Castilianization in the Archdiocese of Lima, 1600-1700

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2016

Abstract

Historical studies of the Spanish language in colonial Peru have overwhelmingly focused on explaining broad changes in the Spanish Crown’s language policies for its viceroyalty, on evaluating the putative outcomes, successes and failures of those policies, and on examining the writings of indigenous notables who read, wrote, and spoke Spanish – a broad collection of people known as ‘Indios Ladinos.’ While assumptions reign, however, relatively little is known about the process of Castilianization itself. Who learned to speak, write or read Spanish? Under what circumstances, why, how, and with what repercussions? My study approaches Castilianization in the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima not as a completed – or even “completeable” – process that was – or could be – decided by policy, but rather as an on-going and discontinuous process in which Andeans created their own linguistic and broader cultural realities within the confines of colonial society.

I draw upon a wide range of sources, from the seventeenth-century leaflets used to teach Spanish in Iberia and Peru, through the dictates of spiritual and secular establishments, to the inspection records which reported on the state of Spanish language education in Andean parishes.
and provided contemporary snapshots of the complexities of day-to-day language use in overwhelmingly multilingual communities.

The study is divided into five chapters: Chapter one examines the official approaches to Spanish and Quechua in mid-colonial Peru from a new perspective of coexistence and complementarity rather than that of competition. Chapter two introduces the Archdiocese of Lima’s episcopal inspection records, which, among other things, report on Spanish language schools – *escuelas de muchachos indios* – meant to be operating across the archdiocese. Next, I examine the ways in which intended schools intersected with the aims and fears of seventeenth-century extirpators. In chapter four I explore the purported “*escuelas*” themselves, contending that they are best understood not as permanent spaces or consistent features of Andean parishes but rather as transient – even periodic – endeavours of communities and individuals. Finally, chapter five examines the thoughtworlds and experiences of speakers – indigenous and mixed-race people who employed Spanish and Quechua, and whose language use – and lives – beg our re-thinking of the category of Indios Ladino and much else besides.
Acknowledgements

I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Kenneth Mills, for his intellectual generosity, guidance, and support throughout my entire doctoral experience, as well as to my committee members Paul Cohen and Heidi Bohaker.

Research for my thesis was made possible by the generous funding of several institutions and individuals. Thank you to Natalie Zemon Davis for the Natalie Zemon Davis Graduate Fellowship; to SSHRC for the Joseph-Armand Bombardier CGS doctoral scholarship and the CGS-MSFSS; and to the government of Ontario for funds provided through the OGS program.

While overseas I was fortunate to receive assistance in navigating new cities and new archives from a number of mentors and colleagues. A special thanks to William Christian Jr., and Luis Miguel Glave in Spain, and to Marco Curatola Petrocchi, Pedro Guibovich, Melecio Tineo Morón, and to the Instituto de Pastoral Andina in Peru.

And above all, thanks to my parents, Debra and Jeff Huras, and to my siblings Tricia, Greg, and Sarah.
# Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES ................................................................. vi

LIST OF PLATES ............................................................... vii

LIST OF APPENDICES ......................................................... viii

INTRODUCTION .................................................................... 1 – 24

CHAPTER ONE
Two Tongues, Coexistence and Complementarity: Spanish and the
Lenguas Generales in the Viceroyalty of Peru .......................... 26 – 80

CHAPTER TWO
The Episcopal Visit in the Archdiocese of Lima, Sixteenth and
Seventeenth Centuries ....................................................... 81 – 134

CHAPTER THREE
Extirpation and Spanish Language Education in the Seventeenth-
Century Archdiocese of Lima ........................................... 135 – 189

CHAPTER FOUR
Escuelas de Muchachos Indios in the Seventeenth-Century
Archdiocese of Lima ....................................................... 190 – 251

CHAPTER FIVE
Spanish Speakers in Doctrinas de Indios in the Archdiocese of Lima,
1600-1700 ................................................................. 252 – 294

CONCLUSION .................................................................... 295 – 303

GLOSSARY ........................................................................ 304 – 307

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................................. 308 – 324

APPENDICES ..................................................................... 325 – 361
List of Tables

Table 1. Padrón de Indios – Doctrina of La Asunción de Matahuasi, Ancash (1649)……………………………………………………………………………… 221
List of Plates

Plate 1. Map of The Archdiocese of Lima in Mid-Colonial Times…… 25

Plate 2. The parish priest kneels obediently to greet the arriving church inspector. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Drawing 269…… 112 – 113

Plate 3. Signature of Gerónimo Xulca Maquín………………………… 215

Plate 4. The cruel choir and school masters should teach their students to read and write so that they become good Christians. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Drawing 266……………………………… 235 – 236

Plate 5. Signature of Don Francisco Capchalloclla, cacique principal of Espiritu Santo de Llacta, Huánuco in 1649 (upper left) compared to the flourish with which notary Andrés Díaz Delgado signs (lower right). AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:28, f. 3………………………… 273

Plate 6. Signatures of Don Juan Ayquipa, Don Juan Beles, and Don Sebastián de Robles, among others. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:46, f. 2v……………………………………………………………… 288
List of Appendices

Appendix A: Episcopal Inspection Questionnaire, 1628. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 1:9, f. 2-3. ................................................................. 325 – 327

Appendix B: An Incomplete Sample of Linguistic Data for Andean Parishioners who Testified during Episcopal Inspections in the Archdiocese of Lima, 1600-1700. AAL, Visitas Pastorales............. 328 – 361
Introduction

This is a study of Castilianization in the Archdiocese of Lima from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries. I employ the term “Castilianization” to refer to the processes through which traditionally non-Spanish speaking peoples in the Andes engaged with, adopted and adapted aspects of the language and culture of Castile. Although historians writing in English also commonly refer to this process as “Hispanicization,” I have consciously opted for a term closer to the one most frequently used in the Spanish historiography – castellanización – for two reasons. First, because it emphasizes that while, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Castilian – also often referred to as Spanish – was becoming predominant, it was but one of several “Spanish” languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula, and, second, that Castilian was the primary tongue exported to and encouraged across the American viceroyalties.¹

Prior to the European invasion, the diverse peoples of coastal and Andean Peru spoke languages belonging “to at least six distinct language families.”² In addition to the Quechua language family, these included Sec or Tallán; Mochica, also referred to as Yunga; and Culli, all spoken in the northwest of Peru; as well as Puquina, which linguist Alfredo Torero indicates was spoken in Moquegua, around Lake Titicaca, and in Potosí; and Aru, which included the widely spoken and internally diverse language of Aymara.³

¹ Clare Mar-Molinero, The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World: From Colonisation to Globalisation (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), 21-22, 35-37. As Mar-Molinero notes, the question of whether to refer to the language as “Castilian” or “Spanish” is an on-going one, and present-day Latin Americans can be found on both sides of the debate. I have used the terms interchangeably here because both are found with approximately equal frequency in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documentation.
The militaristic expansion of the Inka in the fourteenth century brought these diverse speakers and ethnic polities into the fold of Tawantinsuyo – the ‘land of the four parts.’ The Inkas ruled their expansive domain from their capital in Cuzco, organizing and redistributing goods, labour and populations using an extensive network of roads, bridges and warehouses. The empire, which at its height spanned some 2,600 miles from modern-day Ecuador in the north to Chile in the south, was multiethnic and multilingual. Administrators in the provinces were selected from among local elites, and conquered peoples largely maintained their distinctive identities, lifeways, senses of belonging to their ayllu (extended kin group) and devotion to a wide range of sacred phenomena including, among others, their huacas, which Kenneth Mills defines as “extraordinary physical things and places often imbued with the power of ancestral personalities, cultural originators for surrounding peoples.” Superimposed on this diversity was what Bruce Mannheim has characterized as an “eggshell thin overlay” of Inka language, as well as customs and religion. Imperial dictates required that all peoples living under the Inka state learn the empire’s lingua franca – a Southern Peruvian variety of Quechua already widely extended throughout the region and adopted early on by the Inka rulers. As sixteenth-century chronicler, Pedro de Cieza de León, recounts, the Inkas ordered that all of their subjects learn


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

6 Ibid., 6. Durston notes that the Inkas’ relationship with Quechua and the specific variety of Quechua employed as the imperial the lingua franca remains a subject of debate. Linguists such as Alfredo Torero and Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino have suggested that the imperial language of Tawantinsuyo may have been a variety “from the central Peruvian coast rather than” from Cuzco. Alan Durston, “Standard Colonial Quechua,” in Iberian Imperialism and Language Evolution in Latin America, ed. Salikoko S. Mufwene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 227. For a discussion of this question, see also Gerald Taylor, Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochíri y Yauyos (Lima: IEFA, 2000), 35-70.
and speak the language of Cuzco, and that they teach it to their children, on pain of punishment.\(^7\)

In practice, however, the language was primarily adopted only by local ruling elites for administrative purposes. Cieza de León continues, “Although the language of Cuzco (as I have said) was spoken, everyone maintained their own languages, the languages of their ancestors.”\(^8\)

Thus, the peoples living under Inka rule throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries remained linguistically and culturally diverse.\(^9\)

The unity of the Inka state was in shambles at the time of the European invasion. The death of Sapa Inka Wayna Qhapaq in the late 1520s – presumably due to smallpox – resulted in a civil war of succession between his sons, the Cuzco-based Waskhar and the Quito-based Atawalpa. Francisco Pizarro, a native of Trujillo in the western Spanish kingdom of Extremadura who arrived on the shores of Tawantinsuyo in 1532 with some 200 men and the assistance of indigenous translators, quickly exploited the rifts within the empire to gain a foothold in the territory. Kidnapping, ransoming and eventually trying and executing Atawalpa while reports of a mounting rebellion against Spanish actions swirled, Pizarro’s forces allied themselves with the Cuzco faction of the empire, marching triumphantly into the city with a new Inka sovereign, Mankqu Inka. In the years following their arrival in Cuzco, the Spanish faced a native rebellion in Cuzco led by Mankqu himself, the establishment of a Neo-Inka state in Vilcabamba which

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\(^7\) Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú, el señorío de los Incas*, ed. Franklin Pease G.Y. (Ayacucho: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), 117. “[…] all subjects of this kingdom […] spoke the general language of the Inkas, which is the language that was used in Cuzco, and this language was spoken widely, because the Inka lords commanded it, and it was the law in the entire kingdom, and they punished any parents who did not teach it to their children” (My translation) “[…] todos los de este reino […] hablaban la lengua general de los Ingas, que es la que se usaban en el Cuzco, y hablabase esta lengua generalmente, porque los señores Ingas lo mandaban, y era ley en todo su reino, y castigaban a los padres si la dejaban de mostrar su hijos en la niñez.”

\(^8\) Ibid. (My translation) “Mas no embargante que hablaban la lengua del Cuzco (como dijo) todos se tenían sus lenguas, las que usaron sus antepasados.”


The European invasion of South America and the stuttering, subsequent consolidation of rule over what had been Tawantinsuyu brought war, disease, famine, social upheaval, forced labour and forced migrations to the roughly nine million indigenous people living in the vast region.\footnote{Noble David Cook, Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 116.} The result was catastrophic population decline which took place for a century following Pizarro’s arrival. According to Noble David Cook, of the estimated 1.045 million indigenous people in the Peruvian highlands in 1570, only 585,000 remained by 1620; and along the coast, populations dropped from 250,000 to 87,000 in the same period.\footnote{Ibid., 253.} In the midst of population collapse, and with the increasing arrival of Castilian speakers from the Iberian Peninsula and of linguistically and culturally diverse enslaved Africans,\footnote{Several historians have examined the experiences of Africans in colonial Peru. See Frederick P. Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974); and Jean-Pierre Tardieu, L’Eglise et les noirs au Pérou: XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 1993).} Peru’s indigenous peoples also began to experience new linguistic pressures and transformations. The linguistic landscape of the viceroyalty remained dynamic throughout the colonial period, as communities made choices about which linguistic varieties to maintain, adopt and/or abandon.

Up to now, historians have largely taken a top-down approach to understanding the language question in colonial Peru, linking the abovementioned transformations to official decrees on language issued by ecclesiastical and secular establishments. Such a view frames
Castilianization in the viceroyalty as an official ‘policy’ – an imperial project, a series of aspirational dictates issued in order to promote Andeans’ adoption of Spanish. As Robert Wood has argued, this project aimed at far more than mere linguistic transformation for the purposes of colonial administration and governance. Rather, it was part and parcel of the evangelization process writ large in the Andes. For, in the eyes of secular and ecclesiastical officials, Andeans who learned Spanish would also absorb the purportedly ‘inherent’ qualities of the tongue – Spanish Catholicism, as well as all manner of European Christian customs and habits, from personal cleanliness, through ways of eating, to conceptions of matrimony and social life.¹⁴

Investigations by Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino (1989), Alan Durston (2007), Bruce Mannheim (1984), Clare Mar-Molinero (2000), and Francisco de Solano (1991), among others, have examined this official program of Castilianization – its decrees, and underlying aims and intents – and outlined and explained broad shifts in the Crown’s approach to language in the American viceroyalties.¹⁵ From their works, which have become fundamental to our understanding of the language policies emerging in colonial Peru, a broad picture emerges of an official approach to language which posits an initial period of multilingualism – during which colonial policies favoured the coexistence of Spanish with select varieties of the Andean languages of Quechua, Aymara and Puquina – giving way, by the late eighteenth century, to a more rigorous policy of forced Castilianization and various initiatives bent on the enfeeblement

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or even the eradication of surviving indigenous languages.\textsuperscript{16} Castilianization proper, then, has generally been thought to belong more squarely to the eighteenth century, with the earlier ‘softer’ approaches to such transformations throughout the viceroyalty being dismissed as preliminary, half-hearted, and generally ineffective.\textsuperscript{17} The general consensus is that Spanish remained a primarily urban and coastal language in Peru well into the eighteenth century, its speakers being confined to metropolitan centres and to the rapidly declining indigenous communities along the coast.\textsuperscript{18} The overarching narrative of Castilianization is one of the gradual encroachment of Spanish into largely Quechua- and Aymara-speaking communities of the Andean highlands, and of a slowly progressing “but inexorable move from multilingualism...[to] Castilian as the

\textsuperscript{16} The general consensus is that by the 1640s official support for the use of Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina in the Viceroyalty of Peru began to fade, as attention shifted toward ensuring indigenous peoples learned Spanish. This was further solidified in 1770 when Charles III issued a decree calling for the eradication of indigenous languages and for forced Castilianization. Durston, Pastoral Quechua, 172; Cerrón-Palomino, “Language Policy in Peru,” 21. Francisco de Solano has transcribed the 1770 cédula which ordered “that action be taken to eradicate the aboriginal tongues [so that] only Spanish is spoken; [and so that] in this way, we may overcome many difficulties” (My translation) “que se pongan los medios para erradicar los idiomas aborígenes y solamente se hable el español, superándose asi muchos inconvenientes.” Solano, ed., Documentos sobre política lingüística, 257-261. Eighteenth-century Castilianization efforts have been examined in relation to Charles III’s official recognition of Castilian as the administrative language of Spain in 1768 and the subsequent suppression of Catalan, and in connection with local concerns such as the widespread indigenous uprisings of the late eighteenth–century Andean region. See Mar-Moliner, The Politics of Language, 22-23; Cerrón-Palomino, “Language Policy in Peru,” 21; Mannheim, “Una nación acorralada,” 300-301.

\textsuperscript{17} According to Magnus Mörner, for example, the Crown’s language policies were “too far removed from reality to be able to implement on a large scale” and were generally ineffective (My translation) “demasiado lejanas de la realidad para poder llegar a aplicarse en mayor escala.” Magnus Mörner, “La difusión del castellano y el aislamiento de los indios. Dos aspiraciones contradictorias de la corona española,” in Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1967), 441. And Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz depicts sixteenth- and seventeenth-century attempts to spread Spanish as half-hearted given the Crown’s inability or unwillingness to provide both financial and institutional support to implement its language policies. Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz, “De las lenguas amerindias al castellano. Ley o interacción en el período colonial,” in Rumbo a América: gente, ideas y lengua, ed. Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2006), 157-158.

\textsuperscript{18} José Luis Rívarola, La formación lingüística de Hispanoamérica (Lima: PUCP, 1990), 111; Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la iglesia en el Perú (1511-1568) Tomo I (Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1953), 61; John Charles, Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 26.
dominant linguistic variety” in the viceroyalty as policies increasingly favoured the imposition of Spanish.19

My research presents a challenge to the traditional approach to the study of Castilianization in colonial Peru in a number of ways. First, in situating the study firmly in the neglected – and, to my mind, misunderstood – earlier period, that is to say the late-sixteenth through seventeenth centuries, I argue that the coexistence of the language of Castile with indigenous languages in Peru should be fundamental to our understanding of Castilianization in this period. This intended coexistence, its emergence and its development is best understood and studied in its own right rather than merely as a provisional or unsuccessful stage in what has been characterized as the inevitable march towards ‘total’ Castilianization.20 Following an array of evidence that challenges the sense of any such teleology, I examine linguistic dictates intended for a society in which monolingualism (or ‘complete’ Castilianization) was never a given or even an expected outcome.

Second, while exploring the various official policies and pronouncements on language intended for the viceroyalty, this study is primarily an examination of Castilianization in the Archdiocese of Lima from the bottom up. It provides insight into the social relations and institutional processes at work in Andean parishes that shaped community and individual access and reactions to the language of Castile. Further, it allows us to catch glimpses of the culturally and linguistically complex lives of Andeans who participated in these processes, as they

19 Mar-Molinero has presented Castilianization as an inevitable process. She notes that “the colonial period is characterised by the gradual but inexorable move from multilingualism…to a Castilianization process leaving Castilian as the dominant linguistic variety.” She further stresses that, “inevitably the language of the conquerors began to be imposed in important areas of daily life, such as administration, trading, and legal transactions” (My italics). Mar-Molinero, Politics of Language, 28-29.
20 Ibid.
encountered and employed Spanish in the course of their daily lives. Parish records from across the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima which describe spoken testimony and bear the signatures of Andean elites clearly defy the notion that Spanish remained a distant and unfamiliar language for residents of Indian parishes located beyond the city of Lima and the adjacent coast. Indeed, reports of Andean engagements with Spanish from the highland provinces of Yauyos, Canta, Huarochirí, Junín, Pasco, Huánuco, Cajatambo, and Ancash suggest that the Castilian tongue may have been a language of the highland elite as much as it was for their coastal equivalents.

Further, when we examine Castilianization not in theory or as an administrative or spiritual ideal, but rather as a predominantly Andean process that begs understanding in local and even individual contexts, we discover that it is quite impossible to speak of Castilianization in the Andes as a homogenous or linear process. Rather, the linguistically diverse indigenous peoples who lived in the Archdiocese of Lima’s coastal and highland parishes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries encountered and employed the Spanish language to differing degrees at diverse moments and for varied reasons in particular settings. Castilianization – or perhaps even more properly ‘Castilianizations’ – were experienced and made sense of locally, as individuals and communities made choices about which languages to use and when – both in reaction to and irrespective of myriad official policies and pronouncements about language in the region and broader viceroyalties. People’s decisions were not necessarily exclusive or permanent. Spanish might all but replace indigenous languages in coastal parishes or in culturally complex pockets of urban Lima, but it was far more often adopted and employed alongside dynamic local varieties of Andean languages, and even learned or utilized for a period only to later be all but
abandoned as the composition and needs of communities and individuals changed. Archival documents which shed light on the use of Spanish – spoken and written – in Andean parishes across the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima, show no clear generational shifts from Quechua to Spanish. Instead, the wide variety of experiences, currents and countercurrents that we discover reflect inconsistent access and attitudes to Spanish language education and diverse individual and community choices about language use. Collectively and continuously, people’s choices – made within the constraints of colonial relations of power – determined the various directions of evolving linguistic landscapes across parishes in the Archdiocese of Lima in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

My study also builds upon – but necessarily departs from – a rich historiography which, in recent decades, has shifted focus away from the language of Castile to examine the fates and dynamic integrities of indigenous languages in colonial Spanish America and beyond. Studies focusing on the Quechua, Nahuatl, and Mayan languages, among others, reveal that Amerindian tongues were both vital to and deeply transformed by the colonization process. In The Darker Side of the Renaissance (1995), Walter D. Mignolo wrote of the “colonization of Amerindian languages” which occurred as missionary linguists bent select indigenous languages to their purposes, ‘endowing’ them with alphabetic scripts, codified grammars, European genres, and Christian concepts and terminologies. And more recently, in his Pastoral Quechua (2007), Alan Durston examines this process as it was carried out with respect to Quechua in Peru, as Spanish clergy engaged with and altered the Andean tongue to create a Christian register in the language – a ‘pastoral’ Quechua that would theoretically be capable of conveying the Catholic doctrine to a vast range of indigenous peoples. Historical studies have been buttressed by more
anthropological and linguistic ones, with Bruce Mannheim’s *The Language of the Inka after the European Invasion* (1991) standing out as seminal in this regard. Mannheim contributed to our understanding of Quechua as a “dominated language,” the use of which both reflects and reproduces the unequal power relations characteristic of the emerging colonial as much as present-day Peruvian societies.

These studies, which form part of a larger corpus of scholarship exploring language and colonial cultural power in societies across the Americas, Africa, and Asia through to the twentieth century, demonstrate that while language was both an object and ‘technology’ of colonization, it was also a complex and subtle instrument wielded early and often by the colonized. Indeed, for all of their attempts to control indigenous languages, as Mignolo, among others, has argued, officials in colonial Spanish America were never fully successful in restricting the use and proliferation of unsanctioned linguistic varieties, literacies, and memories. Language – as slippery and dynamic an aspect of culture as its religious dimension – was never fully or completely in any would-be colonizers’ grasps. Indeed, and as Johannes Fabian’s study of the development of Shaba Swahili in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Belgian Congo suggests, colonial attempts to control language development did not function

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independently of speakers themselves. Rather, and emphatically, official approaches were “frequently parasitic on the creative labours of the people.”

My investigation of Castilianization in mid-colonial Peru has been informed by this wide swathe of existing scholarship, both in terms of recognizing the need to explore the unequal power relations tied up with and reproduced through language use – Spanish and indigenous Andean languages in the Archdiocese of Lima – and in the insistence that policy alone could not determine how and why Andeans engaged with the Spanish language, as with much else besides. Judicial records and ecclesiastical correspondence reveal that Andeans frequently employed the language of Castile outside of officially sanctioned religious contexts. Andean parishioners used written Spanish to navigate colonial courts, bringing lawsuits against parish priests, all manner of colonial officials, as well as against their neighbours and local rivals. By mid-colonial times, various manifestations of spoken Spanish also appeared in Andean rituals, healing practices and social interactions such as borracheras, where alcohol, song and dance served as a means to communicate with the divine. The gradual adaptation and incorporation of Spanish words and phrases into recognizable Andean aims and practices – various Andean re-creations of Spanish – outran the official intents for Spanish language education in the Archdiocese of Lima. Thus, here, I address Castilianization as both a ‘policy’ and a power-laden ‘choice’ rich in implications and

23 Fabian, Language and Colonial Power, 8.
24 Ibid., 8.
opportunities for actual people. My study is situated at a series of precise intersections between official aims and intents regarding languages in the Archdiocese of Lima and the endeavours and decisions made by Andeans themselves – indigenous and mixed-race peoples – both in their own communities and in interaction with colonial centres.

The need to engage with but ultimately move beyond legislation is “old-hat” for historical interpreters of colonial Latin America who are abundantly aware that royal dictates issued from the peninsular Spanish kingdoms were unevenly implemented in the American viceroyalties. The oft’quoted phrase “I observe but do not obey” has long neatly summed up a much messier reality in which viceregal authorities and colonial actors irregularly followed, often adapted, and at times entirely ignored legislation issued from the peninsula and colonial centres, resulting in final outcomes that, in many instances, looked quite unlike original intents. In taking this examination of Castilianization beyond policy, however, I aim not so much to gauge the extent to which language decrees were enacted or to measure the purported outcomes, successes or failures of official Castilianization attempts – although such measuring, too, has its place. I contend that in focusing solely or primarily on the ‘end-results’ of Castilianization we run the risk of losing sight of the dynamics of Castilianization as a process intimately involving many different people and contexts. While assumptions about intents and end-points reign, relatively little can be learned about how Castilianization was experienced or ‘lived’ in the Andes. Who learned to speak, write or read Spanish? Under what circumstances? Why, how, and with whose assistance? And with what repercussions and implications? In asking these and associated questions, I approach Castilianization not as a completed – or even a “completeable” – process that was – or could be – decided by intention or policy, but rather as an ongoing,
discontinuous, and lived experience through which Andeans created their own linguistic and broader cultural realities within the confines of colonial society.

Castilianizing Andeans across the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima engaged with and acquired the language of Castile – in written but more commonly in spoken varieties – in diverse settings and moments in the course of their daily lives. These range from the formal schooling received by a limited number of Andean nobles in Lima’s prestigious Jesuit-run Colegio del Príncipe, through the much more accessible but uneven, informal, and irregular instruction in various parish settings, to direct and spontaneous interaction with fellow Castilianizing Andeans and other Spanish speakers. Although the aforementioned Colegio in Lima and its sister institution, the Colegio de San Borja, in Cuzco have received the lion’s share of historiographical attention, mounting evidence that not only the cap of the Andean elite but also indigenous peoples from a wide range of social backgrounds and positions spoke, read, and wrote in Spanish has led scholars to hypothesize that most Castilianizing Andeans acquired many of their language skills informally.25 Indeed, as recently as 2014 Gabriela Ramos suggested that despite the importance of official institutions such as the Colegio del Príncipe, “a good part of [Spanish language] education, knowledge, and learning took place elsewhere.”26 Up

until now, however, this ‘elsewhere,’ has remained a highly speculative space, vaguely defined
and scarcely investigated.

My study provides, for the first time, compelling proof of the importance of informal
formation and education in Spanish across the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima. I
examine and refine our understanding of the archdiocese’s “escuelas de muchachos indios,” or
schools for Indian children. This sweeping phrase was employed by colonial officials to describe
far more than what we might at first expect. On the ground, ‘escuelas de muchachos indios’
amounted to a plethora of heterogeneous educational endeavours and both enduring and more
fleeting instructional opportunities in Indian parishes. These “escuelas,” which have been largely
neglected by historical interpreters, were primarily local undertakings that are most fruitfully
understood not as permanent spaces or consistent features of Andean parishes but rather as the
mobile, transient – even periodic – endeavours of communities and even individuals.

My study is, thus, also a contribution to the history of education in multilingual, colonial
societies. I situate Peru’s escuelas de muchachos indios within the context of post-Reformation
efforts to conceive of and construct broad-based primary educational systems across Europe,
identifying the often stunning similarities and differences between European and colonial
Andean forms and experiences of education. Spanish language “schools” in Peru, I demonstrate,
both drew upon peninsular precedents and were adapted to colonial and community situations
and needs.

Indeed, in the Archdiocese of Lima diverse educational efforts – although centrally
decreed and often dependent upon the support and guidance of a parish priest – in practice
operated, for the most part, outside of the purview and control of the colonial metropole’s
officialdom. Indeed, Andean communities actively determined the direction and course of their own local Castilianizations – whether it was by collaborating with or resisting their doctrinero (parish priest) as he went about or neglected his obligation to contract a maestro de niños – a teacher to instruct parish children; by actively teaching the arts of reading, writing, and speaking Spanish to fellow Andeans, and in interaction with non-indigenous people; or by opting to or refusing to send their children to catechetical and other forms of instruction, where, amidst a number of purportedly morally edifying, improving lessons, they might learn the language of Castile. The active role played by Andeans in these community projects beckons to new ways of describing the evidence before us, summoning our consideration of self-Castilianizations taking place across the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima, a process that accompanies and expands our understanding of what Kenneth Mills has referred to, in the context of religious transformation in the region, as “self-Christianization.”

In the colonial documentary record we encounter Castilianizing Andeans who spoke and wrote nascent varieties of Andean Spanish – sometimes eloquently and persuasively, at other times haltingly, even incoherently – in different situations in their parish communities. Indeed, between a given seventeenth-century person’s theoretical absolutes of Quechua monolingualism and the perfect command of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, we discover a broad and fascinating spectrum in which dwelt Andeans with a wide range of linguistic abilities: those who wrote with an uncertain and inexperienced hand; those who expertly composed letters and signed

their names but who either struggled to speak Spanish or preferred speaking their native language; those who were highly functional speakers, but who were not alphabetically literate in the often snap (but uncertain) judgement of a colonial official; and those who spoke their Andean Spanish but did not write, or chose not to write, for reasons that remain largely mysterious to us, to name but a few possibilities. In short, we encounter Andean people in the process not only of linguistic transformation, but in the various midst of actual and applied language use in its various forms.

No longer framed merely as means and medium, or as a source for the writing of history, language use in everyday life – the language of the everyday – has increasingly become the subject of historical analysis in its own right. In their 1987 publication, *The Social History of Language*, Peter Burke and Roy Porter emphatically argue that “language is too important historically to leave to linguists,” proposing a new, interdisciplinary field of history situated in the “gap between linguistics, sociology (including social anthropology) and history.”29 Since then, social historians of language have endeavoured to fill that gap with studies ranging from David Garriochn’s analysis of the mental worlds of eighteenth-century Parisians via an examination of popular uses of verbal insults, through Dorinda Outram’s discussion of women’s responses to and uses of the discourse around ‘virtue’ in the French Revolution, to Roy Porter’s examination of changing relationships between physicians and patients in Georgian England through the lens of medical terminology.30 Underpinning a diversity of topics and approaches is

the sociolinguistic precept that contends that language – written and spoken – both reflects and actively shapes social relations, offering historians insights into historical processes. Burke sums up this notion, asserting that

we have discovered something about social change in nineteenth-century Russia on reading, in Turgenev’s Smoke, that Litvinov’s mother (a member of the provincial nobility) addressed the servants with V [formal ‘you’], instead of the traditional T [informal ‘you’], because she believed that this was the progressive and the Western thing to do, just as we have a sudden insight into relationships between the sexes when we read that Tolstoy’s wife Sonia was afraid to say T to her husband on their wedding night.31

Although language use certainly cannot tell us everything there is to know about past societies, historians overlook such a crucial aspect of culture at their own peril. In examining the ways in which colonial officials and Andean parishioners engaged with and employed Spanish alongside other Andean languages in daily exchanges, we open up new avenues to understand not only one of the means by which colonial society was created, but also how colonialism was experienced by Andeans across the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century parishes under investigation.

Mid-colonial Castilianizing Andeans – which, as hinted above, encompassed a broad and various group of people – are most commonly referred to by colonial contemporaries and historical interpreters in their wake as “Indios Ladinos” – Spanish-speaking or Hispanicized

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31 Burke, introduction, 12.
Indians.32 Such a unitary term, however, fixes its objects in time and space and not only obscures the diversity of Andeans’ experiences with and uses of the Spanish language alongside local varieties of Quechua, but also evokes a misleading sense of completion. Indeed, although recent historiography has expanded our understanding of the category to encompass a wide range of intercultural and mixed-race individuals, Indios Ladinos have continued to be framed as a self-evident, almost natural category of people who had supposedly ‘completed’ an uninterrogated process of linguistic transformation.33

Approaching Indios Ladinos not as ‘Castilianized’ but rather as ‘Castilianizing’ speakers, readers and writers who were acquiring and employing the language of Castile alongside other Andean languages opens up new avenues to understanding what it meant to be ‘Ladino’ in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima. Neither a permanent nor an objective categorization, ‘Ladinoness,’ as we shall discover, was a temporary, highly relational, and power-laden denomination. In the course of their daily lives, Andeans moved in and out of Ladinoness, according to the specific context and the people with whom they were interacting or corresponding. Such movements might be made on an individual’s own terms – reminiscent of

32 As Rolena Adorno notes, the term ladino – derived from latín or latino – was originally used to refer to “those inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula who had mastered the language of the colonizing Romans and used it with elegance.” Rolena Adorno, “Images of Indios Ladinos in Early Colonial Peru,” in Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century, ed. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 235. As usages evolved, however, ladino in the Iberian Peninsula came to refer to speakers of Romance vernaculars – including those who spoke a Romance language as their mother tongue – and eventually, and primarily, to those who acquired fluency in Castilian as a second language. Thus, we encounter the use of moro ladino in the Iberian Peninsula by the thirteenth century, and indio ladino in the Americas beginning with the European invasion. Manuel Alvar, El ladino, judeo-español calco (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2000), 27n29. Such usages of the term, although not wholly unrelated, are not to be confused with another contemporary peninsular usage of ladino to refer to the Romance language (also known as Judeo-Spanish) employed by the peninsula’s Sephardi.

33 See Charles, Allies at Odds; Dueñas, Indians and Mestizos; and Rappaport and Cummins, Beyond the Lettered City. It is worth noting that all of these authors acknowledge Andeans’ differing degrees of capability in the Spanish language and the elasticity of the category of Ladino.
the way in which Thomas Abercrombie’s ethnographic subject in modern-day Bolivia, one Julián Mamani, transformed himself from literate campesino into “illiterate Indian” before a regional magistrate in the effort to avoid punishment for his crimes. But often, and particularly in interactions of unequal power with colonial officialdom, such transformation were made involuntarily as colonial officials made assessments about the linguistic varieties Andean speakers and writers employed and embodied. In the colonial documentary record, we find that Ladinoness is always in the eye of the beholder, who is more often than not a judging, recording representative of Spanish ecclesiastical or secular officialdom. The relations of power mediated through language choice and use in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andean settings determine who does and does not appear in the colonial record as Ladino. Further, I draw attention to the fact that the very assessments made by colonial officials which might change, as it were, “on a dime,” have been, and are, actively shaping not only our own understandings of what constitutes an Indio Ladino, but also the histories we write about Castilianizing Andeans as a result.

The perspectives of Indios Ladinos who not only wrote but also spoke nascent and fluid varieties of Andean Spanish are difficult to uncover in colonial records that largely privilege the perspectives and aims of the colonial actors and institutions that created and preserved them. In the end, my investigation of these dynamic and innovative Castilian and Quechua speakers in the mid-colonial Andes relies largely on indirect, fragmentary evidence of their speech, actions, emerging decisions and lives. This study draws upon a wide range of primary sources, from the seventeenth-century leaflets used to teach children to read and write Spanish in the Iberian

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34 Abercrombie, Pathways of Memory and Power, 7-8.
Peninsula and Peru, through the aspirational dictates of spiritual and secular establishments, to parodies of the speech of Andeans appearing in peninsular Golden Age theatrical works. The bulk of my research, however, draws upon a rich collection of ecclesiastical reports known as *causas de visitas*. These records, compiled by church officials during parish inspections across the Archdiocese of Lima in the seventeenth century, report, among other things, on the state of Spanish language instructional endeavours in Indian parishes. Further, the testimonies of Andean parishioners gathered and transcribed within, provide us with invaluable contemporary snapshots of the choices, problems, and complexities of day-to-day language use in overwhelmingly multilingual communities. Even so, such sources pose considerable and on-going methodological challenges for accessing and interpreting the varied voices and experiences of Castilianizing Andeans who – in addition to, or in contrast to writing – spoke Spanish. Throughout, in addition to attempting to “listen to the voice behind the text, to conjure orality out of literacy,” I have also endeavoured to understand these historical documents more roundly.\(^{35}\) Too important to leave to the footnotes or to an obligatory introductory discussion of their nature and contours, throughout the study the reader will find sustained engagement with and exposition of the sources examined from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima.

The Archdiocese of Lima in this period was comprised of sixteen *corregimientos* or administrative districts along the Pacific coast of South America. Centered, geographically and administratively, on the coastal province of Lima, the archdiocese’s vast peripheral provinces sprawled out to the north, east, and south. To the north of Lima, were the provinces of coastal Chancay and Santa, as well as Huaylas, Conchuchos, and Huamalìes to the interior – a region

that corresponds, in part, with present-day Ancash. Moving eastward from Lima, one encounters the central highland provinces of Cajatambo, Canta, Huarochirí, Huánuco, and Tarma y Chinchaycocha (present-day Tarma and Junín). And to the south, the archdiocese was bounded by the mountainous provinces of Jauja and Yauyos, through coastal Cañete to Ica. By 1664, the archdiocese, which was home to reportedly more than 131,000 indigenous parishioners, had been divided into 162 doctrinas (parishes) administered by roughly 175 priests – 108 secular clergymen and 67 from the regular orders.36 My focus is primarily on the purportedly peripheral regions of the Archdiocese – the Indian parishes of coastal and highland provinces outside of the metropolitan district of Lima. However, as we shall see, even the most far-flung parishes interacted intermittently with people and processes from the ecclesiastical centre. Indeed, some of our richest information about Castilianization – as both ‘choice’ and ‘policy’ – is born of such encounters between Castilianizing Andeans and centralizing church officials.37

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one examines the emergence of official approaches to the Spanish and Quechua languages in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peru from a new perspective of coexistence and complementarity rather than that of direct competition. I demonstrate that by the late sixteenth century, amid much debate, the Crown had established a dual language approach that it would maintain throughout the seventeenth century. Priests in Indian parishes were required to provide religious instruction in the Christianized

37 The notion of “centre” and “periphery” derives from Edward A. Shils’s seminal essay adapting the geometric terminology to the social sciences. Shils argues that every society possesses a central zone. This zone, which often has nothing to do with geographic positioning, “is the centre of the order of symbols, of values and beliefs, which govern the society…. [The centre] is also a structure of activities,” he argues, “of roles and persons, within the network of institutions. It is in these roles that the values and beliefs which are central are embodied and propounded.” Edward A. Shils, “Centre and Periphery,” in The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi on his Seventieth Birthday, 11th March 1961 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 117.
indigenous *lingua francas* or *lenguas generales* – the Andean languages of Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina – while being simultaneously charged with providing a means for teaching Spanish to their parishioners.

Chapter two introduces the reader to my principal source of information on the *escuelas de muchachos indios* meant to be operating throughout the Archdiocese of Lima’s Indian parishes – the aforementioned episcopal inspection records. Before attempting to ‘mine’ the reports for hints or clues regarding Spanish language instruction, however, I first take a closer look at the records themselves, as well as the institution that created and preserved them. This chapter asks some fundamental questions about the Archdiocese of Lima’s seventeenth-century episcopal visit: What were its principal purposes or aims? How was the information in its reports compiled and recorded, and to what end? How were inspections and interviews conducted and what changes occurred throughout the century? Tracing the episcopal visit from its forms as a Tridentine institution intended for Catholic Christendom and its late sixteenth-century manifestations in the Archdiocese of Lima to its more diverse forms and expressions of the seventeenth century, I highlight the institution’s emphasis on discipline and orthodoxy, but also its remarkable range and flexibility in the face of regional and local circumstances.

Next, I continue to explore the diverse and interconnected roles assigned to Spanish and the indigenous *lenguas generales* in Andean parishes. Chapter three focuses primarily on the relationships between Spanish language education and broader evangelization processes – and particularly that of ‘extirpation of idolatry’ – in the seventeenth-century archdiocese of Lima. Here, I explore for the first time the ways in which Spanish language schools and instruction for Indian children in Lima and beyond were intended to complement the more ostensibly repressive
tactics of evangelization to instill orthodox Catholic beliefs and customs in Andean parishioners. Language, I demonstrate, was not only a tool employed by colonial officials for evangelization and ‘civilizational’ ends, but one wielded by Andeans themselves, becoming a source of Spanish anxiety.

Chapter four explores more closely the purported “escuelas” themselves. I examine the form and location of local educational efforts, the teachers, students, subjects of study and pedagogical approaches used to teach Spanish, as well as the systems of support and challenges they faced. I contend that diverse and uneven educational endeavours known collectively as escuelas de muchachos indios were operating in various forms throughout the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima, particularly in Indian parishes in the well-documented provinces of Huarochirí, Cajatambo, Cañete, Chancay, Huánuco, Junín, Ancash, Ica, and Cerro de Pasco. Adapting colonial officialdom’s ideal of the “school” to the needs and realities of their own communities, Andeans – in collaboration and/or at odds with their parish priest – actively shaped local experiences of Castilianization. In this chapter I examine a wide spectrum of local forms of Spanish language and religious instruction – from the makeshift lessons held outdoors in the parish of Santa Ana de Tussi, through the multiple re-foundings of a struggling school in Santo Tomás de Cochamarca in the mid-seventeenth century, to Spanish language educational efforts which persisted in the parish of Daniel Alcides Carrión for over two decades.

Finally, chapter five examines the thoughtworlds and experiences of speakers – indigenous and mixed-race people who employed Spanish and Quechua in the course of their interculturally complex daily lives in far higher numbers than previously imagined in mid-colonial Andean parishes. I delve into the tensions that emerged as innovative Andean speakers
and writers came into contact with representatives of officially sanctioned varieties of speech and writing during the course of parish inspections. In doing so, we encounter speakers whose Andean varieties of Spanish were variously judged to be acceptable at times, and at others incomprehensible; those who consciously chose to communicate through an interpreter despite being declared capable Spanish speakers; and those who were textually transformed from ‘literate Ladinos’ into ‘illiterate indios’ several times in the colonial documentary record. These varied experiences of Andean speakers, readers, and writers shift our view away from Castilianization as a permanent, stable or steadily progressing process or event, and instead highlight its dynamic and transitory nature. Indeed, the evidence calls us to dig deeper into the relations of power tied up with language choice in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andean. The choices Andeans made about language in their own communities and in interaction with colonial officials beg our re-thinking of the category of ‘Indio Ladino’ and much else besides.
Plate 1.

Chapter 1
Two Tongues, Coexistence and Complementarity: Spanish and the Lenguas Generales in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

When the Spanish invaded, the peoples living within the boundaries of Tawantinsuyo and its surrounding regions were ethnically and linguistically diverse. As noted, a plethora of tongues from “at least six distinct language families,” including Tallán, Mochica, Culli, Puquina, and Aru, coexisted in the region that would become the Viceroyalty of Peru. The Quechua language family, however, was dominant. Not only had a Cuzqueño variety of the language been employed as the lingua franca of Tawantinsuyo, but diverse varieties of Quechua had also been increasingly adopted by Andean peoples even prior to the Inka expansion. Linguists have classified these varieties of Quechua into two broad mutually unintelligible groups, each with a high degree of internal variation: 1) Central Quechua, which was “spoken in the central Peruvian highlands,” an area that corresponds with much of the Archdiocese of Lima, “particularly in the departments of Ancash, Junín, Huaylas, Huánuco, and Juaja”; and 2) Peripheral Quechua, which “flanks Central Quechua both to the north and to the south,” including northern varieties spoken in “Cajamarca, Lambayeque, and San Martín,” and, the southern variety, known as Southern Peruvian Quechua, which included the Quechua of Cuzco.

40 Mannheim, The Language of the Inka, 10. Here, I follow Bruce Mannheim’s usage of the terms Central and Peripheral Quechua to indicate the classifications established independently by linguists Alfredo Torero and Gary Parker. As Mannheim notes, Central Quechua corresponds to “Torero’s Quechua I and Waywash, Parker’s Quechua B” and Peripheral Quechua corresponds to “Parker’s Quechua A and Torero’s Quechua II and Wampuy.” Mannheim has demonstrated that Southern Peruvian Quechua – one of the Peripheral Quechua varieties –
This chapter outlines and examines the official attempts to respond to and regulate language and linguistic diversity in the Viceroyalty of Peru. I contend that without first understanding the intricacies of Spanish language policies and planning both in the peninsular kingdoms and in key extra-European domains such as the Viceroyalty of Peru our comprehension of processes and outcomes emerging in a multi-ethnic Peruvian society between the late mid-sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth century will remain, at best, incomplete, and at worst, ill-informed.

Language policies in the American viceroyalties have been researched by both historians and sociolinguists alike. In the 1940s, Silvio Zavala first explored the debates surrounding Philip II’s colonial language legislation and initiatives, highlighting instances of conflict between divergent visions of the colonial project.\textsuperscript{41} Subsequent investigations by Shirley Brice Heath (1972, 1982), Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino (1989), Bruce Mannheim (1984), Clare Mar-Molinero (2000), Magnus Mörner (1967), Angel Rosenblat (1964), and Francisco de Solano (1991) have focused on outlining and explaining broad shifts in the Crown’s approach to language throughout the colonial period.\textsuperscript{42} These studies have become fundamental to our understanding of the language policies emerging in colonial Peru. In this chapter, my intent is not to summarize the constitutes a unitary language, albeit with considerable internal variation. Ibid., 4-6, 10; Durston, “Standard Colonial Quechua,” 226.

\textsuperscript{41} Silvio Zavala, “Sobre la política lingüística del imperio español en américa,” Cuadernos Americanos XXVII (May-June 1946):159-166.

key policy pronouncements and language debates discussed by these scholars, but rather to approach the emergence of official approaches to language in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peru from a new perspective of coexistence and complementarity rather than of competition. Indeed, I demonstrate that when we recognize that monolingualism was neither an inevitable outcome nor even a goal with respect to languages and peoples in contact in settings across the early modern Spanish world (as indeed in other colonial situations), we can begin to examine multilingualism anew – multilingualism as both an intention and accident in and of itself, rather than as a temporary rest stop along an ‘inevitable’ road to Castilianization. My approach highlights how cultural, linguistic, and religious outcomes often both reflected and belied apparent imperial intentions. Thus, here, following an array of evidence that challenges the sense of any such teleology, I am less concerned with charting broad shifts in the language policies attempting to regulate ‘competing’ tongues, and more with the particulars of subtle yet explicit calls and moves which encouraged, and even nurtured the coexistence of Spanish and the principal lenguas generales in mid-colonial Peru.

I begin by examining how peninsulares experienced and perceived linguistic diversity both at home and in the Andes, noting the distinction drawn between perceptions of ‘linguistic chaos’ and ‘ordered multilingualism.’ Next, I outline the development of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century debate over the language of conversion in the viceroyalty, and the Crown’s adoption of a dual language approach, which allowed for the use of both Spanish and select indigenous lingua francas or lenguas generales – Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina – in Andean parishes. Finally, I turn my attention to the Spanish dimension within the dual language approach,

43 For more on the diverse experiences and outcomes of language policies in colonial situations see, for example: Errington, Linguistics in a Colonial World; Fabian, Language and Colonial Power.
charting pronouncements that focused on parish schools, imagined as the primary means of teaching Spanish to Andean children.

1. Encountering Linguistic Diversity

For Spaniards arriving in Peru after 1532, the diversity of languages they encountered in the Andes was something worth noting, even emphasizing. Jesuit Provincial José de Acosta, writing in the 1570s, estimated that over seven hundred distinct languages were spoken in Peru alone. For his part, fellow Jesuit, Bernabé Cobo, who composed his *Historia del nuevo mundo* in the first half of the seventeenth century, claimed that Spanish territories in South America were home to “more than two-thousand of these languages.” The linguistic diversity of Andeans was portrayed as an obstacle to communication, evangelization, and governance in the viceroyalty. Even as late as the first half of the seventeenth century, Cobo, for example, emphasized the apparent confusion of languages in Peru, stating that “[…] there is hardly a valley to be found of any size whose inhabitants do not have a different language from their neighbors […] [and] there is a town in this Archbishopric of Lima that has seven ayllos or tribal groups; each one of these ayllos has a different language.” According to El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, another Jesuit and one of his prime informants, Blas Valera, had echoed the concern of Andeans.

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44 José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute*, ed. Luciano Pereña (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984) 1: 93. “It is said that formerly the confusion of language of the human race was limited to seventy-two tongues. But these Barbarians here have at least seven hundred! In fact there is no valley that has a reasonable population that does not have its own mother tongue.” (Translation by G. S. McIntosh, trans., *De procuranda indorum salute*, by José de Acosta, 2 vols (Tayport: Mac Research, 1996), 1: 11). “Se dice que en tiempos pasados setenta y dos lenguas pusieron en confusión al género humano. Pero estos bárbaros se diferencian entre sí por sus setecientas y más lenguas: apenas hay valle de una cierta extensión que no tenga su propia lengua materna.” Although Acosta’s work was published in 1588, he likely composed the work while in Peru in the 1570s. See Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham eds., *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*, 2nd ed. (Wilmington, Delaware: SR Books, 2002), 135.


46 Ibid., 39.
many when he asserted that, “It is impossible for the Peruvian Indians to be instructed in the faith
and virtuous habits so long as the confusion of tongues endures…”

Missionary portrayals of Peru’s linguistic situation as unfavorable stem, in part, from a
predominant line of thought in sixteenth-century Europe that considered linguistic diversity
immensely troublesome for human relations. Proponents of this view found inspiration in Saint
Augustine of Hippo’s fifth-century interpretation of the biblical story of the tower of Babel
which presented linguistic diversity as a form of divine punishment. In his City of God, Augustin
argued that, originally, all humans had shared a single, divinely sanctioned language,
which he identified as Hebrew. This linguistic unity was broken when, in their “arrogance of
spirit,” the people of “the land of Shinar” attempted to build a tower to reach the heavens. To
punish them for their pride and to restrain them in their efforts, the god of the Old Testament
resolved to “go down, and confound there their language, that they may not understand one
another’s speech.” Linguistic diversity was, thus for Augustine, as for not a few of his faithful
Christian readers over the centuries to follow, a divine punishment that sowed discord and
disunity amongst the peoples of the world. Thus it was that, drawing on Augustine’s
interpretation, sixteenth-century chronicler Martí de Viciana of Valencia asserted that linguistic
diversity was the fount of dissension and confusion among human communities, causing

47 Blas Valera, quoted in El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios reales de los incas, ed. César Toro Montalvo
es imposible que los indios del Perú, mientras durare esta confusión de lenguas, puedan ser bien instruidos en la fe y
en las buenas costumbres…”

48 Augustine of Hippo, City of God and Christian Doctrine (Grand Rapids, Michigan: WM B. Eerdmans Publishing
49 Ibid., Book XVI, chap. 4.
“humans to separate and treat each other as strangers, having different languages […]”\(^{50}\) In his treatise on the *Origin of the Castilian Language*, Spanish linguist Bernardo de Aldrete, too, blamed the babelic confusion of tongues for “hatred and war” as people “considered those who spoke different languages to be of a different nature […]”\(^{51}\) Sebastián Covarrubias de Orozco reiterated this position in his Castilian language dictionary published in 1611, stating that communities that spoke distinct languages “could not exist in peace or friendship.”\(^{52}\) Such theorists posited that linguistic diversity hindered men from coming together to form and develop civil society. For the Spanish, the linguistic diversity of the Andes, from such a vantage point, was not only the result of divine punishment, but also, as Bruce Mannheim notes, “a sign that civil society had developed in only the most rudimentary ways.”\(^{53}\)

This version of the biblical account of Babel, however, was not the only frame of reference with which contemporary peninsular thinkers and actors approached and understood the question of linguistic plurality. Spanish perceptions of linguistic diversity were also shaped by sixteenth-century experiences of language within Europe itself. Indeed, in the latter part of the century officials explicitly compared Andean diversity to that of the Iberian Peninsula, noting that in Peru “there are provinces and places with other different languages where the Indians do

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\(^{50}\) Martí de Viciana, *Libro de alabanças de las lenguas hebreá, griega, latina, castellana y valenciana*, ed. Joan Verdegal (Burriana: Ajuntament de Burriana, [1574] 2002), 70. (My translation) “que el hombre se aparta y estraña del hombre, siendo diferentes en las lenguas […]”

\(^{51}\) Bernardo Aldrete, *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana o romance que oi se usa en España* (Valladolid: Editorial Mextor, [1606] 2002), prologue. (My translation) “odiós i guerras”; “estimando como por de diuersa naturaleza alos que en la lengua eran diferentes[…].”

\(^{52}\) Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611), 520 [1078], fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/765/776/tesoro-de-la-lengua-castellana-o-spanola/. (My translation) “no pudieron estar en paz, ni en amistad.”

not understand those who speak the *lengua general* [i.e. Quechua], just as in Spain we have the languages of Basque, Portuguese, Catalan etc…”\(^{54}\) And in his *Miscelánea antártica* (c. 1586), Miguel Cabello Valboa, a peninsula-born priest who spent nearly twenty-five years in Peru, also described Andean linguistic plurality in peninsular terms to his readers: “in many Provinces [of Peru] one cannot travel for more than a *legua* without encountering languages which are as different, distant and diverse from one another as Castilian is from the Basque language.”\(^{55}\)

Herein lies a vital clue to contemporary Spanish understandings and experiences of language. As noted by these *peninsulares* themselves, the Iberian Peninsula in the early modern era, not unlike the Andes, was a veritable babel of tongues. Most widely spoken throughout the peninsular Spanish kingdoms were several Latin-derived romance languages. These vernaculars included local dialects of Galician, closely related to Portuguese, in the northwestern portion of the peninsula; Asturian-Leonese, a group of dialects spoken to the east of Galicia; Castilian in the expanding central kingdom of Castile; Aragonese in the old kingdom of Aragon along the Ebro river valley; and dialects of Catalan further to the east, in Catalonia.\(^{56}\) These languages themselves were internally diverse, being spoken in several regional variants. By the late fifteenth century, for example, contemporaries distinguished between the varieties of Castilian spoken in northern Castile from the Castilian of Toledo, and further still from the varieties of

\(^{54}\) Solano, ed., *Documentos*, 113. (My translation) “hay en provincias y lugares particulares de indios otras lenguas diferentes que no entienden los que saben la general, como en España la vizcaína, portuguesa y catalana y otras…”

\(^{55}\) Miguel Cabello Valboa, *Miscelánea antártica: una historia del Perú antiguo*, ed. Luis E. Valcárcel (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, [1586] 1951), 104-105. (My translation) “…en muchas Provincias no se anduviera legua que no se alle lengua diferente, y tan remota, y distinta la una de la otra como la Castellana de la Vizcaína.”

Castilian that had developed to the south in Andalucia.\textsuperscript{57} And several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars – including Aldrete, Viciana, and Gonzalo Correus – differentiated between the speech of the learned and those they classified as rustic and simple.\textsuperscript{58} The peninsula was, moreover, home to several unrelated languages. Basque, a pre-Indo-European language, was spoken by communities along both sides of the Pyrenees Mountains bordering France. And although by the sixteenth century the final Muslim stronghold of Granada had been conquered by Castile, \textit{morisco} peoples living in the peninsula maintained, to varying extents, both their own written and spoken dialects of Arabic.\textsuperscript{59} Before the expulsion of \textit{moriscos} in the seventeenth century, Arabic speakers living under the crowns of Castile and Aragon and alongside Castilian, Aragonese or Catalan speaking neighbours often acquired a Romance dialect as a second language.\textsuperscript{60} Through contact, certain aspects of these languages fused in the Middle Ages, as is abundantly documented by Aljamiado literature – composed in Romance using an Arabic script.\textsuperscript{61} The peninsula’s sizeable Jewish and \textit{converso} peoples added to the peninsula’s societal


\textsuperscript{59} Ralph Penny notes that “the armies which invaded Spain in the eighth century were probably predominantly Berber-speaking” and “despite the lack of evidence of Berber being spoken in Spain in the centuries after the initial invasion,” he suggests that Berber “very likely” continued to be spoken alongside vernacular varieties of Arabic due to the ongoing relations between Al-Andalus and Berber-speaking North Africa. Ralph Penny, “Early Medieval Iberia: How Many Languages?” in \textit{Early Medieval Spain: A Symposium}, eds. Alan Deyermond and Martin J. Ryan (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College London, 2010), 27.

\textsuperscript{60} Harvey, \textit{Muslims in Spain}, 79-80.

multilingualism;\textsuperscript{62} in the medieval period numerous thinkers had composed scholarly and religious texts in Hebrew, and people known or thought to be of Jewish descent remaining in Iberia following violent forced conversions employed Hebrew-inflected dialects of Romance, tongues which linguists have referred to as Ladino.\textsuperscript{63} Overlaying this substratum of diversity was Latin, a language still widely in use for scholarly and administrative purposes, as for some missionary correspondence, and which remained the official language of the Catholic Church throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Iberian society, in brief, was unquestionably linguistically diverse.

Linguistic coexistence and diversity was not unique to the peninsula, but was rather a feature shared by early modern societies across Europe. Paul Cohen’s forthcoming study of the French language reveals that sixteenth-century France was another contemporary “kingdom of Babel,” with populations speaking regional dialects of Romance languages – French, Occitan, and Franço-Provençal, –of the Celtic language Breton, as well as Basque. By the seventeenth century, the incorporation of the territories of Roussillon, Alsace, and Lorraine into the French Crown added Catalan and regional dialects of German into the kingdom’s linguistic repertoire.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{62}“Societal multilingualism” is a term used by sociolinguists to refer to societies in which more than one language is spoken. Ralph Fasold, \textit{The Sociolinguistics of Society: Introduction to Sociolinguistics Volume I} (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 180.

\textsuperscript{63}Paul Cohen, forthcoming, 12; see also: Remy Attig, “Did the Sephardic Jews Speak Ladino?” \textit{Bulletin of Spanish Studies} 89.6 (Sept 2012): 835. It is worth noting that while the Sephardi employed the term \textit{Ladino} to describe their vernacular Romance dialect as well as its written form, scholars have tended to use \textit{Ladino} “exclusively to designate the unspoken liturgical [Romance] language used mainly for translating Hebrew religious texts” while, in contrast, referring to “spoken Judeo-Spanish” as \textit{Judezmo}. Roger Wright, “Early Medieval Spanish, Latin and Ladino,” in \textit{Circa 1492, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Colloquium: Litterae Judaearum in Terra Hispanica}, ed. Isaac Benabu (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House Ltd., 1992), 44. Manuel Alvar, for example, defines \textit{Ladino} as a written – not a spoken – language, as “the ‘word for word’ translation of Biblical texts or prayers from Hebrew or Aramaic to Spanish” (My translation) “traduccion ‘verbo a verbo’ del hebreo o el arameo al español de textos bíblicos o de oraciones rituales.” Alvar, \textit{El ladino}, 31.

\textsuperscript{64}Cohen, forthcoming, 2-3.
Added to these were the primarily written, scholarly, and ecclesiastical languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Contemporaries, Cohen argues, viewed France’s linguistic plurality not as a problem to be solved, but rather as a “natural” and “universal feature” of human society, one that was, in many cases, to be lauded and even encouraged. Sixteenth-century scholars portrayed language variation in France positively from a number of angles: as a “gift from God;” as a source of inspiration for authors and poets who could draw upon diverse terminology and phrases in their compositions; and as a reflection of the breadth of the Crown’s authority, wealth, and prestige.

In the early modern Spanish kingdoms, too, multilingualism was experienced as a ‘fact of life’ by many peninsulares who lived alongside neighbours who spoke distinct tongues, and who, themselves, were often polyglots. Stuart B. Schwartz’s study of popular religion in sixteenth-century Iberia depicts communities in which people of diverse backgrounds, including “moriscos and Old Christians[,] rubbed elbows continually, knew each other by name, [and] saw each other in church…” producing both tensions as well as accommodations. Marketplaces and other areas of commercial exchange were often also places of cultural and linguistic exchange, as noted by Pere Lacavalleria, a printer of a seventeenth-century Castilian-French-Catalan dictionary who declared his book indispensable for all traders; for “How many have prospered

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65 Ibid., 11-12, 23-30. Much like the French and the Iberians, the peoples living under the English Crown in the sixteenth century can be described as polyglot. As Edward G. Gray notes, at least “five mutually unintelligible languages and numerous dialects” were spoken in the kingdom. Edward G. Gray, New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 11.
66 Cohen, forthcoming, 2, 31, 39-42. As Cohen notes, evidence that linguistic diversity was not inherently problematic in France can be found in France’s polyglot royal armies, which included French, Swiss, German, Italian, Scottish, and Irish soldiers and functioned cohesively. Ibid., 18.
67 Ibid., 39-41, 70, 83.
without learning many languages? Who can govern cities and provinces well without knowing a language other than his native tongue?” 69 Regardless of their mother tongue, peninsular Christians who attended mass also regularly came in contact with Latin, a language which few would have fully understood. The canon of the mass was to be conducted in Latin, and the faithful were to learn to recite the basic prayers – the Hail Mary and the Our Father – in the language.

For peninsular monarchs as well, linguistic diversity was accepted as a perfectly natural feature of their domains. In the sixteenth century, Charles V ruled a polyglot European empire encompassing not only the linguistically diverse Iberian Peninsula, but also “southern Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, Austria, [and] Hungary” without attempting to linguistically unify its populations who spoke varieties of “Italian, French, Flemish, German, Slovenian, and Hungarian.” 70 Although it is unclear whether Charles V actually uttered the now famous phrase that “he employed Spanish for prayer, Italian to converse with princes, French with women, and German to [command] soldiers,” the Holy Roman Emperor himself was most certainly a polyglot. He spoke Castilian, corresponded with officials and the European aristocracy in French, and had at least some degree of competence in Latin, Italian, Flemish and German. 71 Diversity of languages was not only tolerated – and at times officially sanctioned – between discrete regions of the vast empire but also within individual kingdoms and territories. This was the case in the

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71 De Grauwe, “Quelle langue Charles Quint parlait-il?,“ 147-150 (My translation) “il se servait de l’espagnol pour la prière, pour la conversation avec les princes de l’italien, chez les femmes du français, vis-à-vis des soldats de l’allemand.” As De Grauwe notes, this phrase dates to the seventeenth century. Ibid., 148.
Low Countries where, under Habsburg rule, French and Flemish coexisted in complex ways as languages of administration and justice.\textsuperscript{72} Within the Iberian Peninsula itself, as Patricia Giménez-Eguibar and Daniel I. Wasserman Soler note, “language policy was, in general, not a central issue for the sixteenth-century Spanish monarchy, which largely accepted the multilingualism of its kingdoms.”\textsuperscript{73} It was not until the eighteenth century that we see the beginning of attempts to spread a unified, national Spanish language throughout the peninsula.\textsuperscript{74}

The one exception appears to have been Arabic, which the Crown did attempt to regulate in the early sixteenth century. The Edict of Granada of 1526 and later decrees issued by Philip II eventually sought to prohibit newly converted \textit{moriscos} from speaking, reading, or writing in the language, although as Giménez-Eguibar and Wasserman Soler note, they did not restrict Old Christians’ or priests’ use of the language for scholarly or evangelization purposes.\textsuperscript{75} Indeed, despite ranking the usefulness of Arabic for scholarly purposes below Latin, Greek and Hebrew,

\textsuperscript{72} Alastair Duke, \textit{Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries}, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 19. Duke notes that in 1477, with the passing of the Low Countries to the Habsburg dynasty, “the privileges granted [...] specified that the members of the central government should be able to conduct business in both languages, and that the provinces should be governed and justice administered in the local language” (Ibid., 19n45).

\textsuperscript{73} Giménez-Eguibar and Wasserman Soler, “La mala algarabía,” 234.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 233. The rise of Castilian as the national language of a centralizing Spanish state the eighteenth century has been tied to the foundation of the Royal Spanish Academy [\textit{Real Academia Española} or RAE] in 1713, with the aim of overseeing the development and ensuring the purity, unity and splendour of the language. By 1768 Castilian Spanish had replaced Latin as “the only medium of instruction in schools.” The increasing dominance of Castilian was accompanied by the suppression of the peninsula’s other romance languages. Already in 1716 a royal decree insisted that the Royal Court of Barcelona conduct all proceedings in Castilian rather than Catalan, and in Mallorca, for example, the use of Catalan was prohibited in the Church in 1778 and in theatrical productions in 1799. Alberto Medina, José del Valle, and Henrique Monteagudo, “Introduction to the Making of Spanish: Iberian Perspectives,” in \textit{A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language}, ed. José del Valle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 26, 26n.2. For more on the development of the RAE see also Alberto Medina, “The Institutionalization of Language in Eighteenth-Century Spain,” in \textit{A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language}, ed. José del Valle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 77-92.

\textsuperscript{75} Giménez-Eguibar and Wasserman Soler, “La mala algarabía,” 234-235; 241. Charles V temporarily suspended the 1526 decree after pressure from the \textit{morisco} community, and amidst continued calls from ecclesiastical community to use Arabic in the conversion effort. Ibid., 236.
Covarrubias asserted that “those who [we]re experts in it” were to be highly credited. The linguistic diversity afforded by Arabic, it would seem, was tolerated and acceptable only among certain populations and in specific situations.

Far from viewing language in the Iberian Peninsula as chaotic, peninsular scholars and linguists who “revell[ed] in multilingualism” understood these ‘Old World’ tongues to be highly ordered, each holding a specific place within a divinely inspired hierarchy of languages. At the top of this linguistic hierarchy was Hebrew, believed to be the original, perfect language bestowed upon all humans before the confusion of languages at Babel. Situated below Hebrew were Latin and Greek, two classical tongues that were deemed to be divinely chosen to convey the word of God in the New Testament. Latin, in particular, as the language of the Roman Catholic Church, was believed to be perfectly suited to express the mysteries of the faith, and to elevate the peoples that had descended into a state of barbarity following Babel. Below Latin were the Latin-derived vernacular Romance languages. Although Castilian had initially been classified as a “barbarous” language, as a “corrupt” form of Latin, sixteenth-century humanist thought and the increasing use of vernacular languages across Europe for official as well as literary purposes challenged this position. In the peninsula, scholars debated the origin of the Castilian language, developing two distinct theories that were equally aimed at vindicating the Castilian tongue. On the one hand, scholars such as Gregorio López Madera and Gonzalo Correas argued that Castilian was not a corrupt form of Latin, but rather one of the original

79 Aldrete, Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana, prologue.
seventy-two languages created at Babel and brought to the peninsula by Tubal, son of Japheth. It was, thus, not only the “primordial” language of Spain, but also a “perfect” and divinely created one. On the other hand, scholars such as Aldrete maintained that Castilian had developed from Latin as a result of natural change over time. In Aldrete’s view, however, Castilian’s descent did not make it barbarous. As a derivative of Latin, he argued, it shared in the wealth and prestige of its ancestor. Situated below the European vernaculars in the linguistic hierarchy were other ‘Old World’ tongues that were classified as inferior and barbarous due to their association with speech communities considered primarily non-Christian. The most prominent of these spoken in Iberia was Arabic, which, as noted above, the Crown attempted to more rigorously control.

Thus it was that, for Spaniards arriving in Peru following the wars of conquest, the linguistic diversity of the Andes was unacceptable not so much because of the sheer number of distinct languages and dialects spoken in the region, but rather because – in contrast to the ordered multilingualism of Europe – Andean linguistic diversity and Andean languages themselves were perceived to be disordered. This interpretation of a chaos stemmed, in part, from the European perception that Andean peoples ‘lacked’ writing. Despite recognizing the utility of the Andean system of recording using knotted cords, in his Historia natural y moral de

80 Correas, Arte de la lengua castellana, xxxv; Gregorio López Madera, Discursos de la certidumbre de las reliquias descubiertas en Granada desde el año de 1588 hasta el de 1598 (Granada: Sebastián de Mena, 1601); Emilio Alarcos García “Una teoría acerca del origen del castellano,” in Homenaje al Excmo. Sr. Dr. D. Emilio Alarcos García, ed. Luis Suárez Fernández (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1965), 1: 197-215. Although the seventy-two languages created from the confusion at Babel were deemed a divine punishment, these original seventy-two, “as products of the divine hand, [were] widely considered perfect in all respects.” Malcolm K. Read, “The Renaissance Concept of Linguistic Change,” Archivum linguisticum 8 (1977), 62.


José de Acosta classified *khipus* alongside other ‘inferior’ recording systems, which, in his view, did not constitute a true form of writing.⁸³ Renaissance-era theories of language elaborated in western Europe hailed alphabetic literacy as the “greatest human accomplishment,” the most elevated form of expressing human thought,⁸⁴ and a prerequisite for forming civilized society, “establishing laws, governance, and an accurately recorded history.” ⁸⁵ Without alphabetic writing, not only Andean languages but Andean societies writ large were believed to be disordered and irrational. Bernabé Cobo, writing in the seventeenth century, asserted that “the lack of writing” not only caused the linguistic chaos of the Andes by denying Andeans the ability to establish ‘models of language’ to be followed by future speakers, but also "impar[ed] the development of all the sciences and good arts,” and hindered the cultivation of the mind “in its operations and reasoning powers.” ⁸⁶ Such unruly languages, colonial missionaries and administrators argued, needed to be brought to order.

The process of bringing what the Spanish perceived as ‘order’ to Andean languages is what Walter D. Mignolo has referred to as the “colonization” of indigenous languages in the

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⁸⁴ Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 41. Antonio Nebrija exemplified this notion by claiming that the letter was the most necessary element for establishment of society. “…Among all of the things that man has discovered through experience or by divine revelation in order to improve and adorn human life, none has been as necessary, nor of greater benefit, than the invention of letters.” (My translation) “…Entre todas las cosas que por experiencia los ombres hallaron, o por revelacion diuina les fueron demostradas para polir y adornar la vida humana, ninguna otra fue tan necesaria, ni que mayores provechos nos acarreasse, que la inuencion de las letras.” Antonio de Nebrija, *Reglas de orthographia en la lengua castellana*, ed. A. Quilis (Bogota: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, [1517]1977), 115.


Ordering Andean tongues meant inserting them into the Christian account of human language, and into the existing language hierarchy. Reorganizing Andean languages, as Mignolo notes, also entailed endowing them with alphabetic scripts and codifying them—making them legible and therefore controllable for Europeans—through the recording of their grammars.

Soon after their arrival, Spanish missionary linguists set out to record select tongues spoken in the Andes. The earliest known Quechua grammar from Peru was compiled by the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás and published in 1560. Santo Tomás focused his efforts on recording what appears to have been a coastal dialect of Quechua, although he was aware that distinct varieties were spoken throughout the region. Interestingly and tellingly, in

87 Walter D. Mignolo, “On the Colonization of Amerindian Languages and Memories: Renaissance Theories of Writing and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition,” Society for the Comparative Study of Society and History 43.2 (1992), 303-304. For the Spanish, ‘bringing order’ to the Andean tongues was fundamental to the act of taking possession of the Andes. Indeed, the desire to control language was part and parcel of a colonization process in the Andes, as well beyond. Until the speakers of these diverse languages could be made knowable, understandable and organisable, Spanish administrators could not claim to possess or govern them. Sean Hawkins argues this convincingly for the case of the British in his study of colonialism in Ghana while drawing on, among others, works by scholars of Spanish colonialism in the Americas. See Hawkins, Writing and Colonialism in Northern Ghana, 10-20.

88 Peninsula-born priest Miguel Cabello Valboa’s history of the Inkas entitled Miscelánea antártica is an example of an attempt to insert Andeans into the Christian history of the world. Using linguistic evidence, he argues against the theory that Inkas were descendants of Jews, and instead proposes that they were descendants of Ophir. Cabello Valboa, Miscelánea antártica, 93-105. In the process of categorizing and ‘colonizing’ the languages of Peru, as Bruce Mannheim notes, the Spanish also “reduce[d] the linguistic diversity they encountered, particularly in the Andean high civilization[,]” where “they assumed that the languages were dialects of one another or that they sprung from a common root.” Mannheim, The Language of the Inka, 37. See, for example, Cobo, History of the Inca, 39-42.


90 Durston, “Standard Colonial Quechua,” 227. Domingo de Santo Tomás notes variations in the pronunciation of particular Quechua terms from one province to another. These Quechua varieties, he argues, derived from a single language which changed with the speech of populations over time, just as in Europe Portuguese, Spanish, and French had developed from Latin. Domingo de Santo Tomás, Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Peru, ed. and transcript. Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1994), 26.
the introduction to his grammar Santo Tomás contradicts the dominant view which labeled Andean languages as disorderly, declaring Quechua, a language [...] so refined and plentiful, ordered and confined within the rules and precepts of Latin [...] (as is seen in this Grammar), not barbarous, which (according to Quintilian and other scholars of Latin) means that it is full of uncivilized terms and defects, without modes, tenses, cases, order, rules, without internal coherence, but instead one could call it very refined and delicate. And if the language is like that, the people who make use of it [are] not savage, but people we can include among those with principles of governance.91

In comparing Quechua to Latin, Santo Tomás simultaneously reaffirmed Latin’s position as the perfect language against which all others would be gauged, and declared the indigenous language – newly endowed with an alphabetic script and codified grammar – to be valid and useful, even impressive.92

Not all varieties of Quechua, however, were believed to be equal. As in Europe, Andean languages were to be arranged into a hierarchy that distinguished inferior from superior varieties. Despite Santo Tomás’s initial focus on a central dialect of Quechua, by the late sixteenth century missionary linguists identified the Quechua of Cuzco as the purest, most elevated form of the

91 Santo Tomás, Grammatica, 14. (Translation by Harrison, “The Language and Rhetoric of Conversion,” 10) “Lengua pues, S.M., tan polida y abundante, regulada y encerrada debaxo de las reglas y preceptos de la Latina como es ésta (como consta por este arte) no bárbara, que quiere decir (según Quintiliano, y los demás latinos) llena de barbarismos y de defectos, sin modos, tiempos, ni casos, ni orden, ni regla, ni concierto, sino muy polida y delicada se puede llamar. Y si la lengua...lo es, la gente que usa della, no entre bárbara sino con la de mucha policía la podemos contar...” Continuing in his prologue to the reader, Santo Tomás explains his work as an attempt to “reduce the lengua general of the kingdom of Peru to a grammar, and to confine it within precepts and rules.” (My translation) “redduzir la lengua general de los reynos del Perú a arte, queriéndola encerrar debaxo de preceptos y cánones...” Santo Tomás, Grammatica, 19.

language, paying homage to its associations with the Inka ruling class and with an urban place as opposed to rural settings. As the Mestizo humanist El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega recounts, the Jesuit friar Blas Valera claimed that

when the Puquina, Colla, Uru and Yunca Indians and those of other nations, who are unrefined and dim-witted, and who, due to their coarseness, speak even their own languages poorly, manage to learn the language of Cuzco it seems that they throw off their coarseness and their dim-wittedness and aspire to polite and courtly aims, and their minds are elevated to loftier concerns, and finally, they become more capable and suited to receiving the doctrine of the Catholic Faith.

In their own processes of colonizing Andean languages, Peru’s missionary linguists judged and then rendered specific Andean languages usable and useful for the colonial project. These included especially selected and ‘elevated’ versions of Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina, which the Spanish would refer to as the ‘lenguas generales.’ Nevertheless, not everyone agreed upon what role these freshly ‘reorganized’ languages would play in Peru’s nascent colonial society. Most hotly debated was the question of whether the lenguas generales were suited to convey the Catholic faith to Andeans.

2. The Languages of Conversion

93 Durston argues that “in the eyes of the Spanish, Cuzco was the only real ‘city’ of the Andean world, and its Quechua was thus the most ‘urbane.’” Durston, “Standard Colonial Quechua,” 230; Durston, Pastoral Quechua, 112-113.

94 Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios reales, 486. (My translation) “Y así los indios Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas y otras naciones, que son rudos y torpes, y por su rudeza aun sus propias lenguas las hablan mal, cuando alcanzan a saber la lengua del Cuzco parece que echan de sí la rudeza y torpeza que tenían y que aspiran a cosas políticas y cortesanas y sus ingenios pretenden subir a cosas más altas, finalmente se hacen más capaces y suficientes para recibir la doctrina de la Fe católica.”
The question of which language(s) to use in the evangelization and governance of the Andean population stimulated a vigorous and long-standing debate in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Within the Church, the debate itself was closely entwined with broader issues regarding the missionary strategies to be employed in the Andes. A multiplicity of views on missionization and conversion methodologies – ranging from the extremes of coercion to patient persuasion – coexisted and competed in the Viceroyalty of Peru throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) permitted both approaches, presenting the parish priest as both a “gentle shepherd who leads by example and exhortation, and [a] father who judges and disciplines.” Distinct approaches to the project of conversion to Catholic Christianity also led to divergent opinions on what successful conversions actually looked like. Those who favoured a coercive approach to evangelization, such as the anonymous author of the Parecer de Yucay (1571), insisted that genuine conversions required a complete erasure of pre-Hispanic traditions and culture. All of these, including language, were believed to carry the ‘taint of idolatry.’ In contrast, for those who asserted that meaningful conversions

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97 A scathing critique of the Las Casas school of thought, the anonymous manuscript known as the Parecer de Yucay reads as a treatise on the question of the legitimacy of Spanish rule in the Indies, and has been associated, more specifically, with the project of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo to solidify Spanish rule in the viceroyalty. Ignacia Cortés Rojas, Bartolomé de Las Casas y el Parecer de Yucay: El manifiesto anónimo de los encomenderos frente a la política humanista de la Corona española del siglo XVI. (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 2011), 34-38. The authorship of the Parecer has been the subject of on-going debate. Pedro Gutiérrez Flores and Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo – both of whom served as confessors to Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the late sixteenth century – have been suggested as possible authors, as has Sarmiento de Gamboa. The work has most recently been attributed to the cousin of Viceroy Toledo and Dominican friar, García de Toledo. See Gustavo Gutiérrez, Dios o el oro en las Indias: siglo XVI (Lima: Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, 1989), 56 n.2; McGlone, “The King’s Surprise,” 67.
could only be achieved through persuasion, not all aspects of Andean culture were necessarily incompatible with Christianity. The most notable proponent of the persuasive approach to conversion in Peru, the aforementioned admirer of Quechua, Domingo de Santo Tomás, argued that Catholicism could be grafted onto native culture, and inserted into indigenous languages, rather than requiring their total erasure and substitution. Jesuit Provincial, José de Acosta preferred a middle path, asserting:

It is necessary to conform the Indians little by little to the customs of Christianity and our way of life, and, at the same time, to excise without fuss the superstitious rites and sacrilegious habits of their barbarous wildness. However in the points where their customs do not oppose our religion or justice, I do not think it is a good idea to change them for change’s sake.

The official stance of the Andean Church on missionary methodology wavered, neither fully sanctioning nor completely rejecting either approach.

98 McGlone, “The King’s Surprise,” 68. In his Quechua grammar, Domingo de Santo Tomás declared Quechua an ordered and refined language that was not only suitable but necessary for the evangelization of Andeans. In the same breath, he urged the king to take a softer approach to his new subjects. Arguing against those would persuade the Crown that Andeans were “barbarous and unworthy of being treated with gentleness or liberty,” he entreated the king to “receive them and maintain them under his protection, just as he did his other vassals, and that he treat them as deserving of the same treatment they [receive], and even with greater indulgence and favour, because they are weak people, and new in the service of His Majesty and of Christ our lord.” (My translation) “bárbaros & indignos de ser tractados con la suavidad y libertad”; “V.M. la resciba y tenga debaxo de su amparo, como los demás vassallos suyos, y los tracte como capazes del mismo tractamiento que a ellos y con mayor regalo y favor, pues es gente más flaca y más nueva en vuestro servicio y en el yugo de Christo nuestro señor.” Santo Tomás, Grammatica, 13-14, 20. As John Leddy Phelan notes, the belief that “Christianity should be superimposed upon the old pagan social structure, all of which should be carefully preserved provided it did not clash directly with the new religion,” was also widespread among friars in New Spain, Gerónimo de Mendieta being one of the most prominent proponents. John Leddy Phelan, The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 87.

99 Acosta, De procuranda, 1: 587. (Translation adapted from McIntosh, trans., De procuranda, 1: 157) “Hay que ir poco a poco imbuyendo a los indios en las costumbres cristianas y en nuestra forma de vivir. Y hay que cortar paso a paso los ritos supersticiosos y sacrílegos y los hábitos de bárbara fierzea. Pero en los puntos en que sus costumbres no se oponen a la religión o a la justicia, no creo que se las deba cambiar así porque así.”
Beyond their participation in the assertion and elaboration of conversion methodologies, individual priests and ecclesiastical bodies had a keen interest in determining the very languages of conversion in Indian parishes. As Alan Durston has noted, the language question impacted “the careers of a large part of the Peruvian clergy – probably the majority, since Indian parishes were by far the most abundant and accessible positions.”

If the Church opted to employ select standardized and Christianized varieties of indigenous languages for evangelization and indoctrination, priests would necessarily be required to have some degree of competency in these languages – an implication that many feared would give Peruvian-born priests (predominantly Creoles, but perhaps also Mestizos, who were more likely to have had previous exposure to indigenous tongues) an advantage over their peninsular counterparts. Indeed, the question was tied up with wider debates over whether to admit Indians and Mestizos into the priesthood, and was used as a point of contention in the growing friction between peninsular and Creole clergy as well as the mendicant orders, all of whom were vying for control over the “powerful social and economic resources which were the Indian parishes” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In 1620, for example, bishop of Arequipa and Augustinian friar Pedro de la Perea, while writing to the king about his general pessimism, argued against the use of indigenous languages for evangelization purposes. He asserted not only that Indians and Mestizos were unsuitable for the priesthood, but also that “those Spaniards who were good priests generally did not know Quechua, whereas those who knew Quechua were generally not good priests…”

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100 Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 114.
While a diversity of opinions and interests clashed on the issue, the spectrum of positions in the language debate can be broadly grouped into two camps: 1) those who contended that priests should employ a standardized and Christianized variety of one of three indigenous *lingua francas* – the ‘*lenguas generales*’ of Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina; and 2) those who contended that all Andeans be taught and indoctrinated in Spanish.

Missionaries and colonial administrators who argued in favour of indoctrination in the *lenguas generales* found fundamental support for their position in the decrees of the Council of Trent. Canon seven of the twenty-fourth session of the Council had ordered parish priests to provide catechetical instruction in parishioners’ mother tongues to supplement the Latin Mass and thus promote a deeper understanding of the doctrine. Building on this directive from Rome, the pro-vernacular Peruvian clergy asserted that early attempts at indoctrination in Spanish had not only been ineffective but had also confused Indian neophytes who could not understand the message being preached in Spanish. José de Acosta, Jesuit provincial and a key architect of the multilingual pastoral complements which emerged from the Third Provincial Council of Lima (1582-1583), played the familiar Augustinian chord, while reproaching

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103 J. Waterworth, ed., trans., *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent* (London: Dolman, 1848), [http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct24.html](http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct24.html), 213-214. “In order that the faithful people may approach to the reception of the sacraments with greater reverence and devotion of mind, the holy Synod enjoins on all bishops, that, not only when they are themselves about to administer them to the people, they shall first explain, in a manner suited to the capacity of those who receive them, the efficacy and use of those sacraments, but shall endeavour that the same be done piously and prudently by every parish priest; and this even in the vernacular tongue, if need be, and it can be conveniently done; and in accordance with the form which will be prescribed for each of the sacraments, by the holy Synod, in a catechism which the bishops shall take care to have faithfully translated into the vulgar tongue, and to have expounded to the people by all parish priests; as also that, during the solemnization of mass, or the celebration of the divine offices, they explain, in the said vulgar tongue, on all festivals, or solemnities, the sacred oracles, and the maxims of salvation; and that, setting aside all unprofitable questions, they endeavour to impress them on the hearts of all, and to instruct them in the law of the Lord.”
clergymen who balked at learning indigenous languages. “Now how will it work out among peoples who speak a foreign language, and an unknown language?” Acosta asked.

Even if you are preaching marvels and are saying heavenly things about Christ, how indeed are they going to be able to say ‘amen’ and feel what you are saying in their hearts? How will your brother be edified in the Faith and in love, even if you do speak clearly, if your words are just carried away on the wind, as happened in the confusion of Babylon?

Only instruction in native languages, he argued, would enable indigenous neophytes to truly understand and correctly assimilate the Roman Catholic faith. The question of comprehension was particularly crucial as it pertained to the confession of sins and the sacrament of penitence. Missionary theorists and supervisors such as the Jesuit Acosta argued that priests who did not fully understand the language in which their parishioners confessed were incapable of granting absolution, and those who did so without full knowledge of the language endangered not only the souls of their parishioners, but condemned their own. In order for true and valid confessions to

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104 Acosta, *De procuranda*, 2: 49. (Adaptation of translation by McIntosh, trans., *De procuranda*, 2: 16) “¿cómo un pueblo de idioma desconocido y lenguaje misterioso a ti, aunque le prediques maravillas y le hables de Cristo divinamente, en su corazón te va a responder amén, esto es, cómo te va a prestar su interior asentimiento? Aunque tu hables bien, ¿cómo vas a ayudar a tu hermano a edificar la fe y el amor, si solamente se lanzan palabras al aire y, como sucedió en la confusión de Babilonia, los que están separados por la lengua tampoco coinciden en inclinaciones y sentimientos?”

105 Acosta, *De procuranda*, 2: 51. Acosta noted that, “we see that when Indians hear a preacher speaking to them in their native language, they follow him with the greatest attention and they are delighted by his eloquence, becoming carried away with emotion. There they are, open-mouthed with their eyes riveted on him, hanging on his every word.” (Translation from McIntosh, trans., *De procuranda*, 2: 17) “Vemos que los indios, cuando oyen a un predicador que sabe su propia lengua, le siguen con toda atención y disfrutan sobre manera de su elocuencia, están embobados con el entusiasmo del que habla y boquiabiertos y extasiados, con los ojos clavados, están pendientes de sus palabras.”
be made, Acosta argued, priests must be required to understand and speak the language of their parishioners.\footnote{Acosta, \textit{De procuranda}, 2: 57. “How then can a párroco hear the confessions of his own people if he cannot speak with them? And if they say to me what one replied on one occasion, that he used to hear the confessions of his congregation only understanding bits here and there, and that was sufficient for him to grant absolution, then I maintain that the opposite is true, because integrity in confession is part of the divine right of confession, so one cannot be an apt minister if, through lack of knowledge of the language, one does not understand half or even more than half of what is said, for that is the same as not hearing it at all, and no theologian would admit that that sort of confession was done in integrity or was sufficient other than at the hour of death.” (Translation adapted from McIntosh, trans., \textit{De procuranda}, 2: 19) “¿Cómo puede el párroco oír las confesiones de sus feligreses si no tiene ninguna posibilidad de comunicación oral con ellos? Y si dicen lo que uno de éstos me respondió en cierta ocasión, cuando le hacía una pregunta parecida, que él oía las confesiones de sus feligreses entendiendo solamente alguna que otra cosa y que esto le bastaba para dar la absolución, yo por el contrario sostengo que, siendo de derecho divino la integridad de la confesión, no es ministro apto para la confesión aquel a quien por ignorancia del idioma necesariamente le queda oculta la mitad o más de ella, porque esto es exactamente igual que si oyera nada, y de cualquier modo ningún hombre docto admite que esa confesión es íntegra y suficiente fuera de peligro de muerte.”}

In addition to this concern over comprehension, supporters of the \textit{lenguas generales} argued that the selection and use of an indigenous \textit{lingua franca} was the only practical solution to the language ‘problem’ in the Andes. Various reasons for why it was impractical to teach Spanish to the Andeans were offered, from the purported inferiority of the Indian mind and consequent inability to learn Spanish,\footnote{José de Acosta asserted that while Spanish was too complex for the Indian mind, Quechua did “not seem too difficult for them” (Translation by McIntosh, trans., \textit{De procuranda}, 2: 21) “lo cual creen que no ha sido tan difícil de conseguir hasta hoy.” Acosta, \textit{De procuranda}, 2: 65. Jesuit Blas Valera (as cited by Garcilaso de la Vega) also argued that Andeans lacked the mental capacity to learn Spanish, asking, “if Spaniards, being sharp of mind and very learned in the sciences, cannot, as they say, learn the \textit{lengua general} of Cuzco, how could the Indians, being uncultured and unlearned in letters, learn the language of Castile? The truth is that even if a large number of teachers willing to teach the Castilian language to the Indians could be found, they [the Indians] and particularly the common folk, would learn so badly that any priest that wanted to, could learn and speak ten different Peruvian languages before [the Indians] could learn or speak Castilian.” (My translation) “Si los españoles, que son de ingenio muy agudo y muy sabios en ciencias, no pueden, como ellos dicen, aprender la lengua general del Cuzco, ¿cómo se podrá hacer que los indios, no cultivados ni enseñados en letras, aprendan la lengua castellana? Lo cierto es que aunque se hallasen muchos maestros que quisieren enseñar de gracia la lengua castellana a los indios, ellos, […] particularmente la gente común, aprenderían tan mal que cualquiera sacerdote, si quiere, aprendería y hablaría despiertamente diez diversos lenguajes de los del Perú antes que ellos hablasen ni aprendiesen el lenguaje castellano.” Garcilaso de la Vega, \textit{Comentarios reales}, 483-484.} through officials’ inability to enforce Spanish language
use amongst the Indian population (even if facility in the tongue could be acquired),\textsuperscript{108} to the claimed shortage of personnel to carry out the extensive and time-consuming task of Spanish language instruction.\textsuperscript{109} Priests who argued that it was unfeasible to teach Andeans Spanish emphasized geographical challenges and barriers in the viceroyalty, presenting “an image of the sixteenth-century Andean Church as incapable of implementing the logistics required for a large-scale Castilianization program.”\textsuperscript{110} The \textit{lenguas generales} were, thus, presented by many churchmen as the best and most rapid solution to Spaniards’ inability to communicate with and convert Andeans.\textsuperscript{111}

In contrast, however, those who supported indoctrination in Spanish developed a series of arguments against the \textit{lenguas generales} and in support of instruction in the language of Castile. One of the principal objections to the use of indigenous languages for religious instruction was the assertion that the Quechua, Aymara and Puquina languages were incapable of accurately conveying the mysteries of the Catholic faith. A letter written by the Council of the Indies to Philip II in 1596 expressed this concern neatly, stating that “the greatest and most perfect language of the Indians cannot thoroughly or precisely explain the mysteries of the faith without [falling into] great absurdities and imperfections.”\textsuperscript{112} Maestro Domingo de Almeida, a priest in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{108} “When they are going to be talking in their own houses about their own affairs in their mother tongue, who is going to denounce them and, above all, who is going to force them to use Spanish?” (Translation by McIntosh, trans., \textit{De procuranda}, 2: 21) \textit{“Y cuando dentro de sus casas además tratan de sus asuntos en su lengua materna, ¿quién los sorprenderá? ¿Quién los denunciará? ¿Cómo les obligará hablar español?”} Acosta, \textit{De procuranda}, 2: 63.
\item \textsuperscript{109} In 1551, fray Juan Mansilla wrote to Charles V from Guatemala complaining that, “There are too few of us to teach the language of Castile to the Indians.” (My translation) “Somos muy pocos para enseñar la lengua de Castilla a los indios.” Cited in Rosenblat, “La hispanización de américa,” 199.
\item \textsuperscript{110} Huras, “The Ambiguity of the Language Policy,” 21.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Paulino Castañeda Delgado, “La iglesia y la corona ante la nueva realidad lingüística en Indias,” in \textit{I Simposio de filología iberoamericana} – Sevilla, 26 al 30 de marzo de 1990 (Seville: Libros Pórtico, 1990), 39.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Solano, ed., \textit{Documentos}, 113. (My translation) “en la mayor y más perfecta lengua de los indios no se pueden explicar bien, ni con propiedad, los misterios de la fé, sino con grandes absurdos e imperfecciones…”
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the southerly Province of Charcas reiterated the same argument in a letter informing the Crown that the ‘disorganization’ and ‘poverty’ of Andean tongues made them unfit for expressing the Christian doctrine – “because they are not common, clear or intelligible even for the Indians themselves – the Indians from one province do not understand those from another – and [moreover, with] their languages being so poor as to lack the vocabulary, nouns, and verbs to mean many things.” 113 Castilian Spanish, in contrast and as noted above, was a derivative of Latin, and believed to be perfectly capable of expressing the Catholic Faith.

Another point of concern was the belief that ingrained in the indigenous languages were reprehensible ancient Andean customs, ‘superstitions’ and ‘idolatries.’ By passing the language onto their children, some feared that Andeans would inherently transfer an affinity to their pre-Hispanic religion and cultural practices, thereby making the task of conversion to Christianity more difficult. 114 An instruction sent to the viceroy of Peru as late as 1595 summarized this position, urging Spanish language instruction for Indian children, “because it is said that in their own language their elders teach them their erroneous idolatries, sorcery, and superstitions, which hinders them in the Christian faith.” 115 The presumption that a system of beliefs and customs of speakers was intimately linked to the specific language they spoke applied equally to all that was believed to come along with the Spanish tongue. Consequently, those who argued in support of Castilianization in the viceroyalty highlighted the transformative potential, the desired and broadening cultural impact of Spanish language instruction. Teaching Spanish to Andean

113 Richard Konetzke, ed., Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica 1493-1810 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953-1962), 1(1): 570. (My translation) “por no ser communes, llanas e inteligibles aun para los mismos indios que los de unas provincias no entienden a los otros y ser las lenguas pobres de vocablos, nombres y verbos para significar muchas cosas.”
114 Charles, Allies at Odds, 46.
115 Solano, ed., Documentos, 109. (My translation) “porque en la suya se dice que les enseñan sus mayores los errores de sus idolatrías, hechicerías y supersticiones, que estorban mucho en su cristianidad.”
parishioners – particularly to unformed and malleable children – would naturally transfer into the minds and hearts of the recipients what were believed to be the language’s inherent qualities: Spanish Catholic beliefs and policía. In the sixteenth century, the term policía encapsulated “manners and customs in general. It included the inculcation of new ideas on housing, dress, cleanliness, ways of eating and sleeping, personal care, justice, respect, matrimony, drunkenness, cannibalism, idolatry, work, and community and social life.”

As a 1595 royal letter asserted, if the Indians spoke Spanish, “they would be better and more easily taught and indoctrinated, and more easily taught to live in policía.”

Another oft’used argument in support of Castilianization was the widely held belief that sharing a common language would improve relations and foment ‘love’ between Spaniards and Andeans, facilitating the further administration and conversion of the Andes. In his 1647 treatise, Política indiana, Spanish jurist and staunch supporter of Castilianization in indigenous communities, Juan Solórzano y Pereira asserted that, by promoting a common language for all, Andeans would “develop more love and good will toward us, and embrace us...because the

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116 Wood, Teach Them Good Customs, 2. Constitution 112 of the Second Lima Council in 1567 ordered that “Indians be taught to live in an ordered fashion and with policía, and to be [taught] cleanliness, authority, honesty, and good upbringing, and that they follow the Christian custom of saying a blessing at mealtimes and giving thanks after having eaten, and that, when they go to sleep, they commend themselves to god, and that they frequently make the sign of the cross and say the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria...” (My translation) “Que enseñen a los indios a vivir con orden y pulicía y tener limpieza e autoridad e onestidad y buena crianza, y que, como acostumbran los xpians, digan la bendición de la mesa y den gracias después de comer y quando van a dormer se encomienden a dios y a menudo se persignen y santiguen y digan el pater noster y ave maria...” Segundo concilio provincial limense, in Concilios limenses (1551-1772), ed. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S. J. (Lima: 1951), 1: 255.

117 Solano, ed., Documentos, 109. (My translation) “serían mejor y más fácil y comodamente enseñados y doctrinados, como porque viviesen con más policía...”
similarity and conformity of words almost always reconciles, bringing mankind together in true union and friendship.”

3. The Dual Language Approach

The Spanish Crown, in conjunction with ecclesiastical bodies in its far-flung realms, considered the various sides and nuances of the language debate, developing, through the second half of the sixteenth century, what is best described as a ‘dual language approach.’ This approach, which officials would maintain through much of the seventeenth century, never stifled continuous debate, but conceded roles to both Spanish and the *lenguas generales* in the evangelization of Andeans.

One of the first decrees calling for the use of both Spanish and the *lenguas generales* for evangelization purposes in the Andes appeared in the 1552 ordinances of the First Provincial Council of Lima. The first and sixth constitutions published by the Council ordered that Andean adults be instructed and baptized in their native tongues, while simultaneously learning the basic Catholic prayers – the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Creed – the commandments, and the articles of faith in Spanish or in an approved Quechua translation. The Second Provincial Council of Lima, which convened nearly two decades later, between 1567 and 1568, reaffirmed this consciously bilingual approach to the indoctrination of Andean neophytes. Constitution thirty-two of its decrees pertaining to Indians ordered “that all priests teach the Indians – males, women and children – the Our Father and the Hail Mary and the Creed and the Commandments

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of God and of the Church not only in Romance but also in their own language so that they may know them by heart.”120 Here, the use of indigenous tongues was no longer optional; the Council’s decrees reiterated the obligation of all priests stationed in Indian parishes to learn and provide religious instruction in the mother tongue of their parishioners.121 Those who neglected to do so were to forfeit a portion of their salary, among other penalties.122

The Church’s official stance on the language question with regard to evangelization was solidified in 1583 with the celebration of the Third Provincial Council of Lima. Historians who have examined the Council’s ordinances on language have tended to read the decrees within the context of the debate, emphasizing one or another prevailing language from among competing options. Chapter six of the Third Lima Council decrees, in particular, has been highlighted as the

120 Segundo concilio provincial limense, 1: 244. (My translation) “Que todos los curas enseñen a los indios varones y mugeres e mochachos no solo en rromanze sino también en su lengua el padre nuestro y el ave maría y el credo y los mandamientos de Dios y de la Yglesia de modo que lo tengan de memoria.” Chapter eighty-nine of the decrees relating to Indians also indicated that all parishioners were to receive doctrinal instruction every Friday and Wednesday morning, before beginning their daily labours. Ibid., 1: 251.

121 Constitution forty-eight for ‘españoles’ in the Second Provincial Council of Lima mandates that, “the Creed, the prayers of the Church and the Commandments be said to the Indians in their language, in order that they may understand and respond […]” (My translation) “Que el credo y oraciones de la Iglesia y mandamientos se digan a los indios en su lengua de suerte que lo entiendan y respondan […]” ; and Constitution eighty-one (‘españoles’) declares that, “priests [must] teach the Indians in the language of the Indians and hear confession [in the same way]. And [when the priest] does not know the language, someone else is to do so.” (My translation) “Que los curas enseñen a los indios en la lengua de indios y oigan sus confesiones y no sabiendo su lengua otros lo hagan.” Segundo concilio provincial limense, 1: 230, 235.

122 Ibid., 1: 240-241. Constitution three mandates that, “curas de indios take care to learn [the Indians’] language and that in this regard they be gently and rigorously prompted by their bishops; those who neglect their obligation shall, in the first year, lose a third of their salary. The penalties for the second and third years will increase according to the offense and these will be administered by the prelates themselves or by their visitors.” (My translation) “Que los curas de indios aprendan con cuidado su lengua e para esto sean inducidos por los obispos por amor y también por rigor; los que fueren negligentes en ello, al primero año pierdan la tercia parte de su salario, al segundo y al tercero se acreciente la pena conforme a la culpa la qual an de executar los prelados por si o por sus visitadores.” Ibid. The Council’s approach to language was buttressed by support from secular officials. In a decree issued from Arequipa in August of 1575, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo reminded priests of their obligation to teach Andeans the Spanish language in addition to preaching in the lengua general. Roberto D. Levillier, ed. Gobernantes del Perú: cartas y papeles siglo XVI (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra S.A., 1921-1926), 8: 359.
key piece of legislation establishing the *lenguas generales* as the languages of indoctrination for Indian parishioners across the viceroyalty.\textsuperscript{123} The decree does indeed make indoctrination in the *lenguas generales* mandatory, stating that
each person is to be instructed in the doctrine in a manner they understand: the Spaniard in Romance, and the Indian also in his language. Otherwise, regardless of how well they recite the things of God, their efforts will not bear the fruit of understanding, as the Apostol himself has said. Therefore, no Indian shall anymore be required to learn the prayers or the *cartilla* in Latin, it being sufficient and in fact better that they learn and recite it in their language…\textsuperscript{124}

Moreover, the Council ordered official translations of the catechism, *cartilla* and Christian doctrine in Christianized varieties of Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina, prohibiting all alternative translations in order to maintain uniformity of language in indoctrination. The Christianized variety of Quechua established in the Third Provincial Council of Lima texts, and which Alan Durston has denominated “Standard Colonial Quechua,” was based on a simplified version of the Cuzqueño dialect which incorporated abundant Spanish loanwords to express religious terminology.\textsuperscript{125} This legislation and the resulting conciliar publications of sermons and the other pastoral complements in the designated *lenguas generales* ushered in what Alan Durston has

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\textsuperscript{123} Durston asserts that the Third Lima Council “made the first clear and firm statement on the clergy’s obligation to instruct parishioners in their native language(s) […] and ordered that Indians no longer be required to learn the cartilla in Latin.” Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 87.

\textsuperscript{124} *Tercer concilio provincial limense*, in *Concilios limenses (1551-1772)*, ed. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S. J. (Lima: 1951), 1: 325. (My translation) “cada uno ha de ser de tal manera instruído que entienda la doctrina, el Hespañol en romance, y el yndio también en su lengua, pues de otra suerte, por muy bien que recite las cosas de Dios, con todo eso se quedará sin fruto su entendimiento como lo dice el mismo Apóstol. Por tanto ningún yndio sea de oy mas compelido a aprender en latín las oraciones o cartillas, pues les basta y aún les es muy mejor saberlo y decirlo en su lengua…”

\textsuperscript{125} Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 46.
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referred to as the “heyday of pastoral Quechua.”

Just three years earlier, a Chair of Quechua had been founded by royal decree in San Marcos University in Lima to train and certify priests in the *lengua general* and subsequent legislation required all priests to be examined in the language before occupying an Indian parish.

However, it is important not to stop one’s reading and analysis of the conciliar decrees just here. Despite clearly proscribing indoctrination in Latin in favour of the use of the Christianized *lenguas generales*, chapter six of the Third Lima Council does not rule against the use of another vernacular, namely Castilian. Indeed, a much less cited portion of the decree goes on to state: “and if any of [the Indians] so desire, they may also learn the [Christian doctrine] in Romance, since many of them understand it amongst themselves.”

The nod to the commonness of indigenous familiarity with Castilian is telling. The Spanish language was envisaged as one which would persist as a voluntary – and, as will be argued below, importantly supplementary – tongue alongside what might be achieved through mandatory indoctrination in the *lenguas generales*.

Further evidence of the importance of the Spanish language’s role in ongoing evangelization efforts is found in chapter forty-three of the Third Provincial Council’s decrees. Here, the churchmen assembled by Archbishop Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo ordered that “priests of Indian parishes are to be especially entrusted with the *escuelas de muchachos indios*,

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126 Ibid., 137-180.
127 Emilio Lissón Chávez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de la iglesia en el Perú, que se encuentran en varios archivos* (Seville, 1944), 2(10): 815-818.
128 Solano, ed., *Documentos*, 141, 283; *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las indias* (1680), 1-15-6, 1-15-5, 1-6-3, [http://www.gabrielbernat.es/espana/leyes/ldi/ldi.html](http://www.gabrielbernat.es/espana/leyes/ldi/ldi.html). Those who were found to be incompetent in the *lengua general* of their parish were to be removed immediately from their posts. Ibid., 1-13-4; Solano, ed., *Documentos*, 142.
where [the Indians] are to be taught to read, and write, and the rest, and primarily that they learn to understand and speak our Spanish language…”\textsuperscript{130} In doing so, they complied with a long line of royal decrees calling for the establishment of schools for indigenous neophytes. Already in 1503, the Crown had issued an instruction to the Governor of Hispaniola, ordering that the scattered indigenous population be gathered into towns,

and subsequently to establish in each of the said towns a house next to the Church where all of the children in the said town are to gather twice daily so that there the said chaplain can teach them to read and write and to make the sign of the cross and to make confession and [to say] the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, and the Hail Holy Queen.\textsuperscript{131}

These pronouncements were reiterated in 1512-1513 in the Laws of Burgos and in a 1516 instruction to the Hieronymites (briefly in charge of the fledgling Indies), the latter of which specified that in addition to reading, writing and the Christian doctrine, the friars were to teach their young pupils “to speak the Romance language of Castile.”\textsuperscript{132}

Andean parishes, thus conceived by the Crown and in Lima by churchmen from all parts of the vast realm, were to be sites of a wide-ranging transformation, with a polyglot process of Christianization at its heart. The sanctioning of the lenguas generales did not entail anything like a rejection of Spanish as a language of indoctrination, for, as Shirley Brice Heath, Richard

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 1: 340-341. (My translation) “Tengan por muy encomendadas las escuelas de los muchachos los curas de yndios y en ellas se enseñen a leer y escribir y los demás y principalmente que se abecen a entender y hablar nuestra lengua Española…”

\textsuperscript{131} Solano, Documentos, 6-7. (My translation) “que luego haga hacer en cada una de las dichas poblaciones y junto con las dichas Iglesias una casa que todos los niños que hubiere en cada una de las dichas poblaciones, se junte cada día dos veces, para que allí el dicho capellan los muestre a leer y a escribir y santiguar y signar y la confesión y el Paternoster y el Ave maria y el Credo y Salve Regina.”

\textsuperscript{132} Rosenblat, “La hispanización de américa,” 194. (My translation) “que les muestren hablar romance castellano…”
Laprade, and Juan M. Lope Blanch have noted, the use of Spanish was not intended to replace but rather to supplement, and crucially, the indigenous languages spoken in Andean parishes. The Andean Church’s approach to language, thus, is framed by a conception of coexistence rather than of opposition or competition.

Despite the Third Provincial Council’s clear stance on the question, the language debate resurfaced again in 1596, when the Council of the Indies reviewed the matter. In a report addressed to the King, the Council members advised that

> despite the care that has been taken always to ensure that the viceroyalty has secular and regular clergy who know the language of the Indians in order to indoctrinate them, and [even] to found a Chair of these same languages, and to prohibit those who are incompetent in the language from being nominated for benefices, this [care and approach] has never achieved the perfection required. And, thus it is that there is much found wanting in the indoctrination of the Indians…

As a result, the Council recommended that Phillip II adopt a stricter policy of Castilianization, “undertaking to introduce the Castilian language as the most common and suitable one.”

The King, however, ultimately rejected the call for monolingualism in his southernmost American viceroyalty, responding with as clear and informed a commendation of the emerging policy of language coexistence as one might wish. “It does not seem advisable to urge them to

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133 Juan M. Lope Blanch argues that “the Castilianization of Amerindians did not necessarily imply the disappearance of their vernacular tongues, but rather involved an attempt to promote a situation of bilingualism.” (My translation) “la castellanización de los indioamericanos no implicaba la necesaria desaparición de sus idiomas vernáculos, sino que se trataba de implantar una situación de bilingüismo.” Juan M. Lope Blanch, Prologue to Poder y Lenguaje desde el Siglo XVI, by Silvio Zavala (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1996), 15. Shirley Brice Heath and Richard Laprade recognize that “….the Crown argued…for adding Castilian to the linguistic repertoire of the Indians and not subtracting their native tongues.” Brice Heath and Laprade, “Castilian Colonization and Indigenous Languages,” 136.

134 Solano, ed., Documentos, 113. (My translation) “procurando introducer la castellana como más común y capaz.”
give up their mother tongues,” he wrote. “However, teachers can be sent for those who voluntarily want to learn the Castilian language, and the decree which prohibits parishes from being granted to anyone who does not know the language of the Indians is to be upheld.”

Much as the Third Lima Council had done, Philip II and his closest advisors were reaffirming a place for both Spanish and the *lenguas generales* in the Indian parishes of Peru.

Thus, by the late sixteenth century, amid much debate, the Crown had established its ideal: a dual language approach whereby the Spanish Castilian tongue and the *lenguas generales* – most notably the Christianized varieties of Quechua and Aymara – would coexist as languages of colonial education in Indian parishes. While priests in Indian parishes were required to provide religious instruction in the *lenguas generales*, they were simultaneously charged with teaching Spanish to their parishioners, focusing particularly on children. The fact that decrees demanding native language use and Castilianization were often issued “almost simultaneously”\(^\text{136}\) suggests not indecisiveness or confusion, but rather that the Crown did not perceive its linguistic pronouncements to be in contradiction with one another. Rather than conflict or opposition, the Crown’s approach insists on the coexistence and complementarity of the *lenguas generales* and the language of Castile.\(^\text{137}\)

Yet, while both ecclesiastical and royal directives called for the coexistence languages in Andean parishes, the *lenguas generales* and Spanish often appeared on unequal footing, and with

\(^{135}\) Konetzke, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 2(1): 38-40. (My translation) “No parece conveniente apremiarlos a que dejen su lengua natural, mas se podrán poner maestros para los que voluntariamente quisieren aprender la castellana, y se dé orden como se haga guardar lo que está mandado en no proveer los curatos, sino a quien sepa la de los indios.”

\(^{136}\) Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 36.

\(^{137}\) Indeed, Spain’s official project of Castilianization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the dismay of proponents of monolingualism, did not entail any attempt to eradicate the indigenous languages. Castañeda Delgado, “La iglesia y la corona,” 39.
lived linguistic outcomes that were difficult to perceive, much less measure. Spanish language education was to be mandatory for Andean children, but voluntary for adults; whereas the use of the *lenguas generales* would be compulsory for all priests stationed in Indian parishes. Spanish is consistently presented as a supplementary – and for adults, optional – language of conversion, which was permitted and even encouraged as long as the basic requirements of indoctrination in the *lenguas generales* were being met in parishes. And there was the steady hint, as noted above, that the learning and use of Castilian might well be voluntary for many indigenous parishioners fluent and active in their native languages.

There is evidence, further, that the Crown sought to implement an even more fully bilingual parish education system in the early seventeenth century. A royal *cédula* issued to officials across the Viceroyalty of Peru on November 20, 1606 recommended placing two priests in each Indian parish: a *peninsular* who could provide instruction in Spanish, and a Creole fluent in the *lengua general*.\(^{138}\) For its proponents, this solution to the language question would not only satisfy the Tridentine imperatives about indoctrination in the mother tongue, but would also appease those who opposed the *lenguas generales* on the grounds that Creole Quechua-speaking priests were unreliable. The *Audiencia* of Lima, however, rejected the plan in 1609 as excessive.

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\(^{138}\) AGI, Lima 95, “Carta de la Audiencia de Lima al Rey,” 1609. “In a *cédula* issued on 20 November 1606 Your Majesty refers [to the measure taken] to improve the doctrinal instruction of the Indians in the New Kingdom of Granada and to avoid problems with respect to the elderly priests who are exemplary and suitable for the said Indian parishes, but who do not know the language, and those who do know the language are young Creoles. Thus, measures have been taken to put two priests in each Indian parish – one who knows the language and another elderly and exemplary one […]. And [Your Majesty requests] that this Royal Audiencia report on whether it would be suitable for this kingdom to do the same, because the stipends are higher…” (My translation) “Por *cédula* de 20 de noviembre de 606 rrefiere V. M. que paraquelos yndios del nueborreino de granada tenga mexor dotrina y escussar algunos inconuinientes y respecto de que los religiossos ançianos y exemplares que son apropossito para las dichas dotrinas, no saben la lengua y que los que la saben son criollos y moços se a tomado por medio poner en cada dotrina dos religiossos uno qe sepa la lengua y otro viejo exemplar […] y que esta Real audiencia ymformes si convernia que en este reyno se hiziesse lo mismo, pues los estipendios son maiores…”
and quite probably detrimental, asserting that “in this Kingdom there are priests who have both experience and approval who know the language of the Indians and who can serve in the Indian parishes, and if two were to be placed in each parish it would be too heavy a burden for the Indians.”\textsuperscript{139}

Although the succession of prelates representing the Archdiocese of Lima through the second half of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries never officially voiced any opposition to both languages being employed and encouraged in Indian parishes, it is clear that bilingual religious instruction was not unanimously supported throughout the broader viceroyalty. In 1596, the Synod of Loja, in Ecuador, for instance, clearly ruled against dual language approaches in Indian parishes. Constitution twenty-one of the synodal decrees attempted to prohibit bilingual religious instruction in the diocese, stating that

> the custom, which has been followed until now, of teaching the Christian doctrine to the Indians in two languages, first in Spanish and then in their mother tongue, seems to us to be superfluous and very tedious, given that they are only obliged to learn it in one language [and that being their mother tongue]. Thus, with the approval of the Holy Synod, we order and command that henceforth the Christian doctrine shall not be said or taught in more than one language, and that being the mother language, where possible. And [in settings] where the language of the Inka is not understood, or [where] the mother tongue has not been translated, [the doctrine] may be taught in the language of Castile.”\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid. (My translation) “en este Reino ay religiosos de edad y aprovación que saben la lengua de los yndios que pueden serbir las doctrinas, y que si se pussiesen dos en cada una sería mucha carga para los indios…”

\textsuperscript{140} Luis López de Solís, \textit{Constituciones sinodales hechas por fray Luis López de Solís, obispo de Quito, en Loja (Ecuador) el año 1596}, in \textit{Sinodos de Quito 1594 y Loja 1596 por fray Luis López de Solís}, ed. Fernando Campo del
While the Loja decree offers no further insight into the specific concerns that led the Synod’s churchmen to mandate monolingual religious instruction, its articulation is a telling indication that parish practices in the Ecuadorean region which had followed the Third Lima Council had initially favoured a bilingual approach from which at least some, at this moment in 1596, wanted to withdraw.

By the early seventeenth century, churchmen in Lima, in contrast to Loja, had reaffirmed the bilingual approach advocated by the Third Lima Council. Chapters two and five of the decrees drafted during the Lima Synod of 1613, for example, reiterated the Council’s provisions of 1583, ordering priests to use the approved Quechua translation of the catechism, as well as to oversee schools in their parishes to teach Spanish language and customs to Andean children. ¹⁴¹

In addition to its pronouncements on language issued in 1583 and 1596, historians have identified 1634 as another turning point in the Crown’s approach to language in the Viceroyalty of Peru. In 1634, King Philip IV issued a cédula to Fernando Arias de Ugarte, then archbishop of Lima, emphasizing the importance of Spanish as a language of indoctrination. Here, the king informed his prelate that

I have deemed it appropriate that all Indians who are of a young age and capable of learning the Castilian language be taught it. And thus I implore and entrust you to ensure that you order the parish priests and priests of Indian parishes in your diocese to

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employ the best and gentlest means at their disposal, preparing and guiding [the Indians] so that they all may learn the Spanish language, and with it the Christian doctrine.\textsuperscript{142}

As Alan Durston has noted, context is vital. This decree came in the wake of a series of complaints to the king regarding the “lack” of well-trained and morally reliable Quechua-speaking priests. In a 1620 letter to the King, Pedro de la Perea, bishop of Arequipa, made the pithy case for Castilianization noted above precisely on this basis, claiming that in Peru, “those Spaniards who were good priests generally did not know Quechua, whereas those who knew Quechua were generally not good priests.”\textsuperscript{143} As a peninsular mendicant, it is not surprising that Perea’s arguments were entwined with the ongoing competition and dispute between the Quechua-savvy Creole and the largely Spanish-speaking peninsular factions of the regular and secular clergy. But Perea was not alone.

For his part, the bishop of Cuzco, Fernando de Vera, also a peninsular mendicant, issued a similar plea in 1634. “I judge it to be suitable to the Royal conscience of Your Majesty and to your ministers and bishops,” he wrote, “that the Indians be taught the Spanish language from childhood because if they do not know it well they cannot be instructed in our Holy Catholic Faith nor in the obligations of Christians by those who are erudite and of exemplary life and manners.”\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{142} Konetzke, ed., \textit{Colección de documentos}, 2(1): 346. (My translation) “me ha parecido conveniente que todos los naturales que estuvieren en la edad de su puericia y puedieren aprehender la lengua castellana, se les enseñe, y así os ruego y encargo proveáis y deis orden como los doctrineros y curas de indios de vuestra diócesis por los medios mejores y más suaves que puedieren elegir, lo dispongan y encaminen de manera que todos deprendan la lengua española y en ella la doctrina cristiana.”

\textsuperscript{143} Durston, \textit{Pastoral Quechua}, 131.

\textsuperscript{144} AGI, Lima 302, “Carta del arçobispo obispo de aquella ciu.d D. fray fer.do de bera,” 15-IV-1631. (My translation) “juzgo que es conveniente ala R.l conciencia de V.M. y de sus ministros y obps. que se les enseñe a los yndios la lengua española desde niños porque no sauiendola bien ni ellos pueden ser instruitjos en nra s.ta fee catholica y enlas obligaciones de cristianos por personas doctas y de Vida y costumbres exemplars…” De Vera’s position on
The clear link between the complaints of the pro-Spanish language clergy and the royal decree of 1634 is undeniable. But it has led scholars to misinterpret this legislation as a drastic break from the dual language norms established by the Third Lima Council, and, more hazardously still, as a proscription against use of the lenguas generales.\(^{145}\) In fact, while the 1634 injunction does mandate the use of Spanish in the religious indoctrination of children and in the ideal teaching of the Christian doctrine in particular, it does not prohibit the use of the lenguas generales for the same purposes. Moreover, throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Crown had repeatedly demonstrated that its support for either Spanish or the lenguas generales was not tantamount to the proscription of the other. The fact of simultaneity makes it considerably more likely that the 1634 decree was an attempt to emphasize the somewhat neglected Spanish dimension within the dual language policy, rather than an attempt to impose a policy of monolingual indoctrination in the archdiocese.

Pedro de Villagómez y Vivanco, then bishop of Arequipa and future archbishop of Lima, apparently saw no contradiction between the decrees. Writing in 1635 he informed the king that “he was implementing [the 1634 directive] along with the decrees of the Third Council and Francisco de Toledo.”\(^{146}\) In doing so, Villagómez was reaffirming the necessity and validity of both Spanish and the lenguas generales as languages of indoctrination. Villagómez’s predecessor in the Lima see, Archbishop Fernando Arias de Ugarte responded to the 1634 decree in a similar


\(^{146}\) Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 132, citing AGI Lima 309, 27-IV-1635. Durston offers a different interpretation of Villagómez’s response to the 1634 decree, as an attempt by the bishop to “[pull] the wool over the king’s eyes” by claiming to implement two contradictory language policies.
vein. Although Arias de Ugarte voiced concern about the practicality of the decree, admitting that “there have been not a few difficulties in its execution,” he informed the king that he too would enforce the injunction.\textsuperscript{147} Presiding over the 1636 Synod of Lima, Arias de Ugarte reaffirmed the dual language policy by publishing his 1634 decree alongside the Third Lima Council’s \textit{cartilla} in Quechua.\textsuperscript{148} Chapter one of these 1636 synod decrees ordered, just as clearly, that “the Christian doctrine is to be printed at the beginning of these synodal ordinances in Spanish and Quechua; in which languages the Indians are to be instructed…”\textsuperscript{149} The churchmen who gathered in the southern region of the viceroyalty for the Synod of La Paz in 1638 likewise interpreted the latest decree on Spanish language indoctrination as additive rather than proscriptive. Chapter two of the synodal decrees mandated that “according to His Majesty’s new dictate, Indian children are to be taught the Christian doctrine in the Spanish language; although [priests], on account of this decree, are not to stop teaching it to adults in their own language.”\textsuperscript{150}

Continued royal support for the \textit{lenguas generales} following the 1634 decree is demonstrated by a \textit{cédula} issued just two years later, in 1636, which ordered that in addition to parish priests, all interim or substitute priests assigned to Indian parishes were required to be

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{147} AGI, Lima 302, “El arcebpo de Lima informa de la diligencia q ha hecho para q los Indios hablen la lengua castellana,” 24-IV-1635. (My translation) “no se han ofrecido pocos inconuenientes para la ejecucion”
\item \textsuperscript{148} Durston, \textit{Pastoral Quechua}, 132. Arias de Ugarte’s response can be interpreted differently, as a rejection of the 1634 decree. Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{149} Fernando Arias de Ugarte, \textit{Constituciones sinodales del arçobispado de Los Reyes en el Perú}, in \textit{Sínodos de Lima de 1613 y 1636} (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, [1636] 1987), 251. (My translation) “se ponga al principio de estas Synodales la Doctrina Christiana en la lengua Española, y en la lengua Quichua de los Indios; en las quales lenguas an de ser los Indios an de ser enseñados…”
\item \textsuperscript{150} Feliciano de Vega, \textit{Constituciones sinodales del obispado de Nuestra Señora de La Paz del Perú}, ed. Julio Torres (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1970), 2-4. (My translation) “La Doctrina Christiana se á de enseñar a los Indios muchachos en la lengua Española, conforme al orden nuevo de su Magestad; y no por esto se á de dexar de enseñarla en la lengua propia a los de mayor edad.”
\end{itemize}
competent in the *lengua general*. Still more support is evident in the synthetic *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las indias*. The collection of legal texts, compiled in 1680, includes not only the 1634 decree on the subject of a dual language approach, but also legislation requiring *curas de indios* to be competent in the *lenguas generales*.

How do we account for the persistence of official support for both Castilian and the *lenguas generales* throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Linguists Shirley Brice Heath and Richard Laprade’s explanation implies that the bilingual approach to language in Peru was the result of compromise between competing interests: “Ultimately, the Crown wanted Castilian to spread, but because of religious rulings regarding delivery of the sacraments in the vernacular, the royal leaders and the Council of the Indies allowed indigenous languages to be used as an initial communicative tool in religious matters.” This interpretation of the dual language approach acknowledges the diverse and often competing interests that contributed to the formation of colonial legislation. However, underlying the notion of a compromise is the notion and rhetoric of a debate, one in which historical interpreters frame the language question

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151 Solano, ed., *Documentos*, 152. “Royal cédula ordering that substitutes for parish priests be equally competent in the Indian languages; anyone not complying with this is to be removed from their post.” (My translation) “Real cédula ordenando que los sustitutos de los doctrineros sean igualmente conocedores de los idiomas indios; quitándoseles las doctrinas a los que observaren lo contrario.”


154 As Bruce Mannheim has argued, “language policy in the Spanish empire was molded by competing interest groups, each of which staked its claim before the Council of the Indies.” Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 64.
as an “all-or-nothing” competition between the language of Castile and the *lenguas generales*.\(^{155}\)

The notion of compromise as a result of conflicting positions situates single language approaches as the norm, while classifying the dual language approach as something of a brief detour in the Crown’s overarching and preferred program for monolingual Castilianization. However, as indicated above, the Spanish Crown was accustomed to juggling multiple tongues in legally and administratively sanctioned ways when the context demanded it. Keeping in mind both the development and acceptance of an ordered multilingualism in early modern Iberia and beyond and the consistent articulation of the same as an ideal in Peru, I have suggested that we consider the dual language policy not as a reluctant compromise but rather as an intentional approach, – one deserving of study in its own right. In doing so, we open up new possibilities for understanding the relationship between Spanish and the *lenguas generales* in Peru and the diverse and interconnected roles assigned to each in peoples’ lives.

The Spanish Crown’s repeated insistence on the coexistence of both Castilian and the *lenguas generales* in Andean parishes is a reflection of the Crown’s belief that both were vital to the evangelization and governance of Andeans. Rather than compete and enter into conflict, the two languages would work in complementarity in Andean parishes to impart the Catholic faith as well as Spanish Catholic customs to neophytes. Most importantly, to proponents in this context, both languages were vital because neither language was considered to be fully adequate on its own. Indoctrination in the standardized and Christianized *lenguas generales* – at least in theory – ensured quick and easy comprehension of the Christian doctrine, something which Spanish

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language indoctrination could not achieve. However, despite being ‘elevated’ and made apt to convey the Catholic message, these modified Andean tongues were not believed to possess the same inherent qualities as the Spanish language. Spanish language education, focused primarily on children, would not only reinforce the learning of the Christian doctrine, but, according to early modern theories of language, endow Andeans with _policía_. As has been shown, aims for Spanish language instruction in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Viceroyalty of Peru, thus, stretched beyond purely linguistic change to encompass a broader goal of cultural and religious transformation.

4. The Spanish Dimension in the Dual Language Approach

In official minds, the Spanish dimension within the dual language approach in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peru focused primarily on the instruction of Andean children and youth in Castilian. Children were believed to be more apt than adults at acquiring new languages through not just formal lessons but also interaction with speakers. Indeed, according to peninsular linguist Bernardo de Aldrete, “to learn [a language] in the land where it is spoken, grammar books and schools are unnecessary because the first words that children form and pronounce as they begin to talk are the beginnings of it.” Royal _cédulas_ issued to Peru demonstrated a similar understanding of when and how language is best acquired, mandating that Andeans be instructed in Spanish “from infancy,” “from the cradle,” or “from childhood.”

Even so, in Peru and in contrast to the contemporary peninsula, Castilian was meant to be taught

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156 In chapter 3 I discuss the potential problems posed by the _lenguas generales_ for comprehension in the Archdiocese of Lima.

157 Aldrete, _Del origen y principio_, 47. (My translation) “no es menester arte, ni escuela para aparender [la lengua] en la tierra donde se usa, porque las primeras palabras, que los niños forman, i las que comenzando a hablar dizén, son los principios della.”

158 Solano, ed., _Documentos_, 109. (My translation) “desde la infancia”; “desde la cuna”; “desde niños”
to indigenous children rather than acquired almost exclusively through interaction – no doubt stemming from persistent prejudices about indigenous capacities and the Crown’s continued (albeit poorly enacted and unevenly followed) ‘two republics’ policy, which aimed to maintain the indigenous population differently and segregated from ‘españoles’ and ‘negros.’

And yet it is important to understand that such formal educational designs failed to tell the whole story, and in tandem, just how fully and simultaneously an array of more informal and adaptable policies were advocated and came to root themselves in the land. One of the first in a long line of cédulas regulating language instruction for Indian children in Peru was issued to the conquistador Francisco Pizarro himself in 1541. In 1550, Charles V reiterated his instructions, telling in their vision of an approach somehow both formalized and strategically informal in nature, and which acknowledged the ways in which it had benefitted from the development experiences and practices in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms. Charles ordered that

the Indians be given Teachers, who are to teach those who voluntarily want to learn [the Spanish language] in the least bothersome fashion, and without cost: and it seems that

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159 Mörner, “La difusión del castellano,” 2: 440-442. In theory, the ‘republic of Indians’ and the ‘republic of Spaniards’ were to be segregated legally, geographically and, at the local level, politically. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Crown issued several cédulas prohibiting “Spaniards, Blacks, Mestizos and Mulattos” from residing in Indian towns or among Indians more generally. Recopilación, 6-3-21, 6-3-22. Travelling Spaniards were permitted to stay no longer than two days in Indian towns, and merchants were permitted three days. Ibid., 6-3-23, 6-3-24. In practice, however, such laws were rarely enacted to the letter and were often ignored or adapted to local needs. As Jeremy Ravi Mumford notes, “officials typically interpreted the segregation laws nonliterally, so as to allow non-Andeans with good morals or long residence [in an Indian parish] to remain where they were. Often the extent of the segregation laws’ enforcement was simply to register and license non-Andeans living in the reducciones.” Jeremy Ravi Mumford, Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 162. Even so, the policy itself remained in place throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century.

160 Konetzke, ed., Colección de documentos, 1(1): 207. At the time of issuance, the boundaries of corregimientos and Indian parishes had not yet been established throughout the viceroyalty. As such, the schools were specified only for Spanish towns.
this could be done by the Sacristans, just as, in the Towns of these Kingdoms [in peninsular Spain], they teach reading, writing, and the Christian doctrine.\textsuperscript{161}

As this decree clearly indicates, the system that the Crown most favoured and envisioned for the Viceroyalty of Peru was to be based on a system of early education already operating across the peninsula. To understand how and why the programme of Castilianization in Peru developed as it did, we must turn first to examine the legislation for the peninsular system of primary education upon which it was based.

4.1 Parochial Schools in the Peninsular Spanish Kingdoms

A centralized system of primary education did not exist in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms in the early modern period.\textsuperscript{162} Instead, children learned the Christian doctrine and to read and write in a wide variety of local settings, which ranged from private tutoring, through once-weekly lessons at church, to parish-funded and operated primary schools (known as escuelas de primeras letras) – all of which coexisted in parishes throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\textsuperscript{163} Legislation regarding primary education in parishes developed unevenly across the peninsula, as each diocese issued legislation independently. By the late

\textsuperscript{161} Recopilación, 6-1-18. (My translation) “a los Indios se les pongan Maestros, que enseñen a los que voluntariamente la quisieren aprender, como les sea de menos molestía, y sin costa: y ha parecido que esto podrían hacer bien los Sacristanes, como en las Aldeas de estos Reynos [de España] enseñan a Leer, y escribir, y la Doctrina Christiana.”

\textsuperscript{162} Lorenzo Luzuriaga, introduction to Documentos para la historia escolar de España, ed. Lorenzo Luzuriaga (Madrid: Julio Cosano, 1916), xi.

fifteenth century, however, schools begin to appear regularly in synodal ordinances.\textsuperscript{164}

In 1480, for example, the prelates who gathered for the Synod of Toledo urged priests within the diocese to ensure that a school was operating in their parishes, mobilizing one or a number of their assistants to accomplish the task. Parish priests were instructed to enlist the aid of “another clergyman or sacristan, a knowledgeable and honest person who knows, is able to, and wants to teach reading, writing, and singing to anyone, and particularly to the children of parishioners who they are to instruct and teach.”\textsuperscript{165} In 1484, Alonso de Burgos, bishop of Cuenca, ordered that sacristans teach parish children the Christian doctrine as well as reading and writing “every day for four hours.”\textsuperscript{166} Each family was required to “send at least one son to the parish school,” and those who did so were “rewarded with forty days of grace.”\textsuperscript{167} Similar measures were subsequently taken in the Synods of Canarias (1497) and Plascencia (1499), both of which required the sacristan or the priest himself to instruct parishioners’ children to read and write.\textsuperscript{168}

By the mid-sixteenth century, decrees mandating the establishment of parish schools multiplied in response to the decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517). The Council

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\textsuperscript{164} As José Sánchez Herrero has noted, one of the earliest references to primary education in Spanish parishes appeared in the 1367 Synod of Segorbe, which ordered that the parish children learn “after the manner and form of the alphabet or alphabets” (Translation by Kenneth Mills) “\textit{iuxta modum et formam avedecarii sive alphabeti.” José Sánchez Herrero, “Alfabetización y escuelas de primeras letras,” in \textit{Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España}, ed. Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995), 1: 284. Three years later, King Henry II issued a decree to regulate primary school teachers, ordering that “School Teachers are to be investigated by our Council and by the Courts...” (My translation) “que los Maestros de Escuela sean examinados en el nuestro Consejo, y Corte...”. Luzuriaga, ed., \textit{Documentos para la historia escolar}, 1: 5-9.

\textsuperscript{165} Sánchez Herrero, “Alfabetización y escuelas,” 1: 284. (My translation) “\textit{otro clérigo o sacristán, persona de saber e honesta que sepa e pueda e quiera mostrar leer e escribir e cantar a qualesquier persona, en especial a fijos de sus parroquianos e los instruyan e enseñen.”

\textsuperscript{166} Nalle, \textit{God in La Mancha}, 106.

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.

identified primary education within parishes as fundamental to the reform of the curia and parishioners alike, ordering that

those in charge of schools, and those who teach young children and youths, ought not only to instruct them in grammar, rhetoric and similar subjects but also to teach those matters which concern religion, such as God's commandments, the articles of the faith, sacred hymns and psalms, and the lives of the saints. On feast days they should limit themselves to teaching that which has reference to religion and good habits, and they are obliged to instruct, encourage and compel their pupils in these matters insofar as they can.169

Language was notably fused with a vision of broader formation. The goal of such an education, according to reformers, was to encourage the development of “good morals” within parishes. As Bartolomé Martínez has demonstrated, soon after the celebration of the Council, schools were established within the parishes of the metropolitan capitals of Santiago de Compostela, Toledo, Tarragona, Valencia, Zaragoza, and Seville, and subsequent diocesan synods celebrated throughout the peninsula continued to stress the importance of primary education in parishes.170

The 1514 Synod of Las Canarias, for example, reiterated its earlier injunction requiring parish priests and sacristans to establish escuelas de primeras letras, with the Synods of Córdoba (1520), Coria (1527), Tuy (1528), Burgos (1534), and Toledo (1536) soon following suit.171

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Peninsular legislation pertaining to primary education multiplied in the second half of the sixteenth century, responding to the further and even more sweeping reforms issued by the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Tridentine reformers underscored the importance of parishioner education as part of its program to bring orthodox devotion to parishes across the Catholic world, and the various ecclesiastical councils that met in Spain, enacting Trent in more ways than one, increasingly began to highlight the need for schools as part of the reformist programme. Injunctions requiring both parish priests and sacristans to “teach the children to read and write and [other] necessary and pious subjects for Christians”\(^\text{172}\) appear in the decrees of the Synods of Zaragoza (1542), Pamplona (1544), Palencia (1548), Astorga (1553), Oviedo (1553), Sigüenza (1553), Calahorra (1553), Palencia (1548), Tarragona (1580), Cartagena (1590), Vich (1591), Jaén (1592), and Jaca (1595).\(^\text{173}\)

And yet, as much in peninsular Spanish kingdoms as beyond, there was theory and there was practice. Despite the pervasiveness of synodal decrees calling for the establishment of escuelas de primeras letras, they were by no means uniformly enacted or enforced throughout the peninsula. As Sara T. Nalle relates for the diocese of Cuenca, nearly fifty years after the initial 1484 decree mandating the establishment of parish schools, Ramírez de Villaescusa, bishop of Cuenca, appears to have given up on the project “perhaps because it was unrealistic to expect sacristans to take on such a large burden.”\(^\text{174}\) The bishop issued new constitutions to lighten the task considerably, ordering that priests instruct parishioners in the articles of the faith for “at least fifteen minutes” every Sunday and on feast days, while sacristans would provide

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\(^{172}\) Sánchez Herrero, “Alfabetización y escuelas,” 1: 285. (My translation) “enseñar los moços a leer y escrevir y las cosas necesarias y devotas de los christianos”

\(^{173}\) Bartolomé Martínez, “Las escuelas de primeras letras,” 1: 616.

\(^{174}\) Nalle, God in La Mancha, 107.
more intensive catechetical instruction during the season of Lent. Ramírez’s successors appear to have been more persistent; beginning in 1528, episcopal inspectors routinely reminded priests of their educational responsibilities. And by the early seventeenth century, Bishop Andrés Pacheco, for his part, gamely ordered that every parish establish a school, which was to run on Sundays, where children would to learn to read and write as well as the catechism.

The basic guidelines for the founding and daily operation of the schools differed according to each diocese, and many of the particulars of individual schools were left for parishes to negotiate according to local circumstances and needs. While most synodal decrees ordered parish priests or sacristans to double as schoolmasters, in many parishes priests were also permitted to contract professional teachers from the laity and wealthier families, who themselves had contracted private tutors for their children. All teachers were required to provide evidence of ‘purity of blood’ and to be examined and licensed by the town council to ensure they were qualified. Individual parishes were left with the task of funding the schools

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175 Ibid.
176 Ibid.
177 In the Archdiocese of Zaragoza throughout the sixteenth century, for example, chaplains doubled as school teachers. María Rosa Domínguez Cabrejas, La enseñanza de las primeras letras en Aragón, 1670-1812 (Zaragoza: Mire Editores, S.A., 1999), 15. In contrast, in the municipality of Ampudia (Palencia), a professional teacher, Maestro Gabriel Barón, signed a contract with the town council to open a school in 1578. Mauricio Herrero Jiménez and María Gloria Diéguez Orihuela, Primeras letras: aprender a leer y escribir en Valladolid en el siglo XVI (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2008), 22.
178 Statutes of purity of blood – or limpieza de sangre – required individuals to produce genealogies showing they were not descendants of Jewish, converso, Muslim, or morsico ancestors. The first of these statutes in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms, as Albert A. Sicroff notes, was issued in Toledo in 1449, and similar statutes were subsequently and increasingly adopted by communities throughout the peninsula, eventually being applied to populations in the American viceroyalties as well. Albert A. Sicroff, Los statutos de limpieza de sangre: controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII, trans. Mauro Armíno (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, S.A., [1979] 1985), 51, 116.
179 Teacher associations developed in a handful of cities across Spain, such as Zaragoza and Madrid, to regulate the profession throughout the late sixteenth century. For more on these associations see Domínguez Cabrejas, La enseñanza de las primeras letras, 30.
from community coffers and setting a “fair” salary for teachers. In many cases, students were required to pay fees based on the specific subjects of study. Although in some regions the Church attempted to regulate school fees – in 1528, the Synod of Tuy ordered that “…the said sacristans may not earn more than one real a month from each child they teach” – fees varied widely across the peninsula. There was also no universally established age for entry and leaving, or set length of study for students in the sixteenth century, and the vagueness of the ecclesiastical legislation allowed for primary education to manifest itself locally in diverse ways – making escuelas de primeras letras a term that blanketed a wide variety of student-teacher relationships and scenarios in Spanish parishes throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

4.2 Peru’s Escuelas de Muchachos Indios

It was thus from Spain’s centrally decreed and encouraged but ultimately decentralized and local system of parochial primary education already generalized throughout the peninsula that the royal legislation regarding Spanish language schools in the Viceroyalty of Peru developed. The guidelines for these Peruvian counterparts to Spain’s parish schools – known in Peru as “escuelas de muchachos indios” or schools for Indian children – closely mirrored the

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181 Bartolomé Martínez, “Las escuelas de primeras letras,” 1: 615. (My translation) “[...] los dichos sacristanes no pueden llevar de cada niño por enseñar más de un real por mes.” In other cases, it was the teacher associations that controlled fees. In 1677, the teacher association of Zaragoza ordered that “all teachers who were tested and approved in this city of Zaragoza, as indicated above, are obligated to teach reading for one real, writing for three reales, sums for six reales, and they are also obligated to teach the destitute without receiving any compensation whatsoever, and those who do otherwise are to be fined sixty sueldos, to be paid to the said brotherhood.” (My translation) “todos los maestros que fueron aprobados y examinados como se dice arriba, en la presente ciudad de Zaragoza tengan la obligación de enseñar á leer por un real y escribir por tres reales y contar por seis reales y así mismo obligados á enseñar á todos aquellos que constare ser pobres, sin poderles llevar cosa ni interes alguno y el que lo contrario hiciera tenga de pena sesenta sueldos los cuales aplicamos á dicho hermandad.” Domínguez Cabrejas, La enseñanza de las primeras letras, 31.
peninsular synodal decrees on primary education. As in Spain, the viceregal decree stipulated that school teachers be parish priests, sacristans, or any other qualified layman. While legislation in Spain prohibited New Christians, or individuals of Jewish or Muslim ancestry from fulfilling the role of teacher, in Peru - possibly due to a shortage of competent and available teachers in the far-flung parishes of the Andes – Spanish-speaking Indians often referred to as ‘Indios Ladinos’ were expressly invited to fulfill the role.\(^{182}\) Regardless of their origins, such teachers were to be examined and licensed to ensure they were qualified to teach, as well as to ensure they had “good customs and manners.”\(^{183}\) As chapter five of the 1613 Lima Synod of stipulated,

> no one may establish a school to teach reading or writing without having first \[submitted\] evidence of their [virtuous] habits, and being examined, and obtaining our Approval and license to do so, either from our Ecclesiastical Judge or from the Vicar-General of the district where it is to be established on pain of one hundred *ducados de Castilla* to be paid to the Parish.\(^{184}\)

Viceregal legislation stipulated that all children – girls and boys – in Indian parishes were to attend school daily. Chapter forty-three of the Third Provincial Council of Lima specified

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\(^{182}\) A *céédula* issued on July 7, 1685 stipulated that parish priests could entrust the escuela de muchachos indios “to the sacristans or to any capable Indian suited to this post” (My translation) “a los sacristanes o a algun indio capaz de este ministerio.” Konetzke, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 2(2): 766-767.

\(^{183}\) Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries teachers in Spain were, in part, regulated by teachers’ unions that established guidelines in several major cities. See, for example, the “Primeiras ordenanzas de la hermandad de San Casiano,” and “Segundas ordenanzas de la hermandad” in Luzuriaga, ed., *Documentos para la historia escolar*, 1: 23-26; 29-38. There is nothing to suggest that teachers in the Archdiocese of Lima organized into a self-regulating body in this period, although a set of instructions or guidelines for teachers were published in Lima in 1594. Benito Xuárez de Gil, *Instrucción que los maestros de enseñar a leer, escribir y contar de esta ciudad de los Reyes, han de guardar en sus escuelas para la buena educación y enseñanza de los niños*, published in Francisco Mateos, “Escuelas primarias en el Perú del XVI,” Missionaria Hispánica VIII (1951): 595-599.

\(^{184}\) Lobo Guerrero, *Constituciones sinodales*, 38. (My translation) “ninguno pueda poner escuela, para enseñar a leer, ni escribir, sin que primero havida información de sus costumbres, y siendo examinados, tengan para ello nuestra Aprovación, y licencia, o de nuestro provissor, ó del Vicario del partido, donde se huivere de poner, so pena de cien ducados de Castilla aplicadas para la fábrica de la Parrochía.”
further that boys learn “to read and write and the rest, and primarily that they learn to understand and speak our Spanish language” whereas both boys and girls were to learn the Christian doctrine.\textsuperscript{185} The Lima Synod of 1613 expanded on these instructions, specifying that, in addition to the Christian doctrine, female students were to learn to “read and do needlework” from a female teacher.\textsuperscript{186} A royal cédula issued in 1691 specified that boys and girls were to be taught in separate schools, or, in cases where the parishes could not support two schools, in the same school but separately.\textsuperscript{187} As in peninsular Spain, there was no universally established age or length of study for students in the Archdiocese of Lima, although the 1691 decree specified that “girls in all regions are to be able to attend school until the age of ten years, after which, they shall not be permitted to go…”\textsuperscript{188}

As in the peninsula, the Crown encouraged but did not provide any direct funding to support the establishment or administration of the schools in Peru. Indeed, in several cédulas, “the king specified that the instruction was not to affect the royal coffers.”\textsuperscript{189} Instead, the escuelas de muchachos indios were also to be locally funded, with the teacher being provided with a ‘fair’ salary from the community’s treasury. In addition to the salary they received, those who served as school teachers were to be exempt from tribute and any other obligations.\textsuperscript{190} In 1691, the Crown reiterated its insistence that each community be responsible for the funding of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[185] Tercer concilio provincial limense, 1: 341. (My translation) “a leer y escribir y lo démas y principalmente que se abecen a entender y hablar nuestra lengua española.”
\item[186] Lobo Guerrero, Constituciones sinodales, 38. (My translation) “leer y labrar”
\item[187] Solano, ed., Documentos, 209-211.
\item[188] Ibid., 210; AAL, Cedulario del Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Tomo 2: f. 569. (My translation) “las niñas en todas partes han de poder ir a estas escuelas hasta la edad de diez años y que en pasando de ella, no se les permita que vayan…”
\item[189] Sánchez Albornoz, “De las lenguas amerindias,” 157. (My translation) “el rey aclaró que la educación no debía afectar las cajas reales.”
\item[190] Solano, ed., Documentos, 188-189.
\end{footnotes}
the school. Indian towns that did not have sufficient resources to support a school were ordered to “cultivate a sufficiently sized parcel of land from which to produce and take the teacher’s indicated stipend and endowment.”

Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz has interpreted the Crown’s inability and unwillingness to fund the creation of schools in the viceroyalty as a reflection of its powerlessness and lack of commitment to Castilianization in the land. However, when we understand the Crown’s programme for escuelas de muchachos indios as an attempt to transplant the peninsular system of parochial education, the Crown’s unwillingness to fund parish schools is no colonial departure from the manner in which schools were established and functioning throughout the peninsula, namely without controlling royal intervention or funding. This appears to have been the norm across Catholic kingdoms in early modern Europe. The primary schools – or petites écoles – of seventeenth-century France, for example, were also centrally decreed but locally financed and operated. For the chronically cash-strapped Spanish Crown, this decentralized system of education already existing in the peninsula and beyond appeared to be simultaneously the ideal and the necessary solution for implementing its plan for the Castilianization of indigenous people.

It appears that, at least in theory, alongside and in addition to the Spanish language instruction they would receive in the schools, children were also to receive intensive doctrinal instruction from their priest in Quechua. Chapter three of the Third Lima Council specified

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191 AAL, Cedulario, Tomo 2: 565-566v; 569-570v. (My translation) “trauaje una milpa suficiente para que de ella salga y se saque la congrua y dotación que se señalaré al Mro…”
194 Tercer concilio provincial limense, 1: 323: “[...] and at the very least the children are to memorize [the Christian doctrine] and recite it in the Church on Sundays and feast days [...] and it is very important that, for the good and benefit of the Indians, there is conformity in not only the essence and precepts, but also in the language and words
that, “…at the very least the children memorize [the catechism] and recite it in the Church on Sundays and feast days”\textsuperscript{195} And to the north, in 1594, the Synod of Quito mandated that by the age of ten, boys and girls begin to attend doctrinal instruction (presumably in Quechua) with their parents.\textsuperscript{196} Ideal education for Andean children in the Archdiocese of Lima, thus, was to mirror the dynamics of the Crown’s approach to language in the viceroyalty as a whole – Spanish language instruction was to coexist alongside indoctrination in the \textit{lenguas generales}.

Studying deep precedents in the late medieval and early modern Spanish kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula before focusing on official approaches to language in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Viceroyalty of Peru reveals several things. Most notable are the subtle yet persistent calls for the coexistence of Spanish and the Christianized \textit{lenguas generales} in colonial Peru as the latest manifestation of a honed and continuous approach. I have argued what amounts to a ‘dual language approach’ is best studied and understood as an intention and destination in and of itself, rather than as a momentary compromise in an overarching plan for monolingual themselves. Therefore, you must prohibit and ban the use of any other interpretation or translation in the languages of Cuzco and Aymara of the \textit{cartilla} and the Christian doctrine, as well as the catechism […]” (My translation) “[…] y a lo menos los muchachos la tomen de memoria y los días de Domingo y fiestas lo repitan en la iglesia […]” y porque para el bien y utilidad de los indios importa mucho que no sola en la substancia y sentencia haya conformidad, sino tambien en el mismo lenguaje y palabras Por tanto prohibe y veda que nadie haga y use otra interpretacion o traduccion en las lenguas del Cuzco, y la aymara, assi en la cartilla y doctrina Cristiana, como en el cathecismo fuera de la traduccion […].” In Spain too, ecclesiastical legislation mandated specialized catechetical instruction for children separately from parish schools. As José Sánchez Herrero has noted, the first mention of separate catechetical instruction appeared in the Synod of Toledo of 1497, ordering that every Sunday, priests publicly teach parish children the doctrine through repetition. Sánchez Herrero, “Alfabetización y catequesis,” 246.\textsuperscript{195} \textit{Tercer concilio provincial limense}, 1: 323. (My translation) “…a lo menos los muchachos la [cathecismo] tomen de memoria y los días de Domingo y fiestas lo repitan en la iglesia.”

\textsuperscript{196} Luis López de Solís, \textit{Constituciones signodales fechas por el ilustrísimo señor don fray Luis López [de Solís] maestro en santa teología, obispo de Quito, del consexo del rey nuestro señor, en este año de 1594, in Sínodos de Quito 1594 y Loja 1596 por fray Luis López de Solís}, ed. Fernando Campo del Pozo and Feliz Carmona Moreno (Madrid: Editorial Revista Agustiniana, 1996), 79. “boys and girls learn the Christian doctrine until the age of ten, after which they are to be permitted to attend with their parents” (My translation) “los muchachos y muchachas cursen hasta diez años la doctrina y despues los dejen ir con sus padres.”
Castilianization. The latter risks seriously misunderstanding both Spanish colonialism and colonial Andean realities. The Crown’s approach afforded vital roles to both Castilian and the *lenguas generales* in Andean parishes, where the two were meant to work in tandem to impart the Catholic faith as well as Spanish Catholic habits and manners to neophytes. Further, while in its decrees and other expressed ideals, the Spanish dimension within the dual language approach may have focused on parish schools and teachers as the primary means of teaching Spanish to Andeans, these were hardly alone as spaces and agents of language in the communities of real, speaking people.
Chapter 2

The Episcopal Visit in the Archdiocese of Lima, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Doctor Don Diego de Vergara y Aguiar and his small entourage arrived in the town of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba in the late afternoon of 11 December 1649. Located nearly 500 km north of Lima, nestled between the peaks of the central portion of the Sierra Oriental de Ancash, this community was the head town of an Indian parish of the same name. With over a thousand parishioners dispersed between the central town and its two outer settlements or annexes, Piscobamba was one of the largest and more populous parishes within the corregimiento of Conchucos. The residents of the parish had been informed of Vergara y Aguiar’s recent stay in nearby San Andrés de Llamellín and were preparing for his visit. The peal of the church bells announced his arrival, calling parishioners to gather in the church to participate in his formal reception.

The party of travelers turned into a small procession as Piscobamba’s musicians and dancers assembled in the central plaza to accompany the march of the arriving officials with

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197 Unless otherwise indicated, all details of this visit come from the causa de visita prepared by notary Andrés Días Delgado’s from Diego de Vergara y Aguiar’s inspection of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba on 11 December 1649. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:26.
198 Seventy-four leguas. See AGI, Lima 304.
199 A 1664 report recorded an estimate of the parish’s population: The town of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba had 700 parishioners while its annexes Vilcobamba and Parobamba had 300 and 150 parishioners respectively. See AGI, Lima 304, f. 8r-8v.
200 The population counts for parishes in the corregimiento of Conchucos in 1664 are as follows: San Luis de Huari: 1011; Chacas: 800; Ciguas: 700; La Apallasca: 1000; Tauca: 700; Cabana: 600; Llapo: 560; Corongo: 900; Llamellín: 660; Santo Domingo de Huari: 116; Chavin: 290; Collanapincos: 648; and Ychopincos: 590. AGI, Lima, 304.
201 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:25.
202 Título VII, Capítulo I of Libro I of the 1613 Lima Synod decrees required visitors to advise priests in advance of their arrival, allowing the parish to make the necessary preparations. Lobo Guerrero, Constituciones sinodales, 77.
trumpets and shawms. The procession moved through the central plaza to the front doors of the church. There, the parish priest bachiller Juan de Valverde, a secular clergyman dressed in a ceremonial cloak and bearing a cross, was waiting to welcome this emissary of the archbishop into the church with the burning of incense, the sprinkling of holy water, and the singing of the Deus Humilium Visitador.

Diego de Vergara y Aguiar came bearing a general edict of visitation, a document which authorized him to carry out an episcopal inspection of the parish and to scrutinize Juan de Valverde’s ‘life and manners.’ As visitador general y juez eclesiástica or general visitor and ecclesiastical judge, Vergara y Aguiar was to physically inspect Piscobamba’s church premises and records, evaluate the priest’s competence and suitability for his post, and conduct interviews with parishioners to determine the overall state of religious education in the parish. He also came with instructions from the archbishop to inquire as to whether the priest had fulfilled his obligation to establish and support the operation of an escuela de muchachos indios – a school to teach the children of the parish to speak, read, and write Spanish.

The documentary records compiled during episcopal parish inspections like the one carried out by Vergara y Aguiar in Piscobamba represent our principal – and in many areas of the Archdiocese of Lima our only – source of information about a wide spectrum of Spanish language educational endeavours for children in seventeenth-century Indian parishes. Known by contemporaries as causas de visitas, these inspection records can be found today in archives and libraries scattered across two continents – from Seville’s Archivo General de Indias to the lesser-

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203 The reception of visitors with music and dance is described in the 1661 visit of Pampas in Yauyos. See AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:12, f. 1r.
known rural repositories of the bishopric of Huacho. However, the majority of the Archdiocese of Lima’s episcopal visitation reports – including the one drafted in Piscobamba in 1649 – reside in Lima’s archiepiscopal archive. Organized chronologically into bundles based on eleven regional districts, the archive’s nearly 600 individual causas de visitas from the seventeenth century contain a wealth of information regarding community life, religious devotion, and education in the archdiocese’s widely diverse parishes. Most importantly – at least for our purposes – are the nearly 200 witness statements contained in these reports that comment on the state of community-based Spanish language “schools.” Their declarations confirm that schools – in various forms, as we shall see – were operating across the archdiocese, in the provinces of Ancash, Cajatambo, Cerro de Pasco, Chancay, Huánuco, Huarochirí, Ica, and Junín.

It is important to recognize that reporting on the state of the archdiocese’s escuelas de muchachos indios was not the primary objective of episcopal inspectors like Vergara y Aguiar. Rather, the question of Spanish language education was but a piece within these much broader

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204 The Archivo del Obispado de Huacho, located roughly two and a half hours outside of Lima, holds episcopal inspection records from (1600-2000) from the regions of Chancay, Canta, Sayan, Cajatambo, Churin, Barranca, and Huaura, part of which have been recently digitalized.

205 The causas de visitas held in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Lima, however, are fragmentary at best. While conforming to a certain structure, no visita record is quite the same as its neighbour. Reports are abundant for regions such as Ancash and Huarochirí – allowing us to chart the development of religious life and education in individual parishes over several decades – whereas areas such as Canta, Cañete, and Yauyos have considerably fewer surviving causas with lengthy gaps between inspections. The number of causas de visitas in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Lima’s holdings for the seventeenth century divided by region are as follows: Ancash (133 records), Lima (38 records), Huarochirí (59 records), Cajatambo (33 records), Cañete (15 records), Yauyos (17 records), Chancay (22 records), Huánuco (59 records), Junín (48 records), Ica (54 records), Cerro de Pasco (31 records). Melecio Tineo Morón, Vida eclesiástica, Perú colonial y republican: Catálogos de documentación sobre parroquias y doctrinas de indios, Arzobispado de Lima, siglos XVI-XX, Vol. 2 (Cuzco: CBC, 1997).

206 Ancash - Visitas Pastorales Leg 1-3; Cajatambo - Visitas Pastorales Leg 11; Cañete – Visitas Pastorales Leg 12; Cerro de Pasco - Visitas Pastorales Leg 22; Chancay - Visitas Pastorales Leg 14; Huánuco - Visitas Pastorales Leg 15; Huarochirí - Visitas Pastorales Leg 9; Ica - Visitas Pastorales Leg 19-20; Junín - Visitas Pastorales Leg 17; Lima - Visitas Pastorales Leg 7-8; and Yauyos – Visitas Pastorales Leg 13.
inspections whose primary concerns included ecclesiastical discipline and priestly competence, religious propriety, and orthodoxy in the parishes. In the majority of the archdiocese’s episcopal reports the topic of Spanish language education is entirely overlooked or more probably assumed, and in many others, mentions are brief and formulaic.\textsuperscript{207} Despite the challenges that such assumptions and silences present for historians, careful readings of the Archdiocese of Lima’s seventeenth-century \textit{causas de visitas} offer a glimpse not only of attitudes surrounding, and into the daily functioning of parish educational endeavours – their forms, their funding, teachers, pupils, and the problems they faced – but also into a multiplicity of language experiences which were lived on a daily basis in mid-colonial Andean parishes.

This chapter seeks to present a firm understanding of the pastoral visits’ “texture and granularity.”\textsuperscript{208} Indeed, as anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler warns, if we do not “explore the grain with care and read along it first” our narratives will likely rest “too comfortably on predictable stories with familiar plots [...and leave] unaddressed how often colonial categories reappear in [our] analytic vocabulary.”\textsuperscript{209} Following Stoler’s lead, I propose that only when we understand the episcopal visit as an institution – its evolving purposes, aims, methods, and the documents it employed and created – can we begin to understand the significance of the \textit{escuelas de muchachos indios} that are recorded and described in these reports. Thus, in this chapter my approach to the Archdiocese of Lima’s episcopal visitation records is not an ‘extractive’ one.

\textsuperscript{207} Local forms of parish education or schools are also rarely mentioned by colonial chroniclers, a fact which Constantino Bayle has attributed to the schools being considered commonplace, unremarkable, and therefore undeserving of mention. Constantino Bayle, \textit{España y la educación popular en América} (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1941), 236.


That is, I am not primarily concerned with ‘mining’ the reports for hints or clues regarding the operation of schools for children in the archdiocese’s Indian parishes, nor with untangling witness statements from notarial stock phrases to uncover local perspectives on Spanish language education. These are valid and potentially highly valuable approaches to the study of the extant documents, however, and I will have these goals and employ such methods in subsequent chapters. Shifting our view from visit-as-source to visit-as-subject,\textsuperscript{210} this chapter asks some fundamental questions about the Archdiocese of Lima’s seventeenth-century episcopal visit: What were its primary purposes and aims? What were the principal, secondary, and even implied and tertiary concerns? How was the information in its reports compiled and recorded, and to what end? How were inspections and interviews conducted and what changes occurred throughout the century?

I begin the discussion by situating the episcopal visit among the other various types of inspections and information-gathering endeavours that co-existed in the viceroyalty throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While noting the important differences separating the episcopal visit from administrative inspections, I also highlight their significant overlaps and similarities. Next, I focus in on the episcopal visit itself, tracing the institution from its Tridentine institution and late sixteenth-century manifestations in the Archdiocese of Lima to its diverse forms and expressions of the seventeenth century. Highlighting the institution’s emphasis on discipline and orthodoxy, I also examine its remarkable range and flexibility. As we will discover, the episcopal visit in the Archdiocese of Lima took on widely different tones according to the concerns of its various moments and directors – from the rigorous inspections of the early

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{210}Here I draw on Stoler’s wider argument about historians moving “from archive-as-source to archive-as-subject.” Ibid., 44.}
extirpation period, to the relatively relaxed visits of prelates who took a more patient, tolerant approach to Indian religiosity in the archdiocese. With this sense of how the episcopal visit developed over the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, I return to focus on the small town of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba and the rituals and methods of its well-documented mid-seventeenth-century episcopal visit.

1. Inspections in the Viceroyalty of Peru

The parish inspection carried out by Diego de Vergara y Aguiar in San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba in 1649 was part of a visita pastoral – an episcopal visit. Alternatively known as a diocesan visit, such inspections were a long-established institution of the Catholic Church, whereby archbishops, bishops or their appointed visitors travelled to each of the parishes within their dioceses to ensure both priests and parishioners were fulfilling their duties, obligations, and responsibilities in a satisfactory manner.

In addition to the standard episcopal inspection several additional forms of ecclesiastical visits developed in the Andes throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These sub-visits, as it were, emerged to deal with specific issues pertaining to the Church, perceived error, and other religious challenges. Visitas secretas, for example, appear to have been carried out by ecclesiastical inspectors in response to reports of a specific “irregularity” or complaint identified within a parish. During these visits, unlike their standard counterparts, the priest in question was required to absent himself from his parish by a distance of at least two leguas before the investigation could begin.211 The seventeenth century also witnessed the development of a particularly rigorous anti-idolatry inspection for Indian parishes, known as the visita general de

211 See AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:28, f. 4r.
idolatrías, to identify, investigate, and suppress what amounted to a mixture of older surviving Andean customs, nascent religious mixtures, and Andean forms of Catholic Christian devotion classified as ‘idolatry’ by punctilious but soon scrambling Church officials. Ecclesiastical visits, however, were just one in a long line of related inspections and information-gathering missions that Andean communities and officials experienced throughout the colonial period.

Separate from such explicitly ecclesiastical inspections in the viceroyalty were various political and governmental visits. According to Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, administrative inspections in colonial Peru can be divided into three broad categories: the residencia, the pesquisa, and the administrative visita.212 While the residencia213 and pesquisa214 were localised investigations that looked into the conduct of individual functionaries or officials, the governmental visita or visit was generally a mobile inspection that was applied to an organisation or body as a whole – although, as Céspedes del Castillo notes, the collective focus of a visit did not disallow a generally roving eye or, as a result, exempt individuals from being held responsible for their actions.215

As such, the term “visit” does not refer to any one institution, but rather to a series of independent roaming inspections which, for all their general similarities, often possessed significant differences. More specific were visitas abiertas, open visits conducted by regional officials, typically at the municipal level, to ensure that public establishments and organizations

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213 Céspedes del Castillo defines the residencia as a review of an individual functionary after the completion of his term of office. This was performed by a local magistrate and was standard procedure for all functionaries in the Indies. Ibid., 988-989.
214 The pesquisa was an examination of a particular problem during a functionary’s term of office. It was a matter of the criminal courts. Ibid., 991-993.
215 Ibid., 994, 988-989.
such as *tambos* (inns or waystations along main roads), bakeries, and markets were operating up to code.\textsuperscript{216} As if the subdivisions of the working term were not complex enough, at the provincial or regional level we can speak of *visitas específicas* – or specific visits. These were solely political and administrative inspections that encompassed an entire province or region. Typically carried out by judges appointed by the *audiencias*, their sphere of interest was wide-ranging, including the examination of judicial bodies, the taxation and tribute systems, Indian parishes and labour systems, also textile mills and ranches, to name but a few of the possibilities.\textsuperscript{217} As Céspedes del Castillo notes, these regional and special inspections could be carried out independently or as part of a larger, more encompassing visit known as the *visita general*.\textsuperscript{218} The general visits, which might extend to the entire viceroyalty, were laborious, expensive, and also represented the highest level of political inspection in Spanish America throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\textsuperscript{219} Due to the amount of time, money, and effort involved, general visits – in the fullest sense of the term – were relatively uncommon in early and mid-colonial Peru. Significant attempts include the inspections carried out as early as the 1540s by Pedro de la Gasca and by Diego Briviesca de Muñatones in the 1560s.\textsuperscript{220} The Viceroyalty of Peru’s most well-known and widely studied general visit occurred under the direction of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s.\textsuperscript{221}

\textsuperscript{216} Ibid., 996-997.
\textsuperscript{217} Ibid., 998-1001.
\textsuperscript{218} Ibid., 999.
\textsuperscript{219} Ibid., 998-1008.
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid., 1012.
\textsuperscript{221} It is interesting to note that Céspedes del Castillo does not classify the visit carried out by Toledo as a *visita general*, omitting it entirely from his discussion. While I can only speculate on his reasonings, it is likely that he viewed Toledo’s visit as an anomaly. Whereas General Visitors were typically appointed by the Council of the Indies and granted superior powers to that of the viceroy “in affairs related to his commission,” (My translation) “en
Francisco de Toledo, an extraordinarily motivated viceroy, assumed his post at the height of Philip II’s reign and in the wake of Spanish Catholic affirmations and aspirations arising from the Council of Trent. He undertook a general visit of the viceroyalty as part of his ambitious project for general resettlement in the Andes. This project, which intended a complete reorganization of life – religion, labour, customs, and community – attempted to resettle dispersed Indian communities away from their traditional places of devotion, into Spanish-style towns built on a grid pattern and organized around a central plaza with a parish church. To gather the information required to carry out this massive undertaking, the viceroy, along with roughly forty-two visitors, set out to inspect the viceroyalty. Each visitor was equipped with a standard questionnaire as well as a set of instructions ordering:

That you personally visit the Indians who reside in the aforementioned, their settlements, counting them, learning their ages, their dealings and agricultural holdings, any other [economic] livelihoods they have, as well as the tributes they paid in the time of the Inka and any they owe now, and [finally] what would be best that they give going forward...

asuntos de su comisión.” Toledo undertook the general visit himself, without full authority or support from the Council of the Indies or the King. Ibid., 1005, 1009. See also Mumford, Vertical Empire, chap. 5.


223 As noted by Noble David Cook, Toledo’s visitors included Damián de la Bander in Potosí, Juan de Matienzo in La Plata, Íñigo de Ayala in La Paz, Fray Pedro Gutiérrez Flores in Chucuito and Juan Maldonado Buendía in Arequipa. Noble David Cook, introduction to Collaguas II: Lari Collaguas, ed. David J. Robinson (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2003), xxi. See also Mumford, Vertical Empire.

224 (My translation) “Que visitéis personalmente, los indios que están en la susodicha y sus pueblos, contándoles y sabiendo las edades que han, y sus tratos y grangerías y posibilidades que tienen, y los tributos que daban en tiempo del Inga y los que dan agora, y lo que será bien que den adelante…” Cook, introduction, xxi-xxii,
Inspectors were also instructed to draw up specific plans for the resettlement of the Indian communities in each repartimiento, indicating the “best locations for new towns, with access to water, good local resources, and healthful breezes.”

Resettled communities were to be granted “municipal self-government” in the form of cabildos – town councils – comprised of elected indigenous officials. Although evidence suggests that the ‘success’ of Toledo’s resettlement campaign was short-lived, the inspections of the 1570s give a sense of the potential power and range of the general visit as a tool of governance and administration. Such tours had significant and long-lasting impacts on Andean peoples, as communities that came under inspection and were subjected to resettlement struggled to maintain, negotiate and redefine Andean lifeways – from ethnic identities, through labour, to social relations and much else besides. In the eyes of Andean chronicler and litigant, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the general resettlement under Toledo – or at least the failure of its ideals, as typified during the inspection visits – undermined the foundations of Andean social order, resulting in a post-conquest society that he described as a “world upside down.”

In the face of our need to both distinguish between the various forms of inspection that emerged and co-existed in viceregal Peru, and to understand concerns around Spanish language instruction within them, it is vital to point out that on the ground, boundaries were frequently much blurrier. Civil and ecclesiastical inspectors appear to have collaborated to a certain extent –

225 Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 87.
226 Ibid., 146.
227 For more on the failure of resettlement see Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, chap. 9-10.
particularly in the sixteenth century. The general visit of the viceroyalty completed in the 1570s by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and his army of general visitors is a prime example. As Jeremy Ravi Mumford has noted, each of Toledo’s general visitors was accompanied by a team of assistants, including a bailiff, a notary, a translator as well as an ecclesiastical inspector who was charged with evaluating “the performance of priests in the Andean communities.”229 Thus, ecclesiastical and civil inspectors worked side-by-side to evaluate all aspects of community life, while maintaining a distinction between their respective duties and jurisdictions.

Toledo’s well-documented general visit is instructive for our purposes, showcasing the way in which various types of civil and ecclesiastical inspections co-existed and cooperated in the viceroyalty, collectively creating a climate of observation. Frequent and regular inspections reminded Andean communities of the existence of an external and often distant authority, and, perhaps more importantly, they provided metropolitan rulers with a sense of control over the far flung and often tenuously held territories and populations of the viceroyalty. The thousands of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inspection records that can be found today in archives across Spain and Peru are a testament not only to imperial ambition and the diligence of on-the-ground civil and ecclesiastical inspectors but also to viceregal officials’ interest in preserving these records. As Timothy Mitchell has argued in consideration of another imperial context, the data compiled by colonial inspectors, surveyors, and geographers not only served as important tools of governance and administration for distant colonial officials, but, in many ways, also became the foundation upon which governance itself became imaginable and might be perpetuated. Indeed, the colonization and colonial rule of unknown and unfamiliar peoples and territories

229 Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 86.
could not be ‘real’ until these were made comprehensible, definable, and “picture-like and legible” for governing officials.\textsuperscript{230}

This was as true of early modern European settings – which Robert Muchembled notes witnessed the rise of “efficacious means of surveillance” of populations through the recording of key life events (birth, baptism, marriage, death) in parish records – as of Spanish colonial endeavours in the Americas.\textsuperscript{231} As Heidi V. Scott has demonstrated for the Peruvian viceroyalty in particular, the reign of Philip II (1556-1598) was characterised by several attempts to make the regions and peoples under Spanish rule ‘legible’ by reducing them to illustrations, maps, numbers, and written descriptions. Beginning in the late sixteenth century the Council of the Indies issued a series of questionnaires to American municipalities requesting written descriptions of the pre-Hispanic history of the locale, the social and political organization of indigenous peoples, the history of the establishment of the town, the physical landscape, the flora and fauna, prevalent diseases and their cures as well as the religious organization of the town.\textsuperscript{232} These questionnaires – whose responses were a form of cartographic literature known as the \textit{relaciones geográficas} – represent an attempt to make the Americas familiar by ‘reducing them to paper,’ naming, identifying, and recording all manner of descriptions in a quickly comprehensible and comparable format.

Although the questionnaires used by episcopal visitors in their parish inspections differed significantly – both in content and method – from those issued by the Council of the Indies, the

\textsuperscript{230} Mitchell, \textit{Colonising Egypt}, 33.
\textsuperscript{232} Heidi V. Scott, \textit{Contested Territory: Mapping Peru in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries} (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).
episcopal causas de visitas grew from a deeply similar motivation to that which summoned the relaciones geográficas. Not merely providing Lima-based officials with evidence that wide-ranging inspection had actually occurred, the causas de visitas also compiled information about parishes, problems, and notable matters across the archdiocese. Examined and then stowed away in Lima’s archiepiscopal archive, these reports reassured Church officials about the efficacy of evangelization and maintenance of prescribed lifeways.\textsuperscript{233} Even the archdiocese’s most remote Indian parishes remained ‘legible,’ organisable, and thereby correctable and under their command.

2. The Episcopal Visit: A Tridentine Institution in the Archdiocese of Lima

Born of the Council of Trent, the seventeenth-century episcopal visit was an ecclesiastical institution that was fundamentally concerned with discipline and orthodoxy. Affecting the clergy and laity alike, regular parish inspections were intended, in the words of Tridentine reformers, “to lead to sound and orthodox doctrine, by banishing heresies; to maintain good morals, and to correct such as are evil; to animate the people, by exhortations and admonitions, to religion, peacefulness, and innocence…”\textsuperscript{234}

Across the early modern Spanish world and the rest of Catholic Europe, however, the episcopal visit had long existed as an ecclesiastical institution. Indeed, the origins of the visit in the Mediterranean basin and wider Europe can be dated to the apostolic period and, more

\textsuperscript{233} According to the catalogue of the Sección de causas de visitas pastorales (eclesiásticas), the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima holds over 1,100 individual expedientes.\textsuperscript{234} Waterworth ed., Council of Trent, 209.
concretely, to the Gersonian reforms of the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{235} In Peru, legislation regarding the ecclesiastical visit appeared soon after the Spanish invasion and the ensuing civil wars. The decrees of the First Provincial Council of Lima ordered prelates to personally inspect the towns and churches under their jurisdictions to correct the ritual observances and general behaviour of both priests and parishioners.\textsuperscript{236} The degree to which this legislation was carried out is unclear, although if visitation patterns from across the Iberian Peninsula in the early sixteenth century are any indication, implementation was uneven at best.\textsuperscript{237} The scantiness of ecclesiastical visitation records from the Viceroyalty of Peru during this period only confirms that impression.\textsuperscript{238}

It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century, in the reformative spirit of the Council of Trent, that we witness a large-scale and more seriously enforceable attempt to impose the episcopal visit systematically throughout the Catholic world. Chapter three of the twenty-fourth session of the Tridentine Council declared:

Patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, and bishops shall not fail to visit their respective dioceses, either personally, or, if they be lawfully hindered, by their Vicar-general, or


\textsuperscript{236}In the event that they were prevented from doing so - due to illness or other justifiable reasons – they were to appoint visitadores to fulfill their obligation. \textit{Primer concilio provincial limense}, 1: 57-58.

\textsuperscript{237}As Henry Kamen notes of peninsular Catalonia, the parish of Sant Quinti de Mediona and its surrounding region was inspected in 1522 and not again until 1559. Henry Kamen, \textit{The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation} (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 16-17. Contemporary inspection records from the peninsular diocese of Cartagena are equally uneven. See Antonio Irigoyen López and José Jesús García Hourcade, eds., \textit{Visitas ad limina de la diócesis de Cartagena 1589-1901}, trans. and selection of Latin texts Miguel Angel Olom (Murcia: Universidad Católica de San Antonio, 2001), 26.

\textsuperscript{238}It is worth emphasizing that a general visit of the viceroyalty was carried out in the 1550s through the joint efforts of Viceroy Pedro de la Gasca and Archbishop Jerónimo de Loayza. While uneven in practice, like Toledo’s general visit of the 1570s described above, this earlier inspection also appears to have been full of ideals, including aspects of the ecclesiastical visit in what was to be a much broader administrative inspection. Noble David Cook describes this inspection as a tour for tribute appraisal, noting that few records have been located. Cook, introduction, xviii.
visitor; if they shall not be able on account of its extent, to make their visitation of the whole annually, they shall visit at least the greater part thereof, so that the whole shall be completed in two years, either by themselves, or by their visitors.\textsuperscript{239}

The Tridentine decrees arrived in Peru in 1565 and efforts to implement them, just as was being done in a peninsular Valencia, Cuenca, or Castile, began in 1567 with the Second Provincial Council of Lima.\textsuperscript{240} The Council not only reiterated earlier ecclesiastical injunctions requiring bishops to personally inspect their dioceses, but issued a series of detailed guidelines for visitors to follow. Constitution 112 of the Council’s decrees ordered

When visiting a parish, first preach a sermon or give a talk to the townspeople. Then, the visitor is to gather information about the priest: how he administers the sacraments, paying particular attention to the sacrament of penance; how he teaches the word of God; whether he recites his daily Liturgy of the Hours; whether he administers the sacraments in the church; whether he has the host, chrism, and Holy oils safely stored; whether he ensures the Church ornaments are clean. In addition, the visitor shall inspect the priest's title [or appointment] and record of canonical ordination, examine whether his clerical garments are decent, and whether his household lives honestly. The visitor shall confiscate any suspicious books he may find, and in all of his actions he is to behave modestly and with caution, punishing any offenses according to their degree and type.\textsuperscript{241}

\textsuperscript{239} Waterworth, ed., \textit{Council of Trent}, 208-209.


\textsuperscript{241} (My translation) “Que cuando se visita alguna parroquia lo primero se haga un sermón o plática al pueblo, después el visitador se ynforme de la vida del cura, cómo administra los sacramentos, especial la penitencia, cómo
For all its specificity, the immediate impact of the Trent-inspired decrees of the Second Provincial Council of Lima was quite limited. Peru, as a nascent Catholic place, was not prepared. Evidence does suggest, however, that already in the late 1560s the ecclesiastical visit at least was gaining currency as a means by which to identify and suppress religious ‘errors’ among indigenous peoples – even if this spectrum of offenses most often collected under the blanket term of ‘idolatry’ grew increasingly nebulous across the Archdiocese of Lima.

Perhaps the most extensive and certainly the most widely studied of the emerging ecclesiastical inspections to take place in the wake of the Second Provincial Council was the inspection of Huamanga conducted by Cristóbal de Albornoz between 1568 and 1570.242 Having ostensibly been sent to the region to investigate a number of encomenderos who were remiss in their tithe payments, the manner in which Albornoz’s inspection transformed is as instructive about the range and flexibility of the institution as it is about growing contemporary concern with indigenous error. During the course of his visit Albornoz claimed to have discovered what he and others characterized as a subversive Indian religious movement known as Taki Onqoy.243 Members of this movement reportedly preached the return of pre-Hispanic ancestral divinities,
known as *huacas*, and the imminent defeat of the Christian deity and his Spanish purveyors. While Albornoz’s contemporary and fellow priest, Cristóbal de Molina, described the movement as a total rejection of Spanish religion, customs, and material culture,\textsuperscript{244} Albornoz himself noted the important and considerably more complex role played by Indios Ladinos in the movement, complete with compelling if (for Catholic officials) disturbing evidence, a detail that is suggestive of a far more syncretic reality.\textsuperscript{245} Despite differing accounts, most unsettling for Church officials was confirmation of the participation of previously converted Indian communities in these activities, a behaviour that fueled further concerns as well as debates over the effectiveness of early evangelization attempts in the viceroyalty. Albornoz’s attempt to characterize strategically and suppress the movement as a sect-like threat in Huamanga by punishing its known practitioners and key followers offers a clear example of the visit’s potential to be wielded as an anti-idolatry and inquisition-like disciplinary institution.

Something resembling the Tridentine ideal of the episcopal visit became possible in the Archdiocese of Lima in the last decade of the sixteenth century following the implementation of a parish system as a result two decades of administrative and ecclesiastical restructuring under the direction of the abovementioned Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Under this system’s


\textsuperscript{245} “These Incas always wanted to regain these kingdoms by any means possible, [...] and finding no better way than by their religion and by resuscitating its preaching, they procured Ladino Indians raised among us, and brought them inside with gifts and promises. And they scattered them through all the provinces of Peru [...] praying and exhorting all the people who were faithful to their lord to believe that the huacas were returning...” Cristóbal de Albornoz, cited in Mumford, “The Taki Onqoy,” 154-155.
prescribed ideal, the parish priest was to be the centre of religious life for all parishioners. Much as in Catholic Europe, and as Bossy describes,

the faithful Catholic was to attend Mass every Sunday and holy-day in his parish church. He was to receive the Church’s sacraments, other than confirmation, from the hands of his parish priest, who would baptize him, marry him, give him the extreme unction on his deathbed, and bury him. He would receive the Eucharist at least once a year, at Eastertide, and with the same regularity the priest would hear and absolve his sins in the sacrament of penance.\textsuperscript{246}

In the Peruvian parishes for Indians, parishioners were placed under the jurisdiction of a specific priest, known as a \textit{doctrinero} or \textit{cura de indios}, from whom they were to receive regular catechetical instruction in their native language.\textsuperscript{247}

Connected to the implementation of the Tridentine parish system was the objective to impose ecclesiastical discipline and obedience. Indeed, many Tridentine legates viewed the lax discipline, “depraved manners,” and inadequate education of the clergy as root causes of the spread of heresy and dissent throughout Catholic Europe.\textsuperscript{248} After Trent, and in the spirit of exemplary contemporary prelates such as Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan (1566-1584) in Italy and Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia (1569-1611) in Spain, bishops and their visitors personally inspected parishes across Catholic Europe to ensure that both priests and

\textsuperscript{246} It is important to note that the parish system was not invented by Trent. At the time of the Council, much of the legislation regarding parish life was already theoretically in effect across Europe. What changed with Trent, as Bossy points out, was the uniformity and rigor with which the parish system would be enforced and implemented across the entire Catholic world. John Bossy, “The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe,” \textit{Past and Present} 47 (May, 1970): 52.
\textsuperscript{247} \textit{Segundo concilio provincial limense}, 1: 240. It is important to note that the term \textit{doctrinero} refers to both secular and regular clergymen stationed in Indian parishes, while \textit{cura de indios} applies specifically to secular priests.
\textsuperscript{248} Waterworth, ed., \textit{Council of Trent}, 49.
parishioners were fulfilling their obligations. In Lima, reformers had likewise contended that religious ‘error’ and backsliding among the Indian population were the result of an ineffective early evangelization carried out by a largely unregulated clergy, predominantly members of religious orders, but also diocesan priests. The post-Tridentine episcopal visit provided a means by which bishops and their visitors could keep all parish priests in check. They were to scrutinize parish priests’ behaviour, linguistic competence, clothing, their parish records, the frequency with which they held mass and administered the sacraments, the state in which they kept the ornaments of the church, as well as their relationship with their parishioners.

The Tridentine parish system also required a similarly rigorous level of discipline and obedience among the laity. As Keith Luria has noted in the context of early modern France, reformers strove to ensure that the Catholicism being practiced in local parishes adhered to the doctrines of the universal church. This meant eradicating many local customs and beliefs, redefining them as ‘sinful superstitions,’ and ensuring that all parishioners attended mass and took confession regularly. The aforementioned Carlo Borromeo, as Archbishop of Milan, established a meticulous observance of the episcopal visit that would set a standard for the rest of Europe and beyond, outlining the kind of parishioner behaviour that visitors were to be on the lookout for. These included “separated spouses; those who did not take Pascal communion; those

249 Ribera was a tireless supporter of the episcopal visit during his tenure as archbishop of Valencia. As Ehlers describes, the prelate “dedicated three or four months each year to the personal visitation of his diocese” and, in total, he and his “diocesan visitors carried out more than twenty-seven hundred visitations of the churches and monasteries of Valencia, compiling some ninety thousand folio pages of records detailing their observations and instructions.” Unfortunately, these records were burned during the Spanish Civil War. Ehlers, Between Christians and Moriscos, 81.

250 Pablo José de Arriaga, La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú, (Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 1621), 22, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor-din/la-extirpacion-de-la-idolatria-en-el-peru--0/html/. This notion is discussed in greater depth in chapter 3.

251 Luria, Territories of Grace, 60.

252 Ibid., 5.
who sold or read forbidden books; those who frequented banquets, dances, and taverns; and those who dressed indecently, gambled, or committed sexual improprieties.”\textsuperscript{253} The goal was to suppress any behaviour deemed dangerous or contrary to Church doctrine. Indeed, historians of early modern Europe, including Peter Burke and Robert Muchembled, have asserted that the visits carried out by Borromeo and his contemporaries formed part of what amounted to “a systematic attempt by members of the [Catholic] elite…to reform the culture of ordinary people.”\textsuperscript{254} Recent scholarship has nuanced our understanding of this process. Michael Mullet, for his part, has demonstrated that reform was a dynamic process, initiating and evolving not only in external, ‘elite’ centres, but also within communities themselves.\textsuperscript{255} And William Christian Jr.’s examination of religion in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms calls into question not only the utility but also the accuracy of distinguishing between ‘elite’ and ‘popular’ religiosity. He argues for an understanding of religious observance rooted in local settings.\textsuperscript{256} Thus, while the Tridentine decrees aimed at the reform of the universal Roman Catholic Church are clear, any understanding of Catholic reform must also keep in mind the dynamics and initiatives of religious observance in local settings.

Legates in Peru had compiled a list similar to the one issued by Borromeo. It ordered inspectors to seek out and punish individuals who were known to be public sinners, heretics, witches, diviners, practitioners of superstitions, blasphemers, devil worshippers, or money

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{253} Ibid., 60.
\item \textsuperscript{254} Peter Burke, \textit{Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. (Cornwall: MPGBooks Ltd., [1978] 2009), 322. See also Muchembled, \textit{Popular Culture and Elite Culture}.
\item \textsuperscript{255} Michael Mullett, \textit{Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe} (London: Croom Helm, 1987).
\item \textsuperscript{256} Christian, \textit{Local Religion}. For a comprehensive discussion of the primary critiques of the “elite reform of popular culture” thesis, see Burke’s introduction to the third edition of his \textit{Popular Culture}.
\end{itemize}
lenders. Five constitutions decreed by the Second Provincial Council of Lima had laid out the instructions clearly:

Constitution 114. Also find out whether there are public sins such as adultery or false oaths; whether the decrees of the Church and holy days and fast days are observed; whether the sacraments are received; and whether the other decrees of the bishop are obeyed.

Constitution 115. That heretics be investigated and prosecuted according to the law; and that those who sow error among the Indians be discovered and separated from the rest, and if they persist, they are to be rigorously punished by the clergy.

Constitution 117. Also spell casters, fortune tellers, and [practitioners of] heretical superstitions are to be investigated, and thus, they, as well as those who consult them, are to be punished and in the case of clergymen, [they are to be] suspended.

Constitution 118. That blasphemers be punished by the clergy with public penance.

Constitution 119. That devil worshippers and usurers be prosecuted with full rigour.

Official efforts to reorganize and reform the Andean Church according to Toledo’s Tridentine principles culminated in 1582 with the commencement of the Third Provincial Council in Lima under the supervision of Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo, the newly installed

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257 Segundo concilio provincial limense, 1: 238-239. (My translation) “Constitución. 114. Yten se informen si ay pecados públicos como adúlteros o juramentos falsos, si se guardan las censuras de la iglesia y los días de fiesta y de ayuno, si se reciven los sacramentos y si hace las demás cosas que el obispo tuviere ordenado.
Constitución. 115. Que se pesquise contra los heréticos y se proceda conforme a derecho, y entre los indios se bea quien siembra herrores y los que tal hicieron sean apartados de los demás, y si todavía pasaren adelante sean rigurosamente castigados por los diocesanos.
Constitución. 117. Yten hagan pesquissa contra los sortílegos, adivinos o supersticiones especial teniendo resavio de heregía, y así estos como los que los consulten sean castigados y si fueren clérigos suspendidos.
Constitución. 118. Que los blasfememos sean por los diocesanos castigados con pública penitencia.
Constitución. 119. Que contra los demoníacos y usureros se proceda con todo rigor.”
archbishop of Lima and former Inquisitor of the Holy Office in Granada. In preparation for the Council, Mogrovejo had spent roughly six months inspecting the region south of Lima towards Nazca – a prelude to a long career as archbishop-visitor – where he gained what he himself described as “clarity and light about the things that the Council [would] treat regarding the native peoples.” Unlike the earlier Lima Councils that had issued separate sets of legislation for Spanish and Indian parishioners, Mogrovejo’s collaborators in the Third Provincial Council drafted a single list of decrees for “one church composed of multiple ethnic groups.” The resulting ordinances and publications effectively brought Trent to Peru; not only determining the direction of the Andean church for the subsequent century but also serving as a blueprint for the Third Provincial Mexican Council which would follow in 1585. After receiving royal approval in 1586, the Council’s judgements were adopted by the dioceses of “La Plata, Arequipa, Trujillo, Cuzco, Asunción del Paraguay, Concepción de Chile, Nicaragua, Panamá, Quito, Tucumán [and] Popayán.”

Immediately following the conclusion of the Third Provincial Council in Lima, Archbishop Mogrovejo set out on his first extended inspection of his archdiocese. His tour was a monumental one that lasted nearly seven years. He returned to Lima in 1591 only to embark on

259 McGlone, “The King’s Surprise,” 71.
260 Ibid., 70. The Third Mexican Council was presided over by Mogrovejo’s contemporary, Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras. Like Mogrovejo, Moya was known for his painstaking dedication to the institution of the visit. However, the nature of the inspections carried out by these two prelates differed considerably. Whereas Mogrovejo carried out numerous episcopal visits, Moya’s famous three-year inspection between 1583 and 1586 was administrative in nature. The archbishop, who also doubled as viceroy of New Spain between 1584 and 1585, had embarked on an inspection of the civil government of the viceroyalty at the Crown’s behest. See Stafford Poole, Pedro Moya de Contreras: Catholic Reform and Royal Power in New Spain, 1571-1591 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011).
another visit-inspection just two years later. A third tour commenced in 1601 and his plans to complete a fourth were cut short in 1605 by an illness that would eventually take his life in the following year in the north coastal port of Paita. In total, Mogrovejo spent roughly seventeen of his twenty-five years as archbishop on the road.262 Recent historiography has portrayed him as an exemplary archbishop-visitor, even a “rural bishop” and a “travelling prelate,” attributing his long years on the road to his preference for direct contact with his parishioners – particularly with his Indian neophytes.263

Despite beginning his career in Granada where, as a young man, he served for a period as an Inquisitor, in the Archdiocese of Lima Mogrovejo did not operate the episcopal visit as an inquisition-like or anti-idolatry institution. Whereas Cristóbal de Albornoz, the ecclesiastical visitor of Huamanga in the late 1560s, had found an Andean countryside teeming with treacherous, idolatrous Indians, Mogrovejo, instead, encountered what he saw to be deeply impoverished communities of people in the process of difficult changes.264 In a memorial written to King Philip II in 1585, Mogrovejo described the suffering that Indians endured at the hands of corrupt Spanish officials: “There are many poor people in all of the pueblos, widows in terrible poverty who have no earthly sustenance [...] money is put into the treasuries and is in the power of the corregidores and they do not help these poor miserable souls with any kind of food or

262 McGlone, “The King’s Surprise,” 74.
264 The challenges facing Andean communities noted by Mogrovejo were the result of several decades of social and political upheaval, as well as catastrophic demographic decline in the wake of the disintegration of the Inka state, the European invasion and the subsequent colonization of the Andes in the sixteenth century. For a concise summary and discussion of these events which seriously challenged “the capacity of Andean societies to maintain and reproduce themselves” (930) see Spalding, “The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies,” 904-972.
other human thing, something certainly beneath the dignity of a Spanish nation…”265 On several occasions the archbishop aligned himself with aggrieved Indian communities, taking action against corrupt corregidores – a stance that earned him a number of enemies.266 During his frequent parish visits, the archbishop appears to have found more ‘error’ among Spanish officials than “amidst the rites and customs of the native people.”267 The contrast between Albornoz and Mogrovejo’s approaches to the inspection of Indian communities is a stark one, reminding us once again that, on the ground, the reformative aims of the episcopal visit could take different shapes; at times lenient, patient, while at others rigorous and unforgivingly thorough, disciplinary and even violent in nature. Both formed integral parts of the Spanish colonial project in the Andes.

Mogrovejo’s notaries drafted a concise report of each parish visitation, producing, in total, more than 300 (double-sided) folios.268 Although little is known about the daily execution of the visitations, in contrast to the hagiographic depictions of each of the actions of this future saint, the written records of his long visitations suggest that Mogrovejo was not a stickler when it came to conforming to the Tridentine ideal of the episcopal visit – at least on paper. In point of fact, moving from one corregimiento to the next, the reports identify the towns and annexes of each parish, record their distance in leguas from neighboring parishes, and list their churches, textile mills, hospitals, and their respective incomes and resources. Population estimates also feature

265 “Memorial from Toribio to Philip II,” 02-IV-1585, cited in McGlone, “The King’s Surprise,” 75.
266 In his memorial to Philip II, Mogrovejo complained of the opposition he faced: “I have proceeded against a corregidor [guilty of withholding the funds for native hospitals] and he went to the royal Audiencia of Lima where he was able to absolve himself….Having seen the suffering of these people, I will proceed against him, doing everything I know how to do in their defense, so that the churches, hospitals and indios do not remain in such need. I will proceed against the corregidor with all the means of the law until what has been ordered is effected…” Ibid., 76.
267 McGlone, “The King’s Surprise,” 77.
268 Published as José Antonio Benito, ed., Libro de visitas de Santo Toribio Mogrovejo (1593-1605) (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2006).
prominently in the reports; parishioners were not only counted but also organized into categories – tax-payers, the elderly, baptized and un-baptized, single women, and children. The emphasis on reducing the parishes to numerical data – a geographical distance, a monetary value, a number of ‘souls’ – suggests that Mogrovejo’s visitation tours represented more than Tridentine reform. Here was also an ambitious attempt to make the Archdiocese of Lima’s parishes and parishioners less distant, and more ‘legible,’ definable, and governable.

Mogrovejo’s successor, Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (1609-1622) was a much more sedentary and urban prelate, preferring to stay in Lima to tend to the ‘neglected’ metropolitan Church. Nevertheless, the ecclesiastical visit remained a central part of his governance plan and, under his direction, the institution developed significantly, taking on a shape that would endure – albeit with significant alterations and nuances – for the remainder of the century.

Historiographically, Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero is best known for having developed what might be called the idolatry branch of the ecclesiastical visit in the archdiocese. In October 1609, shortly after his arrival in the metropolitan see, the prelate was visited by Francisco de Ávila, a priest from the highland parish of San Damián de Huarochirí. Reversing years of apparently peaceful coexistence with his flock, quite probably in attempt to counteract damning charges brought against his conduct by his own parishioners, Ávila accused these same parishioners of apostasy and idolatry, while claiming that their errors were widespread.

throughout the region. Soon after, the archbishop – with the support of Viceroy Francisco de Borja, the Prince of Esquilache, and members of the Society of Jesus – launched the first systematic anti-idolatry investigations in the archdiocese, known as the extirpation of idolatry. To this end, a new type of ecclesiastical visitor post was created: the visitador general de idolatrías. These idolatry inspectors were granted powers superior to those of episcopal visitors and were authorized to carry out their parish inspections independently of the regular episcopal visitations in the archdiocese. The system envisioned by viceregal officials would see two sets of parish visitations being carried out concurrently; one tightly focused on identifying and correcting Indian ‘idolatry’ (in practice, a vast array of ‘errors’); the other, a more general parish inspection that examined both priestly and parishioner behavior as mandated by the Council of Trent.

Considerably less noted by historians, however, are Lobo Guerrero’s contributions to the development of the general episcopal visit, a branch of the institution that also underwent significant transformations – especially on paper – during his tenure. Whereas Mogrovejo’s visitation reports had focused primarily on quantifying, categorizing, and organizing parishes and parishioners, under the direction of Lobo Guerrero the visitation reports began to conform more closely to the Tridentine ideal. The reports composed by visitors not only describe the physical inspection of each parish church and their record books, but also include detailed


271 As reported by Pierre Duviois, Lobo Guerrero had issued a decree ordering ordinary general visitors not to “meddle in anything related to the idolatry inspections, and not to inquire into how [the idolatry inspectors] carry out their business and to allow [the idolatry inspectors] to perform their duties freely.” (My translation) “…no se entremetan en cosa alguna tocante a la dicha ydolatria ni en ynquirir como procedistes en ellas y os dejen hacer vuestro oficio libremente.” Cited in Duviois, introductory study to Procesos y visitas, 40.
transcriptions of witness testimony. In each parish roughly three prominent community members were selected to appear before the visitor to respond to a questionnaire regarding their priest’s behaviour and their community’s religious observance in general. Each witness, who was identified by name, age, profession, and place of birth, was sworn in by the visitor before being submitted to questioning. A notary was present to transcribe their responses, and was responsible for reading the report back to the witness who was then required to ratify the document with his signature. During Lobo Guerrero’s prelacy, and for the remainder of the century, such witness testimonies are often the primary focus of inspection reports from the archdiocese – a characteristic which, to some extent, distinguishes the viceregal visitas from their peninsular counterparts. Indeed, Henry Kamen notes that, in Catalonia, post-Tridentine inspectors increasingly focused on, described, and issued instructions pertaining to the material state of the Catholic faith – the upkeep of church premises, the state of the high altar, the proper care for the ornaments of the church, and the cording off of cemeteries. Visitors in the Archdiocese of Lima, while rarely ever completely neglecting the material state of Andean parishes, focused primarily on issues of religious observance, behaviour, morals, and indoctrination. Also notably absent from the reports drafted under the direction of Lobo Guerrero are the geographical referents, population counts, and salary calculations that characterize Mogrovejo’s earlier visitation records.

273 It is worth noting that AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg: 8 holds roughly 50 parish census records known as padrones. Although the records are undated, it seems they were composed sometime during an episcopal visit but were catalogued separately from the visitation report. In addition, the 1613 Lima Synod, celebrated during Lobo Guerrero’s tenure, ordered that priests of Indian parishes prepare a “general register of inhabitants every two years, indicating in each of the parishes those who pay tribute and those who are exempt from tribute, those who are present and absent, married and single, elderly and young.” (My translation) “padrón general de dos en dos años, de
The shift toward a more juridical tone in the episcopal inspection records of the early seventeenth century stems, in part, from the decrees of the 1613 Lima Synod, which not only called for more rigorous episcopal visits of Indian parishes but also reiterated the order that visitors personally interrogate witnesses. In addition, operating against the backdrop of the extirpation of idolatry trials, the episcopal visit acquired a measure of the seriousness and attention to detail of its sister branch. Whatever the immediate causes, the questionnaire- and testimony-based episcopal inspection that developed during Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero’s tenure would endure for the remainder of the century.

Following his death in November of 1622, Lobo Guerrero was succeeded by Madrid native, Gonzalo de Campo. The new archbishop took up his post in Lima in 1625 and was soon presented with conflicting accounts about the extent of Indian ‘idolatry’ in the archdiocese. In order to resolve his uncertainty on the issue, he set out to personally inspect the rural parishes of his diocese on what appears to have been a general episcopal visit that extended into the domain of idolatry. In doing so, the archbishop effectively blurred the lines between the two branches of the institution that Lobo Guerrero had attempted to keep separate.

274 Lobo Guerrero, Constituciones sinodales, 54. “All of the abovementioned is to be carried out in the inspection of Churches and Indian Towns, except that the Priests are to be more rigorously inspected and scrutinized.” (My translation) “Ytem, en las visitas de las Iglesias, y Pueblos de Indios se guardará todo, lo que huviere lugar de los sobredicho, excepto, que sus Curas han de ser con mas diligencia visitados, y escudriñados…”

275 Ibid., 95. “Visitors are to personally examine the witnesses, and those who do not know the Spanish language are to be examined with the help of two interpreters.” (My translation) “Que los visitadores examinen los testigos por sus personas, y a los que no supieren la lengua española sea con dos interpretes.”

276 Kenneth Mills discusses the “ecclesiastical discord” regarding the extirpation that Gonzalo de Campo encountered upon his arrival in Lima in 1625. See Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 37.

277 Heidi V. Scott demonstrates that Gonzalo de Campo undertook the inspection tour “to determine the truth about native idolatries.” Scott, Contested Territory, 104. The only visitation report that I have been able to locate from his
To date, few of Gonzalo de Campo’s visitation reports have been located, making it difficult to gauge the extent and intensity of his tour.\textsuperscript{278} In his correspondence with Philip IV, however, the archbishop provides valuable clues. De Campo describes himself as a meticulous inspector, boasting that, “there remains no corner [of the archdiocese] that I have not visited,”\textsuperscript{279} and claiming to have encountered many communities “contaminated” by “idolatries and heresies of the worst kind.”\textsuperscript{280} His plans for reform, however, were cut short by his sudden death in December of 1626.\textsuperscript{281}

Gonzalo de Campo was replaced by American-born Hernando Arias de Ugarte. Although not a supporter of the anti-idolatry investigations in Indian parishes, Arias de Ugarte was an extensive traveller and active parish inspector throughout the 1630s. Between 1631 and 1632 he travelled inland from Lima to visit the highland provinces of Huarochirí,\textsuperscript{282} Cerro de Pasco,\textsuperscript{283} and Junín,\textsuperscript{284} before returning to inspect the coastal region of Ica.\textsuperscript{285} The following year Arias de Ugarte ventured out again, this time moving north of Lima to Chancay\textsuperscript{286} and Ancash.\textsuperscript{287} By 1634 he had travelled south to the region of Yauyos,\textsuperscript{288} and journeyed northward again in 1636 to Cajatambo.\textsuperscript{289}

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tour is clearly a general episcopal inspection record. See AGI, Lima 301 “Visita de la doctrina y pueblo de Aucayama,” 11-IV-1625.
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\textsuperscript{278} Lima’s Archiepiscopal Archive’s Visita Pastoral section holds no episcopal visitation records for 1625-1626.
\textsuperscript{279} AGI, Lima 302 “Arzobispo de Lima a S.M,” 08-X-1626, cited in Scott, Contested Territory, 104.
\textsuperscript{280} Ibid., 105.
\textsuperscript{281} Kenneth Mills notes that the prelate may have died of poisoning. Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 37.
\textsuperscript{282} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:7
\textsuperscript{283} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:2
\textsuperscript{284} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 17:7
\textsuperscript{285} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:10.
\textsuperscript{286} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:4
\textsuperscript{287} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 1:13
\textsuperscript{288} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:4
\textsuperscript{289} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:5
Although Arias de Ugarte’s episcopal visitation reports are similar to those composed during the tenure of Lobo Guerrero – both hinging on witness testimony – the collective tenor of his reports is more lax, appearing at times even unconcerned with error. In several parishes the given priest himself is the only ‘witness’ interviewed (about his own conduct), giving the brief reports a perfunctory and decidedly less trial-like quality. The reports are also generally lacking in details. All mentions of the physical inspection process are omitted, as is the questionnaire used by the archbishop. Arias Ugarte’s relatively relaxed approach to the episcopal visit seems to reflect his overall stance on meaningful conversion and religious devotion: As Mills has demonstrated, Arias de Ugarte “questioned the very existence of idolatry as a problem” in his archdiocese, preferring a gentler, more tolerant treatment of Indian neophytes, and, I would add, a less inquisitorial episcopal visit. In his opening statement to the Lima Synod of 1636, the archbishop himself describes his approach to the visit, revealingly, as a sort of middle path, avoiding all extremes:

In the [episcopal] visit and in our Holy Church [in general], we have not proceeded with so much carelessness that we cannot hope for Our Lord's mercy for our oversights, nor with so much care and diligence that we do not have great reason and cause to fear his justice for our many defects, omissions, and negligence…

As the varied experiences and paper trails of Albornoz, Mogrovejo, Lobo Guerrero, de Campo, and Arias de Ugarte demonstrate, the episcopal visit in the Archdiocese of Lima was far

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290 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:4; Leg 22:2.
291 Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 37, 161.
292 (My translation) “en la dicha visita, y en esta nuestra Santa Iglesia, no hemos procedido con tanto descuido, que no podamos esperar misericordia de N[uestro] Señor de las faltas; ni con tanto cuidado, y diligencia, que no tengamos grandíssima razón, y causa, para temer su justicia, por los muchos defectos, omissions, y negligencias que hemos tenido…” Arias de Ugarte, Constituciones sinodales, 250.
from static. Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the institution continued to evolve as it was adapted to the various needs, concerns, and positions of ecclesiastical officials in the archdiocese. While Mogrovejo appears to have employed the visit as a means to minister directly to his flock as well as to strengthen his grip on the newly developing parish system, by the early seventeenth century his successor, Lobo Guerrero, had revamped and expanded the institution to combat Indian religious ‘error’ and ‘idolatry’ in the archdiocese. In the mid-1620s, Archbishop Gonzalo de Campo’s attempt to refine and build upon Lobo Guerrero’s efforts were cut short, while under the direction of his successor, Arias de Ugarte, idolatry inspections came to a complete standstill. For the following decade, without the perceived threat of Indian ‘idolatry’ activating official attention, the episcopal visit, too, appears to have relaxed considerably.

With this sense of how the episcopal visit evolved from its Tridentine and late sixteenth-century manifestations in the Archdiocese of Lima, and how it continued to adapt to the specific needs and concerns of its various moments, we return to the small town of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba in the middle of the seventeenth century.

3. Piscobamba: An Episcopal Visit in the Mid-Seventeenth Century

On 11 December 1649, the parishioners of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba experienced an episcopal visit first-hand. Having earlier that afternoon witnessed the visitor’s grand entrance into their town, parishioners were now gathered in the small church to hear him speak. Standing at the main altar, visitador Diego de Vergara y Aguiar addressed his audience in Quechua. Although we do not know the extent of his proficiency in the ecclesiastical dialect of Quechua (which, as will be discussed in the following chapter, differed significantly from the
Quechua spoken in Piscobamba), the congregation would have found his words at least increasingly familiar, having frequently heard their own priest preach in this ecclesiastical tongue. Vergara y Aguiar began by reading the official Quechua translation of the Christian doctrine issued by the Third Provincial Council of Lima in 1585. He then briefly explained the purpose of his inspection, outlining his powers as an ecclesiastical visitor, and admonishing parishioners to cooperate with him for the benefit of their parish. Due to the lateness of the hour, however, Vergara y Aguiar postponed the commencement of his inspection until the following morning. Piscobamba’s parishioners were dismissed from the church and the weary travellers retired to temporary lodgings provided by the priest.

Plate 2. The parish priest kneels obediently to greet the arriving church inspector. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Drawing 269.

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293 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:26, f. 7r.
294 Guaman Poma, El primer nueva corónica, 678 [692].
As the priest of the parochial church of Santa Ana of Lima, Diego de Vergara y Aguiar was one of several visitors appointed by Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez in the 1640s. Villagómez, a relatively urban prelate, preferred to stay in the metropolitan capital of his archdiocese, appointing visitors to carry out most of his inspection campaigns. This made him no less of an archbishop-visitor than his predecessors, however. As a younger man and bishop of Arequipa in the 1630s he had briefly replaced Juan Gutiérrez Flores as general visitor of the
vicerealty\textsuperscript{295} and had personally visited his diocese – an experience which likely solidified his conviction that regular inspections were vital to maintaining discipline and order in Andean parishes. Villagómez took office as archbishop of Lima in 1642 and immediately began enlisting the aid of clergymen to act as episcopal visitors for a series of extensive inspection tours that would encompass the entire archdiocese. The inspections conducted under Villagómez were of a decidedly more rigorous and thorough nature than those carried out by Arias de Ugarte in the previous decade.

The episcopal visit of the mid-seventeenth century took place in a climate of renewed fears of widespread Indian idolatry and backsliding. Villagómez revived the extirpation inspections seen under Lobo Guerrero in the early seventeenth century, and under his direction the episcopal visit again became intertwined – but not synonymous – with idolatry inspections. By the 1660s inspectors sent out by Villagómez carried a dual title: general, ordinary visitor and general visitor of idolatries.\textsuperscript{296} This is not altogether surprising; as Kenneth Mills has argued, Villagómez never intended the systematic “idolatry” investigations of the extirpation effort to be apart from, but rather integral to the Tridentine ideals of evangelization, pedagogy, and doctrine.\textsuperscript{297} Despite the markedly more rigorous and disciplinary bent of the idolatry branch of the ecclesiastical visit, general visitors and idolatry visitors shared the same objectives. In 1667, for example, idolatry visitor Luis Fernando de Herrera declared the objectives of his inspection to be “the reformation of the clergy and Christian people and the furthering of our Holy Catholic

\textsuperscript{295} Céspedes del Castillo, “La visita,” 1014.
\textsuperscript{296} Some of the men who held this title include Luis Fernandez de Herrera (AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:21); Bernabé de Villacorta Salcedo (AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 20:1); and Don Juan Sarmiento de Vivero (AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:8).
\textsuperscript{297} See Mills, \textit{Idolatry and Its Enemies}, chap. 6.
faith and divine cult;” a declaration which nearly paraphrased the original intents of the episcopal visit as defined in the mid-sixteenth century by the Council of Trent. The correction of religious error, he asserted (again paraphrasing Trent), was to begin with “the priest of this parish; in his way of life and habits.”

Not all ecclesiastical visits during Villagómez’s tenure were explicitly connected to the extirpation campaigns, however, and for the most part the episcopal visit continued to operate in parallel with the idolatry inspections. Our visitor in Piscobamba in 1649 held the post of general visitor rather than of idolatry – a title which gave him less authority than an idolatry inspector, but which in no way reduced his obligation to eradicate heterodox practices in the parishes he reviewed. He – like the idolatry visitor – sought to impose orthodox Catholicism throughout the archdiocese, even though his express purpose was broader.

Vergara y Aguiar’s inspection tour had begun in the fall of 1649. He had travelled north from Lima with a small party of assistants to the province of Ancash. There, in November of that year, he began his inspections. Although the region had been inspected by at least two other visitors between 1646 and 1647, the Indian parish of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba appears to have escaped their notice. Records suggest that Vergara y Aguiar’s arrival in 1649 marked the first inspection of the parish since 1642, although on this point we cannot be certain.

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298 (My translation) “la reformación del clero y pueblo cristiano y adelantamiento de n[uest]ra santa fee catolica y el culto diuino”; “cura deesta dotrina en su modo de viuir y costumbres…” AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:21, f. 3r.
299 According to Pierre Duviols, the idolatry visitor was to have pre-eminence over general episcopal visitors. Duviols, introductory study to Procesos y visitas, 40
300 The región was previously inspected by Antonio Garavito de León and Nicolás Martínez Calvero. See AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:3 – Leg 2:20.
301 Due to the incompleteness of the holdings at the Archiepiscopal Archive of Lima, this cannot be said with any certainty.
The visitor’s companions included an official translator and a notary. The Council of Trent had stressed that the visit not put an unnecessary financial burden on parishes and, as a result, visitors were encouraged to limit the size of their travelling parties. Subsequent ecclesiastical ordinances issued within the archdiocese reiterated these injunctions: The 1613 Synod of Lima had ordered that visitors “not take a larger team or company with them than needed to carry out their duty in a Christian manner [....and that they] be so moderate in their eating and drinking, as to avoid any reports that scandalize the new Indian Church.” Despite these injunctions, reports surfaced – on numerous occasions – of visitors who abused their powers for personal profit. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the native Andean noble who had once assisted the sixteenth-century visitador Albornoz and went on to compose a monumental “letter” to his king in the early seventeenth century, had issued a scathing critique of some visitors which still seemed to hold force. Guaman Poma claimed that they “are a great expense to the Indians in food [...] they have much solemnity and estate and thunder and apparatus and they bring many people and animals and commotion that disturbs the land, and thus they bother the Indians and put them to work…”

Guaman Poma’s critique provides important insights into how the ecclesiastical visit may have been received and experienced in parishes from the perspectives of Andean parishioners. Evidence suggests that many experienced the visita as an unwanted intrusion and considerable

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303 Lobo Guerrero, *Constituciones sinodales*, 77. (My translation) “no llev[en] mas aparato, ni compañía con sigo de la necessaria precisamente, para hazer su oficio christianamente....[y que] sea[n] tan moderad[os] en el comer, y beber, que no haya nota alguna, que tiene el oficio, y escandalice la Iglesia nueva de los Indios…”
305 Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica*, 682 [696]. (My translation) “Que los dichos becitadores hazen muy mucha costa de comida a los dichos yndios y….muys mucha grauedad y punto y trono y aparato y tray mucha gente y rregua y trulla que alborota la tierra. Y con ello amolesta y pone en trauajo a los dichos indios...”
burden on their community. For their part, several prominent parishioners from the *doctrina* of San Gerónimo de Omas – Pedro Sebastián Paullo, Joseph Saxa, and Cristóbal Paullo, whose case will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5 – appear to have resented the lengthy stay of a visitor in their community. The three men came under investigation after having reportedly discussed the possibility of violently expelling the unwanted and lingering inspector. 306 Ecclesiastical visits also caused considerable anxiety for some parishioners who feared the intrusion would upset their parish’s carefully negotiated consensus with a specific priest. Thus, we encounter instances such as that of the *doctrina* of San Luis de Huari (Ancash), where, in 1653, several caciques pre-emptively composed a report for *visitador* Pablo de Paredes to request specifically that their priest not be removed. 307 Clearly not all Andeans viewed or experienced the visit with the same anxiety. For some, the arrival of an inspecting official provided the welcome opportunity to air community and individual grievances against a priest – or even a parish official or community member – who was disliked or deemed to be negligent or corrupt. 308 Several witnesses from the Villa de Chancay in 1633, for example, used the presence of the visiting Archbishop Arias de Ugarte in their parish to denounce the abuses of an unpopular Mulatto *fiscal*, one Lorenço Rodriguez, and to request that he be replaced with an indigenous official. 309

The *causa de visita* compiled during Vergara y Aguiar’s inspection of Piscobamba, however, provides little insight into how parishioners received this particular visit in 1649. In the

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306 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:8.
307 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:46, f. 2-2v. A similar request was made by parishioners in Santo Tomas de Cocharmarca in 1671. See AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:36, f. 4v-6.
309 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:46, f. 2-2v.
absence of any record of complaints filed against the visitor – or the parish priest – we can only assume that propriety was observed, or, at least, that the conduct of the inspection did not so excessively stray from the synodal guidelines set out for visitors as to spur public complaints, or attract investigation or censure.310

Joan de Yllescas acted as the official translator for the inspection.311 Trusted and experienced, he had already spent two years assisting another visitor, Antonio Garavito de León, as he travelled through the regions of Ancash,312 Cajatambo,313 Cerro de Pasco,314 Huánuco,315 and Junín316 between 1646 and 1647. Although occasionally called upon to address an entire parish to provide a Quechua translation of the general edict of visitation, his assistance was primarily required in gathering testimony regarding priests’ behaviour from Quechua-speakers. When a witness was unable or unwilling to be interviewed in Spanish, Yllescas led the questioning in Quechua and related responses to the notary.317 His role in proceedings was thus substantial.

Little is known about the origins and background of this critical go-between. The only clues provided by the inspection report inform us that he was both multilingual and unable to sign his name. Such a combination suggests that his fluency in both the Quechua and Spanish languages was acquired through frequent exposure and likely informally – a powerful reminder.

310 The conduct of idolatry inspectors was subject to review. In 1622 Alvaro Nuñez de Cavañas authored Información secreta contra los Visitadores de la idolatría, hecha en la Villa de Carrión de Belasco, and in 1623 Vicente Severino oversaw a report titled Averiguación que se hizo de la conducta observada por los Visitadores durante el tiempo que les tocó ver las causas de idolatrías. See García Cabrera, Ofensas a dios, 93-121; 122-137.
311 His name also appears as Juan de Illescas in several visits.
314 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:10.
315 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:22.
316 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 17:12.
317 An example of him leading the questioning process appears in AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:8, f. 3r.
that formal schooling was neither the only, nor perhaps the principal method by which Quechua speakers came into contact with and learned Spanish. After completing the tour with Vergara y Aguiar, Yllescas would continue to work as a translator, accompanying visitors Pablo de Paredes\(^{318}\) and Gaspar de Loaisa\(^{319}\) in 1653 and Francisco Gutierrez de Guevara\(^{320}\) between 1658 and 1659. Remaining non-alphabetically literate but an active interpreter throughout his career, Yllescas disappears from the record after 1659.

Andrés Días Delgado, the notary who accompanied Vergara y Aguiar and Joan de Yllescas on their tour, was responsible for producing the *causa de visita*; the detailed report of all phases of the inspection composed piecemeal over the course of several days.\(^{321}\) Like his contemporary scribes, Días Delgado was present at each stage of the inspection to draft a corresponding report and gather participants’ signatures to ratify the event. Upon the conclusion of the inspection the priest was informed of the visitor’s final judgements and, in the case of any minor infractions, was presented with a list of ‘advertencias’ or warnings. Días Delgado, however, retained a copy of the *causa de visita* to be carried back to Lima.

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\(^{318}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:33; 15:34; 11:20.

\(^{319}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:37.

\(^{320}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:46; 2:61.

\(^{321}\) Most seventeenth-century *causas de visitas* adhered to a basic formula: an account of the priest’s reception of the visitor into the parish church, a description of the church inspection followed by witness declarations, and a summary of the visitor’s final judgements on the priest’s performance. Individual notaries, however, adapted this basic formula according to the needs and concerns of different visitors in relation to time constraints and the particular situations encountered in each parish, resulting in considerable variety within their documentary corpus. Many notaries expanded the *causa de visita* to include priestly interviews, copies of the parish’s *padrón de indios*, and letters written by caciques regarding the priest’s behaviour. In the event that witness testimony produced a civil or criminal complaint against the priest, copies of the documents pertaining to the lawsuit were also included within the *causa de visita*. In total, the *causas de visitas* could range anywhere from two to over 100 folios, with the majority of ‘uncomplicated’ cases falling around eight folios each.
Episcopal inspection records like the one drafted during Diego de Vergara y Aguiar’s inspection of Piscobamba should not be viewed as mere ‘incidental by-products’\textsuperscript{322} of the ecclesiastical institution, but rather as an integral part of the visit itself. As notary, Días Delgado not only witnessed and documented the ceremonies celebrated by the visitor, he was himself also an active participant in the rite. Transcription was, in and of itself, a ceremony of validation. By transforming the music, gestures, utterances, conversations, scribblings, and the countless other forms of human interaction which made up both the process and the rite of the inspection into narrative components and a coherent document, he was – in a sense – making the visit ‘real.’ Indeed, until the visit had been reduced to paper – made tangible, verifiable, and mobile – the events carried out in remote Andean parishes across a vast archdiocese had little resonance in the distant metropolitan capital.\textsuperscript{323}

Días Delgado also played a wider and important role in bringing the ‘lettered city’ to Piscobamba.\textsuperscript{324} One of his principal duties was to ‘publish’ (i.e. make public) the general edict of visitation. This ‘publication’ typically occurred in the parish church, where, in the presence of parishioners, the edict would be read out in the tradition of a town crier, in a “loud and clear

\textsuperscript{322} Hawkins, \textit{Writing and Colonialism}, 323.

\textsuperscript{323} The notion that writing an event makes it ‘real’ has been developed in a number of studies. See Salomon and Niño-Murcia, \textit{The Lettered Mountain}; Hawkins, \textit{Writing and Colonialism}; Peter Wogan, \textit{Magical Writing in Salasaca: Literacy and Power in Highland Ecuador} (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004); and Scott, \textit{Contested Territory}.

\textsuperscript{324} Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins have argued that the ‘lettered city’ was not confined to metropolitan centres but rather spread to and interacted with Indigenous ‘lettered cities’ through the arrival of frequent cédulas, correspondence and officials. See Rappaport and Cummins, \textit{Beyond the Lettered City}. 
However, in our case, because the officials had arrived in Piscobamba in the late afternoon, this too was postponed until the next day.

The following morning, the inspection officials returned to the church of San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba. Vergara y Aguiar, from his seat of honour at the high altar, witnessed the parish priest perform mass. As Juan de Valverde read the Christian doctrine aloud in the lengua general, the visitor was especially attentive, assessing the priest’s competence in the language. Despite numerous reiterations of ecclesiastical and royal injunctions requiring competency in ecclesiastical Quechua, complaints against priests who were unable to preach in the language continued to be heard throughout the seventeenth century. One of Vergara y Aguiar’s duties as visitor was to ensure that Valverde could read and speak Quechua fluently. Valverde’s performance seems to have impressed the visitor because Días Delgado included a note in his summary report describing the priest as someone who spoke the Christianized indigenous language fluently – a “buen lenguaraz.”

Having completed mass, Valverde again addressed his parishioners regarding the purpose of the visit. He informed them that, as Vergara y Aguiar had done the previous afternoon, their participation was for the benefit and improvement of the parish. In doing so, he restated the

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325 (My translation) “altas e inteligibles voces.” This practice mirrored that carried out by contemporary ecclesiastical visitors in the Iberian Peninsula. See María Milagros Carcél Ortí and José Vicente Boscá Codina, eds., Visitas pastorales de Valencia (siglos XIV-XV) (Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, S.A., 1996), 43.

326 Although Vergara y Aguiar’s seating was not mentioned in Andrés Días Delgado’s report, it was common for priests to provide the visitor with a seat of honour. See, AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:15, f. 12v.

327 See, Durston, Pastoral Quechua, 133-136.

328 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:26, f. 7r. Not all priests received such commendations on their language skills, however. Parishioners from Mora y Coaguillo (Cañete) testified in 1643 that the Dominican friar stationed in their parish “knows very little of the lengua general, and he stumbles his way through it” (My translation) “su Cura saue poco la lengua general y que la ahbla a trompezones.” AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:4, f. 1. Another doctrinero who was reported to be notably incompetent in the language of his parishioners was Don Pedro de Orillana, the interim priest of Cajacay (Cajatambo) in 1675. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:42.
sentiments expressed by the Council of Trent, which emphasized that the actions of visitors be “for the profit of the faithful.”\textsuperscript{329}

However, not all priests were as welcoming of their visitor as Valverde appears to have been in Piscobamba. Throughout the archdiocese visitors like Vergara y Aguiar could experience significant resistance upon their arrival in many rural Indian parishes. Priests attempted to refuse visitors entry into their parishes for numerous – and often complex – reasons. Members of the regular clergy serving as priests of Indian parishes were often particularly displeased with the system of episcopal visits in Peru, viewing it as yet another attempt by the hierarchical, diocesan church to intrude upon their domains and challenge their authority. The ecclesiastical and administrative reorganization of the viceroyalty that had begun in the 1570s had increasingly reduced the power of the regular clergy in the viceroyalty. Although in theory the houses of the religious orders in Peru continued to be exempt from the episcopal visit,\textsuperscript{330} members of the regular clergy who held the position of doctrineros continued to be subject to inspection.\textsuperscript{331} The Fourth Provincial Council of Lima (1591) had ordered that “the friars and monks who have neither a Prelate from their Order nor any other person to whom they are subject in these parts and Provinces, as well as the non-exempt friars and monks that do have Prelates in these parts to whom they are subject and to whom they are obedient, whether they be resident in Parishes,

\textsuperscript{329} Waterworth, ed., \textit{Council of Trent}, 209. These same purposes were also outlined in several of the visita reports. In 1667 visitador Luis Fernando de Herrera stated that the objective of his visita to Cerro de Pasco to be “…the reformation of the clergy and of the Christian people and the furthering of our holy Catholic faith and the divine cult and […] it is appropriate that the said Reformation begin with the priest of this parish, and his way of life and habits…” (My translation) “[…] la reformación del clero y pueblo cristiano y adelentamiento de nuestra santa fe católica y el culto divino y […] combiene que la dicha Reformacion comience por el cura de esta doctrina en su modo de viuir y costumbres…”. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:21, f. 3r.

\textsuperscript{330} These, instead, were subject to an internal inspection by officials chosen from within the religious order.

\textsuperscript{331} This was the case, for example, of the Franciscan Jaçinto de Mendoza, priest of Santo Domingo de Atun (Yauyos) visited in 1643. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:5. For similar examples see AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:12; 13:13; 17:38; and 11:1. For a wider discussion on the visit and jurisdictional disputes see Benito, introducción, xiv.
administering the Holy Sacraments to the Indians, or the Parishes be nearby or separated and
distant from the monasteries where their Prelates and Superiors reside, are subject to the visit,
punishment, and correction, according to the canonical sanctions…”

Already in the late sixteenth century several members of the regular clergy had appealed
to the Crown, arguing that, “[the] visit causes them much anxiety and unease.” In a letter
written in 1619, the archbishop of Lima, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, described the hostility
encountered by his visitors in the province of Yauyos. Identifying the Dominicans as the
principal opposition to the visit, he wrote: “It is evident in what happened in the Yauyos region
with the Dominican friars from the parishes who all united to prevent the visitor from visiting
them and they did not want to open the church door[s] nor obey the provisions and royal
decrees.” These complaints reflected a much broader jurisdictional dispute which had
developed and was simmering almost constantly between the regular and secular clergy within
the viceroyalty.

Motivations among the regular clergy for refusal to submit to an inspection were not
always so clear cut. Several visitors reported having encountered individual priests who,

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332 *Tercer concilio provincial limense*, 1: 380. (My translation) “Los frayles y religiosos exemptos que no tienen en
estas partes y Provincias Perlados de su Orden ni de otra a quien esten sujetos y asimismo los frailes y religiosos no
exemptos, que tuvieren Perlados en estas partes a quien son sujetos y tienen dada la obediencia que estuvieren en
Doctrinas y residiesen en ellas, administrando los Santos Sacramentos a los indios, ora estén las Doctrinas próximos
o apartados y distantes de los monasterios donde estean sus Perlados y Superiores, están sujetos a la visita,
punición, y correccion, según las dichas canónicas sanctiones…”

333 AAL, Cedulario del Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Tomo 1: 248. (My translation) “les es causa de mucha
ynquietud y desasosiego enbiarlos Vos a Visitar.” Their complaints were subsequently addressed in a royal decree
dated 3 March 1600.

Partido de los Yauyos con los frayles de sancto Domingo que se juntaron todos los deaquellas Doctrinas para
impedir no les visitasse El visitador, y no le quisieron abrir la puerta de la Yglesia, ni obedecer las Prouisiones y
cedulas Reales.”

335 For a comprehensive examination of the disputes see Bernard Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas: ensayos sobre el
criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima: Instituto de Riva Agüero, 1993).
apparently attempting to hide their less than satisfactory performance, employed these wider disputes as a pretext to avoid review. In 1625, when the archbishop of Lima, Gonzalo de Campo, arrived in the Indian parish of Aucayama (in the *corregimiento* of Chancay), he was met with overt resistance from the priest fray Diego Salinas. The Dominican friar invoked a number of reasons for refusing to obey the general edict of visitation, including his status as a member of the regular clergy.336 Despite his continued appeals, Salinas eventually submitted to the visitation. The inspection process revealed him to be insufficient in the *lengua general* as well as remiss in his duty to provide the sacraments to his parishioners. The final report composed by the archbishop ordered that the priest be removed from his post.337

The regular clergy were not alone in their dislike of the institution. Members of the diocesan church also clearly objected to the frequent inspections. This was the situation encountered, and dramatically, by a visitor in the parish of Ihuario, Chancay, in 1666. In the summer of that year, facing an imminent inspection, the interim priest, *maestro* Manuel de Sandoval, had gathered the men and women of the parish and demanded that they leave town. The visitor was not to be greeted with the ringing of the church bells or with a kiss on the hand. Rather, they were instructed to board up their homes as well as the parish church. A parishioner interviewed nearly two months later regarding the event would testify that Sandoval had warned parishioners that,

> when the visitor arrived, no Indian man or woman was to be present in the whole of the parish, nor in their villages, […] and that he would give one hundred lashes to anyone

336 According to the report, the priest “said that [the visitor] does not carry an order from his prelate to examine him, and thus he will not obey the said edict.” (My translation) “dixo que no tiene horden de su prelado para ser examinado por lo qual no obeedeze el d[ic]ho auto.” AGI, Lima 301.

337 AGI, Lima 301 “Visita de la doctrina y pueblo de Aucayama,” 11-IV-1625.
who did not comply with [the order] and cut off their hair because he did not want them to [conduct a] visit of the churches or of idolatries because there was no need for visits every day and that the above-mentioned visitor was not to be given anything to eat or drink.338

The prosecutor in charge of the case suspected that the interim priest was attempting to conceal idolatrous activities that were being practiced in his parish, although on this point we cannot be certain. The witness account seems to hint that the priest’s refusal to submit to the visit was – at least in part – an objection to the metropolitan church’s frequent interference in local matters.

The objection to the visit in Iluario is also indicative of the extent to which disputes over ecclesiastical jurisdiction spilled over into the wider community, causing, in this case, what must have been considerable anxiety for Andean parishioners.

Vergara y Aguiar encountered no such resistance in San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba in 1649, and immediately after the priest concluded mass, the inspection itself got underway. What followed was a Catholic rite that took place in the presence of parishioners, encompassing ceremonial processions, prayers and hymns. Vergara y Aguiar began by donning a cloak and black stole. He then proceeded to the cemetery where he recited the three customary funerary orations for the dead. Exchanging his robes for a public cloak and a white stole, he then returned to the high altar to inspect the gilded tabernacle. Receiving the key from the priest, the visitor unlocked the tabernacle and removed the host from behind two taffeta curtains – the first rose-coloured and the second blue. He then displayed the host before the parishioners who were

338 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:18, f. 8r. (My translation) “ningun Yndio, ni Yndia, de toda la do[tr]ina paresiere, ni estubiesse en sus pueblos q[uand]o llegase el Visitador […ly] al que no lo cumpliese le daría sien asotes, y le quitaría el cabello porque no quería q[u]e visitasen las Yglesias ni las Ydolatrias, porq[u]e no auía de auer Cada día visitas y q[u]e no se le diese de Comer ni be[b]er ni abió alguno, al dicho visitador…”
instructed to sing the *Tantum Ergo Sacramentum* and the *Deus Qui Nobis*. As Vergara y Aguiar carried out the physical inspection of the tabernacle, Días Delgado took an inventory of its contents. Next, the officials prepared to move to the baptistery. Bearing the chrism and a cross under a canopy, the visitor led the procession in the singing of the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. The prayer concluded as they reached the chapel, and the visit continued with an inspection of the baptismal font.

Taking place under the gaze of parishioners, the ceremony conducted by the visitor was clearly more than a mere inspection: it was also an active ritual by which the Church attempted to educate Andean communities about religious propriety and authority. Each aspect of the visit’s performance – the visitor’s grand entrance into the parish church, the reading of the general edict of visitation, the solemnity with which the ornaments of the Church were examined, displayed and venerated – emphasized the power and authority of the Church, providing a vivid sense that the parish was being inspected from an all-knowing external centre. As Trent had envisioned, and as hinted above, the ceremonies of the episcopal visit would demonstrate what ‘correct’ religious observance looked like, and, whenever necessary, would serve to highlight the ‘error’ of village rituals and forms of local religion. How the onlookers interpreted and internalised these ceremonies, however, is another matter deserving of its own study.

The visit of the parish church and its ornaments was followed by an inspection of Piscobamba’s papers and records. First, as a priest of an Indian parish, Juan de Valverde was required to demonstrate that he was fully authorized to occupy his post. In order to do so, he

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339 See Keith P. Luria’s discussion of the visit-as-ritual in *Territories of Grace*, 54.
340 Luria has argued for the case of the diocese of Grenoble, that parishioners adopted and employed the rituals presented to them by reforming visitors “for their own purposes,” maintaining, modifying and discarding their local traditions in much the same way. Ibid., 55.
would have presented Vergara y Aguiar with his official title or appointment to the benefice as well as written record of his canonical ordination. Next to be inspected were the manuscript parish registers kept by the priest: the baptismal, marriage, and death registers and the register of church property. It was the priest’s duty to ensure that the records were as complete and organized as possible. The ordinances of the 1613 Lima Synod had set out detailed instructions for this portion of the visit, meticulously outlining the form, format, and specific information that visitors were to look for in each ledger:

A large book, in which they write the [name] of the baptized, with the day, month, and year, and the names of their parents and godparents, in this way for baptisms, as well as for the catechism, and exorcisms when they are performed, and with two or more witnesses who attended, putting each on an individual line and [having them] sign it with their name, and in the same book, there is to be a large notebook, in which is written the [name] of the confirmed, with the day, month, and year, and with an account of who performed the confirmation. Another book in which they record marriages, with the names of those who wed, and of their parents, and their places of birth, and [the names] of the witnesses who were present at the marriage ceremony, with the day, month, and year, and also the day of the vigil, and in a section of this book they shall record those who have died, and the day of their burial, and where they were born, and their age, and their parents, and if they were unmarried or married, and to whom.

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341. Although not recorded in the visit of Piscobamba, this was standard procedure for the seventeenth-century episcopal visit. See AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:24, f. 2r.
all of the books are to have an alphabetical index: so that when searching, the names of people can be easily located.  

In our case at hand, Vergara y Aguiar found most of Piscobamba’s registers in good order, although the baptismal and death registers contained some errors and omissions which were duly commented upon. In his list of “advertencias” or warnings for the priest the visitor outlined the changes to be made: The baptismal records of Indian parishioners that had been incorrectly entered into the register for forasteros were to be transferred into the parish baptismal register; the unsigned records entered into the baptismal registers during Juan Rosado de Valdes’ term as parish priest were to be signed as soon as possible; the unsigned entries in the register of deaths were also to be signed. Having been presented with this list of warnings and calls for revision and greater care, Valverde signed at the bottom of the page to verify he had read and understood the requirements.  

Finally, as a cura de indios, Valverde was required to demonstrate that he possessed a specific set of church publications, ordinances, and doctrinal tracts. In the 1640s the list of required publications included the ordinances of the Council of Trent; the summary of the Second Provincial Council of Lima; the decrees of the Third Provincial Council; the

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342 Lobo Guerrero, Constituciones sinodales, 54-55. (My translation) “Un libro grande, en que escriban los baptizados con dia mes y año, y los nombres de sus Padres, y Padrinos, assi del Baptismo, como de el Catecismo, y exorcismo, quando se hizieren de por si, y pondrán dos ó mas testigos, de los que huvieren assistido, poniendo á cada uno de una partida sola, y firmandola de su nombre, y en el mismo libro tengan un quaderno grande, en que escriban los Confirmados, con día mes y año, y con relación de quien los confirmó. Otro libro en que escriban los Matrimonios, con los nombres, de los que se cassaren, y de sus Padres, y de los lugares de donde son naturales, y de los testigos, que se hallaren presentes al tiempo del cassamiento, con dia, mes, y año. Y assi mismo el dia en que los velan, y en este libro pondrán en vna parte memoria de los que se fueren muriendo, y del dia de su entierro, y de donde eran naturales, y de que edad, y quienes eran sus Padres, y si eran solteros, ó cassados, y conquien. Y en los vnos, y otros libros tengan indice, y abecedario: para que con facilidad se hallen los nombres de las personas, que se buscaren.”  

343 “An itinerant or migrant Indian who lives away from his place of origin.” Mills, Taylor and Lauderdale Graham, eds., Colonial Latin America, 408.
constitutions of the Synods of Lima celebrated by Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (1613) and Fernando Arias de Ugarte (1636); as well as the *cartilla*, catechism, confessional, and *sermonario* in the *lengua general* published by the members of the Third Lima Council in 1585. Valverde’s name was to be clearly printed on the first page of each copy – a stipulation that prevented him from borrowing a neighbouring priest’s books to pass off as his own during inspections. Although Valverde had his papers and other resources in order, in other settings visitors frequently found one or two volumes missing from priests’ collections. In 1633, Diego

344 This list was taken from Diego de Vergara y Aguiar’s visit of Santiago de Huari (1649) in Áncash. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:24, f. 2r. The list of required publications outlined in Chapter eight of the 1613 Lima Synod include a more extensive list:

“The Holy Council of Trent
The Provincial Councils of this Archbishopric from the year one thousand five-hundred and sixty-seven, and from one thousand five-hundred and eighty-three.
The Bull of the Last Supper
The Catechism of His Holiness Pope Pio V, of blessed memory.
The new reformed Calendar
Some summas regarding the Sacraments and moral teachings.
And Priests of Indians are especially required to have the *Cartilla* and the common prayers in their language, and the long and short Catechism, and the book of Sermons, and the Confessional issued by the authority of the said Provincial Councils.”

(My translation)

“El Santo Concilio Tridentino
Los Concilios Provinciales de este Arzobispado de los años de mil, y quinientos y sesenta y siete, el de mil y quientos y ochenta y tres.
La Bula de la Cena del Señor
El Cathecismo de su Santidad de el Papa Pio V. de felice recordacion.
El Kalendario nuevo reformado.
Algunos summas de Sacramentos, y casos morales.
Y los Curas de Indios, tengan en especial la Cartilla, y oraciones ordinarias en su lengua, y el Cathecismo mayor, y menor, y el Sermonario, y confessonario hecho con authoridad de los dichos Concilios Provinciales.”


345 “And given that priests often prepare for the said Visits a few days in advance by asking to borrow the said books from another priest, they evade the intent because they do not study them, each one will put his name at the beginning, and if the visitor finds that the books belong to someone else, his punishment will be the same as if he actually lacked them.” (My translation) “Y por quanto algunos suelen prevenirse pocos días antes de las dichas Visitas con pedir prestados a otros los dichos libros, y con esto se desfrauda el intento, por que no estudian en ellos, pondrá cada vno su nombre al principio, y si el Visitador hallare, que son agenos, les penará, como si realmente no los tuvieran.” Lobo Guerrero, *Constituciones sinodales*, 54-55.
Dávila, the doctrinero of Villa de Chancay, for example, claimed that his pastoral texts had been stolen, although he hurriedly assured the visitador that he was in the process of purchasing new copies.\(^{346}\) Those who were unable to produce signed copies might be given a warning and a grace period of two months to acquire the missing volumes.\(^{347}\)

The inspection portion of the visit was extensive and laborious, ordinarily being spread across several days. When officials visited a parish’s annexes – frequently located at a distance of two to nine leguas from the principal town – the visit might exceed the four-day limit placed by the 1613 Synod of Lima.\(^{348}\) Vergara y Aguiar, however, declined to visit Vilcobamba or Parobamba – Piscobamba’s annexes – and spent four full days in San Pedro y San Pablo carrying out his inspection. It was on the final day of the visit, 15 December, that close attention was devoted to Juan de Valverde’s “life and manners,” the quality of religious instruction he provided, and to Piscobamba’s escuela de muchachos indios. Witnesses were selected from among the town and its annexes’ leading officials, ranging from caciques, to various levels of alcaldes [town council members] and fiscales [lay assistants to parish priests], and their testimonies were recorded by an attendant notary.

The first witness summoned to appear before Vergara y Aguiar was Don Bernardo Luna.\(^{349}\) Identified as the thirty-eight-year-old cacique principal of the town, this witness was fluent in the Spanish language and, thus, did not require Yllescas’ assistance in interpretation. The visitor himself informed the witness of his obligation to answer all questions truthfully and

\(^{346}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:5, f. 5.

\(^{347}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:17; 15:31.

\(^{348}\) Distances between the principal town and annexes could be considerably longer: Aquia, an annex of Chiquian (Cajatambo) was twenty-six leguas from the centre. AGI, Lima 304, f. 6v.

\(^{349}\) Alternatively spelled Lluna. See AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:70.
to report any problems requiring remedy in the parish. Making the sign of the cross, Luna swore to do so, and the questioning began.\textsuperscript{350}

Vergara y Aguiar interrogated Luna according to a list of questions issued to him by Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez for this express purpose. As mentioned above, the use of questionnaires in the episcopal visit became common in the early seventeenth century during Lobo Guerrero’s tenure as archbishop. In the 1630s, Archbishop Arias de Ugarte had continued the practice, condensing the Lobo Guerrero’s seventeen questions into nine.\textsuperscript{351} The questionnaire drafted by Villagómez resembled those of his predecessors, including many of the same standard contextualizing questions: How long had the witness known the priest? Did the priest provide his parishioners with regular catechetical instruction? Was the priest fluent in the \textit{lengua general}? Did he frequently absent himself from his parish without leave? Had any parishioners died without the sacraments?

Villagómez’s inclusion of a question regarding Spanish language schools in the parishes, however, sets his questionnaire apart from those of his predecessors as well as his successors. Between 1642 and 1670, episcopal visitors appointed by Villagómez repeatedly asked parishioners whether their priest “has ensured that there is a school for children where they are taught the [Christian] doctrine and Christian customs, and to sing, [and] especially to speak Spanish for those who do not know the language…”\textsuperscript{352} When questioned by Visitor Vergara y Aguiar in 1649, cacique Bernardo Luna confirmed that an \textit{escuela de muchachos indios} was

\textsuperscript{350} Although the swearing in by making the sign of the cross was not recorded by Días Delgado, it was the common practice used throughout the seventeenth-century inspections in the archdiocese. See AAL, Visitas Pastorales 14:18, f. 9r.

\textsuperscript{351} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 1:7; 1:13.

\textsuperscript{352} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:1, f. 3r. (My translation) “[...h]a tenido cuidado de que [h]aya escuela de muchachos para que en ella se les enseñe la Doctrina y costumbres xptianas y cantar especialm[en]te a que hablen la lengua castellana a los q[ue] no la sauen…”
indeed operating in San Pedro y San Pablo de Piscobamba, as did two subsequent witnesses, *alcalde ordinario* Joan Franguanca and *fiscal mayor* Don Miguel Docto. However, beyond these indications of a known and functioning “*escuela,*” the information provided by these Andean parishioners about its form and operation is scanty; all we can glean is that Piscobamba’s priest took great care to ensure that the parish children attended regular lessons.

Elsewhere, witness’s responses to this question were less perfunctory. Don García Nanasca, the cacique of Nazca, testified in 1666 that, “in [his] town there [were] too few native children [for a school], and that the majority of the children [were] *forasteros.*” The priest in Nazca seems to have made due without a school teacher. As Nanasca recounts, he instructed, “them all [the children] in the Christian doctrine, and in the evening he ha[d] them recite their prayers.”353 And several decades earlier, Bartolomé Diaz, the choirmaster and local teacher in Anan, Ica, had reported on an unpopular and floundering educational endeavour. He claimed that “the parish children do not attend the school to learn to sing, except for six or eight [of them].”354

Despite their brevity, the declarations made by witnesses are significant. Their voices join nearly two hundred others who commented on the state of Spanish language education in their own towns and parishes between 1642 and 1670, collectively constituting the largest known source of data on what officials referred to as *escuelas de muchachos indios* in the Archdiocese of Lima in the seventeenth century.

The special attention paid to Spanish language schools by Villagómez’s episcopal visitors raises important questions; Why was there interest in the *escuelas de muchachos indios,* and why

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353 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 20:1, f. 12. (My translation) “en este pue[l]o no ay muchachos naturales sino muy pocos y los mas que ay son forasteros y aunos y a otros enseña el dho cura la doctrina christiana y e noche los açe resçar.”

354 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:16, f. 3v.
was it integrated into their broader questions and matters, at this particular moment? What were visitors hoping to find out about Spanish language education, and what can it tell us about what such a formation and the schools meant to ecclesiastical officials within the Archdiocese of Lima? While these are questions that we will address more fully in future chapters, it is our examination of the episcopal visit as an ecclesiastical institution that positions us to better understand the relationship between the *escuelas de muchachos indios* and the reports in which they are documented. That is to say, by approaching the episcopal visit as a ‘subject’ rather than as a ‘source,’ by noting not only its developments but also its relationships to other visits and inspections, and by reading the Archdiocese of Lima’s *causas de visitas* ‘along the grain,’ in this chapter we have come to understand the post-Tridentine episcopal visit more roundly.

We face an institution of control and correction that was fundamentally concerned with imposing ecclesiastical discipline, propriety, and orthodox Catholicism in Andean parishes. Despite maintaining this clear focus throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as we have seen, the episcopal visit was also malleable, being adapted to the differing realities and concerns of its various moments as well as to individual archbishops’ particular approaches to evangelization and governance. Overall, the episcopal visit appears to have reached a high point in terms of rigour in the first decades of the seventeenth century, as episcopal visitors worked alongside specialized idolatry inspectors to combat the perceived threat of Indian ‘idolatry’ in the archdiocese. Yet, after a relatively more relaxed approach to the visit under Arias de Ugarte in the 1630s, the arrival of Villagómez in the Lima see in 1641 marked, in this decade and in the two to follow, a return of the idolatry inspections as well as the previous rigour and trial-like quality of the episcopal inspection. That the *escuelas de muchachos indios* gain emphasis during
Villagómez’s tenure as archbishop, a period in which episcopal and idolatry inspectors were extremely active in their attempts to reform mid-colonial priests and parishioners, is quite telling. Indeed, it suggests that, independently of how such schools appeared and operated on a daily basis in each town across the archdiocese, Spanish-language schools played a role in Villagómez’s broader plan of action to instill discipline, obedience, and orthodox Catholic devotion in his archdiocese’s Indian parishes.

Before delving deeper into these questions in order to explore the relationships between language, religion, and orthodoxy in mid-seventeenth century Andean parishes, we return one last time to Piscobamba, where in the afternoon of 15 December 1649, visitador Diego de Vergara y Aguiar was wrapping up his parish inspection. Having heard and recorded the testimony of all of Pisco bamba’s witnesses, the visitor prepared his final summary report. Something of a ‘success story’ emerges on this occasion – although, as indicated above, not all visits were as assuring for visitadores about the efficacy of the evangelization effort. Describing Juan de Valverde as an exemplary cura de indios and an excellent Quechua speaker, the visitor declared him competent and faithful in the fulfillment of his obligations, and even “deserving of promotion to a higher position…”355 With the signing of the final report, the inspection officials concluded their business in Piscobamba. How long they lingered in the town after the completion of the inspection is unclear, but synodal guidelines ordered visitors to vacate the parish as soon as the inspection had been completed so as to avoid becoming an undue burden on the community;356 Vergara y Aguiar and his assistants likely set out the following day or soon after.

355 (My translation) “digno de asender a mayores cargos y ofiçios…” Not all doctrineros received such glowing reviews. The aforementioned Diego Dávila, priest of Villa de Chancay in 1633, for example, had charges brought against him by Archbishop Fernando Arias de Ugarte. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:5.
356 Lobo Guerrero, Constituciones sinodales, 77.
Chapter 3
Extirpation and Spanish Language Education in the Seventeenth-Century Archdiocese of Lima

The concern over *escuelas de muchachos indios* that is evident in an extraordinary set of early and mid-seventeenth-century investigative records invites us to examine the relationships between Spanish language education and broader evangelization processes – and particularly that of ‘extirpation’ – in the Archdiocese of Lima. Andean Church officials were preoccupied with language. Their concerns not only revolved around determining, as discussed in Chapter 1, the most suitable language(s) of conversion, but also extended to notions of the purported spiritual and ‘civilizational’ effects of the languages spoken by Andean neophytes in the course of their daily lives. This chapter examines the extent to which official fears about the failure of Christianization became projected on to language during the prelacies of two ‘extirpating’ archbishops: Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero and Pedro de Villagómez.

The extirpation of idolatries (often abbreviated as ‘the Extirpation,’ and treated as if it were a singular and disconnected process, which it was not) describes the systematic investigation and ‘correction’ of religious ‘errors,’ collected under the blanket term of idolatry, carried out by ecclesiastical inspectors in Indian parishes across the Archdiocese of Lima throughout much of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. Extirpation efforts have been situated generally within the rigorous climate of the post-Tridentine Church, which

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357 As studies by Kenneth Mills and Nicholas Griffiths have demonstrated, for extirpators, ‘idolatry’ as a concept took on broad meaning, encompassing a range of pre-Hispanic forms of religiosity, as well as unsanctioned popular and nascent Andean forms of Catholicism. See Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, 25, 34, 270; Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 49.
consciously sought to remove pre-Hispanic Andean beliefs and practices, as well as unsanctioned, heterodox, and popular elements from Catholic devotion, and which favoured a combination of persuasive and coercive approaches to conversion. While some historians have focused principally on the destructive and coercive elements of the idolatry inspections — Duviols characterizes extirpation as a “preceding and negative phase of Christianization in the Andes” — studies have hinted that persuasion continued to coexist with coercion throughout the course of the inspections. Kenneth Mills’ in-depth study of anti-idolatry efforts in the archdiocese has provided nuance to and expanded Duviols’ definition, revealing a “lesser-known instructive side” of idolatry inspections in which “persuasion continued to coexist with force.”

Even so, the program of extirpation often continues to be understood as separate from the wider project of evangelization in the archdiocese, the indoctrination of Andean parishioners, and the cultivation of Christian souls. This chapter examines more closely the instructive side of the struggle against ‘idolatry’ in the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima, focusing on the roles played by Spanish and Quechua as languages of indoctrination and reform. Further, I explore for the first time the ways in which diverse and uneven educational endeavours referred to by officials as “escuelas de muchachos indios” in Lima and beyond were intended to complement the more ostensibly repressive tactics of evangelization, and to instill orthodox Catholic beliefs and customs in Andean parishioners. I demonstrate just how emerging processes often outran official intents for Spanish language education in the Archdiocese of Lima; Andeans

358 In her article on missionary Christianity in early colonial Peru, Sabine MacCormack has mapped the general changes in approaches to evangelization over the sixteenth century, arguing that “by the late sixteenth century, missionary Christianity had crystallized into a rigid and self-contained body of doctrine impermeable to any influence from Andean religion.” MacCormack, “The Heart Has its Reasons,” 456.
359 Duviols, introductory study to Procesos y visitas, 21.
employed the Spanish language in unsanctioned situations and for their own varied purposes, several of which were unexpected and even unwanted by many proponents of Castilianization. In examining both official expectations and some of the much more slippery Andean uses of the language, I aim not only to flesh out the myriad ways in which Spanish language education was part and parcel of the aims and fears of extirpators, but also to situate the extirpation efforts more squarely within the project of evangelization writ large, as integral to rather than apart from the Tridentine ideals of evangelization, pedagogy, and doctrine.

1. The ‘Lesser-Known Instructive Side’ of Extirpation

The development of what was referred to in Chapter 2 as the idolatry branch of ecclesiastical inspections got underway in the Archdiocese of Lima during Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero’s tenure as archbishop (1609-1621). Building on the existing machinery of the ecclesiastical visit, extirpators looked to the example of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition which had been active in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms since the late thirteenth century and installed in Lima in 1570.361 Idolatry visitors in the archdiocese, while tempered to neophyte conditions, were authorized to invite and interrogate accused and witnesses, and to carry out diligencias or public acts of shame, punishment and destruction, as well as to issue a spectrum of sentences to offenders.362

362 As reported by Pierre Duviols, Lobo Guerrero had issued a decree stating: “Our ordinary episcopal visitors are ordered not to involve themselves in anything related to the said idolatry [visits], nor to inquire into how you [the idolatry visitors] conduct [your inspections], and they are to allow you to carry out your duties without impediment.” (My translation) “Mandamos a nuestros visitadores generales ordinarios no se entremetan en cosa alguna tocante a la dicha ydolatria ni en ynquirir como procedistes en ellas y os dejen hacer vuestro oficio libremente.” Duviols, introductory study to Procesos y visitas, 40. See also Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 267.
Idolatry inspections were carried out in several stages and often stretched out over a period of months and even years. As Mills writes:

a whole range of public acts of punishment (usually floggings of persons who had been shorn, tied, and stripped), penance, and ‘processions of shame’ (in which the guilty were often dressed in the conspicuous pointed headgear known as corozas, made to carry crosses in their hands, and attended by criers to broadcast the religious crimes) were administered to those with the heaviest sentences….and there were autos de fé at which any object both idolatrous and transportable would be burned before the people who had assembled in the local plazas.\(^{363}\)

Despite occupying a significantly smaller place in the historiography, a “lesser-known instructive side” had long been a fundamental aspect of extirpation efforts in the Archdiocese of Lima.\(^{364}\) Peru’s idolatry inspectors shared with New Spanish extirpators the belief that “instruction by love and instruction by punishment” were not two “antagonistic opposites [but instead…] a complementary pair,” a view which was entrenched in the edicts of the Council of Trent.\(^{365}\) In his treatise on The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru published in 1621, the Jesuit and

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\(^{363}\) Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 267.

\(^{364}\) Several historians of the extirpation acknowledge the importance of the educational component of idolatry investigations, despite its relative neglect in the historiography. Writing in the 1970s [revised 2003], Duviols notes that “the constructive element of the Extirpation project included acculturation and evangelization. This was an important aspect, which we, undoubtedly, have not sufficiently investigated.” (My translation) “El Proyecto positive de la Extirpación incluía la aculturación y la evangelización. Este fue un aspecto importante que sin duda no hemos desarrollado suficientemente” Duviols, introductory study to Procesos y visitas, 49. Writing in 1996, Nicholas Griffiths asserted that “the Extirpation was principally an instrument of repression,” but acknowledged that it “fulfilled a dual function, both judicial and pastoral.” Griffiths, The Cross and the Serpent, 29, 36. Kenneth Mills treats the subject in more detail, providing important insights into the types of educational events that comprised the “lesser-known instructive side” of the extirpation. Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 181.

\(^{365}\) Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 207, 209; cited in Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 183. For more on the efforts to combat the purported idolatries of indigenous peoples in mid-colonial New Spain see David E. Tavaréz, “Idolatry
proponent of early extirpation efforts, Pablo José de Arriaga, looked to uneven evangelization, asserting that inadequate indoctrination was the “principal and root” cause of the persistence of idolatry in the archdiocese.\textsuperscript{366} This had also been José de Acosta’s ringing argument in \textit{De procuranda indorum salute}, written in the 1570s and published in 1590.\textsuperscript{367} Improved and regular catechetical instruction, Arriaga proposed, was the most effective method by which to root out idolatry from Andean parishes.\textsuperscript{368}

Thus, \textit{visitadores generales de idolatrias} were not only to perform acts of destruction and ‘correction,’ but also to subject Andeans, regardless of whether they came under direct suspicion

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\textsuperscript{366} “The principal cause and root of all of this damage [idolatry] which is widespread in this archdiocese, and which we fear is ubiquitous throughout the entire viceroyalty, is the lack of instruction and doctrine. And if this problem alone were remedied, all the other causes and roots [of idolatry] would dissipate and dry up.” (My translation) “La principal causa, y raíz de todo este daño tan común en este Arçobispado, y a lo que se puede temer universal de todo el reino, y que si sola ella se remediase, la demás causas, y raíces cesarían y se señarían, es falta de enseñanza y doctrina.” Arriaga, \textit{La extirpación}, 22.

\textsuperscript{367} Acosta, \textit{De procuranda}, 2: 259-271; 291-293.

\textsuperscript{368} Arriaga’s insistence on education, in part, stems from concerns that idolatry inspectors were incapable of removing a large portion of traditional Andean sacred spaces and objects from parishes: “All of the abovementioned things [the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, Lightening] are Huacas which [the Indians] worship as gods. And because these are fixed and immobile, and we cannot remove them from their view, we must attempt (as I said above) to remove them from their hearts, teaching them the truth, and disabusing them of the lies. Thus, it is necessary to teach them very specifically about the origins of springs, rivers, and how Lightning and clouds are formed, and how waters freeze, and other things related to nature…” (My translation) “Todas las cosas sobre dichas [el Sol, la Luna, alguna Estrella, el Rayo] son Huacas q’adoran como a Dios, y ya que no se les pueden quitar delante de los ojos, porque son fixas, y inmóviles, se les procura (como dixe arriba) quitárselas del corazón, enseñándoles la verdad, y desengañándoles de la mentira, y así es necesario enseñalles muy de propósito las causas de las fuentes, y de los rios, y cómo se fragan los Rayos en las nubes, y se congelen las aguas, y otras cosas naturales...” Arriaga, \textit{La extirpación}, 22. The sermons published in Spanish, Quechua and Aymara by the Third Provincial Council of Lima in 1585 not only highlight this concern about lingering pre-Hispanic religious practices, but also pinpoint ‘errors’ in Andean Catholic devotion, such as the equation of saints’ images and relics with Andean ancestral huacas and malquis. See, for example, Sermon XIX “which rebukes sorcerers and their superstitions and futile rites, and which addresses the difference between the Christian worship of images of the saints and the infidels’ worship of idols and huacas.” (My translation) “En que se reprehenden los hechiceros y sus supersticiones y ritos vanos y se trata de la diferencia que ha en adorar los cristianos las imágenes de los santos y adorar los infieles sus idolos y huacas” “Tercero catecismo y exposición de la doctrina cristiana por sermones,” in \textit{El sol, la luna y las estrellas no son Dios... La evangelización en quechua (siglo XVI)}, ed. Gerald Taylor (Lima: IFEA, 2003), 74-77.
of idolatry, to a period of intensive indoctrination. Indeed, Arriaga had tellingly urged idolatry inspectors to inform parishioners that “the intent of the Visit is not to punish but to teach.” 369 To ensure such ideals were being carried out, idolatry inspectors in the early seventeenth century were regularly “accompanied by two or three Jesuit priests,” who were charged with ministering to the flock under investigation, and with preaching from the Third Council sermons, among others. 370 In addition to hearing sermons and receiving catechetical instruction, in the course of a visit parishioners participated in processions, the singing of hymns, evening parable readings, and instructive prayer sessions with the use of rosaries and sacred images, all of which were considered an integral part of the extirpation process. 371 And although the Jesuits’ direct participation in the investigations waned by the mid-seventeenth century, as will be discussed below, instruction remained a fundamental aspect of the inspections in the second half of the seventeenth century. 372

Thus, in the Archdiocese of Lima, a persuasive approach coexisted with and complemented the more ostensibly coercive and violent aspects of extirpation, as idolatry inspectors sought not only to root-out ‘erroneous’ religious and cultural practices but also to re-plant seeds of orthodox Catholic practices and behaviours that would continue to bear fruit after the conclusion of the inspections. Perhaps the most palpable examples of the coexistence, complementarity and blurring of coercive and persuasive approaches to religious instruction and correction in the Archdiocese of Lima are the Casa de Santa Cruz and the Colegio del Príncipe.

369 Arriaga, La extirpación, 124. (My translation) “[...] diziéndoles intento de la Visita, que no es a castigalles sino a enseñalles.”
1.1 Pupils and Prisoners: The Casa de Santa Cruz and the Colegio del Príncipe

Established simultaneously in Lima in 1618, the Casa de Santa Cruz – a reformatory for the most recalcitrant offenders of idolatry – and the Colegio del Príncipe – a school for the sons of Andean lords known as *hijos de caciques* – were two institutions linked to the aims of the nascent attention to the extirpation of idolatry in the Archdiocese of Lima during the episcopate of Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero. Although their separate trajectories extended beyond centrally-organized inspections across the archdiocese’s parishes, the institutions were established during the extirpation efforts of the early seventeenth century to control and shape two segments of the population identified as problematic: the traditional and often elderly authorities on Andean religious practices – called ‘dogmatizers’ or ‘teachers and ministers of idolatries’ by contemporary clerical commentators – and the young *hijos de caciques* who were meant to eventually succeed their fathers as leaders and political go-betweens in Andean communities. Working in complement, these institutions formed a two-pronged approach to extirpation, combining coercion and persuasion, punishment and education. The emergence and development of these institutions is little known beyond Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer’s excellent study of Peru’s *colegios de caciques*, and even less discussed in tandem with broader projects of evangelization and Hispanicization efforts.\(^{373}\)

The plan to establish the house of seclusion known as the Casa de Santa Cruz in Lima developed directly out of extirpators’ fears that a large number of idolaters in Andean parishes not only maintained pre-Hispanic and other ‘erroneous’ beliefs and customs, but also ‘infected’

\(^{373}\) Alaperrine-Bouyer, *La educación de las elites.*
the younger generation with them by actively instructing children and youths in traditional or popular knowledge. By the late sixteenth century, ecclesiastical officials in the archdiocese had purportedly uncovered the presence of a startling number of these ‘teachers of idolatries,’ and ‘dogmatizers’ in Andean parishes. Chapter forty-two of the decrees of the Third Provincial Council of Lima was devoted to the subject, and, repeating an earlier edict from the Second Lima Council, let it be known that:

In the effort to eradicate the plague against the Christian faith and religion which the sorcerers and abominable ministers of the devil do not cease to inflict on the fledgling faith of Christ – their evilness and deceit being such, that in one day they destroy everything that God’s priests have labored to construct in a year – the previous council agreed and ordered that all of these old sorcerers be gathered together and confined to one location, in order to prevent them from interacting, communicating with, and infecting the other Indians […] It is, therefore, the will of this holy synod that this decree be executed without excuses nor respite.  

Although the decree mentions earlier attempts at seclusion, no large scale solution had been implemented in the sixteenth century, even as fears mounted.

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374 Tercer concilio provincial limense, 1: 340. (My translation) “Para desterrar del todo la peste de la fee y religion cristiana que los hechizeros y ministros abominables del demonio no cesan de causar continuamente a la tierna fe d xpo, siendo su maldad y embuste tales, que en un dia destruyen todo cuanto los sacerdotes de Dios han edificado en un año; proveyó con gran acuerdo el concilio passado a que todos estos viejos hechizeros los juntasen en un lugar, y los tuviesen alli encerrados de modo q no pudiessen con su tracto y comunicacion ynfecccionar a los demas yndios…Por tanto es la voluntad de esta sancto synodo, que luego sin escusas ninguna ni dilatación se ponga en ejecución…”
In a memorial to King Philip II in 1588, Bartolomé Álvarez, a priest from the doctrina of Aullagas in present-day Bolivia, expressed a widely held concern over dogmatizers in the Archdiocese of Lima: “Another reason [for the persistence of idolatry],” he wrote, is that the elders and ministers of idolatry, who had been cultivators of the said cult, are still alive today. And, as I mentioned earlier, those who are now reaching old age go about teaching those who are young, instructing them in all of the offices of this ministry. From their hideaways, they do not stop instructing and preaching, performing their ceremonies […] and preaching and teaching against the Christian doctrine which the priest preaches and teaches.375

Arriaga’s aforementioned treatise on extirpation later reiterated this sense of ‘idolatry’ being perpetuated by community elders, “having, as they do, so many teachers who, on every occasion and at all times, repeat the things passed on to them in their mother’s milk – such things being in conformity with their capacities and inclinations – and lacking anyone to teach them the mysteries of our faith…”376

375 Bartolomé Álvarez, De las costumbres y conversión de los indios del Perú. Memorial a Felipe II, ed. María del Martín Rubio (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1998[1588]), 130. (My translation) “Otra causa es que los viejos y ministros desta idolatría, que antes eran y habían comenzado a ser cultores de aquel culto, hoy día viven; y otros con ellos que ya llegan a viejos, y otros mozos, que ahora van enseñando y criando en todo el oficio deste ministerio, como en otra parte dijo. Estos en sus rincones no dejen de enseñar y predicar, haciendo las ceremonias…[y] predicando y enseñando contra la doctrina Cristiana que el sacerdote predica y enseña.”

376 Arriaga, La extirpación, 73. (My translation) “teniendo como tienen tantos maestros, que en todas ocasiones, y a todos tiempos les están repitiendo las cosas, que aprendieron con la leche, y que son conforme a su capacidad, y, inclinación y no teniendo quien les enseñe los misterios de nuestra Fe…” Arriaga describes a host of “ministers of idolatry,” including the Huacapvíllac, the Malquipvíllac, the Libiacpvíllac, and the Punchau pvíllac. Arriaga, La extirpación, 32-33. Kenneth Mills has also described the religious structure of idolaters as reportedly found and described by inspectors in San Pedro de Hacas (Cajatambo) in 1656. According to reports, each ayllu was served by a series of ministers, typically comprised of a “principal minister; minister-confessor; dogmatizer; diviner; healer.” After this, there were lower-level assistants including the “herder of livestock for the gods,” a “ritual specialist,” “curse hurler,” and “maker of chicha,” as well as individuals referred to as “sacristans.” In short, idolatry inspectors imagined having uncovered an entire rival religious structure of offices in Cajatambo. Kenneth Mills, An Evil Lost of
As the idolatry inspections of the early seventeenth century got underway, the issue of what to do with this ‘dangerous’ segment of the population was raised again. Although lesser transgressors who had repented were frequently corrected and reformed within their parish institutions, the worst and most recalcitrant of offenders, Archbishop Lobo Guerrero insisted, were to be removed – uprooted – from their communities to prevent the spread of their ‘erroneous’ teachings. In April 1613, Lobo Guerrero wrote to Philip III outlining his plan to confine known dogmatizers to textile mills where they would be put to work. The monarch and his Council of the Indies, however, disapproved of the plan. Preferring what was perhaps a more moderate approach generally favoured during the long tenure of Lobo Guerrero’s predecessor Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo, the king ordered that they be dispersed among the archdiocese’s convents where they could be more easily “instructed in the tenets of [the] faith.” By 1616, however, the prelate wrote again to inform the king that this solution was no longer feasible. The number of “idolatrous dogmatizing Indians” had grown so large, he insisted, that it had become impossible for the convents to house them. Lobo Guerrero informed the monarch that he, together with Viceroy Francisco de Borja, would devise another method of seclusion. The solution, announced two years later, was the Casa de Santa Cruz.

Established in the gated Indian quarter of Lima known as El Cercado, the Casa de Santa Cruz was designed specifically to function as a prison for the archdiocese’s known dogmatizers,

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View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1994), 52-54.

377 ‘Idolaters’ who had confessed to their offenses were often sentenced to serve in their parish churches and to live under the custody of the parish priest. See, for example, Duviols, ed., Procesos y visitas, 318-319.

378 AGI, Lima 301, 23-IV-1613.

379 Ibid. (My translation) “[...] ynstruidos en las cosas de nuest[ra] s[an]ta fee.”

380 AGI, Lima 301 15-IV-1616.

381 AGI, Lima 301 8-IV-1618.
with a high enclosure and thick walls to prevent escape.³⁸² Plans for the building were initially placed under the care of Arriaga, who claimed that by 1620 already 14,000 pesos had been spent on the project.³⁸³ While their instruction and correction were intended, there is no avoiding the fact that the people accused and convicted of leading and teaching idolatries were simultaneously incarcerated. Inside, the able bodied among them were put to work spinning wool under the supervision of a “respectable Spaniard” who provided prisoners with daily meals, medical attention, and supplies for their work.³⁸⁴ The prisoners were to be reformed under the guidance of Jesuit priests who provided them with daily catechetical instruction. On feast days the dogmatizers were permitted to leave the reformatory to attend mass but were immediately escorted back under the bailiff’s watchful eye.³⁸⁵

The Casa de Santa Cruz was founded concomitantly with another institution of seclusion and education, the Colegio del Príncipe. Founded in 1618 in a building adjacent to the reformatory, the Colegio del Príncipe was to be a boarding school for the sons of Andean nobles or hijos de caciques. While not incarcerated for purported errors and the contamination of others, the hijos de caciques, like the residents of Santa Cruz, were also to be removed from their communities and subjected to an intensive and related program of education. There, again under the tutelage of Jesuit priests, the pupils would attend daily lessons, learning the Christian doctrine. A difference came in that these young nobles and prospective regional lords were also taught to speak, read, and write in Spanish, to perform basic mathematical calculations, and to

³⁸² Arriaga, La extirpación, 168.
³⁸³ Ibid., 112.
³⁸⁴ Ibid., 168.
³⁸⁵ Ibid., 168-169. Although in theory prisoners were to be released after having served a maximum prison term of eight year, many fell ill and died during their imprisonment due to the adverse effects of the coastal environment as well as to the advanced age of many of the prisoners. See Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 85n35.
At the school, the boys would also become acquainted with the more mundane though equally vital points of Spanish customs and manners: eating meals together in a dining hall while listening to hagiographical readings; using European utensils, individual plates, and napkins; and stowing their clothes in their dormitories where they slept one-to-a-bed – to name but a few.387

Even the collegians’ wardrobes would undergo a significant change. Clad in regional Andean dress, Spanish-style shoes, stockings and hats, and with the school’s crimson taffeta sashes draped across their right shoulders, the young students of the Colegio would become a familiar sight on the streets of Lima.388 Their uniforms – a blend of Andean and European fabrics and fashions, emblazoned with the royal insignia – denoted their status as colonial Andean nobles and loyal subjects of the Crown, aptly positioned between the Andean masses and their Spanish overlords.389 On the city’s numerous feast days and celebrations, the pupils could be seen making their way to mass accompanied by their Jesuit tutors, marching in processions, and watching bullfights from their designated seats in the plaza.390

Like the house of seclusion, the Colegio del Príncipe was founded by Viceroy Francisco de Borja with the support of Archbishop Lobo Guerrero and the Society of Jesus, and amidst widespread concerns over Indian idolatry and backsliding. The school, it was hoped, would serve as a tool which, through the formation of a new brand of Andean Christian leader, would combat

386 Alaperrine-Bouyer, La educación de las élites, 183.
387 This account of the daily routine in the Colegios de Caciques comes from Alaperrine-Bouyer, La educación de las élites, 182-183; as well as from Hernando Sebastián del Campo, a teacher from the Colegio del Príncipe’s sister school in Cuzco, known as the Colegio de San Francisco de Borja. Hernando Sebastián del Campo, “Carta al Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús,” 16-III-1622, BUARM, Vargas Ugarte Collection, Vol 20, Doc 16, Fol 32.
388 The school’s founding constitution had envisioned a stricter dress code for the students, with the mandatory uniform being supplied by the school. By 1622, however, the viceroy had ruled that the pupils were permitted to maintain their traditional regional dress, and their parents would pay for their stockings, shoes, hats and sashes. See Alaperrine-Bouyer, La educación de las élites, 169-172 for a full discussion of the uniforms.
389 Ibid., 170.
390 Ibid., 167.
the spread of indigenous religious ‘error’ in the archdiocese. The Jesuit experience with smaller-scale instruction in the *doctrina* of Juli on the shores of Lake Titicaca – where amidst an array of other tasks within this missionary parish, from November 1576, they had taught Andean children to police and reform their own communities, becoming “pursuers of sorcerers and drunkards, and indecent behaviour” – emboldened many in the Society to argue for the effectiveness of schools as reformatory, and particularly anti-idolatry, institutions. Writing from Juli in 1579, José de Acosta boasted of the effects of education on the adult population in the region, noting that

when the Fathers confess the Indians, asking them if they get drunk, practice sorcery, or participate in *borracheras*, they commonly reply: No, Father, because my child would scold me. And so, we have reason to hope that through the proper instruction of these children, a large portion of the abuses and bad customs of this population can be reformed.392

391 Arriaga outlined the importance of the role that the school would play in the extirpation of idolatry in the archdiocese. He urged officials to encourage caciques to send their sons to the school in Lima. Arriaga, *La extirpación*, 161. The foundation of the Colegio del Príncipe was also, in part, a delayed response to a long-standing royal provision that urged viceregal officials to develop schools for native American elites. As early as 1503, the Spanish Crown issued a royal cédula mandating that the Indian nobility of Hispaniola be gathered into schools where they would learn to read, write, make the sign of the cross, make confession, and repeat the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, the Credo, and the Salva Regina. Solano, ed., *Documentos*, 6-7. The provision was later incorporated in the Laws of Burgos and reiterated in numerous cédulas throughout the sixteenth century. In New Spain, schools for Indian elites were established in the early evangelization period, the most notable of which were Fray Pedro de Gante’s San José de los Naturales (est.1527), and the Franciscan Santa Cruz de Santiago de Tlatelolco (est.1536). In Lima, however, the development of schools was delayed by a chronic lack of funding as well as strong opposition to the education of the Andean nobility. See Alaperrine-Bouyer, *La educación de las élites*, chap. 3, for an in-depth discussion of the opposition to the Peruvian schools.

392 Antonio de Egaña ed., *Monumenta peruana* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1954-1986), 2: 624-625. (My translation) “…perseguidores de hechiceros y borracheros y deshonestidades”; “es muy ordinario quando los Padres confiessan, pugnando los indios si enborrachan, o hazen hechicerias y borracheras y deshonestidades: No, Padre, que me riñiría mi hijo, y assi ay buena speranca que con la buena institucion destos muchachos se ha de reformar en gran parte el abuso y malas costumbres desta tierra.”
In Lima, away from the harmful influences of community elders, bearers of traditions, and ‘teachers of idolatries,’ Padre Arriaga and not a few of his contemporaries thought that young caciques could be molded into colonial Andean leaders, loyal servants of the Crown, and exemplary Christians. Having completed their education, the students would return to their home communities where, at least in theory, they would assist parish priests in leading their people out of idolatry and ‘error.’

Arriaga envisioned the Limeño school working in tandem with the Santa Cruz reformatory to rid Andean parishes of idolatry. Outlining the powers and duties of idolatry inspectors, Arriaga wrote that in the course of parish inspections they were to “send the most disruptive Indians to the house of reclusion [...] and also all the sons of caciques who were of suitable age, to the school” in Lima. This two-pronged plan to combat idolatry – the simultaneous removal of community elders or teachers of tradition, and the instruction and formation of a new generation of Christian caciques – was predicated on the widely held belief that conversion efforts would be unfruitful without the support of community leaders who thought, acted, and spoke as examples.

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393 Although the effects of Spanish language education often outran and at times ran counter to the intents of the school’s founders, the notion that the Colegio del Príncipe was a tool to combat idolatry persisted well into the late seventeenth century. As Alcira Dueñas notes, “even as late as 1660, Don Diego León Pinelo, the legal defender of the Indians, or protector de naturales, in Lima, maintained that the main reason to maintain the Cercado school of caciques was to uproot Indian idolatry.” Dueñas, Indians and Mestizos, 28n50.

394 Arriaga, La extirpación, 166-167. (My translation) “Y para que embién a la casa de la reclusión los Indios más perjudiciales a la costa, y quanta, que la provisión dize, y para emiar todos los hijos de los Caciques, que tuvieren edad competente a su Colegio.”

395 Arriaga writes that caciques “would be the only means by which to root out Idolatry, because they do as they please with the Indians. If the caciques want the Indians to be Idolaters, they will be Idolaters, and if they want them to be Christians, they will be Christians, because the Indians’ only will is that of their Caciques. The Caciques are their model for whatever they do.” (My translation) Caciques “sería el único medio para desterrar la Idolatria, porque ellos hazen de los Indios quanto quieren, y si quieren que sean Idólatras, serán Idólatras, y si Christianos,
By 1620, the Colegio del Príncipe had already admitted forty-seven young pupils, while the Casa de Santa Cruz counted roughly forty purported dogmatizers among its residents. Soon after, we lose track of the number of dogmatizers housed in the Cercado district reformatory, although sentences handed out by idolatry visitors indicate that it continued to operate, receiving new ‘idolaters’ well into the second half of the seventeenth century during the revival of the visitas generales de idolatría under Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez. Existing admission records for the Colegio del Príncipe offer more insight into the development of this sister institution. As Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer has argued, the Colegio del Príncipe’s enrollment numbers, like those of the Casa de Santa Cruz, mirrored the ebbs and flows of the idolatry investigations in the archdiocese. While the scantiness of the records makes it difficult to determine the exact origin of each pupil, Alaperrine-Bouyer sustains, and the overall trend suggests, that at least a portion of students entered the Colegio as a result of idolatry investigations, if not by a direct order by an idolatry inspector, then through the reformative and persuasive side of extirpatory coercion which encouraged indigenous leaders to send their sons to the school. Pressure also came from the viceregal administration. In 1621, there was no missing the intent, with the viceroy issuing a decree requiring all caciques to send their eldest Christians, porque no tienen más voluntad que las de sus Caciques, y ellos son el modelo de quanto hazen.” Arriaga, La extirpación, 74.

397 See, for example, the case of Hernando Hacaspoma in San Pedro de Hacas, 1658. Duviols, ed., Procesos y visitas, 462.
398 The Colegio del Príncipe’s entry log was published in the journal Inca in 1923 from an unknown original source. This has been partially reproduced in summary in Flores Galindo, In Search of an Inca, 63.
399 Ibid., 61: Alaperrine-Bouyer, La educación de las élites, 144.
400 Alaperrine-Bouyer, La educación de las élites, 143-145.
sons to the school “on pain of punishment.”

In the early 1620s, with the almost simultaneous departure from the scene of the main early theoreticians and proponents of extirpation – Viceroy Francisco de Borja, the Prince of Esquilache, Archbishop Lobo Guerrero, and the Jesuit priest Pablo José de Arriaga - the systematic idolatry investigations came to a halt and the number of new admissions into the school waned.\footnote{The Prince of Esquilache departed for Spain in 1621, and both Archbishop Lobo Guerrero and Pablo José de Arriaga died in 1622.}
The admission rate rose again momentarily in 1625, with the arrival of Archbishop Gonzalo de Campo and the beginning of an intensive yet short-lived idolatry visit in the archdiocese, but soon after fell to an average of less than four new admissions a year.\footnote{Students admitted to the Colegio del Príncipe:  
1621 - 4  
1622 - 3  
1623 - 4  
1624 - 5  

Flores Galindo, \textit{In Search of an Inca}, 63.}

Clearly not all students who enrolled in the Colegio del Príncipe did so at the urging of ecclesiastical inspectors, or against their or their parents’ will.\footnote{Support for the school among the Andean elite was mixed; some resisted sending their children to Lima, while others actively supported the Colegio. See Alaperrine-Bouyer, \textit{La educación de las élites}; AGI Lima 169, “Carta al Rey,” 3-VII-1657.}

\footnote{Cited in Ibid., 143, ADC, \textit{Colegio de ciencias}, Doc. 26. (My translation) “so pena que serán castigados.”}

\footnote{Students admitted to the Colegio del Príncipe:  
1625 - 11  
1626 - 3  
1627 - 6  
1628 - 1  
1629 - 6  
1630 - 3  

Ibid.}
Archdiocese – had petitioned the king for a school to be established to teach their children to read, write, and speak Spanish, music and Christian customs. And within the Archdiocese of Lima itself, at least a portion of Andean nobles continued to lobby in support of the school into the mid-seventeenth century. In 1657 caciques Don Luis Macas and Don Felipe Caraumango de la Paz wrote to the king complaining of the admission of Spanish boys into the Colegio del Príncipe, to the detriment and neglect of the hijos de caciques. The fact that parents continued to send their sons to the Colegio throughout Fernando Arias de Ugarte’s tenure as archbishop (1630-1638), a period when formal idolatry investigations in the archdiocese were discouraged by the prelate, also indicates that enrollment in the school was voluntary and valued by some students and their parents.

Andean support for Lima’s Colegio del Príncipe – and its Cuzqueño sister, the Colegio de San Borja, founded in 1622 – can be understood in terms of adaptation and change. By becoming

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406 AGI, Lima 169, “Carta de dos curacas,” 03-VII-1657. The question of the Colegio del Príncipe appears to have been one of several issues that Don Luis Macas, cacique of Yauyos, agitated for on behalf of caciques in the Archdiocese of Lima. As José Carlos de la Puente has noted, Luis Macas was one of three caciques, including Don Rodrigo Flores Caxamalqui, cacique of Canta and former collegiate of the Colegio del Príncipe, and Don Francisco Hati, cacique of Latacunga, who, in 1651 had been granted power of attorney to represent several caciques and Indian tribute collectors from Jauja in Spain in their lawsuit for exemption from the Huancavelica mita. See José Carlos de la Puente, “Into the Heart of the Empire: Indian Journeys to the Habsburg Royal Court” (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 2010), 73.

407 Students admitted to the Colegio del Príncipe:

1631 - 8
1632 - 14
1633 - 5
1634 - 12
1635 - 1
1636 - 11
1637 - 10
1638 - 15

Flores Galindo, In Search of an Inca, 63.
fluent in the language, religion and customs of their Spanish overlords – and ensuring their sons did so as well – Andean elites attempted to insert themselves into the emerging colonial hierarchy, and to secure their status and authority in a world that had been turned “upside down” in the wake of the Spanish invasion. Such a strategy, however, may have been as much about continuity as about change. Indeed, the practice of sending future regional leaders to be educated in a distant capital appears to have been a familiar one for this segment of the population. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as several colonial chroniclers recount, kurakas who governed territories that had been incorporated into Tawantinsuyo were required to send their sons to the imperial capital of Cuzco to be educated. These regional nobles reportedly spent four years in Cuzco’s yachay wasi – or “house of teaching” – where they were molded into ambassadors of Inka language and culture. Martín de Murúa, a Mercedarian friar writing at the turn of the seventeenth century, gives a detailed description of the education these elites received under their Inka tutors:

The first teacher began by teaching them the language of the Inka – the particular language that he [the Inka] spoke, which was different from Quechua and Aymara, the

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two general languages of this kingdom. After a time, when they had facility in the language and could speak and understand it, [the students] were put under the charge and indoctrination of another teacher, who taught them to worship idols and huacas, and how to pay them homage and the ceremonies to perform in this respect. [The teacher] taught them the differences between the idols and their names, and in sum, all of the things related to their religion and superstitions. In the third year another teacher arrived, who, using khipus, taught them everything related to good governance and the authority [of the Inkas], the laws, and the obedience they owed to the Inka and to his governors, and the punishments meted out to those who broke his laws. In the fourth and final year, with another teacher, and using the same cords and khipus, they learned many histories and ancient deeds, and records of past wars and of the astuteness of the Inka and his captains and the manner in which they conquered fortresses and defeated their enemies…

410 Martín de Murúa, Historia general, 377. (My translation) “El primer maestro enseñaba al principio la lengua del Ynga, que era la particular que él hablaba, diferentes de la quichua y de la Aymara, que son los dos lenguas generales de este reino. Acabado el tiempo, que salían en ella fáciles, y la hablaban y entendían, entraban a la sujeción y doctrina de otro maestro, el cual les enseñaba a adorar los ídolos y sus huacas, a hacerles reverencia y las ceremonias que en esto había, declarándoles la diferencia de los ídolos y sus nombres y, en fin, todas las cosas pertenecientes a su religión y supersticiones. Al tercer año entraban a otro maestro, que les declaraba en sus quipus los negocios pertenecientes al buen gobierno y autoridad suya, y a las leyes y la obediencia que se había de tener al Ynga y a sus gobernadores, y los castigos que se les daban a los que quebrantaban sus mandatos. El cuarto y postrero año, con otro maestro aprendían en los mismos cordeles y quipus muchas historias y sucesos antiguos, y trancas de guerras acontecidas en tiempos pasados y las astucias de sus Yngas y capitanes, y el modo con que conquistaron las fortalezas y vencieron a sus enemigos…” As Martti Pärssinen, among others, has noted, we must read Murúa’s account with caution – keeping in mind that his perspective is that of a temporal as well as cultural outsider. Martti Pärssinen, Tawantinsuyu: el estado inca y su organización política (Lima: IFEA, 2003), 148. Although El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, who spent his first twenty years living in Cuzco, describes the imperial city’s school-district, as well as the teachers and subjects taught there, he makes no mention of a four-year program of study. Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios reales, book 7, chap. X.
Having completed this training, the *kuraka* returned home, “restored to his former dignity and authority, and the Inca, as king, ordered the vassals to serve and obey him as their natural lord.” The most distinguished of their number, according to Murúa, could expect even higher appointments as provincial governors or commanders in the imperial army. Although we cannot be certain of just how these regional elites viewed and responded to the Inka system of education and control in the early sixteenth century, the similarities – and differences – between the Inka *yachay wasi* and the Spanish colonial Colegio del Príncipe would not have been lost on them.

The documentary record also indicates that at least some of the Andean elite vigorously resisted the Limeño school, as was the case with an unnamed cacique from the periphery of Lima discussed by Pablo José de Arriaga. The Jesuit claims that this regional noble was so adamant in his refusal to send his son to the Colegio del Príncipe that “it was necessary to arrest the father by order of the viceroy.” Although the man eventually sent his son to the school, “within a few days, with little pretext, and causing a great commotion, he returned to take him away. And he arranged for his son, who was not yet fourteen years old, to be married, as I understand it, so that he would not have to return [to the school].” The cacique appears to have been well enough acquainted with the constitutions governing the school – which specified that students were to “attend until their Parents put them in the state of Matrimony, or until they succeeded [their

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411 GarciIaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales*, book 4, chap. XIX.
412 Martín de Murúa, *Historia general*, 378.
413 Arriaga, *La extirpación*, 167. (My translation) “fue menester por orden del Virrey traer a su Padre preso.”; “dentro de pocos días con poco achaque, y muy grande intercession le tornó a llevar, y porque no bolviesse, le casó, sin tener, a lo que entiendo, catorze años.”
Fathers] in the *Cacicazgo*” – to attempt to thwart his admission through a hasty marriage.\footnote{AGN, Real Junta de Temporalidades: Colegios Leg: 171. (My translation) “estar en el hasta que sus Padres les pongan en estado de Matrimonio, ó suceder en el Cacicasgo referido.”} According to Arriaga, officials in Lima saw through his design, and as a result, “His Excellency ordered that [the boy] return to the Colegio, even though he was married.” Yet, upon his return to the school, the son proved to be as resistant as his father. Arriaga recounts that

the boy was so insolent and rebellious that it was necessary to put him in irons. I went to intercede on his behalf, and the Father Rector said that he would remove the irons when the boy knew the doctrine, because he did not know one word of it. And within four or five days, he knew the entire doctrine extremely well; well enough to be able to assist in mass.\footnote{Arriaga, *La extirpación*, 167. (My translation) “mandó su Excelencia que bolviese al Collegio, aunque estuviese casado.”; “estava el muchacho tan insolente, y rebeldé que fue menester hechalle unos grillos. Fui yo a interceder por él, y dixo el P[adre] Rector que le quitaría los grillos quando supiesse la doctrina, porque no sabía palabra de ella, y en quatro, o cinco días, supo muy bien toda la doctrina, hasta ayudar a Missa, etc.”}

Although the case described by Arriaga smacks of an edifying tale and appears exceptional amidst the broader evidence, it suggests that, at least in some cases, enrolment in the Colegio del Príncipe was as involuntary as the prison sentences meted out by inspectors to dogmatizers during the course of idolatry trials. Indeed, the case highlights the broader similarities between the Casa de Santa Cruz and the Colegio del Príncipe: both were institutions of seclusion and reform which blended coercion with persuasion, and which sought to eliminate Andean cultural practices and religious ‘error’ through the extraction and replanting of behaviour as much as belief and knowledge.
2. Pedro de Villagómez: Education and Extirpation in the Mid-Seventeenth Century

The arrival of Pedro de Villagómez to the metropolitan see in 1641 marked the beginning of a period of rigorous evangelization, the re-inauguration of the extirpation of idolatry inspections, and the revival – albeit brief – of the Casa de Santa Cruz and the Colegio del Príncipe. Throughout his tenure, Villagómez maintained the dual-language approach to extirpation and evangelization in his archdiocese, promoting both Quechua and Spanish as languages of indoctrination and correction. Of particular interest is the fact that under Villagómez’s initiative and direction, the archdiocese’s episcopal- and idolatry-related branches of parish inspection – literally, visitas generales and visitas generales de idolatría – attempted to extend and innovate upon a two-pronged system of seclusion and education – bringing what had been focused upon the houses in the capital of Lima to the local level in Andean parishes across the archdiocese.

Repeating and elaborating upon the earlier instructions laid out by the Jesuit Arriaga (1621), Archbishop Villagómez drafted his famous Carta pastoral in 1646 – a ‘manifesto’ outlining his plan to eliminate Indian ‘idolatry’ – and soon after began making preparations for a re-start to the idolatry inspections in the archdiocese. Like the idolatry inspectors of the early seventeenth century, Villagómez’s visitors would incorporate daily mass, mandatory catechesis, and doctrinal instruction in Quechua into their extirpation efforts in order to facilitate parishioners’ comprehension of the Christian doctrine and to enforce religious orthodoxy.\textsuperscript{416} Instruction in Quechua was of particular concern: throughout Villagómez’s term, idolatry visitors

\textsuperscript{416} Mills, \textit{Idolatry and Its Enemies}, 181.
and, more commonly, the regular episcopal inspectors, all routinely assessed local parish priests’ competence in this standardized *lengua general* to ensure adequate instruction could be given, with a proficiency in Quechua that made lessons, at least in theory, comprehensible to parishioners.

Between 1647 and 1649, four pastoral texts composed in the officially sanctioned ‘Christianized’ written variety of Quechua, referred to by Alan Durston as “Standard Colonial Quechua,” were published under the archbishop’s patronage. These included several *sermonarios*, compilations of pastoral texts composed, delivered, and honed over several decades by *visitadores generales de idolatrías* active in the early seventeenth-century inspection tours: Francisco de Ávila’s *Tratado de los evangelios* published in 1647 and *Segundo tomo de los sermones de todo el año* published in 1649, Fernando de Avendaño’s *Sermones de los misterios de nuestra santa fe católica* published in 1649, and Bartolomé Jurado Palomino’s Quechua translation of a catechism entitled *Declaración copiosa* and published in 1649. Although the purposes of their compositions were many and have not been directly linked to extirpation *visitas*, it is clear that, under Villagómez, their works were intended to be used as part of the instructional and persuasive wing of renewed initiatives to combat idolatry through improved

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417 Ibid., 191; for a discussion of Avendaño and Ávila’s sermons, see also 191-210. Fernando de Avendaño, *Sermones de los misterios de nuestra santa fe católica, en lengua castellana y en la general del Inca impugnanse los errores particulares que los indios han tenido* (Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1649). Francisco de Ávila, *Tratado de los evangelios que nuestra Madre la Yglesia nos propone en todo el año. Desde la primera dominica de Adviento hasta la última Missa de Difuntos. Explicase el Evangelio, y en cada uno se pone un sermón en lengua castellana y la General de los Indios deste Reyno del Perú, y donde conviene da lugar la materia se refutan los errores de idolatria* (Lima: 1648). Durston notes that two other important pastoral Quechua manuscripts were also composed in this period: the Franciscan Diego de Molina’s sermonario entitled *Sermones de la quaesma* (1649), and a ritual by Juan de Castromonte entitled *Aptaycachana* (1650). Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 138
doctrinal instruction in Quechua. Most tellingly, the aforementioned Avendaño’s *Sermones* were published alongside Villagómez’s *Carta pastoral* “in a single volume in September 1649.”

However, by the mid-seventeenth century, Andean parishioners and the members of the clergy alike had begun to raise concerns over the suitability of the Church’s Standard Colonial Quechua for doctrinal instruction in the Archdiocese of Lima. The Standard Colonial Quechua established in the Third Provincial Council of Lima texts (1585) differed significantly from the ‘Chinchaysuyo’ or Central dialects of Quechua more widely spoken by parishioners in daily life in this region of the Andes. First, Standard Colonial Quechua was primarily based on the Quechua of Cuzco, a Southern Peruvian variety of the language which was mutually incomprehensible with the varieties of Quechua and other Andean languages spoken in the Archdiocese of Lima. Added to this fundamental problem were the abundant Spanish loan

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418 Durston is careful to note that “concern over idolatry should not be seen as the motor behind pastoral translation in the seventeenth century….The author translators seem to have exploited periods of intensified official interest in the Indian ministry to get their works published.” Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 31.


420 In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century colonial documentation the term “Chinchaysuyo” was often used to describe any non-Cuzqueño variety of Quechua, including northern varieties of Peripheral Quechua as well as Central Quechua dialects (including those spoken in the Archdiocese of Lima). Alfredo Torero has charted colonial uses of the term and notes that by the eighteenth century, “Chinchaysuyo” came to refer exclusively to Central Quechua dialects. Alfredo Torero, “Acerca de la lengua chinchaysuyo,” in *Del siglo de oro al siglo de las luces: lenguaje y sociedad en los Andes del siglo XVIII*, ed. César Itier (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas”, 1995), 15, 23-24.

421 The Third Council Quechua translators, however, attempted to simplify the Cuzco variety of Quechua to make it more “accessible to Quechua speakers from outside Cuzco.” They did so by removing some Cuzco-specific terminology, and by “omitting glottalization and aspiration from the orthography.” Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 67; Torero, “Acerca de la lengua chinchaysuyo,” 16. Durston notes, however, that despite attempts to find a “middle road” between Central and Southern varieties of Quechua, Standard Colonial Quechua, as defined by the Third Council texts, “contains no distinctively Central or coastal forms.” He concludes that Standard Colonial Quechua “was a standardized and watered-down form of the variety of Southern Peruvian Quechua spoken in and around sixteenth-century Cuzco.” Durston, “Standard Colonial Quechua,” 228. In modern-day Peru, Central Peruvian dialects of Quechua continue to be considered “foreign” by speakers of Southern Peruvian Quechua. In the
words incorporated into Standard Colonial Quechua – but not evenly known or understood by the indigenous parishioners of the Archdiocese of Lima – to express key concepts for Catholic Christianity such as God, the Trinity, spirit, cross, Christian, person, altar, patriarch, saint, sacrament, baptism, marriage, communion, evangelist, martyr, sermon, church, innocent, Pope, faith, confessor, angel, priest, miracle, fast, mass, godmother and godfather to name but a few. These two factors alone raised serious concern about the intelligibility of Standard Colonial Quechua for speakers of the Chinchaysuyo variety, and undermined the claims of those who had argued in support of indoctrination in Quechua on the basis of ease of comprehension.

Andean parishioners themselves were hardly silent on the matter, voicing their dissatisfaction with the Standard Colonial Quechua spoken by priests. One of the clearest examples, which John Charles has examined in detail, comes from the parish of Chavín de Pariarca in Huánuco. In 1654, parishioners filed a complaint against their priest, Francisco de Guevara, citing his failure to fulfil pastoral duties and his linguistic incompetence. In the course of the proceedings that followed, native parish assistant Juan Malqui elaborated, and devastatingly, on the problem, testifying that

the aforesaid priest does not know the general language [of the village] well and for this reason many Indians do not receive confession. Since he does not know the language, he cannot hear confessions properly, and the Indians do not have anyone else to confess

course of his ethnographic research on Quechua speakers, Mannheim noted: “When they hear songs on the radio sung in Central Peruvian varieties of Quechua, Southern Peruvian Quechua speakers assume that they are sung in a different language; I was told several times that Central Peruvian Quechua songs were ‘Aymara.’” Mannheim, The Language of the Inka, 96.

Adapted from Estenssoro’s list of Spanish loan words. See Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, Del paganismo a la santidad: la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo 1532-1750, trans. Gabriela Ramos, (Lima: IFEA, 2003), 250-251.

See Durston, Pastoral Quechua, 207 for more on the creation of Standard Colonial Quechua.
them. The priest does not know this language, the language of the newly converted Indians, but he knows the other general language of the Inka quite well, and here one understands only the language of the newly converted Indians.  

It is worth lingering over how the witness Juan Malqui appears to use the term “general language of the Inka” to refer to the Cuzco-based Standard Colonial Quechua used by the priest, as he makes clear that it differed significantly from the local dialect of Quechua. A similar complaint had been voiced two decades earlier in Ancash, where a 1634 inspection of the parish of Nuestra Señora de Huarmey revealed that the parish priest, Juan Bautista Moreno, regularly preached in Spanish, because his Andean parishioners “do not understand the general language of the Inka.”

By the mid-seventeenth century, Peruvian clergymen expert and proficient in Quechua also began to question the appropriateness of Standard Colonial Quechua. As Alan Durston has noted, both Fernando de Avendaño and Diego de Molina argued that the Chinchaysuyo variety of Quechua was more appropriate to use in the archdiocese than Standard Colonial Quechua because it was the variety spoken and understood by most parishioners in the region. Indeed, in the preface to his book of Quechua sermons, Diego de Molina asserts that, “If I were an examiner [of applicants for parishes] in the diocese of Chinchaysuyu [i.e., the Archdiocese of Lima] I would not examine in the terms of Cuzco, but in its mother tongue, because that is the

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425 AAL, Visitas Pastorales, Leg 1:13, f. 1v. (My translation) “…y que no tiene los sermones que a predicado porque ser los Yndios ladinos se les predica en la lengua castellano porque no entienden la general del Ynga.” Gerald Taylor’s study of the language varieties spoken in Huarochari and Yauyos at the end of the sixteenth century suggests that peoples in this region may have spoken dialects of Aru. And Jesuit letters written during this period indicate that priests struggled to communicate with many neophytes – especially women – who did not understand the variety of Quechua used by priests. Taylor, Camac, camay y camasca, 41.
426 Durston, Pastoral Quechua, 128; See also Charles, “‘More Ladino than Necessary,’” 33.
one its natives speak and understand..."\textsuperscript{427} Despite the seriousness of these concerns and the clarity of the points being made by individuals with the most local knowledge, the arguments were apparently given little weight, even by the Molina himself. The pastoral Quechua texts published in the mid-seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima show little evidence of the “Chinchasuyoization” for which Catholic Christian people in the know had been clamouring. Rather, the texts published under Villagómez’s patronage, according to Durston, continued to conform to the established terms of Standard Colonial Quechua.\textsuperscript{428}

As noted in Chapter 1, conventional wisdom in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms held that languages not only encoded the beliefs and customs of speakers, but also affected and reflected their intellects.\textsuperscript{429} Standard Colonial Quechua, as a purportedly ‘elevated’ and Christianized variety of an Andean language, was believed to be less likely to transmit older non-Christian Andean practices and beliefs to parishioners – although fear of this possibility remained. In contrast, what was being regarded as the “un-Christianised,” uncontrolled, and unsanctioned Chinchaysuyo varieties of Quechua spoken by parishioners in the archdiocese remained suspect at least, and, in the eyes of many mid-colonial evangelizers and extirpators, deeply infused with idolatrous meanings and activities.

This fear is perhaps most clearly expressed in a report on idolatry from the parish of Huacho in the \textit{corregimiento} of Chancay composed on 29 August 1646. It warned that

\textsuperscript{427} Cited in Durston, \textit{Pastoral Quechua}, 128.
\textsuperscript{428} Ibid., 129.
\textsuperscript{429} Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit missionary and historian writing in the second half of the seventeenth century, argued that the lack of Christian and ‘civilized’ concepts in the native languages was evidence of the mental incapacity of the Indians. Bernabé Cobo, \textit{Inca Religion and Customs}, trans. R. Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 184.
the elderly Indian teachers often remind others of their local rites, and bring them news of the *huacas* and of their places of worship, and they persuade them to return to them; this they usually do in their language and especially in their village’s mother tongue, if the town has one, so that they will not be understood or exposed.\textsuperscript{430}

Earlier in the century, Arriaga had asserted that knowledge of local deities and practices were instilled in children from the time they learned to speak, noting that

all children, even the youngest ones, know the name of the Huaca of their Ayllu. And in my experience, I have asked many of them, and I can recall none – not even the youngest ones – who were unable to tell me the name of their Huaca. But when you ask them who is God, and who is Jesus Christ, very few know.\textsuperscript{431}

The use of any form of Quechua – Christianized or not – in activities of collective remembering such as song and dance was also regarded as highly suspect – as embodiments, the bodily memories, expressions and vehicles of idolatrous error – and thus Lima church inspectors focused on ensuring that “there were no dances, songs, or Andean musical ceremonies in their mother tongues or in the *lengua general* of the Indians…”\textsuperscript{432}

\textsuperscript{430} Miguel Pinto, Arturo Urbano, and Yolanda Candia, eds., *Economía y geografía histórica: Linderos Reducciones en Lima, visitas eclesiásticas 1627-1820* (Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, 2008), 1: 90. (My translation) “los indios viejos Amautas acostumbra traer a la memoria de los otros sus ritos gentilicios, y darles noticias de haucas y adoratorios, y persuadirlos a que vuelvan a ellos: esto lo hacen de ordinario en su lengua y especialmente en la maternal de sus pueblos donde la hay para que los demás no los entiendan y descubran…”

\textsuperscript{431} Arriaga, *La extirpación*, 68. (My translation) “No ay muchacho por pequeño que sea, que no sepa el nombre de la Huaca de su Ayllu, y aunque por solo hazer esta experiencia, lo e preguntado a muchos, no me acuerdo, que ninguno por muchacho que fuse me aya dexado de dezir su Huaca, y son bien pocos los que preguntados quién es Dios, y quién Jesu Christo, lo sepan.”

By the 1660s Villagómez instructed episcopal inspectors to read out an edict in parishes declaring that, “the Indians are not to speak in their mother tongues, but rather in the general [language] of the Inkas.” And yet, there is no evidence to suggest a widespread or concerted effort was ever made to replace the non-standard dialects of Quechua with Standard Colonial Quechua as a spoken language in the Archdiocese of Lima. Indeed, as Durston argues, although a small segment of the Andean elite acquired and used what was essentially an ecclesiastical Quechua language for purposes of written communication, and while parishioners “may have memorized prayers and listened to sermons in Standard Colonial Quechua,” there is no evidence to suggests that “it was ever spread as a true spoken language” of everyday communication. Further, linguistic studies have shown no short- or long-term linguistic shift towards the Cuzco variety of Quechua in the Archdiocese of Lima, leading us to believe, as

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433 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:13, f. 2v. (My translation) “no hablen los indios en la lengua maternal sino es en la general del inga.”

434 While, as Bruce Mannheim suggests, native languages spoken in Peru as a whole underwent a process of homogenization throughout the colonial period, as previously non-Quechua speaking peoples adopted Quechua amidst demographic collapse and reorganization and partly as a result of the Andean Church’s official promotion of the language, important distinctions remained between Standard Colonial Quechua and the local Quechua languages spoken in the Archdiocese of Lima. Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 80. We find parishioners themselves making a distinction between the varieties they spoke and that of their priest, although perhaps not often as succinctly as Gerónimo Julca Maquín, a bilingual schoolteacher from the town of San Juan de la Pallasca. When his parish was inspected in 1620, Julca Maquín was questioned about his priest’s competency in Quechua, and in response testified that the “said priest is competent and speaks the lengua general and also the language of Chinchaysuyo like an Indian” (My translation) “dho cura es lenguaraz y que habla la lengua general y la chinchaysuyo también como un yndio.” AAL, Visitas Pastorales, Leg 1:7, f. 5v-6. Maquín’s account, which not only distinguishes between the two varieties, but also classifies the Chinchaysuyo variety as the language of Indians, supports Alan Durston’s assertion that Standard Colonial Quechua was not adopted by parishioners in the archdiocese on a large scale. Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 109-110.

Durston contends, that throughout our period of study, Standard Colonial Quechua essentially remained a “written medium that was manifested orally through text-based performances.”

Thus, despite the Church’s insistence on the use of Standard Colonial Quechua for the purposes of indoctrination, much of daily life in Andean parishes would have been conducted in local dialects of the indigenous language, which, many extirpators feared, encoded native beliefs and customs, and led to the maintenance and spread of all sorts of idolatries and religious errors. In this climate, the reasoning behind what I am characterizing as a dual language approach, and the place of the Spanish language within it, becomes clear. To supplement indoctrination in Standard Colonial Quechua, to promote a deeper understanding of the abundant Christian concepts expressed through Spanish loan-words, and to combat the potentially ‘negative’ influences of the various mother tongues that continued to be spoken throughout the archdiocese, ecclesiastical ordinances mandated that catechetical instruction be provided to all parishioners in Spanish as well as approved pastoral Quechua, and that all parish children learn to read, write, and speak Spanish. Spanish, which according to seventeenth-century theories of language was imbued with *policía*, would facilitate not only purely linguistic change but also cultural and religious transformation.

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*436* Ibid., 48, 109-110. Durston has recently revisited this question in an article published in 2014, where he strongly supports his earlier interpretation: “Did SQC [Standard Colonial Quechua] ever become a spoken language of everyday use? Did the Spanish seek to impose it as such? Did they rely on it as an administrative medium? The answer to each of these questions seems to be no.” Durston, “Standard Colonial Quechua,” 234. Quechua experts, including Durston, César Itier, and Mannheim have also acknowledged the homogenizing effects that Spanish colonial processes (including migrations due to labour obligations) had on Quechua in Peru, and particularly on Southern Peruvian Quechua. See Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 47; César Itier, “Lengua general y quechua cuzqueño en los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *Desde afuera y desde adentro. Ensayos de etnografía e historia del Cuzco y Apurímac*, ed. Luis Millones, Hiroyasu Tomoeda, and Tatsuhiko Fujii (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2000), 47-60; Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 34-35, 80.
And so it was that, in addition to the encouragement of Standard Colonial Quechua, Villagómez’s *Carta pastoral* provides for simultaneous doctrinal instruction in Spanish, and emphasizes the need for simplicity in vocabulary in order to facilitate parishioners’ comprehension. Chapter fifty-three, “On how to catechize the Indians, and how to admit into confession those who have been catechized,” even instructs idolatry inspectors to examine native parish assistants who aided priests in teaching the Christian doctrine to ensure correct wording when teaching Spanish prayers. More specifically, with regard to the Creed, Villagómez recommends simplifying the phrase “*remisión de los pecados*” to “*perdón de los pecados*” on the grounds that even many Spaniards had difficulty understanding the term “*remisión*.”

Beyond setting out these pastoral specifics in 1649, creating the reformative foundation for the idolatry inspections he was launching, Archbishop Villagómez was a strong supporter of more widespread and regular bilingual parish indoctrination, which had been provided for in the decrees of the Third Provincial Council of Lima and reinforced by the royal *cédula* of 1634. Thus it was that in addition to being required to report on each priest’s competency and frequency of preaching in Standard Colonial Quechua, several of Villagómez’s episcopal visitors recorded whether catechetical instruction was also being delivered to all parishioners in Spanish. The answers are revealing. Beginning in the second half of the 1640s, several *causas de visitas* comment favourably on the state of bilingual parish indoctrination in the provinces of Ica,

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437 (My translation) “Del modo que se a de tener en catequizar a los Indios, y en admitir a las confessiones a los ya catequizados”

438 Villagómez, Pedro de. *Carta pastoral de exhortación e instrucción contra las idolatrías de los indios del arzobispado de Lima* (Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1649), 53v, [http://archive.org/stream/cartapastoraldee00cath#page/n115/mode/2up](http://archive.org/stream/cartapastoraldee00cath#page/n115/mode/2up).

439 The formal inspections, however, got off to a slow start as all but one of Villagómez’s seven idolatry inspectors commissioned in 1649 delayed their departures from Lima. Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, 147.
Cajatambo, Cerro de Pasco and Ancash – informing about a subject entirely absent from episcopal inspection reports conducted earlier in the century during the prelacies of Lobo Guerrero and Campo.  

Previously, Villagómez had served as bishop of Arequipa, where he had also actively promoted Spanish language education for Andeans in the effort to eliminate religious ‘error.’ In a letter written to the king in 1635, he even claimed to have founded a Spanish language school in his own home for the diocese’s *hijos de caciques* – a fact suggestive of the diverse settings and forms “schools” could take in the mid-colonial Andes. Thus, it comes as no surprise that, once elevated to the office of archbishop of Lima, he would reinvigorate the Colegio del Príncipe. In 1642, just a year after Villagómez arrived in the metropolitan see, twenty-two young Andean nobles journeyed to Lima to enroll in the city’s Colegio del Príncipe. This figure not only represented a dramatic increase from the years just before, but was also the highest level of enrollment the school had ever seen in a single year, surpassing even the school’s initial glory days under the direction of Viceroy Francisco de Borja and Archbishop Lobo Guerrero.

We lack records from the sister institution, the Casa de Santa Cruz itself – making it impossible to gauge the rate of change in its admission levels. But there are compelling reasons to believe that, like the Colegio del Príncipe, the Casa de Santa Cruz also received a sudden influx of inmates with the dramatic re-inauguration of idolatry inspections and trials in the

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442 For enrollment numbers for the Colegio del Príncipe, see Flores Galindo, *In Search of an Inca*, 63-64.
decade following Villagómez’s arrival. Idolatry trial records from the province of Cajatambo indicate that inspectors continued to sentence offenders to the house of seclusion in Lima into the second half of the seventeenth century. In San Pedro de Hacas in 1657, for example, Hernando Hacas Poma, an accused “relapsed high priest […] dogmatizer, confessor […] minister of idols, sorcerer, [and] deceiver…,” who we will encounter in more detail below, was sentenced to six years of service in the Casa de Santa Cruz alongside a fellow repeat offender.443

The experiences of hijos de caciques and sentenced dogmatizers at the Limeño institutions of seclusion and reform – however compelling they may have been to contemporaries and to historical interpreters in their wake – were the exception rather than the rule. Enrollment in the Colegio del Príncipe was reserved for the eldest sons of caciques and secondary authorities, and, as a result, only a small segment of the Andean population ever studied there.444 The Casa de Santa Cruz, too, was reserved for only the most recalcitrant offenders and teachers of idolatries, remaining for the majority of Andeans a distant exemplary

443 Duviols, ed., Procesos y visitas, 462. (My translation) “sumo saserdote…docmatisador comfesor […] ministro de ydolos echisero embusterro relaspo…” Hacas Poma is also featured in Mills, An Evil Lost to View?

444 The Constitutions for the schools stipulated by El Principe de Esquilache said: “The following are to be admitted into the Colegio: the eldest sons of Caciques principales and second persons in this archdiocese and surrounding area…..and if a Cacique or second person has no legitimate sons, but has an illegitimate son, he, as his successor, may enter the said Colegio. And if a Cacique has no sons whatsoever, his nephew or another relative who he selects as his heir [shall enter the Colegio], being of the age indicated in these Constitutions….The Colegio will not admit students who are not the eldest sons of caciques principales or second persons and successors of the cacicazgos….but if a cacique principal or second person would like his younger sons to enter the Colegio, they may be admitted and remain in the school as long as the said cacique pays for their maintenance….and common Indians are not to be admitted.” (My translation) “Han de entrar en el Colegio los hijos mayores delos Caciques principales y segundas personas de este Arzobispado y comarca…..y en caso de que algún Cacique, ó Caciques, segundas personas no tengan hijos legítimos sino algún natural este tal como su subcesor pueda entrar y entren en el dho Colegio, y sino tuviere hijo alguno entre el sobrino, ó pariente que le debiere subceder siendo de la edad que se declara en estas Constituciones…. No han de ser admitidos en el dho Colegio los que no fueren hijos mayores de los caciques principales y segundas personas y subcesores en los Cacicasgos….pero si algún cacique principal, ó segunda persona quisiere que entren otros hijos suyos y sustenarlos á su costa se pueden recibir y estar en el mientras los sustenaren…y no han de ser admitidos otros Yndios inferiores.” AGN, Real Junta de Temporalidades: Colegios Leg: 171.
threat. Nevertheless, and perhaps for these very reasons, during Villagómez’s tenure, frequent idolatry and episcopal inspections attempted to bring these Limeño institutions – the school house and the reformatory – to Andean parishes, where more modest initiatives were meant to operate towards the same reformative and correctional ends, albeit on a significantly smaller scale.

In San Pedro de Hacas, the more apologetic colleagues of the previously mentioned ‘dogmatizer,’ Hernando de Hacas Poma, were given lighter sentences with the provision that if they retracted their confessions, they too would be sentenced to several years in the Limeño reformatory. In many parishes, lesser forms of exile, confinement, service in churches and monasteries, and monitoring were also served locally. To be sure, such measures were not a complete departure from prescribed practice. Legislation issued widely in the sixteenth century had insisted that every town in Spanish America maintain, at its own cost, “prisons for the custody and guarding of troublemakers and other [delinquents] who should be incarcerated.” Such miscreants included those found guilty of religious error – “idolaters” – although the extent to which such mandates were implemented in the Archdiocese of Lima is uncertain, and compliance appears to have been uneven at best. We do know that in the more northerly Viceroyalty of New Spain, according to William B. Taylor, this very decree was implemented haphazardly, as villages often scrambled to put together “flimsy adobe building[s] that could

446 Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 184. As Mills notes, chapter sixty-four of Villagómez’s Carta pastoral required visitors to issue sentences of confinement to serious offenders: “Sorcerers, confessors, seers, and other ministers of the devil who pervert the other Indians and lead them away from the Christian religion are to be imprisoned and kept separate from the other Indians.” (My translation) “Los hechiceros, confesores, y adiuinos, y demas ministros del demonio, que tienen de oficio peruetir a los demas Indios, y apartarlos de la religion Christiana, se pongan, y encieren en un lugar apartado de los demas…” Pedro de Villagómez, Carta pastoral, 68v.
447 Recopilación, 7-6-1, cited in Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 208. (My translation) “carceles para custodia, y guarda de los delinquentes, y otros, que deven estar presos.”
accommodate [a] few prisoners...,” or, in some cases, resorted to using a room in the church as the community jailhouse.448

Evidence suggests that parishes in the Archdiocese of Lima appear to have acted similarly. Sentences meted out by idolatry officials frequently included the requirements that guilty parties labour in parish churches, and live under the custody of parish priests. Such was the fate of Agustín Julca Yauri and of Hernando Chaupis. Both were found guilty of being “dogmatizers and ministers of idols and malquis” in the parish of San Francisco de Mangas in Cajatambo in 1663. In addition to being whipped and shorn, due to their advanced age, they were sentenced to be removed from their native town of Nanis, to live under the watchful eye of the parish priest in Mangas.449 Kenneth Mills recounts a much later, though equally typical example of local methods of confinement in the parish of Andajes, Cajatambo. There, after an idolatry inspection in 1725,

an elder and huaca minister...named Antonio Tapaojo was sentenced to give up his independence and spend the rest of his days in the home of the Mercedarian friar and priest in order that his punishment should be known by others and that he might be carefully instructed in the faith.450

Tapaojo’s sentence neatly merged confinement with instruction.451 Just how a range of contemporary Andean people viewed the local incarcerations and corrections of those accused

448 Taylor, Magistrates, 209.
450 Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 184.
451 Royal legislation regarding parish prisons compiled in the Recopilación reinforced this twinning, ordering that “all of the Jails in our Audiencias, Cities, Towns, and [all] Locations have a chaplain to say Mass for the prisoners” (My translation) “En Todas las Carceles de nuestras Audiencias, Ciudades, Villas, y Lugares haya vn capellan, que diga Missa á los presos...” Recopilación, 7-6-3.
and convicted of religious error is difficult to know. But much like the intentions of the Casa de Santa Cruz, these local and more widely experienced forms of seclusion, punishment, and humiliation attempted not only to reform the individual but also to restrict their behaviour through a monitoring environment, and through a stern shaming and diminishing of their influence. They were treated as past authorities, would-be teachers of unacceptable forms of religious and cultural practices in their home communities who required control.

Similarly, throughout the course of episcopal inspections carried out under Villagómez’s supervision we witness a concerted effort to ensure that local versions of the Limeño Colegio were operating across the archdiocese. As noted in Chapter 2, the inspections carried out by visitadores during Villagómez’s tenure were unique in that the official questionnaire carried and meant to be employed by all parish inspectors between 1642 and 1670 included a question inquiring after the state of Spanish language education in Indian parishes. The special attention paid to escuelas de muchachos indios by Villagómez’s episcopal visitors suggests that the archbishop was particularly keen on ensuring that the prescribed instruction – in whatever local forms – was operating, and that parish-based Spanish language instruction, much like the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima, was an important, even vital local part of Villagómez’s overall approach to evangelization, once again indicating that extirpation was not separated from evangelization.

The “schools” and all related efforts in instruction – in theory and certainly in the hopes of contemporary Church officials – would work together with locally enacted forms of reform and punishment to remove parish children from the ‘harmful’ influences of teachers of idolatries, providing them, instead, with local teachers of Christian doctrine, customs, and language.
Mandated to be open to all students in the parish – regardless of the diverse forms they took on the ground – the effects of such instruction was intended to be more wide-ranging than the Limeño school for caciques. In local parish educational settings, Andean children would learn to read, write, and speak Spanish, as well as the Christian doctrine, and to sing Catholic hymns. These subjects were linked to broader intentions, previously noted in Chapter 1, of instilling pupils with Christian behaviours, customs and habits, usually referred to by officials as policía, believed to be encoded within the language of Castile.452

Much like the Colegio del Príncipe, the intended uses for what officials referred to as escuelas de muchachos indios at times blurred the lines between persuasion and coercion, education and punishment, and in ways that troubled contemporary Catholic Christian officials far less than it has done modern historians. Perhaps one of the most telling cases in this respect is the idolatry inspection carried out in the parish of San Pedro de Hacas in 1656 by Bernardo de Noboa. While investigating reports of the removal of ancestral remains from the parish cemetery in the annex of Santo Domingo de Pariac, Noboa uncovered the ‘idolatrous’ activities of a local ayllu chief, one Juan Chuchu. Chuchu was accused of maintaining plots of land and storehouses of coca and maize to be used in ritual offerings for the huacas and ancestors, and perhaps more worryingly for the investigator, of initiating children in the ‘false religion’ of his ancestors. Witnesses claimed Chuchu was one of several “ministers of idolatries” who had taken a number of boys and girls along with them to participate in offerings to the huacas, and to receive names

452 Wood, “Teach Them Good Customs,” 2. The decrees of the First Provincial Council of Lima (1551-1552), for example, outline some of the new habits Andean students were required to form; they were to be instructed “in the Catholic faith, taught how to pray when they get up and when they go to bed, and to bless their food and drink, and other good customs and behaviours…” (My translation) “en las cosas de nuestra santa feé católica y les enseñe como han de rezar cuando se levantan y acuestan, y bendecir lo que comieren y bebieren, y otras buenas costumbres y policia…” Primer concilio provincial limense, 1: 33.
Eventually, Chuchu himself confessed to a number of misdeeds, including his involvement in the town’s surviving cult to these ancestors and cultural founders, and admitted to having removed his grandfather’s body from the church to perform the traditional rites and ceremonies for the dead. Due to his confession and willingness to cooperate with the visiting idolatry investigator, Chuchu avoided imprisonment and exile. Instead, this willing recounter of his mid-colonial beliefs and practices was sentenced to participate in a procession “alongside Guaraz, [a fellow offender], holding a cross; and also to serve in the church of his said town for a year; and to attend doctrinal instruction with the parish children.”

Chuchu’s sentence, which again features the combination of punishment and education, was a common one meted out by idolatry inspectors in the mid-seventeenth century. Indeed, in chapter sixty-six of his Carta pastoral, Villagómez had ordered that “the sorcerers, sorceresses, and ministers of idolatry who are recorded in the parish registers…are to gather together every morning and afternoon for doctrine classes, as the children do. And anyone who is absent without leave from the Priest will be given twelve lashes.”

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453 Witness, Juan Guaraz, testified that he had seen Juan Chuchu, along with several other accused, “take the boys and some Indian girls with them to speak with the huacas. They asked the huacas what they should name [the children] because they did not want to use the names that had been given to them in the baptismal font. The said huacas responded and told them the name each was to have…” (My translation) “a bisto que lleban los muchachos y algunas yndias muchachas para que hablasen con las Guacas a las quales les preguntabam los nombres que querian que les pussiesen porque no se // querian llamar el nombre que les abian puesto en la pila y las dichas guacas les respondian y decian el nombre que abian de tener…” Duviols, ed., Procesos y visitas, 272-273.

454 Ibid., 275-276. For more on idolatry investigations and Andean burial practices see Gose, “Converting the Ancestors,” 140-174.

455 Duviols, ed., Procesos y visitas, 291. (Emphasis mine; My translation) “salga con Guaraz y cruz en las manos y a que sirua vn año en la yglesia del dicho su pueblo y acuda a la doctrina con los muchachos.”

456 Mills, Extirpation and Its Enemies, 183.

457 Villagómez, Carta pastoral, 73. (My translation) “…los hechiceros, y hechiceras ministros de la idolatria, q quedan escritos en el libro de la Iglesia…se juntarán mañana, y tarde a la Dotrina, como haze los niños, y a qualquiera dellos que faltare sin licencia del Cura, le serán dados doze açotes…”
a more rigorous confinement within their parishes were to continue to receive regular doctrinal instruction.\textsuperscript{458}

The sentence, which required the ‘minister of idolatries’ to attend lessons with the parish children, was likely meant not only to be edifying but also humiliating.\textsuperscript{459} One of the ayllu’s religious leaders, who had recently spoken with authority to his community and instructed – especially by example, but perhaps more recently in increasingly formal ways\textsuperscript{460} – the younger generation on matters of tradition and religion, was to be reduced to the status of a child. Chuchu, in his local environment, like the inmates of the Casa de Santa Cruz and our unnamed hijo de cacique at the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima, was decidedly both prisoner and pupil.

3. Andean Re-Creations of Spanish

Despite the aims of extirpators and ecclesiastical officials, Spanish language education for and by Andeans in the Archdiocese of Lima often outran officials’ original intents, initiating unwanted and even unexpected processes that would come to define many Andean communities by at least the mid-colonial era. The presumed link between the transformation of language, customs, and belief did not always play out as neatly on the ground as anticipated, and the segment of the Andean population referred to by colonial officials as Indios Ladinos, among

\textsuperscript{458} Ibid., 69. “Sorcerers, confessors, seers, and other ministers of the devil...are to be imprisoned, but do not neglect to teach them the doctrine with diligence, in order that they may be saved.” (My translation) “Los hechiceros confessors, y adiunos, y demas ministros del demonio...los manden tener encerrados, pero no se les dexe de enseñar la dotrina...con particular cuidado, para que sean saluos...”

\textsuperscript{459} Mills, Idolatry and Its Enemies, 183.

\textsuperscript{460} It is unclear whether the “teachers and ministers of idolatries” who were feared by Catholic authorities actually existed as “teachers” or “ministers” in the formal sense. However, Monica Barnes has argued that mid-colonial Andeans, in the response to and in order to counter Spanish Catholic extirpation efforts, may have attempted to preserve specific cultural and religious practices through “teaching.” Monica Barnes, “Catechisms and Confessionarios. Distorting Mirrors of Andean Societies,” in Andean Cosmologies through Time, ed. Robert V. H. Dover, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 67-94.
many others much less defined, did not always fit easily into the mold of model Christian subjects of the Crown. Andeans acquired and maintained fluency in multiple languages, practices and beliefs, employing them selectively and in combination in various situations and facets of their lives. Thus, we can think of such Indios Ladinos as linguistically and culturally bilingual, or, to borrow Kenneth Mills’ characterization, “adept ‘cultural chameleons,’ people with the ability to use Spanish Christian cultural tools and to recognize when calculated compromise was necessary, but who had not lost sight of recognizably Andean ways and definitions of authority.” It was precisely this ambiguity – the coexistence and intermingling of linguistic and cultural practices which colonial officials perceived as distinct and attempted to segregate – that caused officials anxiety over Indios Ladinos in the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima.

Indios Ladinos, individuals who blurred the boundaries between the conventional categories of ‘Indian’ and ‘Spaniard,’ occupied an ambiguous place – at best – in the imaginations of colonial officials. As Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins have demonstrated, the sense of unease surrounding Ladinos extended more broadly to those who were not easily fit into a defined category – moriscos and conversos in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms, and Mestizos, Mulattos and various other castas in the American viceroyalties, all of whom “blur[red] multiple categories of race, ethnicity, class, and culture.” Civil and ecclesiastical officials feared individuals who were capable of moving between languages, cultures and religions.

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463 Rappaport and Cummins, Beyond the Lettered City, 56.
branding them as ‘double men’ (or women) on the grounds that their positions could never be stated with any certainty.\footnote{As Deborah Root has noted, the \textit{Repertorium inquisitorum}, a manual for inquisitors printed in Valencia in 1494, states: “The double man is to be shunned, because he is evil: he is evil according to his language, and also according to his heart.” Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” \textit{Representations} 23 (Summer 1988): 127.} As John Charles, too, has noted, Indios Ladinos were perceived by colonial officials as both “the obedient servants of evangelization and the underhanded plotters of its demise.”\footnote{Charles, \textit{Allies at Odds}, 3.} Tellingly, in some cases, both opinions were expressed by the same individual. Jesuit provincial, José de Acosta, in one of the passages from the sermons published by the Third Provincial Council of Lima in 1585, for example, held up Indios Ladinos as model Christians to be emulated by all Andean parishioners.\footnote{Tercero catecismo, y exposicion de la doctrina christiana por sermones ... conforme a lo que se proveyó en el Santo Concilio Provincial de Lima el año pasado de 1583 (en la Oficina de la Calle de San Jacinto, 1773), 141. “Have you not seen how the good the Viracochas [the Spaniards] do so? And the many Indios Ladinos who are good sons confess several times throughout the year and pray, and practice self-flagellation: these are the blessed of God.” (My translation) “No auëys visto a los Viracochas [los españoles] buenos como lo hazen? Y muchos indios ladinos que son buenos hijos se confiesan entre año muchas vezes y rezan, y se disciplinan: estos son benditos de Dios.”} Yet in his treatise for evangelizers looking to the salvation of the Indians, \textit{De procuranda indorum salute}, Acosta paints a considerably less favourable image of Ladinos. Many Spanish-speaking Indians, he laments, had abandoned the benighted simplicity of their prior, more humble condition to become, by virtue of their education, among the worst depraved members of early colonial society. According to Acosta, the acquaintance of these individuals with Hispanic customs and language had driven them away from the church and exposed them to the destructive influence of Spanish \textit{encomenderos} and corrupt colonial
administration from whom they learned immoral customs, including the arts and
deceptions with which to exploit their fellow Andeans.467

Writing just over a decade later, Acosta’s Jesuit successor, Rodrigo Cabredo, expressed a similar
opinion, asserting that Indians who had learned Spanish in Cuzco through contact with Spaniards
had acquired, along with facility in the language, only the worst qualities from the peninsula, not
least the “vice of dishonesty.”468

This negative perception of Indios Ladinos, which was equally premised on a belief that
culture writ large was passed on through language, also stemmed, in part, from the clergy’s
disappointment with many of the emerging processes of Castilianization. As discussed above,
ecclesiastical officials intended Spanish language indoctrination to strengthen Andean
parishioners’ understanding and commitment to ‘correct’ Tridentine Catholicism; and for
Andeans to use their acquired skills of reading, writing, and speaking Spanish in the service of
the Church to promote “good government” and fidelity to the law. As Charles’ in-depth study of
Indios Ladinos in the Viceroyalty of Peru demonstrates, a large number of Ladinos across the
archdiocese did, in fact, serve their parish churches in the capacity of fiscales (lay assistants to
the parish priest), alcaldes ordinarios (town council members holding judicial authority),
sacristanes (sacristans), mayordomos (head attendants or overseers of religious associations),

467 John Charles, “Indios Ladinos: Colonial Andean Testimony and Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1583-1650” (PhD
diss., Yale University, 2003), 25.
468 Egaña, ed., Monumenta, 8: 283. (My translation) “vicio de la deshonestidad.” The notion that Indios Ladinos
would acquire only the negative qualities associated with Spanish speakers was widespread. In his treatise De las
costumbres y conversion de los indios, Bartolomé Alvarez declared that “…it has been noted that many Indios
Ladinos have said: ‘I’m like a Spaniard now. I know how to swear and gamble.” (My translation) “…se ha hallado
que muchos indios ladinos han dicho: ‘ya soy como español, que sé jurar y jugar.” Álvarez, De las costumbres y
conversion de los indios, 287. Similarly, in New Spain the Franciscan friar and author of the Historia eclesiástica
indiana, Gerónim de Mendieta, had worried near the end of the sixteenth century that “the Indians were acquiring
every vice of the Spaniards without any of their compensating virtues.” Phelan, The Millennial Kingdom, 86.
alguaçiles (bailiffs), cantores de la yglesia (cantors), cobradores de tributos (tribute collectors), procuradores (solicitors), maestros de capilla (chapel masters), tenentes (deputies or assistants), maestros de coro (church choirmasters), and regidores (secondary members of town councils). ⁴⁶⁹

And yet, these native church assistants, many of whom self-identified as Christians, often simultaneously applied their linguistic abilities for their own ends, and in circumstances or situations quite other than those envisioned by proponents of Castilianization. The language and its power became theirs. In the course of managing the affairs of their parishes, native assistants frequently came into conflict with ecclesiastical and civil authorities – most commonly their own parish priest – and used their Spanish skills to actively “[advocate] individual and collective rights to the top reaches of the royal audiencia and church establishment.” ⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, as Duviols and Charles, among others, have asserted, the lawsuits filed by these Indios Ladinos appear to have been variously connected to the episcopal and idolatry branches of the parish inspection throughout the seventeenth century. ⁴⁷¹ Adapting the inspections to their own purposes, parish assistants and other town notables often took advantage of the relatively fleeting presence of an inspector in their town to air grievances and “bring charges against Catholic ministers they deemed incompetent or threatening.” ⁴⁷²

Litigiousness, which came to be associated with Indios Ladinos en masse, was seen by their detractors as one of the principal reasons why Andeans attempted to learn to read and write Spanish. Lope de Atienza, a peninsula-born chronicler and clergyman writing in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, expresses his apparent frustration at what he called the

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⁴⁶⁹ For more on the Andean Church’s native parish assistants, see Charles, Allies at Odds.
⁴⁷⁰ Charles, Allies at Odds, 6.
⁴⁷² Charles, “‘More Ladino than Necessary,’” 29.
Ladinos’ “misuse” of the Spanish language. Rather than using their language skills to “read books on good doctrine for the good of their souls and benefit of their neighbours,” Atienza laments, they instead spend their time learning the manner of composing petitions and writing letters, so that when others, who cannot write, seek their counsel, they persuade them to enter lawsuits…and in this way they misuse what they have learned and what has been taught to them, as people who abhor the [language] from which they could be benefiting.\textsuperscript{473}

Bartolomé Álvarez’s memorial to King Philip II of 1588 expresses a similar sentiment when recounting the cases of two Indios Ladinos, one from a town named Andamarca in the province of los Carangas, [who] bought a Monterroso,\textsuperscript{474} and another Ladino from the town of Corquemarca who bought \textit{Las partidas} of Alfonso X, which cost 40 pesos…And if you were to question him, he would not know the law of God; and if [you were to ask if he] knows the doctrine, he would not be able to understand or recite it.\textsuperscript{475}

Spanish-speaking Indians who were well-versed in the viceroyalty’s legal system but who reportedly knew nothing of Christianity – or, worse yet, were re-creating it for themselves – were an affront to the belief that Spanish was an inherently Christian language; such a position

\textsuperscript{473} Lope de Atienza, \textit{Compendio historial del estado de los Indios del Pirú, con mucha doctrina i cosas notables de ritos, costumbres e inclinaciones}… RAH, Fondo Juan Bautista Muñoz 9-4790, f. 12v-13r. (My translation) “leer libros de buena doctrina para bien de sus animas i edificio de su proximo,”; “[el] estilo de hacer peticiones i escrevir cartas para que los demas que no lo saben hacer pidiendoles consejo los inducan a pleitos….y asi usan mal de lo que aprenden i se les enseña como gente que aborrece los medios de que se podrian aprovechar…”

\textsuperscript{474} As editors María del Martín Rubio, Juan J.R. Villarías and Fermín del Pino Díaz note, Álvarez is referring to Gabriel de Montessoro y Alvarado’s \textit{Practica civil y criminal, e instruccion de escrivanos}, published in 1563.

\textsuperscript{475} Álvarez, \textit{De las costumbres y conversion de los indios}, 268-269. (My translation) “un pueblo llamado Andamarca, en la provincia de los Carangas, [quien] compró un Monterroso, y en otro pueblo llamado Corquemarca otro ladino compró las Partidas del rey don Alonso, que le costaron 40 pesos…Y que, si lo examinasen, no sabría la ley de Dios; y si sabe la doctrina, no la sabe entender ni declarar.”
insisted that the language possessed intrinsic qualities which ennobled speakers, making them both mentally and morally superior.

Equally disturbing to spiritual and secular officialdom, were the reports of Andeans who reserved Spanish for use during *borracheras*, a blanket term used by colonial officials to describe a wide range of Andean social interactions, collective rememberings, and means of communication with the divine involving alcohol as well as song and dance. A number of chroniclers writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries noted that Andeans frequently spoke Spanish while under the influence of alcohol. Lope de Atienza reports that “there are some [Indians] who understand and others who speak our Spanish language, but few who use it outside of their *borracheras* and pastimes where, in their drunkenness, each one exposes his chest, and almost mockingly, says what he thinks…”476 In such situations, the hierarchy of languages was inverted, as the purportedly logical, Christian language of the peninsular Spanish kingdoms became one associated with ridiculousness and nonsense, or worse. Writing from Charcas in the 1630s, a priest named Pedro Ramírez del Aguila laments that “the Indians…make the most foolish drunks, telling jokes and saying ridiculous things in the Spanish language.”477 Indeed, during the *borracheras* Spanish became the language of “beasts” and “worse than beasts” –

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476 Atienza, *Compendio historial*, 12r-12v. (My translation) “hai algunos que entienden otros que hablan nuestra lengua Española, pero pocos que usen della fuera de sus borracheras i pasatiempos a donde cada uno descubre su pecho, i casi escarneciendo habla lo que le parece con la embriaguez…”

terms which a sermon approved by the Third Provincial Council of Lima used to describe Indians who drank to excess.

In addition to ridicule and scorn, however, officials feared more explicitly subversive elements of the libations. Fray Reginaldo de Lizárraga, a peninsula-born Dominican whose career took him across the viceroyalty in the late sixteenth century, writes:

and when they are drunk, they speak our language, and they ask themselves when we Christians are to return to our country, and why do they not throw us out of the land, for they outnumber us, and [they ask themselves] when the Ave María will end, which is to ask, when will we stop forcing them to learn the doctrine.

Lizárraga’s portrayal of Indios Ladinos as a threat to Spanish colonial rule and social order mirrored more widely spread fears about the “ambiguous political allegiance” of other culturally and racially mixed peoples, reminding us with whom Spanish-speaking indigenous peoples were often being lumped by secular and spiritual authorities. Mestizos, too, were frequently cast as “unruly colonial subjects” who threatened to thwart and even upset Spanish governance in the Americas. In a letter written in the early 1570s, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo described the threat, “noting that Mestizos ‘do not fail…to have aspirations, deeming that

478 A drunkard “fights and yells, and beats his wife, and his friends. He is unable to stand; he drops everything; he speaks incorrectly; he also shakes…. Is there a beast more beastly than a drunk? He is worse than any beast, because even a horse can be governed by men and led to go wherever they want…” (My translation) “Riñe, y da voces, y aportrea a su muger, y a sus amigos, no se puede tener en sus pies, todo se cae, no acierta a hablar, así mismo se sacude….¿Hay bestia mas bestia que un borracho? Peor es que cualquiera bestia, porque al caballo, el hombre lo rije, y le lleva donde quiere…” Tercero catecismo y exposición de la Doctrina Christiana por sermones, 315-316.

479 Reginaldo de Lizárraga, Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Río de la Plata y Chile, Biblioteca de autores españoles: desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días. Tomo CCXVI (Madrid: Atlas, [16th century] 1968), 96; also cited in: Saignes, “Borracheras Andinas,” 67. (My translation) “y cuando estan borrachos, entonces hablan nuestra lengua, y se preguntan cuándo los cristianos nos hemos de volver a nuestra patria, y por qué no nos echan de la tierra, pues son más que nosotros, y cuándo se ha de acabar el ave maría, que es decir cuándo no les hemos de compelir a la doctrina.”
through their mothers the land belongs to them, and that through their fathers they have gained and conquered it.” 480 Officials similarly questioned the uncertain loyalties of Spanish-speaking caciques, who, as elites positioned “on the frontier between the two republics,” drew their legitimacy and authority from both the local and often pre-Hispanic social order, as well as from their “obligation to bring [their communities] into conformity with Spanish ideals.” 481

Viceregal officials’ deep-seated distrust of Indios Ladinós is also clearly evident in Bartolomé Álvarez’s 1588 treatise De las costumbres y conversión de los indios. Álvarez asserted that many Indians who claimed to speak and understand only an indigenous language, were, in fact, Ladinós who, by feigning ignorance of Spanish, were able to position themselves to overhear conversations between unsuspecting Spaniards. This, he argued, was particularly true of Indians who served in the homes of prominent Spaniards: “These Ladinós serve as spies for their parents, kurakas, and elders.” Álvarez explained:

They report to them what we say and what we are planning. Nothing can be discussed in the house of a priest or amongst Christian travelers in a tambo without a spy being present, listening. They do this in order to know everything that goes on in the kingdom, and primarily, to know what is being said against them. They demonstrate their animosity to the Christian name in that those who listen never speak a word of the Castilian language with those they are listening to, even if they are serving them. 482

481 Garrett, Shadows of Empire, 2. In her regional history of Huarochirí, Karen Spalding also notes the fine line walked by Andean ruling elites between the demands of colonial officials and that of their own communities: “It was dangerous [for a cacique] to attempt to move too far into the society of the conquerors, for one risked repudiation by one’s own people, which in turn damaged one’s value to the Europeans.” Spalding, Huarochirí, 210.
482 Álvarez, De las costumbres y conversion de los indios, 267. (My translation) “Sirven estos ladinos de espías a sus padres y a los curacas y viejos: decláranles las palabras y las intenciones nuestras. No se trata cosa en casa del
The use of Spanish in *borracheras* was also unsettling because these Andean public gatherings and drinking occasions served to maintain social memory and sacred history, which, in the minds of ecclesiastical officials, led to idolatrous behavior. Indeed by the late sixteenth century, ecclesiastical officials had become increasingly concerned about the ‘immoral’ and ‘idolatrous’ behaviours purportedly associated with drunkenness in the Andes. Sermon XXIII published by the Third Provincial Council in 1585 identified *borracheras* as their “principal means by which to destroy the [Christian] faith, and to sustain their superstitions and idolatries.”

In the same year, Luis Capoche, an administrator writing from Potosí – the silver mining centre teeming with resettled indigenous mineworkers and their families – noted that public drinking was commonly accompanied by dancing and the singing of songs which preserved the memory of their “pagan past.” The specific role purportedly being played by Spanish in such contexts is never entirely clear. While it may have centred on scorn and ridicule as mentioned above, as Thierry Saignes suggests, there were predominant fears that Spanish –
the very language viceregal authorities and agents closely associated with the Catholic Church – was being incorporated into the libations as an unsanctioned means through which Andeans might attempt to “communicate with the almighty god of the Christians; to contact him directly in order to appease him and to attract his benevolence.”

This may have been true for Magdalena Callao, a healer from the parish of Lunahuana, Cañete, who was found to be incorporating Spanish Christian terminology and phrases into her unauthorized forms of religiosity and healing in the mid-seventeenth century. As Kenneth Mills recounts, Callao, who also went by the name of Condoriana, was accused of idolatry when officials came to inspect her parish in 1661. Through her own testimony we learn of the complex techniques she employed to cure ailments, which combined traditional Andean substances such as “crushed white maize, coca, [and] llama fat” with more recently introduced ones such as wine to produce a balm, which was then applied to the skin of the affected individual. The effect of the application was, in turn, assisted by the recitation of prayers in Spanish, as “she rubbed in the name of Our Father and Our Lady.” Other Andeans, too, who found themselves testifying before idolatry inspectors in the mid-seventeenth century inadvertently demonstrated that Spanish words had roles quite beyond those officially sanctioned by Catholic doctrine, much less authorized usage. This evidence grants us a valuable window onto mid-colonial Andean belief systems and practitioners. Some Andean parishioners reportedly used the Spanish term *demonio* [demon] when describing the huacas; powders ritually blown into the wind to protect maize crops from frost could be referred to as *aleluía* [hallelujah]; while practitioners of Andean

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485 Saignes, “Borracheras Andinas,” 66. (My translation) “comunicarse con el dios todopoderoso de los cristianos, vincularse directamente con él para ablandarle, captar su benevolencia.”


487 Ibid.
‘sorceries’ and their assistants themselves were at times described in terms such as curas [priests] and sacristanes [sacristans]. Such usages of Spanish terms, even when employed and thus perhaps jointly created by churchmen and officials themselves, were viewed by these same colonial authorities as a perversion of their goals, as unsanctioned, Andean uses of the language.

A particularly telling example of the gradual adaptation and incorporation of Spanish into Andean aims and practices comes in the case of Don Juan de Mendosa, the governing cacique of the administrative district of Chaupiguaranga de Lampas in the province of Cajatambo in the mid-seventeenth century. We know of Juan de Mendosa and his son, Alonso, largely through the testimony provided by Francisco Poma y Altas Caldeas, an Indio Ladino who testified in the course of an idolatry investigation in the parish of San Pedro de Hacas in January of 1657. Poma y Altas Caldeas asserted that sometime around 1653, Juan de Mendosa had visited the town of Hacas on

three different occasions, and that each time he brought a llama, along with cuyes, coca, and fat to [the accused idolater we encountered above] Hernando Hacas Poma. And [Mendosa] ordered [Hacas Poma] to sacrifice those llamas and offerings to the idol Yanaurau so that his son Don Alonso, whom he […] had at the Colegio del Cercado [the Colegio del Príncipe] learning to read and write, would emerge well-schooled and

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488 Ibid., 253-254. Mills contends that such usages, recorded in extirpation trial records, were “not simply a matter of the extirpators’ notaries employing Christian vocabulary to express otherwise alien religious practices. The word choices differ and are not sufficiently standardized into Catholic terms to suggest that this was always the case; moreover, the witnesses’ descriptions were sometimes so Andean as to make necessary Spanish glosses or even Quechua words and phrases in the attempt to capture meaning…. [He believes] that for many Indian declarants, what might appear to a modern reader to be suspiciously Catholic descriptions of native religion were, in fact, natural expressions for the people themselves…. Different Andean rites could be explained through use of the increasingly familiar concepts and terminology of the Christian religion.” Ibid., 253.
thus able to take on the office of cacique governor now held by the said Don Juan de Mendosa.489

As this testimony suggests, Don Juan de Mendosa clearly considered it important for his son to receive a Christian education at the Jesuit-run boarding school in Lima. Reading and writing Spanish were indispensable tools for interacting with colonial authorities in the archdiocese, and the ability to speak Spanish was mandatory for hijos de caciques wishing to succeed their fathers.490 This was not the last time Mendosa would consult Hacas Poma with an eye to his son’s Limeño education.

Our witness notes further that in 1654, like many of the highland pupils who were unaccustomed to the climate of coastal Lima, Alonso became unwell. That year, the cacique “came from Lima, bringing his son who was very ill.” Mendosa had Hacas Poma stay with his son Alonso “for many days, and everyone said that it was to cure his son with superstitions.”491 Mendosa’s commitment to his son’s education led him to call on Yanaurau with the assistance of Hacas Poma, despite his awareness that such an act would be viewed unfavourably by church

489 Duviols, ed., Procesos y visitas, 383. (Translation adapted from the translation in Mills, Taylor and Lauderdale Graham eds., Colonial Latin America, 264). “El Capitan Don Juan de Mendosa Cassique Gobernador deste Repartimiento de la chaupiguaranga de Lampas vino a este pueblo de Hacas en tres ocasiones diferentes y le trajo cada bes vna llama al dicho Hernando Hacaspoma con cuyes coca y sebo y le mando que aquellla llama y ofrendas se las sachrificase al ydolo yanaurau para que su hijo Don Alonso que actualmente lo tenia en el colegio del Sercado aprendiendo a leer y escribir saliese buen letrado y assi mesmo pudiese conseguir el oficio de casique y gobernador que el dicho Don Juan de Mendosa poseía.”

490 A royal cédula issued to Peru in 1685 ordered that, “no one may hold the office of cacique, governor, second person, town council member, or hold any other village post unless he knows the Spanish language and has taught it to his children.” (My translation) “ninguno pudiese ser cacique, gobernador, segunda persona, alcalde, ni tener ocupación alguna en sus pueblos que no sepa la lengua castellana y la haya enseñado a sus hijos.” Solano, ed., Documentos, 189.

491 Transcribed in Duviols, ed., Procesos y visitas, 384. (Translation adapted from the translation in Mills, Taylor and Lauderdale Graham eds. Colonial Latin America, 265). “El dicho Curaca bino de Lima de donde trujo a su hijo mui enfermo y pasando por este pueblo llebo consigo al dicho Hernando hacaspoma al pueblo de Rajan donde vibe el dicho curaca y lo tubo en el muchos dias y desian todos publicamente que era para curar con superstisiones al dicho su hijo.”
officials. Unlike the extirpation officials investigating his beliefs and practices, however, Mendosa likely saw no contradiction in calling upon an Andean deity to favour his son’s Christian education: both were necessary to secure his son’s position as future cacique of Chaupiguaranga de Lampas.

It was the apparent ease with which men like Mendosa and his son moved between and intermingled these worlds – the Jesuit-run school in Lima, and the ritual expertise of Hacas Poma; the Spanish prayers said in devotion at the parish churches, and the Spanish spoken in jest or in new solemnity amidst Andean dance and song – that worried extirpation officials. How were such people to be understood and categorized?

Indios Ladinos – particularly those pupils who had attended the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima – were often singled out and inhabited the heart of many idolatry inspections well into the late seventeenth century. Such was the experience of Don Rodrigo Flores Guainamallqui, a cacique governor from Ocros, Cajatambo, whose case Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer has examined in detail. Rodrigo Flores enrolled in the Colegio del Príncipe in 1621, following an idolatry inspection of his parish by Fernando de Avendaño and the Jesuit Luis de Teruel. After completing his schooling, and upon the death of his father in 1634, Flores inherited his father’s position as governing cacique. Soon after, Flores entered into a legal dispute with a parish priest over the administration of his father’s will. By the 1640s he was embroiled in yet another lawsuit against the cacique governor of Cochas, Cristóbal Yaco Poma. After several failed attempts to

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492 On another occasion Mendosa is reported as having told his neighbours: “Observe that we are Indians and although we worship Yanaurau, which is our custom, do not tell anyone of it.” Mills, Taylor and Lauderdale Graham eds., Colonial Latin America, 265.
493 Also known as Rodrigo Flores Caxamalqui.
494 See Alaperrine-Bouyer, La educación de las élites, 207-212.
495 This inspection occurred in 1618, and resulted in the discovery and destruction of several huacas. Ibid., 207.
denounce his rival to the audiencia, Yaco Poma took advantage of the re-inauguration of the extirpation of idolatry inspections under Villagómez to denounce Rodrigo Flores as an idolater. Flores was imprisoned and his belongings were confiscated throughout the course of the investigation into the charge.496 While in this case, the accusation against Flores appears to have been more about local political rivalries than religious convictions, for our purposes, Indios Ladinos – and particularly those who had attended the prestigious Colegio in Lima – appear to have had their purported errors taken more seriously because they “were thought to know better.”497

And yet, in spite of the suspicion with which they and their intercultural fluencies were frequently treated, Ladinos often called on their Spanish language skills to provide evidence of their orthodox Catholic devotion. When questioned by an ecclesiastical visitor in July of 1634, thirty-six year old Juan Paico, the alcalde ordinario of Nuestra Señora de Guarmey in Ancash province, assured the church inspector that in his parish “there are no sorcerers and we do not have any of that anymore because all of the Indians are very Ladino, and they live as Christians.”498 Paico’s argument, which attempted to assure colonial officials of the success of their Spanish language education efforts, was often used by Andeans who came under the suspicion of idolatry. When accused of idolatry in 1665, for example, Francisco de Vergara, the cacique principal of the administrative district of Ocros in Cajatambo, testified before a judge describing his extensive period of formation under the guidance of two priests who taught him to

496 Ibid., 210.
498 AAL, Visitas Pastorales, Leg 1:13, f. 4-4v. (My translation) “no ay hechiceros ni se trata ya de nada desto porque todos los Yndios son muy ladinos y viven como xptianos.”
read and write Spanish, as evidence of his innocence.\textsuperscript{499} In his defense, Rodrigo Flores too, called upon his Spanish language education. Luis de Teruel, the Jesuit who had inspected his parish when he was a child, and who had also served as director of the \textit{Colegio del Príncipe} during his years of schooling, confirmed that Flores had attended the school for six years. During this period, Teruel continued, young Flores “was taught and indoctrinated by the fathers of the Society of Jesus...[and] consequently, the said don Rodrigo is certainly, and without doubt, a good Christian...”\textsuperscript{500} The judge, on this day, was apparently convinced by the body of evidence presented by his witness and by Flores, who was exonerated from the charge of idolatry.\textsuperscript{501} Being Ladino could be offered both as proof of idolatry and of faithful Christian innocence.

My examination of the tensions surrounding both the ‘language of conversion’ and the ‘language of the converted’ in the early and mid-seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima has opened up new avenues for understanding the intertwined processes of extirpation and evangelization. As I have argued, education and punishment, persuasion and coercion coexisted and blurred in the archdiocese as extirpating officials attempted to root out the purported idolatry and related ‘errors’ of Andean neophytes. The various forms of seclusion and reform meted out

\textsuperscript{499} “[Vergara was] educated and taught from a young age by canon Padilla, who was his guardian. And because he loved and he served him faithfully, Padilla himself taught him the Christian doctrine, and to read, and write, and our vernacular language. After [Padilla’s] death, [Vergara] was left in the charge of licenciado don Juan Felis de Padilla for more than twelve years. And from both of these periods of education, he emerged well-schooled in reading, writing, and singing, until he married. (My translation) “...educado y enseñado desde que tubo uso de razón por el señor canonigo Padilla cuyo muchacho fue y por lo mucho que le quiso y le sirvió con fidelidad el mismo le enseñó la doctrina cristiana y a leer I escribir nuestra vulgar lengua y despues que murio lo dejó encargado al licenciado don Juan Felis de Padilla mas tiempo de doce años I con una I otra educación salió enseñado leer escribir I cantar hasta que se casó...” “Caso que sigue el fiscal deste Arzobispado contra don Francisco de Vergara, 1665,” \textit{Ofensas a Dios: Pleitos e injurias. Causas de idolatría y hechicerí as Cajatambo siglos XVII-XIX}, ed. Juan Carlos García Cabrera (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas,” 1994), 357.

\textsuperscript{500} Cited in Alaperrine-Bouyer, \textit{La educación de las élites}, 210. (My translation) “fue enseñado y doctrinado por los padres de la Compañía de Jesús...por lo cual tiene por cierto y sin duda que el dicho don Rodrigo es buen cristiano...”

\textsuperscript{501} Ibid., 210.
by ecclesiastics to accused teachers of idolatries were intended to work in combination with Spanish language instruction to remove community elders and traditional authority figures from parishes, and to replant a new generation of Spanish-speaking, Christianized community leaders. I have also emphasized that extirpating officials, particularly during the prelacy of Pedro de Villagómez, encouraged a spectrum of local forms of Spanish language and religious instruction – whether, on the ground, they took the intended form of “schools” or were decidedly more hit and miss, uneven efforts carried out by clergy and Ladinos. While indoctrination in a Christianized variety of the Quechua language dominant in the Cuzco region was central to the extirpation efforts of the mid-seventeenth century, Spanish was simultaneously viewed as a necessary and important tool by which to strengthen Andeans’ commitment to orthodox Catholic beliefs and customs. That the branches of Quechua spoken in most of the Archdiocese of Lima differed significantly from the authorized pastoral Quechua of the evangelizers and extirpators only made conditions that much more favourable for the encouragement of Spanish. On the ground, signs that various forms of Spanish language education in local settings often outran the intents of extirpators were evident everywhere, particularly seen in the cases of Castilianizing indigenous leaders – Indios Ladinos and Mestizos who occupied dynamic, ambiguous positions on the frontier between Spanish and Andean peoples. These vital intermediaries were useful to colonial authorities while being simultaneously perceived as dangerous, inclined to disloyalty, and open to the perversion of approved cultural and religious forms.
Chapter 4
Escuelas de Muchachos Indios in the Seventeenth-Century Archdiocese of Lima

As the previous chapters have demonstrated, colonial legislation and initiatives in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mandated the establishment of escuelas de muchachos indios in every Indian parish in the Archdiocese of Lima. However, as John H. Elliott has observed with respect to royal ideals, “the certainties of Madrid were dissolved in the ambiguities of an America where to ‘observe but not obey’ was an accepted and legitimate device for disregarding the wishes of a supposedly ill-informed crown.”

This chapter looks beyond the official policies and pronouncements to examine what actually happened to and with this official encouragement and legislation on the ground. To what extent were schools established? What forms did they take? Who were the teachers and who were the pupils? What challenges did they face? What support systems did they have?

I argue that escuelas de muchachos indios existed throughout the Archdiocese of Lima in the seventeenth century, particularly in Indian parishes in the best-documented provinces of Huarochirí, Cajatambo, Cañete, Chancay, Huánuco, Junín, Ancash, Ica, and Cerro de Pasco. These schools, primarily local endeavours – functioning in a variety of forms, and up to now almost entirely neglected by historical interpreters – were adapted to the needs and means of their respective communities.

My approach to the escuelas de muchachos indios follows in the vein of historians of the peninsular Spanish kingdoms who have examined sixteenth- and seventeenth-century education

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as intensely local, community-based collaborations. Historians of New Spain, too, have emphasized the collaborative nature of educational endeavours within the context of colonialism. Unlike earlier institutional histories, these studies examine schools as spaces of negotiation and domination, hybridization and creation that were representative of wider experiences in colonial society. In these novohispano spaces, peninsular institutions, graphic traditions, and forms of knowledge came into contact with pre-existing Mesoamerican ones, producing new, colonial institutions and forms of knowledge. Native pupils at Fray Pedro de Gante’s San José de los Naturales, and at the Franciscan school of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, for instance, worked closely with their missionary teachers to record histories and translate Catholic concepts into native languages and forms of expression. Such efforts produced pastoral complements, but also expansive historical works such as the sixteenth-century Spanish and Nahuatl manuscript *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. Walter D. Mignolo has emphasized the unequal nature of these interactions, arguing that the ways in which native knowledge was recorded and organized into Spanish categories suppressed native ones, resulting in what he refers to as the ‘colonization of knowledge.’ Authors such as Louise M. Burkhart, however, have shifted focus to joint-productions of Spanish, indigenous and mixed-race people, and especially to the negotiation and innovation that occurred as native students and translators struggled to make new concepts understandable to native audiences.

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504 Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*.

Perhaps because Peru’s well-known *colegios de caciques* in Lima and Cuzco did not produce any works comparable to Tlatelolco’s *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, historians have not focused on the education of Andeans in terms of collaboration or exchange, but rather as institutions of control connected (as we have seen) to the extirpation designed to mould students into loyal subjects and exemplary Christians.\(^{506}\) And only in recent years have Peruvianists such as Gabriela Ramos suggested the need to look beyond the famous *colegios* of Lima and Cuzco to examine the possibility of more diverse and local experiences of education.\(^{507}\) Collaboration is a vital concept that needs to guide our approach to the *escuelas de muchachos indios* in the Archdiocese of Lima throughout the seventeenth century. For, as we will discover, schools throughout the archdiocese, in their diverse instances and varied experiences, were often entirely dependent on community initiative and support, albeit never fully disconnected from official urgings and intentions. Before I begin to examine such endeavours in detail, I first discuss the sources of information on the *escuelas de muchachos indios* that have largely been neglected to date.

1. *Escuelas de Muchachos Indios* in the Documentary Record

Reports of *escuelas de muchachos indios* from across the mid-colonial Archdiocese of Lima and the broader Peruvian viceroyalty – albeit sometimes highly fragmentary – reveal a range of educational endeavours aimed at Spanish Catholic formation. Tellingly, these traces rarely agree on what was being accomplished and where. Writing in the second half of the seventeenth century, Fray Juan Meléndez, in his voluminous history of the Dominican Order in Peru, *Tesoros verdaderos de las yndias* [1681], claims that already by 1551 his order had

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\(^{506}\) Alaperrine-Bouyer, *La educación de las elites*.

established over sixty schools throughout the viceroyalty. There were institutions, Meléndez explained “where Mestizos, children of Spaniards, and Indian Sons of Caciques [were] taught to read, write, and the Christian doctrine.” He adds that the Crown, by royal decree of May 10, 1551, had pledged support for the schools in the amount of three thousand pesos from the royal coffers.

In contrast to Meléndez’s perhaps somewhat aggrandizing claims of Dominican success in the early colonial establishment of schools, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, writing in 1570, painted a considerably bleaker picture of the state of parish education in Peru. During his ambitious general tour of the viceroyalty, he reported to the king that “regarding the schools [to teach Christian] doctrine and to read and write that your majesty has ordered to be established in all Indian districts, I have not found any except those which the priests, by their own initiative, have wished to found, which amounts to little or nothing given that they [these priests] must absent themselves from one place to give religious instruction in another…” Like Meléndez, Toledo too had reason to exaggerate, only in the other direction. By depicting a disorganized and ineffective clergy in the realm, he justified his attempts to increase the Crown’s control over the Andean Church and the regular clergy in particular. Such competing accounts need to be

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508 (My translation) “donde se enseñaría a leer, y escribir, y la doctrina christiana a los mestizos hijos delos Españoles, y a los Niños Yndios hijos delos Caziques.”
509 Fray Juan Meléndez, Tesoros verdaderos de las yndias en la historia dela gran Prouincia de San Ivan Batvista del Perv de el Orden de Predicadores al Reverendissimo Padre F. Antonio de Monroy Mexicano, general de dicho orden (Rome: Imprenta de Nicolas Angel Tinassio, 1681), 138.
510 Levillier, ed., Gobernantes del Perú, 3: 33. (My translation) “las escuelas de dotrina y leer y escrevir que en todos los lugares de yndios manda vuestra magestad que se tengan yo no los e hallado mas que lo que de su graçia quieren hacer los sacerdotes que no es nada y menos cundo hazen ausençia de unos lugares para yr dar la dottrina a otros…”
511 As part of his great reorganization, Toledo sought to increase the Crown’s control over the Andean Church and rein in the medicant orders such as the Dominicans and Mercedarians. For more on Toledo’s reorganization see Mumford, Vertical Empire.
approached with equal caution, but perhaps the most striking information they do provide is an introduction to the precarious nature of parish education in the archdiocese, as well as the fragility of both financial and moral support for the schools – both points to which we will return below.

The escuelas de muchachos indios also feature in several of the Jesuit annual letters composed in the early seventeenth century and destined for the Father General in Rome. In a letter written by Provincial José de Acosta in 1579, we learn that Juli, a lakeside Indian parish in the highland province of Chucuito, had a large and thriving school.512 “The school for children is the undertaking that promises the most fruit in Juli,” Acosta boasts. He adds:

they have organized it this year with three hundred young children attending, and under the care of a Brother who is skilled in languages….They learn the long and short catechism….They also learn to sing for the celebration of sacred rites…and there is even a choir and flute players for feast days, and every day they sing the Salve and Prima and Completas.513

Acosta’s successor, Provincial Rodrigo de Cabredo, provided an update on the school in Juli in his 1601 annual letter, noting:

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512 The doctrina of Juli is described as enticingly remote yet almost miraculous in its Christianizing accomplishments, as being “between four mountains, sixty leagues from Cuzco and one hundred from Potosi, and of the seven towns of this province, it is the largest and primary one. It has close to ten thousand souls, divided into four parishes, which here they call doctrinas.” (My translation) “Entre quatro cerros, sesenta leguas de el Cuzco y ciento de Potosí, y entre siete pueblos que tiene esta provincia, es éste el mayor y más principal. Tiene cerca de diez mil almas, repartidas en quatro parrochias, que acá llaman doctrinas.” Egaña, ed., Monumenta, 7: 445.

513 Ibid., 2: 624. (My translation) “la escuela de los niños es la cosa que mas fructo promete en Juli: anse puesto ogaño en orden, son trescientos muchachos los de la scuela, tiene cuidado dellos un Hermano, gran lengua….aprenden el cathequismo breve y largo….aprenden tambien el canto para oficiar los divinos oficios…y aun ay capilla de cantores y flautas para los dias de fiestas solenes, y cada dia cantan la Salve y Prima y Completas.”
We take care in educating the children at the school, where, in addition to teaching them to write and instructing them in Christian customs, every day they have exercises in Christian doctrine and devotion; and [the schools] are similar to Latin grammar schools. Every Father teaches the catechism to the students assigned to him, frequently testing them and teaching them the principles of our faith, in the same manner as a diligent Grammar [Latin] instructor.514

Juli on Lake Titicaca may have been something of a crown jewel for the Society, but in letters written in 1602 and 1611 Jesuits correspondents also proudly report on the success of the schools for Indian children they oversaw in Arequipa515 and in their missions undertaken in Paraguay.516

In addition to these Jesuit reports, the Andean chronicler, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, writing in the early seventeenth century, attests to the existence of schools for Indian children in Andean parishes in his Nueva corónica y buen gobierno. Guaman Poma, noted above, worked as an assistant to idolatry Visitor Cristóbal de Alborno from 1568 to 1570 in the central Andean provinces of Soras, Lucanas Laramati and Lucanas Andamarca.517 In addition to his reflections on his own formation and that of his brother, the experience of travelling and assisting the inspection would likely have given this regional noble the opportunity to witness the broader situation of parish education first hand, and may have caused him to become critical of what he saw. He devotes an entire chapter of his chronicle to the “choirmasters and schoolteachers of this

514 Ibid., 7: 446. (My translation) “se pone cuidado en criar los muchachos, en la escuela que de más de enseñárseles a escrevir y instruirlos en cosas de pulicía, tienen cada día sus exercicios de doctrina y devoción, que no parecen sino escuelas de latín, a donde acude cada Padre, cada qual a los que le pertenecen, catethizándolos, preguntándolos y enseñándolos por menudo todos los principios de nuestra fe, como un muy cuidadoso lector de Gramática lo podia hazer.”
515 Ibid., 755.
516 Bayle, España y la educación popular, 235-236.
kingdom” whom he characterizes as corrupt and remiss in their duties, while repeatedly insisting on the importance of learning to read and write Spanish as indispensable tools for the navigation of colonial Peruvian society.\(^{518}\)

Finally, and as I explored in Chapter 2, our principal source of information regarding escuelas de muchachos indios in the Archdiocese of Lima comes from the archdiocese’s causas de visitas – or parish inspection records – produced during the tenure of Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez in the second half of the seventeenth century. These reports contain comments made by more than 200 individual Andeans on the state of local Spanish language schools in the provinces of Ancash, Cajatambo, Cañete, Cerro de Pasco, Chancay, Huánuco, Huarochirí, Ica, and Junín. The investigative and trial-like situation in which these documents were compiled requires us to be cautious about accepting the truthfulness of these reports without question. As we know, it was not unheard of for priests, when called as witnesses, to use various means to cover up their shortcomings or misdeeds to avoid fines or suspension – including threatening parishioners or even borrowing a neighbouring priest’s books to pass off as his own during inspections.\(^{519}\) Thus, we must consider the possibility that at least some enthusiastic statements made about escuelas de muchachos indios by priests and their supporters were made falsely to avoid fines. The number of statements made by parishioners who lament the absence of a school or a school teacher in their parish suggests that not all priests succeeded in presenting, or even attempted to present a perfect image of the state of education in their parish to the visitor. One of the most unapologetic confirmations of the absence of a school comes from the parish of Mora y

\(^{518}\)Guaman Poma de Ayala, Nueva corónica, 671 [685], 744 [758], 748 [762], 752 [766], 756 [770], 770 [784], 771 [785], 782 [796]. (My translation) “maestro[s] de coro y de escuela de este reyno.”

\(^{519}\)See chap. 2, 111, 116.
Coaguillo (Cañete), in 1643, where Juan de Valenzuela, the alcalde ordinario, stated that “in the said town there is no school for children, nor are there cantors, nor does the Father concern himself with such things…”\textsuperscript{520} A witness from the parish of Villa de Arnedo de Chancay (Chancay) also plainly denied the existence of a school in 1668, stating that “he is unaware that [his parish] has ever had a special school, as it is very difficult And morally Impossible due to the poverty of the town. And thus, there is not even a school for the Spaniards.”\textsuperscript{521} Yet in both cases, the manner in which both witnesses note the absence of a school demonstrates precise knowledge of what such a school and teacher should and could contribute. As we shall see, when these emerging accounts go against the grain of official policy and intention, we often find our most interesting and insightful information.

Still, challenges to interpretation abound. During the recording process, witness statements went through at least one and often two phases of translation: from Quechua to Spanish, and from oral to written forms. The resultingly formulaic nature of responses – where, in many cases, witnesses seemingly gave identical answers with identical wording – coupled with instances where notaries had witnesses sign blank pages, which were presumably to be filled in later with their ‘testimony,’\textsuperscript{522} justifiably call into question the extent to which these

\textsuperscript{520} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:4, f. 3v. (My translation) “en el dho su Pueblo no ay escuela de muchachos. ni cantares ni el Padre trata de eso…”

\textsuperscript{521} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:19, f. 8. (My translation) “no saue aya auido nunca espesial escuela por ser muy dificultoso Y moralmente Ymposible por la pobresa del pueblo y por ella ni aun la ay para los españoles….”

\textsuperscript{522} This was the case in the \textit{causa de visita} from San Pedro de Hacas in Cajatambo in 1661. There, the testimony of the first witness, Don Diego de Julea, cuts off mid-sentence, and the remaining witnesses signed blank pages. AAL, Visita Pastoral Leg 11:28. In her ground-breaking study on notarial practices in colonial Peru, Kathryn Burns also reports encountering notarial books containing blank pages which had been signed by clients, presumably for the notary to complete on a later date. In the transcription of witness testimony, she notes that in some cases notaries preferred to take ‘short hand’ notes and have the witness sign a blank page. Sometime after, they would write out the testimony in ‘long form’ on the signed page. Kathryn Burns, \textit{Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru} (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010) 91. For more on notarial practices in the colonial Andes see
reports allow us to hear ‘native voices’ regarding the state of affairs in their own parishes. Much like Carlo Ginzburg’s findings in Inquisition trial documents, we find that testimony “not only look[s] repetitive but also monologic…in the sense that the [witnesses]’ answers were quite often just an echo of the [visitors]’ questions.”

Nearly all witness responses use similar terminology to refer to and describe the Spanish language education in their parishes: escuelas de muchachos indios [schools for Indian children]; escuelas de niños [schools for children]; maestros de escuela [schoolteachers]; escuela donde enseñen los muchachos a hablar la lengua castellana [schools where they teach the children to speak the Spanish language]. This vocabulary itself is directly derived from the questionnaire which asked witnesses to state, “whether they know that the priest has not been diligent in ensuring that there is a school for the children where they are taught the Christian doctrine, Christian customs, and to sing, and especially to speak the Spanish language.”

When responses appear to be formulaic, buttressing Kathryn Burns’ pioneering research on the subject, we become keenly aware of the immense power wielded by notaries to shape the testimony they recorded in the causas de visitas. The astounding uniformity of the vocabulary used to record

Tamar Herzog, Mediación, archivos y ejercicio: los escribanos de Quito (siglo XVII) (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1996).


524 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:39, f. 4-4v. (My translation) “Y si sauen que el dho cura no a tenido cuidado de que aya escuela de muchachos para que en ella se les enseñe la Doctrina y custombres xptianas y cantar espeiclam.te a que hablen la lengua castellana

525 Burns, Into the Archive. By shaping the information they included in – or excluded from - their reports, notaries pose limits on our own historical interpretations. For more on power and notaries, see also Herzog, Mediación, archivos y ejercicio. The slight differences in the preferences and style of each notary greatly impacts the information available to us. Juan de Cepea, a notary who travelled with a visitor throughout the province of Ica in the 1620s, for example, preferred to include a detailed description of witness interrogations, a copy of the questionnaire used, as well as witness responses to each individual question. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:7. Most notaries, however, opted for a more compact and presumably faster format, excluding the questions and
witness statements from all over the archdiocese gives a homogenous picture of a process of Spanish language education, a picture that is inaccurate for other information suggests the process varied considerably between parishes.

How, then, do we disentangle the diverse realities and experiences of Spanish language instruction in the Archdiocese of Lima’s Indian parishes from the often monochrome vocabulary of the *causas de visitas*? As Ginzburg suggests, “we must learn to catch behind the smooth surface of the text a subtle interplay of threats and fears, of attacks and withdrawals.” Through a careful reading of conflicting accounts or suggestions of complications contained in the Archdiocese of Lima’s seventeenth-century *causas de visitas*, we catch more than a glimpse of the diverse forms and experiences of Spanish language education throughout the Archdiocese of Lima. This is my task in this chapter, to gather the glimpses and consider them together.

But first, let me clarify the use of the term *escuelas de muchachos indios*. I write of *escuelas* in the plural, not to refer to numerous local branches of a homogenous, centralized or uniform system of education existing in parishes throughout the archdiocese, but rather to capture the multiplicity of diverse local Spanish language educational endeavours, and to denote their wildly different forms, locations, experiences and trajectories. Below, I draw on a range of case examples from the seventeenth-century *causas de visitas* and other secondary information that allow us to examine for the first time the diverse realities of the *escuelas*. In chief, I examine: the form and location of schools, the teachers, the students, subjects of study and

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526 Ginzburg, *Clues*, 160.
pedagogical approaches used to teach Spanish, as well as the systems of support and challenges that the schools faced.

2. The Diverse Settings of the Escuelas de Muchachos Indios

Much as is the case in current usages, in the seventeenth century the term escuela technically referred to a structure or space—“the house or courtyard,” as Sebastián de Covarrubias explained in 1611.\(^{527}\) Colonial legislation often encouraged Spanish language education in terms of a physical space, indicating specific locations for the schools to be established—typically, and tellingly, beside the parish church\(^ {528}\)—and calling for school premises to be inspected during episcopal visits.\(^ {529}\) Yet, despite this focus on the physicality of parish schools in royal decrees, in practice there was no uniform physical structure or space for the schools across the early and mid-colonial Archdiocese of Lima. Instead, schools were located in a startling array of diverse settings, and, in most cases, parishioners tended to associate schools less with physical structures and defined spaces and more with the teacher-student relationships which developed.

The heterogeneity of school settings across the vast Archdiocese of Lima was not unique to the Andes, but was a reflection of broader approaches to education in the viceroyalty and beyond. Indeed, a first step in our approach requires banishing most modern notions of what

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\(^{527}\) Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 369 [776]. (My translation) “la casa, o portico donde enseñan a leer y escriuir a los niños.”

\(^{528}\) A royal cédula issued to Francisco de Pizarro in 1541 specified that “a house is to be constructed next to the church […] or in another suitable location where all of the sons of caciques and *principales* and other children are to be educated and indoctrinated” (My translation) “junto a la iglesia […] o en otra parte conveniente se hiciese una casa diputada para que todos los hijos de los caciques y principales y otros muchachos concurran en ella y sean industriados y doctrinados.” Konetzke, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 1(1):207.

\(^{529}\) According to the Constitutions of the 1613 Lima Synod, visitors were to inspect the following buildings connected to the parish: “Hospitals, Confraternities, Shrines, and *Escuelas de muchachos*…” (My translation) “Hospitales, Cofradías, Hermitas, y Escuelas de muchachos…” Lobo Guerrero, *Constituciones sinodales*, 83.
constitutes a school. Escuelas de primeras letras in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms – upon which legislation for Peru’s escuelas de muchachos indios was modelled530 – were not tied to any particular physical space or building, but rather were as mobile as their teachers and pupils. An escuela could form and gather its students in any number of locales, from churches through sheds to the private homes of pupils.531 In some cases, pupils were lodged in the homes of their tutors, and provided with food and clothing for the duration of their education.532 In her study of primary education in Aragon, María Rosa Domínguez Cabrejas rejects the use of the term “escuela” to describe seventeenth-century parish education (despite its widespread use throughout the century) on the grounds that our current understanding of what constitutes a school gets in the way, differing so radically from its seventeenth-century counterparts. Instead, she argues that it may be more useful to think of the development of education in Aragon in terms of the “expansion and increase in schoolteachers, teachers who taught children to read, write, and count, and primary teachers.”533 These teachers, in relationship with their pupils, formed the basis of what it meant to attend school in the early modern peninsular Spanish kingdoms, regardless of whether lessons were held in a parish church, private home, city plaza, or another makeshift location.

The locations of escuelas de muchachos indios in the Archdiocese of Lima’s Indian doctrinas were equally diverse, tied more closely to their instructors than to any physical building. Tellingly, witnesses who confirmed the existence of Spanish language education in

530 See chap. 1, 67-72.
532 Herrero Jiménez and Diéguez Orihuela, Primeras letras, 44.
533 Domínguez Cabrejas, La enseñanza, 13. (My translation) “expansión y aumento de maestros de niños, de maestros de leer, escribir y contar o también de maestros de primeras letras.”
their parishes during inspections rarely commented on the location or structure of the school and there are no accounts of physical schoolhouses having been inspected. Instead, witnesses from several parishes responded to the questions that visitors posed about primary education by affirming or denying the presence of a teacher in their town, omitting any reference to an actual schoolhouse. Salvador Basques, the cacique of San Lorenzo de Quinti in Huarochirí affirmed that, in 1667, the town had at least two teachers who taught male and female children “to read, write, and sing, and the Spanish language” but does not specify where lessons were held. Similar explanations were made throughout the late seventeenth century in the doctrinas of San Damian, San Joseph del Chorrillo, Santo Domingo de Los Olleros, Santa María de Jesús in Huarochirí Province; Ninacaca, Pasco, Chacayan and, Señora Santa Ana de Tussi in the Department of Cerro de Pasco; and Carhuamayo in the Department of Junín, suggesting that, as in seventeenth-century Aragon, primary education in the Archdiocese of Lima was more closely linked to the person of the teacher than to a particular physical space.

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534 Failure to mention inspections of schoolhouses – despite legislation that called for them – is not surprising. The seventeenth-century causas de visitas for the Archdiocese of Lima also fail to record inspections of Hospitals, Cofradías and Hermitas. I only encountered one case of anything other than the parish church being inspected. In the doctrina of San Jose de Chorillo, Huarochirí Province, in December of 1654, Visitor Juan Sarmiento de Vivero records an inspection of the doctrina’s mill (‘molina’), where he found and destroyed several plots of land where parishioners were cultivating coca. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:27.

535 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:47, f. 4r. (My translation) “[...] a ler escriuir y cantar y la lengua española...”

536 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:43, f. 4v.

537 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:44, f. 4v.

538 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:45, f. 4v.

539 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:46, f. 3v.

540 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:21, f. 6v.

541 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:22, f. 4r.

542 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:23, f. 4r.

543 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:25, f. 4r.

544 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 17:40, f. 5r.
When respondents do mention the location of the schools, we are presented with diverse experiences. Priests and school teachers improvised, throwing together makeshift *escuelas* where convenient. In 1647, Indio Ladino Don Juan Raras informed the visitor that in the *doctrina* of La Señora Santa Ana de Tussi (Cerro de Pasco), the children gathered outdoors in the town’s cemetery to recite their prayers and attend lessons.\textsuperscript{545} Miguel de los Ríos, the priest of the nearby parish of León de Guarco also improvised, converting the central church into a schoolhouse where, on Friday evenings, he himself taught classes.\textsuperscript{546} That said, evidence from outside the archdiocese suggests that not all schools would have been as impromptu as those in Santa Ana de Tussi and León de Guarco. A Jesuit annual letter written in 1601 describes the *escuela de muchachos indios* run by an Indian lay confraternity in Arequipa, where students learned in “a well-decorated room” equipped with musical instruments including “flutes, shawms, dulcians, cornets, crumhorns, and *vihuelas*...”\textsuperscript{547}

As in the peninsula, it was also common for students in the Archdiocese of Lima to attend classes in a teacher’s home, either privately or with a group of students. Many of these schools tended to be unofficial – meaning that they were unlicensed – but welcomed by communities nonetheless. Francisco Ruiz de Pineda, for example, ran a school from his home in Lima prior to applying for a license to open an official school in 1642.\textsuperscript{548} Individuals such as Ruiz de Pineda are notoriously difficult to track down in the documentary record, precisely

\textsuperscript{545} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:9, f. 3r- 3v.
\textsuperscript{546} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:26, f. 18r.
\textsuperscript{547} Egaña, ed., *Monumenta*, 7: 775. (My translation) “Una sala muy bien adornada….flautas, chirimías, bajones y cornetas, orlos y viguelas de arco…”
\textsuperscript{548} AAL, Papeles Importantes Leg V:10, f. 2r.
because, in spite of the pivotal roles they played in local education, they often lacked official papers and certifications.

3. Discontinuity and Persistence of the Escuelas de Muchachos Indios

Once we grow accustomed to the heterogeneity of settings and relationships that characterized schools in the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima, we disassociate escuelas de muchachos indios from a fixed physical space and the attendant connotations of stability, permanence, consistency, and immobility. Escuelas de muchachos indios in the Archdiocese of Lima were mobile, transient, dynamic – even periodic – community endeavours rather than permanent or consistent features of Andean parishes.

Again, the experiences of parish education in the Iberian Peninsula provide important insight into the fundamental differences between modern and seventeenth-century escuelas, while also cautioning against any assumption that the Indies were only a point of departure from stable (peninsular) norms. In his study of primary parochial education in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century peninsular Spanish kingdoms, Antonio Viñao Frago has demonstrated that parish schools

might be open for one or several years, and close down for a period. The idea or notion of a school year, with a beginning and end, was also non-existent….Students could register at any time throughout the year. They might attend one day and stop attending another, or attend for only a season or for a few hours a day.549

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549 Antonio Viñao Frago, “Alfabetización y primeras letras (siglos XVI-XVII),” in Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes, ed. Antonio Castillo Gómez (Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa, 1999), 53. (My translation) “podía estar abierta durante uno o varios años y permanecer cerrada durante algún tiempo. La idea o noción de curso, con su principio y final era así mismo algo inexistente….Los alumnos podían inscribirse en cualquier época del año. Se podía asistir un día y dejar de ir otro, o acudir solo una temporada o solo unas horas al día.” This was also true of
Moreover, these students’ teachers were often itinerant, frequently moving in search of an adequate number of pupils and more favourable contracts. One such teacher was Gabriel Barón who lived near Valladolid in the late sixteenth century. Records show that he began teaching in 1569 in the parish of San Sebastián de Madrid, but by 1573, had moved to the village of Pisuerga where he operated a primary school. In 1578 he appears again in La Villa de Ampudia (Palencia) where he signed a six-year contract, although it is unclear whether he remained until its completion.\(^{550}\)

In the Archdiocese of Lima, Barón’s equivalents abounded and escuelas de muchachos indios appear to have been transient endeavours, lacking the stability linked to a permanent structure, fixed ‘school year’ or curriculum associated with modern schooling. Indeed, when we attempt to chart the progress of schools over time, it becomes apparent that education in the doctrinas often developed in cycles, with schools being founded and re-founded following periods of decline after a change in parish priest, a teacher, or number of students.\(^{551}\) The escuela located in the doctrina of Santo Tomás de Cochamarca (Huarochirí) is a prime example. In 1650, Diego de Vergara y Aguiar visited the doctrina and found that the local priest was fulfilling his duties to ensure that the children of his parishioners attended “the school for their education.”\(^{552}\) The inspection conducted three years earlier had made no mention of primary education under educational endeavours in New Spain, where, well into the late seventeenth century, reports indicated that “during the growing season, the Indians take their children out of school for the entire rainy season until the crop is harvested.” Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 339.

\(^{550}\) Herrero Jiménez and Diéquez Orihuela, Primeras letras, 22.

\(^{551}\) William B. Taylor makes a similar argument for parish schools in the diocese of Guadalajara in the late eighteenth century, noting that “evidence that a primary school existed…does not mean that it was permanent.” He goes on to stress that “a discontinuous history did not mean that many schools were not re-founded and maintained, or that nothing was learned.” Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 340.

\(^{552}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:18, f. 4r. (My translation) “[…] la escuela para su enseñanza...”
the previous cura,\textsuperscript{553} and it seems likely that the school was founded with the arrival of the priest Francisco Durán Martel soon after. Witnesses from a subsequent inspection conducted in 1671, however, indicate that the school had closed down sometime after 1650.\textsuperscript{554} There is no record of the doctrina being visited between 1650 and 1671, and it is unclear why the school had ceased to operate.

Several other doctrinas also experienced temporary school closures and their experiences may shed some light on the problems faced in Santo Tomás de Cochamarca. The school in Santa Olalla (Huarocheí) had been closed for over a month when an episcopal inspection was carried out in 1642. Witnesses informed the visitor that the teacher had recently died and that their cura, Luis Mesia de Estela, was in the process of searching for a replacement. The report written by the visitor allowed the priest another three months to complete his search before incurring a penalty.\textsuperscript{555} We do not know how long it took for the school to be re-established, but when the doctrina was visited again in 1659, witnesses reported that the town’s children were attending a school where they were learning to “read and write and sing.”\textsuperscript{556} Another school in the doctrina of Pomabambas in the province of Ancash also closed temporarily circa 1646, when the parish children were sent to work in a textile mill, and their teacher consequently left in search of more students.\textsuperscript{557}

Whatever the reasons for its closure, the escuela de primeras letras in Cochamarca was re-founded in the late 1660s or early 1670s with the arrival of a new priest, Pedro Pérez de la

\textsuperscript{553} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:7.
\textsuperscript{554} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:36.
\textsuperscript{555} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:14, f. 4r, 5r.
\textsuperscript{556} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:28, f. 11r. (My translation) “[...] leer y escribir y cantar...”
\textsuperscript{557} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:13 f. 3-3v.
Although the school itself is not mentioned in the inspection, we learn of its re-founding through a letter written by several caciques from the parish. Don José de Roledo, Don Christo Balguaras, Don Juan Gutiérrez, Don Juan Yauri, Jon Juan López, Don Juan Rinrimirca, and Francisco Sebastián, composed a letter in 1671, listing the accomplishments of their cura, including the re-establishment the school in the doctrina, with a “teacher to instruct [the children] to read, write, pray, and sing, and to serve in the church.”

In some parishes escuelas de muchachos indios appear to have enjoyed relative stability and endured over time despite changes in parish priests. We can trace the school in the doctrina Daniel Alcides Carrión (Cerro de Pasco), for instance, over two decades. The first report of the school appears in an inspection from 1647, which confirmed that the priest, Antonio Chaves Carrión, was overseeing a “school where [parish children] learn to read, write, sing, and speak the language of Castile.” Although an inspection conducted two years later by Visitor Pedro de Espinosa Fernández de Velasco fails to report on the question of schooling, during these years Antonio Chaves Carrión continued to serve as the parish priest, and received a positive review with no complaints or lawsuits from his parishioners. It seems likely that the school was still operating in 1649, but it is possible that the visitor’s silence on the issue reflects the lack of a school in the region. The doctrina was visited again in 1659 by Visitor Francisco Gutiérrez de Guevara, who reported that the town “has a school for children where they are taught to read,

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558 The following doctrinas also appear to have had escuelas de primeras letras that experienced multiple re-foundings: San Francisco de Mangas, Cajatambo; Daniel Alcides Carrión, Cerro de Pasco; Ninacaca, Cerro de Pasco; Santa Ana de Singa, Huanuco; and Santiago de Carampoma, Huarochirí.
559 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:36, f. 5v. (My translation) “[...] poniendo en ella maestro a propósito que los enseñe a leer escribir besar y cantar, para que sirba las yglesias…
560 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:10, 4v. (My translation) “[...] escuela y en ella aprenden a leer escriuir y cantar y ablar la lengua castellana…”
write, and sing, Christian customs, and to speak the language of Castile.”

The *doctrina* had changed hands since 1649, with Rodrigo Durán Martel, a fluent Quechua speaker born in the city of Huánuco, acting as parish priest in the late 1650s. Nearly nine years earlier, Durán Martel had served as parish priest in the *doctrina* of Santa María de Magdalena de Cajatambo where reports show he had also supported a local primary school, ensuring that his young parishioners attended classes regularly. His relative, one Francisco Durán Martel, was also in Cajatambo in the 1650s, where he operated the aforementioned school in Santo Tomás de Cochamarca. It is unclear whether Rodrigo Durán Martel found the school in operation upon his arrival in Cerro de Pasco, or took steps to re-establish it himself. But by 1667 this school had expanded under the direction of the *cura* Juan Villacorta Salcedo, with reports indicating that a school now also existed in each of its annexes, while boasting multiple teachers in the principal town.

Thus it was that the Archdiocese of Lima’s *escuelas de muchachos indios* developed, while being by no means part of a permanent, homogeneous or centralized system of education. Rather, the schools were adapted to local circumstances, taking many shapes and forms and were often periodic and transient in nature. As we have seen, the presence and initiative of teachers in Indian parishes, rather than any particular physical space, appears to have been the fundamental defining factor in these schools.

4. *Maestros de Niños*

562 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:16. (My translation) “[...] tiene escuela de muchachos donde les enseñan a leer escribir y cantar costumbres cristiandas y a hablar la lengua Castellana…”
563 AAL, Concursos III:1a; AAL, Concursos III:4.
564 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:15.
565 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:23, f. 4r, 7r.
Despite the fundamental importance of teachers, we know very little about the men (and possibly women) who taught at these local *escuelas* throughout the archdiocese. Teachers are rarely identified by name in the seventeenth-century *causas de visitas* from the Archdiocese of Lima, and when they are, we are often provided with little more than their names. While it is possible to track down Limeño teachers who applied for licences to open schools in the metropolitan capital, such records are difficult to find for the rural parishes beyond Lima, to say nothing of those who operated without official authorization.\(^{566}\) Even so, when we piece together the scraps of evidence from the extant records, the result is an accumulated profile of the *maestros* that looks as diverse as the *escuelas* themselves. *Maestros de escuela* came from a variety of backgrounds, had diverse (and sometimes no) formal training, and had various relationships to the parishes in which they worked. Below I make several snapshot examinations of the different types of individuals who called themselves *maestros de escuela* of rural parishes across the Archdiocese of Lima throughout the seventeenth century.

### 4.1 The Priest as *Maestro de Escuela*

Although sixteenth-century legislation in both the peninsular Spanish kingdoms and Peru had called for parish priests themselves to double as school teachers, it appears that by the seventeenth century the priest-schoolmaster was becoming less common. Examining Inquisition trial records from the diocese of Cuenca in the kingdom of Castile in the late sixteenth century,

\(^{566}\) Legislation from the 1613 Lima Synod required teachers to be licenced before opening a school: “No one may establish a school to teach reading or writing without having first [submitted] evidence of their customs, and being examined, and obtaining our Approval and license to do so, either from our Ecclesiastical Judge or from the Vicar-General of the district where it is to be established.” (My translation) “Prohibimos que ninguno pueda poner escuela, para enseñar leer, ni escribir, sin que primero havid información de sus costumbres, y siendo examinados, tengan para ello nuestra Aprobación, y licencia, o de nuestro provissor, ó del Vicario del partido, donde se huviere la fabrica de la Parochia.” Lobo Guerrero, *Constituciones sinodales*, 38.
Sara T. Nalle asserts that only fourteen percent of the defendants asked reported having “learned to read in the traditional manner, from the village priest,” while “the majority had attended the equivalent of primary school in their own village…. and 16 per cent of the defendants had been taught by a family member or a friend.”\textsuperscript{567} Nalle’s findings for Cuenca correspond with Henry Kamen’s discussion of school teachers in post-Tridentine Catalonia, where “most towns of moderate size” opted to hire a village teacher rather than rely solely on the parish priest.\textsuperscript{568} And in the petite écoles of seventeenth-century France as well, parish priests rarely doubled as school masters: between 1641 and 1670, of the 206 schoolmasters licensed in Reims, only three were parish priests.\textsuperscript{569}

In the seventeenth-century causas de visitas from the Archdiocese of Lima, there is only one clear mention of a parish priest doubling as a school teacher. This was the case of Miguel de los Ríos y Raipalda, parish priest of León de Huánuco\textsuperscript{570} in 1670. Witnesses claimed that this churchman had set up a school “on Friday evenings in the main church, where he gave many saintly meditations, apparently, much to the benefit of listeners.”\textsuperscript{571} We are given no indication as to why the priest chose to limit classes to once a week. Perhaps he had been unable to do more or was unwilling to contract a separate teacher, but it is interesting to note that beginning in the late sixteenth century, Fridays appear to have been an important day for parish schools elsewhere too. Jesuit accounts from the 1560s and 1570s report that on Fridays, school children in Lima commonly marched in procession to the church to participate in public prayers and singing as

\textsuperscript{567} Sara T. Nalle, “Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile,” Past and Present 125 (Nov. 1989), 75.  
\textsuperscript{568} Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame, 350-351.  
\textsuperscript{569} Carter, Creating Catholics, 167.  
\textsuperscript{570} Frequently spelled “Guanuco.”  
\textsuperscript{571} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:26, f. 18. (My translation) “los viernes en la noche en la yglesia mayor, en los quales practica, muchas y santas meditaciones a los oyentes al pareçer con mucho aprovechamiento...”
well as to be instructed in the faith. Thus, Ríos y Raipalda, who received a positive review from the visitor who inspected his parish, may have been attempting to manage a school in a common way, and as best he could with limited resources, energy and time. Reports of priests teaching parishioners to read and write more generally are also common in the seventeenth century. When testifying before an idolatry visitador in 1665, for example, the cacique principal of the district of Ocros, Francisco de Vergara, claimed to have been taught by two priests. And, as is well known, Felipe Guaman Poma purportedly learned much from his half-brother and Mestizo priest, Martín de Ayala.

In the majority of cases from the archdiocese’s causas de visitas, however, priests acted essentially as school administrators who were responsible for contracting teachers, ensuring that children attended lessons, and that Christian doctrine was taught to satisfaction. The teachers they contracted were a remarkably diverse group, although they can be roughly grouped into two categories: Indios Ladinos who were residents of the parish, and professional itinerant schoolteachers of different ethnic descents.

4.2 Local Indios Ladinos as Maestros de Escuela

Although conventional wisdom in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms counselled against learning Spanish from non-native speakers, and legislators in New Spain actively attempted to

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573 García Cabrera, ed., Ofensas a Dios, 357.
574 Adorno, Guaman Poma, xlv.
575 Aldrete, El origen y principio de la lengua castellana, 47. Bernardo Aldrete had counselled that parents be careful not to expose their children to the ‘incorrect’ Spanish of foreigners or country folk: “in order for one to know [the language] well, and speak it appropriately – not brutishly or rusticly – the nursemaids and [other] children with whom he is to speak must neither be rural folk, nor foreigners, nor people who speak rudely, because children are more likely to acquire bad [habits] than good ones…” (My translation) “que para que uno la sepa bien, i lahable como conviene, i no viciosa, ni rusticamente es menester, que ni las amas ni los ninos con quien este tal uuiere de
bar Indians, Blacks and Mulattos from becoming school teachers, in practice, circumstances in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peru did not allow officials to be as discriminatory or selective when it came to their maestros de escuela. Even schools for peninsular, Creole and Mestizo boys in the metropolitan capital of Lima appear to have accepted teachers whose mother tongues were not Castilian. Such was the case of Bartolomé de Aramburú, a native of the Basque speaking region of Guipúzcoa [Gipuzkoa], who applied for and was granted a “license to teach children” by the archbishop of Lima in April of 1646. Unfortunately, Aramburú’s application does not provide any insight into when or how he learned Castilian – it may well have been at a young age – but it does appear he lacked any formal training or experience in the profession. He applied for his licence on the grounds that, “I am very Poor and in extreme need, and having recently arrived from Biscay I have no way of providing for myself and To do so: I intend to teach children to read and write and count and to teach them to recite the Christian doctrine.”

The willingness of officials to licence non-native Castilian speakers as teachers may reflect a lack of teachers in the archdiocese throughout the seventeenth century. It also suggests that the teaching profession in Lima was less regulated, at least on paper, than in Spain or New Spain,

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576 Konetzke, Colección de documentos, 2(1): 65-67. In 1600, the cabildo of Mexico City issued Ordenanzas sobre los maestros de escuela, stating that “he who would be a teacher must not be Black, Mulatto, or Indian, and being a Spaniard, he must submit information about his life and habits and [proof] of being an Old Christian.” (My translation) “el que hubiere de ser maestro no ha de ser negro ni mulato ni indio, y siendo español, ha de dar información de vida y costumbres y ser Cristiano Viejo.”

577 AAL, Papeles Importantes Leg V: Exp. 12. (My translation) “licencia para enseñar niños”. Guipúzcoa is a province bordering France that forms part of the present-day autonomous community of Basque Country, and whose population historically did not speak a Romance language.

578 AAL, Papeles Importantes Leg V: Exp. 12, f. 1. (My translation) “me alo muy Pobre y con estrema nezessidad y ser recien llegado de Vizcaya y no tener como tengo de que susttentar me y Para ello: Pretendo enseñar niños a leer y a escriuir y contar y enseñar les a reçar la dotrina Christiana.”
and causes us to question the degree to which such regulations were upheld elsewhere in the domains under Spanish rule.⁵⁷⁹

Indeed, from the sixteenth century onward, legislation from the Archdiocese of Lima encouraged non-native Spanish speakers, the so-called Indios Lados, to become school teachers in the parishes where they lived.⁵⁸⁰ In addition to being residents of the parishes in which they worked, these indigenous teachers often held positions as lay assistants to parish priests.

Although the position of parish school teacher was ideally to be a separate post, as John Charles explains, in many parishes the duties of native lay assistants – including those of the fiscales [lay assistants to the parish priest], alguaciles [bailiffs], sacristanes [sacristans], cantores [cantors] – and school teachers often overlapped.⁵⁸¹ Thus, it is not surprising that in 1646 we find fiscales in the doctrina of San Agustín de Cajacay taking on the duties of parish school teacher.⁵⁸² It was also the fiscales who taught at the school in San Andrés de Llamellín (Ancash) in the mid-seventeenth century, although when the parish was inspected in 1649, the visitor noted that these parishioners were insufficiently trained to hold the position because their understanding of the Eucharist was “defective”.⁵⁸³ As this last case suggests, Indios Lados and lay assistants who took on the role of school teacher in addition to other duties appear to have lacked formal training.

⁵⁷⁹ Indeed, William B. Taylor’s study of the diocese of Guadalajara suggests that many parish schoolteachers in New Spain were likely “local Indians” who taught without licenses. By 1716, official policy appears to have come in line with practice; the viceroy issued a decree to officially encourage local Indios Lados to fulfill the role of parish schoolmaster. Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 335.
⁵⁸⁰ Chap. 1, 73n180.
⁵⁸¹ Charles, Allies at Odds, 19-20.
⁵⁸² AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:12, f. 3-3v.
⁵⁸³ AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:25, f. 4. (My translation) “defectuoso”
However, in all cases where instructors are mentioned explicitly by name, they are identified exclusively as the school teacher, suggesting that at least in some doctrinas this remained a separate job.\textsuperscript{584} Perhaps the most interesting case of an Indio Ladino who held the position of maestro de escuela is that of forty-year-old Gerónimo Xulca Maquín in the parish of San Juan de Appallasca (Ancash). We know of him from the testimony he gave during an episcopal inspection of his parish in 1620.\textsuperscript{585} Although the actual contents of his testimony are unremarkable, what stands out is that Gerónimo Xulca Maquín gave his testimony in Quechua, calling on the assistance of Felipe Carballa [Xaurez] and Lorenço de Santa Cruz, official interpreters for the inspection, to interpret his testimony into Spanish.\textsuperscript{586} Why would a teacher who was charged with teaching the Indian boys of his parish to read, write, and speak Spanish require the services of an interpreter? Can we attribute this to his own preference to speak Quechua over Spanish, and perhaps even to his understanding of the two tongues as coexisting and of equal value? Had the visitor decided or assumed that Xulca Maquín’s command of Spanish was not adequate, and thus asked him to testify in Quechua? These are suggestive questions we cannot fully answer, but will return to examine in greater detail in Chapter 5. What is certain, however, is that Gerónimo Xulca Maquín was able to sign his name, and did so elegantly (see Plate 3) after having given his testimony in Quechua.\textsuperscript{587} We have no subsequent record of inspection from Appallasca until 1658, and although witnesses affirm that the school

\textsuperscript{584} See for example: Bartolomé Diaz, “maestro de los cantores” AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:16, f. 33v; and Martín de Salas, “M[aest]ro de escuela” AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:52, f.4.
\textsuperscript{585} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 1:7, f. 5v.
\textsuperscript{586} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 1:7, f. 1v, 5v.
\textsuperscript{587} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 1:7, f. 6.
continued to exist in this parish, there is no further mention of the teacher Xulca Maquín, and we find no record of him after that.\footnote{AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:67.}

Plate 3. Signature of Gerónimo Xulca Maquín

In addition to those who held more or less formal roles as parish \textit{maestros}, we must also consider Spanish speakers – Indios Ladinos and Mestizos, but possibly also Creoles and \textit{peninsulares} – who acted as informal ‘teachers’ of the Spanish language in their communities, imparting linguistic skills through daily interactions and social exchanges. Such individuals were likely more common than the colonial documentary record allows, precisely because of their unofficial and undocumented status. Indeed, and quite possibly contributing to their comfort with such a practice, many Andean communities appear to have had – under the Inka state – a tradition of acquiring language and cultural practices through social interactions. As several colonial-era chroniclers report, newly conquered peoples of the Andes were brought into the fold of Tawantinsuyo through the forced resettlement of \textit{mitmaqkuna} in their territories.\footnote{See Cobo, \textit{History of the Inca}, 189-191; Garcilaso de la Vega, \textit{Comentarios reales}, book 7, chap. III.} \textit{Mitmaqkuna} – later referred to as \textit{mitimaes} by the Spanish – were populations that originally dwelt in another region of the empire. Once resettled, they were to serve as bearers of Inka
language and culture to newly conquered peoples. As El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega recounts, the Inkas “appointed Indians who were natives of Cuzco to teach them [the newly conquered peoples] their language and the customs of the court. They were given houses and land in the various provinces and villages where they and their children were to settle permanently as teachers.”\textsuperscript{590} Such a system causes us to wonder about the extent to which the “teaching” of the Spanish language occurred organically and informally in rural parishes – not only in the diverse educational settings we are discussing here, but also in the day-to-day interactions of community life more broadly.

4.3 The Professional Itinerant Schoolteacher

Not all schoolteachers in Lima’s archdiocese were permanent residents of the parish in which they taught or were native lay assistants taking on additional duties. Much as in Spain, there was a class of people in Peru whose mobile vocation was teaching children to read and write. Cristóbal de Siles, a teacher who requested a licence to open a school in Lima in 1649, is a prime example. Born in Spain, he had worked as a “schoolteacher in Seville and Cadiz” prior to travelling to Peru.\textsuperscript{591} Applications for teaching licences in Lima in the seventeenth century indicate that both \textit{peninsulares} and Peruvian-born Spaniards commonly held this position, although it seems likely that, as was the case of most ordained priests and their benefices, such teachers would have preferred to remain in the capital teaching Spanish and Mestizo children where the wages were higher. If patterns among clergy can be extended to teachers, then those who ventured out into the rural Indian parishes would likely have been less well trained, of a

\textsuperscript{590} Garcilaso de la Vega, \textit{Comentarios reales}, book 7, chap. III.
\textsuperscript{591} AAL, Papeles Importantes, Leg V: Exp. 13. (My translation) “maestro de escuela en Sevilla y Cádiz”
lower class and possibly unlicensed. These teachers who were contracted to live and work in a doctrina for a specific period of time are what I call the professional itinerant schoolteachers.

It was not always a simple matter finding such instructors. Priests reported difficulties finding professional teachers to live and work in their parishes, and drawing up a contract could take some negotiating. Gaspar de Loaiza y Espinosa, the cura of San Gerónimo de Surco, in the 1660s agreed to provide lodging for one of the two teachers of his parish, a concession which may have made the town a more desirable option.

Even after contracting a teacher for the parish, there was little to guarantee that he would stay to fulfill the contract. This was particularly true if the teacher faced a loss of income due to the presence of a rival teacher or a decrease in the number of children in the parish. The municipal council of La Villa de Ampudia, in the peninsular Spanish province of Palencia, faced such a situation in the mid-sixteenth century, and allows us some basis for speculation about the predicament more generally. A letter written to the council tells of the “great lack of a teacher to teach the children and young people to read and write and the Christian doctrine” in the Villa de Ampudia. The letter states that

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592 In his monumental study of priests and parishioners in eighteenth-century Mexico, William Taylor examines the diversity of figures that comprised the Church in Mexico. He notes that in the eighteenth-century diocese of Guadalajara, well educated and well bred priests tended to serve in the “conspicuously desirable parishes” in or near the cathedral city. In contrast, the “distant, [and] isolated [Indian] parishes [were] administered by curas educated in Indian languages, very few of whom had advanced degrees or distinguished professional records in the university and administration;” and all of whom, according to the Bishop of Guadalajara in 1755, were “unfit for promotion as prebends or in any other line of advancement”. Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 80. Paul Bentley Ganster’s study suggests a similar situation in the eighteenth-century Archdiocese of Lima, where “parish priests were governed by the desire to obtain parishes as near as possible to Lima in order to be near the centre of power and advancement”. Paul Bentley Ganster, “A Social History of the Secular Clegy of Lima during the Middle Decades of the Eighteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974), 156.

593 In the doctrina of Chilca in Cañete in 1643, parish priest Luis de Mora y Aguilar was apparently in the process of attempting to contract a new school teacher at the time of his parish’s inspection. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:3, f. 5.

594 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:42, f. 4v.
to remedy the situation Juan Ruiz de Ualuoa, a teacher of Good repute and customs, able and qualified, was contracted to teach the children to read and write and the doctrine, and although the town gave him twenty ducados to assist him in his living, he was unable to support himself and he did not want to reside here due to people in said town who are dealers and scheming officials who butt in with schools and who teach children to read and write without having the ability or qualifications; and, thus, there are no teachers to do the task …

The doctrina of San Juan de Pomabambas (in Andean Ancash) faced a similar dilemma in the mid-seventeenth century. Although the parish priest had contracted a teacher for the town’s escuela de muchachos indios, by 1646 the school had ceased to function because the teacher had left town after the majority of his young students were sent to work in the district’s textile mill. It is likely that this teacher moved in search of another doctrina with more pupils and a correspondingly higher salary.

4.4 Maestras de Escuela

Maestras de escuela, the female schoolteachers who were entrusted with the education of the girls in each parish, are even more difficult to trace in the colonial record than their male counterparts. Although the 1613 Synod of Lima explicitly mentions the need for female teachers

595 Cited in Gloria Diéguez Orihuela, “El oficio de maestro de escuela de niños en la Villa de Ampudia a finales del Siglo XVI a través de un pleito de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid,” HID 30 (2003): 186. (My translation) “gran falta de vn maestro que ensene a leher y escreuir y la dotrina christiana a los ninos y mochachos, y para el remedio dello se abía concertado con vn Jun Rruizde Ualuoa, maestro de Buena fama y bida, üuil y sufiziente, que enesenase a leher y escreuir y dotrina a los ninos, y avnque esa dicha villa le daua beynte ducados para ayuda a ssutentarsse, a causa que auía algunas personas en esta dicha villa tratantes y oficjales mecánicos que se entremeten a tener escuela y ensenar mochachos para leher y escreuir sin tener para hello auilidad ny sufizienza, ni se podia sustentar ni quería rresedir aí, y así no hallauan maestros que conbeniese para hello…”

596 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:13, f. 3r-3v.
and outlines the regulations for the profession, \(^{597}\) not one female teacher is specifically named in the archdiocese’s seventeenth-century *causas de visitas*, and the term *maestra* itself never appears in the documents. This is not wholly unexpected in a series of documents that are largely dominated by male voices on all sides. Women were not called upon to act as witnesses regarding their priests’ behaviour, and rarely do they feature in male testimony unless as accused idolaters, purported witnesses of religious error, or consorts of parish priests.\(^{598}\)

Despite the lack of direct testimony, however, we cannot rule out the possibility that *maestras* were teaching Andean girls to read and speak Spanish and to embroider in at least some of the archdiocese’s *doctrinas*. Witness testimony from a handful of parishes does specify that both “boys and girls” attended Spanish lessons. In 1667, for example, witnesses from the town of San Pedro de Ninacaca in the province of Cerro de Pasco testified that, “the boys and girls have teachers who teach them to write, sing, the Spanish language, and good customs every day.”\(^{599}\) The specific mention of both “boys” and “girls” – *muchachos y muchachas* – attending parish schools also appear in *causas de visitas* from Santa Ana de Tussi\(^{600}\) and Espiritu Santo de Chacayan\(^{601}\) in Cerro de Pasco, San Pedro de Casta\(^{602}\) and Santo Domingo de los Olleros\(^{603}\) in Huarochirí Province, and Carhuamayo\(^{604}\) in Junín. Whether these witnesses made the distinction

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\(^{597}\) Lobo Guerrero, *Constituciones sinodales*, 38. “And the same diligence will be made in regards to female Teachers, who will teach the Girls to read, and embroider, and who are commonly called female school teachers.” (My translation) “Y la misma diligencia se harà con las Maestras, que enseñan à las Ninas à leer, y labrar, que el vulgo llama amigas.”

\(^{598}\) See, for example: AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:16.

\(^{599}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:21, f.4, 5v. (My translation) “todos los dias a las muchachas y muchachos a los quales les tiene mros que les enseñen a ler escriuir y cantar y la lengua española y buenas costumbres.”

\(^{600}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:25.

\(^{601}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:23.

\(^{602}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:30.

\(^{603}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:45.

\(^{604}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 17:40; 17:42.
on purpose or were simply echoing the question in their response, however, is unclear. Beyond these scant mentions of female students, the *causas de visitas* provide no clues to the identities or roles of these female counterparts to the *maestros de escuela*.

5. *Muchachos de Escuela*

Unlike the prestigious Colegio del Príncipe in Lima, which restricted entrance to the eldest sons and successors of *caciques principales* and *segundas personas*,\(^{605}\) the *escuelas de muchachos indios* in the *doctrinas* of the Archdiocese of Lima were, at least in theory, to be open to all children – boys and girls – in the parish. The absence of any school attendance records, however, makes it virtually impossible to know who the students were, what percentage of children actually attended the schools, and for how long. A census register from the *doctrina* of La Asunción de Matahuasi (Ancash) taken in 1649, however, provides us with a valuable opportunity to survey the children who attended school in the parish. Below it will be examined as a case study.

5.1 Case Study: La Asunción de Matahuasi, 1649

Located in the province of Ancash, the *doctrina* of La Asunción de Matahuasi was inspected by Visitor Pedro de Espinosa Fernández de Velasco in February of 1649.\(^{606}\) The resulting *causa de visita* is exceptional in that it included, along with the inspection report, a census of the population living in the parish, known as a *padrón*. The *padrón* classifies residents according to the Andean extended kin groups known as *ayllus*, and also includes a separate list for the Spaniards who lived in the town. Even more exceptional for our purposes is that the

\(^{605}\) AGN, Real Junta de Temporalidades: Colegios Leg: 171.

\(^{606}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:22.
padrón lists the “muchachos de la escuela” in a separate category, providing us with a list of twenty-six names of the boys who attended the escuela de muchachos indios in Matahuasi in 1649. This documentation by the uncommonly meticulous Fernández de Velasco and his investigating entourage allows us to wonder about similar schools mentioned but otherwise undocumented elsewhere in the Andes.

Table 1: *Padrón de Indios – Doctrina of La Asunción de Matahuasi, Ancash (1649)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muchachos de la Escuela</th>
<th>Muchachos de la Doctrina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baltasar Ayrapicho</td>
<td>Andres Cayxanpicho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ju.o Limacopicho</td>
<td>Joan Rojas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Xullcapicho</td>
<td>Gaspar Gabelan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ju.o Cucqui Llampi</td>
<td>Fran.co Flores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Cusco Picho</td>
<td>Fran.co Mallahuuyca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Yaera Huyca</td>
<td>Joan de La Cruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joeph Yaca Hapari</td>
<td>Pedro Quellamia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Ynacio</td>
<td>Diego Alanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agustin Xullcapicho</td>
<td>Baltasar Picho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltasar Guanuco</td>
<td>Joseph Bera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Flores</td>
<td>Pedro Luminchabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucas Vilica</td>
<td>Antonio Viçente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Vasquis</td>
<td>Andres Garçia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Valichachi</td>
<td>Pedro Sanches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felipe Valichachi</td>
<td>Pascual Nunes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roque Vaynapicho</td>
<td>Antonio Ygnaçio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltasar Picho</td>
<td>Felipe Ajahapari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Nunes</td>
<td>Ju.o Lazaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis Thomepichio</td>
<td>Fran.co Flores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agustin Thomepichio</td>
<td>Agustin Manuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartolome Dautit</td>
<td>Roque Runabany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Macseçila</td>
<td>Joan Gregorio Ynga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roque Monasca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebas Jaçinto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grabrie Cuillqui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fran.co Gomes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


First, we note that all twenty-six students listed are males. Although muchachas also receive their own category in the padrón, there is no mention of girls attending school. This supports our earlier suggestion that female teachers for Andean girls were less common – or at the very least deemed less worthy of note in the official record.
Second, the padrón separates the muchachos de escuela from the muchachos de la doctrina – indicating that this second group of boys did not attend school but were instructed in Catholic doctrine. We can only speculate as to why the second group was not enrolled in the school. The fact that siblings or relatives appear on both lists – Francisco and Pascual Nunes, for example – suggests that the boys listed as muchachos de la doctrina may have been too old to attend school, although no ages are provided. It was not unheard of for parents to refuse to send their children to school for financial or other reasons, or for one child to be selected from among his siblings. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that several of the students attending the schools did so alongside their siblings or relatives: Francisco and Agustin Xullcapicho; Thomas and Felipe Valichachi, Luis and Agustin Thomepicho.

The boys who attended school in Matahuasi would have likely been between the ages of five and ten, although we cannot be entirely certain. Legislation for the escuelas in Archdiocese of Lima almost entirely ignores the issue of age, except in the case of female students, which the Crown specified was not to surpass ten. And although there was no universally agreed upon age for children to begin primary school in the seventeenth-century peninsular Spanish kingdoms, conventional wisdom set this at between five and seven. If we assume that Peru’s

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607 Charles, Allies at Odds, 28.
608 Álvarez, De las costumbres, 297.
609 Solano, ed., Documentos, 210; AAL, Cedulario del Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Tomo 2: f. 569. “girls in all regions are to be able to attend school until the age of ten years, after which, they shall not be permitted to go...” (My translation) “las niñas en todas partes han de poder ir a estas escuelas hasta la edad de diez años, y que en pasando della no se les permita que vayan...”
610 There was no universally agreed upon age to begin school in Spain. Scholars gave varying opinions on the subject: In his Libro primero del espejo del principe christiano [1541], Francisco de Monzón asserted that children should attend school “from the age of five: because at that age their minds are malleable and they learn any subject easily.” (My translation) “desde cinco años: porque entonces la memoria está tierna y aprende cualquier cosa facilmente.” Writing nearly half a century later, Pedro López de Montoya, in his Libro de Buena educación y enseñanza de los nobles [1595] wrote that “I advise that children begin learning at the age of seven, and not before,
parish schools mirrored their peninsular counterparts in this respect, as they did in others, it would mean that the students attending their local parish schools were considerably younger than the *hijos de caciques* that travelled to Lima between the ages of ten and twelve to attend the Colegio del Príncipe.\(^{611}\) Indeed, it seems likely that *hijos de caciques* would have attended their local school until the age of ten – an age at which most parish children would have concluded their lessons – before going to Lima to complete their education.\(^{612}\) In this way the Limeño school for *hijos de caciques* which has long been the nearly singular focus of historiography on the subject ought to be seen as supplemental rather than an alternative to local parish education for these local elite youths.

If we take the Limeño Colegio as an indication of broader practices, the duration of each student’s attendance at the Matahuasi school likely varied considerably. Records from the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima show that caciques attended for anywhere from a matter of months to up to six years, and stays were often interrupted by frequent absences.\(^{613}\) The lack of a formal

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\(^{611}\) AGN, Real Junta de Temporalidades: Colegios. Leg: 171. The Constitutions of the Colegio del Príncipe outlined that, “In order to be admitted to the Colegio, [students] must have reached the age of ten, and remain [at the school] until their Parents arrange for them to be Married, or until they succeed to their respective Cacicazgo, or for the length of time that the viceroy and his governors deem suitable.” (My translation) “Para poder ser admitidos en el Colegio han de tener edad de diez años cumplidos y estar en el hasta que sus Padres les pongan en estado de Matrimonio, ó suceder en el Cacicazgo referido, ó pareciere á los Señores Virreyes, ó gobernadores que por tiempo fueren.”

\(^{612}\) Alaperrine-Bouyer, *La educación de las élites*, 194.

\(^{613}\) Ibid., 129.
‘school year’ with a fixed beginning and end in the peninsular kingdoms, as well as in the Peruvian viceroyalty, in this period meant that attendance could be sporadic throughout the year, and that lengthy absences were common and expected.614

Who were these boys? What were their backgrounds? Why did their parents send them to school rather than have them assist with tribute and labour obligations? Providing no more than a name, the padrón gives us little to go on. It is possible, however, to track down the father or relative of two of the boys who appeared as a witness during the parish inspection. Luis and Agustín Thomepicho, both of whom are listed as muchachos de escuela, appear to be the sons of a Don Juan Thomas Picho, an Indio Ladino who gave testimony during the parish inspection. Juan Thomas Picho was thirty years old in 1649. He could speak Spanish and sign his name – skills that likely assisted him in obtaining the position of alcalde ordinario in the parish.615 As an Indio Ladino who appears to have employed his linguistic and associated skills to carve out a space for himself in the parish community, it comes as no surprise that he would have wanted Luis and Agustín to attend the school to learn to read, write, and speak Spanish.

Although the majority of the boys listed as muchachos de la escuela have native Andean surnames, a number of the boys appearing in the list have Spanish surnames: Flores, Nunes [Núñez], Gomes [Gómez], Jaçinto [Jacinto], and Ynacio [Ignacio].616 Although surnames are often inaccurate markers of ethnicity in the Andes, as elsewhere, the fact that Matahuasi had a sizable population identified on the padrón as Spaniards – “españoles” –, suggests that at least some of the boys attending this school were Creoles or Mestizos. This is not the first time we

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614 Ibid., 179; Viñao Frago, Alfabetización, 53.
615 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:22, f. 4v.
616 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:22, f. 13.
hear of *muchachos indios* attending lessons alongside Spanish and possibly Mestizo boys: parents of the caciques attending the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima in 1657 wrote a letter to complain about the number of Spaniards attending the school with their sons. In the case of El Príncipe, the primary concern appears to have been financial – the Spanish children were benefitting from funds that had been intended for the caciques. It would be interesting to know what sort of relationships and arrangements – financial and otherwise – existed between the *muchachos indios* and what appear to have been the *muchachos españoles* at the school in Matahuasi.

6. Pedagogy

Witnesses interviewed throughout the Archdiocese of Lima’s Indian parishes confirmed that teachers were instructing their children to read, write, and speak Spanish, to sing and play musical instruments, to understand the Christian doctrine, and to learn Christian customs and behaviours. As Aquilino Sánchez Pérez has noted, beyond these general descriptions of subjects “we have no records of treatises which describe methodologies or techniques” used by teachers of primary schools in the Viceroyalty of Peru. But our efforts to know more are not completely stymied. If we explore the approaches to language instruction that were prevalent throughout the peninsular Spanish kingdoms and adapted to Peruvian realities during the seventeenth century, and connect these to our fleeting references from mid-colonial Peruvian zones, it is possible to form an idea of the approaches teachers would most likely have drawn upon in the Archdiocese of Lima’s diverse *escuelas de muchachos indios*.

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617 AGI, Lima 169.
6.1 Learning to Read Spanish

Children attending their parish escuela in the Archdiocese of Lima were likely introduced to reading Spanish through the use of small printed instruction leaflets known as cartillas. The cartilla, a teaching aid that was widely used throughout the peninsula, was typically comprised of “an alphabet and a syllabary, the most common prayers and a catechism, and finally, the order to assist in mass…and a multiplication table.” Students began by learning the alphabet, becoming familiar with both upper- and lower-case forms as well as the name of each letter. Repetition and memorization were the fundamental methods of learning in this context. Next, “the students proceeded to the syllable, which, once understood, led to uninterrupted reading.”

Reading was still primarily an oral exercise in the seventeenth century, and thus, learning to read was intimately linked with oral fluency, with learning to speak Spanish. It should not surprise us that the further contents of the cartillas – which typically included the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Hail Holy Queen, the Commandments and the Sacraments – ensured that

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620 Balutet, “Cómo pasar de la cartilla?” 95. (My translation) “un abecedario y de un silabario, de las oraciones más comunes y de un catecismo, y por fin, de un orden para ayudar a misa…y de una table de multiplicar.” According to Víctor Infantes, in some cases it is possible to make a distinction between 1) Cartillas to learn to read, which generally contain “the alphabet, syllabary, and, in some isolated cases, basic grammar rules,” and 2) Cartillas to learn the Christian doctrine which focused primarily on “catechetical texts” without any explanatory learning material. (My translation). Víctor Infantes, De las primeras letras: Cartillas españolas para enseñar a leer del siglo XVII (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1998), 1: 38.
621 Infantes, De las primeras letras, 24
622 Balutet, “Cómo pasar de la cartilla?” 98. (My translation) “las escolares pasaban al silabario, lo que desembocaba, una vez conocidas esas nociones, en la lectura sin interrupciones.” It is interesting to note that while most cartillas begin with the alphabet and silabario followed by the prayers and Christian doctrine, an account from seventeenth-century Spain asserts that the Christian doctrine was learned first, followed by the alphabet and syllables. Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS/II-1344, f. 116v.
learning to read opened up other potential realms of transformation, that is, reading “also meant learning to pray, and learning the fundamentals of Catholicism.”

Although there are no extant copies of the largely ephemeral cartillas used in Peru, ship ledgers showing their shipment in number to the viceroyalty indicate that they were coming, and in demand in the viceroyalty from at least the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1583, “Philip II granted the Collegiate Church of Valladolid a monopoly for the printing and distribution of cartillas in the dominions of Castile,” including those in the Americas. Cartillas began to arrive in Peru in large quantities soon after. In 1585, we find a large shipment of teaching materials dispatched to Peru from Seville on the Santa Catalina, captained by Miguel de Eraso. The contents of the cargo on board are central to our investigation, and include:

Box 57. One thousand cartillas – twenty-five dozen calendars
Box 59. Twelve dozen catones – ten reams of verses
Box 104. Fifty cartillas. Three hundred catones. Ten ‘Arts of Counting.’
Box 105. One hundred cartillas

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624 Balutet, “Cómo pasar de la cartilla?” 95. See also Infantes, De las primeras letras, 26. (My translation) “significara también aprender a rezar, aprender las bases del Catolicismo.”
625 Balutet, “Cómo pasar de la cartilla?” 96. The lack of remaining copies is likely due to the fact that “children handled the cartillas every day [and] they often ripped them and they ended up in the garbage….[That said,] the low cost of cartillas (an eighth of a real…) enabled even families of humble means to buy a new one….The cartilla itself was not seen as valuable, and once a child had learned to read, they were not kept….The cartillas that remain today were found ‘enclosed’ within the pages of books…” (My translation) “Los niños manipulaban la cartilla todos los días…solía romperse y acabar en la basura….Su precio irrisorio (un octavo de real…) no constituía un freno a la compra de otra nueva, incluso para una familia humilde….No tenía valor, y cuando los niños sabían leer, no la guardaban tampoco….Las cartillas que llegaron hasta nosotros se encontraron ‘encerradas’ entre las páginas de un libro…”
626 Ibid. (My translation) “Felipe II otorgó a la Iglesia collegial de Valladolid el monopolio de la impression y distribución de la cartailla en los reinos de Castilla.”
Box 106. Four hundred *catones*

Box 107. Four hundred *cartillas* – Two hundred *catones*. Ten ‘Arts of Counting.’

Box 108. Five hundred *cartillas*. Two hundred *catones*. Ten ‘Arts of Counting.’

As Pablo Rueda Ramírez affirms, “large quantities of *catones, cartillas* and other educational works [were] included in shipments” throughout the seventeenth century. Cartillas were also soon printed in large numbers by the various printers who sprang up in Lima. Indeed, the press in Lima was established in 1584 at the request of the hemisphere’s first university, the University of San Marcos, in 1581 “requesting authorization to establish what would be the first printer in Lima ‘to be able to print some books that are necessary for beginners and other acts and findings that the University regularly needs, and *Cartillas* for children and catechisms for the teaching and doctrinal instruction of the natives’.” By the early seventeenth century, the demand for *cartillas* was such that Jerónimo de Soto Alvarado “began negotiations before the viceroy and the court with the aim of obtaining the exclusive right to print *cartillas*, contributing, in exchange, a modest sum of one hundred pesos a year to the hospital of Nuestra

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Caja 57. Mil cartillas – veinticinco docenas de calendarios
Caja 59. Doce docenas de catones – diez resmas de coplas
Caja 105. Cien cartillas
Caja 106. Cuatrocientos catones
Caja 108. Quinientas cartillas. Doscientos catones. Diez artes de cuentas

629 Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005), 381. (My translation) “catones, cartillas y otras obras educativas van en los envíos en grandes cantidades.”

630 Ibid., 381-382. (My translation) “pidiendo la autorización para el establecimiento de la que sería la primera imprenta de Lima ‘paa que se puedan imprimir algunos libros necesarios para los principiantes y otros actos y conclusiones que de ordenario se tienen en la Universidad, y Cartillas para los niños y catechismos para la instrucción y doctrina de los naturales’.”
Señora de Atocha de los Niños Huérfanos.” The monopoly appears to have been profitable for printers, as they continued to vie for it into the late seventeenth century. Colonial officials clearly envisioned using cartillas as the primary teaching material in the escuelas de muchachos indios. In the constitutions of the 1636 Lima Synod, it was ordered that “in their schools, the [Indians] be taught to read using cartillas and books in romance.”

6.2 Learning to Speak Spanish

Learning to speak Spanish in the escuelas de muchachos indios likely centred on learning the fundamentals of reading, as well as on the repetition and memorization of prayers and phrases. A manual entitled Regulations that Teachers who Teach Reading, Writing, and Counting in the City of Lima Should Observe in their Schools for the Good Education and Instruction of Children, written by Benito Xuárez de Gil in 1594, and which remained in manuscript form in the National Library of Spain until its publication in Francisco Mateos’ study on colonial education in 1951, outlines some of the approaches to teaching Spanish. Xuárez de Gil, who Mateos suggests may have become a visitor or school inspector in Lima, recommends that teachers have students repeat sections of the cartilla twice daily: “in the morning the four prayers, the commandments, confession in Spanish; and in the afternoon, the articles of the faith, and the others remaining; so that they read the whole cartilla every day, so as to know it by

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631 After considerable disputes, the right was granted to him in 1619. José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)* (Santiago de Chile: En Casa del Autor, 1904), 1: xlii. (My translation) “inició gestiones ante el Virrey y la Corte á fin de obtener el privilegio de imprimir las cartillas, contribuyendo, en cambio, con la modesta suma de cien pesos al año para el hospital de Nuestra Señora de Atocha de los Niños Huérfanos.”

632 For more on the printing of cartillas in Lima, see Ibid., 1: xlv.


634 (My translation) *Instrucción que los maestros de enseñar a leer, escribir y contar de esta ciudad de los Reyes, han de guardar en sus escuelas para la buena educación y enseñanza de los niños.*

635 Published in Mateos, “Escuelas primarias,” 595-599.
heart, in addition to reciting the [mathematical] tables.”636 Another teacher, Hernando Sebastián del Campo, who taught at the Colegio de San Borja in Cuzco, describes a similar method used to teach the *hijos de caciques* in this south-central Andean region to speak Spanish in the 1620s. Here, the focus was not only on the Christian doctrine but also upon phrases for polite conversation: the students “practiced the Spanish language and short phrases that were given to them to memorize, by which they learn to speak and the good manners with which they are to address themselves to others; and they all address each other with *Ud.* [formal ‘you’] and with respect so that they will know how to address others when they leave the school.”637

In addition to this Spanish and European method of learning via the *cartilla* we must consider the ways in which native Andean methods of language learning played their parts as well.638 This is particularly true when we consider that many of the school teachers were local Indios Ladinos, figures capable of considerable intercultural agility. A Jesuit letter written by provincial Padre Rodrigo de Cabredo in 1602 provides rare insight into language learning techniques used by non-Quechua speaking indigenous peoples to learn the *lengua general*. The provincial describes the case of several Andeans who travelled from the surrounding highland region to Cuzco to request baptism. “The Indians came from a distance,” Cabredo recounts,

636 Xuárez de Gil, *Instrucción*, 595-596. (My translation) “por la mañana las cuatro oraciones, los mandamientos, la confisión en romance; y por la tarde los artículos de la fee, y las demás restantes; de suerte que cada día recen toda la cartilla, para que la sepan de memoria, y asimismo dirán la tabla. Mateos notes that he was unable to track down any information on the identity of the author.

637 Hernando Sebastian del Campo, “Carta al Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús,” 16-III-1622, BUARM, Vargas Ugarte Collection, Vol 20, Doc 16, Fol 32. (My translation) “...a ejercicio de lengua española y oraciones breues que se le dan a que tomen de mem[or]a a con que enseñan a hablar y pulicia como se an de tratar unos con otros...”

638 In some cases, *cartillas* appear to have been copied and distributed by native scribes – making them collaborative endeavours – as was the case in the city of Cuzco in the late sixteenth century. See Charles, *Allies at Odds*, 207-208 n71.
and in order to receive [baptism], and to be first prepared and well-instructed in our faith, they are learning the Quechua language, which is very different from their own, and which our Fathers know and are able to teach them. They spend all day learning, using small stones as they repeat aloud what is said to them, and later, using a pointer to point at the stones, they repeat it as if they were reading from a book.639

In his Comentarios reales de los Incas written in the early seventeenth century, El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega also mentions this technique of memorization with the use of mnemonics. He recounts that priests often recruited young children to perform in plays and processions on holy days, and that

in order to memorize the lines they have to say which are written down, the Indian children go to the Spaniards who know how to read, laypersons or priests, even if they are of the nobility, and they ask them to read the first line four or five times until they memorize it, and so as not to forget [the words], even in difficult cases, they repeat each word many times, identifying it with a variously coloured small stone or a seed, which here are the size of chickpeas and are called chuy, and they remember the words via these identifiers, and by this method they easily and quickly memorize their lines….The Spaniards the little Indians ask to read [the lines] do not scorn them or become angry;

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639 Egaña, ed., Monumenta, 8: 217. (My translation) “Hanse hecho este año algunos bautismos de adultos, viniendo los indios de lejos a pedir este divino lavatorio y al presente estan en este colegio quatro indios infieles que salieron de los Andes, pidiendo el sancto bautismo y para recibirle y ser primero dispuestos, instruidos bien en las cosas de nuestra fe, aprenden la lengua quichua, que es muy diferente de la suya y la que nuestros Padres saben, para poderles enseñar. Esta todo el día aprendiendo, haziendo con unas piedresitas memorial bocal [repitiendo en voz alta para memorizar] de lo que se les dize y luego con unos punteros señalando las piedras y repitiendolo, como si estuvieran leyendo en un libro…”
even the most serious ones cherish them and they are pleased by it, knowing what it is for.  

In his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, José de Acosta, too, remarked on the pebbles that Andeans used to “accurately learn the words that they want to commit to memory.” Apparently intrigued by the practice, the learned Jesuit recounts that it is something to see quite old men learning the Our Father with a circle made of pebbles, and with another circle the Hail Mary, and with another the Creed, and to know which stone represents “who was conceived by the Holy Ghost,” and which “suffered under Pontius Pilate;” and you have only to see them correct themselves when they make an error, and the whole correction consists in looking at their pebbles.

The use of stones or small seeds as mnemonic devices may be linked to the use of *khipus*, the Andean tradition of “writing without words” using a system of knotted cords. Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century reports from Southern Peru and primarily Aymara-speaking regions of Bolivia suggest that *khipu* readers or *khipucamayocs* employed stones alongside

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640 Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales*, 206. (My translation) “los muchachos indios, para tomar de memoria los dichos que han de decir que son los dan por escrito, se van a los españoles que saben leer, seglares o sacerdotes, aunque sean de los más principales y les suplican que les lean cuatro o cinco veces el primer renglón, hasta que lo toman de memoria, y porque no se les vaya de ella, aunque son tenaces, repiten muchas veces cada palabra, señalándola con una piedrecita o con un grano de una semilla de diversos colores, que allá hay del tamaño de garbanzos, que llaman chuy, y por aquellas señales se acuerdan de las palabras, y de esta manera van tomando sus dichos de memoria con facilidad y brevedad….los españoles a quien los indíezuelos piden que les lean no se desdeñan ni se enfadan, por graves que sean antes les acarician y den gusto, sabiendo para lo que es.”

641 Acosta, *Natural and Moral History*, 343.

642 Ibid., 344.

knotted threads to perform calculations. While we have no direct accounts of the methods used in *escuelas de muchachos indios*, expansive research allows us to understand that some teachers drew on a rich Andean tradition of memorization and language acquisition such as the one described above, in addition to the European models.

### 6.3 Learning to Write Spanish

The Andean system of recording via *khipus* differed significantly from the European tradition of writing, particularly in its physicality, in the presence of knots and cords not only to see but also to touch and feel. Although, in the late sixteenth century, Andean neophytes were encouraged to use *khipus* to record their transgressions in preparation for confession, Spanish colonial officials never fully understood or adopted the system. Thus, learning to write Spanish meant learning alphabetic literacy, and in practice, learning to write in the *escuelas de muchachos indios* would focus on European methods and techniques including how to cut and hold a quill, how to prepare the ink, and how to apply it to paper and form letters.

In Spanish and broader European settings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, writing was learned separately from reading and speaking. According to Xuárrez de Gil’s 1594 *Regulations* for teachers in Lima, two principal scripts were to be taught to children: *redondilla*

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644 Gary Urton, “From Knots to Narratives: Reconstructing the Art of Historical Record Keeping in the Andes from Spanish Transcriptions of Inka Khipus,” *Ethnohistory* 45.3 (1998): 414-415. As Gary Urton recounts, trial records from La Plata (present-day Sucre) in 1579 record that evidence was “read” aloud by *quipucamayocs*: “Taking their quipos in their hands they said they gave him the following and placing some stones on the ground by means of which they performed their accounting [calculation] together with the quipos they said the following…”.

645 Ibid., 410. See also Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del Paganismo a la Santidad*, 221; and “José de Acosta to P. Everardo Mercuriano,” 11-IV-1579, in Egaña ed. *Monumenta Peruana*, 2: 622.

646 Juan de la Cuesta, *Libro y tratado para enseñar leer y escriuir breuemente y congran facilidad cõ reta pronunciacion y verdadera ortographia todo Romance Castellano, y de la distincion y diferencia que ay en las letras consonãtes de vna a otras en su sonido y pronunciacion*, (Alcalá de Henares: Casa de Juan Gracian, 1589), 26v. De la Cuesta’s manual provides a step-by-step description of how to prepare the physical tools for writing in the sixteenth-century Iberian Peninsula.
and bastardilla (an italics) which were the most commonly used. Teachers were to demonstrate writing each letter on a large scale, while students attempted to replicate the letters on sheets of lined paper to help guide their hands. Certain hours of the day were to be devoted to correcting students’ handwriting: at ten in the morning and again at four in the afternoon.

6.4 Music

Music – as a complement to the Christian doctrine, and to reading, writing and speaking Spanish – was a key subject to be taught in the escuelas de muchachos indios. "Cantar" (or singing) was identified by witnesses as a subject taught in roughly half of the parishes that reported on an escuela. Parishes such as Ninacaca (Cerro de Pasco) in 1695, Hanan (Ica) in 1643, and San Juan de Matucan (Huarochirí) in 1666 reported having a separate teacher who exclusively taught music to the parish children. Music also occupies a prominent place in Guaman Poma’s depiction of a scene from an escuela de muchachos indios. The drawing (Plate

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647 According to Agustín Millares Carlo and José Ignacio Mantecón, bastardilla, also called itálica, refers to a “clear, regular” script that was slightly slanted toward the right, and which, by the mid-seventeenth century, had become increasingly used across a wide variety of genres. Redondilla or redonda, a form of gothic script influenced by cursive which was prominent in the fifteenth century, had become less relevant in the seventeenth century, being reserved for “letters patent and grants of nobility.” Agustín Millares Carlo and José Ignacio Mantecón, Álbum de Paleografía Hispanoamericana de los siglos XVI y XVII (Barcelona: Ediciones El Albir, 1975), 35, 42-43.

648 Xuárez de Gil, Instrucción, 596. “Que los maestros enseñen dos formas de letras, redondilla y bastardilla, que son las más necesarias; y para que con más brevedad y perfección las aprendan los niños, se les darán al principio muestras de letra grande, de suerte que en una plana hagan doce renglones, y escriban sobre falsas reglas, hasta que vayan soltando la mano.”

649 Ibid., 595-596. “Lo 5.o: Que para el buen aprovechamiento de los discípulos, sea obligado el maestro dos veces al día, una a la mañana y otra a la tarde, levantarse a ver cómo escriben los niños, y enmendarles las letras que hiciere mal, y enseñarles a tomar bien la pluma.”

Lo 6.o: Que a la hora de corregir, que por las mañanas será a las diez y por las tardes a las cuatro, les mire las planas y les corrija las letras y partes que no habieren hecho bien, las cuales luego escribían los niños debajo de la corregidura y muestren al maestro.”


651 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:16

652 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:42.
4), which features an abusive and corrupt instructor, includes “a musical score on a lectern.”

Further, the frequent pairings of cantar y tañer (singing and playing instruments) with leer y escribir (reading and writing) in the colonial documentary record, as Durston notes, strongly suggests that we should not underestimate the role of music in the diverse parish educational endeavours that we are examining.

Plate 4. The cruel choir and school masters should teach their students to read and write, so that they become good Christians. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Drawing 266.

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653 Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 292.
654 Ibid.
Priests were keen to include musical education in their parish schools not only so that the children could “assist in the worship of the Church,” but also because, as evangelization manuals insisted, Andeans’ readily apparent attraction to music made it a particularly effective medium of indoctrination. Participation in processions and the public singing of hymns was a means by which school children learned and internalized Christian behaviours and rituals. On feast days, as

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Jesuit Padre Diego de Bracamonte proudly reported in the late sixteenth century, school children regularly marched through town “singing the doctrine through the streets, in a manner which inspires devotion.”  

When they arrived at the church they would recite their prayers and receive instruction from the parish priest. In doing so, the children were being incorporated into the rituals of the Catholic Church, and the use of the public spectacle of education, such as processions on holy days, was meant to inculcate Christian values in bystanders as well.

As treated in Chapter 3, European ecclesiastical music was not only meant to facilitate indoctrination, but also to replace what many feared to be the ‘idolatrous’ and ‘superstitious’ beliefs and customs encoded in unsanctioned, recognizably Andean forms of song and dance. The violence portrayed in Guaman Poma’s drawing shown above highlights parish education as a place of coercion and silencing, which contributed to the erasure and driving underground of Andean musical traditions. In the town of San Francisco de Otuco in Cajatambo, for example, we learn from an idolatry inspection report drafted in 1656, that parishioners were attempting to practice unsanctioned forms of music and dance in secret, away from the eyes of their parish priest.

Musical instruction in parishes, however, also appears to have become a space for innovation and creation for at least some communities and parishioners. Andean musicians took an active role in the creation of church music in their parishes. Indeed, at times Andean parishioners themselves sought to organize their own music lessons. The aforementioned school

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658 Ibid.
in Arequipa run by an Indian lay religious association focused particularly on music and had organized classes, as a Jesuit correspondent enthused, “of all types of vocal music and the playing of flutes, shawms, dulcians, cornets, crumhorns, and vihuelas, in which there are Indians who are very skilled.”\footnote{Egaña, ed., \textit{Monumenta}, 7: 775. (My translation) “de todo género de músicas de canto y a tañer flautas, chirimías, bajones y cornetas, orlos y vigüelas de arco, en que ay muy diestros indios.”} In his study of music in rural \textit{doctrinas de indios} in the environs of mid-colonial Cuzco to the south of the Archdiocese, Geoffrey Baker has argued that musical initiatives were largely “placed in the hands of indigenous \textit{maestros}.”\footnote{Baker, \textit{Imposing Harmony}, 197.} In 1627, for example, we find “an Andean from the Cuzco parish of San Blas named Don Juan Guari Tito” filling the role of school teacher and choir master in San Juan de Totora (Cotabambas), after being contracted by the community’s own cacique “to teach the children of the village to read, write, sing plainchant and polyphony, and play shawms for a period of one year.”\footnote{Ibid., 196. Baker has been able to track the payments made to a number of choirmasters in the record books of Cuzco’s rural parishes. Ibid., 201.} Guari Tito, Baker notes, “was to receive a salary of seventy pesos, twelve \textit{cargas} of corn, and a pair of servants.”\footnote{Ibid., 205.} And records from the nearby village of Urcos indicate that, in 1629, three caciques contracted, “in our name and in the name of our subjects, the other Indians of this village,” the services of one Juan Bautista de León, an organist who was to “play in the church and to teach several pupils to fill his role after his departure.”\footnote{Ibid.} Although we lack comparably rich information on the Archdiocese of Lima’s parish choirmasters, the patterns found in Arequipa and Cuzco further supports the argument of the pivotal role played by Andeans in the diverse educational endeavours called \textit{escuelas de muchachos indios}.\footnote{Ibid.}
6.5 Christian Customs and Behaviours

Just as music was both a subject of study and a medium of indoctrination, the classrooms of the *escuelas de muchachos indios*, were to be – at least in theory – a setting in which pupils were instilled with a broad swathe of Christian behaviours and customs. According to the Xuárez de Gil’s 1594 *Regulations* for Limeño teachers, teachers were responsible for instilling Christian behaviours and habits in their pupils. These ranged from kneeling before holy images, through crossing themselves when entering a church, to saying prayers before eating a meal. Items twelve to nineteen in the *Regulations* deal specifically with the Christian behaviours and habits that teachers were to impart to their students, with sufficiently evocative, precise and bodily detail to merit their inclusion here:

No. 12: Teach them that when they get up in the morning, they should kneel before an image, and make the sign of the cross, and give thanks to God for sustaining them, and they should ask him to grant them his favour and grace for the day to use in his holy service, keeping his commandments; after having done this, they should recite the four common prayers of the Church, praying to God for themselves and on behalf of their parents, and for the Pope and for the other people of the Church…and for our Catholic King Philip, and for all Christian kings and princes, and for all Christian peoples, that all may serve God and keep his Law, and that all heretics be reduced to the Roman Catholic Church, and [pray] for the conversion of all infidels to the faith, that they, thereby, may attain salvation, for outside of [the Catholic faith] none can please God or be saved.

No. 13: That they attend mass every day, at the very least on Sundays and feast days, and that they know how to assist in mass according to the new missal. That they kneel as they listen
to the mass attentively and with devotion, and stand to hear the Gospel and that when there is a sermon, they listen.

No. 14: That when they enter a church, they should bless themselves and make the sign of the cross with holy water, and kneeling on both knees, they should say a prayer before the Holy Sacraments, with their hands carefully folded in devotion, and without casting glances about the room.

No. 15: That when they walk by any church, or any image or cross, they make the proper observances, removing their hats, because, as Christians, we venerate and worship the cross and the images of Jesus Christ our lord, and the saints.

No. 17: That when they hear the peal of the bells from the main church, they kneel down and pray, giving thanks to God for having sent Jesus Christ our Lord…; and when [the church bells] ring at noon, they also kneel down and say a prayer, remembering that at this hour Jesus Christ our Lord was crucified for us, and giving thanks for this; and that they do the same at three o’clock in the afternoon, when the main church bells ring, marking the hour at which our Lord Jesus Christ died on the cross; and at night, when the bells play the Ave Maria, they kneel and recite three Hail Marys, being mindful of the mystery of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ in the virginal womb of Our Lady the Virgin Mary; and when they ring for the souls in purgatory, they pray to God for them…

No. 18: That when they enter the school, they kneel down and say a prayer before the image that is in the school, asking God for his grace to learn letters and virtue, and when they return home after school to their houses, they kiss their parents’ hands.
No. 19: That whenever they eat they say a blessing, and after having finished eating they give thanks to God for his provision.\textsuperscript{666}

Thus, students were not only to acquire Christian habits and rituals, such as praying before meals, kissing their parents’ hands, kneeling before holy images upon waking, but also

\textsuperscript{666} Xuárez de Gil, \textit{Instrucción}, 596-598. (My translation)

Lo 12.o: Enseñarles que por la mañana en levantándose, se hinquen de rodillas delante de alguna imagen, y persignándole y santiguándole den gracias a Dios por haberles dejado llegar aquella hora, y pidanle su favor y gracia para emplear aquel día en su santo servicio, guardando sus mandamientos; lo cual hecho, recen las cuatro oraciones comunes de la Iglesia, rogando a Dios por sí y por sus padres, y por el Papa y por las demás personas de la Iglesia...y por nuestro católico rey don Felipe, y por todos los demás reyes y príncipes cristianos, y por todo el pueblo cristiano, para que todos sirvan a Dios guardando su Ley, y por la reducción de los herejes a la Iglesia romana, y por la conversión de todos los infieles al gremio de ella y desta manera se salven, pues fuera de ella ninguno puede agradar a Dios ni salvarse.

Lo 13.o: Que procuren todos los días oír misa, a lo menos los domingos y fiestas de guardar, y que la sepan ayudar conforme al misal nuevo, y oírla de rodillas con mucha atención y devoción, y el evangeliio en pie, y oigan sermón cuando lo hobiere.

Lo 14.o: Que cuando entren en la iglesia, tomando agua bendita se persignen y santigüen, y hincando ambas rodillas hagan oración delante del Santísimo Sacramentos, las manos puestas con mucha atención y devoción, sin mirar a una parte ni a otra.

Lo 15.o: Que cuando pasaren delante de alguna iglesia, o de alguna imagen o cruz, hagan el acatamiento debido, quitándose el sombrero, porque los cristianos reverenciamos y adoramos la cruz y a sus imágenes, en cuanto nos representan a Jesucristo nuestro señor y a sus santos, según de quien es cada imagen.

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Lo 17.o: Que cuando oyeren la campana de la iglesia mayor que tañen a alzar, se hinquen de rodillas y rezando alguna cosa den gracias a Dios por habernos dado a Jesucristo nuestro señor en la misa por sacrificio que ofrezcamos cada día al Padre eterno; y cuando tañen a medio día, hincados también de rodillas y rezando algo, se acuerden que a aquella hora fué crucificado jesucristo nuestro señor por nosotros, y denle gracias por ello; y lo mismo hagan a las tres de la tarde cuando tañen la campana en la iglesia mayor, que es la hora en que Jesucristo nuestro señor murió en la cruz; y a la noche que tañen a las Avemarías, hincados de rodillas recen tres Avemarías, acordándose del misterio de la Encarnación de Jesucristo en el vientre virginal de Nuestra Señora la Virgen María; y cuando tañen por las ánimas del purgatorio rueguen a Dios por ellas rezando algo...

Lo 18.o: Que cuando entren en la escuela hagan de rodillas oración delante de alguna imagen que habrá en ella, pidiendo a Dios les dé su gracia para que aprendan letras y virtud, y cuando volvieren del escuela a sus casas besen las manos a sus padres.

Lo 19.o: Que siempre que comieren echen la bendición, y acabando de comer den gracias a Dios porque se lo ha dado.
Christian conceptions of time and of being within sacred spaces. In an ideal situation, a school itself would become a sacred space in which particular rules and rituals were followed. However, as argued earlier, on the ground, the sites for such learned behaviours and habits, like the schools, took much more varied forms than we might initially suppose, adapting to local circumstances.

7. Supporting Parish Education

As argued in Chapter 1, legislation for the *escuelas de muchachos indios* was based on the Spanish precedent of locally managed parish schools, initiatives which did not rely on the Spanish Crown for funding. Despite providing a degree of support for efforts to found schools in early colonial Peru, and exempting parish assistants and school teachers from tribute payments, by the seventeenth century the Crown adamantly refused to provide funding, convinced that parishes could support schools from community funds or *bienes de comunidad*. While also present earlier, this stance is particularly highlighted by a 1691 decree which detailed at length the sources of funding each parish was expected to call upon. In regards to the payment of teachers, the community was to

establish and grant [payment] in the amount and quantity that they reasonably and without excess judge to be correct and necessary for the teacher to support himself, according to the price of sustenance and clothing in each region, taking the said amount that is necessary from the [community] funds...[and in the case that the community funds] be insufficient or short, it should be ordered that, in Towns were [the

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667 See chap. 1, 71, 74-75.
668 Egaña, ed., *Monomenta*, 8: 420-421. When a group of *kurakas* from Cuzco wrote to King Philip III requesting a Jesuit school be founded in Huamanga, he replied to the viceroy in 1603, requesting information regarding “aquien sera bien encargarlo y en que forma de hazienda se podra fundar, que no sea de la mia, y lo que sera menester para ello...”
abovementioned is impossible], the Indians of the Town collectively work a parcel of land, from which the required amount for the Teacher can be taken.669

Despite these local solutions proposed by the distant Crown, many parishes remained financially unable to support a school. Such was the experience of the parish of Villa de Arnedo of the corregimiento of Chancay in the 1660s. The parish, which had both Indian and Spanish parishioners, claimed that it was “very difficult and morally impossible due to the poverty of the town” to support a school for Indian children, and that “there is not even [a school] for the Spaniards.”670 Possibly in an attempt to make up for their deficiency, however, witnesses assured the visitor that the Indians of the parish were “very Ladino” despite the lack of a formal school.671 Chancay is a coastal province situated to the north of Lima, a region in which indigenous people, historical sociolinguists argue, had Hispanicized rapidly due to extensive interaction with the Spanish population living there.672 It is also one of the provinces with the lowest number of schools mentioned in the archdiocese, alongside two other coastal provinces, those of Cañete and Ica, as well as Yauyos, to the interior.673 In the coastal regions where the native population had declined drastically due to disease and migrations, and where the remaining populations had adopted Castilian out of necessity early in the colonial period, communities may have found less and less justification for maintaining a school in their parishes.

669 AAL, Cedulario del Archivo Arzobispal de Lima Tomo II, 569. (My translation) “a los M[aest]ros…orden se dotan y señalan en la porción y cantidad que prudencialm[en]te y sin exceso se juzgare preciso y necesario para mantenerse segun el precio que en cada parte tubieren los mantenimientos y bestuarios sacandose lo que para esto fuere necesario delas vienes…y a por ser cortos, o por no tener bastantes de comunidad se haga y disponga que entre todos los Yndios del Pueblo donde se reconociere el ymposibilidad se trauaje una milpa suficiente para que de ella salga y se saque la congrua y dotación que se señalare al M[aest]ro…”

670 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:19, f. 11v. (My translation) “muy dificultoso y moralmente ympocible por ser la pobressa deel pueblo”; “no la ay ni aun para los españoles…”

671 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:19, f. 8.

672 Rivarola, La formación lingúística, 111.

673 Chancay 1 out of 22 causas; Ica 3 out of 38; Cañete 2 out of 14; Yauyos 0 out of 15.
Perhaps for this reason, the inspector Bernabé de Villacorta Salcedo who visited Villa de Arnedo in 1668 did not even find it fit to issue a warning or fine to the priest for his negligence.674

The residents of Santa Olalla, an annex of the doctrina of San Francisco de Chaclla (Huarochiri), also noted that it was impossible to sustain a school in their town, “because there are too few children for it…”675 However, one of the parish’s larger annexes, Santo Domingo de la Calcada, housed a central school to which children from Santa Olalla and various other smaller communities apparently travelled to attend lessons.676

Although population was an important factor in determining the sustainability of some form of a school, we should be careful about assuming that only large parishes could maintain a teacher. The parish of San Andrés de Pira (Ancash) which served roughly 300 souls proudly reported the operation of multiple schools in 1646,677 as did San Lorenzo De Quinti (Huarochiri) with a population of 350 in 1667.678 The larger parishes of Chacayan, with roughly 890 parishioners,679 and Santa Ana de Tusi in Cerro de Pasco with 817,680 also boasted the running of multiple schools in their satellite communities.

674 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:19, f. 14.
675 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:14, f. 2. (My translation) “porque ay muy pocos muchachos para ella…”
676 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:14, f. 4.
677 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:9, f. 3. A witness reported “having schools in the two Towns where the children learn to read and sing and whatever else is necessary…” likely referring to the town of Santiago de Cajamarca, in which the witness testified, and the head town of the parish. (My translation) “teniendo esquelas en los dos Pueblos donde los muchachos aprenden a leer y cantar y lo demas necesario…”
678 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:47, f. 5v. Paucar Yauri, alcalde ordinario, testified that, “And in all of the towns there are teachers who teach them to read, write, and sing, and the Spanish language and good manners, without occupying them in any task other than the ones mentioned above.” (My translation) “Y les tiene en todos sus pueblos mros que les enseñe a ler escribir y cantar y la lengua española y buenas costumbres sin ocuparlos en otra cosa mas que en lo susso dho…”
679 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:23, f. 7. Don Lorenzo Tieçirama, district governor, testified that, “and every day, the girls and boys from this town as well as from all of the satellite towns, have teachers who teach them to read, write, and good manners and to sing in the Spanish language.” (My translation) “y todos los dias a las muchachas y
As we have seen, priests were fundamental to the functioning of these schools, and in some cases, contributed personally to their financing. Jacinto Fernández de Añasco [Añasxo], the cura of San Martin de Chacas (Ancash) in 1658, reportedly helped pay the teacher’s salary. The inspection record from his parish indicates that he had established an “escuela de muchachos where children were taught to speak Spanish and to read, and write.” The teacher who ran the school, according to witnesses, was paid a salary from the priest’s own pocket. Although written mentions of priests personally financing the schools are rare in the archdiocese’s visita records, there is also the previously mentioned case of the cura of San Gerónimo de Surco who lodged one of his parish’s school teachers in his own home in the 1660s, suggesting that the practice may have been more widespread than was reported. William B. Taylor argues that it was common for priests to pay a teacher’s salary in New Spain, at least in the eighteenth century, where such an arrangement “fit the long-term pattern of Church patronage and direction of the schools and teachers….It was to the curas that maestros turned when the villages resisted payment,” Taylor finds, “or did not send their children to class.”

In the Archdiocese of Lima,

muchachos a los cuales así en este pueblo como en todos sus anejos tiene mros que les ensenen ler escriuir y buenas costumbres y cantar en la lengua española…”

680 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:25, f. 4v. Andres de Vrieuela, a “black resident of [the] town” testified that, “and every day, the girls and boys from this town as well as from all of the satellite towns, have teachers who teach them to read, write, and good manners and to sing in the Spanish language.” (My translation) “y todos los días a las muchachas y muchachos a los cuales asii en este pueblo como en todos los de mas de toda esta Dotrina les tiene mros que les enseñen a ler escruir y cantar La Lengua espanola y buenas costumbres…” Note that the wording used to summarize this witness’ testimony is identical to that used in the above footnote (AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:23, f. 7). This suggests the notary used a formulaic response on these visitas and calls into question the reliability of these accounts.

681 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:64, f. 4v. (My translation) “teniendo escuela de muchachos donde les enseñan hablar la lengua castellana a leer y escribir y tiene pagado y [asalorado] maestro a su costa por este efecto…”

682 AAL, Visitas Pastorles Leg 9:42, f. 4v.

683 Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 337.
priests like Gaspar de Loayza y Espinoza in San Gerónimo de Surco provided pivotal support for the schools in their parishes in their efforts to find and contract teachers.

Not all priests were as supportive of the establishment of *escuelas de muchachos indios* in their parishes as Gaspar de Loayza y Espinoza. The Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala claimed that “priests impede [the Indians] from learning to read and write, nor do they like for there to be a school teacher, so as to keep them from knowing how to bring lawsuits…”

In his treatise on *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú*, Pablo José de Arriaga recounts a conversation with a parish priest on the subject of schools. When he encountered a parish

where there was no one in the entire town who knew how to read or assist in Mass except for one Indian, and very badly, [Arriaga] asked the priest why he did not establish a school, which would have been very suitable for the [children] to learn to read, and sing, and because he would also benefit from [the assistance in] performing sung masses, and [the priest] responded saying that it was not convenient for the Indians to know how to read or write, because knowing such things served only for bringing lawsuits against priests.

While this was a common argument used by those who opposed the teaching of Spanish to the Andean population, it was rarely articulated so bluntly. Arriaga’s example highlights the tensions

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684 Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica*, 590 [604]. (My translation) “Que los dichos padres enpiden a que no sepa [los indios] leer ni escriuir ni gusta que ayga maystro de escuela porque no sepan pleytos…”

685 Arriaga, *La extirpación*, 72. (My translation) “…porque no avía en todo el pueblo quien supiese leer, ni ayudar a Misa sino solo un Indio, y éste muy mal, y diziéndole yo al Cura, porque no ponía una escuela, pues avía tanta comodidad para ella para que aprendiesen a leer, y cantar, pues también resultaría en provecho suyo el dezir missas cantadas, me respondió que no convenía que los Indios supiesen leer, ni escrivir, porque el savello no servía, sino de poner capítulo a sus curas.”
– outlined previously in chapters 1 and 3 – inherent to the colonial project of Castilianization: on the one hand, instruction in the Spanish language, including reading and writing, was deemed necessary to mould Andeans into Spanish subjects and good Christians; on the other, it facilitated the acquisition of skills and cultural tools that made their students autonomous and potentially dangerous.

The priest of Hanan in Ica in the 1640s also stifled the development of the *escuela de muchachos indios* in his parish, even if his actions, notably, were not directly in opposition to the idea of Spanish language education. When Francisco de Herrera inspected the parish in August of 1643, Bartolomé Diaz – an Indio Ladino who also identified himself as the “*maestro de los cantores*” – testified that

the children do not attend the school to learn to sing, except for six or eight [of them] who started [learning] with this teacher when he was appointed to be the schoolteacher, and later, when the Parents of the said students saw that the said priest was taking the boys out of the school to make them work on his small plot of land…For this reason, the parents of the said children did not want to send them to the school and they said as much to the witness, that the children were not going to the school to be taught, but rather so that the priest could make use of their labour. And the said priest also takes a boy from the school and has him working all day selling the said priest’s alfalfa, [because] he has a field of alfalfa near the Town of [H]anan. 686

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686 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:16, f. 3v-4. (My translation) “y que a visto q no acuden muchachos a la escuela a enseñarse a cantar sino seis v ocho que enpezaron con estete.o quando le nombraron por maestro y despues por [ber sees] Padres de los dhos muchachos que el dho Cura los sacaua de la escuela para seruirse dellos en su chacra y que los ocupaba en ella [...] a cuya causa los padres de los dhos muchachos no querian enuiarlos a la escuela y se lo decian ansi a estest.o que sup[re] esto que no yban para ser enseandos sus hijos ala esquela sino para que el padre los
Although this is the only such case to appear in the *causas de visitas* from the seventeenth century, other documentation about priestly abuses and the fact that visitors routinely asked witnesses if their priest used their parish school as an excuse to make the students work for him “carrying water, firewood, or other items” suggests the problem was far from unknown.\(^{687}\) Unlike the priest described by Arriaga, however, the priest of Hanan did not oppose the school per se. Rather, it was his treatment of the schoolchildren, which led to the demise of the school in his parish, as parents refused to allow their children to attend. The aforementioned abuse was one in a long line of offences his parishioners reported against him, including keeping a mistress and having sired several children.\(^{688}\)

Not only priests, but also colonial administrators, were known for pulling children out of classes in order to put them to work. This was the case in the *doctrina* of Pomabamba in Ancash, where Estevan de Aguilar was the *cura* in 1646. During an inspection, one Martín Quispi, an *indio* who used an interpreter, asserted that he had seen that “the parish children gather[ed] together every day, and on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays, the priest himself teaches them in Spanish and in the Indian [language] and he says mass and preaches the holy gospel,” but that “because the children were taken to the textile mill to work, leaving no students to teach, the Teacher who [had worked in the parish] left.”\(^{689}\)

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\(^{687}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 9:39, f. 4-4v. (My translation) “Y si sauen que el dho cura…con ocassion de la escuela se an seruido de los muchachos deella en traer agua leña o otras cosas.”


\(^{689}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:13, f. 3- 3v. (My translation) “hauisto que todos los dias se juntan los muchachos a la dotrina y en los miercoles viernes y domignos el mismo cura les ensene en español y en Yndio y les dise missa y
As a result, we also find reports of Andean communities that opposed the establishment of schools in their towns, or at least refused to send their children, for fear they would be conscripted to work. Bartolomé Alvarez, author of *De las costumbres y conversión de los indios del Perú* (1588), describes the indigenous population in Potosí resisting Spanish language education in this manner:

All of the elders despise the youths who are inclined toward the Spaniards; and any child who leaves his parents and his town to go with a Spaniard is considered lost: as if he had fallen into the sea….[In particular], when the parish priest tells them to bring their children to the school – and [tells them] that it is good for their children to attend school and to learn and become capable, rather than being beasts – defeated by the force of their priest’s demands, they divide the task, so that every family must give up one child to be lost.\(^690\)

Other parents, writes Lope de Atienza in his mid-seventeenth-century *Compendio historial*, “hide their children so they do not learn [to read and write]…and declare that their children have no need of it, since they will not become Priests or Governors.”\(^691\) John Charles has also argued that

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\(^{690}\) Álvarez, *De las costumbres*, 297. (My translation). “Todos los viejos aborrecen [a] los mozos que se aficionan a los españoles; y así, cuentan y tienen por perdido un hijo que, dejando a su padre y su pueblo, se va con un español: como si cayese en la mar [....] cuando el sacerdote en la doctrina dice que traigan sus hijos a la escuela - y que es bien que haya escuela para que sus hijos aprendan, sean hábiles y no bestia-, vencidos de la fuerza que el sacerdote les hace, hacen la repartición a qué cada [=hogar, familia] le ha de caber echar un hijo en perdición.”

\(^{691}\) Lope de Atienza, “Compendio historial del estado de los Indios del Pirú, con mucha doctrina i cosas notables de ritos, costumbres…” RAH, Fondo Juan Bautista Muñoz 9-4790, f. 13-13v. (My translation) “Esconden sus hijos para que no la aprendan…publican no tener necesidad sus hijos dello, pues ni han de ser Padres spirituals ni menos Governadores.”
…native parishioners frequently refused to attend primary schooling, let alone speak Castilian. The fiercest opposition to the educational program [sometimes] came from parents, who resented having to pay the native school masters’ salary from community income especially when their children could be helping to fulfill the tributary labor obligations of the village. 692

Similar objections to parish schooling were also voiced in New Spain and in the Iberian Peninsula. 693 In the farming community of Ager, Catalonia, at least one resident resented his priest’s attempts to enforce Sunday school education for youths in the late sixteenth century on the grounds that “at that hour [in the afternoon] his sons were better employed taking the herd to graze than listening to catechism.” 694

And yet, as in the peninsular Spanish kingdoms, many Andean communities also wrote letters petitioning the Crown for support for their schools, sent their children to daily classes, and complained of priests who attempted to occupy their children in labours other than lessons. Further, in the region of Cuzco, as we recall, records indicate that a number of caciques took an active role in contracting and paying the salaries of maestros for their communities. Emphatically, there was no unified Andean response to the policy of escuelas de muchachos indios, just as there was no singular picture of what an escuela looked like in the Archdiocese of Lima. The schools that did operate in Andean parishes, whether briefly or over a long duration,

693 William B. Taylor reports that in the eighteenth-century diocese of Guadalajara, “archbishops’ reports, letters from maestros, and lawsuits initiated by parish priests show that Indian pueblos often resisted the [parish] schools…” Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred, 338.
694 Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame, 349.
did so because of the efforts and support of the local community, the parish priest, administrators, and the parishioners themselves.

Escuelas de muchachos indios in the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima were diverse, complex, and multivalent institutions and endeavours in Andean parishes. Despite the uniformity of the language used to describe these schools in the documentary record, a careful reading of the causas de visitas reveals that escuelas took different forms, adapting to the needs and means of the communities they served. They were sometimes longstanding and popular, while others were short-lived or utter failures. The lived experiences of these educational endeavours – their maestros, pupils, supporters and detractors point to fault lines and tensions inherent to the colonial project. The schools were instruments of colonial control, intended to instill Andean neophytes with orthodox Spanish Catholic beliefs, practices and behaviours. They were also simultaneously sites for native negotiation and resistance, as well as a source of Spanish anxiety. Andeans were actively involved in the direction of parish education, and employed the skills and cultural tools they acquired for their own purposes and in ways that caused considerable unease for ecclesiastical and secular officials. The escuelas were, above all, diverse community endeavours which reflected their people’s accumulating realities.
Chapter 5
Spanish Speakers in Doctrinas de Indios in the Archdiocese of Lima, 1600-1700

When they are going to be talking in their own houses about their own affairs in their mother tongue, who is going to denounce them and, above all, who is going to force them to use Spanish?
- José de Acosta, De procuranda indorum salute, 1590. 695

As the diverse experiences of escuelas de muchachos indios in mid-colonial parishes demonstrate, Andeans in the Archdiocese of Lima complied with, responded to, circumvented, rejected, or otherwise ignored the policies issued from colonial authorities regarding language use and instruction in their communities. In their daily lives as well, Andeans made choices about language – about whether to adopt and employ one or more of the various languages in use in mid-colonial parishes. The options included Castilian, the Christianized lengua general, and one or more local indigenous languages. The choices people made were not necessarily permanent ones. As sociolinguists indicate, people make decisions about language in each and every act of communicating – whether it is deciding to speak one language over another (choosing to speak in Quechua rather than Spanish, for example), deciding to incorporate a particular term or phrase from one language into another (for example, using the French term “à la meunière” when describing a meal in English), or deciding to use a particular variety or ‘register’ of a single language (for instance, adopting a more formal variety of English during a job interview as opposed to an informal English spoken among friends). 696 Andeans, too, made these sorts of choices between languages and words, and between language varieties or registers,

in accordance with their own abilities and depending on the specific contexts in which they were speaking. People’s language choices and, for many, their use of Castilian in combination with Quechua in daily life, ultimately gave shape to the linguistic realities of colonial Peru. This final chapter explores beyond the diverse and intermittent efforts made throughout the seventeenth century to teach Andean children to speak, read, and write Spanish, in order to focus on the speakers themselves – those who employed Spanish and Quechua in the course of their daily lives in Andean parishes. A principal aim is to inquire after Castilianization anew, to study it not in theory, or as an administrative policy or spiritual ideal, but rather, as a predominantly Andean process that begs understanding in local and even individual contexts.

To do so, I examine testimony gathered from Andean parishioners during parish inspections throughout the archdiocese in the seventeenth century. As known from earlier chapters, witness responses to visitors’ questionnaires, transcribed by notaries in *causas de visitas*, provide us with hundreds of snapshots of linguistic exchanges between notable Andean parishioners – caciques, parish church assistants and town council members, prominent among them – who gave testimony and the church officials who questioned them. Although the now familiar challenges to interpretation – notarial conventions, including the heavy use of formulaic phrases – make it difficult to conjure up the spoken word from these written texts, the *causas de visitas*, when scrutinized and compared across broad swathes of testimony, contain valuable

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sociolinguistic data. Notaries, despite variations and omissions, largely recorded each witness’s name, age, place of birth and residence, position or occupation, whether they could speak Spanish, whether they gave testimony with the assistance of an interpreter, and whether they were able to sign their name. Thus, while our access to Andean voices, and consequently spoken Andean Spanish, is limited, the causas de visitas provide us with points of entry into the question of Andean parishioners’ oral and written competency in Spanish, as well as their understanding of these things.

Here, I do not use competency in the Chomskyean sense of the term, as the “capacity of an ideal speaker to generate an unlimited sequence of grammatically well-formed sentences.” Such a definition is radically removed from sociolinguistics and is far too abstract for our purposes, particularly because the focus here is on social interaction. Also, the causas de visitas do not provide us with access to the spoken word, but rather to a notary’s transcription and appraisal of Andean parishioners’ linguistic abilities. Instead, I use competency to refer to a kind of situational agility, what Pierre Bourdieu defined as a speaker’s “capacity to produce expressions which are appropriate for particular situations…the capacity to make oneself heard,

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698 Antonio Viñao Frago notes that signing is the principal and often only way historians determine whether a historical subject was “literate”. Viñao Frago, “Alfabetización y primeras letras (siglos XVI-XVII)” in Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes, ed. Antonio Castillo Gómez (Barcelona: Editorial Bedisa, 1999), 43.

699 As sociolinguist William Labov has noted, “historical linguistics may be characterized as the art of making the best use of bad data.” Cited in José Luis Rivarola, La formación lingüística de hispanoamérica (Lima: PUCP, 1990), 33. While, in this chapter, I do not purport to write a sociolinguistic study of Spanish in mid-colonial Andean parishes, my historical analysis of speakers is informed by the theories and approaches of the field of sociolinguistics.


701 Bourdieu has argued that Chomsky’s theory of competence, which is distinguished from performance (actual language use in a specific context), is too abstract because it calls for the analysis of language in isolation from “the specific social conditions in which [it] is used.” Thompson, introduction, 7.
believed, obeyed.” Similar to Bourdieu’s sense of competency is what anthropological linguists in the growing field of ‘the ethnography of speaking’ have referred to as “communicative competency.” For these investigators, communicative competency in a given society extends to both knowledge and expectation of who may or may not speak in certain settings, when to speak and when to remain silent, whom one may speak to, how one may talk to persons of different statuses and roles, what nonverbal behaviours are appropriate in various contexts…[and] how to ask for and give information… Notaries’ descriptions of Andean speakers’ language, their attempts to give testimony (with or without the assistance of an interpreter), and to sign their names, speak volumes about Andeans’ varied competencies – their ability to produce appropriate utterances in Spanish – in the context of the parish inspection, when interacting with colonial officials who might be referred to as speakers of the “Spanish of officialdom.” The term “Spanish of officialdom,” which I have adapted from Frank Salomon and Mercedes Niño-Murcia’s historical and ethnographic study of literacy in Tupicocha, Huarochirí, is used here to refer primarily to the officially-sanctioned spoken (as opposed to solely written) varieties of Spanish that enjoyed prestige in colonial

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702 Thompson, introduction, 7-8.
Peruvian society.\textsuperscript{705} Thus, the investigative and interrogative \textit{particularity} of the ecclesiastical inspection – which has been laid out in detail in Chapter 2 – forms the primary basis and context in which we will examine parishioners’ linguistic competencies and language choices in the mid-colonial Archdiocese of Lima.

In centring this chapter on Andean Spanish speakers – though without neglecting writers – I seek to supplement a rich and recent historiography on Indios Ladinos which has focused primarily, if not exclusively, on Ladinos who wrote.\textsuperscript{706} Indeed, in recent historiography the term Indio Ladino has become, in practice, almost synonymous with Andeans who mastered Spanish alphabetic literacy. And yet, as we delve into the witness testimony collected in the \textit{causas de visitas}, we encounter the voices of many who spoke Spanish (eloquently, persuasively, haltingly, and incoherently) in various situations in their parish communities, but who could not, did not, or were judged by another unable to, employ Spanish alphabetic literacy. Until now, their voices – their complexities – have been largely excluded from historical studies, which have, notwithstanding recent endeavours to extend and expand our understanding of literacy to include multiple and non-alphabetic literacies,\textsuperscript{707} continued to privilege the written over the spoken. Indeed, historians’ neglect of the spoken is reminiscent of colonial processes by which song, dance, and drink – as purveyors of sacred traditions and histories – in Andean societies were also devalued, demonised, pushed underground, and generally dismissed.\textsuperscript{708}

\textsuperscript{705} Frank Salomon and Mercedes Niño-Murcia, \textit{The Lettered Mountain}, 27.


\textsuperscript{707} See, for example, Boone Hill and Mignolo, \textit{Writing without Words}; and Rapport and Cummins, \textit{Beyond the Lettered City}.

I begin by examining the archdiocese as a whole, providing an overview of language trends in *doctrinas de indios* throughout the seventeenth century, highlighting findings which indicate that Andeans who could speak or write Spanish – or both – in the Archdiocese’s *doctrinas de indios* were more numerous than previously assumed. I then turn to investigate the episcopal visit as an interaction between speakers and writers of the ‘Spanish of officialdom’ and those of ‘Andean Spanish.’ Here, I focus on relations of power played out through a diversity of language choices and experiences throughout the archdiocese.

1. An Overview of Spanish in Indian Parishes in the Seventeenth-Century Archdiocese of Lima

The testimonies recorded in the Archdiocese of Lima’s mid-colonial *causas de visitas* clearly defy the still prevalent notion that Spanish remained a distant and unfamiliar language for most residents of Indian parishes located beyond the city of Lima and the adjacent coast.  

Looking beyond the metropolitan capital, we find witnesses across the archdiocese, from both highland and coastal *doctrinas*, employing Spanish – written and spoken, with varying degrees of success and consistency – in the course of episcopal inspections throughout the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth-century archdiocese as a whole, in a sampling of 633 Andean parishioners whose testimony includes an explicit appraisal of their ability to speak Spanish or to

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709 As will be discussed in more detail below, historical linguists and historians of language in Peru have drawn a clear distinction between Peru’s coastal peoples, who underwent rapid Castilianization in the sixteenth century, and highland communities, which adopted Spanish at a much slower rate. See, for example, José Luis Rivarola, *La formación lingüística de hispanoamérica* (Lima: PUCP, 1990), 111, 136; John Charles has argued that, in stark contrast to Lima and the surrounding coast, “ignorance of the [Spanish] language persisted” throughout highland parishes in the seventeenth century. Charles, *Allies at Odds*, 26. While it is important to recognize these broad distinctions between the coastal and highland experiences with language, both processes require more historical research.
sign their name – or both – just over half (55%) were identified by notaries as “Ladinos,” while 48.5% signed their names, and approximately 25% were recorded as having been assisted by an interpreter. These numbers, however, must be read with caution particularly because the fragmentary nature of the reports and the inconsistencies of notarial practices employed over a century in diverse regions of the archdiocese – as noted in Chapter 2 – lend themselves to inaccuracies and misrepresentations and no doubt have coloured our estimates. Indeed, it is conceivable that particular visitors preferred and specifically selected witnesses with competency in Spanish over monolingual speakers of indigenous tongues – although when we examine the records compiled by individual visitors, no stark or recognizable patterns emerge in this sense. Notwithstanding these reservations, the percentages do convey my overall sense and overwhelming impression that a large number of community leaders from all quarters of the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima either identified themselves to officials or were identified by notaries as Indios Ladinos.

These findings may point to the ‘successes’ of the previously examined escuelas de muchachos indios in imparting the Spanish language to Andeans – but only to a degree. Indeed, as previously argued, the schools themselves were never particularly hegemonic or stable throughout the Archdiocese. Further, we find Indios Ladinos resident in parishes that not only lacked any mention of a school, but also in those that clearly – and emphatically – denied

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710 These calculations exclude any witnesses identified as ‘españoles’ or non-‘indios.’ Note that the designation ‘Mestizo’ or ‘Creole’ does not appear in the causas de visitas examined, although several witnesses from the coastal provinces are identified as ‘Mulattos’ or ‘negros.’ Witnesses come from all regions of the archdiocese, although their regional distribution is unequal due to the availability of sources. All testimony was taken between the years of 1600 and 1700. See Appendix B.

711 Rolena Adorno has written that the term ‘Indio Ladino’ “was not used by natives for self-identification except when dealing with Spanish-speaking outsiders.” Adorno, “Images of Indios Ladinos,” 233. Just how ‘Indios Ladinos’ self-identified and were viewed from within their communities, however, is a subject that requires further investigation.
partaking in any such educational endeavours. The pervasiveness of Ladinos across the archdiocese can be largely attributed to the agency of Andeans themselves: individuals and communities with high rates of Spanish language speakers had an interest in acquiring as much Spanish as they could, by whatever means they could – including but not limited to the escuelas. The processes of Castilianization in the seventeenth-century archdiocese were as varied as their speakers.

Witnesses appearing in seventeenth-century causas de visitas come primarily from two overlapping segments of parish communities: Andeans with hereditary rank (caciques, kurakas, segundas personas, principales), and native parish church assistants including fiscales (lay assistants to the parish priest), alcaldes ordinarios (town council members holding judicial authority), sacristanes (sacristans), mayordomos (head attendants or overseers of religious associations), alguaciles (bailiffs), cantores de la yglesia (cantors), cobradores de tributos (tribute collectors), procuradores (solicitors), maestros de capilla (chapel masters), tenientes (deputies or assistants), maestros de coro (church choirmasters), and regidores (secondary members of town councils). This latter group was largely composed of community notables without hereditary rank who gained prominent parish positions often after being educated locally in the Christian doctrine and Spanish language. No women appear as witnesses in these episcopal inspection reports, and the lack of comparable or consistent sociolinguistic data for female speakers, readers, and writers leaves a gap in our understanding which will hopefully be

713 Several witnesses describing the school in their parish indicate that the children were taught specifically “for the benefit of the church” (my translation) “para el servicio de la yglesia” or “in order that they may assist in the ceremonies of the church” (my translation) “para que asistan al culto en la yglesia.” AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:22; 9:42. For more on the native parish assistants see John Charles’ excellent study, Allies at Odds.
addressed by future studies. Thus, while our witnesses do not represent all segments of Indian parish communities, they do offer multiple points of entry onto the language choices and uses of a wide variety of speakers – noble and non-noble, formally educated in Lima’s prestigious Colegio del Príncipe, and those who acquired their linguistic abilities much more locally or informally. Despite inconsistencies in parish inspections and notarial practices, which greatly differentiate the causas de visitas from modern sources of sociolinguistic data, and even though the principal purpose of these documents was not to record language habits but rather to evaluate priestly and parisioner behaviour, the parish inspection records give us a sense of general and regional language use and trends for community notables from doctrinas across the Archdiocese of Lima.\footnote{For more on what constitutes reliable and valid data for sociolinguistic studies see William Labov, \textit{The Social Stratification of English in New York City} (Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966), chap. 1.}

In his study of the native parish assistants from across the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima, John Charles (2010) notes that, in examining parish records “as a whole, a pattern emerges within the literate class, particularly in rural mountain areas, between the highly sophisticated [written] Spanish of Andean ethnic lords, on the one hand, and the lesser, functional literacy of native assistants without hereditary rank, on the other.”\footnote{Charles, “Indios Ladinos,” 59.} Witness signatures or the lack thereof on causas de visitas, too, support Charles’ interpretation. We find that, overall, caciques were more likely than non-noble parish assistants to be able to sign their names, although this is not without a significant number of exceptions. Such a divide is consistent with and possibly reflective of the broad educational divisions highlighted in chapters 3 and 4, the divide between the Colegio del Príncipe in Lima, reserved for hijos de caciques, and
the more informal, transitory, and precarious Spanish language and doctrinal education provided to children in parish-based endeavours. At the Colegio del Príncipe, caciques underwent a considerably more intensive and lengthy period of formation than students in the diverse manifestations of the archdiocese’s *escuelas de muchachos indios*. As a result, it is not surprising that this group would tend to have a firmer grasp on alphabetic literacy. Clearly, not all caciques attended the Limeño institution, however, and we continue to see a variety of language choices and competencies even amongst the Andean hereditary elite who gave testimony.

In some parishes the divisions in competency seem to be equally influenced by speakers’ geographic and structural proximity to parish centres. In the *doctrina* of San Juan Bautista de Huariaca in the province of Cerro de Pasco, for example, testimony taken during a 1647 inspection of the parish reveals a contrast in language behaviours between witnesses from the head town and those from the parish’s various smaller satellite communities. The two parishioners interviewed from the parish’s centre, Don Pedro Martínez, *cacique principal*, and Don Pedro Milcamichq, *alcalde ordinario*, both testified in Spanish without the use of an interpreter, and signed their names upon completion. Antonio Pascual, the thirty-year-old cacique of the satellite community of Pablo Cebella Cayan, however, despite testifying in Spanish, was unable to sign his name. Further, Don Joseph Condor Capcha, the governor of Yacan, a satellite located a league and half to the south and boasting roughly seventy parishioners,\(^{716}\) required the help of an interpreter to give his testimony, in addition to being unable to sign his name.\(^ {717}\) When the parish was inspected again just two years later, witnesses from the head town continued to speak and write Spanish, whereas those from the peripheries


\(^{717}\) AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:8.
displayed competency in spoken but not written Spanish.\textsuperscript{718} Testimony from the archdiocese as a whole indicates that more witnesses could (or did) speak Spanish than those who employed alphabetic literacy throughout the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{719} A separate skill from speaking and reading, writing, in the seventeenth-century peninsular sense of the term, required learning manual dexterity and the preparation and use of specific materials, both of which were less accessible outside formal educational settings.\textsuperscript{720} Speech, in contrast, was to be the educational focus and goal of parish \textit{escuelas de muchachos indios}. Further, speech could be acquired in multiple settings and outside of formal schooling, making it more accessible to the general population.\textsuperscript{721} The distinction between speakers and writers in Huariaca’s head town and satellite communities continues into the late seventeenth century,\textsuperscript{722} and although not all parishes display such a clear-cut division between parish centres and peripheries, the trend is suggestive of differing degrees of access to formal Spanish language education in more remote and sparsely populated locations.

When we compare witness testimony from coastal and highland \textit{doctrinas} in the archdiocese, we find additional patterns emerge, albeit with significant variations within each region. Historical sociolinguists who have mapped broad patterns of language change in colonial Peru assert that coastal peoples of the viceroyalty adopted the Spanish language relatively quickly, and abandoned native languages amidst rapid and catastrophic population decline due to

\textsuperscript{718} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:12.  
\textsuperscript{719} See Appendix B.  
\textsuperscript{720} Clanchy, \textit{From Memory to Written Record}, 88.  
\textsuperscript{721} My findings support and contribute substantial evidence to Gabriela Ramos’s suggestive but as of yet insufficiently researched assertion that most Andean Spanish speakers acquired their linguistic skills through informal rather than official channels. See Ramos. “Indigenous Intellectuals,” 21-78.  
\textsuperscript{722} An inspection of Huariaca in 1695 revealed that the \textit{alcalde} of the main town was literate and Ladino, while the \textit{alcaldes} of the annexes of San Pedro de Motigara and Santiago de Chalos were both Ladinos but unable to sign their names. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:30.
disease and warfare. Witnesses from the coastal provinces of Ica, Chancay, and Cañete comment on the sparsity of indigenous residents in their parishes and describe a largely heterogeneous and Spanish speaking population. Of the few “indios” clearly identified as witnesses in the causas de visitas from these provinces, nearly 60% were identified as “Ladinos.” Even so, the use of interpreters along the coast was not unheard of well into the mid-seventeenth century, and was particularly present in the province of Cañete to the south of Lima, as well as in Chancay to the north – suggesting the contours within a portion of our more complex linguistic picture, namely a region in which at least a segment of the coastal elite continued to speak languages other than Spanish in this period.

Despite the pervasiveness of Spanish speakers along the coast, parish inspection reports from Ica, Cañete, and Chancay report the existence of few parish schools in the seventeenth century. Witness statements from the parish of Mora y Coaguillo in Cañete during a 1643 inspection, for example, suggest that a school was not even on the agenda for their parish. Joan

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723 José Luis Rivarola, *La formación lingüística de hispanoamérica*, (Lima: PUCP, 1990), 111, 136.
724 Witnesses from the Valle de Changuillo in Ica in 1663 stated that “there are no native Indians and...those who are...are immigrants.” (My translation) “no ai yndio ningunos naturales y que ...los que ay...son forasteros.” Agustin Vicente Terrenos, the parish priest, reportedly indoctrinated them alongside “los negros” who worked on chacras in the region. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:36 f. 11. For similar reports from the Valle de Chunchanga see AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:13.
725 In Ica, 13 of 17 of witnesses identified as ‘indios’ were also identified as ‘Ladinos.’ In Chancay, 26 of 47 witnesses identified as ‘indios’ were also identified as ‘Ladinos.’ In Cañete, 11 of 21 witnesses identified as ‘indios’ were also identified as ‘Ladinos.’ See Appendix B.
726 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:3; 12:4; 12:6; HDA, EAP333 1/2/1; 1/2/33; 1/2/16. Historians of language in Peru generally agree that the Quechua spoken along the coast disappeared relatively quickly following the Spanish invasion. José Luis Rivarola notes that coastal Quechua may have died out as early as the sixteenth century. José Luis Rivarola, *La formación lingüística de Hispanoamérica*, 159. See also Durston, “Standard Colonial Quechua,” 227. The use of interpreters along the coast into the seventeenth century, thus, provides a rare – albeit brief – insight into the extent to which indigenous language speakers may have remained.
727 I came across just four causas de visitas which mention the existence of a schools in the coastal parishes of Ihuario, Chancay (HDA, EAP333 1/2/21); Santo Tomas de Auquimarca, Chancay (AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:16); San Francisco de Pacaran, Cañete (AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:13); and Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Chilca, Cañete (AAL, Visitas Pastorales, Leg 12:3). All of these reports date to the mid-seventeenth century.
Namanansi, the *alcalde ordinario*, testified that “there is no school for children, nor are there cantors, nor does the Father concern himself with such things…” The apparent disinterest in Spanish language education was reiterated in the language choices of witnesses from the parish: Four out of five witnesses interviewed by *visitador* Rodrigo Gómez Bravo in Mora y Coaguillo that year, including the abovementioned Namanansi, Juan de Villalobos – the *mayordomo* – and Martín Camasca – the *sacristan* – gave testimony via an interpreter, and only one, the said *mayordomo*, was able to sign his name. Parishioners in Villa de Arnedo in the province of Chancay in 1668 also testified about the “impossibility” of establishing a school for *indios* or *españoles* in their parish due to financial straits. Yet the notary of the town council, Ambrosio de Mendosa, went on to assure the *visitador* that the few *indios* living in the parish were “very Ladino.”

Even so, at least two witnesses from Villa de Arnedo – one Luis Sanchez, the *alcalde ordinario* in 1650, and Don Diego Guaman, an ‘Indio Ladino’ who testified in 1668 – were unable to sign their names. This trait was prevalent among witnesses throughout the provinces of Ica, Chancay, and Cañete, where we find well over half of the *indios* interviewed by episcopal inspectors (66 out of 85) were unable to sign. This apparent widespread sense of being “Ladino” coupled with an unfamiliarity with alphabetic Spanish literacy among the coastal elites, again, is suggestive of Ladinos who acquired Spanish informally, through regular contact in daily life with others speaking Spanish and intermittent instruction, as opposed to in formal schooling.

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728 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:4, f. 3v. (My translation) “no ay escuela de muchachos, ni cantares, ni el Padre trata de eso…”
729 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:4.
730 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:19, f. 8. (My translation) “muy ladinos”
731 HDA, EAP333 1/2/22. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:19.
732 See Appendix B.
In contrast to parishes in the coastal zone, doctrinas in the mountainous regions report considerably higher numbers of parish escuelas de muchachos indios. The largest number of schools was located in the provinces of Ancash, Cajatambo, and Huarochirí, although it is important to note that the number of existing reports from these regions is also considerably higher. The proportion of witnesses, too, who were able to sign their names is also significantly higher in the highlands than in the coastal regions. Again, if we consider that writing was a skill that was more likely to be acquired with the help of a teacher, the fact that the highlands have more reports of relatively more formal if diverse educational endeavours such as the escuelas may, in part, explain why more people in the highlands could sign their names.

These findings of Spanish language usage in the Andean highlands are significant. They contradict long-held scholarly assumptions which have classified Spanish as a primarily urban and coastal tongue in Peru. Indeed, when we examine the cases of speakers from the highland provinces of Yauyos, Canta, Huarochirí, Junín, Pasco, Huánuco, Cajatambo, and part of Ancash, we find information that suggests Spanish may have been a language of the highland elite as much as it was for their coastal equivalents. With the exception of Yauyos and Canta, for which

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733 Visitas report the presence of schools in eleven different parishes in Ancash, eight in Cajatambo, and seven in Huarochirí. As noted in Chapter 2, the number of causas de visitas in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Lima for each region are as follows: Ancash (133 records), Lima (38 records), Huarochirí (59 records), Cajatambo (33 records), Cañete (15 records), Yauyos (17 records), Chancay (22 records), Huánuco (59 records), Junín (48 records), Ica (54 records), Cerro de Pasco (31 records). Tineo Morón, *Vida eclesiástica*.

734 See Appendix B.

735 Rubén Vargas Ugarte, for example, asserted that despite seventeenth-century decrees requiring the instruction of indigenous parishioners in the Spanish language, “no significant progress was made in this respect, except along the coast where the Indians had more frequent contact with Spaniards and where [the languages of] Quechua and Aymara were not as deeply rooted” (My translation) “no se hicieron grandes progresos en este sentido, salvo en la costa en donde los indios tenían trato más frecuente con los españoles y en donde el quechua y el aymara no estaban tan arraigados.” Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la iglesia*, 61. A large body of research has since expanded our understanding of the experiences and lives of Indios Ladinos in Peru and beyond. Even so, Ladinos are still often understood primarily in term of urban – and coastal – settings. See for example, De la Puente, “Into the Heart of the Empire”; Ramos, “Indigenous Intellectuals.”
we have limited data, well over half of our sample respondents from all highland provinces reportedly testified without the assistance or mention of an interpreter.\footnote{Huarochirí (83/105), Junín (28/40), Cerro de Pasco (70/92), Huánuco (41/49), Cajatambo (81/108), Ancash (89/119). See Appendix B.} Again, these numbers must be read cautiously, keeping in mind that the omission of an interpreter, in at least some \textit{causas}, may be more reflective of notarial decisions than of a witness’s linguistic competencies. And the frequent reporting of Andeans’ use of Spanish is not to suggest that this was the everyday language of these parishioners or that Andean languages did not remain dominant in their lives and in these regions. Indeed, as indicated above in relation to the situational importance of language choices, and which will be discussed in more detail below, Spanish coexisted alongside but did not replace Quechua in the archdiocese.

Taken as a whole, the testimonies provided by parishioners from the Archdiocese of Lima’s \textit{doctrinas de indios} challenge the notion of a linear progression of increasing Castilianization over time throughout the seventeenth century. When examining the \textit{causas de visitas} we find that the age of a witness provides no clear indication of his or her ability to speak or write Spanish, as we find no clear generational shift in parishes from Quechua-speaking to Spanish-speaking. Instead, community members with diverse language competencies coexisted throughout the archdiocese. Such was the case of Pedro Sebastián Paullo, the twenty-year-old \textit{cacique principal} of San Gerónimo de Omas, who, in 1660 gave testimony via an interpreter and was unable to sign his name, while his co-parishioners, a generation older than him, testified in Spanish.\footnote{AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:8.} Don Felipe Flores, an eighty-year-old Indio Ladino and \textit{principal} of the \textit{doctrina} of Santo Domingo de Guachuc in the mid-seventeenth century, offers another example. When
interviewed in 1653, Flores was the eldest and only witness in his parish able to sign his name, although all were described as capable Spanish speakers.\textsuperscript{738}

Even parishes that boasted \textit{escuelas de muchachos indios} sustained over several decades show no clear progression of parishioners becoming increasingly ‘literate’ or ‘Ladino.’ In Santa Ana de Singa (Huánuco), for example, which reported the existence of a parish school operating in 1647, 1649 and again in 1658, the number of witnesses identified as ‘Ladinos’ remains steady but the number who are able to sign begins to decrease in the 1650s.\textsuperscript{739} Similar trends can be found in a number of the parishes, including Llacta (Huánuco),\textsuperscript{740} Chacayan (Cerro de Pasco),\textsuperscript{741} Cochamarca (Cajatambo).\textsuperscript{742} This diversity of language skills among speakers of different age groups throughout the course of the century is suggestive of inconsistent access and attitudes to Spanish language education as well as individual and community choices about language use.\textsuperscript{743}

Examining the \textit{causas de visitas} as a whole has allowed an identification and explanation of general trends in language use throughout the various regions of the Archdiocese of Lima, trends which, in a number of cases, run counter to current scholarly assumptions. I now turn to

\textsuperscript{738} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:36.
\textsuperscript{739} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:21; 15:29; 15:32; 15:42.
\textsuperscript{740} Inspection reports from Llacta indicate that of the two witnesses who gave testimony in 1647, one was Ladino and could sign, and one used an interpreter and could sign. In 1649, two of four witnesses were Ladino, both could sign. In 1654, all four witnesses were Ladino, but none could sign. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:22; 15:28; 15:33.
\textsuperscript{741} Of four witnesses interviewed during parish inspections Chacayan in 1647, two were Ladino, two used interpreters, and three could sign. In 1649, all six witnesses were Ladino, and four of them could sign. In 1659, three were Ladino and two could sign. In 1667, three were Ladino and none could sign. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:5; 22:10; 22:13; 22:16; 22:23.
\textsuperscript{742} Parish inspection reports from Cochamarca indicate that of the three witnesses who gave testimony in 1647, all three were Ladino and two could sign. In 1650, three of three were Ladino and one could sign. By 1671, two of three were Ladino and none could sign. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:7; 11:18; 11:36.
\textsuperscript{743} According to sociolinguistic theory, not all language change is uni-directional or permanent. Mannheim, for example, has found that in modern-day Peruvian urban centres, Quechua speakers tend to overwhelmingly adopt Spanish, whereas in rural communities he encountered “individuals who learned Spanish at one stage in their lives but shifted back to Quechua, to the point that they were virtually monolingual” Quechua speakers. Mannheim, \textit{The Language of the Inka}, 100.
examine speakers from *doctrinas de indios* in greater detail, to reveal and explore the incredible diversity of their linguistic competencies and language choices as they came into contact with Church officials in the course of parish inspections.

2. The Centre in the Periphery

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the seventeenth-century episcopal visit in the Archdiocese of Lima attempted in myriad ways to bring the colonial centre to the peripheries. As official representatives of the Andean Church, episcopal visitors who departed from the archiepiscopal heart in the viceregal capital of Lima were charged with conveying ‘correct’ Catholic morals and devotion, as well as an array of associated civic virtues and values, to the archdiocese’s far-flung parishes. These emissaries of the Limeño Church, their attendant notaries, and assistants were also representatives of what Ángel Rama has referred to as the “lettered city.”

The “lettered city” refers to a “social constellation built on an ideology of the primacy of the written word” in which colonial elites, in close association with colonial institutions, gained “access to power” through their ability to “write the official language of empire.”

Although for Rama, “the judicial and political space of the ['lettered city'] was inhabited exclusively by powerful peninsular and Creole officials, who controlled literacy, information, and knowledge central to the implementation of the Spanish imperial project,” Alcira Dueñas – following in the vein of others – has argued that, “in reality, the colonial ['lettered city'] was also populated by voices from non-white ‘neighbourhoods’ where thinkers of indigenous, Mestizo, and African descent

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745 Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City*, 3-4.
contested dominant views and articulated their own.” Indeed, as the colonial documentary record attests, Andeans actively engaged with and employed alphabetic literacy, participating in the ‘lettered city’ as writers, scribes, notaries and legal agitators.748

Even those people who had not mastered ‘writing’ in the Spanish peninsular sense of the term engaged with literacy in the course of their daily lives. They went about recording births and marriages in parish registers, drawing up wills and other legal documents, listening to the oral publication of royal edicts, occasionally entering into the courts, — and most importantly, as Rappaport and Cummins argue, they participated in the social relations upon which these acts were based, including “an acceptance of the Christian form of death; European forms of ownership and of transmitting property; [and] the colonial legal system…”749 Significantly, Andeans employed literacy not only in interaction with often distant colonial centres, but also for internal purposes and expressly local needs, adapting it alongside other Andean systems of recording and communicating.750 In doing so, people in towns and in the countryside made alphabetic literacy their own. The result was the creation of what Rappaport and Cummins have referred to as “indigenous lettered cities” alongside the official “lettered city,” or — to borrow a phrase employed by William E. French to describe nineteenth-century northern Mexico, but which seems equally appropriate in our context — a “lettered countryside, a place that, despite

747 Dueñas, Indians and Mestizos, 10. The uncovering of Andean ‘lettered cities’ has been a collective endeavor carried out, most notably but not exclusively by scholars such as Bruce Mannheim, Elizabeth Boone Hill, Joanne Rappaport, Tom Cummins, Tamar Herzog, Kathryn Burns, Frank Salomon and Mercedes Niño-Murcia.
748 For more on native scribes, see Tamar Herzog Mediación, archivos y ejercicio: los escribanos de Quito (siglo XVII) (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1996).
749 Rappaport and Cummins, Beyond the Lettered City, 255.
being removed from urban centers of power, was nonetheless characterized by varied and complicated engagements with the written word.”

Linguists have grouped the varied non-elite alphabetic literacies of colonial Andeans under the umbrella term of “español andino,” “castellano andino,” or “Andean Spanish.” Developing in the highland regions of Peru and beyond (as opposed to along the coast or in the Amazon basin) out of a “historical situation of bilingualism,” Andean Spanish was deeply influenced by the indigenous languages of Quechua and Aymara. Documents composed in Andean Spanish in the seventeenth-century sierra are thus characterized by what have been termed “abundant vowel confusions” such as “halli” for “halle,” “hicho” for “hecho,” a trait which originates “in the vowel systems of Quechua and Aymara, languages which do not phonologically distinguish /i/ from /e/ or /u/ from /o/.” Other characteristics include the simplification of diphthongs (“simpre” for “siempre”; “fista” for “fiesta”); the “addition or

753 José Luis Rivarola, Español andino: textos de bilingües de los siglos XVI y XVII (Frankfurt and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2000), 13-14. (My translation) “situación de bilingüismo histórico”
754 Rivarola, Español andino, 20. (My translation) “abundantes confusions vocálicas”, “en la matriz vocálica del quechua y del aimara, idiomas que no distinguen fonológicamente /i/ de /e/ ni /u/ de /o/.”
omission of vowels” ("afaborese" for “favorece”);\textsuperscript{755} the incorrect usage of the verbs ser and estar (“estoy cacique”);\textsuperscript{756} and the absence of articles and prepositions.\textsuperscript{757} The degree to which these and other related traits appear in any given text varies according to the author, and they range from minor anomalies and grammatical ‘inconsistencies’ to phrases that were structurally odd to the point where “the comprehensibility of the text…is seriously jeopardized.”\textsuperscript{758}

Some of the most well-known documents written in Andean Spanish include Joan Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua’s \textit{Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú} (1613), and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s \textit{Nueva corónica y buen gobierno} (1615), as well as the \textit{Relación} purportedly composed by the sculptor of the Virgin of Copacabana, Francisco Tito Yupanqui, in the years leading up to the publication of the Augustinian Alonso Ramos Gavilán’s history of the image in 1621.\textsuperscript{759} However, José Luis Rivarola’s recent publication of a corpus of mundane parish documents composed in Andean Spanish by Indios Ladinos and mixed-race

bilinguals in the seventeenth century demonstrate that Andean Spanish was both more diverse and considerably more widespread than previously imagined.\textsuperscript{760}

The archdiocese’s \textit{causas de visitas} stand alongside Rivarola’s mundane parish documents in demonstrating the diverse alphabetic literacies that developed in rural Andean parishes, which ranged from the skilled compositions of Limeño educated caciques, to the “nonstandard,” “non-elite,” and, to borrow a term from Jan Bloomaert, the “grassroots” writings of “people who [were] not fully inserted into elite economies of information, language, and literacy.”\textsuperscript{761} This range is particularly evident in the hundreds of parishioners’ signatures that appear on these reports, where we catch glimpses of those who wrote confidently and adeptly, and those who wielded the pen with an uncertain, shaky hand. Less often, when parishioners bring their own documents and letters to bear, we encounter local alphabetic literacies which at times conformed to seventeenth-century norms, while at others included the anomalous spacing and vowel confusion typical of Andean Spanish.\textsuperscript{762}

\textsuperscript{760} Rivarola, \textit{Español andino}.


\textsuperscript{762} The \textit{causa de visita} from Aquimarca, Chancay in 1675 includes a letter from a local shepherd. The letter, which appears to have been composed by a resident of the parish is peculiar to read due to the uncommon and overzealous spacing. Given the lack of similar documents with which to compare it, I can only speculate that the anomalous spacing between most syllables may reflect the writer’s inexperience, or perhaps his having been taught via the \textit{cartilla} which, as discussed in Chapter 4, generally progressed from the alphabet to the syllable. The letter is transcribed below in the original Spanish and preserving the original spacing.

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“Mar tíñ Par ya chin D. chrn to val gua man, Ju.o Bau tis ta an tto nío Xul ca J. die go gar cia, fran.co lo xen so, san tia go car va ya nac, Ju.o. Ra mos Co mun to do este dho pu.e Pa resco an an te Vmd en la me jor bia y de la for ma que mas a mi de re cho con ben ga po co mas v me nos do se años estoy guar dan do las ca bras mi Cu ra cien toi cin quen tay o be jes de cast ti lla cien toy dies es to lo guar de cin pagar ni un var ti llo ca da p.ue co mo biene el tor no guar de mos y des pues a gar to el o be jes de cas tilla dio li mos na al señor san to chr iso ydes Pues de un me ces me en tre go mi cu ra o tra bes cin quen tay qua tro basta oy [estoi - written above the following word] guar dan do cin pagar na da est ni co mi o mi cura pedi en mi las borre gas lo de mi par te la pague por quatro reales por tan to lo qual ______ a vmd pe di mos y su pli ca mos man de y no fi car le mi cura que me pagen mistras bajor y no Pui do ni guar dar el ca bra nio bejas en ello re se bi re bien mer sed que pi do mi Justicia Por al can sar = tta
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Plate 5. Signature of Don Francisco Capchalloclla, cacique principal of Espíritu Santo de Llacta, Huánuco in 1649 (upper left) compared to the flourish with which notary Andrés Díaz Delgado signs (lower right). AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15: 28, f. 3.

As the contrast between the above shown signatures of Don Francisco Capchalloclla and Andrés Díaz Delgado visibly demonstrate, the causas de visitas represented a social and textual place of contact between the emissaries of the official ‘lettered city’ and the many grassroots literacies of Andean communities.

In addition to being emissaries of the official ‘lettered city,’ episcopal inspectors, and to some extent their assistants, were representatives and speakers of what I have been referring to as “the Spanish of officialdom.” As previously discussed in Chapter 1, in the seventeenth century, the Spanish or Castilian language itself was far from standardized, and regional variations

+d diego garcia
+ d xopual guaman quis pe
+ P.o ca chas
+mar tin parya chi”
AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 14:22.
For more on Andean Spanish see José Luis Rivarola, Español Andino: Textos de bilingües de los siglos XVI y XVII, (Frankfurt and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2000).
abounded within the peninsular kingdoms as within and between the viceroyalties. Within this broader context of diversity, and as previously discussed, particular speech practices were identified as superior and afforded prestige within the social hierarchy of language. By the seventeenth century, scholars in the peninsula identified the elite variety of Castilian Spanish spoken in Toledo as superior to all other varieties in the peninsula and especially to those spoken abroad.\footnote{According to Aldrete, “…the Latin in the provinces was not as pure or elegant as that of Rome, where it originated….The same has occurred today with Romance, which is without doubt [spoken] better in Toledo than in other regions, and much worse outside of Spain. Because if one learns from a grammar without having communication with a Spanish speaker, it [becomes so different that it] appears to be a completely different language.” (My translation) “[...] la lengua latina en las prouincias, si bien no tan pura i elegante como en Roma, donde ella era natural….Lo mismo sucede oi en el romance, que sin duda se de mejor a los de Toledo, que a los de otras partes, i mucho menos fuera de Espana. Pues ai si es aprendido por arte, sin tener trato con Espanol, de todo punto parece otro lenguage.” Bernardo Aldrete, \textit{Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana o romance que oi se usa en españa}, (Valladolid: Editorial Maxtor, [1606] 2002), 56.} In addition, speech from urban centres was considered preferable to that of rural areas; Aldrete warns parents of allowing their children to learn ‘incorrect’ and undesirable Spanish from “village folk” or “foreigners.”\footnote{Aldrete, \textit{Del origen y principio}, 47. (My translation) “aldeanos”; “estrangeros”} In Peru, the varieties of Spanish spoken by Creoles and even \textit{peninsulares} in the colonial Archdiocese of Lima quickly changed as they came into contact with Andean languages, cultures, flora and fauna.\footnote{José Luis Rivarola, \textit{La formación lingüística de Hispanoamérica} (Lima: PUCP, 1990), 31.} Even so, peninsular notions of varying degrees of linguistic ‘purity’ and the ‘natural’ hierarchy of languages prevailed and were

\footnote{Christopher Columbus’ diary, for example, included words drawn from the languages he heard spoken in the Caribbean islands, such as “canoa, nuçay (‘gold’), hamaca, caníbales…ager, cacique, nitaíno, cazabi, caribe, tuob, caona (‘gold’), axí and guanine.” Several of these terms, and many others, were used not only by Spanish speakers in the Americas, but by those in the peninsula as well. The words “cacao, caimán, bejuco, huracán, caribe and chacona” can be found in the writing of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, for example. Marcos A. Morinigo, “La penetración de los indígenismos americanos en el español,” in \textit{Presente y futuro de la lengua española: actas de la asamblea de filología del I congreso de instituciones hispánicas} (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1964), 2: 217, 220.}
partaken of, but also lived with by Peruvian colonial elites, as urban, and “educated” varieties of Spanish still closely linked with peninsular norms were identified as superior.\textsuperscript{766}

The visiting archbishops and their appointed episcopal inspectors, as \textit{peninsulares} and Creoles educated in centres of peninsular traditions of learning, were members of this elite class of speakers. Diego de Vergara y Aguiar, the \textit{visitador} of Piscobamba featured in Chapter 2, for example, was born in Lima, a \textit{licenciado} and doctor in theology and holder of two “parishes for Spaniards” in the capital city.\textsuperscript{767} Although he was competent in the \textit{lengua general}, Vergara y Aguiar’s background clearly positions him as a speaker of the Spanish of officialdom.

The Spanish spoken by parishioners in the archdiocese’s far flung rural \textit{doctrinas}, for their parts, were as equally varied and diverse as the literacies they practiced. And much like the distinction between the official and Andean ‘lettered cities,’ the divide between speakers of the Spanish of officialdom and Andean speakers of Spanish is more appropriately viewed in terms of a gradient or spectrum rather than as a clear or impermeable boundary.\textsuperscript{768} A segment of Limeño educated caciques, for example, were presented as ideal and successful examples of the process of Castilianization, and as speakers of the Spanish of officialdom. As Aldrete claims, “some Indian lords pronounce it [the Castilian language] like us, as do all those of the Spanish race; by

\textsuperscript{766} Rivarola, \textit{El español de América en su historia}, 53. For a discussion of language hierarchies see chap. 1, 30-35.
\textsuperscript{767} AGI, Lima 241, N. 6. (My translation) “beneficios de españoles”
\textsuperscript{768} Here, I take my cue from scholarship on Arabic-Castilian bilingualism in the peninsula. Bernard Vincent, for example, has asserted that in early modern Spain, “between absolute arabophone monolingualism and perfect command of bilingualism, there is room for many linguistic levels…[but] it is not easy to discover these intermediary situations…” (Translation by Patricia Giménez-Eguiar and Daniel I. Wasserman Soler ) “entre el monolingüismo absoluto arabófono y el dominio perfecto del bilingüismo, hay sitio para un montón de grados lingüísticos…[pero] no es fácil descubrir estas situaciones intermedias…” Giménez-Eguiar and Wasserman Soler, “La mala algarabía,” 254; Bernard Vincent, “Reflexión documentada sobre el uso de árabe y de las lenguas románticas en la España de los Moriscos (ss. XVI-XVII),” \textit{Sharq Al-Andalus} 10-11 (1993-1994): 739.
whatever means, they speak as [we do] in Castile.” Examples of these ideal Indios Ladinos also appear throughout the causas de visitas, where visitors comment upon their favourable impressions of some indigenous speakers’ fluency. Don Gomez Puma Chahua, the twenty-six-year-old cacique principal who testified in San Lorenzo de Pachas (Cerro de Pasco) in 1670, for example, clearly impressed his visitor and the attending notary, who described him as a “very capable” and literate Indio Ladino.

The Archdiocese of Lima’s doctrinas de indios were also home to speakers of various non-elite and non-standard forms of vernacular Spanish which would have contrasted mightily with the Spanish spoken by Creole and peninsular elites. Indeed, the anomalous characteristics of written Andean Spanish – vowel confusion, gender disagreement, neologisms, and ‘incorrect’ use of terminology – may also broadly reflect spoken varieties of Spanish employed by Castilianizing Andeans. And although on this point we cannot be certain – due to our inability to directly access the speech of these colonial parishioners – several factors make it at least plausible: First, certain genres of informal writing – particularly those composed by ‘grassroots’ authors – are intimately connected with oral forms of expression and thus allow readers to catch glimpses of speechways – albeit mediated – through the written word. Second, numerous sociolinguistic studies of the modern-day Andes demonstrate that the above-mentioned traits of

769 Aldrete, Del origen y principio, 146. (My translation) “algunos Indios principales lo pronuncian tambien como los nuestros, lo mismo hazen todos los que tienen raca de Espanoles, por qualqier via que sea, que hablan como en Castilla.”
770 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:26. (My translation) “muy capaz”
771 See Rivarola, Español andino; Cerrón-Palomino, Castellano andino.
772 Rivarola, La formación lingüística de hispanoamérica, 18; As Rivarola notes, Pedro Ciez de León preferred to write in a style linked to orality: “In my opinion, a good writer reasons with his reader in the same manner as he talks, and nothing more.” (My translation) “paro mi tengo que el buen escrivir a de ser como razonar uno con otro y como se habla y no más.” Cited in José Luis Rivarola, El español de américa en su historia (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2000), 115-118.
Andean Spanish characterize the speech of bilingual Spanish and Quechua or Spanish and Aymara speakers, as well as that of monolingual Spanish speakers in highland Peru. Thus, in the seventeenth-century Peruvian Sierra Andean Spanish was written, but likely more often spoken in all its diverse varieties by bilinguals as well as monolingual Spanish speakers, including Mestizos and possibly even some Creoles. The fact that individuals who historians have tended to separate into the colonial categories of Indio Ladino versus Mestizo often shared linguistic traits and spoke similar varieties of non-elite Spanish, should give us pause. Indeed, the evidence calls us to question the usefulness of the distinctions historians have made between Indios Ladinons and Mestizos more broadly, and particularly when examining the subject of language. It is interesting to note that the term ‘Mestizo’ does not appear with any frequency in the seventeenth-century causas de visitas. Here, I opt to employ the term “Andean Spanish speaker” or simply ‘Ladino’ as opposed to ‘Indio Ladino’ in order to suggest the utility of breaking down the barriers between the constructs of Indian versus Mestizo among others.

As non-elite forms of speech, Andean Spanish was sometimes viewed by officialdom and learned parties as “incorrect,” “inferior,” and at times laughable. Indeed, parodies of the “speech

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773 As Rivarola states, “all of the phenomena documented directly from archival documents or periodically in literature are part of the present-day idiomatic linguistic profile of Andean Spanish, particularly in substandard varieties.” (My translation) “todos los fenómenos documentados de modo directo en las fuentes antiguas o reflejados periódicamente en la literatura, son parte del perfil idiomático actual del español andino, particularmente en el nivel subestándar.” Rivarola, La formación lingüística de hispanoamérica, 166.

774 Rivarola argues that speech of both bilingual and monolingual Andeans in the colonial period was deeply affected by the situation of multilingualism in the Sierra. José Luis Rivarola, Español andino: textos de bilingües de los siglos XVI y XVII (Frankfurt and Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2000), 14. See especially document 1 of Rivarola’s ediction of texts, which appears to have been written by a Mestizo. Rivarola, Español andino, 37-39.

775 Alcira Dueñas has also questioned the validity of the distinction historians have made between indios and Mestizos in the seventeenth century. In her study of subaltern literacy in the Andes, she argues that “particularly from the late seventeenth century onwards, intellectual Andeans appeared to advocate for the rights of both groups together...The mestizo relatives of the Indian nobility appear to have been included as important members of the ‘Indian nation’...The world of noble Indians and that of their mestizo relatives and acquaintances in Peru were at times indistinguishable.” Dueñas, Indians and Mestizos, 6, 50.
of indios” were not uncommon in Golden Age peninsular literature.776 Juan del Valle Caviedes, a peninsular poet who resided in Lima at the end of the seventeenth century, dug right in and wrote several ballads in Andean Spanish, replete with vowel confusions, neologisms, the ‘misuse’ of terms, and gender disagreement.777 A particularly striking example of one of Caviedes’ parodies of Andean Spanish appears in a ballad written from the perspective of a scorned lover. The female narrator of the poem, who is presumably an ‘india,’ ridicules her pretended husband (Señor Mejía) who has passed her over for a much thinner and taller bride.

Balca il diablo, gorgobado,  
Que osastí también ti casas  
Sin hallar ganga in so doti,  
Sino solo mojiganga.

Parici ostí jonto al novia  
Tan ridondo y ella larga,  
Como in los troncos di juego,  
Taco, bola in misma cama.

Ella dio el sí con so tiple,  
Ostí con voz retumbada,  
Qui los gorgobados siempre  
Habland dintro dil tinaja.

Pensáis qui hacer embodos  
El hacer bodas, malayas,  
Quien casas sin qui primero,  
La mojer llegue a probarla.

Mera ostí, siñor Míjía,  
Da con plomo qui ostí daban  
In caguesa di moger


Y virís cómo descansas.\textsuperscript{778}

As Rivarola notes, here, the linguistic parody was intended to combine with and enhance the satirical and humorous themes of the poem – “the physical defects of the bride and groom […and] the exaggerated ugliness of the erotic situation.”\textsuperscript{779} By the eighteenth century, parodies of Andean Spanish made their way into colonial theatre, where actors who played stereotypical Indian characters commonly delivered their lines in ‘poor’ or ‘precarious’ Spanish, also with an intended comedic effect.\textsuperscript{780}

The process by which Andean parishioners were interviewed by episcopal inspectors shows us where such parodies and prejudices came from, although it is evident that not all Andeans’ spoken Spanish lived up to the stereotypes. Don Carlos Carua Huica was one such Ladino who assisted Archbishop Fernando Arias de Ugarte as an interpreter in his inspection of the province of Cerro de Pasco in the early 1630s. Carua Huica was a noticeably competent Spanish speaker despite the fact that he was unable to sign his name.\textsuperscript{781} In addition to his (at least) bilingual speaking prowess, Carua Huica, was able to read, an oral-aural skill that in the seventeenth century was considered to be separate from the act of writing.\textsuperscript{782} Speaking then was an inextricable part of the functioning of the official ‘lettered city,’ as legal documents were verified aloud before ratification, and royal edicts ‘published’ orally before parishioners.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[778] Ibid.
\item[779] (My translation) “defectos corporals del novio y de la novia […] fealdad exacerbada en la situación erótica, etc.” Ibid., 147.
\item[780] Ibid., 150-151. The prologue to Felix de Alarcón’s Loa (performed in Lima in 1744) includes a dialogue scene between a soldier and two ‘indios.’ Ibid., 151.
\item[781] AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:5; 22:3.
\item[782] AAL, Visitas Pastorales, Leg 22:5, f. 2. “…aviendole leydo su dho por el dho interprete [the witness] se retifico enello, y lo firmo juntamente con su señoría…”. As M.T. Clanchy explains, in medieval Europe, reading was primarily an oral-aural exercise: “the medieval recipient prepared himself to listen to an utterance rather than to scrutinize a document visually as a modern literate would.” Clanchy, \textit{From Memory to Written Record}, 214.
\end{footnotes}
Andeans like Carua Huica, despite their inability to employ officially sanctioned forms of alphabetic writing, played a central role as Spanish speakers in the interaction between the Spanish of officialdom and Andean Spanish.

Not all Andean speakers who came into contact with representatives of the Spanish of officialdom had the same experience as the evidently nimble Carua Huica. Indeed, the *causas de visitas* offer insight into the tensions that developed as speakers of Andean and Limeño – non-elite and elite – varieties of Spanish came into contact in the course of parish inspections. These interactions highlight the “highly relational,”783 socially defined and shifting definition of Indio Ladino, as Ladinos of the purported peripheries were transformed into non-Spanish speakers in the centre.

In October of 1632, Archbishop Fernando Arias de Ugarte arrived in the town of Espiritu Santo de Chacayan, a satellite town of the parish of Daniel Alcides Carrión in the province of Cerro de Pasco.784 Born in Bogotá in 1561, where he initially studied Latin and philosophy before travelling to the Iberian Peninsula to study at Salamanca and then the University of Lérida, graduating as a doctor of Canon Law, Arias de Ugarte was an exemplary speaker of elite Spanish.785 In the course of inquiring into the life and customs of parish priest Antonio Chávez Carrión, the archbishop called Don Andres Carba Raqui, the forty-two-year-old cacique principal of the town, to appear before him to offer testimony. Carba Raqui, whom the notary described as Ladino, agreed to testify in Spanish without the assistance of an interpreter. When asked how well he knew his priest, Carba Raqui replied that he had known “the father Antonio

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783 Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *The Lettered City*, 40.
784 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:5.
de Chávez Carrión, priest of this parish, for a year and a half, since he came to serve in this benefice.\textsuperscript{786} The archbishop’s second question, which inquired as to whether the priest had been absent from the parish for any length of time appears to have required a more lengthy response. At this point, the notary reports that Carba Raqui “could not make himself understood in the Spanish language.”\textsuperscript{787} As a result, an interpreter was appointed at this midway point in order to assist Carba Raqui with the rest of his testimony before the notary, as well as to assist any other witnesses in the parish who would require him.\textsuperscript{788}

Although we cannot know what variety of Spanish Andres Carba Raqui spoke or his degree of fluency, it is clear that to Limeño ears, his speech, while accepted at first, crossed a line and was ultimately considered incomprehensible. Carba Raqui was clearly not Ladino enough in the eyes of the archbishop and the notary to give testimony in Spanish. And yet, Carba Raqui clearly considered himself capable of speaking and writing Spanish in the context of his community and in the context of this encounter with officialdom. He signed his name on the document after concluding his testimony in Quechua – an indication that he had likely experienced some degree of instruction. Perhaps most notably of all, and in keeping with my contention about the situational nature of language choice and our extant evidence, on two subsequent parish inspections, in 1649 and again in 1659, Carba Raqui identified himself as an Indio Ladino and provided testimony without the assistance of an interpreter.\textsuperscript{789}

\textsuperscript{786} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:5, f. 1 (My translation) “al padre Antonio de Chávez Carrión Cura beneficiado de esta doctrina de año y medio a esta parte que vino a servir este beneficio.”
\textsuperscript{787} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:5, f. 1-2. (My translation) “no se daba bien a entender en la lengua Española.”
\textsuperscript{788} All three witnesses who followed Carba Raqui in providing testimony did so with the assistance of the interpreter. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:5, f. 1-2.
\textsuperscript{789} AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:13; 22:16.
The fact that the archbishop repeated this pattern, cutting off witnesses in mid-testimony in order to engage the services of an interpreter on at least two other occasions that year, suggests that it was Arias de Ugarte himself – or his notary, or both – who considered the non-standard varieties of Spanish being spoken by many Ladinos to be inadequate for effective communication. Agustín Cancha Hanampa, the fifty-one-year-old mayordomo of the church in Santiago de Carhuamayo in the province of Junín, was also stopped part way through his testimony during a parish inspection conducted by Arias de Ugarte in 1632. Cancha Hanampa managed to get to the fourth question of the questionnaire before the notary reported that “he could not make himself understood without an interpreter.” Pedro de Rienda, an outsider whose ethnicity is not specified, but who was fluent in the indigenous language and whose spoken Spanish was deemed more comprehensible was appointed to act as an interpreter for the remainder of the inspection. Cancha Hanampa was unable to sign his name after giving his declaration, and we lose sight of him in the documentation thereafter. Don Juan Nuna Poma, a fifty-three-year-old cacique of Ninacaca in Cerro de Pasco, was yet another witness who spoke Spanish, but whose Spanish capacity was deemed insufficient for the purposes of testimony by Arias de Ugarte in the course of the inspection tour of his archdiocese in 1632.

Were Carba Raqui, Cancha Hanampa, and Nuna Poma “poor” or “incompetent” Spanish speakers? If, in following Pierre Bourdieu, we understand competency to mean a speaker’s “capacity to produce expressions which are appropriate for particular situations….the capacity to

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790 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 17:9, f. 2. (My translation) “no se daba bien a entender sin interprete.”
791 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 19:9, f. 2v.
792 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 22:3.
make oneself heard, believed, obeyed”, the answer is clearly yes.\textsuperscript{793} The \textit{causas de visitas} demonstrate that these speakers, in the context of the parish inspection, were unable to make themselves heard. Their Spanish, whatever form it may have taken, was considered inappropriate for interaction with colonial officials and representatives of the Spanish of officialdom, or at least those presided over by Archbishop Arias de Ugarte on these occasions. The fact that they presented themselves as Ladinos and attempted to (and in the rich, more sustained case of Carba Raqui subsequently did) testify in Spanish, suggests that in other contexts they were, in fact, considered Ladinos.

In order to understand the process by which mid-colonial Andean speakers moved in and out of ‘Ladinoness,’ in their own terms, and especially in interaction with the Spanish of officialdom, it may be useful to return to the thinking of Pierre Bourdieu, and to delve more deeply in particular into his concept of the “linguistic market.”\textsuperscript{794} Bourdieu asserts that linguistic utterances are ‘endowed’ with different values according to the particular context or market in which they are employed. In any given ‘linguistic market’ there exists an “unequal distribution of linguistic capital’ [which results in a] competitive struggle for social ‘distinction’ through language.”\textsuperscript{795} In such a system, for Bourdieu, “every linguistic interaction, however personal and insignificant they may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce.”\textsuperscript{796} Thus, the ‘linguistic market’ encourages us to focus not on the conflict or competition between diverse linguistic varieties, but on the speakers themselves, and the ways in

\textsuperscript{793} Thompson, introduction, 7-8.
\textsuperscript{795} Paula Blank, \textit{Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings} (London: Routledge, 1996), 34.
\textsuperscript{796} Bourdieu, \textit{Language and Symbolic Power}, fourth cover.
which social and power relations are mediated, played out, and reflected through their use of language.

Studies of language in modern-day Peru can assist us here, demonstrating the degree to which linguistic interactions reflect and reproduce unequal power relations between speakers of distinct linguistic varieties – particularly between rural Quechua speakers (both monolingual and bilingual) and the dominant, typically urban class of Spanish speakers. Bruce Mannheim’s analysis of a case study first presented by linguist Penelope Harvey particularly resonates with our study, and is worth summarizing below. Harvey describes a linguistic exchange that occurred between a bilingual couple and a bilingual magistrate in the community of Ocongate, Cuzco in the 1980s.  

A wife accused her husband of physical and emotional abuse, and gave her testimony before the judge in Quechua. When the husband was given his turn to speak, he began by addressing the judge in Spanish. The magistrate, however, “didn’t let him speak in Spanish and interrupted him saying, ‘Manachu Runasimita yachanki? ¿Eres misti o qué cosa?’ in Quechua, ‘Don’t you know Quechua?’ now in Spanish, ‘Are you a misti [Mestizo] or what?’” Following this interruption, the man switched to Quechua to complete his explanation. Later on in the proceedings the magistrate himself switched from Quechua back into Spanish, and as Harvey recounts “when he spoke in Spanish, he had a much softer attitude toward the accused.” In assessing the power relations at play in this particular exchange, Mannheim notes that “the justice manifests his power not by requiring that the couple speak Spanish in his

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797 Penelope Harvey, cited in Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 85-86.
798 Ibid., 86.
799 Ibid.
dispatch, but by determining which language the defendant could speak when.”\textsuperscript{800} In forcing the accused to speak Quechua, the judge effectively denies “the defendant access to the language of power [i.e. Spanish] and […] undermines the defendant’s self-identification as a Spanish speaker by suggesting that he is trying to pass himself off as” a Mestizo rather than an ‘\textit{indio}.’\textsuperscript{801}

Although the modern-day courtroom in Ocongate is far removed from the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima and the context of the ecclesiastical visit, as Mannheim notes, the unequal power relations at play in Ocongate are deeply rooted in the historical experience of colonialism.\textsuperscript{802} At the very least, this modern case study can serve as fodder for interpreting and understanding colonial interactions and the various tensions between colonial Andeans and ecclesiastical and administrative officials that were played out through language. Building on the frameworks provided by Bourdieu and Mannheim, I argue that in the mid-colonial Archdiocese of Lima, Arias de Ugarte’s decision to interrupt the Spanish testimony of Andean witnesses and insert interpreters of the local Quechua he insists upon tells us less about the idealized competencies of these speakers and more about the relations of power existing between interlocutors and the value placed on the linguistic varieties Andeans employed.

While Arias de Ugarte’s experiences offer us some of the sharpest snapshots of the linguistic and social tensions that played out during the episcopal inspection, we find subtle hints of similar situations throughout the archdiocese. Consider, for instance, in the fleeting but evocative designation of Don Francisco Guaran Gañaupa, the \textit{principal} and \textit{alcalde ordinario} of

\textsuperscript{800} Mannheim, \textit{The Language of the Inka}, 86.
\textsuperscript{801} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{802} Indeed, Mannheim argues that the present hegemony of Spanish in Peru “is a historical achievement that was built up over centuries of domination.” Ibid. 81.
Santo Domingo de Atun in Yauyos in 1643, as “slightly Ladino in the Spanish language.” Guaran Gañaupa was assisted by an interpreter in the presentation of his testimony and did not sign his record, “indicating that he did not know how.” Pedro Atansi, a thirty-year-old alcalde ordinario from the parish of Chilca, in Cañete, is another witness whose experience is suggestive of linguistic tensions. Although in the first instance the notary identified him as “Ladino in the Spanish language,” a note added to the end of his testimony indicates that Atansi was interviewed with the assistance of an interpreter because it turned out that he was not as Ladino “as he originally appeared to be.”

The experiences of Guaran Gañaupa, Pedro Atansi, Carba Raqui, Cancha Hanampa, and Nuna Poma encourage us to look beyond Ladino as permanent, straightforward, or as a ‘natural’ category. Indeed, such episodes illustrate the multidimensional character of the category ‘Ladino’ in the seventeenth-century archdiocese. Not only was being ‘Ladino’ a reflection and marker of linguistic competence, it was also a racialized and a social category, the borders and definitions of which varied according to context and to the perspectives of speakers and listeners. Both Rolena Adorno and Pierre Duviols have acknowledged “Ladinoness” as a socially determined categorization, noting that, in some instances, Andeans who were not fully competent Spanish speakers or writers acquired the status of “Indio Ladino” through their close association with parish priests. My interest here, however, is not primarily to emphasize the elasticity of the

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803 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:5. (My translation) “un poco ladino en la lengua Española”
804 Ibid. (My translation) “por decir no sauer.”
805 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 12:3, f. 4v-5. (My translation) “ladino en la lengua Española”; “firmolo el Ynterprete…por cuyo a[illegible] se examino por que [illegible] ladino como pareçio al principio.”
806 Adorno, “Images of Indios Ladinos,” 236.
category, but rather to begin to examine the yawning relations of power that the wielded designation entails, and the vast silences that it implies.

Andeans who not only spoke Spanish but employed alphabetic literacy too at times underwent a process of silencing in the compilation of the colonial causas de visitas. In as much as these records reflect and record the active participation of literate Andeans, they at times also work to erase that participation, transforming Andean writers into “illiterate Indians,” and profoundly shaping the histories we have written as a result. A causa de visita recorded during Pablo de Paredes’ inspection of the doctrina of San Luis de Huari in Áncash in 1653 exemplifies this erasure and silencing. As the inspection of the parish got underway in November of that year, the visitador called the town’s two alcaldes ordinarios, Don Juan Beles and Don Juan Ayquipa, as well as the fiscal mayor, Don Sebastián de Robles, to testify regarding their priest’s conduct. All three men were identified as Ladinos and testified in Spanish, giving favourable accounts of their priest, but all three also declined to sign because, according to the notary, “they said that they did not know how.”807 Their statements are not unusual for the period, and they would draw no questions except for the fact that these same three witnesses, on the day before giving testimony, submitted a letter to the visitador which they had composed together on behalf of their parish priest. The letter, which outlined their priest’s contributions to their community and requested that he not be removed, contains the signatures of Beles, Ayquipa, and Robles alongside that of two caciques principales.808 While it is possible that both men chose not to sign their declarations in the causa de visita, the similarity of the statements made in both documents give them no obvious reason to have done so. What is more, six years earlier when their parish

807 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:46, f. 3, 4. (My translation) “dij[eron] no sauer.”

808 Ibid., f. 2-2v.
was inspected by visitador Antonio Garavito de León, Robles signed the official report after giving testimony, whereas Ayquipa was identified as non-literate.  

Plate 6. Signatures of Don Juan Ayquipa, Don Juan Beles, and Don Sebastián de Robles, among others. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:46, f. 2v.

Similar cases can be found throughout the seventeenth-century causas de visitas, including those of two witnesses from the parish of Santa Ana de Singa in Huánuco, Don Plaura[c], the cacique principal and governor of the district of Singa, and Diego Estevan, the fiscal. In 1649 when their parish was inspected, both witnesses were identified as Ladinos. They testified in Spanish without the assistance of an interpreter, confirmed that their priest had established an escuela for the parish children, and signed their names to their testimony. Three years later, in 1653, the parish was inspected again, and this time, while both parishioners testified in Spanish, the notary claims that both were unable to sign “because they did not know how.” Notarial practices which saw testimony being summarized and documented sometime

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809 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 2:14, f. 4v-6. Don Juan Beles does not appear as a witness in this earlier visita.
810 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:29.
811 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 15:32. (My translation) “por no sauer.”
after it had taken place, and likely away from the view of parishioners, made labelling witnesses ‘illiterate’ a convenient way for notaries to avoid complications.\textsuperscript{812} The ultimate result, however, is the textual transformation of Andean writers who actively engaged with the ‘lettered city’ into ‘illiterate indios’ in the colonial documentary record, and with long-running historiographic and everyday political implications challenged in this study.

3. Language Choices

Despite the processes of attempted silencing and erasure that writers and the many more speakers of Andean Spanish experienced as they were judged and interrupted, and as their voices were recorded in the documents of the official ‘lettered city,’ the causas de visitas allow us an invaluable glimpse into the language choices that Andean speakers made on a daily basis. Such choices were at times unsettling for colonial and ecclesiastical officials. Even for the peninsular linguist Bernardo de Aldrete, the refusal of some Andeans to speak Castilian was something requiring an explanation: “although the Indians commonly know and understand Castilian,” he ponders, “they use it little, because of their fondness for their own language, since no one makes them speak the foreign one, and some take it as a point of honor not to speak it. Embarrassment and fear of speaking poorly keep many of the Indians from using Castilian.”\textsuperscript{813} Others still, including members of Peruvian clergy saw “deeper and threatening motives for their reluctance, like idolatrous leanings, or in extreme cases, political subversion.”\textsuperscript{814} In his Política indiana in

\textsuperscript{812} See chap. 4, 193n520.
\textsuperscript{814} John Charles, “Indios Ladinos,” 46.
1647, Solórzano y Pereira asserted even more bluntly that Andeans refused to speak Spanish, “because they hate even the sound of it.”

The question of language choice is perhaps most apparent in causas de visitas which include witnesses who appear to voluntarily switch between Quechua and Spanish in the course of a visit. This was the case of thirty-two-year-old Don Cristóbal Pomahuia, cacique principal of San Pedro de Hacas. Pomahuia appears as a witness in several parish inspection reports carried out by visitador Antonio Garavito de León in the town of San Agustín de Cusi (Cajatambo) in the mid-seventeenth century. When Garavito de León arrived in early August of 1646, he discovered that Lucas de Escuer y Rios, the former parish priest of San Pedro de Hacas and several members of his community were present. On account of this priest not having been examined during his tenure in the parish, the visitor proceeded to conduct an investigation into his conduct and morals. Pomahuia, as cacique principal and resident of Hacas, was called as a witness on 2 August. Pomahuia testified favourably on behalf of the priest in Quechua with the assistance of the official interpreter Joan de Yllescas – whom we met previously in Chapter 2 – and declared that he was unable to sign his name.

Not that the story was yet over. After concluding his assessment of Escuer y Rios, visitador Garavito de León extended his stay in the parish in order to conduct a second investigation, this time into the conduct and competence of the assistant priest Antonio Mexia de Estelar who was also in San Agustín de Cusi at the time. On 13 August, Pomahuia was called a second time to testify before the visitor and notary. On this occasion, Pomahuia is described as a

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815 Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Política indiana, eds. Francisco Tomás y Valiente and Ana María Barrero (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro [1647] 1959), 547. (My translation) “pues aun solo el oírlo les suele ser muy odioso.”

816 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:9.
Ladino, and he opted to testify directly in Spanish without mention of the assistance of Yllescas.817 The reports, which were drawn up by the same notary just eleven days apart, present two strikingly different language choices by the same person, and without an investigator such as Arias de Ugarte interrupting them in mid-flow.

Sociolinguistic theory indicates that the choices Pomahuia made between Quechua and Spanish in August 1646 were not random or insignificant.818 Rather, when bilingual speakers switch between languages it is “essentially an interactional strategy that [they] deploy, either to respond to other participants’ moves or to indicate their own specific communicative intents.”819 What, if anything, changed for Pomahuia over the eleven days while the visitador and his assistants carried out their inspection? Was his initial use of an interpreter an attempt to distance himself from what he feared to be an intrusive or potentially troublesome process? Had Pomahuia become more familiar with the visitador and his assistants, perhaps trusting them, and therefore more willing to speak directly to them? What, if anything, were the roles of the judge and his notary in these on the spot decisions? Unfortunately, the causas de visitas themselves provide little insight into Pomahuia’s or the investigative party’s reasonings.

Yet the language choices of another parishioner, Don Miguel Napanga, may shed additional light on the issue of language choice in the Archdiocese of Lima. This thirty-year-old resident of the parish of San Gerónimo de Omas in Yauyos was also declared an ‘Indio Ladino’

817 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 11:11. It is clear that Yllescas was still on hand for this second interrogation, because the third witness who testified required his assistance.
819 Wei, “Codeswitching,” 369. As Robert L. Cooper notes, numerous intents can be expressed through language choice, including “intimacy vs. social distance, formality vs. informality, ingratiation vs. insult.” Cooper, “A Framework for the Study of Language Spread,” 8.
who chose to testify in Quechua rather than in Spanish. Indeed, when Napanga gave testimony before the visitador during the inspection of his parish in 1660, the notary noted that he was “skilled in the Spanish language, but nevertheless [he gave testimony] with the assistance of and through the interpreters Juan Pablo Depores and Don Carlos de Mendoza,” both of whom acted as official interpreters for the visit. After concluding his testimony in Quechua, Napanga declined to sign his statement, stating that he “did not know how to sign.” This indicates that the notary’s classification of him as a skilled Ladino was most likely based on his ability to speak rather than write Spanish. Again, the notary’s description of Napanga offers little insight into his reasons for choosing to testify via an interpreter. Was he really as fluent in Spanish as the notary suggests? Was his decision to speak Quechua a ‘point of honour’ or a reflection of his hatred for Spanish as Aldrete and Álvarez would have it? Despite the absence of clear answers to these questions, there is in the case more contextual information to consider. It turns out that Napanga’s testimony was recorded under extraordinary circumstances, in the course of a parish inspection ‘gone wrong,’ so to speak. In late September of that year, sometime after the commencement of an ecclesiastical visit in his home town, Napanga and at least three fellow townsmen, including Pedro Sebastián Paullo – the twenty-year-old cacique mentioned above – Joseph Saxa and Cristóbal Paullo, had lodged together in a home while travelling between San Gerónimo de Omas and Lima. The men’s conversation apparently turned to the parish inspection going on back in Omas. Reports of what was said in this conversation somehow made their way back to the parish inspector, who chose to follow up. Indeed, by October of that year Cristóbal

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820 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:8, f. 3. (My translation) “ladino y enseñado en la lengua Española, y no embargante [he gave testimony] con asistencia y por ynterpretación de Juan Pablo Depores y de don Carlos de Mendoza”

821 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:8, f. 3-3v.
Paullo stood before visitador Don Juan de Sarmiento accused of having urged his neighbours to expel the inspector from the parish “by throwing stones at him” because he had been there “long enough.” As a witness to the conversation, Napanga had been called to testify against Paullo, who was being held in the public jail for his purported offense. Given the context, we might speculate that Napanga’s decision to testify in Quechua via an interpreter rather than in Spanish was a deliberate attempt to disengage or distance himself from a situation in which he did not want to be implicated. Or could it, perhaps, reflect his reluctance to testify against Paullo, who was, at the very least, an acquaintance?

While we cannot be certain of Napanga’s thinking, or Pomahuia’s reasons explored earlier, their examples encourage us to consider the often fragile and usually transitory nature of “being Ladino” in the seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima. Indeed, by attempting to categorize speakers as “Ladino” vs. “non-Ladino” we run the risk of missing the fundamental fact that communication in the colonial period, in whatever language, was dynamic, involving a series of choices, each of which depended heavily on context. It is through the study of those choices, and in the relations of power played out through them, more so than of speakers’ idealized competencies, that we come to understand what speaking Spanish really ‘meant’ in colonial Andean communities.

I have argued in this chapter for the need to put Andean speakers as well as writers at the forefront of our histories of the Spanish language in colonial Peru. As speakers across the seventeenth-century archdiocese demonstrated, Spanish was one of several Andean languages that parishioners employed quite naturally, if with varying degrees of success that they

822 AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 13:8, f. 3-7. (My translation) “apedradas”; “bastante”
themselves were not always able to judge or control. The language choices they made and the varieties of Spanish they employed were fashioned locally, and in intermittent interaction with colonial centres. In examining the tensions that existed as Andean speakers and writers came into contact with representatives of officially sanctioned varieties of speech and writing, we can begin to shift our view away from Castilianization as a permanent, stable or steadily progressing process or event, and begin to grasp its dynamic and transitory nature. Indeed, the evidence calls us to dig deeper into the relations of power tied up with language choice in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andean settings which have been, and are, actively shaping the histories we write about this period and others besides.
Conclusion

Castilianization was a dynamic process and a lived experience that remained largely in the hands, minds and bodies of Andeans in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima. Andeans actively shaped their own experiences of Castilianization, engaging with, ignoring or even resisting opportunities for the acquisition and use of Spanish. Their actions and on-going choices about language use in their own linguistically complex communities, as in interaction with secular and ecclesiastical officials, set the course and tenor of Castilianizations across the archdiocese.

On the ground, Andeans’ use of Spanish rarely conformed to official models and expectations of how the speech and behaviour of Castilian speakers and writers was meant to be obtained or how it was meant to sound, appear, and be lived and performed. Indeed, colonial officials were often dismayed by Andeans who employed their knowledge of Spanish – in spoken and written varieties – to enter into lawsuits and bring charges against colonial officials as well as fellow Andeans. In the eyes of these same officials, litigiousness was a ‘misuse’ of the Spanish language which was intended to transform Andeans into exemplary Christians and obedient servants of the Crown. Perhaps even more unsettling for Spanish Catholic authorities in both the secular and spiritual realm, however, were the Andean re-creations of Spanish which were emerging outside of the purview of colonial officialdom. The use of Spanish words and phrases in conspicuously Andean contexts – in collective rememberings and means of communication with the divine involving alcohol, song, and dance, and in unauthorized community rituals and healing practices – was even more highly suspect. Indeed, such usages were viewed as idolatrous ‘perversions’ of a purportedly Christian tongue, and a reflection of
Andean antagonism to Spanish Catholicism as well as to colonial rule, if not civilization itself. Even when employed in expected situations – in ecclesiastical settings and in communication with colonial officials – the varieties of Spanish spoken by Andeans were at times received with suspicion and disappointment, if not worse. Colonial officials variously judged and deemed Andean Spanish to be incomprehensible, inadequate, and even laughable; some Spanish-speaking Andeans were, as we have learned, asked to stop their speaking mid-flow and to continue in the Quechua language. Regardless of metropolitan ideals and judgements, however, Castilianizing Andeans conceived of, understood, and practiced Castilianization on their own terms and increasingly according to their own devices. In the process, they made the language their own, creating nascent varieties of Andean Spanish that were as diverse as the speakers and writers who employed them.

To be sure, colonial legislation and its ideals and intentions played a part – albeit unevenly – in Andean Castilianizations. By the end of the sixteenth century, aspirational dictates issued to the archdiocese and to the broader viceroyalty came to favour a dual language approach, an outcome that speaks volumes, and which affected the linguistic landscape of Andean parishes. Colonial legislation, which acknowledged and promoted multilingualism as a ‘natural’ feature of society, afforded vital roles to both Castilian and the Christianized lenguas generales in parish life. Officials intended the two tongues to work in complement to impart the Catholic faith as well as Spanish Catholic habits and manners to Andean neophytes. Mandatory indoctrination in ecclesiastical Quechua – that favoured a Cuzqueño-based dialect characterized by abundant Castilian loanwords – brought many parishioners in the archdiocese into frequent contact with an unfamiliar variety of their mother tongue. Leading linguists among the Peruvian clergy who
knew local realities expressed concern over the intelligibility of this pastoral language, particularly for parishioners who continued to speak widely diverse local varieties of Central or ‘Chinchaysuyo’ Quechua. Nevertheless, Church officials contended, in accordance with Tridentine dictates requiring indoctrination in the vernacular, that only the modified southern Andean language could be trusted, and would enable parishioners in the archdiocese to quickly comprehend and assimilate an authorized and orthodox Catholic faith.

The Crown simultaneously ordered that all Andean children be taught to read, write, and especially speak the Spanish language. Drawing on medieval precedents from the peninsular Spanish kingdoms, the Crown envisioned a system of Castilianization in the Viceroyalty of Peru that would somehow be both formalized and strategically informal in nature. Communities, with the guidance of their parish priest, were charged with establishing, funding, and maintaining a ‘school’ – an escuela de muchachos indios – where parish children would learn Spanish. In these local contexts, Spanish language education was intended to impart more than language, supplementing and improving upon an understanding of the doctrine in ecclesiastical Quechua. Further, in learning Spanish, officials asserted that Andean pupils would naturally absorb what were believed to be the inherent qualities of the language. A wide range of Spanish Catholic beliefs, manners, and customs – referred to collectively as policía – were intended to be transferred to Andean children through the language. Ranging from mundane matters of personal hygiene, through social organization, to ideas surrounding drunkenness, marriage, and justice, Spanish policía, officials believed, would counteract and replace the ‘erroneous’ and ‘idolatrous’ cultural practices purportedly encoded in local unsanctioned dialects of Quechua. Andean parishes, thus conceived by the Crown and in Lima by churchmen from all parts of the realm,
were to be sites of a wide-ranging transformation, with a polyglot process of Christianization the aim at its heart.

As such, it is hardly surprising that Spanish language education occupied an important place in the imaginations of extirpating officials in the early and mid-seventeenth-century Archdiocese of Lima. Indeed, much like the entwined projects of extirpation and evangelization writ large, official Castilianization efforts in the archdiocese were both ‘destructive’ and ‘instructive’ in nature. Accordingly, official initiatives could take on wildly different tones according to the given moment and perspective at hand. And significantly, as I have insisted throughout this study, such endeavours and their repercussions were never fully in the grasp or control of colonial officialdom.

The Colegio del Príncipe in Lima was one such institution of Castilianization that sought to ‘seclude’ and ‘re-educate’ a key elite stratum of Andean children, blurring the boundaries between coercion and persuasion in ways that troubled contemporary Catholic officials far less than it has done modern historians. Founded in the early seventeenth century amidst widespread fears about Indian idolatry and backsliding, the boarding school aimed to remove the sons of Andean elites from the potentially harmful influences of community elders and bearers of traditions – the so-called ‘teachers of idolatries’ and ‘dogmatizers’ that extirpators believed were abundant and holding back Christianization in the archdiocese. In Lima, under the guidance of their Jesuit tutors, the future caciques learned the Christian doctrine, Spanish Catholic customs, to speak, read, and write Spanish, to perform basic mathematical calculations, and to sing. The aim was none other than the formation of a new generation of Christianized Andean leaders who
were equipped – at least in theory – to assist their parish priests in leading their people out of idolatry and ‘error.’

In some respects, the Colegio shared similar goals with Lima’s house of seclusion – the Casa de Santa Cruz, which safely locked away the archdiocese’s purportedly most recalcitrant practitioners and ‘teachers of idolatries.’ Offenders served out lengthy sentences of exile, also under the evangelizing guidance of Jesuit priests, and underwent a period of reform before being allowed to return to their parish communities. Functioning in tandem, the Colegio del Príncipe and the Casa de Santa Cruz sought to ‘extract’ as much as to ‘replant’ beliefs and behaviours in these two key segments of Andean society.

Beyond Lima, more modest initiatives of Spanish language education and reform were meant to operate towards the same reformatory and correctional ends, albeit on a significantly smaller scale. The *escuelas de muchachos indios* and all related efforts in instruction – in theory and in the hopes of contemporary ecclesiastical officials – would work together with locally enacted forms of reform and punishment to counteract the ‘harmful’ influences of community elders. These “schools” would provide Andean children with local teachers of Christian doctrine, customs, and language. Mandated to be open to all students in the parish, the effects of such instruction were intended to be more wide-ranging than the Limeño school for caciques.

On the ground, however, educational endeavours often functioned outside the purview and even regardless of official intentions. Fundamentally, Andeans became key collaborators – and at times even creators – of Castilianization efforts, adapting them to their own needs and ends, and expanding their forms and possibilities. While being a means of extirpation and erasure, the Colegio del Príncipe was also strongly supported by a segment of the Andean elite who
viewed Spanish language education as a necessary tool by which to secure their positions – and that of their sons – in colonial society. And the pupils who emerged from the school often frustrated official hopes and expectations, as they employed the language for their own ends and in the complex negotiation of community and social life in the colonial Andes.

The active participation of Andeans in their own Castilianizations is perhaps most evident in the varied local instances and endeavours of Spanish language instruction and use that occurred in Indian parishes across the archdiocese. As I have shown, secular and ecclesiastical legislation that called for the establishment of parish escuelas de muchachos indios, gave way, in practice, to a wide spectrum of local forms of Spanish language and religious instruction. Whether, on the ground, they took the intended form of “schools” or were decidedly more hit and miss, uneven efforts carried out by local clergy and ‘Ladinos,’ these escuelas were often entirely dependent on community initiative and support – the guidance of a parish priest, the financial means and desire to support a local ‘Ladino’ or itinerant instructor to serve as maestro, the willingness and ability of parents to send at least one of their sons to attend lessons, to name but a few of the initiatives discussed. Adapting to the needs and means of the communities they served, escuelas de muchachos indios took a wide variety of forms, from the once-weekly lessons held on Friday evenings in the parish church of León de Guarco, to the ornately decorated schoolroom maintained by an Indian lay association to the south of the archdiocese in Arequipa. In other communities such educational endeavours faced challenges, failed, lost support for a time, or were not even deemed plausible by priests and parishioners.

The diversity of local experiences compiled in the Archdiocese of Lima’s episcopal inspection records not only represent our primary source of information on local forms of
Spanish language instruction, but also indicate that the decreed parish ‘schools’ were never alone as spaces and agents of language in the communities of real, speaking people. Close readings of the *causas de visitas*, and particularly the process by which Andean parishioners were interviewed by colonial church officials during parish visits, provide us with unique opportunities to give back to this linguistic and cultural world its sense, its integrity, and its complexity. For in the visits, as we have seen, it is possible to glimpse and examine the diversity of exchanges, tensions, and outcomes of the interaction between emissaries of the official ‘lettered city’ – speakers of the Spanish of officialdom – and those of the Andean ‘lettered countryside’ and Andean varieties of spoken Spanish.

Despite the historiographical attention that a handful of rightly celebrated Andean writers have received in recent decades, the testimony recorded in the archdiocese’s *causas de visitas* highlight the fundamental importance of Andean Spanish *speakers* in a far more common, parish life, often regardless of whether they could write. In the documentary record we find witnesses from all over the archdiocese who testified in Spanish despite being unable – or deemed unable – to sign their names. These Andean Spanish speakers held important positions within their town councils and parish churches as *fiscales, alguaciles, mayordomos*, and *sacristanes*. They might even be called upon by an ecclesiastical inspector to interpret during a parish visit.

These very same Spanish-speaking Andeans, however, might also be variously judged and declared by ecclesiastical and secular representatives of officialdom to be incompetent speakers, not Ladino enough to testify without an interpreter. Indeed, as we saw in chapter 5, Don Andres Carba Raqui, the *cacique principal* of Espiritu Santo de Chacayan, was one of several parishioners whose Andean Spanish was deemed by an inspecting official to be
inadequate for effective communication. And yet, Carba Raqui’s repeated use of his Andean variety of Spanish in other – even similar – contexts suggests he considered himself to be a capable Spanish speaker – a so-called ‘Ladino.’

Far from permanent or objective, ‘Ladinoness’ was a categorization that Andeans in the mid-colonial Archdiocese of Lima moved in and out of, according to the specifics of the situation they might face. Andean Spanish speakers might make such transformations consciously, as they negotiated relations of power within their communities as well as in interaction with colonial officials there and in Lima. But, as Carba Raqui’s experience suggests, a person’s shift from “being” Ladino to “being” a monolingual Quechua speaker was not always voluntary. Inspecting archbishop Fernando Arias de Ugarte’s ability to deny Carba Raqui his ‘Ladinoness’ during the visitation process – and concomitantly in the colonial documentary record – is a powerful reminder that in this society ‘Ladinoness’ was always in the eye of the beholder. Further, the extant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts, descriptions, and assessments of Andean Spanish-speakers’ competency in the language more often than not come from the perspective of a single observer: that of a colonial official or another representative of the Spanish of officialdom.

It is our task as historical interpreters not only to uncover the silenced conceptions of ‘Ladinoness’ – which I have suggested were likely as varied as Andeans themselves by mid-colonial times – but also to acknowledge and investigate the unequal relations of power that were played out through language choice and linguistic assessment. This study represents an attempt to begin this process by examining a set of key interactions between colonial officials and Andean Spanish speakers across a large but still necessarily circumscribed time and space. There
remains much to investigate. Among other pressing questions, a potential line of investigation might ask how and why Andeans employed Spanish within their own communities in interactions with fellow Andeans – Castilianizing and otherwise.

The fluidity with which Andeans moved in and out of ‘Ladinoess’ also calls into question a long-held assumption about the so-called ‘effects’ of Hispanicization more broadly: that the ability to read, write, or speak Spanish transformed ‘indios’ into colonial subjects who were ethnically and culturally ‘mixed,’ less indigenous. As recently as 2014, Gabriela Ramos has argued that “language [was] a pivotal marker of ethnic ascriptions: becoming fluent in Spanish represented a significant step in abandoning Indian status.”823 Yet, given the subjectivity of ‘Ladinoess,’ and the transience of language choices and use, anything resembling a transformation in ethnicity – or even status – must have been equally if not more subjective and transient. Indeed, such a recognition forces us not only to investigate how Andean subjects were transformed – ethnically and culturally – as ‘indios’ or ‘Ladinos,’ but more importantly, to ask in what contexts, in whose eyes, and with what repercussions.

823 Ramos, “Indigenous Intellectuals,” 34.
Glossary

*alcalde* – member of a *cabildo* (an elected town council), holding a secondary position in the head town of a parish

*alcalde mayor* – crown-appointed district governor

*alcalde ordinario* – member of a *cabildo* (an elected town council) holding judicial authority

*alguacil* – bailiff

*audiencia* – colonial high court and governing body; the term also refers to the court’s jurisdiction

*auto de fé* – public sentencing and procession of individuals condemned by the Inquisition or by a *visitador de idolatrías*

*ayllu/ayllo* – kinship-based socio-economic and territorial unit in the Andes

*bastardilla* – a style of handwriting also referred to as italics or cursive

*bienes de comunidad* – community property or funds

*borrachera* – a term used by colonial officials to describe a range of Andean social interactions, collective rememberings, and means of communication with the divine involving alcohol, song, and dance

*cacicazgo* – an Andean lordship

*cacique principal* – a Spanish term adapted from Arawak; used by colonial officials to refer to a hereditary Indian leader; see also *kuraka*

*campesino* – a farmer or rural labourer in Latin America, often indigenous

*cartilla* – teaching aid in the form of a printed leaflet containing the alphabet, syllabary, Catholic prayers, catechism, and multiplication tables

*casta* – colonial term used to refer to an individual of mixed descent (African, European, or Indian)

*catón* – primer; elementary book used to teach children to read

*causa de visita* – report drafted during an episcopal inspection

*cédula* – also *real cédula*; a royal decree

*cobrador de tributos* – tribute collector
colegio de caciques – residential school established to instruct the sons of the hereditary Indian nobility

converso – term employed in the Iberian Peninsula to refer to an individual who has converted from Judaism to Christianity

coroza – pointed hat worn by repentant ‘idolaters’ during an auto de fé

corregidor – crown-appointed district governor

corregimiento – district under the charge of a corregidor

curaca – see kuraka

cura de indios – a secular priest stationed in a doctrina or Indian parish

diligencia – act of destruction or punishment carried out during an idolatry inspection

doctrinero – member of the regular or secular church stationed in a doctrina or Indian parish

doctrina – Indian parish; also refers to the basic Christian Catholic doctrine that all parishioners were required to learn

ducado de castilla – ducat; gold coin used as currency in Europe in the early modern period

el Cercado – gated Indian quarter in the city of Lima

encomendero – a Spaniard granted the rights to the labour and tribute of a specific group of Indians

escuela de muchachos indios – school for Indian children

escuela de primeras letras – primary school

spanoles – Spaniards

fiscal – lay assistant to a parish priest

forastero – ‘outsider;’ an Indian who has migrated away from his place of origin to live outside of his/her ayllu

hijo de cacique – son of a hereditary Indian lord

huaca – “local or regional sacred place and divinity in the Andes; sometimes a physical object; often, but not exclusively, conceived of as an ancestor being and “founder” in the landscape surrounding a community, regularly nourished with offerings and given reverence”

824 Mills, Taylor, and Lauderdale Graham, eds., Colonial Latin America, 408.
indio – Indian

indio ladino – Spanish-speaking Indian

khipu – also quipo; an Andean recording device using multi-coloured cords and knots

khipucamayoc – khipu composer and ‘reader’

kuraka – Quechua term used to refer to a hereditary Indian leader

legua – league; unit to measure distance in early modern Iberia and the viceroyalties

lengua general – lingua franca; term used in colonial Peru to refer to the widely spoken languages of Quechua and Aymara

licenciado – graduate from a university faculty who has permission to teach

limpieza de sangre – purity of blood

maestro de capilla – chapel master

maestro de coro – choirmaster

maestro de escuela – school teacher

malqui – revered mummified body of an Andean ancestor, regularly given offerings

mayordomo – head attendant or overseer of a religious association

mestizo – individual of mixed European and Indian descent

morisco – term employed in the Iberian Peninsula to refer to an individual who has converted from Islam to Christianity

muchachos – children; referring either to a group of all male children or to a group of male and female children.

negro – individual of African ancestry

padrón de indios – register of inhabitants in an Indian parish

peninsulares – A term used in the colonial Americas to refer to individuals born in the Iberian Peninsula

pesquisa – inquiry; investigation into a specific irregularity during a functionary’s term of office

policía – ‘civilized’ manners and customs generally associated with urbane society; including notions surrounding religion, housing, clothing, hygiene, diet, marriage, justice, drunkenness, work, community, social life, and respect, among others.

procurador – solicitor

real – coin valued at thirty-four maravedís
redondilla – a form of gothic script
regidor – secondary member of a cabildo (an elected town council)
repartimiento – labour draft
residencia – standard review of the conduct of a functionary after the completion of his term of office performed by a local magistrate
sacristán – sacristan
segunda persona – second in authority; often refers to a secondary cacique
sueldo – gold coin used as currency in the Iberian Peninsula and the American viceroyalties
taki onqoy – Andean messianic movement purportedly uncovered by Cristóbal de Albornoz in Huamanga in the 1560s; followers reportedly preached the return of pre-Hispanic divinities and the imminent defeat of the Christian deity
tambo – inns or waystations along main roads
tawantinsuyo – land of the four parts; name of the Inca empire in Quechua
teniente – parish deputy or assistant
vihuela – vihuela; a string instrument shaped like a guitar
visita eclesiástica – ecclesiastical visit; parish inspection; diocesan visit.
visita general de idolatrías – idolatry inspection
visitador general – ecclesiastical visitor; parish inspector
visitador general de idolatrías – idolatry inspector
yachay wasi – house of teaching located in pre-Hispanic Cuzco
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ADC – Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, Peru
AGI – Archivo General de Indias, Spain
AGN – Archivo General de la Nación, Peru
BUARM - Biblioteca Universidad Antonio Ruíz de Montoya, Peru
HDA – Huacho Diocese Archives, Peru
RAH – Real Academia de Historia, Spain

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Appendix A: Episcopal Inspection Questionnaire, 1628. AAL, Visitas Pastorales Leg 1:9, f. 2-3.

Por las preguntas deste Ynterrogatorio de examinen los testigos que fueren llamados en la causa de visita y pesquisa secreta que de oficio de Justizia se haze contra el P.e Jaime dorado Cura y Vicario deste Pueblo de Requay de su Vida y costumbres Y de como a procedido en la administraçion de sus oficios y son las siguientes:

1 ~ Primeramente por El conoçimiento del dho P.e Jaime dorado =

2 ~ Si Sauen que por neglijencia y descuido del dho Cura se ha muerto algun yndio sin Bautismo o sin confession =

3 ~ Si sauen que se aya muerto algun yndio sin la estrema Vnçion por Culpa del dho Cura =

4 ~ Si sauen que El dho Cura a ayudado a bien morir a los enfermos que le an llamado p.a Ello

5 ~ Si sauen que a confesado a todos sus feligreses Vna vez por lo menos cada año por El tpo que tiene obligazion

6 ~ Si sauen que El dho Cura a comulgado por Pasqua de Resurection a los naturales capazes de su benefiçio

7 ~ Si sauen que El dho Cura a hecho La Doctrina xpana a sus feligreses los domingos miercoles y Viernes de todas las semanas juntandolos y [illo?]

8 ~ Si sauen que El dho Cura a predicado a sus feligreses declarandoles el Sto Evangelio todos los domingo del año =

9 ~ Si sauen que a hecho las letanias por sn Marcos y la Asçension =

10 ~ Si sauen que aya hechado todas las fiestas de guardar de Spanoles e ynos y las Vigilias y quatro temporas que manda La Sancta Madre yglesia =

325
11 ~ Si sauen que aya allado presente al hacer los testamentos los enfermos para obligarles a que dejen mas misa y sufragios de las que voluntariamente quieren

12 ~ Si sauen que El dho Cura aya lleuado derechos a sus feligress de Bautismos casamientos o entierros

13 ~ Si sauen que El dho Cura a lleuado ofrendas por fuerça a sus feligress de bautismos casamientos o en los días festivos de ofrendas entre año y todos sancta [illegible]

14 ~ Si sauen que el dho cura a dicho las misas que tiene obligación por El Pueblo y si a sido remiso en decir las de testamentos y cofradías o ansido notado de no desírlas lleuando la limosna dellas =

15 ~ Si sauen que el dho Cura ahecho aussençia de su Doctrina sin liçencia de su perlado y de que tiempo si a dejado o no saçerdote que administre en su lugar y si por esta causa se a quedado el Pueblo sin misa algun día festibo =

16 ~ Si sauen que aya dado el dho Cura mal exsenplo con alguna muger soltera ocasada ~

17 ~ Si sauen que el dho Cura aya maltratado de obra o palabra a sus feligreses sin causa y si quando los acastigado a sido con penas pecunarias y en que cantidad y que a hecho dellas =

18 ~ Si sauen que el dho Cura aya hechado algunas de rramas a sus feligreses y de que cantidades y para q efectos =

19 ~ Si sauen que El dho Cura aya tenido algunas granjerrias de tratos o contratos con los ynos o sea seruido dellos en ellas sin pagarles o a hecho ylar a las solteras lana o algodon para Pauellones sobre camas Pavila y otra qualquier cossa
20 ~ yten seles haze sauer a los dhos testigos, como el dho cura seba deste beneficio de que tiene
hecha deajcion y no ade estar mas en els para que si en alguna manera tienen que pedir
contra El dho cura lo pidan asi de agrauios como de alguna cosa que les deua aqualquier
yndio deste dho Pueblo V otra cualquier persa por cualquier causa o razon que sea que
seles hora entora satisfaction de todo enesta visita mediante justizias = Y ansimesmo si
deue alguna cosa a la Yglesia hospital V cofradias para que se haga satisfacer y pagar
enteramente =

21 ~ Si sauen que en el offizio de Vicario a hecho algun agrauio a alguna persona dejando de
hazer justa por algun ynteres o adisimulado algunos amancabamientos escandalosos
Vizios y pecados publicos sin castigarlos =

Yten de publico y notario Publica Voz y fama y lo firma

El Ldº D Cosme de Guzman

Ate mi Franº depalacio aluarado notº
Appendix B: An Incomplete Sample of Linguistic Data for Andean Parishioners who Testified during Episcopal Inspections in the Archdiocese of Lima, 1600-1700. AAL, Visitas Pastorales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Witness</th>
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<td>San Pedro de Ninacaca</td>
<td>Pablo Manc</td>
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<td>Don Juan Baptista Chamilco</td>
<td>principal de los chaupis y alcalde mayor deste dho pueblo</td>
<td>ladino</td>
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<td>1659</td>
<td>San Miguel de Paucartambo</td>
<td>Bernabe Manyancascha</td>
<td>pacha curaca y cobrador detasa de dicho pueblo</td>
<td>ladino</td>
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<td>Don Juan Caruapacchin</td>
<td>principal</td>
<td>indio ladino</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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| Year | Place | Person | Position | Language | Spanish
|------|-------|--------|----------|----------|--------|
| 1665 | Sancto Domingo de Sicaya, of the province of Xauxa | Don Pedro Santa Nachuquillanqui | indio ladino | Yes
|      |        | Don Phelipe Guanachuquillanqui | indio ladino | No
|      |        | Don Miguel Perez Guamalli Chuquillanqui | "aunque no sabia la lengua española es en la suya natural de mucha razon" | Yes
|      |        | Juan Blas Briseno | indio ladino | Yes
|      |        | Don Juan Silvestra Mango Laya | indio ladino | Yes
|      |        | Don Juan Quispi Alaya | alcalde ordinario | Yes
| 1666 | Santa Anna de Cincos | Don Pedro Tixipicho | cacique de tasa deste dho pueblo | ladino | No
|      |        | Don Juan Baptista | cacique del dho pueblo | ladino | Yes
| 1666 | Santiago de Chongos | Don Juan Baptista Lasso Cunias | procurador deste pueblo | ladino | Yes
|      |        | Juan Blas Briseno | indio ladino | Yes
|      |        | Don Gabriel Pomantara | principal | Yes
| 1667 | San Miguel de Carhuamayo | Don Pedro Ortega | gobernador y cacique principal de este repartimeinto | No
|      |        | Don Francisco Taparaco | principal | Yes
| 1667 | San Miguel de Carhuamayo | Blas Sanches | indio asistente en el obraje de paucartambo y cantor de la Iglesia | Yes | Yes
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Meta-Purpose</th>
<th>Lengua/Español</th>
<th>Interprete/Lengua</th>
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<td>1619</td>
<td>Guaquis</td>
<td>Agustin Guaman</td>
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<td>Don Sebastian Montes de Guzman</td>
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<td>Don Xptobal Fernandez Caruanaupa</td>
<td>segunda persona desta doctrina y cacique deste pueblo</td>
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<td>Juan Rafael Chunbicapcha</td>
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<td>Santo Domingo de Allauca</td>
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<td>1643</td>
<td>Santo Doming de Atun Yauyos</td>
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<td>Don Francisco Guaran Ganaupa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title/Role</td>
<td>Position</td>
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<td>Don Diego Martin</td>
<td>indio principal del pueblo de Santiago de aquica anexo deste curato y administrador de la comunidad de chacras del dho su pueblo</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Sebastian Ay Manal</td>
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<td>Don Alonso gon[ ]</td>
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