicuña. "Virtuosas o corruptas: Las mujeres indígenas en las obras de Guaman Poma de Ayala y El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega." *Hispania* 96, no. 4 (December 2013): 672-83.
- Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Pedro. "Quinquenarios o Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú." In *Crónicas del Perú*. Vol. 166 of *Biblioteca de autores Españoles*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Atlas, 1963.

- Hugo, Pereyra Plasencia. "Indios y Mestizos en Lima de los Siglos XVI y XVII." *Cielo Abierto* XI, no. 32 (April 1985): 49-57.
- Hyland, Sabine. *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Kirkpatrick, F.A. *The Spanish Conquistadors*. Cleveland, OH: The World Publishing Co., 1946.
- Konetzke, Richard, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica*. 3 vols. Madrid, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953.
- Krögel, Alison. "Mercenary Milk, Pernicious Nursemaids, Heedless Mothers: Anti-wetnurse Rhetoric in the Satirical Ordenanzas del Bartillo de Mexico (1734)." *Dieciocho* 37, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 233-48.
- Labayen, Juan Bautista Olaechea. "Un Recurso al Rey de la Primera Generación Mestiza del Perú." *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 32 (1975): 155-86.
- Lamana, Gonzalo. *Domination without Dominance: Inca–Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Lavalle', Bernard. "La admisión de los Americanos en la compañía de Jesús: El caso de la provincia Peruana en el siglo XVI." *Histórica* 9, no. 2 (1985): 137-53.
- Lee, Bertram T., ed. *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*. Vol. I. Lima, Peru: Torres Aguirre; San Martí, 1935.
- Levaggi, Aberlado. "Republica de indios y republica de españoles en el reino de Indias." *Revista de estudios histórico-jurídicos*, no. 23: 419-28.
- Levillier, Roberto. *Don Francisco de Toledo supremo organizador del Perú: Su vida, su obra, 1515-1582*. Madrid, Spain: Espasa-Calpe S.A., 1935.
- , ed. *Gobernantes del Perú: Cartas y Papeles*. Vol. 6. Madrid, Spain: Imprenta de Juan Pueyo, 1924.
- Library of Congress. Manuscript Division. *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Documents from Early Peru, The Pizarros and the Almagros, 1531-1578*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1936.
- Lissón Chávez, Emilio. *La Iglesia de España en el Perú. Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, que se encuentran en varios archivos*. Vol. I. Seville, Spain: Ed. Católica Española, 1943-1948.

- Lockhart, James. *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1972.
- . *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.
- MacCormack, Sabine. *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1977.
- Mangan, Jane E. "Moving Mestizos in Sixteenth Century Peru: Spanish Fathers, Indigenous Mothers, and the Children in between." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (April 2013): 273-94.
- Markham, Clements R. *The Incas of Peru*. New York, NY: Smith, Elder, 1911.
- Martínez, Héctor López. *Rebeliones de Mestizos y Otros Temas Quinientistas*. Lima, Peru: Talleres Gráficos P.L. Villanueva S.A., 1972.
- Martínez, Maria Elena. *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Megged, Amos. *Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early-Colonial Mexico*. New York, NY: E.J. Brill, 1996.
- Merluzzi, Manfredi. "Religion and State Policies in the Age of Phillip II: The 1568 Junta Magna of the Indies and the New Political Guidelines for the Spanish American Colonies." In *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflicts and Convergence*, edited by Joaquim Carvalho, 183-201. Pisa, Italy: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2007.
- Mills, Kenneth, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, eds. *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*. New York, NY: SR Books, 2002.
- Mogrovejo Rosales, Jerry. "La fracasada rebelión de 1565." *Boletín de Lima*, no. 52 (July 1987): 13-19.
- Molina, Cristobal de. *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*. Edited by Brian S. Bauer, Vania Smith-Oka, and Gabriel E. Cantarutti. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Mörner, Magnus. *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*. Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1967.
- Mumford, Jeremy Ravi. *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

- Ortega, Julio, and Christopher Conway. "Transatlantic Translations." *PMLA* 118, no. 1 (January 2003): 25-40.
- O'Toole, Rachel Sarah. *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- Perez de Tudela y Bueso, Juan, comp. *Crónicas del Perú*. Vol. I of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Atlas, 1965.
- , comp. *Crónicas del Perú*. Vol. V of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Atlas, 1965.
- , comp. *Crónicas del Perú*. Vol. III of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Atlas, 1965.
- Phelan, John Leddy. *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley University Press, 1970.
- Powers, Karen Vieira. *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis and the State in Colonial Quito*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.
- . "Andeans and Spaniards in the Contact Zone: A Gendered Collision." *The American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 511-36.
- Prescott, William H. *History of the Conquest of Peru*. New York, NY: Random House, 1998.
- Radding, Cynthia. *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Ramirez, Susan E. "The 'Dueño de Indios': Thoughts on the Consequences of the Shifting Bases of Power of the 'Curaca de los Viejos Antiguos' under the Spanish in Sixteenth-Century Peru." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 4 (November 1987): 575-610.
- . *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- . *The World Upside Down: Cross-cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986.
- Ramos, Gabriela, and Yanna Yannakakis, eds. *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Rappaport, Joanna. *The Disappearing Mestizo: Configuring Difference in the Colonial New Kingdom of Granada*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.

- Restall, Matthew. "Black Conquistadors: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America." *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (October 2000): 171-205.
- . *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Rice, Prudence M. "Wine and Brandy Production in Colonial Peru: A Historical and Archaeological Investigation." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 455-79.
- Rodriguez Domoritz, Emilio. *Refranero dominicano*. Rome: Stab. Tip. g. Menglia, 1950.
- Rostworowski, Maria. *Dona Francisca Pizarro: Una Ilustre Mestiza*. 5th ed. Lima, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2011.
- . *History of the Inca Realm*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Rowe, John Howland. "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest." In *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian H. Steward, 183-330. Vol. 2. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1846.
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/ANTH/emeritus/rowe/pub/rowe.pdf>.
- . "Probanza de los Incas Nietos de Conquistadores." *Histórica* 9, no. 2 (1985): 193-245.
- Salazar, Carmen. "La villa imperial de Potosi: cuna del mestizaje (siglos XVI y XVII)." In *Colonización, Resistencia y Mestizaje en Las Américas*, edited by Guillaume Boccara, 139-60. Quito, Ecuador: Instituto Frances de Estudios Andinos, 2002.
- Salomon, Frank, and George L. Urioste, trans. *The Huarochiri Manuscript*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Sancho, Pedro. *An Account of the Conquest of Peru*. Translated by Phillip Ainsworth Means. Boston, MA: Milford House Inc., 1972.
- Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro. *The History of the Incas*. Edited by Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Spalding, Karen. "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 50, no. 4 (November 1970): 645-64.
- Stirling, Stuart. *The Last Conquistador: Mansio Serra de Leguizamon and the Conquest of the Incas*. Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishin Limited, 1999.
- Super, John C. *Food, Conquest, and Colonization in Sixteenth-century Spanish America*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

- Thomas, Hugh. *World without End: Spain, Phillip II, and the First Global Empire*. New York, NY: Random House, 2014.
- Tobar, Hector. "Pizarro Knocked from His Pedestal." *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), March 28, 2005. <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/mar/28/world/fg-pizarro28>.
- Torres de Mendoza, Luis. *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias. Competentemente autorizada*. Madrid, Spain: Frias y co., 1866.
- Van Deusen, Nancy E. *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- . *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Varón Gabai, Rafael. "La estatua de Francisco Pizarro en Lima. Historia e identidad nacional." *Revista de Indias* 66, no. 236 (2006): 217-236.
- . *La ilusión del poder: apogeo y decadencia de los Pizarro en la conquista del Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1996.
- Wachtel, Nathan. *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570*. New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1973.
- Webster, Susan Verdi. "Masters of the Trade: Native Artisans, Guilds, and the Construction of Colonial Quito." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 1 (2009): 10-29.
- West, Delno C. "Christopher Columbus, Lost Biblical Sites, and the Last Crusade." *The Catholic Historical Review* 78, no. 4 (1992): 519-41.
- Yupanqui, Titu Cusi. *How the Spanish Arrived in Peru*. Translated by Catherine Julien. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co., 2006.

VITA

Chad Brandon McCutchen was born on May 5, 1976 in San Angelo, Texas. He is the son of Doug and Kathy McCutchen. A 1995 graduate of Tascosa High School in Amarillo, Texas, he received a Bachelor of Arts degree with majors in History, Spanish, and English from Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas in 1999.

Chad taught Spanish and English at the high school level for ten years before deciding to continue his education. He received a Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Texas at Arlington in Arlington, Texas, in 2011.

In the fall of 2011, Chad enrolled in graduate study at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas. He served as a graduate assistant from 2011-2014. In 2015, he was the recipient of the Benjamin W. Schmidt Memorial Dissertation Fellowship. In 2016, he accepted an assistant professorship in History at Minnesota State University, Mankato, in Mankato, MN.

Chad is married to Jennifer Monroe McCutchen of Cleveland, Ohio.

ABSTRACT

BORN OF PUMAS AND LIONS: CULTURAL MESTIZAJE IN THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU, 1532-1650

By Chad McCutchen, Ph.D., 2016
Department of History
Texas Christian University

Dissertation Advisor: Susan E. Ramírez, Neville G. Penrose Chair of Latin American History

This dissertation analyzes the social and political role that cultural mestizaje played in the formation of Peruvian colonial society from the arrival of the Spanish in 1532 until the middle of the seventeenth century. By this time, Spanish hegemony was more secure, and the various non-Spanish ethnicities had been relegated to plebian status within society. This research also deconstructs traditional notions of “conquest” and “colonialism” that have provided the lens through which scholars have traditionally viewed the formation of Peruvian society. By analyzing how post-contact civilization evolved within the context of cultural mestizaje, new interpretations emerge, and the means by which the Spanish were able to establish and maintain hegemony become clearer.

By the time Pizarro arrived in Peru, the Spanish well understood the saying, “without Indians there are no Indies.” The indigenous populations provided both the labor for Spanish economic endeavors as well as the religious justification for their presence in the Americas. The Spanish Crown maintained a desire to conserve two separate republics, or *dos repúblicas*, one Spanish and one indigenous. Adversely, Spanish officials implemented systems and policies that required almost continual interaction with the natives. As a result, cultural mestizaje began to take effect, threatening the Spanish philosophy behind the *dos repúblicas*. Originally, both the Spaniards and the indigenous populations began to draw from their own experiences and

cosmological understandings. As society progressed, a localized culture developed that broke down traditional social structures among the indigenous populations and created a sense of separation for those Spaniards who had adapted to the Indies. Additionally, the first generations of mestizos and creoles born in Peru possessed a multiculturalism that initially proved beneficial.

Spanish officials began to view these multicultural populations as a threat to their hegemony as the creoles, mestizos, and natives began to interact and form kinship networks. A series of rebellions from the 1560s through the early decades of the seventeenth century demonstrated the danger that these alliances posed to Hispanic society. As a result, the Spanish adapted their philosophy of the *dos repúblicas* in order to incorporate mestizaje and establish their preeminence in Peru.