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## Language, Discipline, and Power: The Extirpation of Idolatry in Colonial Peru and Indigenous Resistance

Priya Shah

The Spanish conquest of the Americas constituted the confrontation of the Western world and the world of the "other"—a world full of a variety of peoples, cultures, and languages. The year 1492 not only marked the establishment of religious and linguistic hegemony in Spain, but it also marked the "discovery" of the Americas, resulting in a transfer of the notions of linguistic and cultural hegemony to the colonies. By its very nature, the Spanish presence in the Americas, and the Roman Catholic Church whose mission it supported, made necessary the formation of judicial institutions with the power to stamp out threats to Spanish hegemony in the New World—the Holy Office of the Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatry.<sup>[1]</sup> The Holy Office of the Inquisition in Spanish America had the express purpose of eradicating heretical faiths and behaviors, and ensuring that they did not gain a hold in the colonies. The Extirpation was created later specifically for indigenous heretics after they were formally removed from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition by Philip II in 1570. The Extirpation of Idolatry sought to "colonize the imaginary"—to colonize not only the physical body of the natives, but also their way of thinking.<sup>[2]</sup> Although the Inquisition and the Extirpation coexisted in all of what was the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru, within the Archbishopric of Lima none of the indigenous population was subjected to the Holy Office of the Inquisition. All were under the jurisdiction of the Extirpation, maintaining a rigid distinction between the indigenous "other" and those of European descent.<sup>[3]</sup> While historians have referred to the Extirpation as the "illegitimate child of the Inquisition,"<sup>[4]</sup> suggesting a great deal of similarity to the Inquisition, it is widely recognized that the Extirpation was relatively unsuccessful in extirpating heresy in the populations over which it had jurisdiction.<sup>[5]</sup> This paper suggests that one of the main reasons for the relative failure of the Extirpation of Idolatry involves the existence of linguistic pluralism reflected in the Andean landscape and the linguistic terminology and language used to exert, express, and guard power. The officials of the Extirpation worked primarily in Spanish, and to a lesser extent in later years, a form of standardized or pastoral Quechua. However, the majority of the indigenous population continued to speak and communicate in the several indigenous languages that persisted within the Archbishopric of Lima. While Spanish religious authorities attempted to use their own language as a means of legitimizing their hegemony and enforcing their notions of "normality" by "inscribing" power upon the native "other,"<sup>[6]</sup> the indigenous population was also able to preserve their own power, safely guarded by linguistic pluralism, and subverted the power of their oppressors through their use of not only indigenous languages, but also the Spanish language.

Heretics in the view of the Roman Catholic Church were defined as those that had been taught the word of God, but refused to accept or practice it faithfully. The word heretic has its root in *haerisis*, a Greek word that signifies the action of making a selection or choice. It was used to describe those that chose to continue to hold beliefs and continue to practice traditions contrary to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. According to historian John Chuchiack IV, "the Catholic Church and the Inquisition did

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not categorize unbaptized persons, non-Christians, or even non-Catholic Christians (i.e., Protestants) as guilty of formal heresy. Inquisitorial tribunals had no jurisdiction over people who had not entered into the fold of the Catholic Church through the sacrament of baptism."<sup>[7]</sup> The primary goal of the Inquisition in the colonies was to ensure that other faiths that might challenge the Roman Catholic faith did not make their way to the New World.

The evolution of the Inquisition and its change in jurisdiction in the New World can be divided into three stages. In the early years, before its official establishment, local officials and the regular clergy, who formed the monastic orders carried out inquisitions mostly against the indigenous population. The brutality of these inquisitions provoked the establishment of an episcopal inquisition, which was in the hands of bishops and archbishops, and had jurisdiction over acts of heresy and superstition committed by the indigenous peoples, mixed castes such as *mestizos* and *mulatos*, and Spaniards. King Philip II later ordered the establishment of the Tribunal of the Holy Office in the Americas, which removed the archbishop from jurisdiction over Spaniards, mixed castes, and Africans. This royal decree written on January 25, 1569, stated the purpose for which the establishment of the Holy Office was necessary in the colonies:

Our glorious ancestors ... founded in [Spain] the Holy Office of the Inquisition so that the Faith be conserved in all the purity and completeness necessary. And having discovered and incorporated in our Royal Crown [the colonies], they put their great care in giving them the knowledge of the true God, ... and to conserve, free from errors and false and suspicious doctrines ... because those who are outside the obedience and devotion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, obstinate in errors and heresies, always strive to pervert and to separate from our Holy Catholic Faith, the faithful and devoted Christians,... and the natives there are perverted with the new, false, and reprobate doctrines and errors ...<sup>[8]</sup>

Heresy and superstitious practices were a threat to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and the hegemony of the Spanish state. The Catholic faith provided unity, and deviancy disrupted this unity. In essence, the Inquisition was meant to eliminate heterodoxy. However, the Holy Office did not retain its jurisdiction over the indigenous population.

The indigenous were initially deemed pagans, and were therefore "wards of the state." As wards of the state they could not be tried as mere heretics, and the church found it necessary to create a separate legal category for indigenous converts who continued to engage in heretical behavior. The status of the native in the Christian community was always that of the "new Christian." According to historian Kenneth Mills, there was no official point after which this pagan-"originally non-Christian society" would be "fully subject to Christian rule."<sup>[9]</sup> He stated in his work *Idolatry and its Enemies* why this was true:

First, although some Indian parishioners might work as catechists in their communities, Indians were not being ordained as Christian priests, No amount of Christian education or evidence of understanding entitled an Indian to that confidence or kind of inclusion. Second, and even more pertinent to this discussion, there was judged to be no point after which Indians would be treated as the heretics and apostates they were being called. That is, Indians did not fall within the jurisdiction of the Holy Office of the Inquisition—the institution that policed belief, practice, and manners of living among all full-fledged Catholics.<sup>[10]</sup>

Even those that were considered successfully converted were considered inferior and members of the outer edge of Christianity. Because they were never considered fully Catholic, they could never be

accused of formal heresy, and thus, in the Spanish Catholic frame of mind, could not be under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. In 1570, King Philip II mandated the removal of the indigenous peoples from the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of the Holy Office. The native population of the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru continued to be punished for heterodoxy, but remained under the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts of the archbishop.<sup>[11]</sup> The institution that tried indigenous heretics or idolaters was called the "ordinary ecclesiastical tribunal of the Indians" or the *Provisorato de Indios*. The Extirpation of Idolatry is the name given by scholars to the series of campaigns that tried these indigenous "deviants" for their alleged heresy and acts subversive to the faith, and the attempts of ecclesiastical officials to extirpate, or eliminate such instances.

European councils, long before the conquest of Peru, debated and spoke of the extirpation of idolatry or idolatries among various pagan religions, and methods through which they could convert the pagans to Christianity. These European councils were held in reference to paganism within Europe. The constitutions made regarding the extirpation of idolatry, and how it was to be carried out in Europe, were directly applied to the case of the indigenous populations of the Americas. For example, methods that were considered to be effective in Europe, such as the destruction of pagan shrines and temples and the act of placing a cross on the ruins, or perhaps building a church, were used by church officials in the Americas.<sup>[12]</sup>

As early as 1541, Spanish officials began to emphasize and write about the necessity of repressing the cults of the Incas and the idols they worshipped. The vicar-general of Cusco, Luis de Morales wrote to the king of Spain, and recommended that there should be a special official in charge of fighting the crime of idolatry. In 1551, the First Council of Lima warned *doctrineros* or those who taught Christian doctrine within the Archbishopric (parish priests and those that accompanied missionaries), of the cult of the dead and the exhumation of bodies that had been buried under the supervision of church officials. This council also formulated a list of corporal punishments that were to be meted out if the natives continued to sin after they had been warned of their wrongdoing. This was during the early years of the episcopal inquisition, when even the formal Inquisition had not been established, and those in charge of carrying out inquisitions had jurisdiction over all of the population, including the indigenous. Later, in 1567, the Second Council of Lima wrote of the existence of a great deal of indigenous religious resistance that was supported by *curacas*, the indigenous leaders of each province. It determined that priests should reprimand the natives and have them burn their idols themselves. The Third Council of Lima (1583) was held after the indigenous population was removed from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, which had been established a few years earlier. It reiterated the statements of the Second Council, but called for a decrease in corporal punishment and forbade *doctrineros* to administer these punishments.<sup>[13]</sup>

There are three commonly recognized campaigns of the Extirpation in Peru: 1609-1622, 1649-1670, and after 1725. In 1609 after Francisco de Ávila, a parish priest, discovered that natives that had been baptized continued to practice their indigenous religion clandestinely.<sup>[14]</sup> The accusations made against *curaca* (leader) Hernando Paucar for fomenting the worship of the idol Chaupi Ñamca, and his eventual punishment, and brutally forced atonement during an *auto de fé*, resulted in the entrenchment of the dichotomy between the true religion of the Spanish and the false idolatrous religion of the natives.<sup>[15]</sup> This marked the beginning of the first campaign to extirpate idolatry. Such campaigns normally consisted of a series of *visitas de idolatría*, or visits of idolatry, in which a *juez visitador* (visitor-general who presided over visits of idolatry) <sup>[16]</sup> and accompanying priests went to a particular village, looked for and documented evidence of "idolatry," and administered an *auto de fé*, during which punishments were meted out, if necessary, and sacred objects were burned or otherwise destroyed, and

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absolved the natives of their sins. Upon arrival to a village, the *visitador* was required to announce el *edicto de gracia*, or an edict of grace, in which natives were given three days to confess and turn in their *huacas* (idols), and accuse other idolaters, shamans, and dogmatizers (those that continued to teach indigenous religions). Later, they were to engage in public confessions of their crimes and absolution, which was later followed by the *auto de fé*. The majority of these visits of idolatry were carried out under the Archbishops Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, Gonzalo de Campo, Hernando de Arias y Ugarte, and Pedro de Villagómez.<sup>[17]</sup>

Pierre Duviols, a French historian of the Extirpation in Peru, argued that these campaigns "could be defined as an Inquisition applied to the Indians."<sup>[18]</sup> Nicholas Griffiths, who wrote an article in response to this interpretation, titled "'Inquisition of the Indians?': The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in Seventeenth-Century Peru," argued that while the Extirpation was extensively modeled on the Inquisition, there were several factors which contributed to its overall failure.<sup>[19]</sup> While conceding the various structural and ideological similarities between the Inquisition and the Extirpation, he did argue that the Extirpation, unlike the Inquisition, was a failure due to the sheer number of natives that needed to be successfully evangelized and the widely varied identity of those subject to investigation. The indigenous population of the Archbishopric of Lima at the time was estimated to be over 131,000, and was by no means homogenous; there were a wide variety of languages, beliefs, customs, and practices.<sup>[20]</sup> According to Griffiths, the most fundamental difference between the Inquisition and the Extirpation lay in the varied identity of the latter's victims. Due to the heterogeneous composition of the indigenous population, Spanish officials were incapable of effectively inscribing homogenizing categories upon the indigenous "other," and thus failed to impose Spanish views of normality.

It is this diversity, particularly linguistic diversity, which played a fundamental role in the subversion of the efforts of the Extirpation to root out heretical behavior. French philosopher and theorist Michel Foucault posited that cultural interactions are shaped by power relations, and the thoughts and actions of individuals are a direct consequence of these relations and the resulting categorization. According to Foucault, the history of a society is fundamentally the history of the struggle between competing groups that attempt to subject other groups to their own "will to truth."<sup>[21]</sup> Certain groups are able to inscribe their views of normality, guided by their "will to truth," onto others, thereby "disciplining" them.<sup>[22]</sup> Foucault not only argued that power is exercised through language and discourse, but also that language is an inherent part of all power relations and, in fact, perpetuates power hierarchies. It was through the Spanish language that Spaniards sought to exert power over the indigenous population in colonial Peru. Through the disciplinary power of the Extirpation, Spaniards sought to create "docile bodies" out of the indigenous other—bodies that would be submissive and would adhere to Spanish views of normality. The campaigns of the Extirpation were a type of "surveillance" deployed to ensure the normalization of the indigenous population.<sup>[23]</sup> This approach helps to explain what Griffiths described as the failure of the Spanish to ensure complete conversion of the native population. Their inability to spread the Spanish language and displace the linguistic diversity of the region was their weakness. The majority of the native population during this period never learned Spanish, making it difficult for Spanish authorities, especially church authorities, to inscribe Spanish ideas of normality upon the indigenous imagination.

In their quest to "colonize the imaginary" and to colonize the memory of the indigenous peoples of the Archbishopric of Lima, Spanish officials attempted to uproot longstanding traditions and customs through the imposition of European material culture, Christian rituals (that were often perceived as superficial by the indigenous population), Spanish-Catholic discourse, and the Spanish language. The

construction of churches, the superimposition of crosses on the ruins of indigenous shrines, and the baptism and Christian naming of those of indigenous descent are examples of the imposition of European material culture.

Among the instructions provided in the Synodal Constitution of Lima in 1614, it was stated that after burning and destroying the idols or *huacas* found during a particular *visita*, officials were to "destroy all the shrines and temples and other parts where the devil might have been worshipped, and were to put crosses in their place, teaching the people the respect that they should have for the crosses, and that they should always conserve it with care."<sup>[24]</sup> The Spanish church officials who conducted the visits of idolatry and helped write the Synodal Constitution of Lima in 1614, attempted to colonize the imaginary of the indigenous people through material culture. They attempted to eliminate the "idolatrous" memories of the indigenous by destroying material vestiges of the "idolatrous" culture, and imposing Christian material culture, especially crosses.

The Synodal Constitution of Lima also provided instructions regarding the naming of indigenous individuals. It stipulated that:

no indian will be called by the name of the huacas or the sun ... and those that name their children with these names will be given 100 lashes through the streets, and the Priest, and the Vicar of that parish will take action against them, as actions are taken against those who relapse into idolatrous practices. For those who until this day go by these names, they are ordered to stop using them, and get used to calling themselves with other names—such as, those of the Spanish or the Saints.<sup>[25]</sup>

This superficial imposition of the names of Saints or Spanish names, in the Spanish mindset, aided in the process of acculturation. If acculturation was outwardly expressed in such a manner, the indigenous populations in theory would internally acculturate to Spanish-Catholic norms.

Not only did the Spanish seek to impose European-Catholic material culture, ecclesiastical officials also felt the need to incorporate all elements of indigenous traditions within the Spanish-Christian frame of reference, and within Spanish discourse. Hernando de Avendaño, in his "Relación de las idolatrías de los indios," wrote when speaking of the idolatrous traditions of the indigenous population:

Tiene esta *secta* é idolatría *sacerdotes y sacerdotistas ministros* della, de  
los cuales unos son mayores,  
á cuyo cargo está echar las fiestas, ofrescer los sacrificios, acudir a las preguntas que hacen á  
los ídolos y dar sus respuestas, *predicar la secta*, instruir los mozos y mozas en las ceremonias de  
ella, publicar los ayunos, *confesar* los indios é indias y mandar todo lo demás pertenesciente al cul  
to y adoración de los ídolos ... [my emphasis]

[my translation] This *sect* of idolatry has *priests* and *priestesses* who *minister* it, of which some are older, and who are in charge of giving feasts, offering sacrifices, produce the questions that they ask the idols and give responses, *preach to this sect*, instruct the young boys and girls in its ceremonies, announce the fasts, take the *confessions* of the male and female indians and do everything else that pertains to the cult and adoration of the idols ... [my emphasis]<sup>[26]</sup>

The Spanish officials attempted to explain indigenous traditions and practices in Spanish and within the familiar frame of Catholic discourse. They used terminology familiar to them in order to define

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indigenous practices such as the words italicized above: *sacerdotes* (priest), *sacerdotista* (priestess), *predicar* (preach), and *confesar* (to confess). Through the use of the word *secta* (sect) they also assumed that all forms of idolatry belonged to one large indigenous religion. In reality, there were many separate religions. For the Spanish colonial mind, the "other" was one homogenous group; it failed to realize that the "other" was composed of multiple cultural, religious, and linguistic groups.

Yet another example of this apparent necessity to translate Andean practices into the western mental framework is seen in a document regarding a visit to the provinces of Ocros and Lampas in the district of Cajatambo where the De Avendaño compares the oral tradition of the indigenous people to those of the Ancient Greeks and Romans:

The stories that these people have of their gods are many and very similar to those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, giving reasons for the origin of their huacas and who converted them to stones, saying that in ancient times before the government of the Incas all of the huacas were men and women ...[\[27\]](#)

Spanish ecclesiastical officials equated Andean pagan religions with those of the Greeks and Romans, ancient pagan cultures that were familiar to Europeans and had been successfully converted.

Spanish ecclesiastical officials viewed Christianity as active and dynamic; however, they perceived indigenous religions as static and passive, which led to their perception of manifestations of Andean religions as "persistence." However, in reality, indigenous religions were not timeless, they were constantly changing and adapted to the colonial situation. Indigenous traditions did not disappear; however, they did assimilate and undergo significant changes.[\[28\]](#) Despite Spanish efforts to extirpate "idolatrous" behaviors and impose Spanish views of normality upon the indigenous population, indigenous religious traditions continued to be practiced in either a hidden manner or underwent the process of religious syncretism, blending elements of the indigenous tradition with the Roman Catholic tradition.

Spanish ecclesiastical authorities exerted power over the indigenous population of the Andes by placing them under categories of inferiority in relation to themselves. This ability to categorize the indigenous population allowed the Spaniards to discursively enforce the power hierarchy. The most basic and fundamental category was "Europeans" vs. "the Other." The indigenous were relegated to the category of "the other," a group of inferior individuals that could not be likened to Europeans. They were wards of the state, idolaters, and were categorized as deviant or abnormal. Interestingly, the categorization of the indigenous as pagans, and therefore wards of the state, placed them in what can be considered both a privileged and disadvantaged position. They were disadvantaged in the sense that their native traditions and religions were seen as backward, and they were therefore subjected to the conversion efforts of the Spaniards. However, because they were considered wards of the state and not heretics, they were not subject to the rigors of the Inquisition. Even those that were considered successfully converted, were treated and viewed as "second-class Catholics"—parishioners that were not of the same caliber as their European counterparts.[\[29\]](#) They were seen as *gente sin razón* or individuals incapable of reason and understanding. Don Pedro de Villagómez, Archbishop of Lima from 1641 until his death in 1671, referred to the natives as "inferior subjects," "miserable Indians," "easy to trick," "ignorant and stupid people," "people without guidance or culture,"[\[30\]](#) "pagan or gentile" Indians, and "barbaric people."[\[31\]](#) They were "sheep without a shepherd" and were "new to the faith,

less capable of learning, and less capable of retaining information." [32] The natives were assumed to be ignorant in matters of true religion and incapable of becoming civilized without the influence and help of the Spaniards. According to Villagómez,

the first ministers of the Church that came from Spain [to America] to plant the Christian faith, first came to confute the idolatry, superstitions, and errors of the Indians with the *truth* of the doctrine, which they preached, and with which they made known to the Indians the darkness in which they had lived, and proved to them the *truth* of the Christian faith and brought to them knowledge of God ... they had come to know the *truth* of the faith ... at the same time that they came to know the *falsity* of their errors, so that they would forget their delusions, and would follow *our truth*. [my emphases] [33]

This true versus false dichotomy mimics the "European" versus "the other" dichotomy. This dichotomy also implied that everything that was not Christian, was not acceptable. All that had to do with "the other" was false and deviant, and that only through surveillance and indoctrination could they be guided to the "truth"—that is, the Spanish "will to truth," represented by Catholic orthodoxy. [34]

Like they were in spiritual matters, as in climate, they were in many manners thirsty, and in necessity of the *necessary teaching* in order to live in conformity with reason, finding themselves in a desert without water nor pathway, that is, where there was nobody that would give them some irrigation [teaching] of the doctrine, and guide them to the path, the truth, and life (who is Jesus Christ, our Father) ... then, God sent them the rain of his spirit and the waters of baptism, and the irrigation of the faith in order to fertilize them and convert them from a useless and negligent desert (as it was before) into a principal part of his heritage, the sacred, pleasant, and fruitful Church ... [35] [my emphases]

The native other was officially under the protection of the Spanish crown, and it was formally the duty of the Spaniards to serve as an educational force for the pagans who were not already educated in matters of God, and not just one of punishment. The notion that this teaching was "necessary" demonstrates the belief that adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, and therefore conversion, was seen as a prerequisite for the civilization of the indigenous other. Although normalization and orthodoxy through discipline was the aim of the Extirpation, coercion and punishment would follow as a natural corollary when it met with resistance, or when instances of recidivism were detected. The Extirpation was created to serve as a check on this recidivism.

Many of the religious practices and traditions of the indigenous other were defined as idolatrous and diabolical. Individuals that continued to engage in idolatry were relegated to the category of idolater, and those religious specialists that encouraged the continuation of indigenous religious practices were relegated to the category of *dogmatizadores* or dogmatizers. [36] The practice of what the Spanish termed idolatry encompassed a wide variety of activities. Idolatry referred to religious activity that went against the Spanish conception of religious normality. The campaigns of the Extirpation of Idolatry addressed such things as the worship of *huacas* [37] and natural entities such as hills, the sun, the moon, and the stars, the festivals in honor of the *huacas* the practice of sacrifices, the making of offerings to and paying of respect to *malquis* (mummified remains of ancestors), the digging up of buried "Christians" and turning them into *malquis*, the existence of witches, shamans, and sorcerers, and the baptizing of individuals with non-Christian names. [38] DeAlbornoz wrote that it "was necessary to be very careful in the extirpation of these instances of idolatry," hinting at the constant fear of native recidivism. [39]

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As mentioned above, the natives became parishioners of the Roman Catholic Church; however, they did so by their own terms as they accepted Christendom while they simultaneously continued to practice their indigenous traditions in conjunction with Catholic festivals. It can be said that the indigenous population formed a type of Andean Christianity, in which the Andean religious system simply expanded to include elements of Catholicism.<sup>[40]</sup> According to Manuel Marzal, the formation of this Andean Christianity was an additive, substitutive, and synthesizing process.<sup>[41]</sup> For example, the native populations continued to make sacrifices to and pay their respects to mummified ancestors and idols on Catholic festivals. Visitador Bernardo de Noboa visited the doctrina of San Francisco de Otuco to punish the natives for adapting Catholic festivals to their own purposes. He saw that on all Catholic festivals, especially Corpus Christi, "the old men and women walked around with tambourines dancing and singing, drinking through all the streets in celebration of their malquis [mummified ancestors] and huacas [idols]."<sup>[42]</sup> In the eyes of Spanish church officials, this was considered heretical behavior, and what emerged from the once pastoral and missionary conversion effort was a blending of education and coercion—a form of penitential discipline. The Extirpation was designed as a means of judging whether conversion was actually taking place. If evidence of idolatry was discovered, it was to be brought to the attention of the judges, and the offenders were tried and punished. Those that were seen as incorrigible were incarcerated in the Casa de Santa Cruz, a remedial prison in Lima.<sup>[43]</sup> In his "The Instruction to Discover all the Huacas of Peru and its Camayos and Haciendas," Cristóbal de Albornoz stipulated that the "priest of each doctrina should visit the places where huacas [idols] once existed to verify if they were rebuilt, to see if sacrifices of blood and burned material had been made, because many had been found resurrected, and the camayos [indians] had to be instructed in our holy faith Catholicism."<sup>[44]</sup> The campaigns of the Extirpation served as missions of surveillance through which church officials could verify the converted status of the natives and their adherence to the Catholic faith.

The main problems encountered by those in charge of the evangelization process, led naturally to the blending of education, punishment, and surveillance in an attempt to ensure the practice of Catholic orthodoxy. One of the main obstacles was addressing how to teach the doctrine to a group of originally non-Christian or pagan parishioners. Ecclesiastical officials attempted to solve this issue through education and translation. The second issue involved the enforcement of indigenous belief in the doctrine that was taught to them. Officials believed that this could be achieved through fear, coercion, and punishment, although this usually yielded a superficial, simply outward portrayal of belief. Once the indigenous population was taught Christian doctrine, and once they "believed" the doctrine, officials had to ensure that only traditions approved by Christian doctrine were practiced. The visits of idolatry were the Spanish attempt at solving this problem through surveillance. However, due to the large population of native parishioners, constant surveillance was impossible, which led to a great deal of not only heterodoxy, but also religious syncretism and hybridity.

This blending of education, surveillance, and punishment to produce discipline, can be clearly seen in an account told by native witnesses of the behavior of a *visitador* upon discovering instances of idolatry in Nasca. The *visitador* discovered that the indigenous population had continued to practice idolatry through their worship of stones. When the natives brought stones to the church saying that the stones were their idols, the *visitador* burned the stones in the middle of the town plaza. He then made several natives kneel and tapped them on their shoulders. He spoke Latin and stated that he had come to that town to extirpate the sin of idolatry. Since it was the first time that idolatry had been discovered in the town, the sin would be forgiven. He also warned that they would be punished if they continued this sin. Seeing this, the priests that came with the *visitador* to the town consoled the natives with good words.

All were content that they had repented their sins and the state of blindness in which they had been until the arrival of the *visitador*.<sup>[45]</sup> The *visitadores* were always accompanied by priests, or *padres*, who provided the educational and persuasive force, while the *visitador* himself served as the coercive and disciplinary force.

During the early years of the Extirpation campaigns the Jesuits served as the chief pedagogical force. The mission of the Jesuits in the Spanish colonies was to preach Christian doctrine and to help the ministers and priests of the church. They placed primary emphasis on persuasion and education as opposed to coercion. In fact, the Jesuits, except for a small faction, advocated persuasion and education alone. According to Pierre Duviols:

The visit of idolatry was for the Jesuit fathers also a manner of exercising an attraction through seduction. Arriaga insists in the necessity of interesting the Indians with tales of saints "which they liked a lot," with the sumptuous ornamentation of the churches, with the formation of singers and musicians, with the organization of collective ceremonies, etc ... The Jesuits were not obsessed with Hispanicization, or the "Christian politic" as Toledo was, and believed in conserving many indigenous customs, as long as they were not against the faith and "natural law."<sup>[46]</sup>

Father José de Arriaga, a Jesuit, argued that full Hispanicization, or "normality," was not the goal of conversion, at least not for the Companions of Jesus. The regular clergy, who were more involved in earlier evangelization efforts, did not believe it was necessary for the natives to learn and assimilate as their own the entirety of Christian doctrine. They were more open to the adaptation and transformation of indigenous religious traditions to suit Christian needs, such as indigenous musical contributions to liturgy. Conflicts among the Jesuits, other members of the regular clergy, and the secular clergy on this question contributed to the inefficient and staggered enforcement of the Extirpation.<sup>[47]</sup> The Jesuits eventually refused to participate in the Extirpation as they saw the use of coercion and punishment as detrimental to their primary goal of peaceful conversion. The eventual non-participation of the Jesuits, while detrimental to the effectiveness of the campaigns of Extirpation, was not the main cause of the failure of church efforts to extirpate idolatry. The main obstacle to the imposition of Spanish-Catholic hegemony was language.

Not only did Spanish officials impose the Spanish-Catholic discourse, they also imposed the Spanish language. Antonio Nebrija, author of the first Castilian Grammar published in 1492, stated in the preface to his work: "There was one thing that I found and truly concluded: that language was always the companion of empire, and existed in the following manner. They [language and empire] started together, they flourished together, and they both fell together."<sup>[48]</sup> The imposition of language, along with religious, political, and economic order, was an inherent feature of conquest and the colonial empire. The Spaniards attempted to enforce their hegemony over the indigenous populations of the Americas through the imposition of the Castilian language, thereby relegating indigenous languages to an inferior position in the language hierarchy.

The majority of Spaniards viewed and classified the Andean languages as barbaric. José de Acosta described the Andean landscape as a "selva" or jungle of languages.<sup>[49]</sup> Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, a mestizo chronicler stated in his chronicle *Comentarios reales* that "each province, each nation, and in many parts, each village, had their own language, one that was different from their neighbors."<sup>[50]</sup> And the inability of the various native groups to communicate with each other due to linguistic diversity, emphasized the Spanish notion of the natives as barbaric. In the Spanish colonial

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mind, civilization was closely and inextricably linked to linguistic unity. Indigenous languages were also considered barbaric and inferior as they did not have existing vocabulary that could express Christian doctrine.<sup>[51]</sup> These languages according to Spanish church officials "had no terms for abstract concepts like time, being, or virtue; there were no terms for important religious concepts such as God, faith, angel, virginity, or matrimony; and there was no way to express the concept of Holy Spirit."<sup>[52]</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega argued that language was an impediment to evangelization not because it lacked vocabulary sufficient to describe Christian concepts, but because there was such a rich pagan vocabulary.<sup>[53]</sup> The Spanish language, for the Spaniards, was linked to a particular way of thinking, the "true" way of thinking. Through imposing the Spanish language and attempting to linguistically unify the Archbishopric of Lima under the Spanish language, they sought to enforce institutional and cultural power.

Even though Spanish was the preferred language of evangelization, the diverse Andean linguistic landscape forced those who were part of the evangelization process to allow for the continued use of indigenous languages, although these languages were not generally considered suitable for the teaching of doctrine. The officials of the Inka Empire, unlike their Spanish counterparts, did not see the imposition of one official language as a prerequisite or necessity for empire. While the *lengua general del ynga*, a variety of Quechua spoken in the heartland of the empire, was used for administrative purposes, it was not systematically forced upon those under the empire. The linguistic landscape of the Andean highlands was a mosaic of languages and dialects, and continues to be very diverse. The language that was most widely spoken was Quechua, however even Quechua had its multiple variants, many of which were not mutually intelligible. It has been argued that there were many other languages that coexisted with Quechua within the Archdiocese of Lima, even though presently no indigenous language besides Quechua continues to be spoken in the region, except for areas where languages closely related to Aymara still exist. Outside of the Archdiocese of Lima, particularly in the diocese of Trujillo, it was much more diverse as languages such as Mochica, Culli, and others were spoken in colonial times. The various indigenous languages were not placed in a rigid hierarchical order. The communities to which these languages belonged viewed themselves as separate from each other. The *lengua general del ynga* served merely as an administrative language. When the Spanish colonized the area, they viewed the indigenous as a homogenous category—"the other"—and imposed a linguistic hierarchy. The Spanish language itself became hegemonic.<sup>[54]</sup>

Spanish officials "classified Andean languages into two groups: *lenguas generales* (widely spoken languages) and *lenguas particulares* or *lenguas maternas* (more localized languages)."<sup>[55]</sup> Spanish missionaries and officials created and perpetuated a language hierarchy in which Spanish occupied the topmost rank, followed by a standardized, pastoral Quechua, which was then followed by the various local forms of Quechua and other languages. Language thus came to embody power and served as a regulating force for power relations. Even the name Quechua was linguistically imposed by the Spanish colonizers. In essence, the language had no name until the conquest; speakers referred to Quechua as *asruna simi* or "human speech." According to socio-cultural linguist Bruce Mannheim, indigenous expressions for Quechua in colonial times denoted the language varieties "by social contrast, by ecological contrast, or by place name."<sup>[56]</sup> The Spaniards likely mistook the name for "valley speech"—*qheswa simi*—as the name for the language, which came to be called Quechua. Quechua came to be the standard name for the varieties of speech used which in the Spanish perception derived from the *lengua general del ynga* or general language of the Inka Empire.<sup>[57]</sup>

It has been argued that Quechua was chosen as the language for pastoral usage due to its linkage to the languages of Babel. Fernando de Avendaño, an extirpator of idolatries, argued that "Quechua

and Aymara were among [the] seventy-two new languages that had been created by God" in Babel.[58] The other Andean languages were not acceptable for pastoral uses as they were derivative tongues and were not seen as being capable of consideration as Christian languages. Quechua's linkage to Babel allowed for it to be appropriated as a language capable of conveying Christianity and gave it a certain legitimacy.

The standardization of Quechua, and the introduction of Spanish words into Quechua such as *Dios*, *cruz*, *rezar*, and *matrimonio*, demonstrates an attempt to impose a cultural and religious hegemony that could not be achieved and enforced through the Spanish language alone.[59] Quechua words such as *supay*, which meant "spirit (either good or bad)" were transformed to accommodate Christian concepts. In Quechua-Spanish dictionaries made by missionaries, *supay* translates to "devil," and connotes evil, thus contorting the original meaning of the Quechua term.[60] The Quechua language was thus partially transformed by the Spanish in order to impose their will to truth, that is, a strict adherence to Christian doctrine. All other native languages were relegated to a category of inferiority below even this standardized Quechua. They were deemed unsuitable for the teaching of Christian doctrine and even as a means of normalizing and controlling the native population.[61] This language hierarchy served as a regulating force for power relations. Ecclesiastical authorities attempted to disseminate Christian doctrine in Spanish and standardized Quechua alone, despite the fact that most natives in the Andean region spoke standardized Quechua as a secondary or even tertiary language, if they spoke it at all, and most did not even understand Spanish.

This linguistic pluralism allowed natives to effectively resist Spanish cultural imperialism—native languages became, for many, locations of resistance. Preaching and other forms of religious indoctrination would often have to be translated, sometimes more than once, in order to be understood. In the village of San Francisco de Otuco of Cajatambo, for instance, when proclamations were made before the festivals of San Juan and Corpus Christi by indigenous religious specialists, they were made in the local form of Quechua, and not standardized Quechua. These proclamations asked the native parishioners to continue engaging in "heretical" practices as opposed to following orthodox festivities prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church. While the parish assistant Andrés Chaupis Yauri, an *indio ladino*, who provided this testimony did not understand the proclamations himself as he only had knowledge of standardized Quechua, he was told by locals that the proclamations said to "not eat salt and pepper, and that it was time to pay their respects to their malquis." [62] Instead of engaging in the traditional customs of San Juan and Corpus Christi approved by Christian doctrine, the natives continued their "heretical," indigenous rituals and superstitions with the encouragement of *dogmatizadores*. [63] This case reveals how the continued use of native languages served as a form of resistance to Spanish power, as it allowed them to hide and guard "knowledge" from the Spanish. Spanish ecclesiastical officials could not extend their power down to the daily practices of the indigenous peoples. Due to their inability to communicate directly with many natives, they were powerless to eradicate practices of "idolatry," which often continued to persist undetected, unless brought to the attention of Spanish officials by the natives themselves.

For this very reason, as ecclesiastical officials deemed indigenous languages unsuitable for the teaching of Christian doctrine, they simultaneously emphasized the importance of learning indigenous languages. The Spanish realized that the enforcement of linguistic orthodoxy in Peru was an impossibility. Father Francisco de Ávila stated: "I have seen in many areas very good linguists (counting myself among them) who cannot identify the errors of their parishioners, let alone even understand the words they use." [64] In the chapter of his *Carta Pastoral*, titled "De la experiencia, destreza, ciencia, y sabiduria que se requieren en los que han de visitar de idolatrías" ("Of the experience, skills, science, and wisdom that is required of those that conduct the visits of idolatry"), Archbishop Pedro

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de Villagómez noted that one of the most important skills was that of familiarity with the native language of the particular province in which the *visitador* was to work.<sup>[65]</sup> The *visitadores* Bernardo de Noboa and Luis Rodríguez de Terafustan were both considered accomplished and ideal *visitadores* as they were *gran lenguarazes* or great linguists, proficient in the general language of the natives and the variants spoken by each village that they visited.<sup>[66]</sup> The more efficient *visitadores* and priests were at mastering the languages of their parishioners, the less dependent they were upon indigenous individuals that became translators.

Another means of resisting power for the native other, beyond the continued use of indigenous oral language, was the use of *kipus*, which can be considered visual language. The sustained use of *kipus*, cords with knots that were used for accounting purposes, memory aids, and also annotation of the historical record, also served as a deterrent to complete evangelization. Natives were initially permitted to use *kipus* in order to aid them in learning Christian doctrine and for recalling sins when it was time for confession. Several priests were instructed to make parishioners create *kipus* in order to learn catechism and prayers. This represented the adaptation of a traditional Andean practice to suit Christian needs. Fray Diego de Porres, an advocate of the *kipus* as a means of indoctrination, instructed others to

Give orders that no Indian old or young be without the said *kipu* in order to know the said prayers and they should carry it at all times wherever they go, even when traveling outside their district, so that they have Christian rule and give account of the said prayers and the meaning of each when asked.<sup>[67]</sup>

However, they were often used, or were suspected to be used, as a way for natives to continue former religious practices that violated Catholic orthodoxy by remembering discourses that had been forbidden. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega wrote:

That was how the indians remembered, by the knots, the things that their parents and grandparents had taught them through oral tradition, which they respected greatly, such as the sacred things of their idolatry and the laws of the Inkas. That was how they hoped to preserve in their memory in spite of the lack of writing.<sup>[68]</sup>

Chapter Thirty-five of the official legislation of the Third Council of Lima ordered the destruction of *kipus* as they were believed to be undermining the evangelization process. According to the legislation, continued use of *kipus* allowed the natives to "preserve the memory of their old superstitions and rites and ceremonies and perverse customs," and for that reason "should be taken away completely from the indians."<sup>[69]</sup> All viable means for the indoctrination of the indigenous population (the use of *kipus*, the entrustment of natives, and the teaching of doctrine in a general indigenous language) came with the great risk of unintentionally allowing the clandestine continuance of indigenous practices.

While the diversity of the Andean linguistic landscape, and the inability of Spanish officials to enforce the usage of only Spanish or pastoral Quechua, accounts for one of the reasons for which the Extirpation was a relative failure, the acquisition of the colonizer's language by some natives allowed for a greater amount of indigenous resistance. When speaking of language in relation to power and resistance it is important to note the theorist Edouard Glissant, who used the terms opacity, detour, appropriation, and abrogation to define language as a form of indigenous resistance to the colonizer and the imposition of colonial linguistic hegemony. Opacity is the passive, naturally transparent protection that the various

indigenous languages, unintelligible to the colonizers, provided for the colonized. Indigenous languages such as Quechua in its various forms provided such "protection" for the natives subjected to Spanish colonial power.<sup>[70]</sup> His main theoretical concept is detour a form of indirect resistance in which language is "constructed and deployed strategically" to obstruct hegemony.<sup>[71]</sup> Language, particularly vernacular languages, which were often altered due to their unequal status in comparison to the colonial language, Spanish, became sites of resistance. Native individuals constantly engaged in the processes of abrogation and appropriation of language. Abrogation is an "attempt to replace the prestige and power of the colonial language with that ... of an indigenous language," it is "the act of breaking away from the language, and also from the aesthetic values and cultural norms, of the colonial power."<sup>[72]</sup> Appropriation, on the other hand, was process in which the colonial language was adopted and used to convey the indigenous colonial experience. All these processes occurred simultaneously in the context of colonial Peruvian society. While native individuals continued to subvert colonial power through continued use of their native language, many also adopted the Spanish language as their own, thereby gaining trust and power (although, the language of the colonizers was not used in the same way as native speakers of Spanish).

The primary example of individuals appropriating the Spanish language to subvert power is that of *indios ladinos*. The linguistic diversity forced ecclesiastical officials to rely on *indios ladinos*, Hispanicized natives, to maintain their hold over native populations by observing and reporting instances of idolatry. *Indios ladinos* were those natives who had learned the Spanish language and had demonstrated successful acculturation to Spanish society and Christian doctrine. They often held significant government positions such as that of *curaca* and had originally been in a position of wealth and leadership among the indigenous population of their respective provinces. <sup>[73]</sup> They were assumed to be orthodox practitioners of Catholicism and were often given positions of great trust. Several parishes had hierarchies of the native population that were constructed by the appointments of priests. These hierarchies usually consisted of a *fiscal* (a mayor-like figure), *alguaciles* (who aided priests with duties, recorded the sacraments, and made sure that the native population was indeed practicing Catholicism), a *sacristan* (who was in charge of taking care of the church and decorations), a *cantor* (the leader of the choir), and lastly *themaestrescuola* (who was in charge of assisting in the teaching of doctrine and the Spanish language to children). These *indios ladinos* and their sons were educated in Christian doctrine at the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima, established by the Viceroy Prince of Esquilache in 1619, which was operated by the Jesuits.<sup>[74]</sup> While many, as will be explained later, used this acquired power to challenge Spanish colonial hegemony, several faithfully served the Spanish-Catholic purpose, reaping economic benefits.

While Father José de Acosta, a Jesuit priest, in fact warned the clergy of entrusting the conversion of indigenous peoples to *indios ladinos*, as he considered them potentially dangerous even as mere translators, some were in favor of appointing natives to be part of the inspection team that carried out the *visitas de idolatría*.<sup>[75]</sup> Examples of individuals that acquired the position of *fiscal*<sup>[76]</sup> include Don Agustín Capcha and Don Juan Tocas, both of whom aided in the prosecution of idolatry in the *doctrinas* of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Ambar and San Pedro de Acas.

These *indios ladinos* were considered natives of "reason and trust," and faithfully carried out their duties as *fiscales*. These individuals achieved power not only in the Spanish sphere, but also in the indigenous sphere. Don Agustín Capcha, who denounced instances of idolatry on several occasions, was rewarded with promotion to even the title of *visitador general de idolatría* and was provided monetary compensation for his services. He was an individual of indigenous descent; however, he gained power by adopting the language, religion, and culture of the Spanish.<sup>[77]</sup> While several faithfully carried out the

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duties assigned to them by the Spanish, such as Don Agustín Capcha, many chose not to. The acquisition of the Spanish language also offered the indigenous population the opportunity to subvert Spanish power.<sup>[78]</sup>

One particular case highlighting Spanish concerns involved an indigenous nobleman, Rodrigo de Guzmán Rupay Chagua.<sup>[79]</sup> Rupay Chagua, a native of the province of Huamantanga, spent several years undergoing Jesuit training, learning both Christian doctrine and Spanish. He then became *cacique*, or principal leader, of the province of Huamantanga. As *cacique* of Huamantanga, he brought charges against Father Francisco Torrejón Velasco for being incapable of speaking in the local native language, Quechua. According to Rupay Chagua, not ministering to them in Quechua, prevented the natives from learning Christian doctrine. Although Rupay Chagua was seemingly a good native Christian, and was clearly embodied with a great deal of trust and power, several charges were soon brought against him for his supposed protection of Guacarani, an idol worshipped by the people of Huamantanga. It was even charged that he presided over rituals, prayers, and sacrifices to this idol.<sup>[80]</sup> In addition, he sometimes signed his name with the additional name "Apo," which meant "spiritual lord of all":

It is to be noted that the mentioned Don Rodrigo signs his name in this petition as Don Rodrigo de Gusman Apo Rupaichagua, and the additional name Apo means Lord of All in the native language of the Indians ... He does not normally sign with the name Apo unless he is writing to the Indians of his district but not when he writes to the *corregidores* or other justices, which demonstrates malice.<sup>[81]</sup>

While the acquisition of the Spanish language embodied Rupay Chagua with a great deal of power, allowing him to bring cases against local priests, it also allowed him to support and engage in the continuance of native *huaca* worship. The use of the additional name "Apo" demonstrates the subversion of Spanish ecclesiastical power, as the act of declaring himself as "spiritual lord of all" when not writing to Spanish officials reflects a conscious decision to engage in behavior that was construed as direct opposition to Christian doctrine. The case of Don Rodrigo Rupay Chagua demonstrates the potential of the indigenous "other" to subvert power.

Yet another case demonstrating this subversion of Spanish hegemony through acculturation is that of Don Alonso Ricariy. Don Alonso Ricariy was the leader of the village of San Francisco de Otuco, and documentation regarding his case demonstrates his appropriation of the Spanish language to conceal idolatrous practices. He was made to confess following the discovery of the fact that there was a native unbaptized woman kept in dedication to the idols and cults of the *huacas* of the *doctrina* of San Pedro de Hacas. When asked if he had used the office of shaman and dogmatizer, and if he

... had in particular ordered the indians not to adore God, nor to go to church and pray, nor to confess to their priest, nor to listen to mass, and to eat meat on Fridays, he answered that all that was asked of him was true. He had ordered the indians not to worship God, but rather their *camaquenes*, *guacas*, *ídolos*, y *malquis* because they provided food and clothes to wear. He also ordered them not to go to the church, nor to confess with their priests more sins ...<sup>[82]</sup>

Don Alonso de Ricariy is yet another example of a "hispanicized native" a *ladino*, who had been considered trustworthy enough by Spanish officials to ensure that the practice of idolatry did not continue in this particular *doctrina*. However, it is clearly seen that Ricariy did not uphold the trust of the Spaniards that placed him in control, and instead continued to encourage idolatrous practices in a

secretive manner, suggesting subversion. Only careful surveillance under the *visitas* made by Spanish officials brought such instances of subversion to the surface.

Yet another example of an *indio ladino* who subverted Spanish power is Don Alonso Callampoma. Don Alonso Callampoma "was the second person of the village [of San Francisco de Mangas] with a title given by the royal government and the title of collector of tributes" and was *cacique* and governor of the *doctrina* of Mangas.<sup>[83]</sup> His education under the Jesuits at the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima, demonstrated successful acculturation to Spanish-Catholic norms, and he was thus granted a position of authority. However, upon his visit to the village of San Francisco de Mangas, *visitador* Miguel de Harta Beitia reported instances of idolatry among the native population of the village and accused certain members of the village of being *hechiceros* or shamans. He stated that "the majority of the blame for the existence of idolatry rests with Don Alonso Callampoma ... because he worships and makes sacrifices to an idol or malqui named Condortocas and his sister Coya guarimi."<sup>[84]</sup> It was widespread knowledge among the village that "the days of Corpus they danced and made offerings to the idols."<sup>[85]</sup> According to Beitia, by "making offerings to the idol, Don Alonso Callampoma caused a great scandal and presented a bad example for his indians."<sup>[86]</sup> Although initially, due to his education and training, Callampoma was considered a faithful convert to Catholicism, he used his acquired position of authority to subvert power through his continued engagement in and support for behavior deemed idolatrous.

The examples provided above are those related to *indios ladinos* that used language and the power afforded them by language and adopted discourse to subvert power in an oral manner and through their actions. *Indios ladinos* also used the written language, originally a form of European discourse, to subvert Spanish hegemony. Before the conquest, indigenous discourse was only transmitted through orality (oral tradition) or in a pictographic manner. On the contrary, European discourse was transmitted through the written word. Without European colonialism, "there would not exist this corpus of [indigenous] cultural productions, "written down" in alphabetic script in various languages," permitting the dissemination of the indigenous voice, albeit an indigenous voice limited by European hegemony, or in the case of Peru, Spanish hegemony.<sup>[87]</sup> The transmission of the indigenous voice across cultural boundaries was tied to a European means of communication—writing. Colonialism and the introduction of writing in Peru created two categories: the literate and the illiterate. The literate began programs under the fathers to bring literacy to the indigenous population, thereby subjugating them to Spanish social norms. The power to write connoted superiority, whereas the lack of writing capability was equated with inferiority, barbarity, and the lack of culture. In colonial Peru, the written word gained a position superior to the oral and pictographic traditions, as writing embodied authority and legitimacy. According to Song No, "the Europeans instrumentalized the written word to assure their superiority and domination over the indigenous population," and that the goal of physical violence and the violence of writing was "objectifying the body of the indigenous."<sup>[88]</sup>

In order to present their ideas native chroniclers first, had to learn the language of the colonizers, and second, had to demonstrate that they were sufficiently acculturated and assimilated to Spanish culture, or hispanicized. The act of writing was a form of gaining agency and rebelling against the hegemonic structure established during the colonial era. But, for the indigenous to rebel in a significant and successful manner through writing, it was necessary to adopt European discourse or certain elements of European discourse.

Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the Peruvian indigenous author of *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, is an example of an *indio ladino* who followed Spanish norms, but also subverted them. He had learned

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the Spanish language and Roman Catholic dogma, through the several years he had spent in the accompanying the Cristóbal de Albornoz on his *visitasde idolatría*. He used his status as an *indio ladino* and *cacique* in order to resist Spanish views of normality through his writing. Demonstrating successful acculturation to European norms, his knowledge of Spanish and familiarity with western, Christian discourse embodied him with the power and ability to challenge Spanish hegemony in the form of a "letter," better classified as a chronicle, to the king of Spain, King Philip II.

Guaman Poma de Ayala incorporated western, Christian discourse into Andean discourse, manipulating his knowledge of the European philosophy of the conquest to support his arguments. The most famous statement made in his polemic is "y así fue conquistado y no se defendió," "and in that manner they were conquered, but they did not defend themselves."<sup>[89]</sup> The justification that the Spanish provided for the conquest, was the need for the indigenous population of the Americas to be removed from their perpetual state of paganism through conversion to Christianity and the need for them to be educated to become civilized. Guaman Poma de Ayala, in his chronicle, removes power from the hands of the Spanish, and gives agency to the indigenous population, who allowed themselves to be conquered to receive the faith.

According to Rolena Adorno, esteemed scholar of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and his chronicle, he

[opposed] the direct rule of the foreigners, ...lobbied for the restitution of lands and the return of traditional Andean governance [and] decried the greed of all holders of colonial office, civil as well as ecclesiastical. He defended the Andeans as civilized Christians and attacked the Spaniards as lost sinners. At the time, he promoted the institutionalization to the Christian religion and the creation of a sovereign Andean state that would form part of a universal Christian empire presided over by the Spanish king. In short, his stance was complex but coherent and always unequivocal: in favor of native rule and opposed to colonialism, Guaman Poma was anti-Inca but pro-Andean, anticlerical but pro-Catholic.<sup>[90]</sup>

Guaman Poma fully supported the Roman Catholic Church and its presence in Peru; however, he wished to reform the immoral ways of the representatives of the Church. He used his knowledge of Christian scripture to paint the natives in a more positive light. To Guaman Poma de Ayala, the indigenous population of the Andean region was not barbaric, even though they may have continued to follow pagan traditions. Spanish ecclesiastical officials equated the terms barbaric and pagan; however, Guaman Poma distinguished between the two. For him, to be barbaric was to be incapable of writing or to not have a writing system, to be pagan was to have knowledge of Christianity but to not practice the Christian religion faithfully. His definition of paganism was clearly distinct from that of Spanish officials. For him it was possible to be a barbarian, but still be a good Christian. For him, civilization was not linked to Christianization.

As can be seen from the above examples, indigenous parishioners subverted Spanish attempts at imposing hegemony through language. Not only did they benefit from the natural protection afforded them by linguistic diversity, but they also appropriated the Spanish language and used the indigenous languages, including the visual language of the *kipus*, to overturn the Spanish attempts at imposing power upon them. Although the Spanish attempted to reinforce their hegemony through the imposition of Spanish and standardized Quechua, as well as rigidly orthodox Roman Catholicism, the ability of the indigenous "other" to maintain linguistic diversity and acquire "power" through the acquisition of the Spanish language, allowed them to resist Spanish attempts to eradicate "idolatry" and indigenous practices. Even though the proponents of the Extirpation of Idolatry believed and hoped for it to be an

adequate response to the continued existence of idolatry, ultimately, attempts to treat the indigenous population as a homogenous entity led to its relative failure, evidenced by the present existence of religious syncretism among indigenous populations of the region. For the indigenous population of Peru, "language was the source and pillar of cultural memory in a political context that called for forgetting."<sup>[91]</sup>

[1] The Extirpation of Idolatry is the name given by scholars to the creation of *tribunales eclesiásticos ordinarios de Indios* (ordinary ecclesiastical tribunals of the Indians), *provisoratode indios*, or  *juzgados de Indios*, and the campaigns that were waged against instances of idolatry among the natives of the Americas. This branch was created as separate from, and often seen as inferior to *El Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición* (The Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition). See Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Inquisition and the Indians of New Spain: A Study in Jurisdictional Confusion," *The Americas* 22.2 (October, 1965), 138-166; and Jorge Traslosheros and Ana de Zaballa Beascochea, *Los indios ante los foros de justicia religiosa en la hispanoamérica virreinal* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010).

[2] The term "colonization of the imaginary" was coined by Serge Gruzinski. See Serge Gruzinski, *La colonisation de l'imaginaire: sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol XVI-XVIII siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988) and Carmen Bernard-Muñoz and Serge Gruzinski, *De l'idolâtrie: une archéologie des sciences religieuses* (Paris, Seuil, 1988).

[3] Nicholas Griffiths, "'Inquisition of the Indians?': The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in Seventeenth Century Peru," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* (Winter 1994), 20-21.

[4] Pierre Duviols, *La destrucción de las religiones andinas (durante la conquista y la colonia)*, translated by Albor Maruenda (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977), 277. Translated from the original French, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial (L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie entre 1532 et 1660)*.

[5] Pierre Duviols refers to the Extirpation of Idolatry as "la hija bastarda de la Inquisición" in his work, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "bartolomé de las casas," 1986).

[6] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 9: Imperialism and colonialism "include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as the forms of knowledge affiliated with domination; the vocabulary of classic nineteenth-century imperial culture is plentiful with words and concepts like "inferior" or "subject races," "subordinate peoples," "dependency," "expansion," and "authority." Out of imperial experiences, notions about culture were clarified, reinforced, criticized, or rejected."

[7] John F. Chuchiak IV, *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536-1820: A Documentary History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 3.

[8] *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias: mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Majestad Católica del rey Don Carlos II, nuestro señor, título XIX*, "De los Tribunales del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición y Sus Ministros," ley 1, folio 91, Madrid: Imprenta de Julian de Paredes, 1681, republished and translated as "Document 2: Royal Order Issued by King Philip II Establishing the Foundation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Indies" in John F. Chuchiak IV, *The Inquisition in New Spain*, 81-82.

[9] Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 25.

[10] Ibid.

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[11] Chuchiak IV, 8-11.

[12] Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "bartolomé de las casas," 1986), xxvii.

[13] Ibid., xxviii-xxix.

[14] Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 9-10.

[15] Pierre Duviols, *La destrucción de las religiones andinas (durante la conquista y la colonia)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977), 180-182.

[16] Nicholas Griffiths, "'Inquisition of the Indians?': The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3.1 (January 1994), 21: The *visitador* was a visiting judge, they were also called *jueces eclesiásticos visitadores de idolatrías*. "The visitor-general presided over investigations into local religious practices and conducted idolatry trials against perceived offenders. It was his responsibility not only to direct the inquiry and question witnesses as suspects, but also to pass judgment and execute the sentence. He was granted all the powers of the archbishop: jurisdiction over ecclesiastical judges; the right to visit all *doctrinas* (missionary indigenous parishes), whether religious or secular; the right to check the level of linguistic knowledge of priests; and the right to remove *doctrineros* (parish priests of indigenous communities) from their offices."

[17] Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, xxxi-xxxii.

[18] Duviols, *La destrucción de las religiones andinas*,

277: When talking about the Extirpation, Duviols states "la visita puede ser definida como una Inquisición aplicada a los indios." My translation: "the visits could be defined as an Inquisition applied to the Indians."

[19] Nicholas Griffiths, "'Inquisition of the Indians?': The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3.1 (January 1994), 19-38.

[20] Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 8. Kenneth Mills mentions that Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez's "estimate of the Indian population in the archdiocese in November of 1664 counted over 131,000 native Andean parishioners."

[21] Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in R. Young, trans. and ed., *Untying the Text: A Poststructuralist Reader* (London: Routledge, 1981), 55-68.

[22] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. M. Sheridan-Smith (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 183.

[23] Ibid., 138, 183: "The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes."

[24] Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "bartolomé de las casas," 1986), 512:

[my translation of] "Haviendo concluido con lo dicho y con lo demás necesario conforme a las circunstancias del lugar y tiempo, harán que se derriben y deshagan los adoratorios y templos y demás partes donde huviere sido adorado el demonio, y que se pongan cruces en su lugar, encargando la veneración que les deven tener, y que se conserven siempre con cuidado ..."

[25] Ibid., 517: [my translation of] "Item de aquí adelante ningún Indio, ny India se llamará con nombre de las Huacas, ny del Rayo: y assí no se podrá llamar Curi, Manco, Missa, Chacpa, ny Líbiac ny Santiago, sino Diego; y al que a su hijo pusiere alguno de estos nombres le serán dados cien açotes por las calles, y el Cura, y

Vicario de esta Doctrina procederá contra él, como contra relapso en la Idolatría, y a los que hasta aquí se han llamado con algunos de los dichos nombres mando se los quiten, y se acomoden a llamarse con otros sobre nombres, de los Españoles, o de los Santos."

[26] Hernando de Avendaño, "Relación de las idolatrías de los indios," in *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "bartolomé de las casas," 1986), 444.

[27] "Mision a ls provinvias de Ocros y Lamps del Corregimiento de Cajatambo" in Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "bartolomé de las casas," 1986), 452: [my translation of] "Las fabulas que esta gente tiene de sus dioses son muchas y muy semejantes a las de aquellos antiguos griegos y romanos dando razón del origen de sus huacas y quien los convirtió en piedras dicen que en tiempo muy antiguo aun antes del gobierno de los Ingas todas las huacas eran hombres y mujeres como los de agora ..."

[28] Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, 12.

[29] Kenneth Mills, "An Evil Lost to View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru," *Monograph Series*, No. 18 (Liverpool: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1994), 73.

[30] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiii: culture "differentiates "us" from "them," almost always with some degree of xenophobia. Culture in this sense is a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that, as we see in recent "returns" to culture and tradition. These "returns" accompany rigorous codes of intellectual and moral behavior that are opposed to the permissiveness associated with such relatively liberal philosophies as multiculturalism and hybridity.

[31] Pedro de Villagómez, "Carta pastoral de exhortación y instrucción contra las idolatrías de los indios, del Arzobispado de Lima," in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, vol. 12 (Lima: Sanmarti y Ca., 1916-1919): Villagómez describes the natives as "los súbditos inferiores," 3; "estos miserables Indios ... fácil de engañar," 9; "esta gente insipiente y bruta," 10; "esta gente sin policia, ni cultura," 14; "Indios gentiles," 16; and, "barbaric people," 18.

[32] *Ibid.*, Villagómez also describes them as "ovejas sin pastor," 23; and as "más nueva en nuestra fe, y ser menos capaz de la enseñanza, y menos constante en retener lo ya percibido," 38.

[33] *Ibid.*, 16: [my translation of] "en esta América a los primeros ministros de la Iglesia, que vinieron de España a plantar en ella la fe Cristiana; pues lo que hicieron fué confuter primero la idolatría, supersticiones, y errors de los Indios con la verdad de la doctrina, que les predicaban, con lo cual le dieron a conocer las tinieblas en que estaban, y probándoles la verdad de la fe christiana los trajeron al conocimiento del Dios ... se significó el haberles puesto delante de los ojos a la verdad de la fe en lugar eminente para ser conocida junto al lado de la fasedad de sus errores ... de ambas cosas, dejasen sus engaños, y siguiessen nuestra verdad."

[34] See Sabine MacCormack, "Gods, Demons, and Idols in the Andes," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67.4 (October 2006), 623-647, for a discussion of the differentiation of true and false religion as a central component of the arguments against idolatry in the Andes.

[35] Pedro de Villagómez, "Carta pastoral de exhortación y instrucción contra las idolatrías de los indios, del Arzobispado de Lima," in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, vol. 12 (Lima: Sanmarti y Ca., 1916-1919), 13: [my translation of] "Pues cuando assí en los spiritual, como en lo temporal estaban de muchas maneras sedientos, y necessitados de la enseñanza necessaria para vivir conforme a razón hallándose en un desierto sin agua, y sin camino, esto es, donde no había quién les diesse riego alguno de doctrina, y los guiase al conocimiento del camino, verdad, y vida (que es Iesu Christo nuestro Señor) entonces sin haber precedido merecimientos suyos para ello, les envió Dios la lluvia voluntaria de su divino espíritu en las aguas del bautismo, y riego de la fe que en él se professa para fertilizarlos y convertidos de un desierto inútil, y desaliñado (como lo era antes) en una parte principal de su heredad, que es la sancta Iglesia tan amena, y fructífera ..."

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[36] See Mills, "Chapter 6: The Dogmatizers," in "An Evil Lost to View?," 105-126.

[37] A *huaca* was a natural or man-made idol that represented a deity. These *huacas* were the primary targets of the *visitas de idolatría* or visits of idolatry, as they were the most outward sign of continued native religious practice.

[38] Pablo José de Arriaga, "Edicto contra la Idolatría" in Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1986), 514-517.

[39] Pierre Duviols, *Un inédit de Cristóbal de Albornoz: La instrucción para descubrir todas la guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haciendas*, from the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 56.1, 35: "Es necesario tener mucho cuydado en exstirpación dellas."

[40] Mills, "An Evil Lost to View?," 62-63, 73-74.

[41] Manuel Marzal, *La transformación religiosa peruana* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1983), 55.

[42] "Causa hecha contra los camachicos del pueblo de Santo Domingo de Pariac por aver sacado a los cuerpos cristianos de la iglesia y llevado a los machayes y otras idolatrías" in Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión*, 93: [my translation of] "Y asi mismo ha visto que en todas las fiestas de Corpus y Cofradias todas las noches de las dhas fiestas los viejos y viejas andan con tamborillos danzando y bailando bebiendo por todas las calles haciendo fiesta a los malquis y guacas ..."

[43] Enrique Torres Saldamando, *Los antiguos Jesuitas del Perú* (Lima: Impr. Liberal, 1882), 120. This prison was established by the Viceroy Príncipe de Esquilache in 1619, and was run by the Jesuits. For more information regarding the Casa de Santa Cruz see also Macarena Cordero Fernández, "Las penas y los castigos para la idolatría aplicados en las visitas de idolatría en Lima durante el siglo XVII," *Revista de Estudios Históricos-Jurídicos* 32 (2010), 351-379.

[44] Pierre Duviols, *Un inédit de Cristóbal de Albornoz: La instrucción para descubrir todas la guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haciendas*, from the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 56.1, 37-38: "y cada un año, obligor al cura dotrinero que visite los tales lugares donde estuvieren las guacas par aver si se reedifican, ver si se le(s) had sacrificado poniéndoles sangre y quemando algo que luego se berá, porque he hallado muchas reedificadas y a los camayos tenelles presents para instruirles (en) nuestra santa fee católica."

[45] "Nasca. Averiguación que se hizo de la conducta ovservada por los Visitadores durante el tiempo que les tocó ver las causas de idolatrías," *Hechicerías e Idolatrías*, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Leg. I, Exp. 9, Fol. 1-8, 1623: Muchos yndios trajeron piedras a la yglesia que disen eran sus ydolos las quales el dicho visitador quemo en medio de la plasa y que no sabe manifestasen ydolos de oro ni plata sino solo piedras de las que ordinariamente ay en los rios ... en quanto a la absolucion ... a muchos yndios y indias les hizo hincar de rodillas y puesto el dicho visitador con una sobrepelis y unas varillas en las manos les ... dando en los hombres hablando latin y que desian en aquella ceremonia y luego les predicaba en su lengua lo que significaba aquello" /f.4-5/ "a este pueblo a visitar las ydolatiras llamando a todos los indios les dijo que venia a rremediar el pecado de la ydolatriay que a los que [...] les perdonaria por ser la primera ves pero que en adelante, serian castigados si bolvasen a peccar en el dicho peccado y que con esto vio que el dicho visitador y los padres que con el vinieron consolaban a los indios y indias con muy buenas palabras y que .... Todos contentos y arrepentidos del pecado y de la seguedad en que habian estado hasta entonces."

[46] Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "bartolomé de las casas," 1986), xlix-l: [my translation of] "La visita de idolatrías fue también para los padres de la Compañía una manera de ejercer una atracción mediante la seducción. Arriaga insiste en la necesidad de aficionar a los indios con relatos de santos "que tanto gustan", con el ornamento suntuoso de las Iglesias, con la formación de cantores y de músicos, con la organización de cermonias colectivas, etc. ... Los jesuitas no tenían

la obsesión de la hispanización, de la "política Cristiana" como la tenía Toledo, y eran partidarios de conservar muchas costumbres indígenas, siempre que éstas no fuesen contrarias a la fe y a la "ley natural."

[47] The regular clergy are ordered priests who take the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The secular clergy are those priests who do not belong to a religious order, and do not take vows.

[48] Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática castellana* (Madrid: Hernando, 1931), Hathi Trust Digital Library, a.ii: [my translation of] "Una cosa hallo y sacó de conclusion muy cierto: quesiempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio: e de tal manera siguió: que juntamente comenzaron, crecieron, e florecieron, e después juntamente fue la caída de entrambos."

[49] José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute in Francisco Mateos, Obras del P. José de Acosta* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1954), IV, viii, 517.

[50] Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales I* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1976), 35: [my translation of] "Cada provincial, cada nación, y en muchas partes cada pueblo, tenía su lengua por sí, diferentes de su vecino."

[51] Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550-1650* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2007), 41-43.

[52] Mannheim, 69.

[53] Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera parte de los Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Yncas, reyes que fueron del Peru, de su idolatría, leyes y gouierno en paz y en guerra: de sus vidas, y conquistas: y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su Republica, antes que los Españoles passaran a el* (Lisbon: Crasbeeck, 1960), I, xxiii, 49, cited in Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 69.

[54] See Chapter 4, "Linguistic Hegemony and the Two Dimensions of Language Variation," in Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

[55] *Ibid.*, 41.

[56] Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 7.

[57] *Ibid.*, 6.

[58] *Ibid.*, 44.

[59] John Charles, "'More Ladino than Necessary': Indigenous Litigants and the Language Policy Debate in Mid-Colonial Peru," *Colonial Latin American Review* 16.1 (June 2007), 28: The words "Dios, cruz, rezar, and matrimonio" translate to "God, cross, to pray, and marriage." These words were borrowed from Spanish and woven into standardized Quechua in order to adapt the use of Quechua for the purposes of evangelization.

[60] Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550-1650* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 212.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] "Ticlllos. Causa de idólatras de oficio seguida contra los indios del pueblo de San Francisco de Otuco," *Hechicerías e Idolatrías*, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Leg. III, Exp. 11, Fol. 49 (Also cited in John Charles, "'More Ladino than Necessary,'" 33): "que en el dho pueblo oyo echar pregones de noche antes de hacer la fiesta de señor san Ju.o y corpus que nocomiessen sal ni agi y aunque no decian en su lengua general del ingua [sino que] vsaban de la maternal los mismos yndios ...yndias le decian a este tt.o en la lengua general delingua que mandaban los biejos y camachicos no comiesen sal ni agi y que era tiempo de mochar sus malquis." [My translation] "that in said village, [San Francisco de Otuco] proclamations were heard at night before celebrating the fiests of San Juan and Corpus, stating that the locals should not eat salt or pepper. Although it was not said in the general language of the Incas [Quechua], but rather the maternal language of those indians, the indians told the witness in

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the general language of the Incas that the proclamations told the elderly and the camachicos to not eat salt and pepper, and that it was time to pay their respects to their malquis."

[63] See Mills, "Chapter 6: The Dogmatizers," in "An Evil Lost to View?," 105-126.

[64] Francisco de Ávila, "Prefación al libro de los sermons, o homilías en la lengua castellana y la índica general quechhua," in *Informaciones acerca de religión y gobierno de los incas*, edited by Horacio H. Urteaga, 83:

"E visto en muchas partes, que hombres muy buenos lenguas (y yo soy uno déstos) no sólo no saben los errors de sus felgreses, pero nienttienden las palabras, y vocablos conque dizen."

[65] Pedro de Villagómez, "Carta pastoral de exhortación y instrucción contra las idolatrías de los indios, del Arzobispado de Lima," in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, vol. 12 (Lima: Sanmarti y Ca., 1916-1919), 140: "El segundo requisito es la pericia de la lengua natural de los indios que se pide por aquella palabra: gnaros."

[66] "Provança hecha a pedimiento de los yndios de Hacas Machaca Chilcas y Cochillas provincial de Caxatambo contra el Licenciado Bernardo de Noboa (23 Febrero 1658 – 29enero 1660) Proceso de Noboa" in Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "Bartolomé de las casas," 1986), 317.

[67] AGI, Patronato, 231, N.7, R.8, 2r, cited in John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 78.

[68] Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales II* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1973), 27: [my translation of] "Así se acordaban los indios, por los nudos, de las cosas que suspadres y abuelos les habían enseñado por tradición,

la cual tomaban con grandísima atención y veneración, como cosas sagradas de su idolatría y leyes de sus Incas, y procuraban conservarlas en la memoria por la falta que tenían de escritura."

[69] Lima III, actio 3, cap. 35 in Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Concilios Limenses (1551-1772)*, vol. 1 (Lima: Tipografía Peruana, 1951). Cited in John Charles,

"Unreliable Confessions: Khipus in the Colonial Parish," *The Americas* 64.1 (July 2007), 11-33:

"los yndios han usado y usan unos como registros hechos de diferentes hilos, que ellos llaman quipos, y con estos conservan la memoria de su Antigua superstición y ritos y ceremonias y costumbres perversas; procuren con diligencia los obispos que todos los memoriales o quipos, que sirven para su superstición, se les quiten totalmente a los yndios." [my translation] "the indians have used and use some as registers made of different threads, which they call khipus, and with these they conserve the memoria of their old superstitions and rites and ceremonies and perverse customs; the bishops should act against all forms of memory or khipus that allow the continuance of their superstitions, these should be taken away completely from the indians."

[70] A short explanation of how opacity works to conserve "knowledge": Language encompasses knowledge. When Spanish officials were unable to understand or unwilling to understand local variants of Quechua or other indigenous languages, they dismissed these variants as "not knowledge," and deemed them barbaric and lowly. Only the Spanish language or an indigenous language approved by the Spaniards and transformed to fit Spanish needs was believed to have the potential to embody "true" knowledge. The indigenous languages that continued to be spoken regardless of suppression, continued to have a flow of knowledge. While many communities did appropriate the Spanish language, they did not stop speaking their indigenous languages, preserving knowledge in a hidden manner. The continued survival and usage of these languages allowed cultural traditions, considered idolatry by the Spanish, to continue being practiced.

[71] Celia M. Britton, *Edouard Glissant and Postcolonial Theory: Strategies of Language and Resistance* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 25. Detour was also used by those individuals, *indios ladinos*, who helped Spanish ecclesiastical officials create a standardized form of

pastoral Quechua. The idea that the help of the indigenous population was needed to standardize Quechua results in a sharing of power. The indigenous population was thereby able to maintain a certain ownership over their language and the knowledge it embodied, preventing the Spanish officials from having complete control of Andean societal and cultural practices.

[72] *Ibid.*, 33.

[73] *Curaca* was the Spanish term for a local leader of a group of people or province.

[74] Enrique Torres Saldamando, *Los antiguos Jesuitas del Perú* (Lima: Impr. Liberal, 1882), 120.

[75] John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents: 1583-1671* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 44-45.

[76] According to John Charles, "the fiscal was a bilingual Spaniard in charge of mediating interactions between the visitador and local authorities, and arresting the accused." In John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents: 1583-1671* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 135.

[77] *Ibid.*, 148-155.

[78] Luis Millones discussed the duplicitous roles played by the curacas in Luis Millones, "Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas of the Central Sierra," *Ethnohistory* 26.3 (Summer 1979), 243-263.

[79] The story of Rodrigo de Guzmán Rupay Chagua is treated in some detail in John Charles, *Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents: 1583-1671* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 42-57, and in John Charles, "'More Ladino than Necessary': Indigenous Litigants and the Language Policy Debate in Mid-Colonial Peru," *Colonial Latin American Review* 16.1 (June 2007), 23-47.

[80] "Huamantanga. Causa criminal de idolatría seguida contra Rodrigo Guzmán Rupaychagua, cacique de Huamantanga," *Hechicerías e Idolatrías*, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Leg. III, Exp. 9.

[81] *Visitas Eclesiásticas*, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Leg. 23, Exp. 30, 9r: "es de advertir que el dicho don Rodrigo se firma en la dicha petición Don Rodrigo de gusman ApoRupaichagua y este sobrenombre de Apo significa en la lengua natural de los indios el Señor de todo ... y no firma ordinariamente con el sino es cuando escribe a los indios de su repartimiento pero no cuando escribe a los coregidores y otras justicias que indica malisia"

[82] "Causa hecha a los curacas camachicos y mandones de el pueblo de San Francisco de Otuco anejo de la doctrina de San Pedro de Hacas en tener una yndia de mas de 35 años sin bautizar dedicada a el culto de la guaca y ydolos y otras Quattro pequeñas asimismo dedicadas al dicho culto y descubrimiento de 205 cuerpos cristianos." 19 abril –11 agosto 1656 (San Francisco de Otuco) in Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "Bartolomé de las casas," 1986), 69: [my translation of] "Fuele preguntado si a ussado el oficio de echizero de docgmatizador confessor y predicador de seta y en particular a mandado a los yndios que no adoren a Dios no acudan a la yglesia a reçar ni confiessen con su cura mas que el que no oyen missa y comen carne los biernes. Dixo que es verdad todo lo que se le pregunta a este confessante y a mandado a los yndios que no adoren a Dios sino sus camaquenes guacas ydolos y malquis porque estos les daban de bestir y de comer y tambien que no fuessen a la yglesia ni se confessasen con sus curas mas pecados que los que se le pregunta porque los demas los confessaban con este confessante y losdemas confessors yndios."

[83] "Causa de ydolatría contra los yndios ydolatras echiseros del pueblo de San Francisco de Mangas." 9 Agotos-21 Octubre 1662 (San Francisco de Mangas) in Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cusco, Peru: Centro de estudios rurales andinos "Bartolomé de las casas," 1986), 348: [my translation of] "Don Alonso Callampoma que

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es natural deste pueblo de San Francisco de mangas y segunda persona del dicho pueblo con titulo del real gobierno y cobrador de tributos y que es cabeza del aylo de Cotos."

[84] Ibid., 325: [my translation of]: "Miguel de Harta Beitia fiscal nombrado en esta visita digo que la mayor culpa que de ella resulta es contra Don

Alonso Callampoma cassique ygobernador desta doctrina de Mangas por quanto da culto y hace mochas a un ydolo o malqui llamado Condortocas y a su hermana Coya guarmi..."

[85] Ibid., 326: [my translation of] "y es publico y notorio que los dias del corpus hacen los mismos bayles y mochas a dichos ydolos."

[86] Ibid., 326: [my translation of]: "haciendole ofrendas al dicho ydolo caussando grande escandalo y mal exemplo a sus yndios"

[87] Rolena Adorno, "Cultures in Contact: Mesoamerica, the Andes, and the European written tradition," in *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature Volume 1: Discovery to Modernism*, edited by Roberto Gonzalez Echevarría and Enrique Pupo-Walker (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 33.

[88] Song No, "La oralidad y la violencia de la escritura en los Comentarios reales del Inca Garcilaso," *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 25.49 (1999), 27.

[89] Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1980), 388.

[90] Rolena Adorno, Guaman Poma: *Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 5.

[91] Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 16.