
REVIEW ESSAYS

THE INVENTION OF COLONIAL ANDEAN WORLDS

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Invaders as Ancestors: On the Intercultural Making and Unmaking of Spanish Colonialism in the Andes. By Peter Gose. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008. Pp. xviii + 380. \$80.00 cloth, \$35.00 paper.

Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru. By Gonzalo Lamana. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. Pp. xiii + 287. \$79.95 cloth, \$22.95 paper.

Incas ilustrados: Reconstrucciones imperiales en la segunda mitad del siglo xviii. By Fernanda Macchi. Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2009. Pp. 286.

Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis. By Alejandra B. Osorio. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Pp. xvii + 254. \$84.95 cloth.

The Spanish invasion of the Andes in 1532 led to the creation of the New World, which was not entirely indigenous, European, or (later) African. Scholarly interest in the emergence of this hybrid colonial society has produced an impressive outpouring of publications over the past thirty years that represent an array of different perspectives. Historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists, and specialists in literary and cultural studies have all brought to bear the methods and theories of their

respective disciplines. Nevertheless, many Andeanists disagree about the very nature of this colonial order, and consensus has often proved illusive, even about appropriate methods of study. This is perhaps not too surprising, as colonial Andean society looked very different from cosmopolitan capital cities such as Lima, from provincial indigenous centers such as Cusco, from frontier cities such as Concepción de Chile, and from rural zones. Certainly it looked very different from the perspectives of colonial elites, *castas*, indigenous peasants, and African slaves. Nevertheless, several scholars have recently presented multiple and often contested viewpoints on this diverse colonial Andean past, particularly for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for which empirical data are often thinnest.

A main reason for the conflicting interpretations of colonial Andean history and culture are the fragmentary and often hard-to-interpret primary sources extant today. The most difficult problem is a lack of written indigenous sources. The Inca never employed alphabetic writing and instead relied on arrangements of knotted cords, called quipu, to record data such as censuses, tribute lists, or the contents of storage facilities. Some scholars have postulated that quipu may also have related complex narratives or poetry, but research in this area is still inconclusive.¹ Even after the arrival of the Spanish, indigenous scribes failed to produce documents in the principal Andean languages using European alphabetic script, as they did in Mesoamerica.² Art historians and anthropologists have compensated for the resultant lack of pre-Columbian and indigenous colonial written records by examining Inca textiles, ceramics, jewelry, and carvings, whereas archaeologists have studied thousands of pre-Columbian and colonial buildings, tombs, skeletal remains, and waste materials, which have yielded rich data on indigenous cultural, artistic, and technological achievements, as well as diet. Historians and specialists in literary and cultural studies have also relied on the chronicles of Europeans written after the Spanish invasion. These accounts by conquistadors, Spanish settlers, priests, and bureaucrats provide much information on the first two centuries of the colonial order. The few works produced

1. For the most strident revisionist opinion about the quipu, see Laura Laurencich Minelli, *Exul immeritus Blas Valera populo suo e historia et rudimenta linguae piruanorum: Indios, gesuiti, e spagnoli in due documenti segreti sul Perù del XVII secolo* (Bologna: Casa Editrice Clueb, 2007); for a recent rebuttal of this work, see Kenneth J. Andrien, "The Virtual and the Real: The Case of the Mysterious Documents from Naples," *History Compass* 6, no. 5 (2008): 1304–1324.

2. As a corollary to this dearth of sources, Andean scholars do not have a rich body of mundane administrative documents in native languages akin to that which, in the case of New Spain, spawned the new philology, a school of historians (associated with James Lockhart and his students) who use such documentation as a window into colonial indigenous society. See Matthew Restall, "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 113–134.

by indigenous authors such as Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui did not appear until early in the seventeenth century, arriving along with the history of the Incas and the early colonial order by the mestizo Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Another major source of information is the immense variety of sources—laws, treasury accounts, government and church documents, workbooks, trade records, policy proposals, judicial texts, censuses, notary records—generated by Spanish civil and religious authorities and scattered in archives in Spain and throughout the Andean nations. Each of these sources has its limitations, however, reflecting the biases, misperceptions, and changing religious and administrative priorities of metropolitan, colonial, and local officials. All too few of these written materials directly register the voices of indigenous peoples.

The books reviewed in this essay exemplify the variety of disciplinary methods Andeanists use and the division among scholars over how to interpret sources dealing with the complex colonial order that emerged in the region. The anthropologists Gonzalo Lamana and Peter Gose present theory-driven critical rereadings mostly of known chronicles and archival sources to present bold, revisionist accounts of the political and cultural history of the Andean peoples. The historian Alejandra Osorio offers a convincing reinterpretation of printed and archival sources to reveal Lima as the New World's principal example of baroque modernity. Finally, the literary scholar Fernanda Macchi presents the impact in eighteenth-century Europe and Peru of reeditions and translations of canonical texts by El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. All these works present new interpretations and make important contributions to the scholarly "invention" of distinct elements of the colonial Andean world.

Gonzalo Lamana, associate professor of Hispanic languages and literatures at the University of Pittsburgh, revisits the violent Spanish-Inca encounter at Cajamarca in 1532 and five other key episodes in the early colonial history of the Andes. Lamana ends his book around 1550, when he believes the Spanish gained a decisive advantage in the region. He bases his study on a familiar assortment of sources—chronicles, judicial reviews by Spanish officials, city council records, and legal depositions of Spanish and indigenous actors (*probanzas de méritos*). He also uses literary methods (influenced by Gramscian concepts of hegemony and the work of Walter Mignolo) to give a clever and insightful alternative reading of these sources in an attempt to provide what he calls a "decolonial" narrative of events (1). Lamana maintains that European accounts emphasize how technological advantages and the military prowess of the conquistadors led to their inevitable victory, whereas he views the encounters as much more complex. Relations among Spanish invaders, the Inca, and indigenous subject peoples often involved curiosity, confusion, misunderstanding, violence, and even attempts to mimic the other players' actions.

As Spaniards and Inca vied for power, they tried and discarded strategies for coexistence and then domination in the region. These early encounters produced an ambiguous domination without dominance, at least until the Spaniards gained the upper hand in the mid-sixteenth century.

The six chapters of Lamana's book examine the first encounter at Cajamarca; the imprisonment, ransoming, and execution of Atahualpa; the uneasy alliance between the Inca and the conquistadors; Manco Inca's siege of Cusco; the rule of Paullu Inca; and the civil wars of the 1540s among Spanish factions. In each chapter, Lamana questions traditional Eurocentric interpretations of relations between Spaniards and Andeans to "reintroduce cultural difference and to avoid the risk of orientalizing, to simultaneously de-occidentalize the conquerors" (5). In explaining the sequence of events leading to Cajamarca, for example, he argues that Atahualpa ignored the advice of some counselors and viewed the Spaniards as gods (*viracochas*). As a divine ruler, Atahualpa went willingly to the meeting to fulfill his role as interlocutor between the supernatural and humankind. In contrast, the Spaniards are portrayed as anxious and divided before the Inca and his army, which was encamped outside of the city. Fray Vicente de Valverde, for instance, approached Atahualpa with his breviary in the town's square, both to protect the unsuspecting indigenous ruler from predatory conquistadors and to offer the path to salvation. In each succeeding chapter, Lamana uses the same critical reading of sources to make intriguing and sometimes startling interpretations. For example, he argues that Atahualpa and his generals had the Christians loot the temples of his enemies to pay his ransom, and once it became clear that Francisco Pizarro had little regard for Huáscar, Atahualpa's half-brother and rival in the recently ended civil wars, Atahualpa had Huáscar executed. In short, each chapter of this intriguing book presents new interpretations of early Andean history, placing indigenous views at the center of the drama and showing how Spaniards had to contend with multiple challenges to establish a "colonial normal"—"a series of everyday habits, of configurations of what is usually done, without thinking, beyond words, that becomes habit memory" (14)—that allowed them to consolidate power.

In his provocative book, Peter Gose (professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University) seeks to place both the colonizers and the colonized in a "single interpretive field" to demonstrate the contested nature of colonial power (13). Gose has uncovered some new documentation but, like Lamana, relies mostly on printed and archival sources used by others, supplementing these with ethnographic research. Nevertheless, he advances highly original insights into the nature of Spanish colonialism in the Andes. Drawing on Gramscian concepts of hegemony and Fernando Ortiz's idea of transculturation, Gose argues that Andean peoples portrayed the Spanish invaders as primordial

ancestors who would overthrow Inca rule and restore sovereignty to local Andean polities. In this, Gose goes even further than Lamana, arguing that viewing colonizers as ancestors was a worldwide indigenous strategy, used by the Mexica (who thought Fernando Cortés was the reincarnation of Quetzalcoatl) and by Africans, Australian Aborigines, and people in Melanesia. Matthew Restall, among others, has forcefully contested this view.³ The Spaniards also believed in the importance of ancestry, but they privileged old Christian families with pure bloodlines untainted by Muslim or Jewish ancestry (*limpieza de sangre*). Nevertheless, they came to accept ancestral incorporation, ruling indirectly through local Andean ethnic leaders (*curacas*), who collected taxes and accessed indigenous forced-labor drafts (*mita*) for their Spanish overlords.

Gose argues that, after the political overthrow of the Inca Empire, the defeat of Manco Inca's rebellion in 1537, and his retreat to Vilcabamba, the postconquest regime of indirect rule showed signs of strain, as local Andean communities, weakened by epidemic disease, came to resent Spanish demands for taxes, labor, and efforts by Christian evangelizers to destroy both the mummified remains of ancestors and their holy sites (*huacas*). The result was an alliance against the Spaniards in the 1560s by disaffected highland curacas, the Vilcabamba regime-in-exile, and the separatist millenarian movement Taqui Oncoy. The military alliance with Vilcabamba ended when Manco Inca's successor, Titu Cusi, agreed to make peace with the Spaniards and become Christian, but Gose contends that Taqui Oncoy continued as a religious revival into the early seventeenth century, even after its principal leaders recanted in Cusco in 1571.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, efforts to resettle Andeans into large Spanish-style towns (*reducciones*), to reform traditional burial practices, and to stamp out non-Christian religious rituals all damaged traditional kinship ties and undermined the power of curacas, weakening indirect rule. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581) began the process of settling Andeans in *reducciones*, where they could more easily be converted, taxed, and supervised. Many Andeans fled the *reducciones* over time to attain the status of migrants (*forasteros*). These migrants had lower tax burdens and avoided the *mita*, but they lacked access to communal lands and remained outside of traditional kin groups (*ayllu*). Periodic efforts to extirpate idolatry in the archbishopric of Lima further advanced this decay of traditional Andean socioreligious institutions. Gose argues that the *ayllu* was reduced to a purely fiscal entity, charged with paying labor service and taxes; but its importance as a religious, kinship, and social unit had declined. By the eighteenth century, colonial officials imposed the abusive forced distribution of European wares (*repartimiento*

3. Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 108–130.

de mercancías) and began appointing outsiders (even Spaniards and mestizos) as curacas. Gose argues that the Spaniards unwittingly prepared the way for Andean rebellions in the 1780s by abandoning indirect rule, weakening kinship ties, and heightening exploitation. He contends that ethnographic evidence indicates that Andean peoples then turned to worshipping the natural landscape, particularly mountains, which Gose terms the “shift from mummies to mountains” (239). He argues that modern Andean communities merge mountain spirits, Christianity, and Hispanicized ancestors into a more egalitarian society. As a result, *Invaders as Ancestors* reinterprets traditional chronicles, archival evidence, and ethnographic data from the precontact, colonial, republican, and contemporary periods to challenge many long-held shibboleths in Andean studies.

In her thought-provoking study, Alejandra Osorio (assistant professor of history at Wellesley College) argues that the viceregal capital of Lima became one of the first modern, baroque cities in the New World. Relying largely on printed primary sources, supplemented by archival data from Peruvian, Chilean, and Spanish repositories, this cultural history explores how Lima, the site of a viceregal court, a prominent legal tribunal (*audiencia*), and the archbishopric, eclipsed the old Inca capital of Cusco and became the preeminent city in Spanish South America. Lima differed from other colonial centers because it united the Andean mountains with the sea, linking Spain’s Atlantic empire with the Pacific and Asia. Because Lima had a monopoly on the exchange of highland silver for European wares, it enjoyed material as well as political and spiritual power. According to Osorio, Lima was “invented” as a modern metropolis, rivaling Europe’s premier cities, largely because of its elite-dominated civil and church rituals, which set it apart from other American capitals. She contends that this “urban baroque cultural ‘machine’ . . . allowed the Spanish monarchy to create and maintain a political system that brought relative economic and social stability for three hundred years” (83).

Osorio begins with a discussion of Giovanni Botero’s definition of a “great city” in his *Relazioni Universali* (1595) to argue that Lima’s vibrant economy, wide hinterland, and political and religious prominence fit this baroque ideal. The presence of the viceregal court allowed for elaborate public rituals, particularly with the entry of each new viceroy, who, as the king’s alter ego, arrived in Lima directly by sea. This allowed the city and its populace to monopolize such occasions, which they celebrated with expensive displays, arches, the royal canopy (*pallio*), and public processions. Elaborate rituals also accompanied the monarch’s death and the accession of his successor. The king’s official image or simulacrum was displayed, along with portraits and ornate catafalques lit with candles and inscribed with events from his life. These special occasions, along with the city’s three hundred feast days, allowed Lima’s citizenry to celebrate the unity of the realm and the wealth and prominence of city elites. According to

Osorio, Lima also claimed spiritual power by the presence of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, which held its autos de fé in the Plaza Mayor, “not as a bloody act of punishment and paranoid repression but instead as . . . theater intended to heal the Christian body politic of its impurities” (32). Because indigenous peoples were not subject to the Inquisition, some of Lima’s archbishops authorized idolatry trials to punish transgressions against orthodoxy. Campaigns to determine whether pious men and women were worthy of sainthood were yet another source of spiritual power in Lima. The canonization of Saint Rose of Lima in 1669, for example, was marked by a sumptuous ceremony celebrating the city’s piety. In summary, Osorio presents a forcefully argued cultural history of a New World city and its place in the maintenance of Spain’s overseas empire.

Incas ilustrados examines how European and American intellectuals appropriated the works of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in the eighteenth century, influencing intellectual debates on both sides of the Atlantic. Fernanda Macchi (associate professor of Hispanic studies at McGill University) begins by demonstrating convincingly that Andrés González de Barcia, a career bureaucrat during the reign of Philip V (1700–1746), published a series of early chronicles not only to reacquaint national and foreign audiences with these works but also to restore luster to Spain’s overseas enterprises, which were under attack by European intellectuals advancing the “black legend” of Spain’s backwardness and cruelty. Barcia published the second part of Garcilaso’s *Historia del Perú* in 1722, and one year later *La Florida del Inca* and the *Comentarios reales*. Macchi argues that Barcia’s nationalistic attempt to reclaim Spain’s reputation largely failed to counter the propaganda of foreigners bent on undermining its political and intellectual legitimacy in Europe and the Americas. The first French translation of the *Comentarios reales*, by Jean Baudoin, was published in 1633, with a second edition in 1704; an English translation by Paul Rycaut appeared in 1688; and several French translations followed in the eighteenth century. All of these, to a greater or lesser extent, used textual interventions, took liberties with translations, and introduced pictures that served both to blacken the reputation of Spain’s colonization effort and, by extension, to justify the incursions of other European powers into the New World.

Macchi then discusses the influence that these and other works had in advancing both the black legend and ideas about the Inca as a romantic but exotic civilization. Thomas Simon Gueullette’s novel *Les mille et une heures, contes péruviens* featured an Inca priestess in the role of heroine, while Voltaire’s play *Alzire* (1734) promoted a distinctly antireligious and anti-Spanish view of colonial activities in Peru. Mme. Graffigny’s epistolary novel, *Lettres d’une Péruvienne* (1747), was organized around forty-one letters ostensibly written by the main character, Zilia, a virgin of the sun. All these works romanticized the Inca, contrasting them with mostly negative portrayals of Spaniards. The final chapter of Macchi’s study shifts

the focus to Peru, examining Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo's description of indigenous residents of Lima parading in Inca regalia in the Plaza de Armas in 1723, in his *Jubilos de Lima y fiestas reales*, and the anonymous drama *Ollantay*, of the rebellion of Ollantay. All these examples reveal the enduring appeal of the Inca and the ways that the works of Garcilaso informed popular views of the indigenous past. In short, Macchi demonstrates how seventeenth-century chronicles were appropriated and transformed in Europe and the New World a century later by intellectuals who sought to use history, fiction, and drama to advance political goals unintended by Garcilaso himself.

The books reviewed in this essay make important contributions to scholarly knowledge about the colonial Andes, using theory and empirical data to present cogent new interpretations of the past. Apart from John Guilmartin's military analysis of the conquest of Peru, since John Hemming's *The Conquest of the Incas* appeared in 1970, few scholars have revisited the encounters between Spaniards and Andeans during the conquest era.⁴ Lamana's carefully argued rebuttal of Hemming and his followers relies on theory to "undo silences and subvert plots of sixteenth-century narrative" (12), producing an intriguing, plausible, and "decolonial" alternative. Gose also presents some new evidence, but, like Lamana, it is his theoretical framework that allows for a provocative synthesis of colonial and republican Andean history, also extending to postcolonial religious practices. Gose's complex and well-argued narrative in some cases leads to conclusions at odds with other scholars examining the same sources. His interpretation of the early conquest, particularly the idea that the Inca saw Spaniards as *viracochas*, is similar to Lamana's, yet the two differ about how kinship and ancestor worship influenced the course of events. Recent studies by Kenneth Mills, Nicholas Griffiths, and Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs of the extirpation of idolatry also yield different interpretations from those of Gose, even as they rely, on several occasions, on the very same data.⁵

By contrast, Osorio's focus shifts away from Spanish-Andean interactions to Creole society and Lima's baroque cultural life. Considering rituals attending the king, the viceregal court, the Inquisition, church festivals,

4. John F. Guilmartin Jr., "The Cutting Edge: An Analysis of the Spanish Invasion and Overthrow of the Inca Empire, 1532–1539," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 40–69. John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1970).

5. Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad: La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2003).

and campaigns to extirpate idolatry, Osorio examines elite-directed cultural and political life in the capital, but she pays little attention to indigenous, Afro-Peruvian, and mixed-blood citizens. It is also debatable whether Lima's common citizens viewed the Inquisition as a "grand demonstration of mercy," as Osorio presents it (109). She also greatly emphasizes the ritual significance of the Inquisition's autos de fé, but only five of these were celebrated in the Plaza Mayor during the entire seventeenth century. These caveats aside, this thoughtful book complements Charles Walker's recent study, *Shaky Colonialism*, which examines eighteenth-century *limeño* society after the earthquake of 1746.⁶

Contemporary scholars have written a great deal about El Inca Garcilaso, but Macchi is one of the first to focus on the reception of his works in the eighteenth century. Although she presents a careful analysis of eighteenth-century editions, translations, plays, and novels based on Garcilaso's works, her study might have been even stronger if it had connected eighteenth-century views of these works more fully to anti-Spanish currents in Europe, as Jorge Cañizares Esguerra does for the study of history in *How to Write a History of the New World*.⁷ It might also have been useful to engage scholarship on the influence that Garcilaso's work had on the Andean rebellions of the 1780s.

These four books testify to the vitality and diversity of disciplinary methods employed in the study of colonial Andean worlds, yet they also reflect the scholarly controversies that enliven the field. Rather than build on the work of past generations by finding new or little-known primary sources, Gose, Lamana, and to some extent Osorio set off in other interesting directions, often ignoring or dismissing those who disagree with them. And although Macchi is more judicious in her approach, she misses opportunities to broaden the scope of her study and engage in fruitful conversations across disciplinary lines. These four books contribute to a vibrant, innovative field, but it is also true that Andeanist scholars often present strikingly different views of Andean colonial worlds, which leads to debates about theory and interpretation without reaching the greater consensus that marks more mature fields, such as Mexican studies. What remains are some stunning contributions to the scholarly invention of distinct colonial Andean worlds, but there is still not enough coherence in scholarly interpretations, methods, and theoretical frameworks for analyzing the Andean past. The next generation of scholars will surely inherit a vital but also contested intellectual terrain in Andean studies.

6. Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

7. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write a History of the New World: Historiographies, Es-pistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).