

THE APPROPRIATION OF THE QUECHUA LANGUAGE BY THE
CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANISATION OF PERU IN THE
SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

William Mitchell

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I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and constitutes the results of my research in the subject.

William Mitchell
3rd. July 1991.

ABSTRACT

The first contact of Andean culture with the Christian faith took place over 450 years ago in 1532. One hundred and thirty years later, around 1660, there was the tacit assumption that the Church was established in the Andean region. In its evangelisation of the region the Church opted to use the vernacular languages, of which Quechua, the language of administration of the Inca empire, was predominant. The thesis examines the Church's appropriation and use of the Quechua language, and the resultant appropriation of the Christian faith by the Andean people in terms of their total understanding of reality, in which language, semantic categories and spatial concepts played a key role.

After exploring in chapter one the nature of the culture clash involved as a result of the Conquest, the Spanish and Inca language policies are examined in chapter two. This is followed by a consideration in chapter three of the Church's option for the vernacular and its outworking in the Third Lima Council of 1582-3. Chapter four analyses the life of the emerging colonial Church in the setting of the Indian parish, especially religious texts, and raises the issues surrounding the ambivalent role played by the indigenous language. The contours of the indigenous response are traced in chapter 5, prior to a concluding chapter which summarises the subversive role of the vernacular with regard to the Church's orthodoxy. It also points to its effect on Andean cultural history. In conclusion questions are raised of the implications of this for our understanding of past and present in the Andes, for the expression of the Church's view of indigenous religion, and ultimately of the relationship of truth and freedom.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	Archivo Arzobispal, Lima.
AGI	Archivo de Indias, Seville.
BIRA	Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero (Lima).
BL	British Library
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional, Lima.
CDIHE	<u>Colección de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España</u> , [1855]. Ed. Marqués de Pidal and Miguel Salvá. Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Co., 1966.
CHELA	<u>Cuadernos para la Historia de la Evangelización en América</u> .
CHLA	<u>Cambridge History of Latin America</u> , vol.1. Ed. Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: CUP, 1984.
CI	<u>Cedulario Indiano</u> , [1596]. Edición facsimilar, Vol I. Diego de Encinas, ed. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1945.
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
CUP	Cambridge University Press.
HAHR	Hispanic America Historial Review.
IEP	Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (Lima).
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JLAL	Journal of Latin American Lore.
LARR	Latin America Research Review.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PUCP	Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
RLI	<u>Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias</u> . Madrid: Antonio Balbao, 21756.
UBS	United Bible Societies.
UNMSM	Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION

The first contact of Andean culture with the Christian faith took place over 450 years ago. One hundred and thirty years later, around 1660, efforts to eradicate indigenous religious practice were no longer thought necessary. The colonial church was established.

A further three hundred years later the Second Vatican Council set in motion changes that would lead to a re-evaluation of the Church's approach to the indigenous peoples of the Andes. By the late 1960s certain sectors of the Church in Peru began to develop a pastoral approach ^{that} took into account a fact already well documented by anthropologists and historians: the continuing practice of pre-Columban rites, rituals and customs, often as an integral part of the Church's rites. There was no doubt that Christianity was also a part of contemporary Andean reality, and the pronouncements of the Second Vatican Council offered an opportunity to reassess that presence.

An understanding of the "first evangelisation"¹ of the Andean region is essential in arriving at such a definition of Andean Christianity. This requires a study of the nature and content of the faith that was first taught and preached, an examination of the ways

¹ Approximately 1532-1660.

in which that faith was communicated, and an investigation of the appropriation of the faith by the indigenous people in terms of their cultural patterns, logical categories and worldview. These matters need also to be seen in the total socio-economic and cultural context of that period with a view to determining the dynamic, both cultural and cognitive, that took place in the establishing of Christianity among the indigenous people of the Andes region of South America.

In recent years these questions have been approached from historical, anthropological, ethnological, linguistic, and theological perspectives. A few of these studies have touched on the crucial issue of language in the process of Christianisation, but the role of the vernacular in that process has received little attention. Yet the option for the vernacular by the Church, the translation of its theology into the vernacular, the diffusion of its message through that medium, and the appropriation of Christianity by the Andean people in terms of the vernacular, are fundamental to what took place. This study therefore proposes to examine the appropriation by the Church of the major indigenous language of the Andean region at the time of the Conquest--Quechua--and its role in the Christianisation of the region.

The sources to be utilised derive from the pre-hispanic, Conquest and early colonial periods. These include the works of the chroniclers of that time, the most useful of which were written within one hundred years of the conquest. Some were written by eyewitnesses of the events, but even so one must bear in mind the tendentious nature of some accounts, written as they were to justify a particular policy. Others drew on indigenous informants from an essentially oral culture who had a limited grasp of Spanish, while the chroniclers themselves did not always have an adequate understanding of the Quechua language. Some distortion of information was inevitable. Where the chronicler was of indigenous origin, the form of the chronicle may be that of Spanish historiography, but the mental framework which informed the chronicle was Andean.

A second source for this period is the archival materials of the colonial administration, both secular and ecclesiastic. Some of these are available in published form, but the bulk of them are held in archives in South America, Spain or Italy. In the Conquest and its aftermath two distinct cultural and legal systems were in conflict. Documents from the archives provide an insight ^{into} this. Those of the trials arising from the campaigns to eradicate idolatry in Peru in the first half of the seventeenth century

provide indispensable information on the persistence of indigenous beliefs and religious practice. Those of the Church councils portray the evolution of the Church's thinking and organisation in the Andes.

A third source is the religious writings. These comprise Scriptures, sermons, catechisms, summaries of doctrine, instructions, treatises, hymns and dramas. They give information on how the new faith was spread, and, of particular interest for our purpose, the language that was used to do this. The first book to be published in South America was the trilingual Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para Instruccion de los Indios,² which became the standard Quechua catechism for the following centuries. This will be a central document in our investigation.

Linguistic and ethnological writings from the period provide another important source of information. Following the Conquest the study of the languages and customs of the region (especially the religious customs) was seen as a necessary step towards evangelisation. Dictionaries and grammars were available from as early as 1560, written and compiled by authors whose ideas of grammar were shaped by Latin, and who at times misconstrued meanings in their zeal to spread

² Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1584. The Quechua part of this is reproduced in Appendix 3, with our translation to English.

the faith, but who nevertheless bequeathed an invaluable legacy.

Given the importance of the inter-relation of many aspects of Andean life for the proposed study, our approach draws upon models and insights from anthropology, biblical studies, history, linguistics, psychology and theology. An extensive period spent in the region, especially southern Peru, has contributed greatly to our understanding of the context of the study, and has shaped the questions being asked.

After exploring in chapter one the nature of the culture clash involved as a result of the Conquest, the Spanish and Inca language policies are examined in chapter two. This is followed by a consideration in chapter three of the Church's option for the vernacular and its outworking in the Third Lima Council of 1582-3. Chapter four analyses the life of the emerging colonial Church in the setting of the Indian parish, and raises the issues surrounding the ambivalent role played by the indigenous language. The contours of the indigenous response are traced in chapter 5, prior to a concluding chapter which summarises the subversive role of the vernacular with regard to the Church's orthodoxy. It also points to its effect on Andean cultural history. In conclusion questions are raised of the implications of this for

our understanding of past and present in the Andes, for the expression of the Church's view of indigenous religion, and ultimately of the relationship of truth and freedom. Questions of pressing importance for a Church and society struggling to come to terms with the legacy of the last five hundred years in the Americas.

CHAPTER ONE: THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS

1. The communication impasse

When Francisco Pizarro and his men arrived in 1532 in what today is Peru, they found a linguistic complexity that presented them with major difficulties. They identified what they called the *lengua general* or *lengua del Ynga* as the most widely spoken language, one that would later be called *Quechua*.¹ The naming of their own language as *runa simi*² by the indigenous people was in itself evidence of the intrusion of the Europeans, who as the "other" required a definition.³ Interpretation and translation were a necessity, and the problems this posed for the spread of Christianity became apparent as early as 1533 in the encounter of Inca Atahualpa and the representatives of the Christian faith.

Hernando de Soto, Pizarro's second-in-command, attempted to outline to the Inca the reason for their

¹ The word itself is from *qheshwa* and denotes a certain ecological level in the Andes, the warm valleys which lie at between 2500 to 3500 metres above sea level. By extension it came to mean the people who live there, and a particular language group.

² The language of humankind.

³ Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, Lingüística quechua, (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales "Bartolomé de Las Casas", 1987), pp.31f.

coming. The Inca objected to the interpreter Felipillo's stumbling translation:⁴ "Saddened by the poor translation, he said, 'What is this man doing stuttering from one word to the next, and following one error with another, talking like a deaf-mute?'"⁵

The meeting with the Dominican friar Vicente de Valverde was scarcely more promising. The Inca examined the breviary that was proffered, and listened to the priest reading parts of the *Requerimiento*⁶ and its translation into Quechua. The chroniclers give varying accounts of the Inca's response, but it is clear that he was mystified by Spanish claims. According to one account,⁷ he carefully contrasted his rightful possession of his forefathers' land with that

⁴ From his first exploratory visit to the north Peruvian coast in 1526-27, Pizarro had taken to Spain two young boys, Martín and Felipillo, who later accompanied him as translators.

⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, [1617], Historia General del Perú, Vol. 1, ed. Angel Rosenblat, (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1944), p.59.

⁶ Drawn up by jurists and theologians in Valladolid in 1513, it proclaimed the Spanish right to New World territories, stated briefly the basic tenets of the Christian faith, and made clear to the hearers their responsibility for any failure to comply with the invader's dictate, and the violent action against them that would ensue. For text see "The Requirement, 1513, a Most Remarkable Document", in History of Latin American Civilization: Sources and Interpretations, Vol.1, ed. Lewis Hanke, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973), pp.93-95.

⁷ Agustín de Zárate, [1555], Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la provincia del Perú, in Historiadores Primitivos de Indias, ed. Enrique de Vedia, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1947), p.476.

based on a division made by St. Peter; he spoke of the Sun, Mother Earth, *Pachacama*,⁸ and *huacas*,⁹ over against Jesus Christ; he questioned the existence of Spain; and threw the breviary to the ground, the "word" that neither spoke nor could be heard.¹⁰

Garcilaso de la Vega gives his version of the Inca's reply:

Your interpreter has told me that you propose that I should know these five men. The first is the God three and one, which makes four, by coincidence that's the one we call *Pachacamac* and *Viracocha*. The second is the one you say is the father of all men, upon whom they all piled up their sins. The third you call Jesus Christ, the only one who didn't throw his sins on that first man, but who was killed. The fourth you give the name Pope. The fifth is Charles, and, you call him the most powerful one, the ruler of the universe, supreme over all, without regard for the others.¹¹

Notwithstanding Garcilaso's reworking of his sources,¹² and the debate over what actually took

⁸ A powerful tellurian deity - "the one who animates time/space/world", mistakenly represented by the Spanish as the creator god.

⁹ The term *huaca* conveys a sense of embodied sacredness. It was a generic term for any person, place, or thing with sacred or supernatural associations.

¹⁰ Atahualpa had asked Valverde on what authority he made his claims, and was given "the breviary or Bible" in answer to his question. Zárate, op.cit., p.476.

¹¹ Op.cit., p.70. Unless otherwise stated, the translations from Spanish or Quechua sources are my own.

¹² For a fuller treatment of Garcilaso's apologetic purpose, see ch.5, pp.398-404.

place, there is a historical kernel to what he reported.¹³ He himself explained the interpreter's words as a result of Andean perceptions:

In rendering God Three in One, he said God Three and One are four, adding the numbers up so as to be understood. This is due to the convention of the *quipu*, the knotted annual accounts of Cajamarca, which is where this happened, he couldn't say it differently.¹⁴

The episode provides a fascinating insight into Andean mental categories. The idea that "the first is three and one which makes four" is understandable given the agglutinative logic of much Amerindian thought. The inclusion of the Pope and Charles V in the pantheon is also understandable in a context where the Inca himself was thought to share divine attributes.

The Inca's reply also focuses attention on the role of translation, and the part played by the unfortunate interpreter. The communication failure led to the Inca's death, while Felipillo himself died in 1536 for his part in later intrigues. Martín, the other interpreter, became a wealthy *encomendero*, but his

¹³ John Hemming regards the material on events surrounding Felipillo and translation as an invention of the 1550 period. The Conquest of the Incas, (London: Macmillan, 1970), pp.82-85. See also Guillermo Lohmann V., "El proceso de Atabilpa", VI Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano, (Valladolid: 1983), pp.235-274; Sabine G. MacCormack, "Atahuallpa y el libro", Revista de Indias 48, no. 184 (1988), pp.695-714; Patricia Seed, "'Failing to Marvel': Atahuallpa's Encounter with the Word", LARR 26, no. 1 (1991), pp.7-32.

¹⁴ Op.cit., p.67.

support of Pizarro in the 1550 rising led to his downfall, and he was stripped of his property and *encomienda*. He died on his way to Spain to protest. The deaths underline the communications impasse that was experienced.

In the years that followed, administrators, priests and religious personnel struggled with this problem. Some felt that indigenous languages were an inadequate vehicle to express the Christian faith without distorting it, while others spoke of the richness of these languages and pressed the need to teach the faith in them. In this study of the role of the indigenous language in the Christianisation of Peru, it is necessary to examine briefly the characteristics of the two worlds in collision.

2. The "Old World" consensus

a. Historical situation: the Iberian precedent

When the cousins Isabella and Ferdinand married in Spain in 1469 during a period of civil war, the event was quite inauspicious. Isabella was the half-sister of Henry IV of Castile, and Ferdinand the son of King Juan II of Aragon. Full authorisation of the marriage came only with a papal bull in 1471. When Isabella was crowned Queen of Castile in 1474, and Ferdinand

succeeded his father to the throne 1479, a different picture emerged. They moved quickly to consolidate their rule, and to extend it through the *reconquista*¹⁵ of the Iberian peninsula. The administration and the language of the new political entity was Castilian.

They were encouraged in the struggle against the Moors by the Bull of Granada, granted to them in 1486 by Innocent VIII. It charged them with procuring "the salvation of the barbarian nations, and the repression of infidels and their conversion to the faith".¹⁶ The monarchs were granted "abundant recompense", which included control of all patronage in Granada and the right "to nominate to all major prelacies as well as to hold in trust all tithes and endowments assigned to the support of religion".¹⁷ This followed in the tradition of bulls granted earlier to Portuguese monarchs, and gave definitive shape to the *patronato real*, in which "civil and sacred interests were intertwined in a system so thorough and complex as scarcely to be separated...So broad a power of government has seldom been devised".¹⁸

¹⁵ The centuries-long crusade to regain control from the Moors.

¹⁶ The Bull *Orthodoxae fidei propagationem* cited in W.E. Shiels, King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961), p.66.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp.5-6.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.9.

When the Moorish kingdom of Granada fell to their power on January 2, 1492, Ferdinand sent a triumphant message to Pope Alexander VI, himself Spanish:

After so much travail, expense, and bloodshed, this kingdom of Granada, which for seven hundred and eighty years was occupied by infidels, has been won to the glory of God, the exaltation of our Holy Catholic Faith, and the honour of the Apostolic See.¹⁹

He saw a providential ordering of these events which augured well for further expansion.

Three months later, the Jews were ordered to become Christians or leave the country.²⁰ The Moors who had remained in the country on the assurance that they would not be dealt with in this way, were eventually submitted to similar treatment. Most became unwilling converts to the Christian faith.²¹ In 1478 Pope Sixtus IV had granted the right to appoint two or three inquisitors. Ferdinand and Isabella extended these powers, and set up a Supreme Council of the Inquisition headed by the Dominican Tomás de Torquemada.

¹⁹ Cited in Henry Kamen, Spain 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict, (London: Longman, 1983), p.35.

²⁰ It is estimated that some 50,000 submitted to baptism, while 150,000 left the country. The Christians of Jewish descent were referred to as *conversos* or *marranos*.

²¹ *Moriscos*. Of the original half million Moors in the realm, 100,000 had died or been enslaved, 200,000 had emigrated, and 200,000 remained as the residual population. Under Philip III even they were expelled in 1609, though more for political than religious reasons.

Originally it was intended to ensure the Christian orthodoxy of converts from Judaism, but inexorably it extended its remit to cover other groups of the population. A society where dissent was possible and where religious *convivencia* and plurality had been the norm, became under Ferdinand and Isabella a society of conflict, one of forced conversion and marginalisation for large sectors of the population. It was a time when existing ideas of racialism, dissent, heresy, and conversion were sharpened and deepened through the combination of institutional actions and public reaction.²²

On 2 August 1492 Columbus left on his search for the Indies under the patronage of Isabella. On his return to Europe in 1493, the monarchs lodged their claim to the new territory with Alexander. He issued the bull *Inter caetera*²³ that same year, establishing the legal basis for Spanish title.²⁴ The papal concessions were

²² Henry Kamen, "Toleration and Dissent in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alternative Tradition", The Sixteenth Century Journal 19, no.1 (1988), pp.7-9.

²³ 4 May 1493. CI, pp.31-34.

²⁴ In all, four bulls were issued in 1493 two *Inter caetera* (dated May 3 and 4), *Eximiae devotionis* (dated May 4), and *Dudum Siquidem* (dated September 16). The second *Inter caetera* set a line of demarcation between Spanish and Portuguese domains, for which bulls had already been granted in the period 1454 to 1481. Following Spanish pressure, the fourth bull broadened the concessions made to the Spanish Crown, and revoked Portuguese rights in certain areas. Two later bulls, *Eximiae devotionis*, of 1499 and 1501,

made on the condition that in newly discovered areas the Crown assumed the obligation for converting the natives to Christianity.²⁵ In 1494 Alexander, who now needed their support against the French, bestowed on them the title of *los reyes católicos*.

b. Overseas administration

The "catholic monarchs" responded to their new responsibilities with the creation of the Council of the Indies, which served as the legislative, judicial and executive keeper of New World holdings. Immediate direction of affairs was entrusted to a viceroy who acted under the authority of the Council. *Audiencias*, second in power to the viceroy, served as advisory and judicial bodies which heard legal cases and watched over the social and economic development of the colonies.²⁶ Beneath these administrative levels were

further developed the *patronato real de las Indias*. The Bull *Universalis ecclesiae regimini* issued by Julius II in 1508 gave it final form.

²⁵ The ensuing dispute with Portugal led to the Treaty of Tordesillas in June 1494, which moved the line marking the beginning of Spanish territory further west. Later voyages established that this line passed through enough of the sub-continent to give Portugal title to Brazil.

²⁶ The Viceroyalty of Peru initially included all of South America except Portuguese Brazil and was administered by the *audiencias* of Quito, Lima and Charcas.

the colonists, many of whom held *encomiendas*.²⁷ All Castilians had been given responsibilities as guardians of the Catholic faith, and people at all levels, including *encomenderos*, were expected to share in these. Events in the peninsula had established an indissoluble bond between the cause of the Crown and that of the Church, and it gave the Spanish in the New World a sense of mission informed by the ideals of the *reconquista*. Spanish colonial rule was a medieval projection, with the New World subsumed under an enlarged Christendom.

The bulls had effectively transferred control of the New World church from the Papacy to the Crown, and this was exercised in the appointment of clergy, the setting up of parishes and dioceses, administration and collection of tithes, and in being responsible for church councils and synods.²⁸ Although the Crown had virtual control of the diocesan clergy, or *seculares*, it chose as its main emissaries members of religious orders or *regulares*. The *seculares* were not discouraged from going to the New World, but the Crown did not send them as missionaries. This decision correctly reflected the quality of the human resources

²⁷ A grant to an individual of tribute-collection rights over a designated number of Indian families, in return for certain military and religious obligations on his part.

²⁸ Shiels, *op.cit.*, p.7.

available in the Spanish church, but it also followed medieval precedent where the monastic orders had played a large part in the conversion of rural northern and western Europe.

As the colonial church took shape, tensions and conflicts between the *seculares* and *regulares* developed, especially as the bishops endeavoured to bring the latter within their jurisdiction. The *regulares*, despite the royal initiatives, took orders from Rome and chafed under the strictures of the diocesan hierarchies and colonial administrators. Such differences pointed up the contradictions arising from the combination under the *patronato* of the imperialist ambitions of a single nation, Spain, and the propagation of a universal faith from a different centre: Rome. It resulted in an inability to distinguish the national, cultural and political from the religious.

c. Religious beliefs and practices

The religious worldview of the majority of the population in late fifteenth-century Spain was one in which the sacred was diffused in the profane, and the material intermingled with the spiritual. This fragmentation of the divine meant that the cult of the saints and the various manifestations of the Virgin characterised popular religion. Religious confrater-

nities promoted devotion throughout all classes,²⁹ who found the visual representation of their faith in multiple images and relics. The hope of indulgences generated a piety which found expression in pilgrimages and the collection of relics, none more widespread than fragments of the Cross.³⁰ This was added to in the sixteenth century by an increased focus on the Passion of Christ, and the growth of shrines to the suffering Christ.³¹

The externalisation of piety also focussed on the Mass, and more specifically on the Eucharist. The consecrated host became the supreme *locus divinitatis*, while the sacrament of the Eucharist became consequently more remote. The development of the Feast of Corpus Christi accompanied this, and while the laity crowded to see the host and ascribed all sorts of miracles to it, participation in communion itself was rare.

²⁹ The confraternal rituals have been seen as "some of the most important and intriguing of Western Christianity's 'collective representations' of the sacred". Maureen Flynn, Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700, (London, Macmillan, 1989), p.11.

³⁰ Luis Maldonado, Génesis del Catolicismo Popular, (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1979), pp. 139-174.

³¹ William A. Christian, Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.182-195.

The low level of theological preparation and moral rectitude among the secular clergy coincided with a period when little could be expected from the popes in the way of reform. The effects of the conciliar movement earlier in the century were still being felt in questions of authority in the church. The inability to take concerted action was addressed by sweeping reforms begun in 1478 on the initiative of the two monarchs. The almost feudal episcopacy was restructured and various synods convened to plan clerical reform and foster the spiritual life. The reform of the regulars, initially inspired by the Queen's confessor Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, was intensified during the 1490s under the supervision of the Franciscan Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros. As a result, the more blatant excesses of both regulars and seculars were curbed, the fulfilment of their pastoral duties enforced, and their overall intellectual calibre raised considerably through the founding of new training colleges. The renewed interest in spirituality coincided with other developments, and produced a variety of movements aimed at continuing renewal and reform, which would be felt in the missionary zeal of certain orders in the sixteenth century.

The theological inheritance from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was interacting with currents of

thought from Renaissance humanism. The University of Alcalá, first planned by Ximénez in 1498 and opened ten years later, epitomised such developments. This combined the cardinal's interest in mystical spirituality and personal devotion with his promotion of biblical studies in the original languages,³² an emphasis which produced that monument to Spanish scholarship of that period, the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. In the teaching of theology there was a place for nominalism, Scotism and Thomism,³³ and with the presence of the great Spanish philologist Antonio de Nebrija and contacts between Ximénez and Erasmus, the influences both of humanism and Erasmianism were prominent in Alcalá. Ximénez thereby gave church access to the achievements of the Renaissance in literature, philology and humanism.

Isabella died in 1504, Ferdinand in 1516 and Cisneros in 1517. In 1504 the Spanish had extended their dominion to Italy, while later, in 1512, the conquest of Navarre completed the unification of all peninsular

³² On Ximénez' role in the Spanish "pre-reformation", see Marcel Bataillon, Erasmus y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo xvi, (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 21966), pp.1-83; Juan C. Nieto, Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), pp.51-55.

³³ Bataillon suggests that the teachings of Scotus and nominalism at Alcalá may have brought forth similar ideas on the doctrine of grace and the Bible as the supreme authority, as in the case of Luther (through different influences). Op.cit., p.21.

territory, with the exception of Portugal. In less than 50 years (1474-1517) fundamental changes had taken place to produce a Spain where social and religious conservatism was in dialogue with new currents of thought, and where imperialist ambition combined with artistic and literary promise. In the church alone the foundations had been laid for the shape it would take in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

d. The Salamanca school

As Alcalá shows, developments in Europe and the reality of the New World had thrown into question the received theology. Deep differences were emerging between it and a canon law which busied itself with exploring these newly opened realms of thought. These led to renewed intellectual endeavour amongst the scholastics. Among those who dominated the intellectual horizon of the first half of the sixteenth century were Francisco de Vitoria (1492-1546), Melchor Cano (1509-60), and Domingo de Soto (1494-1560). Neo-Thomist in their orientation, they sought to give a rational foundation to faith independent of revelation, while at the same time not questioning the value of faith in divine authority.

Together with Soto, Vitoria founded a juridical system which gave a special character to the Spanish theological-juridical renaissance. They and their associates such as Antonio de Córdoba (1485-1578) and Diego de Covarrubias (1512-1560) were known as the "Salamanca School",³⁴ whose influence was felt throughout Spain, and in the New World.³⁵ They wrestled with the intellectual questions raised by Spanish expansion to the New World, such as the legitimacy of conquest and the rights of the inhabitants of conquered territories--the so-called *duda indiana*.³⁶ Vitoria argued that these people had rights to their property and to their own rulers, and freedom from being compelled to accept the Christian faith.³⁷

The concepts of natural law, natural right, and natural reason were at the heart of the debate over

³⁴ See Demetrio Ramos, La Ética en la Conquista de América: Francisco de Vitoria y la Escuela de Salamanca, (Madrid: CSIC, 1984).

³⁵ José de Acosta, the Jesuit theologian, drew on their arguments, over against those of the eminent jurist who had opposed Bartolomé de Las Casas, Juan de Sepúlveda, whom Acosta regarded as discredited. De Procuranda Indorum Salute, [1590], in Obras del Padre José de Acosta, ed. Francisco Mateos, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1954), pp.431-440.

³⁶ Luciano Pereña, "La Escuela de Salamanca y la *duda indiana*", in Ramos, op.cit., pp.291-344.

³⁷ If ruled by a Christian monarch Indians were entitled to the same benefits as those subjects in the monarch's home country. War was only justified as a defence against aggression or in order to right some great wrong, and should be embarked upon only as a last resort when all else failed.

developments in the New World--in sixteenth-century Spain these ideas were based on the thought of Aquinas. Those who possessed natural reason could understand an individual's natural rights, and also appreciate natural law, which, as Aquinas argued, was an aspect of objective and universal order and binding on all nations.³⁸ These manifested themselves in man by virtue of *naturalis inclinatio*, yet whether this applied to the New World peoples was in doubt.

The obligation to evangelise the New World inhabitants was an unquestioned tenet in Spain, but there were deep differences of opinion over the method of implementing this, some of which called into question the morality of the conquest. In 1537 Pope Paul III contributed to the debate; in the Bull *Pastorale Officium* enslavement of the New World inhabitants was forbidden, in *Veritas Ipse* it was affirmed that Christ had sent apostles to all nations and that the Indians were capable of receiving the faith, and in *Sublimus Deus* that the faith should be spread by teaching and example, not by coercion and violence.

The Salamanca school argued that if the inhabitants of the New World possessed natural reason, their rulers were rightfully constituted in a legal sense and the

³⁸ *Summa Theologiae*, 1a 2ae: 91.2, 94.4-6, 95.5. Thomas Gilby, trans., (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966).

Spanish conquest could not be justified. If, as many argued, there were people in these territories as a result of the dispersion of humanity after Babel, then they bore the "image of God", and as such possessed natural reason.

Natural law bound all nations to certain moral and ethical standards. If the people of the New World were found in violation of this law, then the Conquest could be justified. Vitoria implied that on either account, the Conquest was invalid. However, he also noted that cannibalism and human sacrifice were sins against nature, and that such practices could warrant intervention.³⁹ Bartolomé de las Casas drew on these ideas in his defence of the Indians,⁴⁰ and combined them with his own practical experience in the New World to counter those who provided theological and juridical underpinning for the Conquest. The influence of such ideas is seen in Charles V's suspension in 1550 of all further conquests until a debate had been

³⁹ Francisco de Vitoria, Relectio de Indis, in Relecciones Teológicas del Maestro Fray Francisco Vitoria, ed. Luis G. Alonso Getino, (Madrid: Imprenta la Rrafa, 1934), vol.2, pp.315-322, 374-5, 368-9.

⁴⁰ Venancio D. Carro, "The Spanish Theological-juridical Renaissance and the Ideology of Bartolomé de las Casas", in Bartolomé de las Casas in History: Toward an understanding of the man and his work, ed. Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen, (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), pp.237-277.

held in Valladolid between Las Casas and Juan de Sepúlveda about the justice of Spain's position.⁴¹

e. The Counter-Reformation

In the years following 1550, however, the conservative currents of thought which had been gathering force in Spain finally took over. The reaction to developments in Spain, such as the *alumbrados*,⁴² and fears of the influence of the Protestant Reformation led to changes that meant the eclipse of Erasmianism by the end of Charles V's reign in 1556. The political crisis faced by Philip II in 1558-9 made these decisive years in Spain's intellectual history: Spaniards were forbidden to study at European universities not controlled by the king, there were *autos de fe* in Valladolid and Seville, Archbishop Carranza of Toledo (who had represented the king in the early session of the

⁴¹ Sepúlveda argued that the crimes against nature justified the conquest. The New World inhabitants should obey others as a result of their natural condition; the practice of idolatry should be punished; men should be saved from the consequences of idolatrous practices; war against infidels opened the way for missionaries to take the faith to others. Angel Losada, "The controversy between Sepúlveda and Las Casas in the junta of Valladolid", in Friede and Keen, op.cit., pp.279-307.

⁴² The "illuminated" or "enlightened" - a group with mystical tendencies who had been tried in the preceding decades. It was a lay movement whose use of the vernacular raised the issue of the validity of vernacular languages as vehicles of religious and theological expression. Scholastics had formulated their doctrine in stereotyped Latin formulas, and that position prevailed.

Council of Trent) was imprisoned for having written a commentary on the catechism in Spanish. The Index of Prohibited Books was published, which prohibited almost everything original written in Spanish.⁴³ The concerns of Ximénez and Nebrija were forgotten, now only the scholastic method was considered orthodox as Aristotelian thinking was given a new lease of life. The final session of Trent in 1562-3 would signal the beginning of the Counter Reformation.

3. The nature of Andean reality

a. The geographical setting

When Francisco Pizarro landed near Tumbes on the north coast of Peru in 1526, he encountered a formidable mountain range. He was better equipped to tackle it on his second expedition in 1532.

The Andes mountains run north to south and form the backbone of the western side of South America. They rise to heights of 7,000 metres and, at their broadest point, are 500 kilometres wide east to west. The central section, in which present-day Peru lies, is

⁴³ Ciriaco Morón Arroyo, "The Reformation and its impact on Spanish thought", in Social Groups and Religious Ideas in the Sixteenth Century, ed. Miriam U. Chrisman and Otto Gründler, (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1978), p.133.

flanked on the west by the narrow, mainly desert, coastal plain. At the time of Pizarro's arrival its well-irrigated river valleys with intensive agriculture supported large populations. To the east the mountains give way quickly to a sub-tropical treed region (*montaña*) and then to the rain forests of the Amazon basin. Altitude and latitude make it an area of diverse climatic and ecological zones, which in turn were important determinants of population settlement. Apart from the coastal valleys,⁴⁴ the highland valley zone or *qeshwa*, between 2,500 metres and 3,400 metres was particularly important. The bleak high plateau or *puna*, above 3500 metres, was significant for its pastoral activity of the autochthonous cameloids. The main river valleys in the mountains, running north and south, before either tumbling towards the Pacific or Amazon basin, were heavily populated at the time of the Conquest. The eastern *montaña* was important for its varied, exotic produce, and at an earlier stage may have contributed directly to the basic social and religious fabric of Andean civilisation.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Coca was cultivated in the higher reaches of these valleys, above an altitude of 1000 metres. Patricia J. Netherly, "Late Andean organizational structure", in Peruvian Prehistory: An overview of Pre-Inca and Inca society, ed. Richard W. Keatinge, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), p.262.

⁴⁵ J. Scott Raymond, "A view from the tropical forest", in Keatinge, *op.cit.*, p.299.

Estimates of Peru's population at the time of the Conquest vary from six million⁴⁶ to nine million.⁴⁷ Their geographical setting and its ecological features were significant for the people's understanding of spatial orientation: coast over against highland, Amazon-Pacific watershed contrast, the Amazon-Pacific watershed vis-a-vis the Titicaca watershed, the *puna-gheswa* contrast,⁴⁸ and on the *puna* the division into "mountain half" and "water half". "Dual division was an almost universal feature of Andean social organisation".⁴⁹

b. Pre-Inca influences

The chroniclers from whom much of contemporary understanding of the Spanish Conquest has been derived, focussed on Inca rule with only limited references to preceding cultures.

⁴⁶ Ann Margaret Wightman, "From Caste to Class in the Andean Sierra: The Seventeenth-Century Forasteros of Cuzco", Ph.D Thesis, (New Haven: Yale University, 1983), p.62.

⁴⁷ Noble David Cook, Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620, (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), p.114.

⁴⁸ "The distinction between altiplano and valley dwellers is fundamental in Andean ethno-classification". John V. Murra, "Andean Societies before 1532", CHLA, p.77.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.73.

The earliest culture to unite wide areas of Peru was the religious cult centred in Chavín de Huántur, on the eastern slopes of the Andes in northern Peru, which flourished between 1000 and 300 B.C.⁵⁰ Architecture there suggests some form of oracular religion, possibly under the control of a priestly class. Prominent in Chavín art and architecture were human and animal motifs, especially those taken from hawks, serpents and large cats, with the cayman as the most important animal representation.⁵¹ A fanged "Staff God" represented on the Raimondi Stone served a unifying religious purpose, with related "Staff Goddesses" found over a wide area of Peru in places where the Chavín cult was integrated into more localised cults.⁵² A possible ecological destabilisation as a result of unusual climatic phenomena may have been a factor in its diffusion as a kind of crisis cult.⁵³ Although that aspect would have been relatively short-lived, it probably helped to consolidate a pan-Peruvian religious foundation, based on earlier, regional precursors.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.72.

⁵¹ The variety of animal motifs suggests earlier diffusion from the eastern jungle areas.

⁵² Richard L. Burger, "Unity and heterogeneity within the Chavín horizon", in Keatinge, op.cit., pp.120-1.

⁵³ Ibid., p.141.

⁵⁴ Keatinge, op.cit., p.307.

Around 300 B.C. that cultural unity deriving from Chavín broke up into smaller cultures with their own emphases, such as those of Paracas and Nazca on the southern coast. Figures, lines and geometric shapes depicting animals, insects and natural phenomena have been left in the desert by the Nazca culture, and these have led to speculation on their role as sacred ritual pathways, perhaps related to an astral cult.

Further north the Moche state developed over the period 100 to 800 A.D. and stretched for 250 miles along the coast. Along with military expansion, their development was agriculture-based, depending on extensive irrigation systems. Their capital's main religious complex was dominated by two mud-brick pyramids--the Temple of the Sun and the Temple of the Moon. Although the Moche state ended abruptly around 800 A.D., there is evidence to suggest that the later Lambayeque and Chimú cultures on the north coast derived from it.

In the southern highlands the population was fragmented into small localised polities until about 800 A.D., with only a few developing urban centres--such as Pucará, north of Lake Titicaca, in the first century B.C. Thereafter two dominant powers emerged, centred on the cities of Tiahuanuco and Huari, which

succeeded in integrating a diverse population into their centralised systems. Tiahuanaco, near the shores of Lake Titicaca in present-day Bolivia, dates from the ninth century B.C., but reached its greatest period of influence during the period 500 to 1000 A.D. Tiahuanaco appears to have been a theocratic, hierarchical power whose influence was based on the spread of its religious ideas and the development of trade and commerce. A study of the iconography of the archeological remains points to a sun god, an earth goddess, a water goddess, and probably a god associated with thunder and lightning as significant in the pantheon. The similarity between carving on the so-called "Gateway of the Sun" and the Chavín "Staff God", has suggested the pan-Andean importance of certain religious motifs and ideas.

The Huari empire developed slightly later than 600 AD, based on its capital in the Ayacucho valley in the south-central mountains, some 700 kilometres northwest of Tiahuanaco. In the next two hundred years it expanded its influence some 700 kilometres to the north and 300 kilometres to the south. The Huanca and Chanca peoples were the basic ethnic elements in a culture which grew by military expansion, and was sustained by an ability to control and exploit the resources of distinct ecological zones of the region.

In what has been called "vertical archipelago economics",⁵⁵ an ethnic group with exclusive resources in its own area, linked the development of these resources with those of more distant resource areas where a number of their members lived and worked. Access to the resources in the different ecological zones was shared, and exploitation of distant areas was achieved by colonists from different groups working in a multi-ethnic settlement. Through a system of exchange and reciprocity, a relatively harmonious relationship was maintained between complementary ethnic groups. The Huari administrators appear to have built on such a basis to develop a system of revenue collection for the state, through the collection of goods rather than labour.⁵⁶

Huari was administratively very different from its southern neighbour, and militaristic rather than theocratic. Nevertheless in the religious sphere there

⁵⁵ Vertical control as a basic Andean economic model was first proposed by John V. Murra in his 1955 doctoral thesis, published as The Economic Organization of the Inca State, (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980). A community's territorial holdings resembled a chain of "islands" at different elevations on the mountain slopes, or "vertical archipelago".

⁵⁶ William H. Isbell, "City and state in Middle Horizon Huari", in Keatinge, *op.cit.*, pp.177-182. For another view of the Huari presence see Ruth Shady Solis, "Cambios significativos ocurridos en el mundo andino durante el Horizonte Medio", in The Nature of Wari: A Reappraisal of the Middle Horizon Period in Peru, ed. R. M. Czwarno, F. M. Meddens, and A. Morgan, (Oxford: BAR International Series 525, 1989), pp.1-22.

appears to have been a combination of the regional cults with those of pan-Andean significance. The cult centre of Huariwillka in the Mantaro valley to the north of Huari itself, the original home of the Huanca people, enjoyed great prestige.⁵⁷ There the stela or stone *huanca* at the heart of the cult was probably the symbol of the conquering "god", concerned not only with conquest but also with the possession, fertility and defence of the agricultural lands.⁵⁸ Tiahuanuco motifs in Huari pottery suggest an influence from that cultic centre. The large ceremonial complex of Pachacamac at the mouth of the Lurín River on the coast had also become linked with the empire.

The two empires at one point controlled, between them, an area stretching over 2000 kilometres north-south, and extending to the coast. Yet Huari power collapsed suddenly in the ninth century A.D., and the area around the capital was abandoned. The constituent peoples, the Huanca and Chanca, developed independently, with the latter challenging the Incas some centuries later for hegemony in the region. Tiahuanuco

⁵⁷ *Willca* was a reciprocal kinship term meaning "great-grandfather" or "great-grandson", and by extension "ancestor" or "descendant". It was also a synonym for *ayllu*. It was interchangeable with *huaca*, and in this case would appear to link together the founding ancestor or deity--Huari--the stone manifestation, and the resultant descendants, sons, or *ayllu*.

⁵⁸ Pierre Duviols, "Un symbolisme de l'occupation, de l'aménagement et de l'exploitation de l'espace", L'Homme, 19 (1979), pp.18-22.

declined shortly after Huari. Thereafter southern Peru was controlled by smaller autonomous tribal groups, one or the other achieving more localised control,⁵⁹ until the emergence of the Incas as an imperial power possibly around 1430.

The Pachacamac oracle was widely consulted before the Huari expansion, and after the Huari collapse it grew in influence. By 1000 A.D. it had developed its own sphere of influence across a variety of ethnic groups and languages along the coast and into the mountains. There the smaller shrines were thought of as wives or children of *Pachacamac*, each with its own name and origin myth. They were linked to the central shrine in a reciprocal relationship characterised by tribute and pilgrimage. It was a system of "religious archipelagos" akin to the regional systems of political organisation. The coastal complex expanded still further in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and remained important to the time of the Spanish invasion.

Meanwhile, on the northern coast, the Chimú culture flourished between 1100 and 1400 AD, extending over a

⁵⁹ E.g. the Aymara-speaking Lupuqa kingdom with its capital Chucuito on the shores of Lake Titicaca, which was incorporated into the Inca empire in the fifteenth century. Norman Meiklejohn, La Iglesia y los Lupuqas durante la Colonia, (Cuzco: Instituto de Estudios Aymaras, 1988), p.24.

distance of 1000 kilometres. The Chimor kingdom was a highly organised state, depending on military exploits, highly-developed irrigation systems, agriculture, craftsmen and the sea for its wealth. Its religion included ancestor veneration--the citadel of each ruler probably becoming a royal tomb after his death. The capital Chan Chan fell to the Incas around 1470, and the last king together with his court and craftsmen, was taken to the Inca capital, Cuzco, bringing to it new levels of art, craftsmanship and ritual.

c. Andean religious practice

Alongside the archeological evidence, there are two written sources which provide information on the pre-Hispanic and probably pre-Inca practices. The first is the remarkable early seventeenth century document Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochiri,⁶⁰ collected and recorded by the priest Francisco de Avila in the community of San Damián de Checa, in the Huarochiri region of the central Andes. The second is the corpus of material derived from the seventeenth-century idolatry trials, mainly from the period 1620-70, and

⁶⁰ José María Arguedas, trans., Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, (Lima: IEP, 1966); Gerald Taylor, ed., Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochiri del Siglo XVII, (Lima: IEP, 1987). Taylor dates the document to around 1608. For discussion of authorship and its implications see ch.5, pp.377-81.

relating to the Cajatambo province in the north-central mountains.

The Huarochiri document comprises the largest extant body of pre-Hispanic Quechua oral tradition, and reflects a regional, non-Inca context--though it also shows Inca influence and has undergone a Christian recension. Despite this and the internal inconsistencies inevitable in a changing and evolving corpus embodying the past and present, it is possible to delineate the main features of social practice and belief.

The narratives centre on the two pre-eminent *numina* or *huacas* of the Yauyos people of the area: Pariacaca, associated with a snow-capped peak in the area, who had five sons, brothers, or manifestations,⁶¹ and his sister or sister-in-law Chaupiñamca,⁶² a large rocky outcrop with five "shoulders", who also had five sisters or manifestations.⁶³ These beings associated

⁶¹ Taylor, op.cit., pp.145-159, 257-265.

⁶² Ibid., pp.193-203.

⁶³ Symbolic oppositions are a recurring feature in Andean thought--upper-lower, left-right, centre-periphery--and indicate to the importance of spatial concepts in Andean categories. The recurrent figure five may represent the "four cardinal points plus the centre.... It is the numerical epitome of the unresolved tension between a diametric and concentric dualism, the first consisting of a double dichotomy of a quadratic system, the second the opposition between centre and periphery". Michael J. Sallnow, Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco, (Washington:

with peaks, crags or significant natural features,⁶⁴ reproduced themselves throughout the area utilising kinship terminology to embody their relationship with the more localised *huacas*. There was an affiliation between Pariacaca and the ancestors and ethnic deities of the local *ayllus*, in which "the founders of lineages were assimilated as sons of the regional protector god".⁶⁵ Each ethnic group may have identified the highest peak of the region with their own local deity, so that the communities from which these traditions came understood themselves to be under the protection of the same father⁶⁶ or mythical ancestor, Pariacaca. Envisaged in this way, the sacred promoted social cohesion, and assured the diverse communities of protection, deliverance, fertility, and oracular pronouncements in time of need.

The mythic portrayal of battles, struggles, journeys, betrayals and intrigues through which they were established as the predominant *huacas* in the Huarochiri region "before the Inca existed",⁶⁷ points to a time of "shifting political and military fortunes of the ethnic groups, lineages and communities repre-

Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), p.31.

⁶⁴ The *-caca* of Pariacaca means "rock" or "crag".

⁶⁵ Taylor, *op.cit.*, p.151.

⁶⁶ *huc yayayuc*.

⁶⁷ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.269.

sented in the victory or defeat of their huacas and the devotion, neglect, or apostasy of mortals with respect to their divine tutelaries".⁶⁸ This fits well into the pre-Inca period of regional autonomy, when no one group had as yet established wider Andean hegemony.

In the materials from the idolatry trials over a century after the conquest, it is also possible to identify a similar regional system to that of Huarochiri. In the case of the Cajatambo province there appear to have been four successive historical layers: the "original" inhabitants, the Huari; the arrival of indigenous "incomers" or "conquerors"--the Llacuaz--due to regional population movements; the Inca expansion; and, finally, the Spanish conquest.

The stone *huancas* of the deities Libiac and Huari were invested with a tutelary function and understood to be the representations of eponymous ancestors, conquerors or culture heroes whose mummies were worshipped at the same time.⁶⁹ The *huanca* established territory and its limits, defended and cared for it, and was responsible for fertility and fecundity. The whole system was

⁶⁸ Sallnow, op.cit., p.29.

⁶⁹ As in Huarochiri they showed a dual nature: the stone metamorphosis of ancient heroes, and visible cult objects accessible to the community.

a system of segmenting oppositions that ramify downwards from the most cosmic or pan-Andean *numina* through regional gods to origin shrines representing self-defined collectivities at descending levels of inclusiveness. Ancestral shrines with mummies manifest the lower, more local branches of the oppositional tree, corresponding to local kindreds. Mummies mediate between people and earth; they are the progeny of earth and reside in the openings of the earth, but they are also progenitors of living people and apical members of local society. Through their mediation sacrifices go to the earth, wealth comes out of the earth.⁷⁰

Both Huarochiri and Cajatambo suggest that Andean religious systems had much in common.⁷¹ Religious practices permeated all aspects of public and private life, and their fundamental aspect was the ancestor cult. An elaborate ritual system of sacrifices and offerings existed, and reflected belief in the needs of the living dead, and in the requirements of the cosmic powers on which the cycles of nature and consequent fertility and fecundity depended.

The ultimates of Andean existence were manifest in multiple ways, and worship was directed to a wide variety of beings. These were designated by the

⁷⁰ Frank Salomon, "Ancestor Cults and Resistance to the State", in Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries, ed. Stern, Steve, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp.158-9.

⁷¹ For instance, in Huarochiri *Cuniraya Huiracocha* was credited with bringing into being the fields and for setting out the terraces for agriculture (Taylor, op.cit., p.53). In Cajatambo the god Huari had the same function, and the same Quechua terminology is used of both.

generic name *huaca*, a term for the sacred which could apply to the being, its representation or manifestation, and to the shrine itself. Each ethnic group, province, community and family claimed to descend from a given *huaca*,⁷² or *huillca* who represented a cosmic power and whom they worshipped especially in its *huanca* representation. The accompanying ritual was a means of feeding the deity, in the belief that this would be reciprocated in a way which would maintain the wellbeing of the community and its environment. The role of the deities was to have given, and to continue to give, the breath of life and strength to man and nature.

The succession of cultures also meant that the area was subject to the diffusion and imposition of religious systems upon whatever existed at the more localised level. The ethnic struggles and the formation of Andean states widened the area of control of certain *huacas* and led to the disappearance of others. As the pattern of political power shifted, so the new could be incorporated and the old demoted within the pantheon, yet all in terms of the existing sacred geography, its symbols and divisions.⁷³

⁷² E.g. a particular man-god, conquering ancestor, founder or civiliser.

⁷³ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Estructuras Andinas del Poder: Ideología religiosa y política, (Lima: IEP, 1988), pp.180-2.

d. The Incas: from tribe to imperial power

In the period following the collapse of the Tiahuanaco empire, there would appear to have been a fragmented population of small ethnic groups in the Cuzco area, which the Incas would later make their centre of operations. Around 1200 A.D. the Cuzco valley was divided amongst competing chiefdoms, none of which achieved supremacy. The earliest legends speak of the importance of irrigation for control and development of the valley; both were achieved by the Incas.⁷⁴ In the religious sphere both Pachacamac on the coast and the Tiahuanaco shrine, the coastal and mountain poles of the Andean cosmos, exerted great influence.

By the fifteenth century the Incas had emerged as a dominant presence in the Cuzco valley. Their defeat of the powerful Chanca confederacy was the signal for greater expansion. It has been dated to 1438. The key to their development lay in the extension of local political and economic institutions to embrace an empire. It was

an enormously complex domain where principles of rule altered with changing imperial objectives and with the regional differences the Inca encountered as their territory

⁷⁴ Luis Millones, Historia y poder en los Andes centrales (desde los orígenes al siglo XVII), (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987), p.102.

expanded. Although the Cuzco rulers certainly had some general principles that guided their governance, the state was formed out of diverse peoples and remained a patchwork of different polities and ethnicities at the time of the European invasion.⁷⁵

In expanding to control the largest territory of any New World state, the Inca balanced the use of military force with diplomacy. Potentially rebellious populations were interchanged with colonies of *mitimaes*, yet ruled indirectly through their own pre-Inca chiefs.⁷⁶ The *mitmaq* designation marked a person out as someone who was not residing in his place of ethnic origin, he was "an incomer to a place".⁷⁷ These were either people who were involved in the regular administrative organisation of the provinces, or were colonists sent from one mountain elevation to work at a different elevation.

In the relationships between the Incas and the increasing number of their subjects, the traditional obligations of Andean reciprocity patterns underwent a transformation at state level. In order to build on

⁷⁵ Craig Morris, "Progress and prospect in the archeology of the Inca", in Keatinge, op.cit., p.237.

⁷⁶ Murra, "Andean Societies...", p.67.

⁷⁷ Diego Gonçalez Holguien, [1608], Vocabulario de la Lengua General de Todo el Peru Llamada Oquichua o del Inca, fascimile edition, intro. Raúl Porras B., (Lima: UNMSM, 1952), p.244.

the *minca* tradition,⁷⁸ it was necessary to develop the practice to levels which eventually became impossible to sustain:

Inca power was based on a constant renewal of reciprocity rites, for which the State had to maintain in its storehouses a number of expensive items in keeping with the lords and military leaders with whom they had reciprocal relations. As Tahuantinsuyu grew, so too did the number of lords who had to be treated in this way. This obligation must have produced a constant pressure on the government, an ever-increasing burden caused by the demand for products to enable it to comply.⁷⁹

As has been seen, verticality was an underlying principle of Andean social, political and economic organisation, for the diverse ecological levels in the Andes were of fundamental importance to the region's economy. The Incas controlled the ethnic and ecological diversity of the Andes by colonised "islands" far away from Cuzco. This pattern of Andean settlement was incorporated into the Inca empire and expanded to include administrative centres. With this there arose a class of state officials and servants who were weaned from their *ayllu* context where kinship obligations operated. These tax-exempt *yanas* and *mitimaes* emerged as a groups who owed allegiance only to the state.

⁷⁸ "To ask someone to help promising something in return". Holguien, op.cit., p.240.

⁷⁹ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Historia del Tahuantinsuyu, (Lima: IEP, ³1988), p.70.

While verticality explains the incorporation of many ethnic groups into the empire, it should not be thought that political control and resource extraction were the only principles unifying Andean communities. The *ayllu* was perhaps more fundamental:

If there is a person who is very distinguished in something, his children take on his name, and not only his children, but all his descendants. All their lineages, which they call *ayllu* and *panaca*,⁸⁰ are formed in this way....This happens in all the provinces of Peru, different lineages which they call *ayllus*, take the name of their ancestor.⁸¹

The *ayllu*, tracing its descent to a common ancestor and formed by a number of lineages, was the basic political as well as productive unit of Andean society. It was the basic landholding group, and was regulated internally by a kin-based ethic of reciprocal obligations. Their holdings included land dedicated to the *huaca* and was farmed to provide food to be offered to the deity. Within the *ayllu* men were organised patrilineally and women matrilineally,⁸² and

⁸⁰ The *panaca* was a social group, probably matrilineal, made up of the descendants of a reigning Inca, and was responsible for taking care of his mummified body after his death, and for keeping alive his memory through rituals, songs, and quipus and paintings. They also played an important role in succession struggles. Rostworowski, op.cit., pp.35-41.

⁸¹ Domingo de Santo Tomás, [1560], Grammatica o Arte de la Lengua General de los Indios de los Reynos del Peru, facsimile edition, ed. Raúl Porras B., (Lima: UNMSM, 1951), pp.128-9.

⁸² R. Tom Zuidema, "Kinship and Ancestor Cult in Three Peruvian Communities - Hernández Principe's Account of 1622", Bulletin de l'Institut Français

while the ayllu as a whole was endogamous, marriage was forbidden within certain degrees of consanguinity. At the time of the Incas ayllus were supervised by hereditary chiefs or *curacas* who had certain rights to communal labour services and obligations to promote community wellbeing. The ayllu was also a metaphor for corporateness and identity.

The Inca empire was conceptualised spatially as comprising four *suyus* or regions⁸³ in relation to the imperial capital Cuzco:

As is known, the kingdom had four kings, and four parts: *Chinchaysuyu* on the right hand side at the setting sun; in the mountains going towards the northern sea *Andesuyo*; from where the sun rises on the left hand side toward Chile *Collasuyo*; toward the southern sea *Condesuyo*. These four parts begin from the two Inca divisions, "Upper Cuzco" towards the setting sun *Chinchaysuyo*, "Lower Cuzco" towards the rising sun *Collasuyo* on the left hand side. So the great city of Cuzco, head and court of the kingdom, is right in the middle.⁸⁴

Garcilaso gives further information on the capital:

Our imperial city was inhabited in the following way: It was divided into two halves, called *Hanan Cozco*, which as you know means

d'Etudes Andines 2, no.1 (1973), p.18.

⁸³ The name *Tahuantinsuyu* means "four parts together".

⁸⁴ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, [1609], Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, facsimile edition, (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1936), p.913. The description is linked to his *mapamundi* (pp.914,5), in speaking of "left" and "right" Poma takes as his reference point his centre, i.e. city of Cuzco, from our perspective it is necessary to reverse this to understand his orientation--his right is our left.

"upper Cuzco", and *Hurin Cozco*, which is "lower Cuzco". Those attracted by the King came to live in *Hanan Cozco*, that is why it is called "upper", and those attracted by the Queen in *Hurin Cozco*, and that is why it is called "lower". The city was not divided in this way so that one half should be ahead of the other in terms of importance and exemptions, but that all should be equal like brothers, children of the same father and mother. The Inca ordered...that there should be only one difference, one way of recognising superiority: those of Upper Cuzco were to be respected and regarded as firstborn, as older brothers, and those of Lower Cuzco were to be like second sons. In short, they were to be like the right arm and left arm of whatever position or office, as those of the upper part were attracted by the man, and those of the lower part by the woman.⁸⁵

Cuzco itself was therefore organised according to a diametric dualism, with the *hanan* or upper half associated with the Inca king, the conqueror, the imperial elite and the masculine, and the *hurin* or lower half associated with the original, conquered, pre-Inca inhabitants of the valley, the priesthood and the feminine. These, in turn, were sub-divided into left (also feminine) and right (masculine) sectors--a dualism of complementary oppositions. The very structure of the city became a metaphor legitimating political power.

This system underwent another sub-division into tripartite sections, so each quarter of the city had

⁸⁵ Comentarios Reales de los Incas, vol.1, ed. Angel Rosenblat, (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1945), p.43.

three *ayllus* and various royal *panacas*. In Cuzco as in other parts of the empire, the categories *Collana*, *Payan* and *Cayao* designated three groups in a hierarchy. They were part of an organised kinship system, and also implied social status. *Collana* signified the conquering Incas, the highest ranking group; *Payan* was a mixed group of Incas and non-Incas thought of as serving the chiefs; and *Cayao* consisted of non-Inca conquered peoples.⁸⁶

In conjunction with these divisions, the city formed the hub of a set of forty-one imaginary lines or *ceques* radiating out from the city's central point, the Temple of the Sun, to the horizon or periphery. Located on or near each *ceque* was a series of *huacas*,⁸⁷ some ancient, others associated with previous Inca rulers, the maintenance and worship of these sites was assigned to various *ayllus* in keeping with their place in the hierarchical ordering of the city. These lines formally structured space with reference to Cuzco, and pointed to fundamental concepts of symmetry, balance and order. They also enabled a system of observation of the rise and set of

⁸⁶ R. Tom Zuidema, The Ceque System of Cuzco, (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1964), pp.40-42; "Mito e historia en el antiguo Perú", Allpanchis, 10 (1977), pp.18,24.

⁸⁷ The Jesuit priest Bernabé de Cobo gives details of the 328 *huacas* listed by Cristobal de Molina in the 1570s. Historia del Nuevo Mundo, [1653], in Obras del P. Bernabé de Cobo, ed. Francisco Mateos, Vol.2, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1956), pp.169-186.

the heavenly bodies from which the state calendar was constructed.

While the expansion of the Inca empire was an all-embracing cultural phenomenon, and not only the result of military, social or political forces, different functions can be distinguished. The conquest, whether by military force or by negotiation and peaceful acceptance of Inca suzerainty was evidence at least of the superiority of their gods over those of their subjects. The business of the state was therefore conducted largely "through the idiom of religion".⁸⁸

The Inca mythology which we have refracted through the chroniclers' writings, reflects the political emergence of the Incas. Although the earliest legends refer to the physical domination and exploitation of the Cuzco valley through innovations in irrigation,⁸⁹ the emergence of imperial power required much more elaborate ideological justification.

The origin myths may be thought of as a "creation" account followed by two myth cycles, one accounting for local phenomena and the other related to the wider

⁸⁸ Sallnow, op.cit., p.31.

⁸⁹ Access to water and, consequently, irrigation, was as basic to Andean existence as possession of land. Both the gods Huari and Pariacaca are portrayed as building irrigation channels. Throughout the region *puquios* or springs were understood to be *huacas*.

context of the empire. The Tiahuanaco-based "creator" god *Viracocha* destroyed the first race of human beings in a flood because of their disobedience. He then brought into being the nations of the world, and gave them their language, dress, and songs, together with the seeds they were to sow. They then passed under the earth and emerged at the places he directed. These points of origin or *pacarinas* became the cult centres for those nations.⁹⁰

The sun, moon and stars rose to their celestial position from an island on Lake Titicaca. As it ascended the sun spoke to the Incas and their chief Manco Capac: "You and your descendants are to be lords and are to subjugate many nations. Take me as your father, join yourselves to me as children, and worship me as your father".⁹¹ Manco Capac and his brothers and sisters, by command of their creator, descended into the ground and emerged in the cave of Pacaritambo, at the point where the sun rose the first morning after the creator had divided night from day.

Following the creation sequence the myths split into two cycles, one recounting the travels of the creator

⁹⁰ Cristóbal de Molina, Relacion de las Fabulas y Ritos de los Incas, in Fabulas y Mitos de los Incas, ed. Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1988), p.51.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.52.

god Viracocha and his "sons" or manifestations. In their travels they span out across the Andean region ordering its space, and giving laws, knowledge, and skills to the people. Their journey took them towards Cuzco, and embraced the important shrines on the way. However, as they travelled they were not always accepted. They even suffered at the hands of recalcitrant groups, before bringing down judgment on them. Viracocha finally went on to the coast disappearing into the sea from Pachacamac. In moving from one limit of the cosmos (Tiahuanuco) to the other (Pachacamac) by way of the centre (Cuzco), this cycle represents the overarching aspects of Andean culture. It would appear to be based on a number of myths drawn from the subject peoples, which the chroniclers with their European mindset attempted to reduce to one person or function, that of *Viracocha* as the creator and maker of all things.⁹²

Manco Capac and his brothers and sisters⁹³ move in a smaller compass, the region around Cuzco, where they inaugurate the shrines and holy sites and found the Inca dynasty. Their threefold function in terms of politics, religion and agriculture not only represents

⁹² Henrique Urbano, Wiragocha y Ayar: Heroes y Funciones en las Sociedades Andinas, (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales 'Bartolomé de Las Casas', 1981), p.xxv.

⁹³ Manco Capac is also referred to as Ayar Manco, and his brothers Ayar Auca, Ayar Cache, and Ayar Ucho.

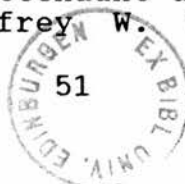
the "logical concerns of the groups in the Cuzco valley",⁹⁴ but also served to affirm political and religious rites. In establishing a space and time linked to the origins of the Inca lords of Cuzco, they impressed on the hearers the legitimacy of Inca rule.

The tension and opposition between the two cycles, the global and the regional, is seen in the accounts of the defeat of the Chanca. Viracocha Inca had fled at the Chanca attack on Cuzco, but his son Inca Yupanqui defeated them following a vision of *Inti*, the sun.⁹⁵ Following the victory he usurped his father's chieftainship and rebuilt the Qoricancha, the temple of the sun in Cuzco. In the new stage of Inca expansion marked by Yupanqui's accession, the Sun takes on the dominant role in the pantheon.⁹⁶ This shift in

⁹⁴ The representation of three functions is the "Andean model, *por excelencia*, and the most complete expression of pre-Columbian man's vision of the world". Urbano, op.cit., p.liii. Urbano's use of Dumézil's tripartite model predisposes him to find such a division, however on tripartite representations see also Zuidema, "The Inca Kinship System: A New Theoretical View", in Andean Kinship and Marriage, ed. Ralph Bolton and Enrique Meyer, (Washington: American Anthropological Association, 1977), pp.240-281.

⁹⁵ "Come to me, my son, do not be afraid, I am your father the Sun, and I know that you will dominate many nations. Always remember to worship me, and to offer me your sacrifices". Molina, op. cit., p.60.

⁹⁶ Demarest regards Inti and Wiracocha as aspects of the same deity, but since the sun was clearly the object of Yupanqui's later devotion, these should be seen as separate. Nevertheless he is right to point out that "at least in part, emphasis on Inti must have been an innovation attendant upon the development of Inca kingship". Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A.



relationships embodies changes in other spheres: Yupanqui's supremacy over his father, that of Cuzco's upper moiety⁹⁷ over the lower one,⁹⁸ and of the Incas over the Chanca.⁹⁹ Inca Yupanqui received the title of Pachacuti, "transformer of the world", for his reign ushered in the latter stage of "the fifth sun", that of the *Inca runa*.¹⁰⁰

Thereafter the expansion of the Incas and the superiority of their gods over those of other peoples, meant that once they were assimilated into the empire, they left their principal deity (or its replica) in the Inca capital. The corresponding mark of Inca presence in the the newly conquered area was found in the temple of the Sun. In the capital of the empire and the regional administrative centres there were a priesthood, fields and herds dedicated to the cult,

Demarest, Religion and Empire: The dynamics of Aztec and Inca expansionism, (Cambridge: CUP, 1984). p.109.

⁹⁷ Associated with chiefs and the Inca tribe proper.

⁹⁸ Associated with priests and the original inhabitants of the Cuzco valley, who were supposed to have incited the Chanca.

⁹⁹ Zuidema, op.cit., pp.156-7, 243-6.

¹⁰⁰ Guaman Poma de Ayala, op.cit., p.911. Four ages were said to have preceded the present one: the ages of Viracocha's men, the holy men, the savages and the warriors. Each transition was marked by a *pachacuti*.

temple orders and "chosen women". The whole federation existed on a system of reciprocity overseen by Cuzco.

Despite the emphasis of the chroniclers on the state cult, the role of religion in the legitimisation of Inca rule meant that other cults were patronised. For example, the cult of Illapa, pre-dating the Incas, was prominent in the southern Andes and may have been the same as Libiac who was worshipped in the north. He represented thunderbolts, lightning, rain, hail, snow and frost, and was thought of as a triad of father, brother and son.¹⁰¹

In addition, the main provincial shrines were patronised by the conquerors. The coastal shrine of Pachacamac was embraced by them, and apart from a temple to the Sun built within the complex, it was allowed to function as before. From the Tiahuanuco tradition a small shrine on an island in Lake Titicaca was transformed into an important temple of the sun.¹⁰² A nearby island was dedicated to the moon. A pre-Inca

¹⁰¹ Ludovic Bertonio calls the deity *Illapu*, and retains *illapa* for "firearm". The indigenous people linked the sound and sight of gunfire with thunder and lightning. In one of the very early identifications of the indigenous pantheon with Christian saints, *Illapa* became *Santiago*. Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara, [1612], ed. Xavier Albó, and Felix Layme, (Cochabamba: CERES, 1984), pt.II, p.173.

¹⁰² Sabine G. MacCormack, "From the Sun of the Incas to the Virgin of Copacabana", Representations 8 (Fall 1984), pp.30-60.

shrine to the god of the lake at Copacabana, the embarkation point for the islands, was established as an Inca shrine. The Tiahuanuco-Pachacamac axis remained. Thus, however successful the imposition of the state cult was, it did not exclude other deities from the pantheon. This would have important implications for the indigenous understanding of the Christian God.

The increasing role of the Sun in the Inca pantheon coincided with the move to a solar calendar for state administration. Time was organised around solstices and equinoxes, coordinated with the movements of the moon, planets and stars. The earlier agricultural calendar, which in the Andes varies with altitude and latitude, was absorbed within the new calendar. State festivals combined both aspects and played an important role in cementing the empire together.

Another measure aimed at unifying the empire was the attempt to implant the same language throughout its bounds. The intention was to facilitate administration in the face of the variety of languages and their local dialects. The mention by the Spanish of the *lengua general del Inca*, implies that the Andean languages did not have their own names, but were rather referred to as in ways equivalent to *runa simi*.

If the chroniclers are to be followed, the move to Quechua as the *lengua general* had been taken at an early stage in Inca expansion. The Inca Huayna Capac saw the need to displace Aymara in order to take advantage of the vast area where Quechua was spoken. "Towards 1530...it was used from central Chile and north-east Argentina to Ecuador and perhaps southern Colombia and as far as the banks of the Amazon".¹⁰³ This does not exclude the simultaneous use of other languages. On the Collao plateau Puquina was still spoken (possibly the language of Tiahuanaco), as well as Uru (from the Uru-Chipaya group), while on the north coast Mochica and Tallanes were important.

However, despite these attempts to unify their wide domains, in time the forces of ethnicity and regionalism acted against the Incas. Reciprocal obligations required continual conquest and expansion or ever-increasing production to provide products for redistribution. When this was not possible it exacerbated tensions with the subject peoples. The tax-exempt class of public servants grew significantly to be a power block in its own right. Among the royal elite there were no clear rules of succession, but it was accepted that it was based on prowess rather than descent, which led to succession problems being

¹⁰³ Alfredo Torero, El quechua y la historia social andina, (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1974), pp.141-2.

resolved by war between the competing groups. All these weakened the empire from within and made it prey to a conqueror:

The situation became serious during the short reign of Huascar. In order to solve his problems he threatened to plunder the goods of the royal ancestors. Paradoxically the living genealogy which comprised the mummies of the dead sovereigns...had accumulated such power and wealth with the passage of time, that their descendants dedicated themselves to a conspiracy on behalf of their favourite--Atahualpa. This was the direct cause of Huascar's downfall.¹⁰⁴

Even had the Spanish not come, the Inca empire might still have been in a terminal stage.

4. Events in Peru

In 1532 the Inca empire stretched almost five thousand kilometres along the Andes,¹⁰⁵ yet it had been seriously weakened by internal contradictions, and by the effect of the diseases that swept the sub-continent following the advent of Europeans in the New World. Francisco Pizarro and his men arrived on the northern coast of Peru in the final stages of a succession struggle between the reigning Inca, Huascar, and his usurping half-brother Atahualpa. Following the capture and execution of Atahualpa in Cajamarca in the north-central mountains in 1533,

¹⁰⁴ Rostworowski, op.cit., pp.285,6.

¹⁰⁵ From what today is southern Colombia to Central Chile.

Pizarro set up his capital Lima, the "city of the Kings", by the River Rimac on the coast of central Peru.

a. From conquest to colonisation

Serious disputes soon broke out amongst the conquerors, and Pizarro had to avert civil war in the Quito region in the north. The puppet king, Manco Inca, installed in Cuzco in 1533, led an uprising against the Spanish in 1536. This threatened the new colony's stability, but was brutally put down in Cuzco by Diego de Almagro on his return from a fruitless expedition to Chile. Almagro's seizure of Cuzco and the surrounding province led to a civil war, in which he was defeated and killed in 1538 on the orders of Hernando Pizarro, the conqueror's half-brother. Francisco Pizarro himself was murdered in Lima in 1541 by some of Almagro's supporters, and civil war again broke out between supporters of Pizarro and Almagro.

The Crown sent Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, at the time president of the *Audiencia* of Panama, to investigate matters. On arrival he took command of the Pizarro supporters, and the Almagro faction was defeated. At the same time one of the two remaining Pizarro brothers, Gonzalo, was dissuaded from taking the reins of

power. Vaca de Castro left Peru in 1542 to make way for the first viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela.

That same year the "New Laws of the Indies" were drawn up by the Crown in Spain. These laws, greatly influenced by the Salamanca school and the work of Bartolomé de Las Casas on behalf of the declining indigenous population, ranged over all of colonial life, but were particularly meant to end the exploitation of the indigenous population, and to restrict the powers and privileges of the *encomenderos* by bringing the system to an end on the death of that generation of *encomenderos*.

The viceroy's insistence on the implementation of the measures was like "a bomb that once again tore apart the fragile fabric that held Spanish society in Peru in one piece".¹⁰⁶ It led again to civil war, with the colonists led by Gonzalo Pizarro. Nuñez was killed in battle in 1546, and it was not until 1548 that an army led by his successor, the priest Pedro de la Gasca, defeated the rebels. Pizarro and his main allies were beheaded. The *encomienda* system, however, survived and the "New Laws" were modified; many officials recognised that without the *encomienda* there would be no colonisation. Order was established in Peru with

¹⁰⁶ Karen Spalding, Huarochoiri: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), p.143.

considerable difficulty, the last rebellion took place in 1553 when discontented *encomenderos* took advantage of an inter-regnum between viceroys to press their claims. It was not until 1560 that Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, reported that the area was at peace.

The *encomienda* had been a reward for services rendered in the Conquest, its continued existence helped pacify remaining conquistadores and their descendants. However, those which reverted to the Crown, or areas which had not been under the control of *encomenderos*, were now under the control of salaried officials, *corregidores*, who held their office for a set length of time. In the second half of the century the *corregimiento* replaced the *encomienda* as a way of rewarding services. The struggle for control of the viceroyalty's wealth was then displaced to one between the king's treasury officials and the viceroys.

b. The Toledan reforms

Effective organisation of Peru came in the twelve year period in which Francisco de Toledo was viceroy: 1569-1581.¹⁰⁷ He gave colonial society the definitive form it would show in the following centuries. To facili-

¹⁰⁷ Roberto Levillier, Don Francisco de Toledo, Supremo Organizador del Perú, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935).

tate this a series of official surveys or inspections (or *visitas*) were carried out of the state of the country. These led to a new law code--the *ordenanzas de Toledo*--and provided data for the structuring of government, taxation, and the exploitation and utilisation of resources. His resettlement of the dispersed indigenous population in *reducciones*,¹⁰⁸ was meant to facilitate incorporation of the rapidly diminishing population into the work force and make for easier catechisation. The *reducción* was "the antidote to idleness and idolatry"¹⁰⁹.

Toledo also had the aim of establishing grounds for the legitimacy of the Spanish presence in the New World. The findings of the *visitadores* enabled Toledo to argue that the Incas had only recently come to power by force, against the will of the population. They were tyrants and not the rightful lords of the of the country:

Each Inca not only carried on the tyranny of his father, he also began the same tyranny by force, killings, theft, and plunder, so none of them could make any claim to have acted in good faith...at no time did any of them take peaceful possession of the realm.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Villages designed on a European pattern around a church and a square.

¹⁰⁹ Wightman, *op.cit.*, p.89.

¹¹⁰ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, [1572], *Historia Indica*, in *Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega*, ed. Carmelo Saenz de Santa María, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1960), p.274.

Toledo's execution in 1572 of the last remaining Inca prince, Tupac Amaru, who had held out against the Spanish in his Vilcabamba stronghold, marked the end of Inca resistance to the colonial power.

At the same time other social and economic forces were at work to change colonial life from its semi-feudal *encomienda*-based character to a more diverse economic structure. The opening of the rich silver deposits in Potosí in present-day Bolivia in 1545 had led to the rapid growth of a mining complex there. The discovery of the mercury process for extraction of the metal from lower-grade ores in 1571, gave rise to mercury exploitation in Huancavelica in the central mountains just south of Lima. The important Huancavelica-Potosí trade axis was created, and the mining boom made possible by Toledo's incorporation of the indigenous people into the work force through a quota system or *mita* imposed on the indigenous communities, for which their own leaders were responsible.

Since only the original inhabitants of an area, the *originarios*, were subject to the *mita*, Toledo's resettlement programme led to indigenous attempts to evade them by migration, this produced the *forastero*

or "stranger" group in the population.¹¹¹ The measures were also resisted because they cut at the root of the indigenous religious system based as it was on the ancestral shrines. They accelerated the population decline, and produced population movement in the opposite direction--from these "Christian" villages to the shrines or to areas where they would be free from priests to practise their own traditions.¹¹² They also weakened regional loyalties, complicated the question of ethnic identity, and opened the indigenous people to a re-ordering of sacred space.

c. Demographic collapse

The indigenous population declined sharply both before and after the Conquest. In the 1520s thousands had died as a result of the diseases brought from Europe, and in the fighting between Atahualpa and Huascar. The toll in human lives continued as the Spanish first defeated one side and then played one side against the other. There were additional fatalities in the 1536-7 indigenous uprising, in the conflicts between the Pizarrists and Almagrists, and later between the *encomenderos* led by Gonzalo Pizarro and the royalists led by La Gasca. Disease, major epidemics, inhuman

¹¹¹ Wightman, op.cit., pp.26-36, 87-112.

¹¹² Ibid., p.112.

conditions in the mines, suicides added to the heavy death toll. From a pre-Hispanic figure of between six and nine million, the population fell over a fifty year period to a little over a million. The coastal population suffered worst:

The native resident was almost completely wiped out and was replaced by the Spanish colonist and African slaves. Only migration of highland Indians toward coastal haciendas and urban centres prevented extinction of Indian influence on the coastal strip. On the coast the remaining Indians were transformed, as they became part of the lower level of colonial Hispanic society. By contrast, the sierra Indian was not decimated by the expansion of Europe in the sixteenth century. In spite of disease and outright exploitation by the Spaniards, the highland Indian persisted.¹¹³

Even so, the population continued to decline. A figure of 600,000 in 1620¹¹⁴ may be too low, since it does not give enough consideration to the *forastero* element,¹¹⁵ but even allowing for that it is clear that in the first century after the Conquest the Andean population was decimated.

d. The colonial church

Under the *patronato*, Church and secular administration in Peru developed in tandem. Following the conquest of

¹¹³ Cook, op.cit., p.114.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Wightman, op.cit., p.62.

a region, discussions took place on its evangelisation, after which civil authorities then became observers. However the "civil" governors could not always remain on the sidelines and took an active part in the discussions and legislation on the matter.¹¹⁶

Cuzco was the first bishopric, founded in 1536, and Valverde its first bishop. Cuzco cathedral was inaugurated in 1538, and parishes established in the city some time afterwards. In the rural areas the Indian parishes or *doctrinas* followed the division of the *encomiendas*. Lima became a bishopric in 1539, though Peru was not created a province until 1545. The Dominican Jerónimo de Loayza was the province's first archbishop. By 1550 it had three Andean dioceses--Cuzco, Lima, and Quito--by 1600 another five had been added: Huamanga,¹¹⁷ Arequipa, Chuquiabo,¹¹⁸ La Plata,¹¹⁹ and Santa Cruz.

The *encomenderos* were required by law to maintain a priest--secular or regular--in the area of the *encomienda* to care for the spiritual wellbeing of their

¹¹⁶ Pedro Borges, Metodos misionales en la Cristianización de América: Siglo XVI, (Madrid: CSIC, 1960, p.53.

¹¹⁷ Ayacucho.

¹¹⁸ La Paz.

¹¹⁹ Sucre.

charges. While some of the early clergy were dedicated men, inspired by the Christian humanism of and the spirit of Alcalá, the initial efforts were largely ineffective, there were simply too few for the task.¹²⁰ Cursory instruction followed by mass baptisms left the indigenous people with little understanding of the faith. In the absence of priests a number of the *encomenderos* took their religious duties towards the indigenous people very seriously, and even employed lay missionaries, but with limited effect. The problem was compounded by the poor quality of the seculars who came to take up the new benefices. Their tolerance of indigenous religious practices perhaps reflected the peninsular situation where the secular clergy limited themselves to carrying out their liturgical duties among the faithful.

Some secular clergy had, in fact, arrived with Pizarro, and indications are that at least until the end of the civil war period, they were more numerous than the regulars.

The repeated complaint was that the friars, who were best fitted for the work of converting the Indians, were scarce, while secular priests, who were there in numbers, were interested in nothing but economic gain.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Even by 1563 there were no more than 350 ordained priests both secular and regular in all of greater Peru. James Lockhart, Spanish Peru 1532-1560: A Colonial Society, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p.50.

¹²¹ Ibid.

Valverde was one of six Dominicans who came with Pizarro, but was the only one to reach the mountains. Later, after his appointment as Bishop of Cuzco, he returned to Spain and came back with twelve recruits in 1536. The Franciscan Marcos de Niza arrived late in 1532 or early 1533 with six colleagues. Their first monastery was set up in Quito, but they did not move into central Peru until 1548, and only became a Peruvian province in 1553. The Mercedarians arrived late in 1533, and as a non-mendicant order were allowed to engage in certain commercial activity, which perhaps explains their support for Gonzalo Pizarro in the 1544-48 rebellion--they were opposed by the Dominicans. The Augustinians did not reach Peru till 1551, but traditional loyalties among the Spanish population eased their establishment alongside the other orders.¹²² By 1550 The Dominicans had nine main centres of operations throughout the country, the Franciscans six, and the Mercedarians five.¹²³ The presence of the fledgling Jesuit order in the New

¹²² Fernando de Armas Medina documents the beginnings of the orders in Peru. Cristianización del Perú, 1532-1600, (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1953), pp.18-50.

¹²³ Pedro Cieza de León, [1553], Crónica del Perú, in Vedia, op.cit., pp.457f.

World was opposed by other orders,¹²⁴ and their entry to Peru did not take place till 1568.

In 1551 the First Lima Council was convened by Loayza in the wake of the civil wars, and an attempt was made to lay the foundations of the emerging colonial church. The conversion of the Indians had been "a major casualty of Peru's prolonged civil wars",¹²⁵ so the question of the Christian instruction of the *naturales* was given careful consideration. The Council decreed the organisation of Indian parishes (or *doctrinas*) to replace the earlier *encomienda*-based mission structure. Loayza also presided at the Second Lima Council in 1567, which, like the first, was dominated by the Dominicans. The Council formally adopted the decrees of the Council of Trent, and was marked by a greater theological rigour than the first.¹²⁶ The size of an Indian parish was also set at four hundred heads of household.¹²⁷ Loayza's ill-

¹²⁴ Francisco Mateos, "Antecedentes de la entrada de los jesuitas españoles en las misiones de América (1538-1565)", Misionalia Hispánica 1, nos. 1-2 (1944), pp.109-166.

¹²⁵ Lockhart, *op.cit.*, p.54.

¹²⁶ For example, the First Council's acceptance of a confession of "faith in God" as sufficient ground for baptism, was changed by the Second to explicit confession of the Trinity.

¹²⁷ With the programme of *reducciones* during the 1570s, the *doctrinas* came to be centred on the larger settlements.

health and his death in 1575 meant that many of the Council's provisions were not implemented. It fell to his successor, Toribio de Mogrovejo, who arrived in 1582, to address the multiplying problems of the church, not the least of which were the disputes between orders, and between bishops and orders. The decrees of the turbulent 1583 Third Lima Council, together with its catechism, provided a framework for church life until 1900.

The flow of religious personnel from Spain followed the pattern of the fortunes of the Hapsburgs. It maintained a consistently high level during for most of the reign of Philip II, until it declined dramatically in the 1590s¹²⁸. There was simultaneously a rise in the number of Peruvian-born creole priests, which led to disputes between them and the *peninsulares* over the right to benefices. The Third Lima Council increased the number of *doctrinas* in ^{an} attempt to overcome this.

The church did not admit *naturales* to holy orders, though it did, for a period, allow the ordination of *mestizos*. This exclusion was justified on the ground that they were neophytes, but it is difficult not to

¹²⁸ Pedro Borges, El envío de misioneros a América durante la época española, (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 1977), cited in Adrian C. van Oss, Catholic Colonialism, (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), pp.5-8.

see in this a continuation of the peninsular *orgullo de raza*, which was epitomised by the *limpieza de sangre* statutes in the aftermath of the *reconquista*.¹²⁹ These attitudes had a lasting effect of the indigenous population, who resented their position as second-class citizens in the Church.

5. Implications of the encounter

a. History, time and orality

The fact that Andean knowledge was transmitted orally or by devices that the Spanish did not recognise, such as the *quipu*, presents difficulty in the reconstruction of that society. With an oral tradition the preservation of information is selective and has a chronology which varies according to the social position of the observer and with cultural patterns in matters of time and memory. This selectivity not only obeys the psychological mechanisms through which each individual censors and screens materials, but is also subject to the needs of a given situation and the interests of those in power.¹³⁰ The version of Andean

¹²⁹ Armas Medina, *op.cit.*, p.60. It was believed that guilt remained in the blood generation after generation, and on this basis descendants of Jews and Moors were subject to fierce discrimination.

¹³⁰ Regarding the *quipu camayoc* who composed the official history and was responsible for the transmission of the account, Cieza de León states :

history which the Spanish gathered was thus that which the Incas presented of themselves as the civilisers of the Andes. Whatever preceded it was barbarity.

In some areas the ethnic identity of a group enabled it to preserve its own traditions in the face of the imperial version,¹³¹ while other localised traditions were modified by that version. In addition, there existed a pan-Andean tradition which included the people's practical wisdom ranging from agricultural customs to kinship practices. It also reached back into the region's pre-history to preserve the memory of the Andean "mythological universe, structured and spread from long before, which served as a basis for the cultural development of chiefdoms and states. It had to do with foundational texts which were reformulated or adapted to legitimate rising political entities".¹³²

If there had been one among the Incas who was lazy, cowardly, given over to vices, and who took his pleasure rather than enlarging his power, [the Incas] ordered little mention to be made of such or almost none.

Harriet de Onis, trans., The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de León, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p.188.

¹³¹ E.g. The Yauyos who preserved their own traditions, complete with the Inca obeisance to their gods. Taylor, op.cit., p.269.

¹³² Millones, op.cit., p.75.

Little of this was perceived by the chroniclers, for whom writing was the means of remembering and communicating events. When this practice was applied to Andean oral tradition it froze it *in situ*, and this move from one tradition to another presents a major difficulty with regard to ideas of time and history. For the chroniclers the Andean traditions had to be incorporated into their idea of history, and those who had been the protagonists in it lost their identity, their past and their history.

The "history" which the chroniclers captured was that of the "civilising" Incas, itself a social construct, and an identity which would be rejected by the Andeans in the immediate post-Conquest period,¹³³ but which would itself emerge as powerful "myth" in resistance movements nourished by a later Andean messianism which Christianity would help to produce.¹³⁴

Andean concepts were subjected to Spanish logic by these interpreters of Andean society. With regard to time, the colonial version brings together two very different ideas. For the Spanish, ideas such as those produced by the Biblical narrative and such influen-

¹³³ As in the Taqui Onqoy movement of the 1560's. See ch.5, pp.326-36.

¹³⁴ See Alberto Flores Galindo, Buscando un inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes, (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agraria, 1987).

tial works as Augustine's City of God, had produced a history which went from the Creation to the Last Judgment. This had, in its own context, already supplanted ideas of cyclical time. Central to the Andean concept was *pacha*, which embraced the ideas of "universe", "time", "space" and "earth". The *pacha* ran its cycle or *mita* and came to an end when it had fulfilled its time (like, for example, the solar year), and not, as in the Christian concept, because of moral failure or divine judgment. But the death or destruction of the *pacha* did not mean the end, there was a turning or transformation point--the *pacha cuti*--and a new cycle began. The old was subsumed in the night, and so formed part of the ongoing reality as its obverse, or mirror image.¹³⁵

The incorporation of this way of accounting for "history" meant that simultaneity was translated into lineality. This is most evident in the way parallel and overlapping lines of descent in *hanan* and *urin* Cuzco, represented in a period of five generations, were transformed into one dynasty by the chroniclers, reaching back into European history.

¹³⁵ Millones, op.cit., p.76.

b. The structuring of space

Space was inherent in the concept of *pacha*, and was not an objectified reality in the same sense that the Church proclaimed. It was part of the living whole, embodying the sacred and structured in a way that was alien to European thought. Andean division of that space and the concomitant social reality was carried out in terms of dualism, opposition and complementarity, with other permutations suggested by tripartite, quadripartite and decimal categories. In the pre-Columbian period new ideas appear to have been assimilated in terms of that reference grid. The establishment of the Church in that environment, appropriating the same space with different, but not necessarily dissimilar, symbols, would have far-reaching implications for indigenous reality and the Christian faith.

In the economic sphere the introduction of the indigenous population to the colonial system where the relational logic of the community ceased to operate and that of the market place and the money economy took over, work became profane and lost its meaning. The vertical organisation of space, with its key role in the maintenance of the community through reciprocal exchange between ecological niches, was replaced by a longitudinal relationship whose dominant pole was the

mines and Potosí. Thus the "closed economic circuit" of the indigenous system was broken. Yet even there the Spanish could not do without indigenous institutions such as the *mita*, and so contributed to the perpetuation of the traditional framework, albeit in a modified form.¹³⁶

c. Community and human identity

The combination of the human community, ancestors and land or territorial imperatives bound together by reciprocity and kinship obligations, functioning both in concrete events as a corporate entity and as a metaphor of human and social identity, ran counter to European ideas of community and its constituent parts. The new ideas and practices¹³⁷ led to an objectification of reality and an individualisation of identity, which significantly disadvantaged the indigenous people with regard to the institutions of colonial society. The confrontation between customs and patterns as fundamental as marriage and inheri-

¹³⁶ John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel, eds., Anthropological History of Andean Politics, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), p.7.

¹³⁷ E.g. confession, writing and books, urbanisation.

tance,¹³⁸ would lead to an interaction which produced a society which was synthesis of both.

d. Religion and political control

The brief review of Andean pre-Columban history suggests that in the 2,500 years from the Chavín culture to the Inca empire there was a move towards the subordination of religion to politics. The legitimating role of religion is clearly seen in the political domination of the Incas. In the long term the centralising tendencies of political forces were unable to give cohesion to such a far-flung empire. The forces of regionalism and ethnicity sooner or later reasserted themselves, leading to fragmentation. The abiding cultural features, either at local, regional or pan-Andean level, were religious.

Under the *patronato*, the Christian faith that came to Peru was firmly wedded to Spanish political aims and ambitions. This pattern was not new, and the indigenous people assumed that there was no reason why they could not continue to patronise all that embodied the sacred for them. Christianisation was an integral part of the process of colonisation, and inevitably a

¹³⁸ Irene Silverblatt, Sun, Moon, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp.110-120.

tool of social and political control of the Andean population. The Spanish were but the latest imperial overlords to legitimate their status through the "idiom of religion", and the Christian faith was but the most recent to attempt to re-order the Andean cosmovision. But in interacting with the abiding features of an oral culture that were enshrined in the sacred geography, it was the cultic, with its symbols, acts, and words, that would assume greatest importance.

It is to the question of words, and Spain's overseas language policy, that we now turn.

CHAPTER 2 LANGUAGE AND EMPIRE: THE ROLE OF THE
VERNACULAR

1. The emergence of Castilian as a language of empire

The Castilian language which went to the New World was derived from the Latin spoken in Roman Spain from the third century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.. The Vulgar Latin spoken at the end of that period was briefly influenced by the Visigoth presence in the peninsula, then, following the conquest by the Moors and the spread of Arabic, it lost touch with literary Latin. This led to the formation of Romance dialects, including Castilian. Eventually Castilian took on a distinct character from Vulgar Latin and became one of the basic Romance linguistic elements of the Iberian peninsula together with Portuguese-Galician and Catalán.

Castilian developed further among the Christian population centres of the north and central parts of the Iberian peninsula. In the twelfth century Alfonso X of Castile gave a strong impetus to Castilian through promotion of translation into the language.¹ With the advance of the *reconquista* of the Moors, it

¹ On the vernacular, translation and cultural change in the period 1000-1350, see Angus Mackay, Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500, (London: Macmillan, 1977), pp.79-94.

spread toward the south and south-east. By the fifteenth century the literary use of Galician had virtually ceased, and Catalán had given ground as a literary language before Castilian, though it remained robust as a spoken language. Portuguese-Galician and Catalán were later reduced to the position of marginal peninsular tongues.

Nevertheless it is not until much later that Castilian can be spoken of as "Spanish"; Charles V adopted Castilian as the official language of his empire at an assembly held before Pope Paul III in 1536 in which he defended his use of the language:

My lord bishop, hear me if you will but do not expect from me words other than those of my Spanish tongue, which is so noble that it deserves to be known and understood by every Christian people.²

Castilian was now the official language of the empire and by 1540 Spanish diplomats were using it in preference to Latin. The role of Castilian was finally consolidated in the peninsula through its use in the literature of Spain's "Golden Age" in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

² Cited by Shirley B. Heath, "Colonial Language Status Achievement: Mexico, Peru and the United States", in Language in Sociology, ed. Albert Verdoort and Rolf Kjolseth, (Louvain: Editions Peeters, 1976), p.59.

2. Spanish humanism and language policy

Events in the Iberian peninsula shaped attitudes to language, and as the "catholic kings" pacified the country and consolidated their position, a language policy emerged. With the establishment of Castilian power and language in the peninsula there developed an almost mystical notion of the natural union between speakers of the same language. In 1470 the Spanish humanist Antonio de Nebrija returned from ten years study in Bologna, Italy, determined to "uproot the barbarism" of impure Castilian from the land.³ With Nebrija the Renaissance took root and flowered in Spain.⁴

Nebrija's studies in Italy had imbued him with ideas such as those which had led the Italian humanist philologist, Lorenzo Valla, to review the text of the Latin New Testament in the light of Greek manuscripts.⁵ Nebrija's own work on the Biblical text led to problems with the Inquisition.⁶ In his Apologia,

³ Cited in Felix G. Olmedo, Nebrija (1441-1552): Debelador de la Barbarie, (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1942), p.23.

⁴ Francisco Rico, Nebrija frente a los Bárbaros, (Salamanca: University of Salamanca, 1978), p.39.

⁵ His Collatio novi testamenti (1453-7) was republished in 1505 by Erasmus with the title Adnotaciones in Novum Testamentum.

⁶ His work on selected Biblical texts, Tertia quinquagena, was confiscated by the Inquisitor General.

addressed to Cardinal Ximénez, he defended his investigation of the Latin text by philological methods. He argued that in certain cases reference to the original text was indispensable: "when in doubt one must fall back on the preceding language".⁷ Greek and Hebrew occupied a privileged position with regard to the Latin version, indeed, the Latin translation depended on the authority of the original languages. Hebrew was "entrusted with the foundations of our religion", while "the early foundations of the nascent church"⁸ were laid in Greek. These languages therefore transmitted the Christian faith most accurately, not so much because the texts were in written form, but because of a "philosophy of language which was founded on the semantic privilege of the original language".⁹

Nebrija's regard for the ancient languages was not based on a religious premise alone. If access to the Hebrew and Greek texts was denied, there would be a

return to that ancient chaos, in which letters had not yet appeared, and lacking both Testaments, we will find ourselves surrounded by the shadows of everlasting night.¹⁰

⁷ Olmedo, op.cit., pp.130-2.

⁸ Ibid., p.132.

⁹ Margaret Zamora, Language, Authority and Indigenous History in the Comentarios Reales de los Incas, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp.57-8.

¹⁰ Cited in Olmedo, op.cit., p.132.

In this view of language, the classical languages transmitted, through their very form, "the force of their civilisations".¹¹ Nebrija therefore sought to correctly preserve these languages as a defence against "barbarism".

The humanist "revival of linguistic excellence" was extended to the emerging European vernaculars. The role of the Castilian vernacular in the establishment of Castilian hegemony over the Iberian peninsula, was, for Nebrija, analogous to the role that Latin had played in the Roman Empire. The ability of Castilian to play such a role was due to its origins--it was derived from Latin.

Nebrija saw good Latin as the foundation of "our religion and Christian State". It was the basis for law and civilisation. As Latin was the source of good Castilian, its cultivation was essential. Deeply concerned by the low level of Latin spoken in Spain, he published a Latin grammar in 1481, which he hoped would lead to a revival of the "arts of humanity".¹² When the Queen asked for a bilingual edition in 1485, he saw this as opening the way to a complete renewal

¹¹ Zamora, op.cit., p.26.

¹² Arte Literaria o Introducciones a la Gramática Latina, (Salamanca: 1481). This work ran through fifty editions in his lifetime and in the process became, with all its annotations, an encyclopedia of contemporary linguistics.

in Spain. In 1492 he published the first grammar of the Spanish language,¹³ a work that did not have the same success in his lifetime as his Introducciones, but which was of immense importance later in Spain, the New World and the Philippines.

Nebrija's Latin grammar was intended to purify the corrupt form of Latin then spoken in Spain, thus clarifying Castilian's true origin, i.e. classical Latin, whose immutability rested on the fact that its form had been fixed by grammatical laws. His Castilian grammar gave the language order, harmony and a standard orthography. He gave legitimacy to vernacular Castilian by validating it in terms of the language it was replacing:

By establishing the vernacular on the foundations--grammatical as well as mythological--of classical Latin, such Spanish philologists as Nebrija could put forth this linguistic transgression as a natural succession of languages and empires.¹⁴

In the prologue to the grammar, he set out his understanding of the role of language and state:

¹³ Gramática castellana, [1492], facsimile edition, ed. Pascual Galindo Romeo and Luis Ortiz Muñoz, (Madrid: Edición de la Junta del Centenario, 1946). He also published Latin-Spanish and Spanish-Latin vocabularies that year.

¹⁴ Vicente R. Rafael, Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p.24.

One thing I find and conclude with certainty is that language was always the companion of empire; therefore it follows it in such a way that together they begin, grow and flourish, and together they fall.¹⁵

Nebrija asserted that Castilian would be learnt by other peoples of the peninsula and beyond--the Basques, Navarrese, French, Italians, "and all others who have any communication with Spain". Not only so, the heathen who would come under the sway of the "catholic monarchs" would learn the language. Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, explained to Isabella the potential usefulness of Nebrija's Castilian grammar:

After your Highness has put under your yoke many barbarian peoples and nations of diverse tongues, they will be obliged in defeat to accept the laws the victor imposes on the vanquished, and with them our language.¹⁶

In effect, the work of Nebrija contributed to the development of Castilian as the language of authority in the peninsula, and as such an instrument of unification in the peninsula.

Over fifty years later, in a different intellectual climate to that of Nebrija's day, the Augustinian priest Luis de León¹⁷ found himself in prison for his

¹⁵ Op.cit., p.5.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.11.

¹⁷ 1527-1591. He had studied in Alcalá and Salamanca, drawing on the Biblical emphasis of the one and the reinvigorated scholasticism of the other. He held a university teaching post for eleven years before being arrested in 1572.

translation of the Song of Songs from Hebrew to Castilian.¹⁸ Replying to charges made by the Inquisition, he pointed to Plato, Cicero, and the Church Fathers who wrote in their mother tongue, and defended the use of the vernacular on the basis of references to classical models.¹⁹ He distinguished between the way in which something was said and the particular language in which it was expressed.

Common sense demands that as far as the way of saying something is concerned, the words used and the ideas expressed should correspond: the humble matter expressed softly, the important matter with a more elevated style, the weighty matter with appropriate words and expressions. But as regards the language, there is no difference, there are not some languages good for certain matters [and others not], for the same ideas can be expressed in all languages...words are not weighty by virtue of being written in Latin, but by being expressed in a way commensurate with that weightiness, be it in Spanish or French. It is a great mistake to think that because we call our language *vulgar* that we can only write common, low things in it.²⁰

¹⁸ After a heated debate over the issue of vernacular Scriptures in the first session of the Council of Trent, the final document in 1546 diplomatically excluded a statement prohibiting the use of vernacular translations. However, during the long recess of 1552-1562 Paul IV had a catalogue of forbidden books drawn up which led to the 1559 Index of Prohibited Books. The Council's last session--Dec 3-4, 1563--entrusted the compilation of the list of forbidden books to the Vatican. On March 24, 1564 Pius IV published the Bull *Domini gregis custodias* which laid down rules for the Index, including that proscribing the Bible in the vernacular. R.E. McNally, "The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles", Theological Studies 27 (1966), pp.204-227, esp. p.226.

¹⁹ E.g. the dialogue.

²⁰ Introduction to Book III of De Los Nombres de Cristo in Obras Completas Castellanas de Fray Luis de León, ed. Felix García, (Madrid: Ed. Católica, 1951),

León's approach to language was also theological. Central to his theology of language was the relationship between the word and the reality it signified and the related hermeneutical questions. All things stood in relation to the perfect and absolute--to God--and therefore had the capacity to be metaphors of some part of divine truth. Language and metaphor was therefore traced back to a theology of creation; metaphor was both a revelation of God and a means of ascent to God, a way of contemplating God. The language of the Bible with all its figures of speech was a means of revelation, in which God reached down to the human level and communicated in a way suited to human limitations. This incarnational view of language is shown in his prologue to the Song of Songs. Before the actual Incarnation, God revealed himself through language:

pp.656-7. León here shows a great affinity to the fifteenth century Castilian translator Alonso de Madrigal ("el Tostado") whose translation of Jerome's Cronici Canones entitled Comento de Eusebio was published by Cardinal Ximénez in Salamanca in 1506-7. His work helped to counteract the latinising tendencies among translators of that period. Peninsular ideas on translation were also influenced by the Juan Boscón's translation of Baltasar de Castiglione's Il Cortegiano into Castilian in 1534. It was meant to be a model of how to translate into Castilian and other languages. Peter Russell, Traducciones y Traductores en la Península Ibérica (1400-1500), (Bellaterra: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1985), pp.25-33, 55-56.

The wonderful thing is the care which the Holy Spirit takes in adapting himself to our style, copying our language, and imitating exactly the whole range of our creativity and character.²¹

The language of profane love poetry was the vehicle for the communication of divine love, supremely revealed in the Incarnation. Because it was about the only true kind of love, the Song explained the incarnation of Christ. The role of language could only be fully understood in incarnational terms.²²

León believed in the primacy of the original language for understanding Scripture, Hebrew was "the first of all languages". At the same time, Castilian was an appropriate vehicle for expressing divine truth, since it could be made to coincide with the rhetorical norms of classical texts:

Not only in the sentences and words, but even in their ordering and character, imitating as far as possible in our language its figures and ways of speaking, it really corresponds to Hebrew in many things.²³

²¹ Op.cit., p.65.

²² Colin P. Thompson, The Strife of Tongues: Fray Luis de León and the Golden Age of Spain, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), p.28.

²³ Op.cit., p.249. The context of these remarks clarify what appears to be a contradiction with what he has already said about the vernacular. The Song of Songs work had two aspects: a literal translation "to put the text word for word in our language", and a commentary on the text "to explain briefly the passages where there is some obscurity rather than each word in itself".

The incarnational dimension in Biblical language could be re-enacted in the vernacular. Through those human words God came close to man, and through their study man was led back to God.²⁴

Both Nebrija and León assumed the universality and stability of Latin's grammatical and rhetorical structure; they saw classical languages as non-arbitrary by nature. Underlying their thought was the theory of a universal structure to all languages, which meant that the differences were matters related to words, which had an absolute intrinsic reality in relation to what was signified. The appropriation of classical languages prepared the way for the validation of the vernacular. Castilian was to be written and understood--and therefore spoken--in reference to and in terms of Latin. To speak Castilian was to defer to the grammatical and rhetorical context of Latin. Latin was in this way invested with the sense of providing the structural model for the reordering and translation of all other vernaculars in the world:

That Castilian could and did become a "language of empire" was due to its translatability into other languages; and this notion of translatability hinged in turn on the possibility of subordinating the speaker's first

²⁴ Ibid., p.35. On León and language see also Carlos G. Noreña, Studies in Spanish Renaissance Thought, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), pp.150-182.

language to the structural norms of the second²⁵.

In this way Nebrija and León provided a basis on which the vernacular could be used for political and theological ends.

In the New World, Nebrija's Castilian grammar was the "best-seller".²⁶ The early grammars of indigenous languages produced by missionary priests were all structured in terms of the grammatical grid of Latin--their linguistic systems gained coherence only in those terms. Their audience initially was missionary priests and administrators. Latin and Castilian acted on the New World languages, transforming them into tools for translation and conversion. In Peru, missionaries and administrators drew on both Nebrija and León, and for differing purposes. For the church, and those who would be the grammarians of the Andean languages, Latin and Castilian models were adopted not only to validate the use of the vernacular, but also to undergird their missiological theory.

²⁵ Rafael, *op.cit.*, p.26.

²⁶ "A study of all extant shipping records, invoices and inventories might well prove that more copies of this work went to the Spanish Indies than those of any other work". Irving A. Leonard, "Best-sellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1583", HAHR 22, no.1, (Feb 1942), p.17. See also Leonard, "On the Lima Book Trade, 1591", HAHR 33, no.4 (Nov.1953), pp.511-525.

3. The situation of the Inca empire

The three main language families of the Andean region--Quechua, Jaqi-Aru,²⁷ and Puquina--were linked to political expansion since the first century A.D.. It is thought that Puquina was the language of the Tiahuanuco civilisation,²⁸ or of its ruling elite. Jaqi-Aru was used as the *lingua franca* during the Huari expansion period 500-1000 A.D., so that while Huari embraced various ethnic groups with different languages, there was a single language for state administration.²⁹

The chroniclers located the origin of Quechua on the central coast. Murúa credited the Inca Huayna Capac with the adoption of "the language of Chinchaysuyu" as the language of empire because his mother and one of his wives were from Chíncha on the coast.³⁰ While

²⁷ Aymara belongs to this family.

²⁸ Waldemar Espinoza S., "Los fundamentos de la etnohistoria andina y comentarios en torno al *Anónimo de Charcas de 1604*", in *Aula Quechua*, ed. Rodrigo Cerrón-Palomino, (Lima: Ediciones Signo Universitario, 1982), pp.183-186.

²⁹ Rodrigo Cerrón-Palomino, "La cuestión lingüística en el Perú", *Aula Quechua*, p.107.

³⁰ Martín Murúa, [1614], *Historia General del Perú*, ed. Manuel Ballesteros, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1987), p.136. A confusion between the coastal site of Chíncha and the essentially mountain region of Chinchaysuyu may have led to the view that the language had a coastal origin.

this account probably reflects an Inca reconstruction of history, it is known that the oracles *Pachacamac* and *Rimac* on the central coast were vitally important pilgrimage centres where Quechua was used. In an oral society both could have contributed to the spread of Quechua north and south on the coast and into the highlands.³¹ The Dominican Domingo de Santo Tomás, who founded monasteries in Chíncha and Chicama in the 1540s, had completed the manuscripts of his Quechua grammar and dictionary by 1550--based on the Quechua of Chinchaysuyu, which by that time had come to mean the Quechua of the coast and central mountains.

The view that the various Quechua dialects were all descended from that spoken by the Incas is no longer tenable. It is now clear that such an idea developed later in the colonial period. What is less clear is when and how the Quechua expansion took place in the mountains from its origins in the centre and north of the country. At some point Quechua speakers split into two main language groups, one spoken in the present-day Peruvian departments of Ancash, Huánuco, Pasco, Lima and Junín, and the other spoken to the north and

³¹ Ibico Rojas R., La Expansión del Quechua: Primeros contactos con el castellano, (Lima: Ediciones Signo, 1980), pp.85-89.

south of that area. The two families were therefore related, but not necessarily mutually intelligible.³²

It is thought that when the Incas began their imperialist expansion from Cuzco, Jaqi was used as the *lingua franca*, possibly in its Aymara form. As the expansion continued and the extent of Quechua speaking became known to the conquerors, the Incas switched from Jaqi to Quechua, perhaps in the 1430s.³³ The Jaqi languages then became isolated and fragmented, with only Aymara surviving in strength. By contrast, the Quechua spoken by the Incas--Cuzco Quechua--gained increasing prestige.

Questions nevertheless remain regarding the exact nature of the Quechua spoken by the Incas. It is not yet clear whether it was authentic Cuzco speech, or a *lingua franca* known among different social groups

³² Bruce Mannheim divides the Quechua family into "Central Quechua" and "Peripheral Quechua" (which includes southern Quechua of the Cuzco variety), not necessarily mutually intelligible, and each branch containing a number of dialects. "Structural change and the structure of change: The linguistic history of Cuzco Quechua in relation to its social history", Ph.D thesis, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983), pp.13-16.

³³ Alfredo Torero suggests that in its initial expansion in an Aymara area the Inca state did not need any other language, and that it was only later when large areas of the centre and north were incorporated into the state that they had recourse to Quechua. El Quechua y la Historia Social Andina, (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1974), pp.140-143.

throughout the empire, the result of an earlier expansion of one or more varieties of Quechua.³⁴ There is still a need for "contextualised information on the linguistic situation in Southern Peru during the first century after the conquest", which would clarify these matters.³⁵ In a reference to the school for the children of the nobility, Murúa implies that the elite had their own language:

At the beginning [of their studies] the first teacher taught the language of the Inca, which was the particular one he spoke, different from Quechua and Aymara, which are the two widespread languages of the kingdom.³⁶

The chroniclers spoke of the variety of languages in the region. One of the earliest, Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo, referring to the area from Colombia south through Peru, stated that

each group has its own language, and although some of them can understand neighbouring groups, it is only possible by combining a

³⁴ Gerald Taylor, "Lengua general y lenguas particulares en la antigua provincia de Yauyos (Perú)", Revista de Indias 43, no. 171 (1983), p.267.

³⁵ Mannheim, *op.cit.*, p.41. Barbara Edmonson attempts this, but does not achieve any contextual precision--"The Pre- and Post-Conquest Use of Quechua as a Lingua Franca", Human Mosaic 17, nos.1-2 (1983), pp.88-115.

³⁶ Murúa, *op.cit.*, p.377. Garcilaso makes a similar claim that apart from the *lengua general*, the Incas had "another language which they spoke amongst themselves". His correspondents in Peru had written to say that it had been totally lost after the conquest. Comentarios reales, vol.2, p.88.

great variety of words with those they have in common.³⁷

Many of these languages seem to have been superseded by Quechua by the time of the Spanish conquest, while others existed alongside Quechua. The earliest chronicler to write on Inca administration, Pedro Cieza de León, recorded his impressions of the situation in Ecuador:

These people and all of this kingdom speak the general language of the Incas, which is that used in Cuzco. They speak this language commonly because that is what the Inca lords commanded. It was a law throughout the kingdom. Parents were punished if they withheld it from their children in childhood. But, despite speaking the Cuzco language (as I say), all had their own languages, which their forefathers used. So those of Panzaleo had a different language from those of Carangui and Otavalo.³⁸

Unlike Cieza, Pedro Pizarro, noted the difference between Quechua dialects. Of the the Xauxa and Guanca troops (from central Peru) who accompanied his cousin Francisco Pizarro on his first journey to Cuzco, he wrote:

Their speech is the common one, which they call *guichuasimi*, which is the common language which their lord ordered them to speak, because each province had its own language, different from each other. The language of the lords and nobles was the most obscure of all, as was that of Puerto Viejo, because the speech of people from Puerto Viejo is like

³⁷ Historia general y Natural de las Indias, [1548], ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1959), vol.V, p.98.

³⁸ Vedia, op.cit., p.392. Cieza began writing in 1541 on the journey as a soldier from Colombia to Peru. Like a number of chroniclers he did not distinguish between Cuzco Quechua and other dialects of the language.

cats miaowing. The language of the Guancas was not very different from the common one, like Portuguese and Spanish, I mean that of these Xauxas and Guancas.³⁹

As understood by the chroniclers the official Inca language policy was

that all the subjects of the Inca empire speak the same *lingua franca*, and that this be Cuzco Quechua, and that it should at least be learned by the lords, their sons and relatives, and those who govern or administer justice, or who are in charge of official matters or works, and merchants and those who draw up agreements.⁴⁰

In the conquered areas the Inca policy of confirming the existing ethnic lords, and of installing one where no such leaders existed, added to the need for a language policy. In this context a court education programme existed to ensure that at least second-generation provincial nobles were fluent in the Inca language. Those who learnt the language were rewarded with administrative positions, houses and land.⁴¹

³⁹ Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú, in Crónicas del Perú, vol V, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1965), pp.188-9.

⁴⁰ Relación Anónima, in Crónicas Peruanas de Interés Indígena, ed. Francisco Esteve B., (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1968), p.177. The author of this anonymous work was a Jesuit, thought by many to have been the creole priest Blas Valera.

⁴¹ Blas Valera cited by Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales, Vol.3, p.91.

The spread of Cuzco Quechua was also furthered by the Inca *mitmaq* practice. These colonists retained membership of their original *ayllu*, but were at the same time ordered

to learn the language of the country to which they were removed, but not to forget the general language which was Quichua, which the Inca had ordered that all his subjects in all the conquered provinces must learn and know, and that conversation and business be carried on in it, for it was the clearest and richest [of the languages].⁴²

This transference of ethnically homogenous blocks of families who maintained their separate identity wherever they settled, furthered the administrative use of Quechua over a wide area, and contributed to the region's linguistic complexity.⁴³ The forced movements of population in areas of resistance to Inca rule, gave added impetus to these developments. Thus, prior to the European invasion, Cuzco Quechua served as the administrative language of the Inca state, and was the medium of inter-communication between the diverse peoples who were incorporated into it.

Yet, whether the underlying intention of the Inca political administration was to create a one-nation state or one in which the ethnic groups co-existed, the language itself did not achieve linguistic

⁴² Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa [1572], Historia Indica, p.245.

⁴³ Murra, "Andean Societies...", p.77.

hegemony during the empire's brief existence, even in the immediate vicinity of Cuzco. With the empire's sudden collapse, the variety of Quechua on its way to standardisation lost its status as the *lengua general*, and immediately the linguistic fragmentation of the region was accentuated. There was a resurgence of local languages, especially in the most recently conquered areas:

When the first Spanish entered Cajamarca many provinces knew the common language, as did many other Indians, but now they have forgotten it completely...so that all around the city of Trujillo, and many other provinces in the Quito jurisdiction people know nothing at all of the *lengua general* that they once spoke".⁴⁴

Garcilaso's account of the Corpus Christi festival in Cuzco in 1555 paints a similar picture of linguistic diversity after the Conquest. Each ethnic group processed in its distinctive costume, carrying a Christian saint and the image of its bird or animal totem, or a picture of their *pacarina*--"a spring, river, lake, mountain, or cave". It was accompanied by musicians and sang "in its own mother tongue and not the general one of the capital, in order to differentiate one nation from another".⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Blas Valera, cited in Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales, Vol.2, p.92.

⁴⁵ Historia, p.186.

As for the *lengua general*, in the places where it still survived, it was "so corrupt as to seem like a different language".⁴⁶ Outside the immediate environs of Cuzco, the group who continued to use the *lengua general* following the conquest were "the chiefs and the Indians whom the Spanish employ in their service and to administer their business affairs".⁴⁷ It was the decision by the church to adopt the *lengua general* as the language of evangelisation that saved it from further fragmentation, and extended its area of influence.

4. Civilisation or communication: the Castilian-vernacular debate⁴⁸

The work of civilising a people was seen by the conquerors as integral to the task of Christianisation. As early as May 29, 1493 Columbus was instructed by the monarchs to take priests with him and ensure that

these men...use all their talents and zeal to acquaint the natives with the truths of our holy faith. For this *they should come to know and understand our language*, so their teachers, using all their skills, will take

⁴⁶ Blas Valera, op.cit., p.92.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.91.

⁴⁸ With regard to the vernacular here we shall concentrate on the role of the Quechua language, though it is true that the debate embraced other languages, most notably Aymara.

care to instruct them in the use of Spanish.⁴⁹

In Spain's first comprehensive code of Indian legislation, the 1512 Laws of Burgos, *encomenderos* were required to instruct their Indians in religious matters and to train native interpreters to teach the Catholic faith and the Castilian tongue to other Indians.⁵⁰ The Church, as represented by the religious orders, was not satisfied with the perfunctory provision of religious education which the law enjoined on *encomenderos*. In addition, Charles V and his advisors were suspicious of the *encomienda* system, with its feudal implications, and as the Crown moved to limit the power of the *encomenderos*, the church assumed their teaching responsibilities.

In 1535 New World religious and civil authorities were ordered by the Crown to establish schools in which young sons of Indian nobles could learn "Christianity, good customs, civility, and the Castilian tongue".⁵¹ To facilitate the control, conversion and "civilising" of the Indians, the Crown ordered a resettlement programme:

In order that the Indians may benefit more in Christianity and civility, they should be

⁴⁹ Cited in Shiels, *op.cit.*, pp.99f. (italics mine)

⁵⁰ Lesley B. Simpson, The Laws of Burgos, (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1960), p.14.

⁵¹ RLI, vol. I, pp. 211-212.

ordered to live together in concentrated populations, for in this way their prelates will know them and attend better to their welfare and indoctrination. In view of this, we order that Viceroy and Governors carry this out by whatever means possible, without oppressing them, and giving them to understand how useful and beneficial this will be for their increase, and for good government.⁵²

The civil wars in Peru meant that this was not implemented until Toledo's time, but the religious orders did bring together children, especially those of Indian leaders, in their *conventos* and schools. In 1542 Domingo de Santo Tomás had seven hundred young people studying the *doctrina* in Chincha.⁵³ By 1550 the Dominicans had sixty primary schools for the indigenous children of the Andean highlands.⁵⁴

In the New World opinions differed on the relative merits of Castilian and the indigenous languages. Both Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec empire in Mexico, and Quechua in Peru were described as *lenguas generales* by the Spanish. Some religious and civil leaders argued that expediency demanded that these languages be spread even to those groups who had not yet learned them. Others urged that Castilian had to become the

⁵² 23 August 1538: "Que los Indios sean puestos en policia sin ser oprimidos", *RLI*, Vol II, p.198.

⁵³ *La primera gramática quichua*, [1560] intro. José María Vargas, (Quito: Instituto Histórico Dominicano, 1947), p.xi.

⁵⁴ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, vol.1, (Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1953), p.328. Charles V provided them with 3000 gold pesos to encourage them in their work.

Indians' primary tongue. The Crown, which regularly reminded overseas administrators of their "Christian" responsibility, recognised the importance of the vernacular in evangelisation. In 1547, for instance, Charles V requested the Pope to consider bestowing special recognition on those who learned to teach and preach in Indian tongues.⁵⁵

However, the difficulty of translating matters of the faith into the Indian languages was raised, and when the Council and the King reviewed language policy in the Indies in 1550, it was stated:

Having specially examined whether it was possible to explain well and with propriety the Mysteries of our Holy Catholic Faith even in the most perfect Indian language, it has been recognised that it is not possible without imperfections and significant lack of correspondence. Although chairs have been established to teach priests who have to indoctrinate the Indians, it is not an adequate solution, because of the great variety of languages. Having decided that it would be appropriate to introduce Castilian, we order that there should be teachers for the Indians, to teach those who voluntarily wish to learn it, as it would be less trouble for them (and free). This could be done well by the sacristans in the villages of these domains, as they teach reading, writing and Christian doctrine.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Roberto Levillier, Gobernantes del Perú: Cartas y Papeles, Siglo XVI, vol.II, (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921), pp.66f.

⁵⁶ 7 June 1550. "Que donde fuere posible se pongan Escuelas de la lengua Castellana, para que la aprendan los Indios", RLI, Vol.II, p.193.

This was the first pertinent law which required the Indians to learn Castilian. Although it was a voluntary requirement, colonial officials came to extend and interpret it to mean that Castilian was to become the *sole* language of overseas dominions, to the exclusion of native languages.⁵⁷

This interpretation was opposed by many missionaries who emphasised that instruction in Castilian was to be voluntary on the part of the Indians, and that the decree made no mention of dispensing with the vernacular as the basic instrument of Christianisation. As it was, Nahuatl was already widely used in Mexico as a standard for the Indians. The first catechism in the language had been published in 1539, and other materials in the vernacular had followed. Missionaries therefore did not turn to Castilian, but rather gave attention to systematising methods of evangelisation established during the first two decades of colonisation and standardising the uses of the Indian tongues in the teaching of Christian doctrine.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ernest J. Burrus, "The language problem in Spain's overseas dominions", Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 35 (1979), p. 163.

⁵⁸ Louise M. Burkhart, "Catalog of Nahuatl Doctrinal Sources", The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), pp.195-201.

Peru's officials were not nearly so unified in their solutions to the problems of linguistic diversity. The disputes and wars amongst the Spanish in the years following the Conquest, meant that the matter received no priority. The use of interpreters was widespread. In 1552 Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza introduced ordinances providing for the employment of translators by the *Audiencia* in matters affecting the Indians.

The Church was, however, wrestling with the tension between the desire for meaningful evangelisation (which demanded use of the vernacular), and the need to be correct in their formulation of the faith (which tied them to Latin and Castilian). The multiplication of catechetical materials in Quechua raised fears that doctrinal error might be perpetrated in Quechua translations of the catechism. In 1545, therefore, Archbishop Loayza temporarily halted the use of catechetical materials in the vernacular, pending the preparation of an official version. *Pláticas* in the vernacular were permitted,⁵⁹ but not catechisms:

We are told that some people, moved by holy and virtuous zeal, have prepared in the languages of the local people materials which contain the essentials of our faith...[because] some of them have not been translated and corrected in agreement with the character and meaning of the Latin or our Romance Castilian.

⁵⁹ The *plática* was a kind of informal sermon, often in conversational style.

Priests were to "work so that the children would know and speak our language, for those who are now adults have great difficulty in learning it". Those who worked with Indians were also ordered to learn their language, at least enough to be able to confess them, yet they were to teach Christian doctrine to "these inhabitants" in the normal way, which was "in Latin or in Romance Castilian".⁶⁰

The 1551 First Lima Council ordered all priests ministering to Indians to learn the native tongues. The Council also confirmed Loayza's decree on earlier catechetical materials in Quechua, and approved the use of an official catechism which had been prepared in Quechua by then.⁶¹ Decrees 6 and 7 respectively of the Council stressed the importance of teaching people in their own language and of not using force in their conversion.

One of the signatories of the Council decrees was the Dominican Domingo de Santo Tomás, who later published

⁶⁰ "Instrucción de la Orden que se a de tener en la Doctrina de los naturales", in Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Concilios Limenses 1551-1772, Vol II, (Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1952), pp.142-5.

⁶¹ Consts. 1,4,6,37. Ibid., vol.1, (Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1951), pp.7,9,10, 28,29.

the first Quechua grammar and dictionary.⁶² In 1553 in the Provincial Chapter of the Dominicans, he drew up the requirements for Dominicans to learn Quechua in order to confess or preach to Indians.⁶³ The fact that he raised the matters again in his publications in 1560 is an indication that these questions continued to be debated some years after the Council.

Santo Tomás began his investigations of the language by drawing on the findings of the earliest friars and conquerors. To these he added the results of his own studies. He travelled widely, spending time in Cuzco and further south towards Lake Titicaca. He also made missionary journeys to the Callejón de Huaylas and Conchucos in the north-central mountains. However, the major part of his time seems to have been spent on the coast, where he founded monasteries in Chíncha, south of Lima, and Chicama near Trujillo further north on the coast.

He was aware of the varied dialects of *runa simi* and indeed of the multiplicity of other languages still to

⁶² Grammatica o Arte de la Lengua General de los Indios de los Reynos del Peru, facsimile edition, ed. Raúl Porras B., (Lima: UNMSM, 1951); Lexicon o vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú, edición facsimilar, Raúl Porras B., (Lima: UNMSM, 1951). Both were published in 1560 in Valladolid.

⁶³ Grammatica, p.xiv.

be found in the country. In preparing his grammar and dictionary, he claimed to have selected usages which were more widely spread, both geographically and by social groupings, but both works are based essentially on the language of Chinchaysuyu. It is to Santo Tomás that we owe the name by which it has since been known to the wider world: Quechua.

These works were designed for use by the missionaries, but in his introductions to both works it is clear that he also addressed two other hotly-debated questions. The first was the validity of the use of indigenous languages in the preaching and teaching of the Christian faith. He did this by arguing for equal status of Quechua alongside Latin and Spanish. In the dedication of the grammar to Philip II,⁶⁴ he called his attention to

the great civility this language has, the abundance of words, the usefulness they have with the things they mean, the diverse and unusual expressions. It can be easily written in our characters and letters. How easy and sweet is the pronunciation of Quechua, which is ordered and adorned with the regularity of declension and other properties of the noun, and with the moods, tenses, and persons of the verb. In short, in many respects and ways of expression, it conforms to Latin and Spanish, and in its grammar and artistry, so that it seems nothing less than a sign that Spanish people should master it. The language is civilised and abundant, regular and ordered by the same rules and precepts as Latin, as is proved by this grammar.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ He had met him in Brussels in 1558.

⁶⁵ Op.cit., pp.9,10.

The analysis of Quechua in a Latin framework later posed problems for communication in Quechua,⁶⁶ but Santo Tomás was understandably making use of the only tools then available to him. In the prologue, he made clear that those tools had been fashioned by Nebrija, while in the preface to his Lexicon he indicated that he drew on Nebrija's division of vocabulary for his own work.⁶⁷ In so doing he aimed to put his Quechua grammar and dictionary on a par with those of Latin and Spanish and so established the status of Quechua among the world languages. He accorded Quechua equal status alongside Latin and Spanish.

The second question that he addressed was the status of the indigenous people of Peru, and consequently

⁶⁶ Garcilaso de la Vega writing later seems to be referring to Santo Tomás when he made fun of those who interpret Quechua in terms of Latin and Spanish. Comentarios Reales, vol. 1, p.10. It should be noted that Santo Tomás found himself unable to translate adequately the Quechua kin terminology he was compiling for his dictionary. Aware that he was dealing with new categories for human relationships rather than simply problematic vocabulary, he included the topic in his grammar. In doing so he set a precedent for later grammars, which without exception included a section on kinship terminology. This had another function for the missionaries in that it enabled them to understand degrees of consanguinity, which were important for priests for whom church law, based on European kinship patterns, allowed marriage within certain limits.

⁶⁷ P.12. Luis J. Cisneros has confirmed that Santo Tomás based the organisation of his work on Nebrija's grammar. "La primera gramática de la lengua general del Perú", BIRA 1, no.1 (1951-2), pp.197-264.

their right to be evangelised by persuasion rather than force, and to express their faith in terms of their own culture. He was scandalised by the behaviour of his compatriots and its implications for the spread of the Christian faith:

Indians think "Christian" means "robber", "killer", "cruel", because those who have this name are commonly so cruel, so lying, so carnal, so covetous and in short so characterised by all kinds of vices...they understand that Jesus Christ, whose name they take, has sent them to do these things. Since they [the Indians] obey their idols, they cannot imagine that such behaviour is not approved by the Christian's God.⁶⁸

In the dedication of the grammar to the king, he said:

Your Majesty, many have sought to convince you that the people of Peru are barbarians and unworthy of being treated with the same gentleness and liberty as Your Majesty's other subjects. My main aim in offering you this small work has been that you should clearly and openly see how false that position is.⁶⁹

He referred to Aristotle, according to whom, "there is no greater sign of a man's intelligence than the words and language he uses, which are the product of the concepts of the mind".⁷⁰ His political activities on behalf of the Indians in conjunction with Las Casas, showed his ongoing commitment to them.

⁶⁸ Lexicon, p.10.

⁶⁹ Grammatica, p.9.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.11.

Later, as Bishop of Charcas,⁷¹ he was influential in the Second Lima Council. The Council decreed that priests who served the Indians should learn their language, and that those who did not do so were to have their pay reduced. Other punishments were to be invoked if they persisted without the language. The use of interpreters was prohibited.⁷² Indians were to be taught the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, the Creed and the Ten Commandments in their native tongue.⁷³

Two years before the Second Council, Archbishop Loayza had promulgated the decrees of the Council of Trent in Lima.⁷⁴ Although the fathers of Trent "did not think it advantageous" that the Mass "should be everywhere celebrated in the vernacular",⁷⁵ they did otherwise recommend the use of the vernacular. Bishops and priests were to explain the sacraments to the faithful

in the vernacular tongue, where there is need and it can reasonably be done; and this is to be done according to the form laid down by the

⁷¹ Bolivia, N. Chile, N. Argentina.

⁷² This was also a move to curtail this increasingly powerful group, who served as "cultural brokers" between the Spanish and the Indians.

⁷³ Part 1, Const. 81. Tercer Concilio Limense 1582-1583, ed. Enrique T. Bartra, (Lima: Facultad Pontificia y Civil de Teología de Lima, 1982), p.148.

⁷⁴ 28 October 1565. Vargas, Historia, Vol.1, p.237.

⁷⁵ Session 22, ch.8. Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, vol.2, ed. Norman P. Tanner, (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), p.740.

holy council for each sacrament, which bishops should take steps to have accurately translated into the vernacular and explained to the people by all parish priests. Similarly, during mass or the celebration of office on every feast or solemnity they should explain the divine commandments and precepts of salvation in the vernacular.⁷⁶

With this in mind, the Second Lima Council ordered the preparation of an interim catechism in the Indian languages, until the Tridentine catechism arrived.⁷⁷ This decision was not put into effect.

Despite Council decrees and the example of clerics such as Santo Tomás, many of the new arrivals were disinclined to study the language. By this time also the clergy were reluctant to leave the comforts of the Spanish settlements and their environs for work in the Indian *doctrinas*. Toledo set out to remedy this. He consistently accused priests of laziness, greed, and obstinacy, and lost little time in ordering priests to Indian parishes. In a letter to the king in 1570, he noted discouragingly that many priests were ignorant of the Indian tongues, and used translators who were incapable of faithfully rendering the Holy Word. In some areas priests taught "in pidgin Spanish, and the Indians learn to repeat the Creed and rituals

⁷⁶ Session 24, canon.7. Ibid., p.764.

⁷⁷ Const.2. Vargas, Concilios, Vol.1, p.161.

with no more understanding of them than that of a parrot who learns to talk".⁷⁸

In 1572 Toledo wrote to Philip II of the need of a catechism for the whole area, and of another council of the Church where they should

bring together the best and most correct linguists they can find to put it into the common popular speech of the inhabitants, for it is of little use if it is not translated to their language, and left instead to be interpreted by the despicable interpreters [used by] each cleric or friar, where there can be and are many errors.⁷⁹

The arrival of the Jesuits in 1568 led to a renewed interest in the vernacular languages in the 1570s. By the time of their annual congregation in 1576, they had a number of priests well versed in Quechua and Aymara, and had prepared catechetical materials in them. For the Jesuits, the vernacular was an indispensable tool for evangelisation.⁸⁰

In 1551 Archbishop Loayza had established a chair of Quechua in the precincts of Lima Cathedral. The Jesuits did the same in 1569 in St Paul's College in

⁷⁸ 8 Feb 1570. "Carta del Virrey D. Francisco de Toledo a S.M. acerca del gobierno espiritual del reino del Perú", in Levillier, op.cit., p.382.

⁷⁹ José Toribio Medina, Imprenta en Lima (1584-1824), vol.1, (Santiago de Chile: Casa del Autor, 1904), p.xxviii.

⁸⁰ José de Acosta, op.cit., pp.513-520.

Lima. In 1577 Philip II wrote to Toledo about the University of San Marcos in Lima:

Because of the great difficulty there is in teaching [the Indians] without knowing the language...as a matter of extreme importance you will arrange the chairs in the Indian languages as seems best to you, according to the need there is for them.⁸¹

These were introduced in 1579, yet the majority of clergy showed no great interest in learning Indian languages. Some argued instead for a forceful Castilianisation policy. In 1574 Michael de la Torre, a priest in Quito Cathedral, wrote to Philip II on the need for such a programme. For de la Torre Christianisation was inseparable from Hispanicisation, and Castilian was the key in that process:

Experience here shows us that the Indians who know our Castilian language have a deeper desire for the things of God, they have a clearer mind to understand and explore them, and they lose completely the wildness of their evil perverse nature...this comes from using and speaking our language".⁸²

It would appear that Quito, which had been on the northern limit of the Inca empire, and where there was a resurgence of the indigenous languages after the Conquest, had a number of priests of a similar frame of mind. In 1579 the Franciscan Antonio de Zuñiga, who

⁸¹ CI, Vol.1, p.205.

⁸² Berta Ares Queija, "Relación del licenciado Michael de la Torre (Quito, 1574): Lengua, cultura y evangelización", CHELA 3 (1988), pp.138-9.

had served among the Indians for eighteen years in the Quito area, also wrote to the king on the matter. He argued that the failure to encourage the Indians to learn Castilian was the cause of their lack of progress in the faith. He identified their own language as one of the major obstacles in the way of their conversion. He suspected that while translating for the priests the interpreters were "preaching the religion of Huayna Capac", and pointed to the role of language in maintaining native belief. Among the Indians there was not a "language sufficient to explain the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith, because all lack the vocabulary".⁸³ He recommended that Indians be required the Indians to learn Spanish within two years. A system of rewards would change their attitude to Spanish, which the Indians spoke "only when drunk".⁸⁴

Philip was not convinced of the need to change. In 1580 he wrote to the *Audiencias* underlining the need for teaching of the Indian languages in the University of San Marcos and elsewhere. Knowledge of the language was the "principal means of performing their duties well, and of easing our conscience". No one was to be ordained who did not know the language. Priests

⁸³ "Carta de Fray Miguel de Zuñiga al rey Don Felipe II. 15 julio 1579.", vol 26, pp.91-2.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.94.

already in Indian parishes were to be given language tests, and preference in appointments was to be given to those who had mastered the language.⁸⁵ The process of examination in Quechua became an integral part of the church bureaucracy.

These measures recognised the importance of vernacular language skills to religious conversion and indoctrination, but the results were not those hoped for. In 1582 the king wrote to Toledo's successor, Martin Enriquez:

We have been informed that some of the Indian parishes and benefices of those provinces are being supplied with clerics and friars who do not understand the Indian language...preference is to be given to those who understand the Indian language best, otherwise they cannot teach nor administer the sacraments properly.⁸⁶

Later that year Toribio de Mogrovejo inaugurated the Third Lima Council which produced standard catechetical materials in Quechua and Aymara, which were to be translated into other indigenous languages.⁸⁷ Indians were to learn Christian doctrine and prayers in their own language, and priests who taught Indians

⁸⁵ 23 September 1580. CI, Vol I, pp.205,6.

⁸⁶ 26 February 1582. CI, Vol I, p.101.

⁸⁷ Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para Instruccion de los Indios, (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1584); Confessionario para los curas de indios, (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585); Tercero Catecismo y exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana por Sermones, (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585).

other than in the vernacular did so at the risk of being excommunicated. The Council had a clear language policy:

Each person should be taught in such a way that he understands the doctrine--the Spaniard in Spanish and the Indian in his own language. If it is done any other way, it will not be understood, irrespective of how well a person can recite the things of God. For this reason no Indian from this day forth is obliged to learn the prayers or the Creed in Latin, because it is enough (indeed it is better) that he knows them and says them in his own language.⁸⁸

The fifty years that followed the Third Council were the high water mark for the use of the vernacular, especially Quechua. One of the team responsible for preparing the vernacular materials decreed by the Council, the Jesuit Blas Valera, claimed a civilising role for Cuzco Quechua, just as others had done for Castilian:

The Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas and other nations who are slow and dim-witted, and as a result even speak their own languages badly, seem to lose their slowness and dullness when they come to know the language of Cuzco. They develop a desire for more refined, civilised ways and their minds aspire to higher things; in the end it makes them more aware and able to receive the doctrine of the Catholic Faith.⁸⁹

This prevalence of Quechua led to differing local decisions in the face of linguistic diversity. The

⁸⁸ Acción 2, caps.3,6. Bartra, op.cit., pp.61,63.

⁸⁹ Cited in Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales, Vol.2, p.95.

diocesan synod of 1583 in Quito expressed the need to translate the Catechism and the Confessional to the languages of the diocese--Atallana, Cañar, Pastos, Puruhay, and Quillacinga--a clear reversal of the position expressed a few years earlier by priests in Quito.⁹⁰ By contrast, the synod held in Tucumán, faced with the multiplicity of languages in that area, decreed that the Quechua catechism should be used, since "the majority of the Indians recite it and almost all are fluent in that language".⁹¹ The 1591 synod in Cuzco affirmed the need to teach Indians in Quechua, Aymara and Puquina. The Doctrina Cristiana y Catecismo Menor existed in manuscript form in Guaraní in Paraguay before it was approved and authorised by the Synod held in Asunción in 1603⁹². Likewise the Araucanian translation of the Doctrina Cristiana and Catecismo circulated in manuscript form for some years in Chile before it was printed in 1606. Further north, the Synod held in Bogotá in 1606 decreed the translation of the Third Lima Council's Doctrina Cristiana y Catecismo to the languages of the diocese⁹³. As late as 1631 Bishop Pedro Villagómez of Arequipa ordered

⁹⁰ Vargas, Historia, p.50.

⁹¹ Cited in Durán, op.cit., p.204. The synod also decreed that priests should learn the languages native to that area.

⁹² That same Synod adopted Guaraní as the *lengua general* of that area.

⁹³ Durán, op.cit., p.206.

the translation of the catechism and the confessional to Puquina. as did the Arequipa synod of 1631. That same year, Bishop Pedro Villagómez of Arequipa arranged for the translation of the Catechism and the Confessional into Puquina. The needs of the negro slaves were catered for by the publication of a catechism in the *lengua de Angola* (Kikongo) in 1629 in Lima.⁹⁴

Those years also saw a steady stream of grammars, and vocabularies of Quechua, Aymara and other languages. The first was printed by Antonio Ricardo in 1586, Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua General del Peru llamada Quichua, y en la Lengua Española. Then followed Juan Martínez, Arte de la Lengua General del Peru, llamada Quichua.⁹⁵ The best known works are those in Quechua by Diego Gonçalez Holquien: Gramatica y Arte Nueva de la Lengua general del Peru,⁹⁶ Vocabulario de la Lengua General de Todo el Peru Llamada Lengua Quichua,⁹⁷ and those in Aymara by Ludovico Bertonio,

⁹⁴ J. P. Tardieu, "L'Action Pastorale des Jésuites auprès de la population noire de Lima (XVI^e-XVII^e S.)", Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Anno LVIII. Fasc.116, Jul-Dec 1989, p.322.

⁹⁵ Seville: Clemente Hidalgo, 1603.

⁹⁶ Lima: Francisco de Canto, 1607.

⁹⁷ Lima: Francisco de Canto, 1608.

Arte de le Lengua Aymara,⁹⁸ Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara.⁹⁹ Other works followed: Alonso de Huerta, Arte de la lengua quechua general de los Yndios de este reyno del Piru;¹⁰⁰ Diego Torres Rubio, Arte de la lengua quichua,¹⁰¹ and Arte de la lengua Aymara.¹⁰² There were others which apparently were never published, e.g. those of the Franciscan Jerónimo de Oré.

Philip II continued to support the use of the vernacular, even in the face of opposition. In 1586 and again in 1591 he expressed his support for the recommendations of the Third Council. Since many of these were aimed at the abuses of power and position committed by priests, they were not popular. Controversy related to the evangelisation of the Indians continued through the Fourth and Fifth Councils of 1591 and 1601.

Despite Philip's decrees and the example and tireless efforts of Archbishop Toribio, not all Peru's clergy were in agreement with the use of the vernacular and they pressured the Council of the Indies for a policy review. In 1596 the Council sent a draft decree to the

⁹⁸ Rome: 1603.

⁹⁹ Lima: Francisco de Canto, 1612.

¹⁰⁰ Lima: Francisco de Canto, 1616.

¹⁰¹ Lima: Francisco de Canto, 1619.

¹⁰² Lima: Francisco de Canto, 1616.

king, which recommended a determined programme of Castilianisation of Peru's native population. When Philip demurred, the Council argued the need for a standard language throughout the New World, which would bring uniformity to the area and also facilitate the teaching of the faith and of Spanish customs--too many creoles were adopting the values and habits of the Indians. Philip refused to bow, his only concession was to encourage the education of Indian children in Castilian.¹⁰³

Philip III continued his father's policy. In 1618 he insisted that the church's teaching be carried out in the Indian languages. The following year he charged the viceroys and *Audiencias* that priests who did not know the language be removed from Indian parishes. However in 1634 Philip IV, while still recommending that priests should learn Quechua, ordered that "the gentlest possible means" be used to teach the Indians Spanish. Christian doctrine was to be taught in Spanish. It was argued that this would help Indians to grasp the Christian faith, and would also prove beneficial in governing the Indians and changing their cultural habits.¹⁰⁴ From this point on the Crown gave no official sanction to Quechua or to any of the other *lenguas generales*. The jurist Juan de Solórzano y

¹⁰³ CI, Vol. IV, pp.339-340.

¹⁰⁴ 2 March 1634. RLI, Vol. I, p.96.

Pereyra, *oidor* of the Audiencia of Lima from 1609-27, played a key role in the move to Castilian:

I see no reason why anyone should think that the idea that the Indians be obliged to learn our language is hard or new. There is nothing more ancient and common in the world than that those who conquer also give orders and rule over the new provinces, and that these [provinces] then receive their language and customs. This shows the rightfulness of [the conqueror's] dominion and superiority, and brings [the conquered] into conformity and union with their government.¹⁰⁵

Some priests saw this as a complete betrayal, Francisco de Avila spoke for many:

I do not deny that it is good that the Indians speak Castilian, but the widespread teaching of doctrine in it and not in their own language is nothing else than the devil's plan to keep them in their blindness.¹⁰⁶

Thus "from the mid-seventeenth century on the focus shifted from original linguistic work in the aboriginal languages to service re-editions of the *Artes* and the catechisms of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries".¹⁰⁷ The only new grammar was that of Enrique Sancho de Melgar in 1691.

While many royal decrees referred to the use of a variety of indigenous languages, the Quechua spoken by the Incas was the one adopted as a *lingua franca* for religious purposes. Its conscious use as a vehicle of

¹⁰⁵ Política Indiana, [1646], ed. Miguel A. Ochoa Brun, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1972), p.401.

¹⁰⁶ From his *aprobacion* of Jurado Palomino's 1646 Doctrina Christiana in Vargas, Historia, Vol.I, p.60.

¹⁰⁷ Mannheim, op. cit., p.69.

linguistic homogeneity meant that the language continued its expansion after the Conquest. Thus, despite the relatively recent introduction of Quechua to many of the Indian groups, the former *lengua general* of the Inca empire was becoming established over all other indigenous tongues and, for many functions, over Castilian as well.

As Spanish dominion spread far beyond the area of original Inca influence, the retention of a large proportion of the Inca administrative structure and personnel by the Spanish helped to spread Quechua in commercial and political affairs. Official interpreters were particularly important. It is likely that in a burgeoning bureaucracy they were "a parasitic class who succeeded in marketing a superficial and, given the country's linguistic situation, perhaps useless knowledge of the *lengua general*".¹⁰⁸ Their vested interest in the language contributed to the "quechuaisation" of communities.

The concentration of Indian populations, whether in *reducciones* or in the mining centres, meant a homogenisation of culture in which the diversity of languages was replaced by Quechua. New areas were colonised by Spanish people accompanied by Quechua

¹⁰⁸ Taylor, op.cit., pp.268f.

speakers,¹⁰⁹ while Quechua was taken to other areas of the Spanish domains by Indians fleeing the rigours of the forced labour system. The rise of the *mestizo* class, with Quechua mothers, took Quechua into Spanish homes. The role of bilingual *mestizos* as intermediaries between the Spanish and the Indians also relieved the Indians of the need to learn Spanish.¹¹⁰ Another factor in the neglect of Spanish by the indigenous population was the conviction that the Spanish would soon leave the Andes.¹¹¹

Irrespective of Crown decisions, a variety of factors arising from the social dynamics in the viceroyalty contributed to the rescue, spread and consolidation of the *lengua general*. It was, however, the church's use of the language that contributed most to the expansion process, and in that the policy of the Third Lima Council was crucial.

¹⁰⁹ For example, Tucumán (in present-day Argentina) was founded by 50 Spanish colonists from Peru and 6000 Indians.

¹¹⁰ Edmonson, *op.cit.*, pp.98-101.

¹¹¹ Zúñiga, *op.cit.*, pp.92, 101. The "preachers" of the Taqui Onqoy movement in the 1560s proclaimed the coming end of the "time of the Spaniards", and this idea seems to have been widespread.

5. Language policy of the Third Lima Council.

The early missionaries in Peru had recognised the importance of Quechua for their task of evangelisation. Increasingly it was the *lengua del Inca* which the church imposed as the *lengua general del Peru*, notwithstanding the variety of Quechua dialects (and other languages) in the area. In the notes on translation which accompany the Third Council's Doctrina Christiana it was compared favourably to "the rough, corrupt way of speaking which there is in some provinces", where the speech of the provinces was deemed "barbarity"¹¹². The analogy of Nebrija's policy of using Latin as a means of removing the "barbarisms" of Castilian is clear. The church moved to supplant the barbarity of other Quechua dialects and languages by the "archetypal" Quechua.

In creating a team to translate the Catechism to Quechua and Aymara, the Council had a clear translation policy.¹¹³ For the faith to be effectual it must be understood; therefore it must be in the vernacular, using the structure (*orden*) of that language.¹¹⁴ Therefore the group comprised suitably qualified lin-

¹¹² "Annotaciones o Scolios sobre la traduccion de la doctrina christiana", Doctrina Christiana, f.74r.

¹¹³ "Epistola sobre la traduccion".

¹¹⁴ St. Paul's teaching on "tongues" in 1 Corinthians 14 is taken to include these languages.

guists, though the Council did note that there were few who combined expertise in the language with expertise in Sacred Scripture.¹¹⁵ The Jesuit theologian José de Acosta therefore coordinated the work.

The Council was aware that the translation process could produce a variety of versions of the same original. This led to confusion among the Indians, who understood that different faiths were being taught. Experience had shown that "those priests who do not know their language or who have a poor grasp of it...end up forming in them [the Indians] wrong concepts, alien to the truth of our faith".¹¹⁶ Doctrinal distortion was understood to result from the lack of control over translation, therefore it was

very important for the wellbeing of and usefulness to the Indians that there be uniformity not only in the substance and meaning but also in the very language and words used.¹¹⁷

Although there would inevitably be slight imperfections in the translation, it was thought better to have one authorised version provided by the Church rather than a number of versions like different translations of the Scriptures.¹¹⁸ Once authorised, no

¹¹⁵ "Epistola sobre la traducción".

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Const.3, Vargas, Concilios, Vol.1, p.323.

¹¹⁸ "...so that there would not be variety and discord as there is in the case of Holy Scripture"--a reference to the vernacular editions of the Scriptures

deviation was allowed: "It seemed right to this holy provincial council to provide and order with rigour that no one use another translation nor emend nor add anything to this one".¹¹⁹

The authorised edition was then to be the basis of translations into other languages in the area:

The holy synod prohibits and bans anyone from making and using another interpretation or translation in the languages of Cuzco and Aymara, ...other than the translation which has been prepared and approved on its authority. In order that it have the same fruit amongst other people who use different languages from those mentioned, all bishops are charged and enjoined to have the catechism translated in their dioceses by competent and devout people. Such translations or interpretations drawn up and approved by the bishop should be received by all without contradiction.¹²⁰

Translations made on this basis in turn took on the same authoritative and exclusive character of the original, through the word of the Church. They became "sacred text" or "holy word". These were inviolate, yet it remained "to the faculty of each one to use his own words to explain and persuade the same doctrine". Such explanations became a viable solution to one of the basic problems of translation: the lack of complete equivalence between linguistic systems. They also responded to the demands of oral communication as

then common in Europe.

¹¹⁹ "Epistola sobre la traduccion".

¹²⁰ Segunda acción, cáp. 3.

then understood in terms of rhetoric: the need to persuade.

The translators deputed by the Council attempted to steer between what they saw as the barbarity of some provinces and the undue elegance of the Quechua of the former Inca capital itself, which was then adopting certain classical features.¹²¹

More attention was paid to the provinces which are outside Cuzco, and its neighbouring towns, and much more to those which are between Guamanga and Quito, and to those of the [coastal] plains where they do not speak with the perfection of Cuzco, but somewhat corruptly, and to some provinces with more barbarity than others.¹²²

Although they claimed that the problem of "corrupt" speech was not related to the "connection of the words", they did deal with syntax problems--some areas did not "keep the perfect construction of parts of the sentence". They also cited problems even "in places

¹²¹ "...introducing words which as it happens they used long ago but not now, or making use of what the Incas and nobles used." "Annotaciones o Scolios sobre la traduccion de la doctrina christiana", Doctrina Christiana, f.74r. This may reflect a tendency to develop a "classical" usage, or may support the view that the ruling elite spoke a different language during the empire.

¹²² Ibid. As has been noted in relation to Nebrija, the concept of "barbarity" was inherited from the classical tradition and was linked with humanist ideas. Language was seen as fundamental to life in society, an essential element in *policia*. See Anthony Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the origin of comparative ethnology, (Cambridge, CUP, 1982).

where they speak perfectly", which suggests deficiencies in the translators' understanding of Quechua.¹²³

The problem of "barbarity" was identified more as lying at word level, i.e. the internal structure of words, the poly-semantic nature of words, and the difference in lexical items from province to province. In those provinces non-Cuzco words were used, taken from "their own languages", or from the Quechua of the "Chinchaysuyos". The translators opted for the Cuzco usage, but insisted that "in all other respects this translation reflects what is used from Quito to Charcas". In translating they aimed to avoid extremes and took "a middle way...which is common language, easy and appropriate, observing in the translation the rule of translating meaning for meaning, more than word for word",¹²⁴ the extent to which they achieved this will be examined later.

Regarding pronunciation they noted: "every province has its own, different from Cuzco". Compared with

¹²³ The identification of the use of "the passive participle for active verbs", reflects both a desire to force Quechua into a Castilian/Latin mould, and a failure to realise that what is identified as a "passive participle" is rather a Quechua form which denotes an action carried out in an altered state of consciousness - e.g. actions when dreaming - a distinction not made by the form of the verb in Latin.

¹²⁴ Doctrina Christiana, f.74r. In opting for a translation *ad sententiam* rather than *ad verbum*, the translators stand in the tradition of de Madrigal, Boscón, and Luis de León.

Cuzco speakers "the Indians pronounce more roughly or more softly in accordance with what they mean"--no doubt referring to the glottalised, aspirated and post-velar consonants of Cuzco, which were lacking in central and northern dialects. However they chose not to distinguish them orthographically since it was "difficult to seek new characters to differentiate between those meanings".¹²⁵ Glottalised and aspirated consonants were therefore not distinguished by the translators. This meant that words distinguished by sound in Cuzco, would thereafter be distinguished by context. Stress patterns and intonation differed; some spoke in an "uncultivated" way, foreign to *policia*. "Civility" had been the aim in the introduction of Spanish, even in the use of the vernacular, it remained an aim.¹²⁶

However much the translators claimed that they had drawn on other dialects, it remains clear that Cuzco Quechua was the benchmark, and Cuzco use predominated, even to the extent of including notes to explain the Cuzco usages they had adopted which might have been obscure to people in other provinces. The Cuzco dialect thus became the prestige language:

¹²⁵ Ibid., f.74v. In this their commitment to a Castilian orthography made it impossible for them to observe Nebrija's dictum "write as you speak, and speak as you write".

¹²⁶ As is seen in Blas Valera's comments on the civilising role of Quechua.

As commonly happens in human history, political forces resulted in conferring prestige on one particular form of language fortuitously linked with military and/or political power. Thus the Quechua of Cuzco came to be held to be the "most pure", "most ancient", "most correct", "most expressive", form of Quechua, and indeed "mother of all languages" (of the Andes) simply by having been, at the moment of arrival of the Spaniards, the language the Incas were using for conquest purposes.¹²⁷

6. The consequences of the use of the vernacular.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the interaction of a humanist view of language, the politics of empire and the *patronato real* produced a commitment on the part of both Church and Crown to use vernacular languages in the process of Christianisation of indigenous peoples. In Peru that option had far-reaching consequences, particularly in the case of Quechua.

a. Language, space and identity

It was the Spanish who referred to the language as Quichua or Quechua. To the speakers of the language,

¹²⁷ R. Hardman, "Aymara and Quechua: Languages in Contact", in South American Indian Languages: retrospect and prospect, ed. Harriet E. Klein, and Louisa R. Stark, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), p.617.

however, it was *runa simi*.¹²⁸ Within that overall understanding there was a distinction made between the language spoken in the *qheswa* ecological zone and that spoken on the *puna*. The early linguistic materials assumed that the valley speech of the Inca capital could be taken as the norm, and so were based on the speech of the *qheswa*, hence the name "quechua". The choice of this term for the language was a "misapprehension of a multivocal cultural symbolization of linguistic differentiation",¹²⁹ in which the varieties spoken in the warmer valleys were opposed to those of the high plateau.

In the cultural organisation of space, a further distinction was made. In the language itself the *qheswa* was conceptually "inside" (*uxu*), as opposed to the *puna* which was "outside" (*hawa*). The spatial terms *uxu* and *hawa* could also be applied to the speech of one's own group (*uxu*), as opposed to that of outsiders (*hawa*). This was ambiguous, depending on its reference point. Seen from a Cuzco perspective, *hawa simi* was either the speech of the *puna*,¹³⁰ the speech of the outsider to the group, or, more generally, non-Cuzco speech. But to those of the high plateau, *hawa simi*

¹²⁸ See ch.1, p.7, n.2.

¹²⁹ Mannheim, op.cit., p.11.

¹³⁰ Further south than Cuzco this would have been Aymara.

was valley speech, and particularly Cuzco speech, i.e. *qheswa simi*. It represented the penetration of political and religious domination into their world, the threatening outside world which impinged on their "closed corporate universe".¹³¹

Qheswa simi was already a language of conquest and domination when the Spanish arrived. It was the "language of power" as opposed to the "language of solidarity".¹³² In that context the ethnocentrism of different language and dialect groups produced a negative image of the Cuzco tongue. Blas Valera noted that in southern Peru the peoples of the *puna*--the Collas and Puquinas--were happy with their own particular languages, and looked down on the Cuzco tongue.¹³³ In its continued expansion Cuzco Quechua replaced other languages and became the prestige dialect of Quechua, imposed by and identified with outsiders. The adoption of the language by the Church underlined the foreign-ness of Christianity.

¹³¹ Billie Jean Isbell, To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), p.60, cited in Mannheim, op.cit., p.86.

¹³² Mannheim, op.cit., p.104.

¹³³ Cited in Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales, Vol.2, p.92. They spoke Aymara and Puquina respectively.

b. Language appropriation and communication

This alien character of the new faith was underlined by the appropriation of the language on the basis of a Latin/Castilian model. Following the Third Lima Council the Church standardised the language, at least for religious purposes. In effect it created its own Quechua dialect, based on that of the Inca capital, but with certain adaptations. For instance, in order to remain within the framework of Castilian orthography, it was decided not to represent all phonemically significant sounds orthographically.¹³⁴

This language was legitimised not only by being the vehicle of the Church's "sacred text"; it was also the *lengua del Inca*, and this association with the mythification of the Inca gave it increasing prestige with the passing of time. The language was further canonised by the stream of grammars produced on it, which in their turn became standard texts, despite diachronic linguistic change. It became the classical language in terms of which others would be validated.

The materials of the Third Council were formulated at a time when language policy favoured the vernacular. The catechism was given canonical status as sacred

¹³⁴ A point that was not missed by the authors of seventeenth century grammars, most of whom had their own solutions to the problem.

text from which no deviation was allowed. Thus, at a later time when language policy favoured Spanish for the Indians, it was only reprinted not retranslated, and became increasingly archaic in its language. It nevertheless remained in force as the official catechism for three centuries: *el catecismo de San Toribio*.

The commitment to the vernacular, the linguistic complexity of the area which resulted from the "archipelago" nature of Andean cultural geography, and the nature of the Church's sacred texts produced conflicting tendencies. The multiplicity of vernaculars was a hindrance to evangelisation and led to the encouragement of linguistic homogeneity, and to the displacement of other Quechua dialects as well as non-Quechua languages. As a result the *catecismo de San Toribio* was not completely understood outwith the area where Cuzco Quechua was spoken, and with the passage of time even imperfectly within that area.¹³⁵ Towards the middle of the seventeenth century Diego de Molina, a priest in Huánuco in the north-central mountains, raised the problem presented by the orthography. Commenting on the *Salve Regina* of the 1584 Doctrina

¹³⁵ With regard to published materials, Xavier Albó has observed that "almost all materials produced in the colonial period were in Cuzco Quechua, the Quechua of the empire, and ignored the wide dialect differences which undoubtedly existed then in the Wanka-Chanka area of what today is the central sierra of Peru". Allpanchis 20, no.24 (1984), pp.97-130.

Christiana, he drew attention to the failure to represent post-velar sounds orthographically:

Veque pacha:¹³⁶ that *veque* without the guttural sound is understood as being un-aspirated; it communicates little and so it ought to be *veqqe pacha*. The part where it says "that we may be worthy to attain what Christ has promised"--*Jesu christop coscayquichicmi niscampac caman cancaycupac*--is not understood by the priest nor the Indians. It lacks the gutturals and communicates little, it is understood even less by those whose grasp [of the language] is not so good; it should say *Jesu christop ccoscayquichicmi niscampa caman cancaycupac*.¹³⁷

In contrast to the homogenising tendency, the need to communicate the Christian faith led to the encouragement at synod level of other translations. Whether these were actually published is not known, but they do appear to have circulated in manuscript form through copies made by priests. So an Arte de la Lengua General de la Inga llamada Qquichhua¹³⁸ could form part of the same unit as a Confessionario de Chinchaisuios,¹³⁹ a Confessionario en lengua

¹³⁶ The Biblical "vale of tears"; it occurs in Doctrina Christiana, f.3v.

¹³⁷ Ch.3, Sermones de la guaresma en Lengua Quechua, [1649]. Biblioteca Nacional de Lima, ms. B203. Molina adjusts the orthography to take account of these sounds, he does not otherwise change the text.

¹³⁸ BL Ms. 25,319, fols.1-15. The manuscript is undated, and may be from the late seventeenth century. The Chinchaysuyu confessional material, contains a high proportion of Spanish loanwords, which may indicate language change in that dialect, or the poor level of knowledge of the translator.

¹³⁹ Ibid., fols. 16-22.

Quechhua,¹⁴⁰ and a Confessionario en lengua Amage.¹⁴¹

Just as the taxonomy of European sins was imposed upon the Andeans, so the "sins" of one Andean ethnic group were imposed upon another through the translation of the official confessional into other languages.¹⁴² If such beliefs were pan-Andean the confession could have been meaningful, if they were specific to an ethnic group it complicated understanding still further.

c. The vernacular and cultural maintenance

Cuzco Quechua provided the vehicle for the translation of the message to other languages, it had the role of privileged passage earlier occupied by Spanish vis-à-vis Latin, and was incorporated into the line of "classical" languages. It has been observed that in the Philippines during colonial times, Castilian held the position of "an indispensable mediator of linguistic transfers".¹⁴³ In the Andes there was no such indispensability, Quechua and Aymara became mediators, as did Guaraní, the *lengua general* in Paraguay. The process enhanced the status of the vernacular language. However, since language played a vital role in

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., fols. 26-60. This is an extract from the 1585 Confessionario.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., fols. 61-70.

¹⁴² E.g. beliefs in dreams and bird omens - f.61v.

¹⁴³ Rafael, op. cit., p.35.

the maintenance of cultural integrity, in that it lexically codified indigenous religious beliefs, the use of the vernacular maintained indigenous religious concepts alive to interact with and inform Christian concepts.

It has been argued that the development of Quechua, as the language of a vanquished people, was functionally restricted according to a language policy dictated to fit the political, economic and ideological needs of the Castilian empire.¹⁴⁴ While that is true, there were other effects outwith the control of the policy makers. As the Spanish increasingly treated the native population as an undifferentiated labour force--*indios*--new pressures were created both for cultural unification and for the development of a sense of common identity. The use of Quechua by the Spanish gave to the fragmented Andean people a sense of identity that they were losing in the face of the dominant culture. The "language of power" of the Inca empire, now became the "language of solidarity" over against the new language of power--Castilian, the language of loyalty was bound up with being *runa*.¹⁴⁵ The Quechua language provided a vehicle for resistance

¹⁴⁴ Mannheim, op.cit., p.56.

¹⁴⁵ Mannheim writes of "the primordial cultural importance" of being *runa*. From this comes the identity forged by the language - *runa simi*.

and revolt against the colonial power, and the Inca empire a symbol of common identity.¹⁴⁶

The Church's option for the vernacular produced conflicting results. The ability with which the Church's linguists were able to *dominar* the vernacular, and so provide the tools for Christianisation, proved illusory. It meant an ongoing struggle by the Church to ensure that its expression of the faith would not be *dominada* by the vehicle of the vernacular. The Church's interaction with and use of the vernacular highlights this tension, and to this we now turn.

¹⁴⁶ Rowe, *op.cit.*, p.94.

CHAPTER 3 THE CONCILIAR YEARS: THE QUECHUA LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE AND THE CHURCH'S DOCTRINAL
FORMULATIONS.

1. New World precedents

From the earliest days of the evangelisation of the New World, missionaries struggled to express the Faith meaningfully in the vernacular. Ramón Pane, the Jeronimite hermit who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage in 1493, is regarded as the first catechist in the New World. With a limited grasp of the Indian languages of Hispaniola,¹ he taught the Indians to repeat in Latin "the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, and all the other things which are proper to a Christian". For Pane Indians could only be expected to understand that "there was a God in heaven who made everything".² The results proved discouraging. The Dominicans, who arrived on the island in 1510, made the next significant contribution to the development of catechetical materials in the New World under the direction of the founder of the Dominican mission there, Pedro de Córdoba. In the period 1510-

¹ Today the island is divided between the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

² Relacion acerca de las antigüedades de los indios, [1498], ed. José Juan Arrom, (Mexico City: Ed. Siglo XXI, 1974), pp. 51f.

1521 he shaped teaching outlines into a catechism, which was widely used in manuscript form.

In Mexico in the early 1520s lack of proficiency in the local languages proved a stumbling block for the first Franciscan missionaries. They taught Indian children in experimental schools, but their attempt to teach basic prayers

was of very little use, for the Indians did not understand Latin, nor abandon their idolatry. The friars could not rebuke them, nor introduce suitable measures to remove the idolatry, because they did not know the language.³

The inadequacy of communication by these and other methods encouraged the study of the indigenous language, so much so that the Franciscan leader Juan de Tecto spoke to new arrivals of their encounter with "the theology of which St Augustine knew absolutely nothing".⁴

The friars also drew on indigenous forms of writing for catechetical materials. Nahuatl glyphs were adapted for use, initially as mnemonic devices for learning Latin prayers. Pedro de Gante took this further with his pictograph catechism, first published in Antwerp

³ Gerónimo de Mendieta, [1604], Historia Eclesiástica Indiana, ed. Francisco Solano y Pérez-Lila, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1973), Vol.2, p.133.

⁴ Ibid., p.154. Mendieta added "he called the language of the Indians 'theology', showing them the great benefit to be gained by knowing the Indian language".

in 1528. This used the indigenous language and indigenous visual representations, though both raised questions about the form affecting the content. Nevertheless, pictorial methods persisted; indigenous people were even encouraged to use their writing system to make their confessions.

In the following decades catechisms multiplied. In 1538 Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's Doctrina en lengua de indios Mechuacán was printed in Seville. Controversy between the orders over the basic requirements for baptism led to the printing in 1540 of Pedro de Logroño's Manual de los adultos para bautizar (sic). In 1544 Pedro de Córdoba's Doctrina Cristiana para instruccion e informacion de los Indios a manera de historia was published in 1544 on the authority of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga.⁵ The colophon stated that this catechism was intended for *incipientes*, whereas the Tripartito of Jean Gerson⁶ was to be used for the *proficientes*. Zumárraga himself produced a Doctrina

⁵ The text is reproduced in Juan G. Durán, Monumenta Catechética Hispanoamericana (Siglos XVI-XVIII): Volumen Primero (Siglo XVI), (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Facultad de Teología UCA, 1984), pp.227-283.

⁶ Tripartito del cristianismo y consolatorio Doctor Huan Gerson de doctrina cristiana, a cualquiera muy provechosa, (Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1544). Gerson's Opus Tripartitum, originally three vernacular tracts--Le Miroir de l'âme, L'examen de conscience, La Science de bien mourir--was taken to Mexico by Zumárraga.

breve muy provechosa de las cosas que pertenecen a la fe catolica y a nuestra cristiandad in 1544.⁷

A number of other catechisms followed soon after, the best known of which was that of the Franciscan Alonso de Molina.⁸ Their content followed a pattern similar to those already mentioned: the Sign of the Cross, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Salve Regina, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Mortal Sins, the Works of Mercy, the Cardinal and Theological Virtues, the Four Last Things and a General Confession. These main truths were called the *doctrina cristiana*, catechisms were frequently known by this title.

The Provincial Council held in Mexico in 1556 ordered that a shorter and a longer catechism be translated into various Indian languages. In the next twenty-five years catechisms appeared in Nahuatl, Tarasco, Otomi, Pirinda, Mixteca, Zapoteca and Chuchona.⁹

⁷ It was taken directly from Constantino Ponce de la Fuente's Suma de la Doctrina Christiana and Erasmus' Enchiridion and Paraclesis. W.B. Jones, "Evangelical Catholicism in Early Colonial Mexico: An Analysis of Bishop Juan de Zumarraga's *Doctrina Christiana*", The Americas 23, no.4 (April 1967), p.424.

⁸ Doctrina Cristiana Breve Traducida en Lengua Mexicana, (Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1546), text reproduced in Durán, op.cit., pp.387-403.

⁹ See Louise M. Burkhart, The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989),

Among the formative influences on these Mexican works Augustine's De Catechizandis Rudibus and Enchiridion rank high. European works such as those of Gerson played a role, and in the pre-Trent period Erasmian works were used freely. The wider context of these catechisms was one in which questions of the defence of the indigenous population and the development of their social wellbeing were for many integral to the task of evangelisation. This inevitably was understood in terms of *policia*, and while there were those who defended the population against exploitation and abuse, they nevertheless were unable to divorce the Faith from the culture they had come from. The role of the catechism was not only to evangelise, but also to civilise. The New World neophytes were thereby introduced to a whole philosophy of life, beginning with personal cleanliness and reaching out to all areas of life. The catechism was not only the expression and criterion of the faith of the Church, but also a vehicle of the culture which it sought to establish in the New World.¹⁰

Nevertheless the widespread use of the vernacular was a recognition of the New World inhabitant as the

pp.195-202.

¹⁰ Juan Bautista Lassegue, "En torno a los catecismos americanos del siglo XVI", CHELA 3 (1988), p.207.

"other" with whom meaningful communication must take place. As with the earlier pictorial representations, its use meant that the form of the Faith could not be on a merely Iberian basis, however much the Church hoped to maintain the form of the original. Córdoba's catechism *a manera de historia* was, in itself, a move to adapt to the needs of the New World inhabitants. The vernacular may have been pressed into service for proselytising and civilising ends, but the use of languages encoding one reality to express another reality, did not leave those ends unchanged. The use of the vernacular ensured that the Faith underwent change in the catechism itself.¹¹

2. The use of the vernacular in Peru: early materials

The earliest recorded catechism in an Andean language can be dated to the 1540s, and was translated by a layman, Juan de Betanzos.¹² In the prologue to his Summa y Narración de los Incas he wrote:

¹¹ See Burkhart, *op.cit.*, pp.15-45.

¹² Betanzos (1510-1576) arrived in Peru in the early 1540s and appears to have quickly mastered the Quechua language. He was on the side of Gonzalo Pizarro in the civil war, during which he changed to the side of President La Gasca, and acted as an official interpreter. He married a daughter of the Inca Huayna Capac. In 1551 Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza requested him to write the indigenous traditions which he knew, and his Summa y Narración de los Incas is the result of this. It is reprinted in Crónicas Peruanas de Interés Indígena, ed. Francisco Esteve B., (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1968), pp.1-56.

When I finished editing and translating a book called *Doctrina Christiana*, which contains the *doctrina cristiana* and two vocabularies, one of words, and another of information, complete prayers, colloquies and a confessional, my mind was so worn out and my body so tired following the six years of my youth that I spent in it, that I decided firmly not to put together nor translate another book on a similar subject into the Indian language.

He gave no information, however, on the sources used for his catechism. His six years' effort shows that some Spanish colonists took their religious obligations towards the Indians seriously.¹³ The use of this and other catechetical materials prepared by early missionaries was curtailed by Archbishop Loayza's 1545 ban on vernacular materials.¹⁴ He decreed that baptismal candidates were to be taught the prayers of the Church in Latin or Castilian.¹⁵ Confession, however, required the use of the vernacular, so priests were enjoined to learn the language in order to know at least "what sins they commit and what questions to ask".¹⁶ Catechisms in the native languages were not to be used until officially approved, though it was in order to use sermons in

¹³ The role of Spanish laymen is explored by Gabriel Guarda in Los Laicos en la Cristianización de América, (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 21988), though he does accept some of his sources uncritically.

¹⁴ See ch.2, pp.102-3.

¹⁵ Vargas, Concilios, Vol.2, pp.142f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.147.

these languages which dealt with "the creation or other useful themes which would help bring an understanding of God".

How effective his strictures were in inhibiting vernacular catechisms is a matter of debate, for the diversity of materials in use was a matter dealt with by the First Lima Council in 1551. All previous materials and *cartillas*¹⁷ were banned because of the confusion they were causing to the Indians. All teaching was henceforth to be done in accordance with the new *Instrucción* prepared by the Council,¹⁸ while the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, Ten Commandments, and Works of Mercy were to be those contained in the *cartilla* decreed by the Council.¹⁹ In his Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias Fr. Juan Meléndez states that the Council approved a Dominican translation from Latin and Spanish to Quechua of prayers, a catechism, a *doctrina*, and a confessional.²⁰

¹⁷ A summary of basic prayers and truths that had to be memorised.

¹⁸ Consts. 38 and 39, Vargas, Concilios, op.cit., pp.29-32. The *Instrucción* was very similar to Loayza's 1545 recommendations, and contained a summary of teaching on the nature of man, the afterlife, the nature of God, supernatural beings, creation, fall, Jesus Christ, true worship, commandments, and the sacraments.

¹⁹ Consts. 1 and 4. Ibid., p.7.

²⁰ Juan G. Durán, El Catecismo del III Concilio Provincial de Lima y sus Complementos Pastorales, (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Facultad de Teología UCA, 1982), p.213.

3. The general confession and *plática* of Domingo de Santo Tomás.

None of these materials have survived, but some indication of how they might have used the vernacular is given in the earliest extant examples of doctrinal materials in Quechua: the general confession²¹ and *plática*²² prepared by Domingo de Santo Tomás, which date from before 1550.²³ Both are written in the Quechua of Chinchaysuyu, the area of Santo Tomás' ministry in the 1540s, and provide an insight into the use of the indigenous language at that early stage.

Santo Tomás' use of Quechua was in line with his arguments in favour of the language.²⁴ Except for proper names, titles and cultural items for which there was no near equivalent, he endeavoured to use Quechua vocabulary. In the Confession, the Spanish loans are *Dios, Domingo, Maria, padre, sancto,* and *señora*. In the *plática* they are *Adam, angel, Castilla, cauallo, Christiano, diablo, Dios,* and *Eua*. "Sheep"

²¹ Appendix 1.

²² Appendix 2.

²³ These are included in the Lexicon and Grammatica respectively. Cieza de León states that Santo Tomás had these publications ready in 1550, although they were not printed until 1560.

²⁴ Ch.2, pp.104-8.

are rendered as *llamas*, and "lions" as *pomas*. There were some concepts that he did not translate, e.g. *gloria*.²⁵ His decision not to include *jurar*²⁶ in the Quechua version of the list of sins may have resulted from an awareness that there were certain Iberian sins which did not apply to the Indians:

They hold swearing in great reverence, and it is certain that when they used to swear they would never dare lie... The Indians had no words to curse or blaspheme what they falsely held to be gods, most commonly the sun, moon, idols, etc. A very great irreverence such as cursing or blaspheming [their gods] did not even cross their minds. Rather it was only with the greatest reverence that they would pronounce the names of those things they held to be gods.²⁷

He recognised that the indigenous language lacked terms for some "things of our holy Catholic faith", and cited church vestments as an example,²⁸ but he used the indigenous concepts wherever possible. A study of his Lexicon, where basic Christian activities such as confession, baptism and repentance are expressed in the vernacular,²⁹ reveals the same approach to language use.

²⁵ Appendix 2, lines 20, 28, 64.

²⁶ Appendix 2, line 7.

²⁷ Grammatica, pp.151f.

²⁸ Lexicon, p.14.

²⁹ E.g. *uillacuy* ("to tell" or "to relate") for "confess"; *sutiyay* ("to name") for "baptise".

a. The General Confession

Meaningful confession meant grappling with Christian theological concepts in terms of the Quechua lexical inventory. Among the theological concepts in this short confession are absolution, confession, intercession, deity, mediation, and sin.

Confession was an important part of Andean penitential rites, at which the indigenous confessor, the *(h)ichuri*, officiated. The idea of confession was not therefore new to the Andean mind, but the context in which it took place and the frequency with which it occurred were quite different. Intermediaries between the people and the ultimates of existence were a feature of Andean life, whether at a localised level with reference to the *huacas* (the *homo*³⁰), in state ceremonies to the sun, or at ancient shrines such as that at Pachacamac.

Sin was the ostensible reason for the confession, and the exposition of sin takes up half of the text of the confession. The Quechua root used to express the idea of "sin" is *hoch-*,³¹ and was the one that came to be used almost exclusively as a general term for "sin",

³⁰ Lexicon, p.206. The *homo*, also written as *umu*, was the "priest of idols".

³¹ Appendix 1, lines 1,3,4,9,10,14.

and for the related ideas of "guilt" and "blame". There is, however, evidence for a distinct pre-Christian meaning in dictionaries and text collections.

References in Holguien's Vocabulario show a much wider semantic range for *hucha*,³² it could mean "sin, task, business, argument, lawsuit".³³ It was something in which God could be involved (*Dios hucha*); as such it was "the affairs of God". When man was involved (*runap huchan*), it was in a genitival relationship such as "man's sin".³⁴ The phrase *hucha yachac*³⁵ was translated as "the Inca's secretary" or "business adviser". Holguien also gave *cama-* as a synonym for *hucha*, and this took the word into ideas of "task", "ability" and "right", together with transgression of that right and its revindication. So it was also rendered by the Spanish *pleyto*--"quarrel", "disagreement" or "court case". Holguien's work shows the tension that developed between the Andean meaning of the word and the specifically Christian usage introduced over half a century earlier.

³² The word was written both as *hochá* and *hucha*.

³³ p.199.

³⁴ "Note that *hucha* has the genitive *p* when it means 'sin', and stands alone when it means 'quarrel', 'task' or 'job'". Holguien, op.cit., p.199.

³⁵ Literally "the one experienced in *hucha*".

Work on the Huarochiri texts has shown that the "business" involved in the word *hucha* was the task or function associated with a person, with implicit ideas of obligation to perform that task, and also of failure or responsibility where the task was not carried out. The consequences of such failure would be "illness, the death of the one responsible, or of a near relative".³⁶

Another study suggests that *hochá* along with *raccha*³⁷ were only approximations of the Church's dogmatic definition of sin, and in that part of the semantic range of the words which most closely coincided, "taboo" would have been a better translation of *hochá* than "sin".³⁸ The term would appear to have belonged to the complex web of reciprocal relationships and mutual obligations that characterised Andean society then.

As used in the Confession, the meaning is both individualised, and made specific in terms of speaking, thinking, eating, drinking, laughing, making fun of others and failing to do an undefined good. It is a

³⁶ Taylor, *Ritos*, p.30.

³⁷ "Unclean".

³⁸ Doyle, *op.cit.*, p.189. In fact, some of the Biblical concepts of sin found in such books as Leviticus and Numbers might have been better understood by the Andeans.

different world from that of the Andean understanding of social and ritual obligations, and the very specific nature of violation of community norms. It is difficult to see how the Andean people would be sorry for these and amend their ways. One of the earliest official accounts of the indigenous view of "sin" stated that in their own rituals the Indians confessed to

 killing someone other than in war, taking someone's wife, giving herbal potions or using spells to hurt someone, and stealing. The most serious sin was failure to venerate the *huacas* and non-observation of their festivals. It was also a serious matter to speak ill of the Inca and to disobey him. They did not regard inner actions as sin. Though according to some priests, they did begin to confess their thoughts to their indigenous confessors after the Christians came to the land.³⁹

Certain categories in the indigenous taxonomy of what was reprehensible coincided with those of the Church, but their reference points were so culture-specific as to make that coincidence unrecognisable. So, for example, while Santo Tomás could not fault his charges for any levity or lightness in their swearing, it was something he discouraged because "it gave reverence

³⁹ Juan Polo de Ondegardo, Errores y supersticiones de los indios, (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585), p.9. Ondegardo, *corregidor* of Cuzco, discovered the mummy-bundles or *mallquis* of the deceased Incas in the late 1550s. This led to an investigation of indigenous rites and beliefs in 1559. His report on this was adopted by the Second Lima Council in 1567, and was published by the Third Lima Council as an adjunct to the Confessionario.

and honour to created things, instead of giving it to God".⁴⁰

The "sin" specified by the Church was committed against the deity, and there the Spanish term *Dios* was retained. Writing some thirty years later, the Jesuit José de Acosta justified the choice, although he did recognise the existence of indigenous terms:

They commonly experience and confess a Supreme Lord and Maker of all, whom those in Peru call *Viracocha*, and give a most excellent name like *Pachacamac* or *Pachayachachic*, which is the "Creator of heaven and earth", and *Usapu* which is "wonderful... though it is something that has caused me to wonder a lot that even with this information that I mention, they do not have a proper word for God. If we wish to find a word in an Indian language that corresponds to *Dios* in the way that there is *Deus* in Latin, *Theos* in Greek and *Al* in Arabic, there isn't one either in the language of Cuzco or Mexico. So that those who preach or write for the Indians use our same Spanish word *Dios*, using the appropriate pronunciation of the Indian language."⁴¹

Apart from the use of *Dios* in *Diospa yananta* (servant of God)⁴² and *Diospa maman* (mother of God), the text of the confession contains two further expressions of special interest: *appodios* and *ruraquencchic*.⁴³ Santo

⁴⁰ *Grammatica*, p.152.

⁴¹ *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, ed. José Alcina Franch, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1987), p.315.

⁴² Although *Dios* is translated here by "God", it is unlikely that the indigenous people gave the word the same content as did the Spanish.

⁴³ Appendix 1, lines 12, 13.

Tomás listed the meaning of *appo* as "great lord" or "powerful one", and gave as a related word *apposqui* (grandfather, ancestor). Holguien gave both these meanings, but also included "superior judge", "supreme authority", "important chief". Other connotations were "nobility" and "wealth". The emperor himself was the *sapay apu* (sovereign lord), while each of the governors of the four *suyus* of the empire was an *apu*.

References to *apu* in specifically religious contexts are much rarer in the immediate post-Conquest period. The famous oracle in Andahuaylas beside the river which bore its name--*Apurimac*--could be translated the "Great Oracle", the "Lord who speaks", or the "powerful One who speaks". *Chuquiapo*, the pre-Hispanic name of La Paz, was a divine title of the lightning. The sun was referred to as *Apu Inti*.⁴⁴ The religious use of the word is clear from the pre-Christian prayer fragments preserved by the indigenous chronicler Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua. *Viracocha ticci capac* is addressed as *Uilca ulca apo*, the "deity of the sacred";⁴⁵ in separate prayers *Tarapaca Ttonopa* and the sun are referred to as *runa uallpac apo*, "lord

⁴⁴ Acosta, op. cit., p.174. The word is written in a variety of ways: *apu*, *apo*, *appo*. In the citations the particular transcription used by each author has been preserved.

⁴⁵ Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú, [1613], in Francisco B. Esteve, op.cit., p.288.

who forms humankind";⁴⁶ "the maker" is *hananchiccha hurinchiccha apo*, "lord of above and below".⁴⁷ Pachacuti Yamqui also refers to myths which tell of the culture hero *Ttonopa* exiling all the *huacas* to the snow peaks. References to *apo* as "ancestor",⁴⁸ may point to a link between the term, the ancestor cult and the snow peaks of a region. In the materials from the idolatry trials of the seventeenth century, it is clear that the tutelary deities (who were also divinised ancestors) were referred to as *apu*.⁴⁹

The term *appo* therefore embodied a wide range of meaning: ancestor, origins, superior status, power, wealth and authority. These were all related in the Andean mind and thought to operate in a framework of reciprocity. When used in connection with another name (e.g. the sun or a mountain peak) the term *appo* could denote a category or class of that kind of being. To the Andean people the use of the term *appodios* would fall most naturally into this category. *Dios* might therefore have suggested a name or title of some

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.288,9.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.294.

⁴⁸ E.g. in Sermon XXIII, Tercero Catecismo, y Exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana por Sermones, (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585), f.144v.

⁴⁹ For the use of *apu* in ritual prayers, see ch.5, pp.350-60. See also Irene Silverblatt, Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp.184-7.

unknown feature or avatar (or, in the case of the Inca, five new members of the pantheon⁵⁰). The whole combination could enable the indigenous mind to see the Christian God alongside the ultimates of existence as defined in Andean terms, and so may have strengthened the cult of the *apus* at the shrines.

The other word used to qualify *Dios* is *ruraquencchic*, literally "our maker". In indigenous prayers *rurac*, "the maker", occurs in parallelism with "the one who moulds", "the one who establishes", and "the one who animates"--all addressed to *Ticsi Viracocha*.⁵¹ Holguien lists *hinantinpa ruraqquen* as the "maker of everything".⁵² While *ruraque* may have seemed an appropriate and relatively neutral term, the extent to which it was used in indigenous religious practice shows that it could be predicated of a number of divine beings of similar status. It did not carry a sense of uniqueness as in "the one maker of all".

⁵⁰ In his reply to Fr. Valverde the Inca asked about "that fine man Jesus":

...you say he died, did he die of illness or at the hands of his enemies? Was he given a place among the gods before he died, or afterwards?

Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia*, Vol. 1, p.71. (Underlining mine).

⁵¹ Cristóbal de Molina, "Relacion de las fabulas y ritos de los Yngas", BNM ms.3169, f.16v.

⁵² Op.cit, p.322.

The details of the indigenous penitential rites would be recorded by others later.⁵³ However, Santo Tomás' use of *villa-* (to "tell" or "relate") to translate "confess" rather than *(h)ichu-*, which he recorded elsewhere as meaning "confess",⁵⁴ may show an awareness of such practices, even though he does not document them. It was impossible to avoid Andean connotations, for the officiant who spoke on behalf of the *huaca* at the shrine was the *huacap villac*,⁵⁵ and in adopting *villa-* he was drawing on a concept already in use in the religious domain.

The oracular nature of Andean religion gave prominence to intermediaries such as the *villac*. The Christian intermediaries addressed in the Confession are God, Mary, the founder of the Dominican order, God's servants⁵⁶ and the priest hearing confession.⁵⁷ Taken on its own, the Confession might be understood as giving them equal status with regard to hearing confession, whereas only Mary and the servants "inter-

⁵³ E.g. by Ondegardo's submission to the Second Lima Council in 1567, at which Santo Tomás was "the moving spirit".

⁵⁴ Lexicon, p.81.

⁵⁵ José de Arriaga, [1621], La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú, in Crónicas Peruanas de Interés Indígena, ed. Francisco Esteve B., (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1968), p.232.

⁵⁶ Santo Tomás translation of *sanctos*.

⁵⁷ Appendix 1, lines 2-3, 11-13.

cede".⁵⁸ The priest is stated to be "instead of" or "in place of" God, and it is the priest himself who saves (*quispi-*) the supplicant. The Quechua version heightens the role of the priest as compared to the Spanish, where he "absolves in the name of God".⁵⁹

In the light of the lexicon entry *hochanta pampachani* ("to forgive sins", "to absolve from wrongdoing"),⁶⁰ it is surprising that *quispi-* was the root used. It expressed the idea "to save or free from danger". Its use in the prayers preserved by Cristóbal de Molina give an idea of how the Andean mind might have understood such dangers: illness, severe frost, hail, enemies, curses, and divination against one's person and family.⁶¹ These would fit better with the Andean concept of *hocha* than with the Confession's concept of "sin".

⁵⁸ Appendix 1, line 12. *Mochapuanganpac* - "that they might ask on my behalf".

⁵⁹ Appendix 1, line 14.

⁶⁰ Op.cit., p.293.

⁶¹ Molina, op.cit., fols. 15-18. The prayers are discussed by John H. Rowe, "Eleven Inca prayers from the Zithuwa ritual", Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers 8-9 (Oct. 1953), pp.82-99, and by Margaret Beyersdorff, "Cantos tradicionales de los Quechuas del Sur-andino Peruano: desde una perspectiva diacrónica y sincrónica", Ph.D diss., (San Diego: University of California, 1983). On Molina's own theological shaping of his materials, see Molina, Relacion de las Fabulas y Ritos de los Incas in Fabulas y Mitos de los Incas, ed. Henrique Urbano, and Pierre Duviols, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1988), pp.26-36.

Again, Santo Tomás' avoidance of *pampachani* may also be linked to the ambiguity of reference of that term. It meant "to break" as well as "to resolve":

huchap çaçacayninta pampachani

"to sort out the difficulties of a matter";

rurasac niscayta pampachani

"to break a promise".⁶²

The root meaning was "something flat", thus a *pampa* was a "level piece of ground".

In levelling ground one breaks obtrusions; in breaking the law one does the same, the obtrusion here being the social norm that is in conflict with the actor's behaviour. But the same metaphor is applicable to the dispensation of justice...even where sacred rulers, such as the Inka can impose divinely authorised sanctions, the concept appears to be one in which the jarring notes in the sociocosmic fabric are eliminated and harmony restored, rather than any idea of secular "punishment".⁶³

The translators of the materials requested by the Third Lima Council in 1583 opted to use *pampacha*- in both senses: to forgive sin and to break God's law.

⁶² The two phrases are literally "I level out/flatten what is difficult in a matter" and "I level out what I have promised to do".

⁶³ Tristan Platt, "Mirrors and maize: the concept of *yanantin* among the Macha of Bolivia", in Anthropological History of Andean Politics, ed. John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp.251-2.

The Christian intermediaries hear the confession and also intercede on behalf of the supplicant. The root used for "pray" and "intercede", *mocha-*, had the meaning of "kiss", but it did describe one of the principal actions in the indigenous cult. Ondegardo gives the religious context of this word:

The way of praying to *Viracocha*, to the sun and the stars was the same: it was to open the hands and to make a certain sound with the lips, like kissing, to ask what each one wanted and then to offer a sacrifice.⁶⁴

Other significant items, such as strangely shaped potatoes found during the harvest, could be "kissed" and worshipped.⁶⁵

Santo Tomás clearly made the link between the word *mocha-* and the concepts of worship, prayer, and prayer on behalf of someone else. In the few cases where the word occurs in the prayers preserved by Molina and Pachacuti Yamqui it is used in the sense of "worship". It is found only on the lips of the Inca and is addressed to the Sun,⁶⁶ and, in parallelism with *ullpuycu-* (to prostrate oneself before), to "the Maker", *Viracocha Pacha Yachachi*.⁶⁷ Only the Inca

⁶⁴ Op.cit., p.7.

⁶⁵ Second Council, Ritos, p.2.

⁶⁶ Molina, op.cit., f.17v. A *punchao ynca inti yayay...muchascayqui* - "Oh daylight, Sun of the Inca, my Father...I worship you".

⁶⁷ "*Viracocha* who orders the earth". The prayer runs

addressed the deity directly; others did it through intermediaries. The Church's use of *mocha*- would seem therefore to have democratized the cult, and the difficulties this raised for Christian prayer are perhaps reflected in a question cited much later in the 1585 sermonal: "we are afraid even to speak to *Viracocha*, how therefore shall we speak to God?"⁶⁸

In the matter of the choice of lexical items it is clear that there was some mismatching of categories as the indigenous language was appropriated, clearly affecting the meaning. Another example is the choice of *tazqui* for "virgin". According to Santo Tomás *tazqui* meant "a girl up to about age fourteen". Holguien gives "young people between six and thirteen years old".⁶⁹ Pachacuti Yamqui refers to rites in which sixteen year-old girls took part. After these were performed, "they were called women, as in *tazqui guarimi*"⁷⁰ and were available for marriage.⁷¹ The

Runa uallpacllay chunca muchaycusayque
allca ñañiyuan chipic ñispa ullpuycusayque
ricullabay...

Oh One who fashioned me I reverently adore you
with my imperfect eyes tightly closed I prostrate
myself before you,
please look at me...

Pachacuti Yamqui, op.cit., p.294.

⁶⁸ Sermon XXVIII, Tercero Catecismo, p.180.

⁶⁹ Op.cit., p.339.

⁷⁰ *Guarimi* means "woman".

primary focus of the word would appear to have been age rather than virginity.

Despite the brevity of the Confession, there are examples of syntax problems. In the Lexicon Santo Tomás indicates two object markers, *-ta* and *-man*, both of which he refers to as "accusative", without distinguishing that they have different referents. The first might ^{be} called a direct object marker, and the second an indirect object marker. In this sense "sin" would have been the direct object, and "God", "Mary", "Dominic", and "the saints" the indirect objects. In the Confession both "sin" and those to whom the confession is addressed carry the same object marker "*-ta*", whereas only *hochay* should have been marked that way, a factor which would not have aided comprehension.

The problem faced by the interpreter in the meeting of Father Valverde and the Inca, which resulted in the Trinity being translated as four gods, that of words in apposition to others, also caused Santo Tomás problems:

Sp. Señora Sancta Maria Virgen, y Madre de Dios.⁷²

Qu. Señora Sancta Maria tazqui Diospa mamanta.

⁷¹ Op.cit., p.288.

⁷² Appendix 1, line 11.

The reader of the Spanish text recognises three different names of the same person, but Quechua has no construction similar to a word in apposition to another, so at best the phrase might be learned by rote and clarified by the teaching of the Church. At worst the kind of agglutinative logic that operated in the case of the Inca might have applied, giving at least two separate persons, with *tazqui* apparently qualifying God rather than Mary.

In short, an examination of the language of the Confession shows two different worldviews in contention, with, on the one hand, the appropriation (sometimes quite bold) and Christianisation of Quechua terminology by Santo Tomás, and, on the other, the quite different way in which this might have been decoded by those who "confessed". The use of Quechua points to areas of potential misunderstanding on the part of the indigenous people. The role of religious intermediaries and a hierarchy of beings involved in the process of remedying the violation of a set of taboos, converged at a number of points with indigenous practice, but what was signified by these was in conflict. The choice of language could have encouraged an indigenous understanding of Christian rites and facilitated an interpretation of the Christian "deities" and their "servants" in traditional

modes. It also points to areas of potential interaction between the two systems of thought.

b. The *plática*

In arguing the case for the use of Quechua, Santo Tomás' understanding of the fate of the people of the Americas was clear:

How many thousands of souls have gone and are going to hell, through lack of knowledge of the things of our holy Catholic faith as a result of language deficiency, for without the language no one can preach to them.⁷³

The logic of the *plática* must be understood in the eschatological framework of Santo Tomás thought. The question of eternal destiny led into theology--the origin of all things in God. The presence of evil in a good creation is accounted for by the existence of angels, some of whom rebelled and were cast out.⁷⁴ They, in turn, influenced man's first parents, whose presence in the form of Adam and Eve was then explained, as was their role as the first parents of all human beings. The continuing activity of the bad angels in the lives of the Indians was then presented; they were also the inspiration behind indigenous

⁷³ Grammatica, p.15.

⁷⁴ Appendix 2, lines 53-78.

rites.⁷⁵ The hearers were finally urged to resist their overtures and to avoid the coming punishment by turning to God.

Within a short compass human history, geography, and cosmology were of necessity touched on, but the first matter dealt with was more anthropological--the nature of man, and from there what it meant to be a Christian. The Christian anthropological concepts of body, soul and spirit were rendered as follows:

body: "flesh" (*aycha*) or "flesh and bone" (*aycha/tullu*);

soul: "heart" (*songo*), "thought" (*yuyay*) or simply as "they" or "you";

spirit: "life force" (*camaque*).⁷⁶

These were supplemented by "our man that is within" (*ucupicac runanchic*) for "inner being". Angels, which on their first mention could not be translated since they had not been explained, were defined as being like bodiless humans, in terms of *songo* and *yuyay*.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Appendix 2, lines 98-103.

⁷⁶ Appendix 2, lines 10, 14-15, 23, 56-57, 115.

⁷⁷ Appendix 2, lines 40, 54, 57, 59, 65. The idea of "pure spirits" was not translated, and may point to the difficulty Santo Tomás had with "pure", similar to his problem with "holy" for which he preserved the Latin-based *sancto*. The physical expression of the Quechua terms for the sacred *huaca* and *willka* precluded their use by the Church in Christian formulations.

As the *plática* proceeds, the term "angels" is reserved for good angels, and the rebellious ones are defined as *çupay*. In the Lexicon *çupay* is a neutral, at most ambivalent, term which could be defined positively or negatively. In taking over *çupay* Santo Tomás made use of a concept already in existence in the region. A verbal form *çupapaay* was a synonym for the verb "to die"--to become a dead person, a shadow, a phantom. Its meaning pointed to these ideas without reference to the moral quality of people, whether dead or alive.⁷⁸

The chroniclers were united in attributing the idea of a life after death to the Indians. The souls would leave this world through the *pacarinas* to their *upaimarca*. Since *upa* meant "deaf-mute", Arriaga translated this as "the place of the deaf-mutes" and "the silent land".⁷⁹ However, it is much more likely to have been *(h)upay marca* or *supaymarca*--the place of the dead. If so it clarifies the meaning of *çupay* as that aspect of a person's being (or *camaque*) which survived death rested in *supaymarca*.⁸⁰ This may be the

⁷⁸ Gerald Taylor, "Supay", Amerindia, No.5, 1980, pp.47-63. Pierre Duviols, La Destrucción de las Religiones Andinas, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977), pp.38-41.

⁷⁹ Op.cit., p.220.

⁸⁰ Taylor, op.cit., p.58.

same as the *çupay guaci*⁸¹ mentioned by Santo Tomás, if so, it is easy to see how the Church could have transformed it into "the house of the devil" or "hell".

Santo Tomás used *çupay* to define "angels", and only thereafter qualified the word as *mana alli* (not good) or *acuylla* ("rascal" or "villain"), so as to become successively "demons" and the "devil". The cosmology of a three-decker universe was linked with this, in contrast to an Andean world of *hanan pacha* (the upper world) with its associations of day, light, and fire, and maleness, and *urin pacha* (the lower world) with its associations of night, dark, water, and femaleness. Reality was also understood as comprising *ucu* (inner) and *hawa* (outer). Both *hanan pacha* and *rurin pacha*⁸² are found in the *plática*, but superimposed is a universe which becomes *hanan pacha*, *cay urin pacha*, and *ucu pacha*--the three spheres of Christian cosmology.⁸³ In moving from a two-part division of the universe to a tripartite one it is possible that

⁸¹ Lit. "the house of *çupay*". He equates this with *ucu pacha*. Appendix 2, line 24.

⁸² According to the dialect and the transcription, the word is *urin*, *hurin*, *lurin*, *rurin*.

⁸³ Later formulations of the Church would make this clearly *hanan pacha*, *cay pacha* and *ucu pacha*, a division of the universe that survives to this day in the Andes.

existing tripartite categories in Andean thought could have served as a mediating construct.

Arriaga also gives what appears to be an alternative tradition of *zamayhuaci* as the place of the dead. He assumed *zamay* was the verb "to rest", and so obtained "the house of rest".⁸⁴ Sixteenth century confusion of the graphic representation of the different sibilants,⁸⁵ makes it likely that the word is *çamay* or *samay* meaning "to breathe", with the related verb *çamaycuni* "to breathe into", "give strength to", "impart the soul". Hence the term could be the "dwelling of spirits" rather than the "house of rest". Whatever the exact nature of the indigenous concept was, it is clear that for the Church it was evil.

It is possible that there was an Andean category of the dead, who had been particularly bad, who faced punishment in *ucu pacha*, i.e. a category of the damned. In one of the prayers recorded by Molina there is an enigmatic reference to *ucu pacha*. *Viracocha* not only spoke *hurin pacha* and *anan pacha* into being, he

⁸⁴ Op.cit., p.216.

⁸⁵ See Peter Landerman, "Las sibilantes castellanas, quechuas y aimaras en el siglo XVI: un enigma tridimensional", in *Aula Quechua*, ed. Rodrigo Cerrón-Palomino, (Lima: Ediciones Signo Universitario, 1982), pp.203-234.

put the "red intermediary" in *ucu pacha*.⁸⁶ The expression has no known parallel, but it does point to an indigenous *ucu pacha* concept. In the prayer Viracocha is *pacha chulla viracochan* and *ocu chulla viracochan* indicating two paired but unequal functions, related to *pacha* and *ocu*, possibly the seen and the unseen. Whatever it meant, it seems clear *ucu pacha* was not the fearful place of the Christian formulation. Yet that formulation together with Church decisions such as that of the First Lima Council to condemn all non-baptised to hell, meant that the souls of the dead and the ancestors that would thereafter return to visit their families would be classed as demons in the eyes of the Church. Since their ancestors were there "hell" became for the Andean people the key to a continuing understanding of one's Andean identity.⁸⁷

Elsewhere in the *plática* Santo Tomás shows his determination to use the indigenous language wherever possible. He draws on the theology of signs underlying the Church's view of the sacraments to make possible a translation of "those who are God's children through the sacraments".⁸⁸ He uses *unanacha*--"flag", "banner",

⁸⁶ "ocupachapi puca omocta churac". Op.cit., f.18b.

⁸⁷ Taylor, op.cit., p.59.

⁸⁸ Appendix 2, line 17.

"symbol", "sign" or "image"--so the are "marked with his sign". This important Andean concept is exemplified in Pachacuti Yamqui's ideogram of two trees on either side of a series of embedded rectangles. It represented the *pacarina* of the Inca,⁸⁹ his *unanchan*. When functioning iconically as a referential sign the referent is

one step removed from a causal relationship and depends on a meaning derived from cultural conventions. This image is still dependent on visual perception to convey representation of conceptualization.⁹⁰

The decoding of the Church's signs would be dependent on Andean cultural conventions.

There were nevertheless problems with some other abstract concepts such as *gloria*, which was not translated. When rendering the blessedness of the angels, the spiritual wellbeing became a decidedly material wellbeing in terms of wealth and plenty.⁹¹ Writing sixty years later Arriaga spoke of the indigenous view of the afterlife:

⁸⁹ *pacarinancacpa unanchan*. Op.cit., p.286.

⁹⁰ Regina Harrison, Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes: Translating Quechua Language and Culture, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), p.82. Harrison discusses *unanacha* (to make signs) in the Quechua conceptual hierarchy, placing it above *rikuy* (to see), and *yachay* (to know), and at a lower level than *hamuttay* (to discern) with which it nevertheless shares certain functions. A sign in the Andean sense could also be an omen.

⁹¹ Appendix 2, lines 62-5.

Neither in this life nor the other do they know of a greater blessing than to have good fields which will provide food and drink. So they say that there they will both prepare and plant their fields.⁹²

The material view of the afterlife as seen in the *plática*, together with their own view may explain why they could not distinguish "bane for the bad" and "glory for the good" in the afterlife. If, too, their ancestors were in *ucu pacha* then it was potentially good.

In Santo Tomás there is a wholehearted commitment to the use of the vernacular. The unresolved tensions of the use of the indigenous language are present, as is the interaction of concepts from the two worlds, together with the change and adaptation which was taking place.

4. The Third Lima Council

The major body of sixteenth-century church texts in the vernacular were the result of the decisions of the Third Lima Council held in 1582-3, which inherited a confused situation left unresolved by preceding councils.

⁹² Op.cit., p.220.

a. Background to the Third Council

Despite the attempts of the First Council to standardise catechetical materials in the vernacular, the diversity continued. Each order had its own materials.⁹³ However the need to standardise the catechism was raised again as a result of the Council of Trent, which issued the definitive Roman Catechism in 1566, and charged bishops to "have it faithfully translated into the vulgar tongue".⁹⁴ The Second Lima Council of 1567 confirmed the need for the indigenous people to be taught in their own language, but the decision to prepare an approved catechism was never implemented.⁹⁵

The arrival of the Jesuits in 1568 and of the new viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, in 1569, had far-reaching consequences for both church and country.

Before Toledo left for Peru Philip II wrote to him:

We are always under obligation to give orders regarding how the inhabitants of these

⁹³ Paul Rivet refers to a number of works, now lost, which may be dated to this period: the Franciscan Jodocus de Ricke's Doctrina y Sermones en lengua peruana, the Augustinian Diego Ortiz's Doctrina Cristiana y Sermones en la lengua quichua, and the Dominican Tomás de San Martín's Catecismo Doctrinal para los Indios. Bibliographie des langues aymará et kichua, Vol. 1, (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1951), pp.25-6.

⁹⁴ Session 24, canon 7. Tanner, op.cit., p.764.

⁹⁵ Vargas, op.cit., p.160.

provinces of Peru may know and serve God and leave the unbelief and error in which they have been, in order that his holy name be known and praised in all the world... We solemnly charge you to take special care regarding the conversion and Christianity of these Indians. They should be well taught and indoctrinated in the matters of our holy Catholic faith and the law of the Gospel. For this purpose you will see whether there are sufficient clergy to teach the doctrine, baptise them, and administer the other sacraments of the holy mother church.⁹⁶

He was also instructed to examine the

catechisms and rites prepared for teaching adults, materials which deal with the administration of the sacraments, the methods of preaching, teaching doctrine to and educating the Indians,...the form which it has and which it could have.⁹⁷

As well as recommending the preparation of a catechism in the vernacular in 1572,⁹⁸ Philip II later expressed regret that the decision of the Second Lima Council had not been carried to effect, and again indicated the need for an authorised catechism in the vernacular.⁹⁹ Toledo himself had been critical of the Archbishop of Lima. Loayza's death in 1575 added to

⁹⁶ "Instrucción al Virrey Francisco de Toledo. 19.xii.1568", in Los Virreyes Españoles en América durante el Gobierno de La Casa de Austria: Peru, vol.1, ed. Lewis Hanke, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1978), pp.79-80.

⁹⁷ "Instrucción al Virrey Francisco de Toledo sobre doctrina y gobierno eclesiástico. 28.xii.1568", *Ibid.*, p.105.

⁹⁸ See ch.2, p.110.

⁹⁹ Dated 7 October 1575. Cited in León Lopétegui, El Padre José de Acosta y Las Misiones, (Madrid: CSIC, 1944), p.519.

the problems faced by the church, as did the mounting differences between the secular and regular clergy.

In their provincial congregation of 1576, the Jesuits, headed by José de Acosta, examined the whole task of evangelisation. Acosta's De Procuranda Indorum Salute was one result of that gathering,¹⁰⁰ and it reflected the congregation's analysis of needs and priorities. He recommended the preparation of shorter and larger catechisms together with a confessional:

if someone would write these in the two Indian languages, together with Spanish, strengthened by the authority of well-known theologians and people who know the Indian languages well, it would undoubtedly provide a great service to the whole Indian republic.¹⁰¹

In fact, the first session of the congregation decided to produce larger and shorter catechisms, grammars and vocabularies, and a selection of prayers in both Quechua and Aymara. The second session confirmed this, but gave priority to the completion of the shorter catechisms, summaries for old people, the grammars, and confessionals in these languages. Alonso de Bárzana was given the task of preparing missionary catechisms in Quechua and Aymara on the lines of that which he was already using in Quechua.¹⁰² Once these

¹⁰⁰ The manuscript was sent to Rome in 1577, but it was not published until 1588, in Salamanca.

¹⁰¹ Op.cit., pp. 567-8.

¹⁰² Ibid., p.267.

were completed they were to be sent to Rome for printing. For reasons which were never clarified, these were not sent to Europe although they were completed.¹⁰³

Acosta was one of four theologians appointed to advise the bishops during the Third Lima Council,¹⁰⁴ and was perhaps the most influential figure of the Council:

He wrote up the minutes, [and] reasoned out the decrees that the Fathers later voted on. His influence was just as great in the catechisms, confessional, and sermon collection prepared by order of the Council. He was the author of the Spanish versions of the three catechisms--larger, smaller, and elementary--and was the main figure in the preparation of the confessional and the sermons.¹⁰⁵

The other figure who dominated proceedings was the new archbishop, Toribio de Mogrovejo. Extensive travel in the archdiocese soon after his arrival in May 1581 made him aware of the importance of the vernacular for the Church. In February 1582 he presided over the first diocesan synod of Lima, which largely repeated the findings of the First and Second Lima Councils. He

¹⁰³ The question is discussed by Juan G. Durán, El Catecismo del III Concilio Provincial de Lima y sus Complementos Pastorales, (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Facultad de Teología UCA, 1982), pp. 215-8.

¹⁰⁴ The others were Bartolomé de Ledesma (Dominican), Juan del Campo (Franciscan) and Luis López (Augustinian).

¹⁰⁵ Mateos, op.cit., p.xvi.

then called a Council of the Church to begin in August 1582.

One of the Council's first acts was to read and affirm the decrees of the Council of Trent.¹⁰⁶ The decrees of the First Lima Council held in 1551 were declared invalid, but those of the Second Lima Council of 1567 were affirmed.¹⁰⁷ The main proceedings dealt with *Doctrina y Sacramentos* (basically evangelisation and pastoral care of the Indians), *Reforma* (mainly of the clergy, but also dealing with the customs and conduct of the laity), and *Visitas* (pastoral visitation throughout the See).

¹⁰⁶ Francisco Mateos' view that these played little part in the outworking of the Council must be questioned. The implementation of Trent's recommendations on the catechism and the training of the clergy had far-reaching effects. "Ecos de América en Trento", Revista de Indias 6, no.22 (1945), p.601.

¹⁰⁷ The reasons for this are not clear. Ostensibly it was because bishops themselves had not attended, but had instead sent representatives. It is more likely that the decrees of the First Council were regarded as theologically deficient, especially with regard to the requirements (or lack of them) for baptism. The 1551 Council's statement on baptism did not require of candidates explicit faith in the Trinity or the Incarnation. Following the *auto de fe* of the Dominican Francisco de la Cruz this was unacceptable. He had argued that Indians could be baptised if they believed that there was a God and that he rewarded the good and punished the evil. Acosta was the theological adviser to the Inquisition at the trial of Cruz. On Cruz see Vidal Abril Castillo, "Francisco de la Cruz, la utopía lascasista y la Contra-reforma virreinal-inquisitorial, Lima 1572-1573", CHELA, 1988, No.3, pp.9-67.

Despite the turbulent nature of the Third Council, a decision was taken to produce a "general catechism for all the provinces", which took shape in the tri-lingual 1584 Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para Instruccion de los Indios. The Doctrina was designed as Part I of a larger work. Part II comprised the Confessionario, an Exhortacion para ayudar a bien morir, Polo de Ondegardo's Instruccion para extirpar los ritos y supersticiones de los Indios, Facultades y privilegios concedidos por los summos Pontifices a los Indios, and Forma de impedimientos del Matrimonio para los Indios. The tri-lingual collection of thirty-one sermons expounding the Doctrina was published in 1585 as the "third catechism"--complementing the smaller and larger catechisms in the Doctrina.

b. The policy of the Third Lima Council

In a letter to Philip II, the Third Council bishops justified the Council's length by the need to establish the most important aspects of "church government and the instruction of the inhabitants of these parts".¹⁰⁸ They were aware that the preparation of an officially recognised catechism was overdue, and noted with regret that the catechism planned by the previous

¹⁰⁸ "Carta colectiva", (30 September 1583), in Roberto Levillier, Organización de la Iglesia y las Ordenes Religiosas en el Virreynato del Perú en el Siglo XVI, Vol.1, (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1919), p.268.

Council had not come to fruition. In their letter commending the catechism, they stated that

different churches and people of long experience have sent letters insisting emphatically that this Holy Provincial Synod take this matter in hand, as something which called for no lesser authority, to be received by everyone without contradiction.¹⁰⁹

In decreeing that all Christian adults were obliged to know the substance of the Christian faith as expressed in the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, and the Lord's Prayer, the Council also took note of the need to adapt the teaching not only "according to the capacity" of each Indian, but also according to "ability and opportunity".¹¹⁰

This need for adaptation was clear from earlier missionary activity both in Peru and in Mexico, yet the Third Council cited the Fathers on the matter: "the teacher of the Word must accommodate himself to the various levels of the hearers".¹¹¹ They also followed Augustine: "let us adapt ourselves to them with a brother's, a father's and a mother's love".¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Segunda acción, cap.4.

¹¹¹ Pseudo-Clement--Letter to James--at that time attributed to Clement of Rome. In fact, they quoted Rufinus' comments rather than the original text of the letter.

¹¹² De Catechizandis Rudibus, ch. xiii. The use of *narratio* in the sermon which develops the Shorter Catechism and in the sermonal which develops the

In addition, they were putting into effect the recommendation of Trent that the catechism should be translated into the vernacular languages, adapted to the abilities of the faithful:

As in imparting instruction of any sort, the manner of communicating it is of highest importance, so in conveying instruction to Christian people, it should be deemed of the greatest moment. Age, capacity, manners and condition demand attention.¹¹³

They recognised that there had been little order in what had been taught, that most priests responsible for Indian parishes lacked an adequate methodology, and that, in contrast to the recommendations of Trent, the teaching had not been related to the abilities of the Indians.

With regard to method and style, the teaching was to be accommodated to what would be of most benefit to the Indians. There was to be a shorter catechism for the *rudos y ocupados*, and a larger one for the *mas capaces* which would neither be so brief as to have "insufficient doctrine", nor be so wordy as to "prove

Larger Catechism also has its roots in Augustine. Cited also in the "Proemio", Tercero catecismo, p.7.

¹¹³ "Preface to the Catechism of Trent", J. Waterworth, The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent, (London: Dolman, 1848), p.7.

tiring".¹¹⁴ In recognising this division, the Council members may have been continuing an existing division from Inca times, whereby special training was given to the sons of the nobility and of provincial rulers.

The "substance and order" of the catechism was to "follow in every way possible" the catechism of Pius V.¹¹⁵ This was to produce a single authorised text which would end the diversity of catechisms and with it the problem of Indian confusion over versions of the faith.¹¹⁶ It would resolve the language problem by providing priests with materials they could readily use, despite their lack of ability in the language. "They would easily know what they had to teach without being sidetracked into matters of little substance".¹¹⁷ It was also hoped that it would resolve other aspects of the language problem, in that a text to which all conformed would utilise the same termi-

¹¹⁴ In sixteenth-century Peru the *rudos* were the "rustic" and "untaught". The *ocupados* were the rural peasants involved in agriculture or some "industrial" work, whereas the *mas capaces* were the sons of headmen and others of the indigenous ruling class who were brought together for teaching in schools. Javier Castillo, Catecismos peruanos en el S.XVI, (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1966), p.218.

¹¹⁵ On translation policy see ch. 2., pp.122-8.

¹¹⁶ "...que haya una misma forma de doctrinarlos". Segunda acción, cap.3. references to Council decrees are taken from Enrique Bartra, ed., Tercer Concilio Limense 1582-1583, (Lima: Facultad Pontificia y Civil de Teología de Lima, 1982).

¹¹⁷ "Epistola del Concilio", Doctrina Christiana.

nology, thus safeguarding fidelity in the expression of the truth and ensuring fidelity in the transmission of this truth to the hearer:

The holy synod commands all clergy to the Indians by virtue of holy obedience and on pain of excommunication, that they possess and use this catechism which is published with its authority, leaving aside all the others, and in conformity with it they work to instruct the souls for whom they have responsibility. For the benefit and wellbeing of the Indians it is very important that there be uniformity not only in substance and meaning, but also in the very language and words used.¹¹⁸

c. The sources of the 1584 Catechism

Other than the clear directive to follow the Tridentine catechism, the Council gave no details of the "many printed and hand-written catechisms" which their experts consulted. The phrase echoes the reference by the First Lima Council to the use in Peru of "printed materials from Spain". Then permission was granted to use the Manual Romano instead of the longer Manual Sevillano. Regular contacts between clergy in Mexico and Peru make it likely that some of the Mexican catechisms found their way to Peru.¹¹⁹ The Dominican Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda,¹²⁰ Archbishop of Toledo

¹¹⁸ Segunda acción, cap.3.

¹¹⁹ The Jesuits, after all, had brought Italian printer Antonio Ricardo from Mexico, where he had been responsible for printing catechisms and other materials.

¹²⁰ 1503-1576.

before he found himself in an Inquisition prison in 1559 for questions relating to his 1558 commentary on the catechism, had played an important part in the early sessions of the Council of Trent. He is known to have influenced fellow-Dominicans in the New World, some of whom were friends (like Bartolomé de las Casas and Domingo de Santo Tomás) and others pupils (like the unfortunate Francisco de la Cruz). The works of another Dominican, Luis de Granada, were also widely used in the New World, and his Introduccion del Simbolo de la fe¹²¹ was in circulation in Peru at the time of the preparation of the 1584 Doctrina. Whether the works of the Jesuit Peter Canisius were also available is not known.¹²²

As in Mexico, Augustine's De Catechizandis Rudibus and Enchiridion provided a broad frame of reference for the authors of the publications of the Third Lima

¹²¹ Saragosa: Domingo de Portonarijs Ursino, 1573.

¹²² His Summa doctrinae Christianae (1555), Catechismus minimus (1556) and Parvus Catechismus (1558) were very influential in Europe. Monica Barnes unaccountably identifies Canisius' Summa as the official catechism approved by Trent and Pius V, and on that basis states that Canisius' work is the model for the 1584 Doctrina. The Tridentine catechism was a manual for priests, and while it provided the broad structure for the Lima work, its target audiences were quite different. Canisius' Summa differs considerably both in structure and content from the 1584 work. "Catechisms and Confessionarios: Distorting Mirrors of Andean Societies", in Andean Cosmologies Through Time: Persistence and Emergence, ed. Robert H. C. Dover, Katherine Seibold, and John H. McDowell, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), in press, p.10.

Council.¹²³ The presence of Erasmian ideas cannot be excluded completely; they were present in some of the Mexican materials and in those of Martin Azpilcueta Navarro who incorporated Ponce de la Fuente's work in his own. Navarro's own works circulated freely in Peru.¹²⁴

In addition to the early Peruvian materials already mentioned, the Jesuit materials which emerged from the 1576 congregation would appear to have played a significant role in the shaping of the 1584 Doctrina. Acosta's recommendations on catechisms were adopted by the Third Council, and it is also likely that the catechetical materials prepared by the Jesuits were used by those who prepared the 1584 materials.¹²⁵ It is also known that Bishop Lartaún of Cuzco had been responsible for the preparation of a Cartilla de la Doctrina Cristiana in Quechua which circulated in

¹²³ Its role is explained in the *Proemio* to the Tercero catecismo y exposicion de la Doctrina por sermones. The sermonal did not have the same order as the catechism because they taught first the mysteries of the faith and then the rest in narrative form "as Augustine teaches".

¹²⁴ Irving A. Leonard, "Best-sellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1583", HAHR 22, no.1 (Feb.1942), p.27.

¹²⁵ The only extant example of Bárzana's work is part of his translation of the catechism to the Puquina language, included by the Franciscan Luis Jerónimo de Oré in his Rituale, seu Manual Peruanum, (Neapoli: Jacobus Carlinus, 1607).

manuscript form.¹²⁶ The chronicler Martín de Murúa states that fellow Mercedarian Melchor Hernández was the author of the Quechua catechism produced by the Lima Council,¹²⁷ but it is more likely that such a work was one consulted by the authors.

A comparison of the 1584 Doctrina and the Tridentine catechism shows that, following the recommendations of the Council fathers, the latter played an important role. The "substance of the Christian religion" was to be

the principal mysteries of the faith which are in the Symbol, in the Commandments of the Decalogue which everyone has to keep, in the sacraments which of necessity everyone should receive, and, finally, in what we have to hope and ask of God, which is taught in the Lord's Prayer.¹²⁸

This coincides with the structure of the Tridentine catechism.

d. Author(s) and translators

The composition of the team of experts who worked on the different versions of the 1584-5 publications has

¹²⁶ During the Council Lartaún was accused of marketing a Latin *cartilla*, but this was disproved by Francisco Carrasco who stated that it was a Quechua *cartilla*, for which the copying had to be paid. Durán, Catecismo, pp.214, 234.

¹²⁷ Op.cit., p.484.

¹²⁸ Segunda acción, cap. 4.

been amply discussed in recent years.¹²⁹ Contemporary records make it clear that José de Acosta was the chief architect of at least the catechism and the sermonal in Spanish. This is confirmed by a comparison of Books 4 and 5 of his De Procuranda with these publications. Juan de Balboa, Canon of Lima Cathedral and Professor of Quechua in the University of San Marcos, headed the team which translated the materials to Quechua, and probably worked with Acosta in drafting the Spanish versions.

Alonso Martínez, Canon of Cuzco Cathedral, the Arequipa-born Jesuit Bartolomé de Santiago, and the Cuzco-born Francisco Carrasco were co-translators with Balboa of the Quechua versions, helped for a time by Cristóbal de Molina.¹³⁰ Their work was checked by a five-man team drawn from the Augustinians, Dominicans, Mercedarians and Jesuits. The Aymara translations were carried out by the Chachapoyas-born Jesuit Blas Valera,¹³¹ with the help of Bartolomé de Santiago and Francisco Carrasco. The one striking absentee was

¹²⁹ León Lopetegui, op. cit., pp.513-537; Castillo, op.cit., pp.44-45.; Enrique T. Bartra, "Los autores del Catecismo del Tercer Concilio Limense", Mercurio Peruano, nov.-dic. 1967, pp.359-372; Juan G. Durán, Catecismo, pp.240-268.

¹³⁰ Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols, Relacion de las Fabulas y Ritos de los Incas in Fabulas y Mitos de los Incas, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1988), pp.17-20.

¹³¹ He also helped in the revision of the Quechua materials.

Alonso de Bárzana, who apart from a short visit to Lima, was working much further south in the mountains throughout the period of composition of the texts. He may have been available for consultation by the translators, but despite his absence, it is likely that his fellow-Jesuits had his materials available to them. Although not mentioned in official council documents, Franciscan sources note the participation of Jerónimo de Oré in the translation.¹³²

Whatever the exact makeup of the list of participants, the dominant presence of the Jesuits is evident. It is also clear that Peruvian-born priests, either *criollos* or *mestizos*, were indispensable to the work,¹³³ an indicator of the changing nature of church and society in Peru. With regard to the Quechua translation, the predominance of priests from, or with experience in, Cuzco is also significant, underlining the church's choice of that dialect of Quechua for its statement of the faith.

¹³² BNL, Registro 35, fols. 27, 55.

¹³³ In 1578 Philip II had decreed that *mestizos* were not to be ordained to the priesthood. A number of *mestizos* appealed to the Third Council against this. In the hearing men like Acosta argued for their ordination, citing in support of the case the work done by *mestizos* in the translation of the projected publications. In fact, only the Jesuit order received *mestizos*, and even they later abandoned the practice. Vargas, Historia, vol.2, pp.213-217.

5. The 1584 Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo¹³⁴

The Doctrina Christiana was the most important of the three major publications ordered by the Council. After the prefatory material,¹³⁵ it comprised:

- i. Doctrina Christiana¹³⁶
- ii. Shorter catechism¹³⁷
- iii. Short sermon based on the *summa* of section i¹³⁸
- iv. Spanish alphabet and syllabary
- v. Larger catechism
 - Part 1: What is man?
 - Part 2: Creed
 - Part 3: Sacraments

¹³⁴ Appendix 3.

¹³⁵ Provision real; *Epistola del Concilio*; Decree of the Third Council in Latin; *Epistola sobre traduccion*; Decree on translation.

¹³⁶ Or *cartilla* - a summarised form of basic teaching. It contained the main prayers which had to be memorised (Sign of the Cross, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, Salve Regina), and the main truths which should be known (Articles of the faith, Ten Commandments, five commandments of the Church, seven sacraments of the Church, fourteen works of mercy, three theological virtues, four cardinal virtues, seven deadly sins, three enemies of the soul, four last things, general confession, *summa* of the faith for those near death, old, and *rudos*).

¹³⁷ Seventeen questions and answers on God, Trinity, idols, man, life - present/future, Jesus Christ, Death of Jesus Christ; salvation, baptism, church, confession, and the commandments.

¹³⁸ This dealt briefly with the following themes: God, the Trinity, Jesus Christ, and the Church.

Part 4: Commandments

Part 5: Lord's Prayer

vi. Translators' notes and short vocabularies.

It is a combination of well-established formulas and the principal elements of the Tridentine Catechism. Acosta's hand is seen clearly at a number of points, especially in his preference for the Creed over against the more traditional use of the Articles of the Faith. The Articles are included in the *Doctrina*, but the "Shorter Catechism is nothing other than a basic exposition of the Creed, which is magnificently developed in the Larger Catechism".¹³⁹ Acosta had complained that the Articles said "nothing about the Church, nothing about the communion of saints, and nothing about the forgiveness of sins through the sacraments".¹⁴⁰ His concern for the Indians to have an adequate understanding of the Trinity is reflected in formulas drawn from the Athanasian Creed.¹⁴¹

In this the attempt to remain true to received theological formulations was in conflict with the desire to communicate, and the Council's underlying philosophical position on how to state the Church's

¹³⁹ Bartra, op.cit., p.369.

¹⁴⁰ Mateos. op.cit., p.556.

¹⁴¹ f.30.

faith prevailed.¹⁴² The 1584 Catechism and other materials were first thought out and edited in Spanish, and only then translated into Quechua and Aymara. The translation itself was a clear expression of a desire to adapt to the needs of the Indians. Like Santo Tomás before them, in the larger catechism they first addressed the question "What is man?".¹⁴³ This contrasted with a European catechism such as that of Canisius, where the first question was "Who is to be called a Christian?"¹⁴⁴.

Nevertheless a study of the Spanish text has shown that the catechism remained "extremely conceptual".¹⁴⁵ Adaptation consisted in presenting more complex theological ideas in summary form, with the result that the doctrinal content was appropriate to a theologian familiar with such terminology and not at all to an Indian, whether *rudo*, *ocupado* or *mas capaz*. The Quechua text suffers from the same problem, with some parts reflecting the Latin syntax to such a degree as to make it unintelligible.

¹⁴² The translators explained, for instance, that they had used the Quechua word "flesh" in their translation of resurrection passages because it was required by the "catechism of the Pope". They added that the interpreter should explain what was meant. Doctrina Christiana, f.75v.

¹⁴³ Doctrina Christiana, fols. 25,26.

¹⁴⁴ A Summe of Christian Doctrine, (London: 1622), p.19.

¹⁴⁵ Castillo, op.cit., p.216.

A question and answer format was recommended to make memorisation and repetition easier,¹⁴⁶ so that

the children and adults would practise reciting it in turn when they gather in the church, and even when they go to their work and other business, as in some parts many good Indians do, and they derive great benefit as a result.¹⁴⁷

It was a practice that Acosta had seen used to good effect in Juli on the shores of Lake Titicaca, an Indian parish for which the Jesuits had responsibility.¹⁴⁸

However, while some of the answers are short and easily memorised, "others are very long and set in such a theological framework that they are practically inaccessible to the ordinary person...it is a straight transposition of theological language to the realm of catechumenate".¹⁴⁹ A study of the Quechua text of the Catechism indicates that the "dialogue" is in fact a monologue with the whole discourse structured from the point of view of the questioner. The answers are bound into the structure in a way that presupposes both the linguistic format of the preceding question and the

¹⁴⁶ The method was in use in Spain and elsewhere in Europe, but goes back at least to Augustine, op. cit., chs. 6, 13.

¹⁴⁷ "Epistola del Concilio", Doctrina Christiana.

¹⁴⁸ "Anua de la Provincia del Pirú del Año 1578", in Mateos, op.cit., p.295.

¹⁴⁹ Castillo, op. cit., p.159.

following question.¹⁵⁰ There is an embedding or overlapping technique used which binds all together in a unitary discourse. There is therefore no dialogue. There is no time or space for reflection, and so no "answer" as such. The Indian does not act as subject or creator of the response, instead he or she is acted upon.¹⁵¹

This is nowhere clearer than in the translation of "believe" by *yñiy* or *iñiy*:

To assent, concede, believe; this word comes from *y* which means 'yes' and *ñiy* which means 'to say'; it means the same as words used in other parts *ariñini*, *checan ñini*, *sullulmi ñini*".¹⁵²

The Creed was *iñincanchic*, "what we say yes to",¹⁵³ an indication of the need to give assent to the church's saving words, which necessarily must be correctly formulated so as to preserve the purity of doctrine.

Such terminology belonged to the Andean world of reciprocal relationships, which applied both to people and to deities. *Viracocha* was asked:

Where are you?
Outside? Inside?

¹⁵⁰ Appendix 3, f.15r, note 30.

¹⁵¹ This is also true of other question-and-answer catechisms of that period.

¹⁵² "Vocablos dificultosos de la lengua Quichua", *Doctrina*, f.77v. The synonyms mean "I say yes", "I say it is true", "I say it is correct".

¹⁵³ *Doctrina*, f.29r.

In the cloud? In the shadow?
Hear me,
respond to me,
consent.¹⁵⁴

In similar prayers *hay-ñiy*, *hu-ñiy*, and *i-ñiy* are used of the response of *Viracocha* and the *huacas* to the supplicant, or the response of the supplicant to the deity.¹⁵⁵ Holguien explained that *ñini* ("I say") was used in various combinations:

In conceding that something is true, they say yes with "y", in agreeing to do what is asked they use "hu", in stating that something happens or is done that way, they use "ari".¹⁵⁶

Hay ñini meant "to respond" or "to respond by asking 'what do you want?'"¹⁵⁷.

From that world of mutual obligations the church took *i-ñiy* to mean "believe", *hu-ñiy* to mean "obey". In this new epistemology the stress on uni-directional belief and obedience also required another category--doubt--for which the indigenous term for uncertainty or perplexity (*tunki*) became the religious word "to doubt" and, as such, a sin to be confessed. At the same time, in the polemic against the indigenous

¹⁵⁴ "Maipim canqui aguapichu ucopichu puyupichu llantupichu hoyariguai hayniguai iniguai." The last two words are *hay niguai* and *i niguai*, lit. "say 'hay' to me" and "say 'i' to me". Molina, op.cit., f.15r.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., fols.16r-18v.

¹⁵⁶ Op. cit., p.360.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p.157.

deities the church denied their deities a voice, no longer could they respond "ay" to the supplicants.¹⁵⁸

Nevertheless, the use of the indigenous languages was a recognition of their importance for meaningful communication, and an effort to overcome the language problem faced by the priests. While we can discern an underlying philosophical position, the risk involved to the faith in taking this approach was not raised by the Council documents. The Council decrees on the use of names and the use of the *quipu* show however that Council members were aware of it.

Indigenous people were not to be allowed to use "the names of their paganism and idolatry" in baptism or in marriage, rather they were to use such names at baptism as were "customary among Christians".¹⁵⁹ Later writers indicate that the Council decree did not have the desired effect, and they point up the danger perceived in the indigenous names:

by conserving the names of their *mallquis*¹⁶⁰their adoration perseveres, so that the wife does not call the husband Peter or Francis, but Llibiac or Curi or another name of the *mallquis*, and the reason is that men usually marry women of the same *ayllus*,

¹⁵⁸ Confessionario, f23v.

¹⁵⁹ Segunda acción, cap.11.

¹⁶⁰ Ancestor bundles.

conserving with the memory of them (i.e. the ayllus) that of their imaginary gods.¹⁶¹

Names, ancestors, and rituals were part of the fabric of indigenous life, their preservation in language and memory was discouraged.

Another means by which the indigenous memory was maintained was through the use of *quipus*, which the indigenous people saw as analogous to the Christian "word" enshrined in the Church's Scriptures.¹⁶² The Council sought to root out its use:

Because of the elegance and propriety which they have in the Latin language, ancient books in Latin written by pagans are allowed, provided that lewd books (even though they are in Latin) are not read to boys. Instead of books Indians have used and [still] use items as registers made from different strings which they call *quipus*, and with these they conserve the memory of their ancient superstition, rites, ceremonies and perverse customs, Bishops should therefore exercise due diligence to ensure that all these memorials or *quipus* which are used for their superstition be completely taken away from them.¹⁶³

Works of classical authors, though pagan (and long since desacralised), were acceptable, but not living works of Andean *gentilidad*. Yet the church was not

¹⁶¹ Fernando de Avendaño, "Prologue", Sermones de los Misterios de Nuestra Santa fe Católica, en Lengua Castellana, y la General del Inca, (Lima: Jorge Lopez de Herrera, 1648). This refers to rites practised around 1610-1620.

¹⁶² On the contrast between the indigenous *quipu* and the Christian *quillca*, see ch.4, p.269.

¹⁶³ Tercera acción, cap.37.

altogether consistent. In the Sermon on Confession, Indians were told:

First of all, think about your sin, then make a *quipu* of it. If you were an innkeeper you would count and keep a *quipu* of what you have given and what you owe. In just the same way you should keep a *quipu* of your sins against God and against your neighbour.¹⁶⁴

The Sermon on Prayer advised:

You will recite your rosary every day. Let no one be without a rosary, but if you do not have one, recite your prayers even using a *quipu*.¹⁶⁵

The *quipu* in this was seen as a neutral artefact, used not for "superstition" but as an appropriate substitute for the rosary. It was, nevertheless, outwith the control of the church, which could not check on all the uses to which it was being put.

This ambivalence towards the *quipu* is also seen in the use of the indigenous language. The problems posed for the translators are reflected in their translation notes appended to the Doctrina Christiana. Certain terms are not expressed in Quechua, but are retained in the Spanish form. In the Doctrina some thirteen per cent of words remain in Spanish. It is possible to categorise these as follows:

i. Divine beings and the supernatural

¹⁶⁴ Sermon XI, Tercer Catecismo, f.59v.

¹⁶⁵ Sermon XXVIII, *ibid.*, f.181r.

Angel, archangel, diablo*,¹⁶⁶ Dios, Christo, Iesu, Iesus, Iesuchristo, san(cto/a), Satanás, virgen.

ii. Functionaries, organisation, and structures

Apostol, christiano, concilio, discipulo, herege, padre, Roma, sacerdote, yglesia catholica.

iii. Christian history

Adán, Eva, Iuan Baptista, Maria, Miguel, Pablo, Pedro, Poncio Pilato.

iv. Rites and rituals

Altar, amen, ayunar, bautismo/baptizar, caliz, casar, crisma, comulgar, comunión, confesar/confession, confirmación, consagrar/consagración, diezmos, domingo, extrema unction, fiesta, hostia, jurar, matrimonio, missa, olio, oración, orden, ornamentos, pascua, penitencia, primicias, rezar, sacramento, salve, servir, ymagen.

v. Symbols and sources

¹⁶⁶ The words with an * also have a Quechua translation in the text. Most significant are the sins, the virtues and the enemies of the flesh. It was difficult to confess what was not understood.

Cartilla, catecismo, credo*, cruz, doctrina.

vi. Theological and anthropological concepts

Accidia*, anima, articulos de fe*, avaricia*, carne*, charidad*, embidia*, esperanza*, fee*, fortaleza*, gracia, gula*, ira*, iusticia*, luxuria*, mancebar, mandamiento*, milagro, obras de misericordia*, mundo*, peccado (original, venial, cardenal)*, persona, prudencia*, purgatorio, sancto, soberuia*, soltero, templanza*, virtudes teologales.

The preservation of Spanish terminology in a post-Trent situation contrasted sharply with Santo Tomás' use of the vernacular. Acosta saw no problem in the use of *Dios* as the term for God,¹⁶⁷ nor in a wider use of loan words--it was a common feature of language contact:

Being barbarians, they lack the knowledge of spiritual and philosophical matters, and have very few words for these things. But usage has introduced Spanish words to the Indian language. This is true of "horse", "ox", "wine", "wheat", "oil" and other things of which they had no knowledge. They received these things from the Spanish together with their names. In exchange we have received from them other types of animals and fruits, which were unknown in Europe. So I think there is no need to worry overmuch if the words "faith", "cross", "angel", "virginity", "marriage", and many others for which there is no corresponding term nor can be well translated in the Indian language. They can be taken from Castilian and made theirs, enriching the

¹⁶⁷ See pp.151-2.

language with their usage, as all nations have always done (especially the Spanish nation) in order to be enriched with abundant foreign words, something that any sensible *simiyachac* (as the teachers of the Indian language are known) is in the habit of doing.¹⁶⁸

It was one thing to use Spanish loanwords for artefacts or entities unknown in the Andean culture, and quite another to maintain Spanish religious vocabulary for rites and concepts which could be paralleled in existing Andean practice. Where a similar rite was practised, the Andean one could inform the Christian one, and the Quechua terms qualifying the Spanish loans would give a different shade of meaning to the loan vocabulary. Where there was no rite, the vocabulary used to explain the loan terms could likewise produce an Andean meaning.

The largest category of loanwords is that relating to the church's rites and rituals. In these cases the problem does not appear to have been the lack of indigenous terminology, but rather the existence of parallel rituals in the Andean region with a full range of vocabulary which already related to a different world of the signified. Apart from the adoption of *muchay* as the verb meaning "to worship",¹⁶⁹ the translators appear to have studiously avoided verbs from Quechua ritual vocabulary, e.g.

¹⁶⁸ De procuranda, Mateos, op. cit., pp.518f.

¹⁶⁹ See above pp.158-9.

ayunar (to fast), *baptizar* (to baptise), *casar* (to marry), *comulgar* (to take communion), *consagrar* (to consecrate), *jurar* (to swear), *confessar* (to confess), *orar/rezar* (to pray), *servir* (to serve). These were paralleled by indigenous terms, all of which were known to the translators, as can be seen from the questions raised in the Confessionario regarding these practices.¹⁷⁰ Such indigenous practices seemed so similar to the Christian ones, that they were thought to be an imitation by the Devil.¹⁷¹

In Christian rituals Spanish words were also retained for the artefacts used. For example, in the celebration of the Eucharist the terms "host" and "chalice" were retained, and an explanation of the death of Christ in sacrificial terms was avoided.¹⁷² There were indigenous rituals with sacred bread¹⁷³ and ritual cups,¹⁷⁴ but neither term was acceptable.

¹⁷⁰ E.g. *opacuy* "to wash", *ichuri* "confessor", *çaçiy* "to fast", *huarmiyacuy* "to marry".

¹⁷¹ Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, ed. José Alcina Franch, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1987), p.378.

¹⁷² The death was seen as a gift or offering (*qocuy* - to give oneself), but the verbs *harpay* and *haspay* (for sacrifice of flesh, with and without blood) were avoided.

¹⁷³ *Illai tanta*.

¹⁷⁴ *Mate* and *geru*.

Differences between indigenous practice and Christian ones were noted as early as Domingo de Santo Tomás:

It is of note that before we Christians came to them, the Indians of Peru had certain special terms and ways of swearing different from us. Regarding which it should be noted that they had no term for an assertory oath, nor did they say "by God" or "by heaven" as we do, but they only had an execratory oath or curse, and so did not say "I swear to God" or "by God" or "by the sun or the moon". But "if it is not so...may I die an evil death", or "may the earth swallow me", or "may the sun kill me".¹⁷⁵

This made it necessary to curtail, redefine and replace indigenous terms and practices; such a process is in evidence in the catechism. In some cases indigenous vocabulary and its related rites are introduced only to be rejected and replaced by Spanish terminology. The section on marriage in the Quechua Larger Catechism is a case in point:

Q. What is marriage (*matrimonio*)?

A. In this sacrament a man and a woman, both Christians, marry (*casar*) each one agreeing mutually not to separate until they die. In this sacrament they receive God's grace, in order to produce children whom they will bring up to serve God, and in order that the man and the woman will live without committing the sin of dishonesty.¹⁷⁶

Q. Do unbaptised people marry in just the same way?

A. No. The man takes a wife (*huarmiyacuy*) and the woman takes a husband (*coçayacuy*), but this husband-taking and wife-taking is not a sacrament like Christian marriage. Only Christians receive God's grace in this

¹⁷⁵ Grammatica, p.149.

¹⁷⁶ The Church's rendering of "adultery".

sacrament, in order to live well, in order to be saved for God in their married life.¹⁷⁷

The Spanish term *matrimonio* (marriage) and the Spanish-based *casaracuy* (to marry) are contrasted with the Quechua *huarmiyacuy* (lit. to wife oneself) and *coçayacuy* (lit. to husband oneself), both of which are rejected as non-Christian. For the Church, the First Lima Council had stated that indigenous marriage customs should be respected, since "the law of grace did not annul the natural law, rather it perfected it".¹⁷⁸ For a later generation indigenous marriage was unacceptable because it allowed unions between closer degrees of consanguinity than those allowed by the Church. Also it allowed what was understood to be trial marriage and pre-marital sex:

[They say] a single man and a single woman can rightly live together by way of a trial prior to marriage, and that it is not sin, because they do it to serve God. This is common, many Indians do it without a qualm.¹⁷⁹

The fundamental decision on the divine name has already been mentioned,¹⁸⁰ and the choices made by Santo Tomás were confirmed by Council use. However, as

¹⁷⁷ fol. 54.

¹⁷⁸ Const.15. Vargas, op.cit., p.15.

¹⁷⁹ "De los errores contra la Fe Catolica, en que suelen caer algunos Indios", Instruccion contra las Ceremonias, y Ritos que usan los Indios conforme al tiempo de su infidelidad, p.5. (The Instruccion was published along with the Confessionario).

¹⁸⁰ See pp.151-2.

was clear in the *plática* of Santo Tomás, the Christian God could not be explained without reference to origins:

The narration is complete when the beginner is first instructed from the text "In the beginning God created heaven and earth" down to the present period of Church history.¹⁸¹

In explaining this in Quechua the verbs used were *camay* (to create), *pacarichiy* (to give origin to), and *ruray* (to make). Of these *camay* was the most commonly used word. Early missionary vocabularies gave "create" as one of the meanings of *camay* and, as time went on, even "create from nothing". The translators noted that "*cama* has various meanings...when it is a verb it means 'create from nothing' or 'to appoint someone to an office or position'. Hence *camac* 'creator' which is the same as *rurac* [maker]".¹⁸² Other meanings were also denied as is seen in the note on "*Ruraquēman*: the Creator":

Note that in the Creed *ruraquē* was used for 'creator', and not *camaque*. The one because it is equivalent to *camaquē* or *camac* for 'creator', as the Church declares when she says *Credo in unū Deum Patrem omnipotentē factorē coeli & terrae*. The other to avoid ambiguity, because *camaquen* also means 'soul', and the Indian could understand that God is the soul of the world, which was a great difficulty. In the Articles of Faith *camac* was used, and rightly so, because there is not

¹⁸¹ St. Augustine, The First Catechetical Instruction [De Catechizandis Rudibus], ch.3, trans. J.P.Christopher (Westminster, Md.: Newman Bookshop, 1946), p.38.

¹⁸² Fols. 75v, 76r.

this misconception when it is expressed as a participle.¹⁸³

In fact a careful study of the early lexicons shows the verbal root *cama-* to be an indigenous concept which may be defined as "to transmit the life force and sustain it, to protect the person or thing that benefits thereby".¹⁸⁴ This had a wider application than the concept brought by the missionaries. Everything was animated so that it could function properly or achieve its end purpose. Applied to the earth--*camac pacha* or *pacha camasca*--it meant it was animated in the sense of being "fertile" or "productive". It possessed powers to do or be something. Animals, fields, mountains, stones, as well as human beings were "animated". That vital force was derived from the *numina* of Andean reality, most often the divinised founding ancestor of the ethnic group. It was a power which could be present in different degrees, and those who possessed it in an intensified sense were *camasca runa*.¹⁸⁵ A person who was ill had in some way lost his or her *camaque*.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ f. 77v. (Underlining mine).

¹⁸⁴ Gerald Taylor, "Camay, Camac et Camasca dans le Manuscrit Quechua de Huarochiri", Journal de la Société des Americanistes 63 (1974-76), p.235.

¹⁸⁵ "Animated or inspired people". The Spanish referred to them as "sorcerers". Polo de Ondegardo, op. cit., p.12.

¹⁸⁶ See ch.5, p.361.

Each *ayllu* could have its own *camac*:

There is no child, however small, who does not know the name of the *huaca* of his *ayllu*...but there are very few who can answer "who is God" or "who is Jesus Christ?" ...They do not know that we all come from [the same] first parents, and so they are convinced that not only do the Spanish have one origin and the blacks another, but that each *ayllu* and partiality of Indians has its own origin, and *pacarina*, which they give a special name and which they worship and offer sacrifice. They call it *Camac*, which is Creator, and each one says its has its own Creator, some say such-and-such a mountain, others that spring, and others tell many fables and tall tales about their *pacarinas*.¹⁸⁷

Holy places, origins, and ethnic identity were woven together in a way which particularised *camac* for each Andean valley:

The Andean concept of origin appears to have been more along the lines of multiple and independent origins of people rather than the single creation of all mankind to which the Spaniards were accustomed.¹⁸⁸

This idea was strengthened by the use of *pacari-* (to originate) of God, each *ayllu* or ethnic group had its *pacarina*, its own place of origin, linked to the ancestor cult and the ongoing cycle of life.¹⁸⁹ When presented with the Christian God as *Camac Dios*, and Jesus Christ who was born (*pacarimurcan*) of the Virgin

¹⁸⁷ Arriaga, op.cit., pp. 219f.

¹⁸⁸ Mary Doyle, "The ancestor cult and burial ritual in seventeenth and eighteenth century central Peru", Ph.D. thesis, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1988), p.88.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p.141.

Mary in a *pacarina* in Bethlehem, the Indians could understandably respond that this God was only for the Spanish; they themselves had their own *Camac*, and a *pacarina* which was the focus of their worship.

In the process of translating to Quechua, a shift of meaning and focus took place. The way in which shift of meaning could take place is indicated in the extended use made of the verb *muchay*. It was used in various contexts by the translators, who were aware of a certain lack of correspondence between it and the Latin or Spanish original, as their translation note indicates:

Muchaycusayqui, Dios te salve. Muchani, o muchaycuni means to "adore", "kiss", "greet", "reverence", and, with the particle *pu*, "intercede". Here it represents "to greet", and despite having first person to second person action, it still retains more of the meaning of *Aue*, or *Salve* in Latin, and *Dios te salve* in Romance, than does *caci quispilla cay Maria*.¹⁹⁰

For whatever reason, the verb *napay* ("to greet") was not used.¹⁹¹ Instead the supplicant's wish for Mary became a direct ascription of praise (and perhaps even "divine" status) to Mary. Despite the translators' explanation, it is likely that the indigenous people understood this as a personal act towards Mary, such

¹⁹⁰ f.75v. *Caci quispilla cay Maria* meant "be tranquil and safe, Mary".

¹⁹¹ Holguien, op.cit., p.257.

as "I revere you, Mary" or "I adore you, Mary". It represents a theological shift in the prayer.

Prayers comprise a significant part of the Doctrina Christiana. The Church not only sought to teach them, but to do so in its own terms. These represent another direction in which meaning changed. The words *rezar* and *orar* recur frequently, yet when these are nominalised their action is explained with the Quechua verb *mañay* or *mañacuy*:

What is prayer? (*oración*)

...it is asking (*mañacuy*) God himself, and is called prayer (*oración*).¹⁹²

The verb *mañay* was widely used in Andean relationships. When the Inca empire expanded it was more often by negotiation than by battle - the process of asking, giving favours, and reciprocal responsibilities undertaken was *mañay* - a pact.¹⁹³ It applied not only in the political sphere, but in all areas of human activity. It was "to ask", "to involve", "to require of someone in exchange for something", "to ask to borrow on the understanding that it would be returned", and "to establish certain conduct or custom".¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² f.69r.

¹⁹³ Luis Millones, Historia y Poder en los Andes Centrales (desde los orígenes al siglo XVII), (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987), pp.134f.

¹⁹⁴ Holguien, op. cit., p.227.

Alongside *muchay, mañay* was a basic element of the Indians' interaction with the *huacas*.¹⁹⁵

The importance of prayer and prayers for the Church is seen in the section of the Doctrina which develops the Lord's Prayer,¹⁹⁶ and in the sermons dedicated to the matter.¹⁹⁷ Indigenous prayers were not acceptable. Even the question "Can we pray other prayers?" (i.e. other than those taught by the Church), was expressed essentially in loan words when stated in Quechua.¹⁹⁸ The answer was that one could only *rezar*, and when one "asked" (*mañacuy*) it could only be in terms of those things included in the Lord's Prayer.¹⁹⁹ The Church could attempt to proscribe indigenous prayers, but its use of *mañacuy* in defining *rezar* and *orar* meant that the indigenous understanding of mutual obligation and reciprocity provided the framework of Christian prayer. The Church's emphasis elsewhere on the "freeness of grace"²⁰⁰ was undermined.

¹⁹⁵ In stating that there was no indigenous word for prayer, Margaret Beyersdorff has overlooked *mañacuy*. Op.cit., p.109.

¹⁹⁶ Doctrina Christiana, 68v-73v.

¹⁹⁷ Sermons 28 and 29, Tercero Catecismo, pp.176v-192r.

¹⁹⁸ "Padre nuestrollachu rezassun? Huc huc oracionestaca manachu rezassun?" (Can we only pray the Lord's Prayer? May we not pray other prayers?) - f.71v.

¹⁹⁹ f.72r.

²⁰⁰ *La gratuidad de la gracia*.

As well as involving a shift in meaning, translation led to a change of focus in the content of the faith. An example of this is seen in the Larger Catechism's reference to the "baptism of desire" and to the "baptism of blood".²⁰¹ A comparison of the Spanish and Quechua texts illustrates the constraints the Quechua language put on the translators and the change that could occur:

Sin bautismo puede alguno ser salvo?

Pipas mana bautizasca caspa quispinmanchu?

Who can be safe without being baptised?²⁰²

Nadie puede ser salvo sin rescibir el sancto bautismo por obra, quando puede, o a lo menos por desseo, quando no pudiesse por la obra, como el que rescibe Muerte por la fee catholica, que se dize, ser bautizado en su sangre.

Mana bautizasca caspaca manã pillapas quispinmanchu. Ychaca bautizaquẽ mana captin, A, pillapas bautizahuanman ñispa, tucuy sonconhuan munanmã, chayca quispinmãmi. Fee yñincanchicraycu huañucuri yahuarimpi bautizascañam huañun.

²⁰¹ The "baptism of desire" teaching goes back at least to Ambrose and Augustine, and the "baptism of blood" even earlier. The mention of the "baptism of desire" here may have been part of a theological reflection on the fate of the unbaptised, or a recognition that the lack of priests in rural areas meant that not all those desiring baptism were, in fact, baptised (the Quechua translation suggests this). The reference to the "baptism of blood" may have been simply illustrative, or a statement that Indians who allied themselves with missionaries evangelising "savages", and who died without being baptised, had died a martyr's death.

²⁰² The translation is of the Quechua text.

No one at all can be safe without being baptised. But if there is no baptiser, the person who wishes wholeheartedly, "Oh, that someone would baptise me!", will be safe. The person who dies for the faith which we assent to, dies already baptised in his blood.²⁰³

The Quechua has become much more concrete and specific in its language, using a direct speech quotation, and mentioning the lack of a person who can perform the rite. This reflects a sensitivity to the structures of the language on the part of the translators. With regard to the "baptism of desire", it is significant that a theological concept which was couched in such careful terms by Aquinas,²⁰⁴ and found its way into the Trent documents as the *votum baptismi* in the context of the debate on justification,²⁰⁵ should be stated so simply. In the case of the "baptism of blood", the Spanish refers to it by way of comparison or illustration, but the Quechua has an independent statement of belief.²⁰⁶ Matters essentially peripheral in Europe gained prominence in a New World catechism.

²⁰³ Appendix 3, 47v.

²⁰⁴ Summa, 3a.68.2c.

²⁰⁵ Session VI, *Decretum de iustificatione*, ch.4. Tanner, op.cit., p.672.

²⁰⁶ Again, scholastic theological reflection is reduced to one bald statement. Aquinas had drawn on Augustine (De baptismo contra Donatistas, IV,22) in formulating his own ideas:

Without baptism of water a person can achieve the sacrament's effect from the passion of Christ in so far as a person conforms himself to Christ by suffering for him. (Summa, 3a.66.11)

The continuing threat posed by indigenous practice and belief was clear from the Church's attempts to discredit the indigenous version of reality. Acosta followed Augustine in believing that it was necessary to "remove the idols from the hearts of pagans before removing them from their altars".²⁰⁷ His hand can be detected in the introduction to the confessional:

As long as they are not disabused of their errors by those who teach them, it is pointless to think that these Indians have received the Faith...however much they are merely told the things of our Faith without an attempt being made to persuade them of the truth of what they have to believe, or to show them the lies and deceit that the Devil has taught them, without first recognising their error it will be impossible for them to receive the Faith...therefore it has seemed important to compile sufficient information, without being too wordy, of the more common errors and superstitions of these Indians...for two purposes: one so that in sermons and talks their errors and vanities can be reproved and destroyed...the other so that confessors can ask questions of old people, sorcerers, and like people and understand them.²⁰⁸

As the Confessionario makes clear, the ultimates of their existence were satanised by the church, and its functionaries and practitioners proscribed. The old horizon however remained. It was not only a matter of "pagan altars", indigenous beliefs were encoded in nature:

If now the idols, stones, instruments of sacrifice and many other things they had for their rites have been destroyed, nevertheless

²⁰⁷ Mateos, op.cit., p.561.

²⁰⁸ "Proemio sobre el Confessionario", Confessionario.

the mountains, hills, springs, rivers, lakes, sea, gorges, rocks and *apachetas* and other similar things are still standing, and they are still venerated. Great vigilance is needed to root out this impious veneration from their hearts.²⁰⁹

The confessional and sermonal, the complementary materials of the catechism, were meant to deal with this problem. Published along with the confessional were the Supersticiones de los indios,²¹⁰ Los Errores y Supersticiones de los Indios,²¹¹ and Instruccion contra las cerimonias, y ritos que usan los Indios conforme al tiempo de su infidelidad.²¹²

The teaching of the catechism and the practice of confession were key elements in addressing the problem of "idolatry". In the catechism the indigenous deities were discredited in the section on the Creed,²¹³ and then in that on the Ten Commandments, notably the first commandment:²¹⁴

Who breaks God's commandment by not worshipping [him]?

²⁰⁹ Polo de Ondegardo, op.cit., p.16.

²¹⁰ Taken from the final document of the Second Lima Council: Part 2, Const. 98-105.

²¹¹ Polo de Ondegardo's work - it includes information on *guacas*, souls and the dead, statues of the Incas, omens, confession and penitence.

²¹² It covers sacrifices, offerings, the dead, witchcraft, omens, divination, and "errors against the catholic faith into which some Indians often fall".

²¹³ f.31r.

²¹⁴ f.58r.

People who worship what God has made or created as if it were God. The one who has a *huaca*, those who have a *huillca*, those who accept the bad customs and the teaching of ancestors and heretics, break God's commandment. These are the lies of the evil devil.²¹⁵

The confessional questions were based on each of the Ten Commandments. At first sight it appears that indigenous sexual practices were the church's main concern--the sixth commandment has twice as many questions as the first.²¹⁶ The confessional certainly shows the preoccupation of the priests in this area, and in this reflects European concerns seen in other colonial catechisms.²¹⁷ However there are additional questions on idolatry addressed to indigenous leaders²¹⁸ and confessors.²¹⁹ Therefore there are, overall, more questions on idolatry than on any other

²¹⁵ Pitac Diospa cay camachuscan siminta, mana yupaychaspachan?

Diospa rurascanta, camascanta quiquin Diosta hina muchac runacunam. Huacayoc, villcayocunam machucunap heregecunap, mana alli cauçayninta, yachachiscantahuan yñiccunam Diospa, cay camachuscan siminta pampachan. Cay caycunaca mana alli çupaypa llullaynincamam.

²¹⁶ Twenty-two as compared with ten.

²¹⁷ On Mexico, see Burkhart, op.cit., pp.150-159; on the Philippines, see Rafael, op.cit., pp.104,5. The very use in the Quechua text of the Spanish loan *amancebar* to represent "fornication", indicates the imposition of the European taxonomy of sin on the Andean people.

²¹⁸ f.16v.

²¹⁹ f.23.

single aspect of indigenous life: at the levels of individuals, leaders,²²⁰ and religious specialists. The confessional also contains a brief exhortation to be addressed to the "idolaters and superstitious", which begins:

Know this, God is very angry with you because of these abominable sins that you have committed, because of your having worshipped *huacas*, the sun, and other things, because you have worshipped stones, hills, and all sorts of bad things as if they were God. Are you blind that you worship what cannot speak, nor see, nor respond to your worship or the way you do it honour? Imbecile, witless person, who told you to do this?...²²¹

The sermon goes on to remind them that these are mere creatures of God, not to be worshipped. The worshippers themselves, who bear the image of God, are betraying the true God. He is described as fulfilling all the functions that the indigenous people understood to be the province of the *huacas*--he takes over their role. The indigenous belief is the "deceit of the devil". Their gods are helpless, they have been

²²⁰ They played an ambivalent role. They were both the intermediaries between the Spanish and the community, and as leaders responsible for the well-being of the community, were key figures in the maintenance of the local shrine and attendant offerings and ceremonies.

²²¹ Cayta yachay ya, ancham Diosninchic piñassunqui, chay ati tapia huchacunacta huchallicuscayquimanta, huacacta, inticta, huaquin ymaymanacunactahuan muchascayquimanta, rumicta, orcocunacta, ymay mana allicunactapas quiquin Diosta hina muchascayquimanta. Mana ñauioc caspachu, mana rimay yachacta, mana ñauiocta, mana ayñicta, yma aycapi yupaychascayquitapas mana yupaychapuqueyquita muchanqui? Vtic runa, mana soncoyoc, pim cayta ruray ñissunqui? (f.23v)

crushed and trampled on and their failure to respond shows their powerlessness. The tone is altogether threatening compared to Santo Tomás.

The Christian God took over the roles of the indigenous divinities, in the "positive" aspects, but he also held the negative reinforcement "beware that God may send a bolt of lightning and divide you in half, or some terrible death".²²² The people should abandon their gods, and replace the indigenous priesthood with the church's priesthood.²²³

The polemic against indigenous practices was a prominent feature of the Tercero Catecismo, most of the sermons have references to them, with much of the detail drawn from Ondegardo's reports, prepared over twenty years earlier. Nine have significant passages

²²² f.25v.

²²³ This shows the role of the indigenous priests in the functioning of indigenous society, and the way in which the new priesthood was meant to replace it. The offerings for the support and livelihood of the indigenous priests, remained in the indigenous sphere because of Andean patterns of social exchange. With the change to the Christian priesthood these offerings were removed from the indigenous economy and went into the small European sector, and from the rural context to the emerging urban developments, thereby contributing to indigenous impoverishment. It was a major factor in the resistance to this change.

on the subject,²²⁴ with Sermons 18 and 19 (on the First Commandment) devoted exclusively to the theme.

As a body of texts the sermons were shaped by certain principles of communication, outlined in the "Proemio" to the Tercero Catecismo entitled "Method of teaching and preaching to the Indians". The first recommendation was to accommodate the message to the hearer's ability. The second stressed the importance of repetition of the main points being taught to ensure retention by the hearer. The third proposed a simple, clear, brief style of presentation, using the language of "conversation between friends, not that of theatrical declamation". The fourth recommendation was the most important: "Christian doctrine should be set forth in such a way that not only is it understood, but that it also persuades".²²⁵ The Indians, "like other men", were thought to be persuaded and moved to action "by emotions rather than logic", and this required a different approach to communication from the question and answer of the other catechisms. "It has to be like the sermon or address of the

²²⁴ Sermon 4 on the basis of salvation, esp, fols.24-27; Sermon 5 on the Trinity, esp. fols.29-31; Sermon 6 on angels, esp. fols.35-36; Sermon 8 on the Church, esp. f.46v; Sermon 9 on repentance, esp. f.52r; Sermon 9 on baptism, esp. f.63v; Sermon 17 on the Extreme Unction, esp. fols.95,100; Sermon 18 on the first commandment, fols 103-108; Sermon 19 on "witchcraft and superstition", fols. 108-117; Sermon 23 on drunkenness, esp. fols 145-147.

²²⁵ Tercero Catecismo, pp.3v-4v.

preacher".²²⁶ The rhetorical style used, however, was European,²²⁷ with the sermons punctuated in such a way that phrasing and intonation in formal style could be read off the page. Even a priest with little Quechua study behind him "could sound like a skilled orator".²²⁸ The transference of oral rhetorical devices from one culture to translated material on the printed page in another language raises questions on the quality of communication.

In fact, the rhetoric of the sermons relied heavily on irony and ridicule, and while couched in familiar language, their tone was often threatening and markedly paternalistic. The very choice of the verb *cunay* for "preach" underlined this attitude of superiority--it meant "advise" but in the sense of "warn", "admonish", or "rebuke"--what was addressed was seen negatively. Indigenous worshippers were presented as blind and deluded, and their religion satanised.

²²⁶ Ibid., p.5v.

²²⁷ Rolena Adorno suggests that the theory underlying the sermons was derived from Luis de Granada's Los seis libros de la r torica eclesi stica, o de la manera de predicar, published in 1576. That work was certainly influential later in Peru, but in the case of the 1584 sermonal it is more likely that both Granada and Acosta drew on similar sources, such as the fourth book of Augustine's Of Christian Doctrine, which Adorno recognises as having influenced Granada. Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), pp. 62-71.

²²⁸ Mannheim, op.cit., p.203.

Central to the alternative was the "word of God",²²⁹ which would give benefits that were individual rather than communal, and to be enjoyed in the world above, in contrast to those obtained from the indigenous cult which were for the existing community.

In this way the Council identified indigenous practice as a major problem to be dealt with, and provided the tools for the eradication of what they understood to be residual elements. In giving preaching a key role in the process, the "word" became the vehicle of transformation as well as a sociopolitical tool for ensuring control and conformity.

6. Quechua and the Church's doctrine: implications

The first fifty years after the Conquest produced two phases in the Church's use of the vernacular. These can be seen as pre- and post-Trent, as an almost millenarian impulse with its humanitarian and evangelical character over against the more dogmatic stance of an emerging colonial church, or as simply the initial enthusiasm with few guidelines in contrast

²²⁹ In the closing prayer of Sermon 4 the Indian renounces his religion "...our Father, I will only listen to your word, to your command, I will keep it in order that I may be your son, so that we may benefit in heaven from all you have promised to give" (f.27r).

to the knowledge gained through that experience and a more realistic view of the situation.

Santo Tomás characterises that first phase. His appropriation of the language sheds light on its use in the early evangelisation and contrasts with later use. His recording of linguistic data was also done at a stage which makes his works indispensable for understanding pre-Christian language. Later vocabularies, such as the 1586 Vocabulario and that of Holguien in 1608, reflect the official "general language" through which the church authorities attempted to ensure the purity of the language and thus protect church dogma from deviations. This attempt to preserve a unitary tradition of the language for their own purposes is seen clearly in the approach of the translators of the Third Council's materials. Santo Tomás did not approach language that way.

Yet like others he was unaware of the factors and philosophy that had shaped him. Spanish theological thought demanded an awareness^a of the supreme God on the part of New World inhabitants as proof that they were naturally capable of reaching the belief in one God, creator, redeemer, rewarder of the just and punisher of the bad and sinful. Such a framework of thought impelled Santo Tomas and other missionaries to find a "creator God" in the Andes. The role of a people's

knowledge of this God in the political argumentation for and against the rights of the Crown to New World territories gave added importance to this search. The "creator God" in the pre-Columban world is therefore more appropriate to Spanish thought than to Andean.²³⁰

Andean structures, whether at the level of cosmology, the administration of the empire, or of the local community were understood as animated living reality characterised by dual oppositions, mutuality, complementarity, reciprocity and balance. That living reality had a numinous dimension accessible through the cult, which included an important oracular characteristic. This stood in contrast to the God whose "word" was said by the Church to be at the heart of all, and yet did not "speak" in the way that the Andean deities did. The Christian framework for mediation and intercession was rather static as seen alongside the fluid flexibility of the Andean one. Indigenous practice was seen by the worshippers to be part of the whole working and maintenance of their universe. It did not exist to erase guilt, nor as a preparation for death, but as a step in escaping from potentially deadly situations and maintaining the fabric of the cosmos.

²³⁰ Henrique Urbano, "Representaciones colectivas y arqueología mental en los Andes", Allpanchis 17, no.20 (1982), p.40.

Despite their advances in the understanding of Quechua, the missionaries lacked an awareness of the dimensions of meaning beyond the plain word, those linked with mental categories and symbol. Words were more than the names Acosta saw in them, but vehicles through which culture-specific meanings and values were ascribed to things so named.²³¹ The Quechua terms were not immutable and they did shift under the force of the Conquest and Christianisation. However it was Christian terminology which underwent a greater shift, for Quechua selected, organised and named a different set of ideas and objects than did Spanish or Latin, and did so in harmony with an Andean worldview. This is seen, for instance, in the case of the divine name. The Quechua language determined the articulation and qualification of the name of God, but this "accommodation" shifted the loanword into the indigenous domain, and into areas of meaning which the Church had sought to avoid by the decision to use *Dios* and not *Pachacamac*.²³²

The twin aim of faithfulness to the original and faithful transmission to the Indian was betrayed both by the Indian vocabulary that was appropriated and the

²³¹ On the response of clerics who were in daily contact with the indigenous people in the Indian parishes, see on Jerónimo de Oré and Juan Pérez de Bocanegra in ch.4.

²³² See further in ch.5, pp.350-60.

pool of presuppositions that existed in the Indian mind²³³ and from which appropriation would be realised. It was further undermined by the importation of European rhetorical devices which left the hearers verbally abused.

The avoidance of indigenous vocabulary for Christian rites sprang from an underlying philosophy of theological language. The correctness of such an approach was confirmed for its proponents by the recognition that the sacred was encoded in such terminology. The difficulties in comprehension that this produced were compounded by the Church's rituals. The performance of so many of these new rituals left the Indians on the periphery, and meant they had no tangible participation in them except in baptism and marriage. They could confess, but were denied the Eucharist. The immediacy of their own practice was not present in Christianity, thus the indigenous cult remained an option that related to their own horizon, however much it might be under threat.

The church's vision of reality and its symbols were in direct competition with the indigenous perception, and vying for a place in the mental, social and religious mapping of the Andean universe. As colonial society

²³³ E.g. the reciprocal nature of social and communal relationships.

and its Church became more structured, the Church was a vehicle for the culture it represented, and its tools were felt even more by the indigenous people: school, symbol, sermon, song and Scripture. These will be our next concern.

CHAPTER 4: THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH
AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES: LANGUAGE
AND LITURGY

1. Council, culture, and catechism

Members of the Third Council saw themselves as ordering the life of the church and providing the proper teaching of the faith within the framework of the implantation of Christian culture and civilisation as they knew it. Council, catechism and culture were of a piece.

The parameters of Christian civilised life and acceptable behaviour that informed and shaped the catechism, the confessional and the sermonal, were clearly enunciated by Council decrees. This "civilising" role embraced all of life--from naming practices¹ to burial rites.² The Indians had therefore to leave their "barbaric and savage customs"³ and live ordered, urbane lives:

They should not go dirty and untidy to church, but rather washed, clean and tidy. The women should cover their heads with a headdress, as St Paul the Apostle teaches. In their homes

¹ Third Lima Council, segunda acción, cap.11.

² Second Lima Council, Parte segunda, cap.102. A summary of the decrees of this council was prepared by Acosta and published together with the decrees of the Third Council.

³ Quinta acción, cap.4.

they should have tables to eat from and beds to sleep in. These same houses or dwellings should not be like sheep pens, but rather places where people live agreeably, with cleanliness, household equipment and other similar things.⁴

At the same time, Council members were aware that the conduct of many Spaniards towards the indigenous people was far from civilised, and decreed measures to protect and defend them from exploitation.⁵ Yet the Council saw evidence everywhere of what it took to be the "natural subjection" of their charges, and their decrees are characterised by a thoroughgoing paternalism. Courts and governors were not to "treat Indians as slaves but as free men, subjects of his Royal Majesty",⁶ whose wellbeing had been entrusted to them by God and the church. Clergy were to be "shepherds and not butchers", and to "sustain and shelter them like sons, surrounding them with Christian love".⁷

The potential tensions and conflicts inherent in these twin aims of civilising and treating as "free men" are clear in the provision for enforcing the recommended "culture":

No republic can remain virtuous without the fear of punishment. However wisely and well

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tercera acción, cap.3.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

they are framed, laws are not enough to restrain man's excesses, if there are no penalties for the rebellious.⁸

Corporal punishment was therefore sanctioned, and for the Church became an increasing response to what was seen as continuing "idolatry", though in fact it embraced a range of cultural responses ranging from confusion regarding the Christian faith to protest movements against Spanish dominion.

The Spanish-speaking colonists themselves had reacted strongly to the rigour of of certain Council decrees. Their leaders made representations to the king to prevent their approval, but for the most part they were unsuccessful. Following the Council the Church was able to strengthen its position in colonial society.

By decreasing the number of Indians who constituted an Indian parish,⁹ the number of *doctrinas* was increased, and an attempt made wherever possible to place priests born in the colony in those positions. This was in part a response to the priests' need to "satisfy their consciences" by attending adequately to the needs of their charges, and in part a way of providing "livings" for what appears to have been a surplus of

⁸ Cuarta acción, cap.7.

⁹ From four hundred heads-of-family to three hundred. Tercera acción, cap. 11.

secular clergy. At a wider level it was a move to reduce the power of the regular clergy, whose orders did not contribute the church tithe to the diocesan authorities (even though legislation was introduced to require that they do so). The increased number of parishes also impinged on the position of the remaining *encomenderos*, who saw their own income fall as a result. For the indigenous population these extra demands exacerbated an already difficult situation, and they were caught up in the power struggles of colonial society for a greater share of dwindling resources--both human and material--a situation that led to indigenous protest movements.¹⁰

2. The Indian parish: motives, methods and context.

The Church was enmeshed in the economic life of the colony and the politics that accompanied it, a factor of immense importance in its relations with the indigenous population. It was in such a context that Indian parish life was shaped in the years following the Third Council.

¹⁰ Like that of the Andean prophet-figure Yanahuara in 1596 in Apurimac. Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "Un Movimiento Religioso de Libertad y Salvación Nativista. Yahahuara - 1596", in Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino, ed. Juan M. Ossio, (Lima: Ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), pp.143-152. For an earlier movement, see ch.5, pp.318-327.

a. Luis Jerónimo de Oré and Juan Pérez de Bocanegra:
exemplars in mission

Competing claims were made regarding the extent of the Christianisation of the indigenous population of Peru. Political leaders were sceptical about the work of the clergy, while clergy themselves were prone to criticise those leaders, as well as fellow clergy, regular or secular. Against such a background, anyone who received the commendation of others for successful work stood out. One such was the Franciscan Luis Jerónimo de Oré,¹¹ whose work in the Jauja valley in Central Peru was commended by the Jesuit *extirpador de idolatria* José de Arriaga,¹² and by the indigenous

¹¹ Oré was born in 1554 of Spanish parents in Huamanga, one of the nine children of Antonio de Oré y Río and Luisa Díaz de Rojas. Oré's father not only taught the family to play the organ and other instruments, but also Latin. Oré entered the Franciscan order with his three brothers, and was ordained to the priesthood on the last day of 1582 by Toribio de Mogrovejo. He then served in the Indian parishes of Coparaque in Collaguas near Arequipa (1583-1595), Concepción in the Jauja valley (1595-1598), and Potosí (1598-?), before moving to Cuzco, where he was in 1602. He was proficient both in Quechua and Aymara, and according to Franciscan sources was a member of the commission which carried out the Quechua translation of the Third Lima Council publications. He went to Europe as the representative of the Cuzco diocese, and spent a number of years in Italy and Spain. He later worked for four years in Florida, and in 1621 was consecrated Bishop of Concepción in Chile. He died there at the beginning of 1630.

¹² Speaking of the continued practice of indigenous rituals, Arriaga states:

Where the soil is well tilled and reasonably watered by the teaching of the faith, there is little or no idolatry, as can be seen in the

chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala.¹³ Another was Juan Pérez de Bocanegra,¹⁴ who for many years was parish priest in Andahuaylillas, some thirty-five kilometres south of Cuzco. The Jesuits regarded his work as so successful that they argued that it would be an ideal language training parish for Quechua missionary work. As a result they gained control of the parish from 1628 to 1636.¹⁵ An examination of the writings of both these men gives an insight into factors motivating them in their work, the methods they adopted, and problems with which they struggled.

Oré's most significant writings are the Symbolo Catho-

valley of Jauja where all the parishes are run by the Franciscans and Dominicans, where through the continual presence and care of those who teach them, through the divine worship of music, through very fine vestments, and through all means used to teach the Indians, one can see the difference between those towns and others.

Op.cit., p.225.

¹³ Op.cit., pp.20, 1080.

¹⁴ Very little is known about the Franciscan tertiary Pérez, but it seems probable that he was born in Spain around 1576, and arrived in Cuzco about 1591. Writing around 1628, he says he has over thirty years pastoral experience among the *naturales*. From other references it is possible to chart his career from *chantre* and choir book corrector in Cuzco Cathedral, to parish priest in the Church of Our Lady of Bethlehem in Cuzco, and then parish priest in Andahuaylillas. An authority on Quechua and Aymara, he also served for many years as the examiner in those languages in the Archbishopric of Cuzco.

¹⁵ Mannheim, op.cit., p.42.

lico Indiano¹⁶ and Rituale, seu Manuale Peruanum, et Forma Brevis Administrandi Apud Indos Sacrosancta Baptismi, Poenitentiae, Eucharistiae, Matrimonii & Extremae Unctionis Sacramenta.¹⁷ The Symbolo was meant for use by priests and converted Indians, and contains the largest extant collection of sixteenth-century Quechua hymns. The Rituale was written as a guide for priests, as the title clearly indicates. The theology that underpinned Franciscan missions, the organisation adopted in the parishes for which they were responsible, and the methodology used, all emerge from a study of the Symbolo.

Most of our knowledge of Pérez derives from his Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este reyno, los santos sacramentos del Baptismo, confirmacion, eucaristia, y viatico, penitencia, extrema uncion y matrimonio, con advertencias muy necesarias,¹⁸ a massive 720-page work in Spanish and Quechua on the administration of the sacraments. No copy of his Confessionario published in 1612 has survived, nor, apparently, have the manuscripts of the "six large volumes" which he had

¹⁶ Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1598.

¹⁷ Neapoli: Jacobus Carlinus, 1607. Hereafter referred to as Rituale. This deals with the "definition and division of the sacraments and the elements and administration of each one of them" - Symbolo, f.58v.

¹⁸ Lima: Geronimo de Contreras, 1631. Henceforth Ritual formulario.

prepared. Pérez' work affords valuable insights into both indigenous life and church practice of that period.

b. Oré: Indian psychology and the liturgy

Oré believed that the Church had all but won the struggle against the indigenous religion:

Although until now [the people] have been very inclined towards the idolatry of their *huacas*, the sun and the moon, this is now losing force. The name of Christ now reigns alone in this land where one hundred years ago, and even eighty years ago, the Devil held all under his tyranny.¹⁹

Nevertheless the people were "poorly converted" and further progress demanded that they be taught the faith in their own language.²⁰ To help in this task he "opened a new way" which, as far as he was aware "no one had tried before".²¹ His new methodology was contained in the Symbolo which had been "most effec-

¹⁹ fols. 42,43.

²⁰ In the *Proemio* to his work he quotes St. Paul's teaching on the gift of tongues to support his point of view. He himself championed the use of the vernacular: "the one who confesses in a language he neither knows nor understands commits mortal sin". Relación histórica de la Florida y de sus mártires, [1618], ed. A. López, (Madrid: 1931), f.60v.

²¹ f.65v. He recognised that his practice was "new" only in terms of Peru--he found ample precedent for his approach in church history. His wide knowledge of church hymnody is seen in references to hymns of St. Gregory and Paul the Deacon, among others.

tive" wherever it had been used.²² Hymns are central to this new approach for they replaced the indigenous hymns which were so "damaging and contrary to the catholic faith". Oré's hymns were meant to wean the people from their superstitions to "honest and laudable habits".²³ This didactic element is also seen in the use of children's choirs as a means of teaching others.²⁴

For Oré the aim was first to "disillusion" or "dis-abuse" the Indians of their ideas, a clear echo of the philosophy which underlay the sermons of the Third Council.²⁵ The Indians' belief system was a deception which they suffered, and must therefore be undone, it was an illusion from which they must be disillusioned. Furthermore, in praising God they would share in Christ's triumph over the Devil, who was doubly saddened that "an ignorant people, once totally deceived by him, should be taught the faith".²⁶ It was an actualisation of Christ's victory.

²² f.62r.

²³ f.62r.

²⁴ f.54v. The practice did not begin with Oré, it had been used most effectively in the Cajamarca area by a lay Franciscan brother, Mateo de Jumilla, in the 1560s, and earlier still by the Franciscans in Mexico.

²⁵ See ch.3, p.208.

²⁶ f.54r.

Like earlier Franciscans, Oré found that poetry and song had a greater effect on the Indians than the "ordinary bread and butter"²⁷ of prose sermons and Scripture. He opted to use Sapphic metre for his verse, seeing the combination of words, metre and tune as most effective in stirring fervour and devotion among the Indians.²⁸ Giving thanks to God and singing psalms and spiritual songs gave "relief in the midst of the continual troubles of everyday life".²⁹

Oré was motivated not only by the needs of the Indians, but also by those of his fellow-priests. He was conscious of the lack of priests with an adequate command of Quechua--"daily experience shows that regular and secular Spanish priests, who are in Indian parishes, clearly need to be helped".³⁰ He counselled them to "maintain their religious authority among the Indians",³¹ a recognition of the continuing importance to the people of their own religious practitioners, who opposed the Church's rites and undermined the authority of parish priests.

²⁷ f.63r - "comun y ordinario manjar".

²⁸ f.63v. Here again Oré echoes the philosophy underlying the 1585 sermonal regarding emotions.

²⁹ f.63v.

³⁰ Rituale, f.140. He is referring to the confessional in the Symbolo, which was based on the 1584 Doctrina Christiana.

³¹ f.59r.

Fundamental to the priests' problems was that faced when administering the sacraments. As a result of the move from one language to another, they were beset by doubts and fears, for they questioned whether they were administering the sacraments in a valid and effectual way. They could not be sure of guaranteeing the consubstantial presence of the original work in the face of a process bent on forming a "novum opus". In this respect Oré presented an order of the Mass which would not only be *ex opere operato*, but also *ex opere operantis*,³² apparently aimed at ensuring priests that their own actions were valid.

c. Pérez: Sacramental theology and the vernacular

Pérez focussed on the problem raised by Oré. He prepared the Rituale because of the need "to administer the holy sacraments, especially that of penance, in a way that is both valid and correct".³³ The Indians had suffered because of "a well-known defect" of the church: "the failure to teach, preach, and be an example". He argued that the materials then in use were very poor and there was a need for "proper" ones. He uses "proper" in the Latin sense of having a certain "property", of being specially fitted

³² f.174v.

³³ Epistola a los curas, Ritual formulario, f.1.

to their intended purpose. That purpose was in keeping with the philosophy of language that underlay Church's sacramental theology.

The "existing materials" caused doubts for the priests, and raised the question: "Did I say the *forma* correctly or really apply it to the *materia*?"³⁴ Pérez wanted them to be correct in the administration of the sacraments, and true to the vows they have taken. The rite or sacrament was only effectual where true correspondence was maintained with the form, where it was not, there was no effect.

He was therefore concerned to have a translation from Latin which was *ad pedem literal*,³⁵ and with rituals which "were faithfully translated". Of the "form" as it was used in Romance "or any other language", provided

it keeps the sense, the equivalent words, and the appropriate intention to that of the *forma* in Latin, the priest will administer this sacrament in a real way.³⁶

In some cases, such as Extreme Unction, which he regarded as a transaction between the priest and God, he preferred to keep to the Latin as it was "in the Ritual, without changing the language or any other

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ f.529, f.553 on the sacrament of Extreme Unction.

³⁶ f.525.

tongue".³⁷ He only translated it to Quechua so that "the sick person and those around who are listening will understand what the Lord is being asked", and to "cause greater devotion".³⁸

In translating the Church's formulae, Pérez struggled to find terms that truly "corresponded" and were equivalent to the Latin, as his discussion of the baptismal formula shows:

Ñocam baptizaiqui, yayap, Churip, Espiritu Santop sutinpi.³⁹

It should be noted that in the form of baptism, which I have just put into Quechua, I did not change the verb *baptizo*, but used it instead, just as if it were an Indian word, conjugating it as such. Because when this form is used in Romance and Latin the church points to that which really baptises. Although with regard to the method, that which has verbs equivalent to *baptizo* will [also] represent the form, such as saying *labote*, *abuote*, *aspergote*, *mergote*, &c.

So, putting it into Quechua, it will point to other equivalent verbs in place of *baptizo*, such as:

ñocam maillaiqui, armaiqui, challaiqui, chullaicuiqui, &c.⁴⁰

And with any of these verbs, which are equivalent to *baptizo*, anyone can say the form and baptise with it.

³⁷ i.e. the Rituale Romano of Pius V.

³⁸ f.525.

³⁹ Literally: I baptize-you, of Father, of Son, of Spirit holy in-name-of-3rd person singular. f.45.

⁴⁰ Here different Quechua terms for washing, sprinkling, throwing water upon a person are indicated.

What cannot be used in place of *baptizo* is: *ñocam sutiayqui*, because *sutiyani*, unlike the words I have mentioned, is not the same as *baptizo*. It means "put a name to", "identify" or "name", not "baptize". In addition to the fact that *baptizo* and its equivalents indicate the effective matter of baptism,⁴¹ that is, water. This cannot be understood, if the form was: *ñocam sutiayayqui* (I name you). They have not baptised in any sense whatsoever, but have committed a serious error and sacrilege. Although they have meant to baptize, for the reasons already mentioned, they have just given a name.

To say that in a wider sense *sutiyani* means *baptizo* is no good either, for I could say in Latin: *ego te escopo*, (or *mundo*), and I would not baptize, although I might say that in a wider sense *escopo*, (or *mundo*) means "to wash", and it does not mean only "to sweep" or "to clean". I have found no author who says that *escopo* and *mundo* are the same as *baptizo* and that they can be put in the form of baptism.

In such an important matter one must not speak "in a wider sense" but "in the strictest sense",⁴² for this language Quechua has *propiedad* in its words. For this sacrament it is best not to change this verb *baptizo* either in Quechua or in Aymara...thus the way to teach an Indian how to baptize infants in case of necessity remains clear.⁴³

For Pérez, the wrong choice of language could invalidate the sacrament, and even though he argued that there were vernacular words which he could use, his recognition that Quechua words had their own *propiedad* persuaded him to retain the Latin-based word in the

⁴¹ *materia effectiue.*

⁴² *Proprijssime.*

⁴³ f.45.

baptismal formula. Outwith the *formas*, he does use the indigenous words to explain the sacraments.⁴⁴

With regard to baptism, there were cases where a priest would not be available to administer the sacrament:

If the infant or the adult is in danger of death, he can be baptised in any language by any one, cleric or lay, faithful or unfaithful, catholic or heretic, man or woman, even an excommunicated person, as long as they keep the *forma*.⁴⁵

It was therefore necessary to teach the *forma* of baptism to indigenous midwives and other Indians.⁴⁶ Added to this there was the need to ensure that the "intention" was right, if the sacrament was to be celebrated in a valid way.

Underlying the questions with which he struggled was the philosophy of language behind the sacramental theology of that day--the Aristotelian-Augustinian-Thomist heritage. To be true to the *forma* as propounded by Aquinas, was to ensure the validity of the *materia*. But in order to be true to the *forma* in Latin, they had to be untrue to Quechua language,

⁴⁴ For instance, he uses the Quechua words for washing (and hence their indigenous "baptism" which was part of penitential rites) to explain the Church's rite. f.66.

⁴⁵ f.16. This passage comes verbatim from the Roman Ritual.

⁴⁶ f.35.

hence either making the sacrament meaningless for the Indian or changing the perception of that sacrament to something quite distinct.

There are thus a number of motivations behind the works of Oré and Pérez. They aimed to further the evangelisation of the indigenous population, establishing them in the faith and eradicating "idolatry" in the process. Central to this was the effective and effectual administration of the sacraments.

d. Sources and influences

Oré is much more forthcoming about his sources than is Pérez. Oré had consulted numerous manuals of ritual,⁴⁷ but the one which had the greatest influence was the Rituale Romanum of Pope Pius V. The theologian whom he cites most frequently is Aquinas; the Council of Trent made Thomistic theology the basis of doctrinal formulation. It is also clear that he has been profoundly influenced by the writings of Luis de Granada.⁴⁸ Oré is familiar with the works of

⁴⁷ Salamanca, Seville, two versions from Mexico, Portuguese/Brazilian, and French. Rituale, f.11.

⁴⁸ He may have based his rhetorical approach in the sermons on Granada's famous work on rhetoric: "almost everyone has the very helpful works and books of this father, I refer to them so that they [i.e. his fellow priests] might read them and benefit from their...spiritual counsels". f.50r.

Nebrija,⁴⁹ and has read Acosta's works.⁵⁰ His friendship with a grandson of the Inca, and perhaps the influence of the Salamanca School mediated through Luis de Granada's works, produced a positive evaluation of the Incas.⁵¹ Like some other priests he had a collection of psalm-like pre-hispanic prayers.⁵²

Pérez worked with published and hand-written materials that "other people have translated poorly". He completely reworked the Quechua

removing many things I had found,...adding and supplying others...so as to reduce it to language in common use, yet of quality, unaffected, and intelligible to all the priests, as well as to the Indians and other people of this kingdom.⁵³

⁴⁹ "Proemio", Symbolo.

⁵⁰ Fols. 37-42v. Acosta was in Lima at the time of Oré's ordination by Archbishop Toribio de Mogro-vejo. Julián Heras suggests that Oré also drew on the writings of the Jesuit Alonso Barzana and the Franciscan Luis de Bolaños. Diccionario Histórico y Biográfico del Perú: Siglos XV-XX, ed. Carlos Milla Batres, (Lima: Editorial Carlos Milla Batres, 1986), vol.VI, p.379.

⁵¹ f.42.

⁵² Fols.40, 172. Oré not only gives the prayer in (f.40), but also quotes from a Quechua version (f.172r). Elsewhere he speaks consistently of the Quechua he is using as "la lengua", which is probably shorthand for the Cuzco dialect of the language officially adopted by the church. Yet he states has not yet translated these prayers into "la lengua", which implies that they existed in a different dialect of Quechua to that officially adopted by the church.

⁵³ Epistola a los curas, op.cit. Inasmuch as he refers to the Third Council materials, this may suggest problems of language change only decades after the Council, or may indicate a degree of artificiality in the Quechua used for these materials.

On this basis he claimed originality for his work,⁵⁴ which was

translated in the popular tongue of the natives of this land, together with the idiom and polished way of speaking of the city of Cuzco, which is the Athens of this extremely widespread language called Quechua⁵⁵ ... yet the translation neither deviates from, nor in any way goes beyond the rubrics, rules and canons of the newest Roman Ritual.⁵⁶

Indeed the Roman Ritual of Pius V provided the framework and much of the basic material for the Ritual Formulario.⁵⁷ Although he makes no mention of it, Pérez checked and approved the Quechua sections of Oré's Rituale in 1605, and it is likely that he was influenced by it. It too was based on the Roman Ritual of Pius V.⁵⁸

Pérez formulated his confessional questions on the basis of accounts of indigenous practices, though he did not name his sources:

⁵⁴ "Epistola a los curas", Ritual formulario, f.1.

⁵⁵ Oré also speaks of Cuzco as "the Athens of the empire" for its purity of language. Symbolo, f33v.

⁵⁶ Epistola a los curas, op.cit.

⁵⁷ The main stated sources are: the Roman Breviary of Pius V, the Roman Ritual of Pius V, the Roman Missal decreed by Trent (Pius V and Clement VIII), the sacred canons of Trent, and the publications of the Third Lima Council. Fols. 596, 626, 644.

⁵⁸ Oré's ministry in Cuzco overlapped with that of Pérez, who was in Cuzco for a much longer period.

In the following questions all the rites, ceremonies and adorations are included which the Incas formerly practised, together with their omens and sorcery. Although by God's mercy there is now not much of this in the city of Cuzco, there are people who say and deceive his majesty our Lord King Philip with lies. They say that there is idolatry there, but they do so out of personal interest and ambition, and not because there is any, at least, not publicly here, and in rare cases in [outlying areas].⁵⁹

In his confessional Pérez has one hundred and twenty-eight questions on the first commandment of the Decalogue. A comparison of these with Polo de Ondegardo's material on indigenous rites published together with the 1585 Confessional shows that forty per cent of the questions are based on that work. The inclusion of this material was to have significant implications for the sacrament of penance, since it referred to activities that had ceased some considerable time earlier.⁶⁰

Both men carried out their ministry in the forty years following the Third Council, and the decrees of the Council of Trent and the Second and Third Lima Councils provided the framework within which they worked. While both play down the existence of

⁵⁹ f.146.

⁶⁰ See pp.269-72.

"idolatry", their work belies this assertion.⁶¹ They struggled with the philosophical inheritance of the Church, and the dogma that derived from it. In their commitment to the use of the vernacular they represent an important strand in the Church of that period, as is evidenced in a consideration of the liturgical, sacramental, and pastoral aspects of the Indian parish.

3. The Indian parish: education, liturgy and sacrament

The developing colonial Church built on the materials of the Third Council to produce vernacular materials for the liturgy, the administration of the sacraments, the task of mission and the eradication of "idolatry". At parish level the educational curriculum, coupled with the constituent parts of the liturgy--songs, symbol, sacrament, Scripture and sermon--played a key role in the Church's strategy.

a. The ambiguous role of the parish school

The religious orders and secular clergy were involved in the education of Indian children from an early date. One of the first teachers of Indian children was the Flemish Franciscan Jodoko de Ricke who opened a

⁶¹ Pérez was in the Cuzco area when the anti-idolatry campaigns began in the centre of the country around 1613.

school in Quito around 1535, and taught the children reading, writing and European music. Following the civil wars, Pedro de la Gasca, Crown representative in the colony from 1547 to 1550, instructed the orders to develop this kind of work, and to teach them Christian doctrine, Spanish, civics, courtesy, music and singing, and some basic skills. Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans were all active in education, and discovered, among other things, that music made a profound impact on the Indians. The Jesuits, who arrived later, were much more concerned with schools for Spanish boys, but also became involved in the education of Indian children. The principal subject of their Indian schools was European music, both instrumental and vocal.⁶²

The Third Council stressed the importance of the schools for Indian children:

Priests responsible for Indian parishes are given the clear responsibility to have schools for Indian boys. They should teach them reading, writing, and other subjects, with the main aim of getting used to understanding and speaking our Spanish language...both boys and girls should be taught the *doctrina cristiana*.⁶³

⁶² In contrast to their Spanish schools where the humanities were taught on the pattern set out in Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu. Luis Martin and Jo Ann Pettus, eds., Scholars and Schools in Colonial Peru, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1973), p.18.

⁶³ Segunda acción, cap.43.

The ability to read and write in Spanish was the characteristic of the civilised person. The Doctrina Christiana was used as a textbook in these schools, as is made clear from the inclusion of the Spanish alphabet and syllabary as a separate page in the Doctrina.⁶⁴ No similar insert exists for Quechua or Aymara. Spanish was the essential tool for a civilised person, it made life in the *polis* possible.

In line with this, Oré understood the parish school as a key element in his work:

The school is like the soul of a whole village. In this way the people can be better taught in the faith and be more orderly. Where there is no school, all else will be lacking: doctrine, music, service and adornment of the churches, altar and choir...for all these things a school is most necessary.⁶⁵

The school was for the boys of the parish. The curriculum covered Christian doctrine, music,⁶⁶ reading, writing, and good manners. From there they would go out well taught in Christian doctrine "to teach it to the whole community".⁶⁷ These pupils were to spearhead evangelistic efforts:

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Fr. Enrique Bartra, S.J. of the Centro José de Acosta in Lima for drawing my attention to this.

⁶⁵ Symbolo, f.56.

⁶⁶ Both vocal and instrumental, e.g. flute, flageolet, and trumpet.

⁶⁷ f.56r.

They will have at the door of the church a banner or a flag flying, with all the singers, the boys of the school, and the children of the parish ranged below it. The adults are to be arranged, men on one side and women on the other to process in, singing the doctrine. The singing should be led by two children who have been well taught, the most able ones with the best voices. The other children and singers will respond antiphonally, while all those present repeat the same words keeping the time that the children are singing.⁶⁸

In fact all the Indians, young or old, were treated as children,⁶⁹ and it was believed that the liturgy and the splendid ritual would make a deep and lasting impression, drawing them away from their own practices. The school was the key to producing this, though it was recognised that results would not be automatic. Adults who did not learn the doctrine were to be punished "humanely and lovingly". Priests were to act so as to be seen by the Indians "as fathers who loved them, rather than as judges whom they feared". Children who, after careful examination, did not know the doctrine, were to be "punished with moderation, as befitting their youth".⁷⁰

Education for Indians had other results that were not welcomed by priests involved in exploitation, for it

⁶⁸ f.54r.

⁶⁹ "'See that you do not despise one of these little ones' says our most pious Lord and Redeemer in St. Matthew. We may take this to mean the Indians, for in matters relating to them they are legally minors in this kingdom. f.61r.

⁷⁰ f.55v.

gave the indigenous people access to the mechanisms of colonial society to defend themselves:

The same priests oppose the teaching of reading and writing and do not like there to be a school-teacher. In this way there would be no law suits against them, nor would [the Indians] know of laws or of the service of God or Your Majesty. [The priests] do this so that no one will denounce their wickedness, evil, and robbery.⁷¹

Schools were therefore the place where the twin aims of establishing the church and "civilising" the population came together. It nevertheless played an ambiguous role, enabling some Indians to utilise the more humane provisions of that civilisation to defend themselves and protect their people.

b. Creeds, theology and translation

The *doctrina cristiana* was the heart of teaching in the school, and as has been shown earlier, it was markedly credal in its structure. It is an emphasis found in the work of both Oré and Pérez. Oré begins his Symbolo by indicating that a "symbolo" is a sign or a pointer, communicating reality. It is a summary form of the Christian faith. In that sense it is the Creed. It is a banner around which Christians rally, and since "the Indians now march in Christ's army, it is right that they have an exposition of the mysteries

⁷¹ Guaman Poma, op.cit., p.590.

of the faith". A study of Oré's Symbolo shows the importance of the Creed to his thinking, and also to his strategy for eliminating idolatry. The subject of the book is therefore "the mysteries of our holy faith" as reflected in the Apostles' Creed. These mysteries are in turn "explained" by the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and all three Creeds are in turn "explained" by Oré's Symbolo with "a clarity more suited to Indian simplicity".⁷² His Quechua hymns were written "to explain doctrine and the catechism";⁷³ however, it is not the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds⁷⁴ that give him a framework for his thought, but rather the Athanasian Creed.⁷⁵ For Oré an understanding of the Trinity is fundamental in the process of coming to a knowledge of God.⁷⁶ His weekly rota of hymns take that as a starting point:

Sunday: Hymn to the Blessed Trinity--verses 1-25 of the Athanasian Creed.⁷⁷

⁷² Proemio, Symbolo.

⁷³ f.62r.

⁷⁴ Approved both by Trent and the Third Lima Council.

⁷⁵ f.67r/v - Creed in Latin; fols. 67v-69v- Creed in Quechua prose; fols. 70r-72r - 25 verses of Creed and *Gloria Patri* in Quechua verse; fols. 91r-106v - verses 26-35 of Creed in Quechua verse.

⁷⁶ "To know God one must believe in and know the distinction between the persons of the most Holy Trinity, and the full union of the essence of God." f.2r.

⁷⁷ fols. 67r-72r.

Monday: Hymn on creation of all things.⁷⁸

Tuesday: Hymn: creation and fall of man, annunciation and incarnation.⁷⁹

Wednesday: Hymn: verses 26-35 of the Athanasian Creed, and the Gospel narratives from the birth of Jesus to his visit to the Temple at the age of twelve.⁸⁰

Thursday: Hymn: part of the Canticle of Moses, *Audite coeli quae loquor*, the Flood narrative, the spread of the human race, and the life of Christ from his baptism to the Last Supper.⁸¹

Friday: Hymn beginning with a translation of the Jeremiah 9.1, *Qui dabit capiti meo aquam*, then dealing with OT prophecies regarding the Messiah, a synopsis of the Gospel narrative, and the passion of Christ.⁸²

Saturday: Hymn dealing with Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, the Church, judgment, heaven and hell.⁸³

The framework is credal, with prominence being given to the teaching on the Trinity. The other hymns in the Symbolo--the *Te Deum*⁸⁴ and the *Symbolo Menor*⁸⁵--are both, in their way, sung versions of the Creed. The other matter which receives full attention is that of origins, the teaching of God as creator and sustainer of the universe is developed in a number of ways.

⁷⁸ fols. 74r-80r.

⁷⁹ fols. 80r-91r.

⁸⁰ fols. 91v-106v.

⁸¹ fols. 107r-124v.

⁸² fols. 125v-145r.

⁸³ fols. 145v-156v.

⁸⁴ fols 156r-158v.

⁸⁵ fols. 158v-161v.

The hymns were aimed firstly at teaching what was understood to be the fundamental truth to be grasped before meaningful baptism could take place, i.e. the true nature of God, especially as seen in the Trinity. The second aim was to replace the indigenous idea of origins and of the situation of humanity with the Christian one. The source and authority for this are the Scriptures, large sections of which are versified in the hymns.⁸⁶ The process would inevitably involve conflict with the indigenous belief system, "like sparks that fly from a sword hitting a hard rock, sparks of the love of God".⁸⁷

The ideas of the Athanasian Creed--the unity of essence of the Godhead, the idea of personhood in the Godhead, these persons' characteristic individuality, their co-equality and co-eternity, the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son--pose major problems for translation to Quechua. The translation of the Creed's introductory statement illustrates the difficulties:

⁸⁶ In the fifth hymn the following passages are drawn on: Genesis 6-11 (Flood); John 1, Matthew 3, Mark 1 (baptism of Jesus); Matthew 4, Luke 4, Mark 1 (temptation of Jesus); Luke 10 (Jesus' teaching and miracles); Matthew 17, Luke 9, Mark 9 (transfiguration); Matthew 16 (discipleship); Matthew 21, Luke 19, John 12 (entry to Jerusalem); Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22 (Last Supper) - fols. 107-124v.

⁸⁷ f.62v.

Latin

Fides autem catholica hac est ut unum Deum in trinitate & trinitatem in unitate veneremur.⁸⁸

Quechua prose:

Fee catholicari caymi, huc Diosta quimça caypi, quimça caytari huclla caypim yupaychananchic.⁸⁹

This is [the] catholic faith: we ought to worship⁹⁰ one God "in-three-ness", and the "three-ness" "in-just-one-ness".

Quechua verse:

Caymi Christianop fe catholicanchic, huc çapay Diostam quimça personapi, quimçantintari, huc Dioslla cayñinpim, yupaychananchic.⁹¹

This is our catholic Christian faith:⁹² in three persons one only God, three-together in their just-one-God-ness we ought to worship.

The example shows that the syntax is that of Latin:

Fides	autem	catholica	hac est
Fee		catholicari	caymi,
ut	unum	Deum	in trinitate
	huc	Diosta	quimça caypi,

⁸⁸ f.67r.

⁸⁹ f.67v.

⁹⁰ Literally "make count", an alternative to *muchay*, but with less of a semantic load derived from the indigenous cult.

⁹¹ f.70r.

⁹² Literally "this is of-Christian faith our (inclusive)-catholic", *fe* qualifies *catholica* in a way unnatural to Quechua, where the adjective precedes the noun.

& trinitatem in unitate
quimça caytari huclla caypim

veneremur.
yupaychananchic.

The word order follows Latin, the accusatives and ablatives in Latin are rendered by the nearest equivalent in Quechua,⁹³ and the verb, occurring in the same position as that of Latin, is rendered by a form which indicates obligation to perform the action.

As in the 1584 catechism, a number of words remain in their Latin/Spanish form: *catholica, Christiano, Dios, fe, persona*. Elsewhere in the Creed words such as *anima*⁹⁴ are carried over into Quechua. Ideas of trinity, unity and distinction of persons are achieved by the use of new terms first seen in the Third Council materials, coupled with the use of Quechua affixes:

quimça cay "three" + infinitive of the
verb "to be".

huclla cay one-only + infinitive of the
verb "to be".

The use of *cay* in this way normally predicates the quality of whatever it is linked with to some entity, but it appears that it was not used in conjunction with numeric ideas prior to such a use by the Church.

⁹³ -ta is an object marker, -pi- is a locative marker.

⁹⁴ *ex anima rationali* becomes *unanachac animahuan* - "with an *anima* that makes signs" - f.69r.

In the verse form, the usage of the 1584 catechism *quimçantin* is used.⁹⁵ Oré explains the different approach to verse:

In the prose translation of the Athanasian Creed, the structure and sense of the Latin controls each term used...greater liberty is taken with the poetry, but it always attempts to follow the [same] words and meaning. When it is not possible to follow the words, it never fails to follow the meaning.⁹⁶

Despite these claims, the verse form amplifies the translation. While aiming to emphasise the fact that there is only one God, it moves from a more abstract form of "threeness" to "three persons". The rendering of the Triune idea moves from a "threeness" to that of three entities somehow all together. Meanwhile the "one-ness" becomes more specific in the "just-one-God-ness", a characteristic attributed to "them". The expressions become more specific, and imply distinct individuality rather than relatedness in the same essence.

This difficulty is further illustrated in the following verse of the Creed:

(a) Latin

Neq confundentes personas, neq substantiam separantes.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Meaning "three" + "all together".

⁹⁶ f.65r.

⁹⁷ f.67r. The use of "neq" rather than "nec" or "neque" may be due to orthography then in use.

(b) Quechua prose

Mana personacunacta hucllhaspa, manatac cayñinta
raquirispa.⁹⁸

Not joining persons together into one, nor
dividing their being.

(c) Quechua verse

Personasninta mana hucllhaspa
Dios cayñintapas mana quimçachaspa
hucllam cayñinca, personan cunari
quimçam yupacun.⁹⁹

Not joining their persons into one,
nor making into three their Godness,
their being is only one, but their persons
number three.

There is a heightening of the paradox in the Quechua terms used for: "not joining their persons into one, nor making their God-ness into three", and they appear to contradict the previous verse, which in Quechua gives a clear idea of three persons joined into one.

While it is true that the syntax of poetry has its own characteristics, the violation of normal Quechua syntax (e.g. word order, double accusatives with appropriate discourse markers) suggests the creation of a liturgical Quechua. Quechua poetry obeyed its own rules and stress patterns, quite distinct from those imposed on the material by Sapphic metre.

⁹⁸ f.68r.

⁹⁹ f.70v.

As well as coining new terms, the terminology already appropriated by the Church was extended in its usage:

Latin:

Ita dominus Pater, dominus Filius, dominus Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres dei, sed unus est Deus.¹⁰⁰

Quechua prose:

Hinatac apum yaya, apum churi, apum Spiritu Sancto, chaypas manam quimça apuchu: ychaca huc apullam.¹⁰¹

Thus the Lord is Father, the Lord is Son, the Lord is Holy Spirit, however there are not three lords, but just one Lord.¹⁰²

Quechua verse:

Apum Dios Yaya, Churipas capacmi,
Spiritu Sancto, apu capactacmi,
ychaca manam, cay quimça capacchu,
huc apu Diosllam.¹⁰³

The Lord is God Father, the Son is also a royal,
Holy Spirit is royal Lord,
but these three are not royals,
there is just one Lord God.

It is questionable whether the word *apu* would have borne tri-identity or tri-personality. The Quechua of the next verse certainly moves the thought towards tritheism:

¹⁰⁰ f.67r.

¹⁰¹ f.68r.

¹⁰² Note the shift of focus from Latin in the first line, where Latin syntax is retained and the Quechua focus marker is placed on what in Latin is the complement, thereby making the father, etc. the complement in Quechua.

¹⁰³ f.71r.

Ymanam ari quimça personacta
sapa sapacta, Diosmi aputacmi,
ñijta, Christianop checan caypa rimay
camachihuanchic.¹⁰⁴

Just as to three persons
to each one in turn,
the Christian's statement of what is true
commands us to say, "God and Lord".

The re-definition of a word's semantic range may not always have had the expected results. With regard to the Holy Spirit not being "made nor created nor begotten, but proceeding" from the Father and the Son, the term used for "proceeding" is *pacarimucllan*.¹⁰⁵ It was, however, the term that Oré, following Third Council usage,¹⁰⁶ used consistently for Jesus' birth. The result is that it cannot be used indifferently for "proceeding" and "born".

Thus the translation of the Athanasian Creed, while drawing on the resources of the language, does not reflect Quechua syntax or respect the language's semantic domains and linguistic categories.

An analysis of Pérez' Nicene Creed shows the same problems, with the Latin calque syntax even more

¹⁰⁴ f.71r.

¹⁰⁵ f.68v.

¹⁰⁶ See ch.3, pp.191,2.

evident.¹⁰⁷ The discourse structure of the Latin Creed is transferred to Quechua and to produces an alien structure there. Pérez' translation decisions give an indication of areas of possible disagreement with existing translations. He begins not with *iñini* (I say yes), but with a *synonym*--*checcanchacuni* ("I approve or affirm"). He avoids the use of *apu*, which others have used to translate "Lord". Instead he opts for *yaya* which, while primarily a kinship term ("father"), also conveyed ideas of "lord".¹⁰⁸ In the Creed Pérez uses it to translate *pater* and *dominus*, so that all three persons of the Trinity are referred to as *yaya*, which leads to considerable confusion with reference to the Son (*ex Patre natum*), and to the Holy Spirit (*ex Patre Filioque procedit*).

Pérez differs from earlier materials in his translation of the terminology of the Incarnation. Where the Third Council materials had *runa tucurcan* ("he became man") and included a translation note to explain their decision, he adopts *churiacusca* ("made a son"), *aycha ruracurcan* ("he made himself flesh"), *runaiarcan* ("he became a man")¹⁰⁹. These may be only his way of

¹⁰⁷ Ritual formulario, f.692. For text and translation see Appendix 4.

¹⁰⁸ For its use in the indigenous cult, see ch. 5, pp.350-60.

¹⁰⁹ This may ^{be} a Church term, Holguien includes it in his dictionary but explains it on the model of *chiuchiyay* - the term for a chick (*chiuchi*) forming in

translating the Nicene Creed with different terms for Jesus' birth in relation to the Father, the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. He also resorts to neologisms to overcome difficulties: *consubstantialem Patri* is rendered "with the father having that which enables one to be".¹¹⁰ The problem of an adequate translation for "glorify" emerges again--the Holy Spirit is "helped to be glad" with the Father and the Son.

The translations of the Creeds reveal not only the difficulties in communication experienced in using materials approved by the Church, they also underline the magnitude of the problems posed by a need to retain the form of the Church's sacred formulae. The use of a credal framework and the theological load that they attempted to carry in the vernacular gave rise to contradictory statements and produced moulds of thought in conflict with indigenous patterns. While this in no way detracts from the priests' endeavour to communicate, it does suggest that if used alone their effect would have been much more limited than their authors had hoped. The fact that these materials were not only recited, but versified and sung puts them in a different perspective.

an egg. Op.cit., p.320.

¹¹⁰ *yayahuan caisijniyoc.*

c. Hymns, music and the creation of a new consciousness

When the Spanish arrived in Peru there was already a long tradition of Andean poetry, music, song and dance.¹¹¹ There were both both wind and percussion instruments. Songs, often sung antiphonally, included victory hymns, agricultural chants, epic poems, love songs, elegies, and laments, and were particularly important in the transmission of the people's traditions and the maintenance of their cultural memory. Dances had both religious and profane settings, and often accompanied the songs or were a dramatic representation of what was being sung. A music school also existed in the Inca capital where *taqui acllas*--carefully selected young women--were trained to sing, dance and play instruments.¹¹²

As has been noted, music was an important subject in the curriculum of the Indian schools. It was also stressed by secular authorities as a civilising factor--de la Gasca's early directive to the orders noted that the children should be taught "how to say

¹¹¹ See Robert Stevenson, The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs, (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), pp.1-38, Francisco Esteve B., Cultura Virreinal, (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1965), pp.896-890; Beyersdorff, op.cit., pp.10-24.

¹¹² Murúa, op.cit., pp.392f.

sol, fah, mi, re".¹¹³ The Indians appear to have had little difficulty with the music of their conquerors, despite having a different musical scale.

The use of Latin and European music in the liturgy was a feature of church life, and it was expected that it would be sung not only in Spanish parishes but also in Indian ones. By 1553 the masses, motets and Magnificats of such a notable Spanish composer as Cristóbal de Morales were in use in Cuzco cathedral.¹¹⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, who left Peru for Spain in 1560, affirms that even then there was a group of Indian flute-players in Cuzco who could play any piece of polyphony presented to them.¹¹⁵

Attempts were also made to reinterpret Andean music along European lines. In 1551 the Cuzco chapelmaster Juan de Fuentes composed a polyphonic arrangement of an antiphonal agricultural chant sung to the sun at the time when land dedicated to the sun was being

¹¹³ Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Perú, in Crónicas del Perú, Vol. IV, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1963), p.196.

¹¹⁴ Stevenson, op.cit., p.65. On Morales see J.B. Trend, "Cristobal Morales", Music and Letters, Vol. VI, 1925, pp.19-34 and Higinio Angles, "Latin Church Music on the Continent - 3. Spain and Portugal", in The New Oxford History of Music Vol IV: The Age of Humanism 1540-1630, ed. G. Abraham, (London: OUP, 1968), pp.382-392.

¹¹⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios, Vol.1, p.120.

prepared for sowing. This was sung during the Corpus Christi festival:

The whole choir joined in each refrain...this really pleased the Spanish and utterly delighted the Indians, who saw their own songs and dances used by the Spaniards to celebrate the Festival of our Lord God, whom they [the Indians] call *Pachacamac*, which means "the one who gives life to the universe".¹¹⁶

The priests had no problem about the introduction of their music to the faithful, but with the passage of time some had increasing difficulties with the continuing use of indigenous instruments, music and dance in Christian celebrations.¹¹⁷ In 1614 the Constituciones Synodales del Arzobispado de Los Reyes prohibited indigenous festivals, dances, and songs in Quechua, and ordered that indigenous musical instruments be burned.¹¹⁸

Much earlier than that Oré had composed his hymns to replace the indigenous ones. He claimed that in parishes under the care of Franciscans the Indians

¹¹⁶ Garcilaso de la Vega, op.cit., p.229.

¹¹⁷ The Jesuit *extirpador* José de Arriaga was convinced that the very instruments themselves were inseparable from the errors of the indigenous religion, and that when used in a Christian festivals such as Corpus Christi they served to perpetuate indigenous belief and practice. Arriaga was not opposed to all music, as his approval of Oré's approach shows, it was the specific use of indigenous songs, instruments and dances that he condemned. It was an influential point of view. Arriaga, op.cit., pp.222-3.

¹¹⁸ Edmundo Bendezú Aybar, Literatura Quechua, (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacuchano, 1980), p.397.

"had been singing Our Lady's Office from memory for forty years",¹¹⁹ and quoted the Third Council decision to back up his musical policy:

It is a well-known fact that this nation of Indians is attracted and deeply moved to know and worship the Supreme God by the external ceremonies and trappings of divine worship. Therefore the bishops, and in their own way priests, should ensure that everything relating to divine worship be carried out as well as possible with polish, and for this they should take care that there be a school and chapter of singers together with music of flutes, chirimias and other instruments suitable for churches.¹²⁰

Oré's Quechua hymns were sung to indigenous as well as European tunes:

He translated to verse in Quechua the life of Christ our Redeemer up to the Ascension, and gave it such a devout tune that men, women and children sing them in their homes and fields.¹²¹

The hymns explain the Christian faith and form part of the Church's apologetic in relation to the indigenous worldview and belief system. The second hymn, whose theme is creation,¹²² follows a pattern seen as early as Santo Tomás' plática. It first establishes that the

¹¹⁹ Symbolo, f.53.

¹²⁰ Quinta acción, cap.5.

¹²¹ Fr. Bienaventura de Fuentes cited in Antonine Tibesar, Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru, (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1953), p.81.

¹²² fols. 74r-80r.

Christian God made all, including the celestial bodies prominent in the Andean cult:

Hanac uracta, teci muyuntinta
inti, quillacta, coyllurcunactapas
cay cachun, ñispa; fiat, ñiscallampim,
pacarichircan.¹²³

Above and below, the whole world,
sun, moon and stars,
saying, "Let these be", with his word *fiat* alone
he gave them birth.

The indigenous deities are then dealt with. Ps 115.4-8 is put into Quechua verse. The *simulacra gentium* of v.4 become the *huacas* of the *runa*,¹²⁴ and in the succeeding verses this is underlined by including a reference to the deities as a closing line of the verse, e.g.

They have mouths, but do not speak,
they have eyes, but do not see,
they have ears, but do not hear,
these sacred ones of theirs.¹²⁵

The section dealing with the indigenous gods, is closed by Ps. 96.5:

Llapantin Huaca, runacunap villcan,
çupaymi chayca, manam Dioschu chayca:
Dios yayanchicri cieloctam rurarcam
hanac pachactam.

Every single *huaca*, men's *villcas*,
these are devils, these are not God,
for God our father
made heaven and earth.

¹²³ f.75r.

¹²⁴ The Andean people's self-designation.

¹²⁵ Quechua *villcancuna*.

There is therefore a demonisation of the Andean pantheon in the hymn. This is a feature which has been noted in the 1585 sermonal, but in that case the sermons were spoken by the priest. The hymns were meant to be memorised and sung by the indigenous people themselves, which made them potentially a more powerful tool.

Other hymns develop the Christian apologetic, often in a mocking way which belittled and ridiculed Indian belief. Additional verses are introduced which question indigenous beliefs. Vocabulary is chosen to focus directly on indigenous practices. Oré's fifth hymn also deals with origins. It begins with a translation of Dt. 32.1:

Hear me heavens,
and let the earth hear me too,
sun, moon, stars,
hear me.¹²⁶

Other elements, not found in the Biblical text but important in indigenous religious practice, are then addressed:

Fire, wind, water of the sea,
rivers, crystalline spring,
listen to me,
with your ear hear what I say.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ f.111v.

¹²⁷ The Creator addresses "creation", but that "creation" comprises the very elements prominent in indigenous rites.

Psalm 78.1,2 are then translated:¹²⁸

Runacunari, camrac ashuan yallin
uyarihuaychic: callar pachamanta
cactam rimasacc,
ñaupa villacuyta villascayquichic.

People, listen to me carefully,
I will speak of what was
from the time of the beginning,
I will tell you the ancient story.

In this rendering "my people" of the psalm has become the Andean people (*runa*), the "parables" have become "what was from the beginning", and "the propositions from the beginning" have become the "ancient story". The choice of Quechua vocabulary makes clear that what is to follow is the authentic version of the beginning, the true *ñaupa villacuy*.¹²⁹

Then comes a lengthy diatribe in verse form against the indigenous understanding of origins, reasoning from nature and poking fun at indigenous beliefs:¹³⁰

Maybe someone will still say,
"I didn't know",
perhaps someone even now worships
the sun, moon, stars and hills.

¹²⁸ Attendite popule meus legem meam,
incline aures vestras in verba oris mei.
Aperiam in parabolis os meum,
loquar propositiones ab initio.

¹²⁹ Term for the Andean origin story.

¹³⁰ The precedent for ridicule, and even vilification of indigenous practice was set in the 1585 Confessionario and Tercero Catecismo. See ch.3, pp.208-212.

Hey, beautiful sun, white shining moon,
you stars too, tell us: Are you God?
Hills, shrines,¹³¹ holy places,¹³²
Are you God?¹³³

There then follows the Biblical account of origins.
Men are descended from Adam's race, from Noah and his
family, rather than from the Inca ancestors:

Cay runamantam, llapa runa canchic,
cay tahua cari, tahua huarshintinuan
ñatac miraspam, may quinrayñecmāpas
chequerircancu.¹³⁴

We all come from this person,
these four men, together with four women
multiplying offspring
spread abroad in every direction.

But the hymns are not merely an attack on indigenous
belief and practice, Oré's work represents a major
attempt to express the Church's theology and the
Biblical story in the vernacular, and in a medium that
will make it accessible to an oral culture. He
endeavours to bring the subtleties of Scholastic
theology within the reach of the Indians. So part of
Aquinas' teaching on the humanity of Christ be-
comes:¹³⁵

¹³¹ *huaca*.

¹³² *villcacuna*.

¹³³ f.112v.

¹³⁴ f.116r.

¹³⁵ "Christ's body is said to be 'formed of the most chaste and purest blood of the Virgin'". Summa Theologiae, 3a.31.4. Cited in Symbolo, f.91v, it forms the basis for these verses of the hymn The question of

Chaypas Mariap yahuarillanmantam
runa cayninta Diosninchic chazquircan
huarmillamantam, runa cayñimpica
pacarimurcan.

So of the dear blood of Mary
our God received his human-ness
from a woman alone
he came forth in his human-ness.

Capac Dios yayan, paypa checan yayan;
runa yayanca manam capurcanchu
mamallantam, runa cayñinchicta
Christo chazquircan.¹³⁶

The great God is father, his true father,
there was no human father,
from his mother alone
Christ received our human-ness.

In this case the Scholastic idea of "blood" being potentially "flesh" is lost, and Mary's blood *per se* comes into focus. The idea of chaste and pure blood defies the translator, and the particle *lla-* is introduced to the word *yahuarillanmantam* to give an idea of something special.

Key Biblical passages such as the institution of the Last Supper are put into verse:

Yurac tantactam ñaupac consagrarcán,
caliz sanctocta consagrarcantacmi
cayta ruraspa, ñocacta yuyaspam,
viñay ruranqui.
Ñispam Diosninchic, Apostolcunaman
obispomanpas sacerdotemanpas
chazquichicurcan: viñay ñocanchichuã
queparincampac.¹³⁷

Jesus in his mother's womb was an aspect of the Incarnation which was given careful attention Scholastic theologians.

¹³⁶ f.96v.

¹³⁷ f.123r.

The white bread he consecrated first,
the holy chalice he consecrated too,
saying, "Doing this, thinking of me,
do always".
Our God gave [them] to the Apostles,
to bishops and priests
that for ever with us
he might remain.

The high proportion of loan-words indicates the influence of the Church's practice on the translation of this passage. Jesus is given unquestioned deity,¹³⁸ while Biblical precedent and later Church structures are identified as part of the same event, which serve to heighten the validity of the sacrament.

It is some measure of the lasting influence of Oré's hymns that almost four hundred years after they were written, some are still sung. Perhaps the best-known is:

Canmi Dios canqui yurac hostia sancta
concor sayaspam chūca muchaycuyqui,
uyarihuaytac apu Iesu Christo
Dios huacchay cuya.¹³⁹

You are God, holy white host,
kneeling and still I reverently adore you,
but hear me Lord Jesus Christ,
God who loves the poor.

It is a hymn which "represents the official Eucharistic music of the Indian people".¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ In this he follows Aquinas' example. See M. Britt, ed., The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal, (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1952), p.97.

¹³⁹ f.123v.

¹⁴⁰ Himnos Sagrados de los Andes, (Cuzco: 1960), p.30. The hymn is to be found in different Quechua dialects today - Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Southern Peru

Pérez' Ritual formulario closes with "the first piece of vocal polyphony printed in any New World book"¹⁴¹-- a Marian hymn which indicates another important development in the Andean Church's hymnody--the first two verses are as follows:

Hanac pachap cussicuinin,
huarãcacta muchascayqui,
yupai ruru pucoc mallqui,
runacunap suyacuinin
callpannacpa quemicuinin, huaciascaita.

Joy of heaven,¹⁴²
a thousand times I adore you,
Tree that gives boundless fruit,
hope of humankind,
needing strength I direct my call [to you].

Uyarihuai muchascayta,
Diospa rampan, Diospa maman,
Yurac tocto hamancaiman,
yupascalla, collpascaita
Huahuaiquiman suyuscaita ricuchillay

Listen to my prayer
to you, white blossoming lily,
bearer of God, mother of God,
alone worthy,
my grief, my weeping,
please help your child understand.

Pérez' own musical competence is vouched for by his

and Bolivia. For a Southern Peru version see Miguel A. Rey de Werra, Wiñay Kawsay Nan, (Cuzco: Prelatura de Ayaviri, 1982), p.102.

¹⁴¹ Stevenson, op. cit., p.46.

¹⁴² In the light of the translation of the Spanish *gloria* consistently by the Quechua "joy" (*cussicuy*), this perhaps should be rendered "glory of heaven".

years as *chantre* of Cuzco cathedral.¹⁴³ Pérez states that it had been composed "to be sung in processions as the Indian parishioners enter their churches on Lady Days". It has been seen as "a strophic, dance-like piece for chorus", whose "interest lies in its rhythmic exuberance and in the fact that, although utilizing a totally unfamiliar tongue, it still manages to sound like a sixteenth-century *villancico*¹⁴⁴ than anything else", even though "its polyphonic qualities seem primitive at best".¹⁴⁵ Its language has a lyricism to it, seen also in the compositions of of Cristóbal de Molina who had worked in Cuzco prior to Pérez.¹⁴⁶ The hymn reflects a theme which would become a characteristic of Andean piety--Mary as the source of solace in grief and pain.

An approach similar to that noted in the publications of the Third Council can be discerned in these hymns. Their purpose is to disabuse Indians of the validity of their own belief system with its rituals. There is

¹⁴³ c. 1598-1611. A number of the copies of plainchant manuscripts in the Cathedral archives are certified as to their correctness by him.

¹⁴⁴ Popular poetic compositions sung in churches at certain festivals, most notably at Christmas.

¹⁴⁵ Robert Curtis Hamlett, "An Investigation of Selected Colonial Latin American Vocal/Choral Works, including practical performance editions", Ph.D diss., (Hattiesburg: University of Southern Mississippi, 1986), p.28.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 5.

an attempt to discredit their idea of origins, and establish the true version of origins. Indigenous sources of authority--myths, ancestors, religious practitioners--are undermined, so as to replace them with the new sources of authority: the Scriptures, the Church, the Holy Father and the priest.

At the same time the hymns teach the true nature and knowledge of God, through the Creed, which is meant to root out idolatry and heresy. Equally, the contours of colonial piety begin to emerge in the Marian hymns and the hymns focussing on Jesus and the *Santissimo Sacramento*. Developments which would be strengthened by the growth in pilgrimages to the increasing number of Marian and Christ shrines, the rise of confraternities, and the importance of the feast of Corpus Christi.

d. Church sacrament and indigenous rite: language, memory and custom

The production of works on the Church's rituals by Oré, Pérez and others¹⁴⁷ points to a need for serviceable materials on the part of the clergy. The questions they address help identify the difficulties they

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Pablo Prado, Directorio Espiritual en la lengua española y Quichua general del Inga, (Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1641).

faced in articulating these central acts of the Church's life. For Pérez the sacrament of penance was particularly important, and it occupies half of the book.¹⁴⁸ The detailed questions to be posed during confession indicate an all-embracing surveillance of life by the church.

The majority of questions for the confessional are on the first and sixth commandments,¹⁴⁹ indicating the twin concerns of the priest: idolatry and sexual sins. There are one hundred and twenty-eight questions on the first commandment, and two hundred and thirty-six on the sixth, a massive increase in comparison with the 1585 Confessionario, where the numbers were twelve and twenty-two respectively.

It has been noted that the Spanish text of the confessional questions does not always coincide with the Quechua text.¹⁵⁰ Normal procedure was to formulate material in Spanish and translate to Quechua, however an examination of the material suggests that this was

¹⁴⁸ Fols. 89-450.

¹⁴⁹ In accordance with the division of the commandments followed by the Roman Catholic Church the one on adultery was sixth. It was based on Augustine's division of the commandments as they appear in the book of Deuteronomy. The same division was adopted by the Lutheran Church. In the division made by the Greek fathers (and followed by the Greek Orthodox Church and the Reformed Churches), the commandment on adultery is seventh.

¹⁵⁰ Mannheim, op.cit., p.42.

not necessarily Pérez' procedure, despite his claim to originality. It has been shown that he drew on a number of sources, including Ondegardo's account of indigenous beliefs and rites. This had unexpected consequences:

Ondegardo

In some regions they are afflicted with a dancing disease that they call *taqui onco* or *çara onco*; and to cure this they call the sorcerers or go to them, performing another thousand superstitious ceremonies and spells that also involve idolatry, and confessing themselves with the sorcerers with various other ceremonies.¹⁵¹

Pérez

Quechua:

Taqui oncoita, çara oncoita tusuchec chu canqui? Cairi ima oncoimantapas taqui ussicoc-chu canqui?

Do you make others dance the *taqui oncoi* or the *çara oncoi*? If not, do you take part in the singing-dance for any other illness?

Spanish:

As caído en la superstición de cantar o bailar por razón de alguna enfermedad?

Have you fallen into the superstition of singing or dancing because of any kind of illness?

Pérez' Quechua question not only shows a dependence on Ondegardo's information, it also suggests that the

¹⁵¹ Op. cit., f.3v. *Taqui oncoi* is literally "dancing sickness", but in fact a feature of a millenarian movement of the 1560's. The practice he refers to did not occur much later than 1570. *Çara oncoi* means "maize sickness", and was a similar phenomenon to *taqui oncoi*. See ch.5, pp.326-36.

Spanish question is not the source of the Quechua question, but rather the Spanish is a translation of the Quechua question. The Quechua question refers to practices that Pérez could only have known through accounts, written or oral, of what had happened some fifty years earlier. The Spanish question is much more generalised, and suggests a misunderstanding of the indigenous phenomena.

Taqui meant both song and dance, the one accompanied the other (hence "singing-dance"), the Spanish question sees these as options, one could either sing or dance. The Spanish is not a literal translation of the Quechua, probably because the translator was dealing with material from an earlier period; perhaps it was archaic language, no longer clearly understood.

The problem with archaic terminology is also seen in the prayer to the sacred fire:¹⁵²

Quechua:

Chay hinatacchu ninacta horcospa, uyaca, puyamanta nina mana llocsiptimpas, muchacchu canqui, thupa nina, Inca nina, sahua raurac, runa tantac, runa titoc, ñispa muchacchu canqui. Micuncaiquicta, akaiquicta, hichapocchu canqui; micuncam, upiancam ñispa? hinaspa cai tucuita ruraspa, chay ninacta muchacchu canqui?

And in the same way, when lighting a fire, even when there is no flame from rubbing sticks and the kindling, do you pray, "Noble flame, flame of the Inca, the one who burns

¹⁵² f.156.

above, the one who gathers humanity, the one who provides for their needs"? Do you pour out your food and your maize beer, saying, "It needs food, it needs drink"? Do you do all this and worship that fire?

Spanish:

Asimismo sacando fuego o no sacandolo tambien sueles adorarlo diziendo, noble fuego, Inca fuego, q'ardes, ajuntador de las gentes, y diziendo esto sueles echar lo que comes, y echasle chicha diziendo, q' la a de comer y beuer? y haziendo esto adoraslo?

Likewise when you light a fire and also when you do not, do you worship it saying, "Noble flame, Inca flame, who burns, the one who brings people together", and do you throw it your food and pour it corn beer, saying that it should eat it and drink it? Do you worship it in this way?

The words *uyaca puyamanta* and *titoc*, do not appear in the Spanish version, being older liturgical terminology from indigenous rituals, while *sahua* denotes an earlier stage in the development of the language, and possibly a dialect further north.¹⁵³ The four fixed moments of the Inca calendar were the two solstices and the two equinoxes. The *Inca raymi* festival at the March equinox was principally a fire sacrifice.¹⁵⁴ The bonfires of sacrificial wood dressed in fine robes may lie behind the prayers cited by Pérez, especially in the light of the reference to the Inca. In the *Inti*

¹⁵³ *Sahua* is from a dialect further north in Peru, and relates to *hahua* of Cuzco in the south.

¹⁵⁴ Carol Ann Fiedler, "Corpus Christi in Cuzco: Festival and Ethnic Identity in the Peruvian Andes", Ph.D diss. (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1985), p.256.

Raymi festival at the winter solstice, the *uyaca* was used to obtain the new fire if there was no sun to produce it on the day following the solstice.¹⁵⁵

These and other examples suggest that the Spanish questions are derived from the Quechua ones, and that Pérez is drawing upon earlier Quechua materials formulated on the findings of Ondegardo in the 1560s. Many were linked to Inca practices which had either died out or been transformed in the intervening years, other to non-recurrent historical phenomena.

If this is so, Pérez' inclusion of older rites required people to confess to practices no longer current in their area, and which in some cases had never been practised in their area. It also required people to confess in their own language but at times in archaic terminology or from a different dialect. It served to instruct the Indians in the practices of their forefathers, and hence to reinforce the memory of cultural practices which confession was meant to eliminate.

Pérez recognised that confession was double-edged; at one point he urged caution with regard to young people:

¹⁵⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios, Vol.2, p.52.

Take care with the questions, especially with those put to young people. Do not scandalise them, and in this way teach them to sin.¹⁵⁶

Later, he reversed that advice:

Don't worry about that - even five to six year-olds are inclined to sin that way. If they learn to sin this way [i.e. from confessional questions], it is an accident, it is better to warn them early.¹⁵⁷

It would seem that his own practice ensured that at least the memory of the "paganism" and "idolatry" which he sought to remove would have been preserved within the sacraments of the new faith. A major concern regarding that "idolatry" was the indigenous practice of confession. In religious matters the authority of the priest was undermined by the indigenous religious practitioners:

The confessor should note that in this city [i.e. Cuzco] and outside it some Indians (both men and women), who are called "older brothers" and "older sisters" between themselves, do something... regarding certain *quipus*, knots and *memorias* which they bring to confess themselves, as if they were like their writings or memory-aids. These Indians, especially the women amongst them, teach other women to confess through these knots and signs. They have them of many colours, to be able to divide up sins, and the number they have and have not committed... If the priest then reproves them and tells them not to use the *quipus*, they don't believe him. Afterwards they talk among themselves and laugh at the priest.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ f.98.

¹⁵⁷ f.138.

¹⁵⁸ fols. 113.

The involvement of the indigenous religious practitioners and the use of the appropriate artefacts invested the Christian rite with authority for the Indians:

They think that because they have confessed with these knots, and having said their sins in this way, they are sanctified and are quite fit to take communion, more worthy indeed to take communion than those who have confessed from memory, without using the knots and trinkets.¹⁵⁹

For Indians who understood their own existence in terms of the whole community, and whose actions were understood to impinge not only on that community but also their total environment,¹⁶⁰ "individual" confession as required by the Church was understood in terms of that wider reality. It was therefore no problem to the Indian to confess what other people had done, nor to think that matters once confessed could have a continuing validity, and could be confessed again at a later date by others:

I have found that they keep such knots for future confessions (even though they confess again within a short time), or for another year. They also lend them, and give them to those who have to confess again, whether young men or women or old men or women, advising them what sins they have to say in each colour or knot. Then they change from one confessor

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ The basic word for time was *pacha* which means both time and space, thus events that take place have implications in those dimensions.

to another, so that they [i.e. the priests] do not know them.¹⁶¹

The most common problem Pérez faced was that the Indians mentioned innumerable occasions when they had sinned and "confessed to what they neither did nor thought of doing". This was complicated by the fact that the Indians referred to the process as *confession general*.¹⁶² It would appear that in attempting to accommodate the Church's practice in their own thinking and practice, they translated the church's term back into Quechua. If so, *general* would emerge as an all-embracing concept, which could have contributed to the phenomenon documented by Pérez. The result was a confessor "confused both in judging and absolving".¹⁶³

The Church required the Indians to confess at least once per year, in Easter Week. Priests were so thinly spread over the area that, for the majority of the Indians, this was the only time they confessed. If Christian confession were more frequent, it was nevertheless linked to the church's calendar, to "liturgical time". Chroniclers indicate that indigenous confession took place at those moments in the year when felt needs were greatest. These were related

¹⁶¹ f.113.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

to the Andean calendar and the agricultural year, to "Andean time". "Liturgical time" and "Andean time" events did not necessarily co-occur. This contributed to the continuing existence of indigenous confessional practices, and confirmed their validity.

This exploration of the sacrament of penance as understood and practised by Pérez reveals a continuing struggle to implant the church's concept of sin in the Indian mind, and to bring every area of life under the control of the Church. The concentration on idolatry calls into question Pérez' statement that it did not exist, and suggests either its continuing vitality or represents a retrojection to a concept whose social function and maintenance was important for other reasons--part of the social construction of colonial reality. The prurient nature of the questions on the sixth commandment amounts to a priestly obsession with sex, and perhaps reflects more about the clergy than it does about indigenous practice, though it may not exclude the latter.

The decision to perpetuate the Church's earlier construct of idolatry meant that the people were kept aware of their past, and, given the importance of their forebears to them, may have added a dimension to "sin" unsuspected by the priest--that of confessing for previous generations. At the same time, the

indigenous penitential rites and its communal context informed the Christian one, and the use of its artefacts enhanced its validity.

There are indications that language utilisation had contradictory effects. Archaic language worked against intelligibility, while the appropriation of Spanish loanwords by indigenous people into Quechua produced a different understanding of the Church's rite, and led to it being practised in a way that priests found unacceptable.

4. The authoritative word: sermons, Scripture and social control

From the very first meeting of Valverde and the Inca, the encounter of the Andean people with Christianity had involved a book containing the church's authoritative writings. It was an alien artefact in the Andean world, and required the appropriation of the term for pictorial representation--*quillca*--to give an approximate idea of what it meant. One of the early indications of the importance of written materials for the Church comes in the indigenous objection to them as the locus of authority for belief and practice. The Indians had their *quipu* which they compared and contrasted with the priests' *quillqas*. The indigenous people held that there was "just as much reason to

believe their ancestors and their *quipus* and traditions as the ancestors of the Christians and their *quillcas* and writings".¹⁶⁴ Yet it was the latter that played an ever-increasing role in their lives--the Church's Scriptures and the sermons which drew their inspiration from them.

a. Sermons: their use and abuse

The role of preaching and the rationale that lay behind it has already been explored with reference to the Third Lima Council. In the years that followed sermons were seen as a vital part of pastoral activity, especially in the face of the continuing indigenous practices.

While Oré was convinced that hymns had a greater effect on Indian emotions than the "bread-and-butter" prose materials like Scripture and sermons, he nevertheless hoped that the Scripture translation that he had done would be approved by the authorities and be published together with "the sermons for Sundays and general feast-days of the year in Romance and in both *lenguas generales*".¹⁶⁵ He urged his fellow priests to be evangelists "arguing, teaching, exhort-

¹⁶⁴ Op.cit., p.5.

¹⁶⁵ Rituale, f.59r.

ing, pleading, reprimanding, reprovig and punishing".¹⁶⁶

Examples of his Quechua sermons have yet to be located, however the introductory materials of the Symbolo indicate the underlying system of thought which inspired the sermons.¹⁶⁷ They were aimed at the knowledge of God, who could be known through the two "books" he had given: Scripture and nature. The harmony and congruence of creation pointed to the perfection of the divine order, and to the primacy of God over all things. His providential ordering was to be seen in the wonders of creation, and consideration of this led to the knowledge of God. It was a view of the world inspired by the thought of Augustine and Aquinas, which was particularly present in the works of Luis de Granada. In contrast to this stood the world of the indigenous religion, disordered and barren, inspired by the devil.

Pérez, too, had translated the Gospels and Epistles for Sundays and Feast Days, and it is possible that one of the "six large volumes" that he had prepared was a sermonal. In the Ritual formulario there is only one example, "a critique of *huacas*". The sermon is not

¹⁶⁶ f.64v. Cf. 2 Tim 4.2,5.

¹⁶⁷ fols. 1-21.

original to Pérez, it is taken directly from the 1585 materials, but is not acknowledged as such.¹⁶⁸

A clearer indication of how Pérez' own sermons might have been developed is found inside the church in Andahuaylillas, where he was parish priest for many years. The main wall of the choir loft features a tempera of the Annunciation, painted by Luis de Riaño, approved and probably inspired by Pérez. Between Mary and the angel there is a small circular window directed toward the rising sun, taking the place of the Holy Spirit. The traditional iconography of the role of the dove in the act of conception has been changed to a solar representation, with the window receiving the sun's rays and taking on the form of the real sun as viewed from the relative shadow within the church. The circular inside edge of the window bears the legend "conceived without sin", while in the painting itself the words "My holy Lord, root,, key, king of the East" appear in a series of circles arranged in an anti-clockwise fashion around the window.¹⁶⁹ *Adonai* is invoked as the "king of the East". The life-giving Spirit of God takes material

¹⁶⁸ Confessionario, fols. 24v, 25r and Sermon 19, Tercero Catecismo, fols. 107-109.

¹⁶⁹ These words are in a mixture of Latin and Hebrew, and not all are legible. Teresa Gisbert, Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte, (La Paz: Ed. Gisbert, 1980), p.31.

form as the Sun, which as well as illuminating the world and nature, also impregnates the Virgin.

In his bold contextualisation of this key event of salvation history, Pérez' appropriation of indigenous beliefs was given some theological validity in Oré's writings. In a passage on the Virgin, he states:

La santissima Trinidad ama a esta Señora sobre todos los angeles y santos juntos.... El Padre la mira como a Hija, el Hijo como a Madre, el espiritu Santo como a Esposa, i toda la Santissima Trinidad como a Templo y morada suya.¹⁷⁰

However, in Quechua this undergoes significant changes:

Naupaquëpim sanctissima Trinidad llapantin Angeles Sanctocunamantahuanpas yallintarac, mamanchic Virgen Mariacta cuyan.... Dios yaya ususinta hina ricun, Dios churi Iesu Christo mamanta hina yupaichan, Spiritu Sancto Dios, Esposanta hina hatallicun. Sanctissima Trinidad caiñinpiri Templonpac tiaicunanpac unanchacun.¹⁷¹

Firstly the most holy Trinity loves our mother the Virgin Mary more than all the angels and saints.... God the Father regards her as his daughter, God the Son Jesus Christ reveres her as his mother, the Holy Spirit God possesses her as his wife. The Most Holy Trinity sees in her being a temple to live in.

The idea of the Holy Spirit "possessing" Mary as his wife gives a much more concrete understanding of the Spanish "regards her as wife", and in the Pérez/Riaño iconography comes together with the indigenous idea of

¹⁷⁰ Cited in Prado, op.cit., f.138f.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., f.141r.

the Sun which brings fecundity to nature, to produce an image which identified Christian and indigenous concepts.

The readiness to use such concepts may indicate that Pérez indeed believed that idolatry was no longer a threat, or it is one way of coming to terms with it. On the other hand, below the choir loft there is a three-part painting with God the Father contemplating the world and humanity in the centre, and scenes of heaven and hell on either side. They all have explanatory legends, with the one on hell linked to Psalm 106 with its clear warning against idolatry.¹⁷² While the indigenous worshippers in the church would not necessarily read them, the texts and the illustrations were available for appropriate use by the preacher.¹⁷³ So however much Pérez might make use of indigenous icons, continuing vigilance against idolatry was thought to be necessary.

Since the Third Council the role of the sermon against idolatry had been stressed by the Church. One fundamental problem in the way of this was the poor grasp of Quechua by priests, and the unwillingness to preach in the language by those who did know the language

¹⁷² E.g. the worship of the golden calf at Horeb.

¹⁷³ Gisbert, *op.cit.*, p.32.

well. Francisco de Avila's¹⁷⁴ involvement in campaigns to eradicate idolatry led to his proposal to the 1613 Synod held in Lima that priests working in Indian parishes be required to write their sermons in Quechua.¹⁷⁵ In 1614 Archbishop Lobo Guerrero ordered that candidates for Indian parishes were to prepare and preach a sermon in Quechua as part of their examination of competence for the job.¹⁷⁶ The increased emphasis on teaching Quechua to priests and on translating Latin texts into Quechua coincided with this,¹⁷⁷ and was accompanied by the production of fresh grammars of the language.

The importance of sermons in "forming concepts of what is taught" in Indian minds was stressed by Arriaga. He gave instructions and guidelines for twelve sermons that could be preached by the *visitadores*.¹⁷⁸ The sermons were to be adapted to the level of under-

¹⁷⁴ A native of Cuzco, he had spent a number of years in an Indian parish. Serious law suits initiated against him by the Indians had contributed to his own leading role in efforts to eradicate idolatry. See "Francisco de Avila: Cuzco 1573 (?) - Lima 1547", by Antonio Acosta, in Gerald Taylor, Ritos, pp.553-616.

¹⁷⁵ Pierre Duviols, La Destrucción de las Religiones Andinas, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977), p.339. Duviols' whole section on "Los medios de persuasión" (pp.338-369) is insightful, though it does not consider the Quechua text of the sermons.

¹⁷⁶ Arriaga, op.cit., p.235.

¹⁷⁷ See below on Scripture.

¹⁷⁸ Op.cit., pp.243-5.

standing of the Indians, with illustrations carefully chosen to evoke a response. A comparison of different sermonals suggests that a collection of examples and "testimonies" had developed,¹⁷⁹ drawn upon by different preachers. These were both items taken from Andean life,¹⁸⁰ and the reinterpretation (or indeed creation) of events to prove the providentialist reading of history.¹⁸¹

Arriaga also made a plea for printed sermon collections in the vernacular. Surprisingly, these did not materialise until almost thirty years later, though it is possible that they may have circulated in manuscript form earlier. If Arriaga pointed to what for him was the right use of sermons, Guamán Poma, whose chronicle may be dated to around 1610, charts their misuse. He also shows how they were used as a means of sanctifying the oppressive colonial order and validating the abuses committed by clergy.¹⁸² The illustration which accompanies the section on sermons sums up what should be the theme of the sermons:

¹⁷⁹ See Duviols' extended note on this. *Op.cit.*, p.340.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. a cob of corn with multi-coloured grains was used to explain how an immense variety can come from one seed, and, by analogy, how peoples of many colours and languages could come from one creator.

¹⁸¹ E.g. the incipient monotheism of Inca Viracocha.

¹⁸² *Op.cit.*, pp.608-612.

Euangeliota sagrada escritura uillascayque
churicona uaca uilcatata manam sermoyquicho
chaytaca naupa machoyq̄chi yacharca camca
bautisacca nam canq̄ churi.¹⁸³

Children, I am going to tell you the Gospel,
the Holy Scripture. Do not serve *huacas* and
willkas. Your ancestors had that custom, but
you, children, are now baptised.

The visual details in the illustrations suggest that
he believed the Word of God could have effect, despite
the poor grammar of the priest. Some Indians are
asleep, but there are others who are in tears, and the
bird coming in the window on the shaft of sunlight
suggests his understanding of the Holy Spirit.

Guaman Poma singles out Cristobal de Molina for
praise, on account of his ability in the language. The
example he gives of Molina's preaching shows elegant,
lyrical language, perhaps reflecting that of Spain's
Golden Age rather than indigenous usage (though it is
possible that it reflects the "elegant language" of
Cuzco eschewed by the translators of the Third Council
materials).¹⁸⁴ The content provides an earlier
precedent for the kind of contextualisation noted in
the Andahuaylillas example, for Jesus is identified

¹⁸³ Ibid., p.609. Poma de Ayala's written form of
his own language is a study in itself. While the
inconsistencies may be due to his own written style,
it is more likely that it is a deliberate portrayal of
the priest's poor command of the language, a way of
making fun of the cleric. On Poma's Quechua, see Jorge
Urioste, "Estudio analítico del Quechua en la Nueva
Corónica", in Murra and Adorno, op.cit., pp.xx-xxxi.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix 5.

with the sun and moon, and the Trinity is associated with light and resplendent brightness.

In contrast to Molina many other priests know little of either the "quichua, chinchaysuyo, or aymara" tongues. Their total knowledge of the language amounts to "four words":

Apomuy cauallo--Mona miconqui--p^e ta ricunqui--
Maymi soltera--Maymi muchachas--Apomuy
doctrinaman.¹⁸⁵

Bring horse! No eat! Go and see the priest!
Where is the single woman? Where are the
girls? Bring to the doctrine class!

The word for "horse" lacks the object marker "ta"; in the negative command the word for "eat" lacks the complementary negative marker "chu"; loan-words are used instead of very common Quechua words; the tone is abrupt and officious. Just as priests in their sermons satirised indigenous beliefs, so Guaman Poma produced a satire on the priests.

"While performing the Mass and preaching the sermon on the Gospel", such priests "mix in their business affairs and other matters they are involved in":¹⁸⁶

P^e auay nisca. P^e puchucay nisca. Yachay p^e
asuan allin correg^o r mantapas, coracamantapas
comenderomantapas pirreymantapas. Alli
mandascayta trauajay niscayta oyarinqui, porq̃
ciquipi cama asotascayqui caytam euangeliopi
cunam punchau camachisonq̃. Caymi sermon.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p.610.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

Diospa rantin uillayqui. Songollapi
hatalli.¹⁸⁷

The priest said, "Weave!" The priest said, "Finish it!". Know that the priest is better than the *corregidor*, better than the *curaca*, better than the *encomendero*, and than the viceroy himself. You should pay attention to my good commands to work, because I will whip you as far as your backsides! This is what I command you today in the Gospel. This is the sermon. As God's representative I am telling you. Receive it in your heart!

It is not surprising that the Indians complained to the authorities about such abuses, nor that the young people made fun of the priests' sermons:

Cay churicona! Ama pinachiuanguicho. Na pinaspa, poman cani. Na mana pinaspa, caballo cinaspa cabresto llamanta aysanallam cani.¹⁸⁸

Children, don't make me angry. When I am angry I am a puma, when I am calm I am like a horse, [like] a halter by which a llama is led.

The words were parodied by young people:

Churicona, ama pinachihuanquecho. Na pinaspa miciton cane. Na mana pinaspa, ucucham cani.

Children, don't make me angry. When I am angry, I am a pussy-cat. When I am calm, I am a mouse.

For Guaman Poma the sermon was ambiguous. It was a tool in the oppression of his people, and the paradox of it all pains him deeply. Those who suffer most are those who ought to be helped by them--the *pobres de Jesucristo*, and expression he repeatedly uses of the Indians. It echoes Las Casas' "pobres de Jesucristo azotados en las Indias", yet whom he defended by the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p.611.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.610.

sermon itself.¹⁸⁹ Guaman Poma appropriates both this tradition, and the rhetorical device of the sermon, which is how the whole work may be seen--an indigenous sermon revindicating indigenous rights. Guaman Poma despairs of the sermon as used by most priests, yet paradoxically it is the genre he chooses to use. As an Indian he has no access to a pulpit, instead he uses it in the written form he is familiar with, but in his case it is addressed to the king.

It was not until the second wave of anti-idolatry campaigns which began in the 1640s that new printed sermonals appeared, written by former *visitadores*.¹⁹⁰ One of these, de Avila, was critical of much that passed for preaching:

Telling an Indian that Christ rose from the dead, healed a paralytic, gave sight to the blind, and after this saying, "Drunk dog, why don't you believe this? Why do you worship the mountain?" is not preaching. The barbarian

¹⁸⁹ On the importance of Las Casas for Guaman Poma, see Rolena Adorno, "Bartolomé de Las Casas y Domingo de Santo Tomás en la Obra de Felipe Waman Puma", Revista Iberoamericana, 120-121 (Julio-Diciembre 1982), pp.673-679.

¹⁹⁰ Fernando de Avendaño, Sermones de los misterios de nuestra Santa Fe Católica en lengua castellana y la general del Inca, (Lima: Jorge Lopez de Herrera, 1649); Francisco de Avila, Tratado de los Evangelios que nuestra madre la iglesia propone en todo el año desde la primera dominica de aduiento hasta la ultima missa de difuntos, santos de España, y añadidos en el nuevo rezado, (Lima: Jorge Lopez de Herrera, 1648); the sermonal of Diego de Molina, parish priest in Huanuco, remained in manuscript form: "Sermones de la quaresma en Lengua Quechua", [1649], BNL Ms. B 203.

rightly replies that he is happy in his drunkenness, that the mountain is god, and that it makes good sense not to believe what the priest says.¹⁹¹

The structure of his own preaching followed the recommendations of Trent. In the Preface to the Catechism of Trent, the truths of the faith are summed up in the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. These four "comprise the whole force and doctrine of Scripture", so whenever a Gospel passage was to be expounded, priests were to seek

its substance under one of the four heads already enumerated, to which they will recur as to the source from which the exposition is to be drawn. Thus if the Gospel of the first Sunday in Advent is to be explained: "There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon", etc. whatever regards its explanation is contained under the articles of the Creed, "He shall come to judge the living and the dead" and, by embodying the substance of that article in his exposition, the pastor will at once instruct his people in the Creed and the Gospel.¹⁹²

Avila believed that "the principal remedy for idolatry is preaching - with style, with love and to the

¹⁹¹ Prefacio, Tratado. Duviols cites an earlier treatise of Avila of 1616 where almost identical words occur. This may suggest that the sermons come from that period too, although they were not published until much later.

¹⁹² J. Donovan, (trans.), The Catechism by decree of the Holy Council of Trent published by command of Pope Pius the Fifth, (Rome: Propaganda Fidei Press, 1839), pp.9,10.

point".¹⁹³ In his view sermons should refute errors with reasoned argument. The Indians went astray through ignorance of nature, therefore he appealed to arguments from scientific knowledge of his day. So if the Indians worshipped snow peaks because they believed they gave them water, science must be drawn upon to teach how nature actually produced snow and water.¹⁹⁴ This attempt to introduce the Andeans to modernity, however, bore no resemblance to their own logic.

Another former *visitador*, Fernando de Avendaño,¹⁹⁵ also criticised the preaching of his day. He claimed that the effectiveness of his own work over thirty years earlier was based on the "efficacy of his arguments", which led to the Indians' disillusion with their own practices.¹⁹⁶ He believed he had refuted indigenous practice because he had "such detailed knowledge" of it. He maintained that many sermons used a language and logic that bore no relation to the

¹⁹³ Op.cit., f.3v.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ He been a parish priest in the Huarochiri-Huancayo area, but was best known for his role in the campaign to eradicate idolatry in the 1610-1620 period. Arriaga had travelled with him, and the Jesuit's own work owed much to Avendaño's 1617 Relación de las idolatrías de los indios.

¹⁹⁶ He claimed "the *reducción* of 11,000 apostates". The AAL trial documents from the 1650s show that he over-estimated his success. See ch.5, p.359.

situation of the Indians.¹⁹⁷ It was the obscure language of an academic elite, which left the Indians worse than it found them.¹⁹⁸ One of his contemporaries referred to the effect of such sermons as "adding one more plague to the darkness of Egypt".¹⁹⁹

He also called attention to the polyvalent nature of words. Drawing on the Old Testament book of Hosea, he argued that they were in a similar situation to that of Israel. The point of comparison was the indiscriminate use of the name *Ba'al* by the common people to refer to Yahve and to the Canaanite gods.²⁰⁰ He was therefore aware that the appropriation by the Indians of the terminology used by the priests was not always what the priests imagined. Unfortunately Avendaño's

¹⁹⁷ He includes ten sermons of his own, the remainder are reprints of sermons from the 1585 sermonal. Although he claims that he is writing in the Quechua of Chinchaysuyu, the whole work shows the "standard" official Quechua. This may mean that his own sermons were originally prepared in Chinchaysuyu Quechua (which would make sense as it was the area where he worked), and were then revised prior to publication in the combined edition.

¹⁹⁸ He compared it to the incident in the 2 Kings chapter 18 where the leaders of Israel urged the Rabshakeh not to speak in Hebrew but in Syrian (i.e. Aramaic), so that the ordinary people would not understand what was being said. The sermons being preached in his day were like "Syrian".

¹⁹⁹ The Augustinian Miguel de Aguirre in his foreword to de Avila's book of sermons.

²⁰⁰ "edum aliud loquitur, alterius recordetur, & virum nominans, idolem cogitet". "Prefacio al lector", Avendaño, op.cit.

insight was not matched by his solution to the problem. In Sermon V--Who is God?--he referred to the mounds called *apachitas* which were found at significant places on roads or hills, usually at a crest or peak or the high point on a road. There travellers made an offering and prayed to the *apachecc ñiscca huacca* for safety on the journey. The meaning of the name was "the one who gives strength to carry burdens". For Avendaño this was akin to the altar "to the unknown God" which St. Paul found in Athens.²⁰¹ The Indians should adore the Cross at the *apachita*, because Jesus is the one who "gives strength to carry burdens":²⁰²

Therefore the *wiraqochas* put the Holy Cross on the *apachitas*, so that when you travel a road and arrive at the *apachitas*, you can now see that the Holy Cross where Jesus Christ died has been put there for you to worship, in order that you can ask him for strength to carry the load.²⁰³

He was unaware that despite using "the most ordinary phrases" in his translation, "common ones which the people understand", he could perpetuate the problem he criticised. The ambiguity to which he alluded in the

²⁰¹ Acts 17.

²⁰² Op.cit., part II, p.55.

²⁰³ Chairaicum huiraccochacuna apachitacunapi Santa Cruzta churancu ñam ari ricocc canquichic ñanta purispa cai apacheta cunaman chayaptijquichic Santa Cruz, maipin Iesu Christo huañurccan, muchanaiquipacc churasccacta, pai mantattacc qquepi apaipacc callpacta mañanaiquichicpacc.

use of Baal recurred in *apachicc*, for in recommending the use of a Christian symbol to replace the indigenous one, he located it on the same sacred site.

Duviols' analysis of Avendaño's fourth sermon-- "...that the sun, the moon, and the *huacas* are not God"--shows how the "theory of extirpation" developed after the Third Council. Avendaño's dialectical methodology employed the formal logic of the Scholastics to refute indigenous beliefs. Linked as it was to the view that "the idolator was conceived as a fetishist and not as an animist", the refutation had a limited effect.²⁰⁴ The threatening tone of the sermons coupled with the absence of "Christian charity or even a sense of humanity"²⁰⁵ reduced this even further.

From the materials available, it is clear that the use of the sermon was aimed not only at inspiring true faith, but more particularly at persuading the Indians to abandon their practices. In this there is evidence to suggest that both the language used (poor grammar, wrong meanings), the logic employed (scholastic), and the rhetoric adopted may have frustrated this purpose. This factor was complicated by the use of indigenous imagery for Christian theological expression, and the

²⁰⁴ Op.cit., p.350.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

readiness to contextualise the message. The fact that the sermon was put to much less worthy uses invalidated it in the eyes of many, though its misuse also meant that the "proper" use was recognised and, if Guaman Poma is a guide, appreciated. He comments on the Jesuits:

If the said reverend fathers were to teach the Gospels and preach the sufferings of Jesus Christ and about the Virgin Mary, about all the saints, about the Day of Judgment, and about Holy Scripture, the Indians would not run away. But they [the priests] concern themselves with *huacas*....²⁰⁶

b. Sacred Scripture: rationale, use and translation

The question of Scriptures in the vernacular had aroused fierce debate in the sixteenth century Church. The so-called "Tridentine Index"--the Index of Prohibited Books produced by Pius IV in 1564--banned the use of vernacular scriptures.²⁰⁷ This left the missionaries with a profound problem, for Scripture was an integral part of church liturgy and teaching. Furthermore, there was a clear instruction from Trent

²⁰⁶ Op.cit., p.636. He had a high regard for their earlier work--"After this order entered this kingdom, the God of heaven entered in the world of this kingdom". (Ibid.)

²⁰⁷ "Index Pius IV von 1564", Heinrich Reusch, ed., Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1961), pp.243-281. This confirmed the position set out in earlier indices: "Index des Spanischen General-Inquisitors Valdes 1551", "Index Pauls IV 1559", "Index des Spanischen General-Inquisitors Valdes von 1559", ibid., pp.73-77, 176-208, 209-242.

in tension with the prohibition. Regarding the Mass, the Council decided that

although the Mass is full of instruction for the faithful people, the council fathers did not think it advantageous, that it should everywhere be celebrated in the vernacular.²⁰⁸

Priests were nevertheless to expound in the vernacular, if need be, "some of what is recited in the course of the mass".²⁰⁹ The Council was also clear on such uses of the vernacular:

So that the faithful people may approach the reception of the sacraments with greater reverence and spiritual devotion...the bishops shall not only explain their power and benefit...but ensure that the same is done by all parish priests...even in the vernacular tongue... During the mass or the celebration of office, on every feast or solemnity they should explain the divine commandments and precepts of salvation in the vernacular.²¹⁰

This could have been interpreted as including vernacular Scriptures. Certainly clergy in Peru were aware of the debates which took place after Trent over the vernacular issue, especially the trial and acquittal of the Dominican Luis de León, whose works Nombres de Cristo and Cantares were widely circu-

²⁰⁸ Session 22, ch.8. Tanner, op.cit., p.735.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Session 24, ch.7. Ibid., p.764.

lated,²¹¹ and in which he had both produced and defended Scripture translation into the vernacular.

An early example of vernacular Scripture is found in the indigenous questioning of the Church's actions in another of the 1585 sermons:

Taking the bread in his hand, blessing it he said, "Take, eat this, for this is my body, this my body will die on account of your sins, saying he said. Then taking the chalice containing wine he said, "Drink this, in this chalice is my blood, I will pour out this blood of mine for you and for many others, in order that all of your sins might be pardoned. Look, just as I do this, in the same way you also will always do it and [so] remember me, said Jesus Christ our God.²¹²

The text does not follow exactly any one of the Gospel accounts of the institution, but is a composite text which draws on the Matthean and Lucan versions of the

²¹¹ León's vernacular works were on the 1559 Index, and as late as 1575 copies of Cantares circulating in Peru were confiscated by the Inquisition. However, by 1597 his works were on sale in bookshops in Lima. Luis Antonio Eguiguren, Diccionario Histórico Cronológico de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Marcos y sus Colegios, Tomo 1, (Lima: Imp. Torres Aquirre, 1940), p.710.

²¹² "Tantactam maquinahuan çocarispá, bendicionninta churaycuspa ñircan, Cachic, micuychic cayta: caymi ari ñocap ucuy, cay ucuyi camcunap huchayquichicraycu huañunca, ñispa ñircan. Chaymanta cana Calizta, vinoyocta hatallispa ñircan. Cay upiaychic cayta: cay Caliz ucupim ñocap yahuarij tian: cay yahuarij tam camcuna raycu, huaquin nin achca runacunaraycupas hichassac, llapayquichicpa huchayquichic pampachasca cancampac. Ricuychic, ymanam cayta ñocá rurani, chay hinallatac camcunapas ñocacta yuyarihuaspa, viñaylla ruranquichic, ñispam Iesu Christo Diosninchic." Sermon XIII, Tercero Catecismo, fols. 72v, 73r.

institution. The indigenous response to this, as seen in the sermon, is of note:

Father, we *runas*, are we not baptised Christians? Then why are we not allowed to receive the most holy sacrament? Did not Jesus Christ our God say, "Give my body to Christians"? Did he not say, "He who does not eat my body, will die for ever"?²¹³

This example of the indigenous appropriation of Scripture would appear to be based on John 6.²¹⁴ Its use here is significant: a vehicle of protest against their marginalisation in terms of the church's rites.

Both Oré and Pérez produced translations of the lectionary readings for the Sundays and feast days of the year, and hoped to have them published--neither achieved this. In the early seventeenth century the Italian Jesuit Ludovic Bertonio prepared a Life of Christ in the Aymara language.²¹⁵ There is an appendix

²¹³ "Padre ñocaycu runacunaca, manachu Christiano baptizasca caycu: Imaraycutac Sanctissimo Sacramentoc-ta mana chasquichihuancuchu? Manachu Iesu Christo Diosninchicca Christianocunaman ucuyta conqui, ñircan? Manachu ucuyta mana micucca manam cauçãcachu, viñay-pacmi huañunca, ñircan?" Ibid., f.75r.

²¹⁴ "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you; he who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life...he who eats me will live because of me...he who eats this bread will live for ever". (John 6.53-58)

²¹⁵ Libro de la Vida y Milagros de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo en dos lenguas, Aymara y Romance traducido de el que recopiló el Licenciado Alonso de Villegas, quitadas y añadidas algunas cosas, y acomodado a la capacidad de los Indios, (Juli: Francisco de Canto, 1612). Hereafter Vida y Milagros.

containing a number of Gospel readings in Aymara for certain Sundays and feast days.²¹⁶ These would appear to have been drawn from a more complete corpus of lectionary readings in Aymara which had been prepared in the Jesuit centre in Juli, on the shores of Lake Titicaca.

In 1648 Juan Roxo Mexía y Ocón published a grammar of Quechua.²¹⁷ He stated "I have prepared this grammar...so that it can be spoken properly, and also to make possible the translation of any Latin sentence". The principles set out in the grammar are illustrated throughout by examples of Scripture texts in Quechua, thereby clarifying what "Latin sentences" he had in mind for translation. He assures his students and those who use his grammar and guidelines that they will "rarely have a problem sentence".²¹⁸ The grammar had been the fruit of his first year in the chair of Quechua in the San Marcos university, and would be followed shortly by "a literal translation of the Gospels, which I have begun to give in the lectures".

²¹⁶ Ibid., pp.553-560.

²¹⁷ Arte de la lengua general de los indios del Peru, (Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1648). He was from Cuzco, and grew up speaking Quechua as naturally as he did Spanish. He had some twenty-two years experience as a priest. At the time of writing the grammar he held the chair of Quechua in San Marcos University and was language examiner for prospective priests.

²¹⁸ Ibid., f.87v.

Around the same time that Roxo Mexía was preparing his grammar, Francisco de Avila was putting the finishing touches to his Tratado de los Evangelios. Never one for modesty about his own achievements, Avila presented this translation of the lectionary texts of the Roman Missal as one which "no one had carried out effectively" in one hundred and forty years of Spanish presence in the New World.

Forty years later Estevan Sancho de Melgar published his Arte de la Lengua General del Ynga llamada Qquechhua.²¹⁹ In the prefatory material Pedro de Cisneros y Mendoza of Lima Cathedral commends the work for "the many new things it adds to explanations given by other grammars, teaching the way to translate the Sacred Gospels, according to the nature of this language...in keeping with the sense of the sacred text".

Like Roxo Mexía, Sancho de Melgar illustrates his grammar with examples of translation of Gospel texts, suggesting that priests were still required to translate these in the late 17th century. The lack of a Quechua "vulgate" meant that each parish priest needed to produce his own work, or copy that of someone else, though it is not known how many actually

²¹⁹ Lima: Diego de Lyra, 1691.

did. Sancho hoped to remedy that in the "paraphrastic translation of the Gospels with grammatical notes which I hope in God will be given to the printer shortly".²²⁰

It is clear that the Index of Prohibited Books did not mean that vernacular scriptures were not used in Peru.²²¹ There are examples of translations from the 1580s, 1590s, 1600s, 1640s, and 1690s, with an ongoing programme of language teaching throughout that period. Prospective priests for Indian parishes were examined on their proficiency in the native language. The examination included translation of a Gospel passage from Latin to Quechua; difficult Latin expressions had to be explained and translation difficulties highlighted. The aim was to achieve the most correct translation possible without distorting the true meaning of the sacred text.²²²

²²⁰ The only known copy in existence is held in the Colombian National Archive in Bogotá: Lucerna yndica y traduccion paraphrastica de todos los Evangelios que canta la Yglesia, segun el sentir de los santos Padres, sagrados expositores, y versiones sacras (1690).

²²¹ Drawing on the work of Irving Leonard on books sold in the New World, Gabriel Guarda suggests that around 1575 the use of the Scriptures by colonists was widespread, but this assertion goes beyond available evidence. Los Laicos en la Cristianización de América, (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 21987), pp.66-70.

²²² Lucio Castro Pineda, "Las Catedras de Lenguas en la Universidad de San Marcos y en la Catedral de Lima", Revista de Historia de America, No. 53-54, 1962, pp. 99-125; Juan Guillermo Durán, El Catecismo

Yet, apart from Avila's material, none of these translated works were published, including those of such influential men as Oré and Bertonio. This suggests the existence of an official policy on the matter. It would appear that as long as these readings remained in manuscript form they were not covered by the Index of Prohibited Books, and therefore not liable to investigation by the Inquisition. One must conclude that Trent's encouragement of the vernacular was followed, but the post-Trent restrictions on vernacular Scriptures were observed by their non-publication.

The importance of Scripture and other materials in the vernacular is underlined by the discussion of translation practice that appears in the works of Bertonio, Roxo Mexía, de Avila and Sancho de Melgar.

Bertonio's Vida y Milagros was aimed at two distinct audiences--priests who were learning the language in order to serve in Indian parishes, and Indians themselves--and reflect Jesuit thinking on the matter. The idiomatic translation into Aymara from Spanish was followed by a literal translation from Aymara into

del III Concilio Provincial de Lima y Sus Complementos Pastorales (1584-1585), (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Teología de la UCA, 1982), p.229; Eguiguren, op.cit., pp.113-121.

Spanish, so that those who were learning Aymara could see how the two versions related. This latter version was a teaching tool. Bertonio supervised the translation:

We obtained the services of a bilingual Indian of this town of Juli by the name of Martin de Sancta Cruz Hanansaya...to help in the translation from Romance to Aymara...we took away and added some things which seemed better to those of us fathers in this house ...so that the translation did not say anything that went against true catholic doctrine...we encouraged him...to help us in this translation so that it could be produced with the greatest elegance and clarity which could be attained in his mother tongue.^{2 2 3}

Bertonio spelled out three approaches to translation:

i. A word for word rendering without regard for overall meaning or clarity. This was a quite literal translation in which no transformations took place.

ii. A translation aimed at elegance and idiomaticity in the target language. This would draw on the full resources of the target language to express the meaning of the original. In present-day terms it represents full dynamic or functional equivalence.

^{2 2 3} Vida y Milagros, p.5. Bertonio cited the works of Nicolaus Clenardus as his model. He appended to his Greek grammar a double translation of Basil's "letter on solitude" to Gregory Nazianzus. The twin translation to Latin consisted of Guillaume Budé's elegant translation of the letter and Clenardus' more literal translation, aimed at showing students how Greek grammar operated in terms of the language they were more familiar with, i.e. Latin.

iii. A translation located between those two methods, where only obligatory transformations took place--a modified formal correspondence.

Since he was interested in producing a language-learning tool, this last-mentioned was the one adopted in the translation of the Aymara into Spanish. However, for communication to the Indians he chose the idiomatic translation.

In preparing a grammar and materials that would most benefit his students, Roxo Mexía y Ocón showed a sensitivity to language and a conviction that Quechua was a suitable vehicle for even the most eloquent expression:

The beauty and elegance of a language consist not only of the property of words but also in their position. The language of the Indians is so graceful that when the phrase is not elegant it only takes a change of order to make it really stylish. Its gentleness and grace derive from the harmonious interworking of the rhythms of one expression with another.²²⁴

His intended audience expected correspondence between the Latin text and the Quechua text. The examples that illustrate his grammar therefore use a numbering system to show that what is contained in the Latin

²²⁴ Ibid., fols. 77v, 78r.

text, is also found in the Quechua text, even if it is in a different position:

Rogaba¹ a² Iesus³ un⁴ Fariseo⁵ ñ comiesse⁶ con el⁷.

Hucc⁴ Phariseo⁵ Iesus³ ta² mucharccã¹ payhuan⁷ mikcuypacc⁶.

[Literally: A Pharisee Jesus (+ obj. marker) implored with him to eat].²²⁵

The concern for equivalence and correctness of meaning is evident: "it is an identical version, which corresponds to the proper meaning of the Latin Romance".²²⁶ For each principle enunciated in the grammar, there are "examples in the Holy Gospel of this precept". Students were to study both, and this, it was hoped, would resolve even such difficult problems as the relative clause which had no formal equivalent in Quechua syntax.

In addition to the principles of grammar, he recommended certain translation procedures, such as dealing with the lack of a corresponding Quechua term for a Spanish or Latin word. These were:

²²⁵ The example actually gives three possible Quechua translations for the verb "to eat", each using the same root, one meaning "in order to eat" and the other two "in order that he might eat".

²²⁶ Op. cit., f.20r.

i. "Indianise" the word.²²⁷

E.g. *bautizani*, *confirmacuni*, *confessacuni*,
orcco ovis,²²⁸ *tirico*.²²⁹

ii. Translate by the effect the word achieves.²³⁰

E.g. *la gloria* produces a *vida de contento* ("life of happiness") and so should be translated *cusi cauçay* (happy life). On a similar note "purgatory" becomes in Quechua "the place or sphere of suffering".

iii. Translate the meaning.

E.g. *escandalizar* could have meant either "to cause to sin" or "insult or abuse", and therefore the suggested translations were *huchaman chayachini* ("to push someone into sin") or *alccochani*, or *qqueçachani* ("to treat like a dog" or "despise"). At times this method leads to an elaborate phrase, e.g. *testimonio* "something I have said in the manner of the person in charge of documents".²³¹

²²⁷ Ibid., f.84.

²²⁸ *Orcco* means "male", hence "a male sheep".

²²⁹ Southern Peruvian Quechua had no CCV syllable, nor a voiced sound like /g/, hence the Spanish *trigo* (wheat) became *tirico*.

²³⁰ Ibid., f.85.

²³¹ Ibid., f.85.

Despite what must have appeared as lengthy circumlocutions to some, Roxo Mexía defended Quechua,

the language cannot be called limited because it lacks some Spanish and Latin words, for the same could be said of all the nations of the world...when they lack some, there are other phrases that can be used instead, and this language has extremely elegant ones for all that it lacks.²³²

The nature of the Gospels as the Church's sacred Scriptures raised a specific range of translation problems, and the grammar contains "advice for the translation of the Gospels":

i. As long as the Quechua word does not change "the customary catholic meaning of the Gospel", a sentence should be translated with that word, without recourse to nonsensical phrases or compositions.²³³ E.g. Matt 25.14:

Homo¹ quidã² peregre³ proficiscēs⁴
vocauit⁵ seruos suos⁶.

Un hõbre queriẽdo ir lexos; llamó a sus criados.

Hucc² runa¹ caruta³ purisacc⁴ ñispa;
yanancunacta⁶ huaccyarccan⁵.

[Literally: A man "far I will go" saying, his servants called].

The change to direct speech in the first person is the point at issue here.

²³² Ibid., f.85.

²³³ Ibid.

ii. When the inherent meaning of the Quechua word changes "the customary catholic meaning of the Gospel", it must be avoided. Instead a phrase should be used which conforms to the meaning of the Gospel. E.g. John 1.1:

In principio¹ erat² Verbum³ Deus^{4 & 5}
erat⁶ Verbum⁷ Verbum^{8 & 9} erat¹⁰ apud
Deum¹¹.

In principio should not be rendered by the word in the language which corresponds to *principio*, that is *callarij*. Its proper meaning is "beginning of time", and the Evangelist is speaking of "the beginningless beginning of eternity". Nor should the word *verbum* be rendered by *simi*, which is the corresponding term. Its proper meaning is "a spoken word", whereas the Evangelist speaks of the "Eternal Word of the Father", that is, his only begotten Son. Also *Apud Deū* which corresponds in Quechua by its nature to *Diospa Nauqqimpi*, should not be so rendered because that word means "physical presence". Instead it should be translated by the term that corresponds to *cum deo* (as St Augustine thought), in the sense that the soul is *apud corpus*, even though St John Chrysostom, St Basil and St Athanasius give a different meaning to *apud deum*. But I am not expounding the Gospel as a theologian, I am only giving precepts as a grammarian. So the sentence should read:

mana ccallarijñiyocc paccarijpim¹
Diospa Churin³ cachcarccan². Diospa
Churin⁷ pas⁴, Diosmi⁵ cachcarccan⁶
Diospa⁹ Churinri⁸ Dioshuanmi¹¹ cach-
carccan¹⁰.²³⁴

[In the dawn which had no beginning
the Son of God was, and the Son of

²³⁴ Ibid., fols. 85v, 86r.

God was God, the Son of God was with God].

In his endeavour to preserve the customary exegesis, Roxo Mexía lost much more than he would have by preserving the Quechua words. He would have done better to follow his third principle.

iii. Because of the extreme difficulty of translating some texts, at times a literal word for word translation should be done.^{2 3 5}

E.g. John 3.8:

Spiritus¹ ubi vult² spirat³.

Although the exegetical meaning is that "the Holy Spirit breathes and distributes his graces where and how he wishes", this meaning is not contradicted by using the words that literally correspond in Quechua. So it could be very well rendered:

Spiritu sancto¹ munasccanmanmi² ppucū³.

[Literally: the Holy Spirit towards where it wishes blows].

Roxo Mexia also comments on the translation of double negatives and deals with other problematic areas of Quechua syntax. There is no doubting his commitment to the use of the vernacular for the expression of the catholic faith. We see in him a certain romanticism, almost an idealisation of Quechua and of an "academic" Quechua which was to develop further in later years.

^{2 3 5} "The grammatical and material sense of the text".

However, his failure to examine the presupposition that his exposition of the Gospel as a grammarian and not a theologian should safeguard him from error flaws his work. This is also true of his determination to embody the accepted exegesis of theologians in the Quechua text--it leads him to an end result which can be significantly less than that from which he started.

As opposed to the translation of isolated verses found in Roxo Mexía's work, Francisco de Avila and Estevan Sancho de Melgar afford the opportunity to compare two translations of the same passage: the lectionary reading for the first Sunday in Advent--Luke 21.25-33. The contexts differ, one occurs in a book of sermons aimed at refuting idolatry, and the other in a proposed lectionary produced by a professor of Quechua.

As has been noted, Avila's sermon followed the recommendation of Trent in expounding the text.²³⁶

An examination of this shows that apart from proper names, the translation is remarkably free of Spanish loanwords. Either the sermon genre, the "non-publishable" Scripture genre, or the exigencies of work at parish level, freed Avila from the hesitations over

²³⁶ For text and translation of the Gospel passage, see Appendix 6. That which directly represents the Gospel text is in bold print.

the vernacular shown by the Third Council translators. It may also be that he was unaware of some of the subtleties involved, for he misunderstood some of the Latin original from which he was working.²³⁷ So, the *pressura gentium* of the Missal is rendered as the "pressure" caused by the crowding around of people rather than "the people's distress". He multiplies words in the style of a preacher, for instance, terror causing the people to "dry up", to "shrivel up", to "go cold". It is an expanded paraphrase, at times with explanatory comments added, and at times with the interpretation translated rather than the text. To the hearer it would not necessarily be clear that only part represented the Scripture text--all is the "word of God".

The sermon context again makes clear (at least for the preacher) who are to see these things take place: the "Indians". Part of the text is understood as referring to everyone, another part only to "good Christians".²³⁸ The exegesis is informed by ideas current at that time. The stars were believed to influence the course of events on earth, hence the

²³⁷ De Avila includes the Spanish text he worked from, and I am assuming that this was his translation from the Latin texts of the Missal.

²³⁸ I.e. Luke 21.25-27 is for everyone, vv.28-33 is only for "good Christians". There are no "bad Christians", only "bad *runas*".

reference to the "power" exercised on earth.²³⁹ The translator struggles admirably with concepts that even today pose major problems for Bible translators: signs, Son of Man, glory, redemption, parable, kingdom of God. The translation of "Son of Man" as "the child of Holy Mary" follows "the son of the Virgin" in the Spanish text given by Avila. This is understandable in the light of the Vulgate *filius hominis*--"son of human being".

Sancho de Melgar's approach to the same text is quite different.²⁴⁰ In the notes which accompany the translation he explains the options he has taken. Together with the translation these reveal a remarkable sensitivity to the language, seen, for instance, in the use of onomatopoeia:

The Indian always looks for words which imitate the sound or noise that he hears, and he adds to these the verb *ñini* to make another verb with the meaning 'to make such-and-such a noise'. The noun is formed from the present infinitive. 'Cum' or 'cau' is the sound of waves. 'Cumñini' or 'cauñini' mean 'to make the sound of waves'.²⁴¹

²³⁹ In the accompanying Spanish version it reads: "The powers of heaven will move, that is, the stars and planets which together exercised their influence on the world below". (f.4)

²⁴⁰ Op.cit., fols. 50v-51r. For text and translation, see Appendix 6.

²⁴¹ Op. cit., f.52r.

Although adopting what was the standard understanding of certain expressions (e.g. Son of Man), Sancho pays careful attention to exegesis.²⁴² His aim is to be true to the *sentido evangélico*²⁴³ of the text, and in this respect he avoids the pitfalls that caused Roxo Mexía to stumble.

A comparison with Avila's translation shows Sancho to have a much better grasp of Latin and of the meaning of the Latin text. His is a much more nuanced translation, with superior Quechua. He, too, avoids loan-words, even translating terms such as *discipulo* which Avila conserves. In contrast to the situation fifty years earlier, Quechua is now being carefully cultivated in a more "classical" phase of Quechua use. Sancho confines himself to the text, while Avila intersperses text with comment, with only a few clear markers to indicate that he is passing from dominical utterance to personal comment or sermonic material, whereas Sancho clearly indicates what are alternative suggestions in his draft. Sancho did not have the sermon context to skew the translation, as it did for de Avila. He remarks in the grammar that he has seen a "variety of translations", and he is right in thinking that he deals with translation problems better than

²⁴² The title of the full manuscript held in Bogotá mentions the "Holy Fathers, sacred expositors, and sacred versions".

²⁴³ Ibid., f.43r.

some.²⁴⁴ It is not possible, however, to establish the degree to which his Quechua represented spoken Quechua of that time, nor how these texts were understood by the people for whom they were intended.

It is therefore clear that throughout the seventeenth century careful attention was given to the translation of Scripture for use in worship, evangelistic preaching and language learning. The view that the Council of Trent and the Index of Prohibited Books meant that "no Scripture translation was carried out in the colonial period"²⁴⁵ is untenable.

Successive grammarians and translators struggled with the constraints imposed by the Latin form of the original, the Church's theology, and a translation theory which demanded correspondence between the two texts. There are suggestions of an increasing idealisation of Quechua, and the more this is likely to have happened, the less it would have communicated to the mass of the indigenous people. It is nevertheless clear that the reading and singing of Scripture in the regular celebration of the Mass, even in "liturgical Quechua", would imbue the people with a sense of the

²⁴⁴ Ibid., f.43r.

²⁴⁵ Julián Heras, OFM. Personal communication, 30.10.1988.

Biblical narrative. More research would be required to determine actual developments in Quechua use during the period.

With regard to the translations produced, the failure to have one authorised text of the lectionary readings in the vernacular--a Quechua "Vulgate"--led to a variety of texts. These ranged from poor paraphrases to carefully nuanced works, in which attention was given to exegesis on the one hand and the indigenous language on the other. In addition, theological considerations without adequate linguistic theories at times led to something which may have been acceptable theologically, but was not recognisably the text of Scripture.

It is also clear that while meant for use in the liturgy, Scripture lent itself to other uses, as seen in the blurring of distinctions between text, comment and sermon in Avila's work. It was then a short step to the use of Scripture as an ideological tool of social control of the indigenous people.

5. The contradictions of the colonial church

In its pastoral approach to the indigenous people, the Third Lima Council embraced the best missiological principles of that time. However, the Church's

involvement in every area of the life of the emerging colony set in motion forces which ran counter to the Church's more spiritual aspirations. The politics of empire meant that the pastoral role of the Church was too often at the service of wider economic considerations, and produced a basic contradiction which underlay the church's presence among the indigenous people.

Those involved in the more specifically pastoral aspects of the Church's life struggled with the tensions posed on the one hand by the legacy of European Christendom with its theological formulations and cultural imperatives, and on the other by the exigencies of Andean culture with its own religion, symbols and language, a language which their own Councils and synods required them to use. The very institutions created to advance the Church's aims, not only did that, but, like the school, enabled protest to take place.

The formulation of theological concepts in the vernacular raised profound questions, whose resolution only came at the cost of intelligibility. The development of an adequate apologetic led to hymns and sermons which not only taught the mysteries of the faith, but which simultaneously aimed to rewrite history, to restructure space, and to re-draw the

shape of everyday existence. In the effort to relate to Andean reality, it was necessary to account perfectly for the past, individually and collectively. As epitomised in confession, this process engendered its own errors, and ensured the continuing memory of indigenous practice and belief.

Christian rites were involved in a "mutual dialogue" with the indigenous rites. A process of adaptation took place whereby indigenous practice informed the Christian one. Where contextualisation took place, it did so in terms of indigenous words and symbols, and while similar identifications had been made centuries before in Europe, these now took on Andean characteristics. The emerging contours of Andean piety focussed on Jesus and Mary, which although it had parallels in Spain, took on the cadence and intimacy of Andean discourse and song. The confusion, convergence and conflation of rituals left the possibility of Andean symbols at the heart of the most important rite of the Church, the *Santissimo Sacramento*.

Whether through the school, the maintenance of indigenous rites, the appropriation of Scripture as a vehicle of protest, or the adoption of writing and the sermon to call attention to abuses, elements emerged in the years following the Third Council whereby the voice of the Indian could be heard. In this way the

inexplicable contradiction experienced by the Andean found expression: that of a Church which spoke of God's love while its own representatives committed sacrilege and those of its society pillaged, raped and killed. This was a brutal expression of that more fundamental inconsistency or inner contradiction: Indians were children, but they had been taught the Athanasian Creed; their language was rich and beautiful, but it could not really be trusted to express Christian truth (i.e. Scholastic theology). The deposit of the faith was sacrosanct, and could not be tampered with.

The final chapter seeks an understanding of that voice, and of the appropriation of the Christian faith by the Andean people.

CHAPTER 5 THE VISION OF THE VANQUISHED: TOWARDS AN
UNDERSTANDING OF THE ANDEAN APPROPRIATION
OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

In the foregoing chapters we have sought to understand aspects of the Church's appropriation of the indigenous language. However, because of the agraphic nature of indigenous society, and the position of the Andean people as the conquered, it is much more difficult to chart how this was seen from the underside of colonial society, and to establish the nature of the indigenous appropriation of the Christian faith. It is clear that there was an indigenous response, and a careful reading of church pronouncements and publications, indigenous protest movements, statements made in idolatry trials of the seventeenth century, and the writings of indigenous authors, helps to establish the contours of that appropriation.

1. An early account of the Andean response to the Christian faith

The apparent enthusiasm with which the Christian faith was welcomed by some indigenous people following the Conquest led to early hopes of a flourishing

indigenous church in the Andes.¹ By the time of the First Lima Council, however, doubts were being raised and the suspicion was gathering weight that the very "successful" Corpus Christi celebrations were little more than a front for indigenous practices. Investigations such as that of Polo de Ondegardo confirmed such a state of affairs. His list of "errors against the Catholic faith" provides one of the earliest indications of areas of disagreement and misunderstanding.²

a. "Errors against the Catholic faith"

One of the earliest indigenous appropriations was of the idea of *Santiago*. The name of the Spanish patron saint was the battle cry of the soldiers as they fired their arms, and was identified in the indigenous mind with the sky-god Illapa. "The mountain Indians particularly worship the lightning and thunder, calling the lightning Santiago".³ The invocation of Santiago, the accompanying flashes and explosions from firearms, and the mortal effect of this, led to the replacement of Illapa by Santiago, and the assumption

¹ Some scholars have taken the view that Christianity was "solidly established" by the end of the 1560s. Francisco Mateos, "Los dos concilios limenses de Jerónimo de Loayza", Missionalia Hispánica 4, no.12 (1947), p.494.

² Instrucción contra las ceremonias y ritos que usan los Indios conforme al tiempo de su Infidelidad, (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585), p.5.

³ Ibid., p.1.

by Santiago of Illapa's attributes at the cost of the Christian ones. The Biblical references to James and John as "sons of thunder" later gave added credence to this identification. The widespread use of Santiago as a name led the Church to decree that in naming children "Diego" must be used rather than Santiago.

A number of the "errors" relate to indigenous marriage practices and indicate the clash of cultures in the first thirty years following the Conquest.⁴ Others underline fundamentally different beliefs, such as those about death and the afterlife.⁵ The "doubts and problems" they raised related to "the trinity, the unity of God, the suffering and death of Jesus Christ,⁶ the virginity of Our Lady, the most holy sacrament of the altar, and the general resurrec-

⁴ E.g. The acceptability of "trial marriage" and of sexual relations between unmarried people.

⁵ "They never understood the resurrection of the body together with the soul. Therefore they gave excessive attention to preserving the bodies, and in sustaining and honouring them after death". Ondegardo, op.cit., p.7.

⁶ Jesus was thought to have made a pact with the devil, which made them "brothers" and hence validated worship of both. In Inca times the image of the royal dead was that person's *huaqui* (brother). In the transformation of the indigenous afterlife to the Christian hell, the Church linked the Andean ancestors with the devil. The need for continuity with the past may have brought Jesus and the devil together in indigenous thought. For a study of the role of the "devil" in relation to the changes in the Andean economic system, see Michael T. Taussig, The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

tion",⁷ all matters at the heart of the faith and yet conceptualised and expressed in such a way as to have their validity questioned by the indigenous people.

This is epitomised in the Andean response to the Church's concept of "sin". In arguing that "God had raised them to live in sin", the indigenous people stated that they were not capable of being "good". The Church's had redefined as "sin" practices which had been an accepted, non-censured, part of Andean life. This made it impossible for them to achieve Christian goals and objectives. The distinctions made by the Church set up contradictions in the Andean mind. The indigenous people's view that there was "no pardon for those who have committed terrible sins", is a reference to their understanding of venial and mortal sins. On this basis they thought that God was neither as merciful nor as compassionate as was claimed.

Perhaps more far-reaching was the understanding of the Christian God's actions (or inaction) in terms of their own logical categories and the characteristics of their own deities. God was "not a good God" since they "served him without getting anything in return"-- a reference to the reciprocal obligations which they believed should obtain in such a relationship. In stating that God did not "take care of the poor", they

⁷ Ibid., p.5.

judged by reference to one of the standard ascriptions of *Viracocha* (or, indeed, the Inca), *waccha cuyac*.⁸ Their insistence that "God does not have to do with things here below", which was the exclusive sphere of their own deities, points to either a *hanan/hurin* dualism where the Christian God does not belong, or to the irrelevance of the Christian God for *cay pacha* ("this time-space reality").

The Church's sacraments and symbols were questioned. The indigenous people refused to revere the host or the chalice when elevated by priests whose conduct they found unacceptable. Those sacraments were regarded as invalid,⁹ which may reflect an underlying belief that the indigenous intermediary was in a special way *camasca*, or inspired, in order to give validity to indigenous rites. Andeans did not know about extreme unction nor believe it was a sacrament.¹⁰ There was confusion about the use of images by Christians, which seemed to be functionally the same as their *huacas*.

Much of the preaching they heard was also regarded as

⁸ "Lover of the poor".

⁹ The indigenous view reflected an *ex opere operantis* view of the sacraments rather than the orthodox *ex opere operato*. On this question, see ch.4, pp.230-1.

¹⁰ This is hardly surprising, since it was not administered to indigenous people.

invalid, it was thought to be "exaggerated to frighten the Indians".¹¹ There was just as much reason to believe their own ancestors and the *quipus* and traditions as there was to believe the ancestors of Christians with their *quillcas* and writings.

These "errors" noted around 1560 point to the problem of communicating the complex theological ideas of the Christian faith. There is still much that is rejected as invalid in an Andean context, but where they are being grappled with, the beliefs, the logic and the mental categories of the Andean peoples interact clearly with those ideas and their practice. Appropriation takes place on Andean terms.

b. The "Christian" healer¹²

Following the First Lima Council the activities of the practitioners of indigenous rites were increasingly proscribed. One response to this was the clandestine practice of these rites, so that they were maintained unadulterated by European or Christian influences. The other response--to carry out the old rites under the guise of Christianity--was viewed by Ondegardo as far more serious. "They commit a thousand wrongs and do more damage than those who openly show themselves to

¹¹ Ondegardo, Instruccion, p.5.

¹² Ibid., pp.15,16.

be sorcerers". The opportunity to do this arose from acceptance of certain traditional roles by colonial authorities, notably those of herbalist healers and midwives. Their practices show how the Andean and the Christian came together.

Before treating a sick person these practitioners were careful to "say that they had authority for this from God, or the priests or the judges". They wanted to show that they were "not sorcerers but Christians". They gave additional validity to their activity by use of Christian gestures, symbols and prayers:

They give their blessing to the sick person, they cross themselves and say "Oh God" or "Oh Jesus" or some other good words, they clasp their hands and pretend to pray to God, and standing or kneeling or sitting they move their lips, lift their eyes to the sky, and say holy words. They counsel the person to confess, and do other Christian works, then they weep, say a thousand kind things, and make the sign of the cross.¹³

Traditional divinatory and healing ceremonies were then carried out:

They offer secret sacrifices, and carry out other ceremonies with guinea pigs, coca, fat, and other things. They rub the stomach, the legs and other parts of the body and suck the part that gives pain to the sick one. Then they say that they have taken out blood, or insects, or little stones, and they show them saying that the illness came out that way.¹⁴

These healers encouraged confession, but questions

¹³ Ibid., p.15.

¹⁴ Ibid.

were framed "in such exquisite ways so that they [the sick persons] will not know that they are *ichuris*".¹⁵ Unlike the Catholic priests they did not require them to confess all sins, but only those "sufficient to alleviate the illness". Finally, they encouraged the patient not to abandon the old rites since they "were good as a remedy for their ills".

Ondegardo was concerned that while the Indians avoided the clandestine practices, it was particularly "those who have a better understanding and who seem to fear God" who made use of these "Christian" healers, believing that there was no wrong in doing what they did.¹⁶ These people were simply "not aware" of the evil involved. They were also encouraged to use such healers by the number of successful cures, and by the fact that they had the authorisation of an ecclesiastical judge.

Traditional practices such as healing and health, were thought by the Church to be neutral with regard to the Christian faith.¹⁷ As a result they provided a space

¹⁵ *Ichuris* were the indigenous confessors.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.16.

¹⁷ The indigenous medical lore and practice were at least as effective as that brought from Europe, and the Andean practitioners were patronised by the Spanish-speaking population. The Second Lima Council approved them as long as they were not mixed up in "superstitious words and ceremonies". Part 2, const.110.

in the structure of colonial life where indigenous rites could be practised with apparent immunity. From the point of view of the investigator this was thinly-veiled sorcery, but from the point of view of the healers and their patients it was Christian practice. Andean invocations to the deity could be interchanged with Christian prayers and ritual acts, while divinatory rites not present in the new faith came from Andean practice. Other aspects of the ritual, such as confession, were present in both traditions, though it seems clear that an Andean taxonomy of "sin" in relation to illness was followed.

2. *Taqui Onqoy*: an Andean protest movement

Following the Conquest there were indigenous attempts to overthrow the Spanish. Manco Inca II,¹⁸ installed by Francisco Pizarro following the Conquest, rebelled unsuccessfully in 1536. The Huanca in the Jauja area of central Peru suffered terribly in a bloody uprising in 1565. The neo-Inca resistance movement of Manco Inca based on Vilcabamba in the jungle north-east of Cuzco, came to a tragic end with the execution of Tupac Amaru in Cuzco in 1572 on the orders of Viceroy Toledo. The *Taqui Onqoy* movement, which came to prominence in the 1560s in the Huamanga area of south-central Peru, followed a different course. It was

¹⁸ See ch.1, p.57.

distinguished from other movements by the preaching of internal reform, passive resistance and the taking of the battle against the Spanish to a supernatural level.¹⁹

Cristobal de Molina wrote that it lasted about seven years from 1564 and was "an erroneous practice among these Indians in which they performed a kind of song called *Taqui Hongoy*".²⁰ Much of the information on the movement comes from the activities of the priest Cristóbal de Albornoz in the late 1560s.

He discovered among the inhabitants a sect and apostasy called *Taqui Ongoy* (or *Aira*) which was observed by them. Many of these inhabitants preached that they should not believe in God nor his commandments, nor adore the crosses and images, nor enter the churches, nor confess to priests, but instead [to confess] to them. They should observe certain fasts on certain days in their own way, by not eating salt, pepper, or maize, nor have sexual relations with their wives, only drinking unfermented corn beer. They ordered them to worship them and to offer what was native to the area, such as llamas and other things. [They said] that they had come to preach in the name of the *huaca Titicaca*, *huaca Tia-guanuco* and another sixty *huacas*, and that these *huacas* had defeated the God of the

¹⁹ The literature on the *Taqui Ongoy* movement is extensive. The latest study helpfully reproduces many of the key documents: Luis Millones, ed., El retorno de las huacas, (Lima: IEP, 1990). On the historical context, see Steve J. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest - Huamanga: 1532 to 1640, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), pp.51-79.

²⁰ Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas, [1575], (Buenos Aires, Futuro, 1959), p.98.

Christians and that his time had now ended.²¹

The name itself recalled two related aspects of indigenous life. One was the traditional song or dance (*taqui*) in which the people's history was rehearsed and its memory renewed during certain festivals. The other was the celebration of those festivals aimed at preventing certain ills in society. The *Onqoy Mita* festival was celebrated in early June, and marked the rise of Pleiades in the sky--*onqoy* designated both "the Pleiades" and "illness" or "misfortune". During the *Citua* festival later in the year,²² illness and disease were ritually expelled from Cuzco:

The men, armed as they were going to war, whirl fiery slings and shout, "Diseases and plagues, get out from the people and this town! Leave us!" With this they sprinkle the streets, they water them and clean them. They performed this and many other ceremonies in the whole kingdom to cast out *taqui oncoc*, and *sara oncuy*, *pucyo oncuy...chirapa oncuy... ayapcha oncuycona*.²³

Taqui oncoy would therefore appear to have been an

²¹ "Información de Servicios (Huamanga, 1570)", in Millones, op.cit., pp.63f. Other witnesses gave the names of additional *huacas* and implied that they were fighting against the Christian God, who was about to suffer defeat (ibid., p.93).

²² Guaman Poma places it in September, Cristóbal de Molina locates this in August. Relacion de las Fabulas y Ritos de los Incas in Fabulas y Mitos de los Incas, ed. Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1988), p.73.

²³ The various references to *oncuy* are respectively to singer/dancer, maize, springs, light rain and corpses. Guaman Poma, op.cit., p.253.

annually recurring phenomenon, with related rituals at least twice a year. To be effective, such rituals were accompanied by the expulsion from the community of those who did not belong there--the *forasteros* or "outsiders".²⁴

The alternative name--*Aira*--may be linked with the idea of possession or a trance-like state:

The huacas did not now enter the rocks, or clouds, or springs to speak, instead they dwelt in the Indians and made them speak. They were to have their houses swept and ordered in case one of the huacas wanted to live in it. So it was that there were many Indians who shook and twisted about on the ground. Others threw stones as if they had a demon, they pulled faces and then rested.²⁵

Shamanistic possession was not unknown in the Andes, though it had not been a feature of Inca state rituals.

The absence of the Inca dimension is striking--there is no reference to the sun, moon or to Viracocha. The indigenous people presented a religious structure distinct from the Incaic synthesis. The state pantheon was replaced by a more egalitarian organisation of deities:

[They said] they were messengers of the huacas
Titicaca, Tiahuanuco, Chimborazo, Pachacamac,

²⁴ Rafael Varón, "El Taqui Onqoy: las raíces andinas de un fenómeno colonial", in Millones, op.cit., p.372.

²⁵ The testimony of Cristóbal de Molina, in Millones, op.cit., pp.80-1.

Tambotoco, Caruauilca, Caruaraco and more than sixty or seventy other *huacas*, and that they preached in their name.²⁶

The *huacas* constituted a new pantheon of both local and pan-Andean significance, in which the pre-Inca importance of Tiahuanuco, Titicaca and Pachacamac in Andean religious thought re-emerged.

In the 1560s certain conditions combined to give the recurring *taqui oncoy* rites a different expression in the form of a movement which announced the end of the foreign power and its religion. The movement emerged at a time of severe famine in an area essentially devoted to animal husbandry at a time of severe famine, when indiscriminate hunting had led to a sharp fall in herd sizes. Coming in the wake of widespread plague and disease, these deepened the Indian perception of living in a world that had been "turned inside out". Furthermore the very establishment of Huamanga about half way between Lima and Cuzco meant added demands on the indigenous population in the surrounding area; they were pressed into service as porters. This pressure was made all the more acute in 1563 by the opening of mines in Huancavelica, just to the north of the area. Once again the indigenous population provided the labour force. In this context *Taqui Oncoy* called the people to a renewed moral purity, it assured them that their gods would fight on their

²⁶ Millones, op.cit., p.93.

behalf, and so promised a return to a perfect past purged from Inca and colonial deviations.²⁷

The movement found ready support in the indigenous population, with the leadership coming especially from the *ladino* sector, that emerging group of intermediaries between the Spanish and the Indians. They had the greatest exposure to the Spanish system with its Christian belief and practice, and experienced most sharply the contradictions of colonial life. Participants rejected all that was Spanish and Christian--deity, symbols, rites, holy places, clothing and food. The movement's functionaries prohibited their followers from calling themselves Christians or using Christian names. Yet the leader, Juan Chocne, himself trained by the priests, was called "John the Baptist", while "certain women regarded themselves as saints, and called themselves 'Holy Mary', 'Mary Magdalene' and other saints' names".²⁸

In addition to a Biblical prophet and the women at the Cross, there was a belief that the invisible deity rode on the wind, as if in some Old Testament theophany. Burnt and destroyed, the *huacas* rose again and

²⁷ Stern, op.cit., p.68.

²⁸ Millones, op.cit., p.99.

returned to fight the holy war. They were no longer found in shrines but possessing their followers--the human body became the place of the sacred. Men became "gods". The leaders became preachers leading a moral crusade, and calling for ritual purity of fasting and abstinence. The end-time had come--"now the world is turning over"²⁹--and ushered in the restoration of all things. Despite the disclaimers, the resolution of the crisis was not to be achieved without recourse to the new faith. Certain Christian ideas mediate in the articulation of the protest, while paradoxically the movement aims at exorcising Christian associations.

The view that "the movement appears to have been organized by the Incas exiled in Vilcabamba and was in part religious, in part military",³⁰ has the support of certain Spanish writers contemporary with the events who regarded all such attempts as part of a coordinated conspiracy.³¹ However, while there may

²⁹ The expressions "a world turned inside out" and "now the world is turning over" both occur in the Molina and other reports, and translate the indigenous *pacha cuti* concept--*pacha* the earth/space/time reality, and *cuti* to "turn" or "be reversed". It indicated the cataclysmic end to an age, which led to the ushering in of another.

³⁰ Sabine G. Maccormack, "Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru", American Historical Review, October 1988, p.982. See also Steve J. Stern, *op.cit.*, pp.47-50.

³¹ E.g. Cristóbal de Molina. See Millones, *op.cit.*, p.79.

have been contacts between the protagonists of *Taqui Onqoy* and those of the neo-Inca establishment in the nearby jungle area, the rejection of the Inca pantheon by the former calls into question the suggested alliance. "The documentation is not explicit enough to show that a firm link [between them], and even less to show that the Taki Onqoy originated in and was directed from the Inca stronghold of Vilcabamba".³² It is preferable to see it as a neo-primal religious movement which revitalised Andean religion.³³

Its leaders confronted and refuted the arguments of the missionaries, but with an Andean religious terminology expanded in its range of meanings, and a vocabulary into which new terms were incorporated. What the Christian priests said was inverted, so that suffering was seen as punishment by the *huacas* to induce the people to return to the ancestral ways. The movement marked the irreversible change that was

³² Rafael Varón, "El Taqui Onqoy: las raíces andinas de un fenómeno colonial", in Millones, op.cit., p.354.

³³ The prophecy of the end of the *mita* (time) of the Christian God and its associated cult, makes this neo-primal rather than syncretist in Harold Turner's typology. See "A Typology for African Religious Movements", Journal of Religion in Africa 1, no.1 (1968), pp. 1-34, esp. pp.6-10. Turner's "neo-pagan" category of his early formulations later became "neo-primal". See his "Religions in Primal Societies: New Religious Movements", in A Handbook of Living Religions, ed. John R. Hinnell, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), p.441.

taking place in the behaviour and thinking of the Andeans, for it brought together

the long history of the Andes and the impact of the western arrival. In this sense its vitality was much more dangerous for Spain than if it had been simple the prolongation of an empire in the death-throes.³⁴

However the threat was avoided by the fierce repression of the movement unleashed by the Church and the punishment and exile of its leaders. As it was, its force was limited by the ambivalence of the indigenous elites towards it, and by the disunity which came from the inherent antagonisms which existed in a society organised on the basis of rival networks of kinship and ethnicity.³⁵ Other indigenous movements occurred in the succeeding years, but not with the impact of *Taqui Onqoy*.³⁶

While Cristóbal de Albornoz is credited with the suppression of the movement, and even claimed to have discovered it, it was the parish priest, Luis de Olvera, who first reported on the *Taqui Onqoy* phenomenon in 1565 and punished some of its leaders. Yet it was not until 1569 at the earliest that Albornoz, who

³⁴ Luis Millones, Historia y Poder en los Andes Centrales (desde los orígenes al siglo xvii), (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987), p.174.

³⁵ Stern, op.cit., p.114.

³⁶ E.g. *Muru Onqoy* in 1590 in the Apurimac area, with a recrudescence in 1595 based in Yanahuara in an adjoining area. Curátola, op.cit., pp.69-71.

did not even speak Quechua,³⁷ mounted a campaign against it and used his success to further his ecclesiastical career.

The movement coincided with the debate over the perpetuity of *encomiendas*, and many of those who testified against the leaders were the local Spanish landowners or *encomenderos*, which suggests underlying economic motives. The rebellion threatened to cut off their access to the pool of Indian labour essential for the success of their enterprises.³⁸ At this time also the Cuzco archbishopric, represented by the parish priest Olvera, was involved in a sometimes violent struggle with the Dominicans for control of this potentially rich area.³⁹

It would appear the conflicting interests of different sectors of the church and society were linked to the "discovery" and suppression of the Taqui Onqoy movement. The presence of "idolatry" was used by one group to discredit another, and by still others to call for action to preserve their power. In the event

³⁷ Guaman Poma appears to have acted as Albornoz' interpreter. He lists the destruction of *Taqui Onqoy* as but one of Albornoz' many triumphs against idolatry. Op.cit., p.676.

³⁸ Antonio de Oré, whose sons would later become influential in the Franciscan order, was a witness. He had a silver mine in the area.

³⁹ Varón, op.cit., p.399. Not all Dominicans shared the views of Las Casas and Santo Tomás.

the *Taqui Onqoy* movement contributed significantly to the Spanish stereotype of idolatry. Although the phenomenon disappeared early in the 1570s, it continued to be part of the church inventory of idolatry, and consequently of its control of the indigenous population.⁴⁰

3. The distorting mirror:⁴¹ the questions of the 1585 sermonal

The theory of cross-cultural communication that underlay the 1585 sermonal led to the inclusion of questions and statements in the sermons which purported to come from the indigenous hearers. They were usually prefaced by "perhaps you will say to me...,"⁴² and represented both the author's perception of the Indians' questions, and his desire to correct the "errors" into which the Indians were thought to fall.⁴³ These may also have been the kind of questions and comments that priests in the *doctrinas* had to deal with. If so, they provide an insight into the thinking

⁴⁰ On its use in confession by Pérez de Bocanegra, see ch.4, pp.269-70.

⁴¹ Monica Barnes' term.

⁴² ñihuanquichicmancha.

⁴³ Ondegardo's materials were published as part of the 1585 Confessionario, and a number of the questions deal with related matters.

of the indigenous people with regard to key tenets of the Christian faith they were taught--even if they do appear in the "distorting mirror" of a church document.

The largest category of questions concerned the Church's definitions of "sin". If sin was what the Church claimed, there appeared to be no way of dealing with it.⁴⁴ It meant that "prior to this all we did was think about sin every day", yet they were still able to enjoy themselves "eating, drinking and talking",⁴⁵ activities which apparently gave rise to "sin". The church's definitions appeared to mean that all of life was sin--"Father, if that is so, we are forever falling into sin". Individual categories seemed to present an impossible ideal--"if just looking at a woman is sin, who can be saved?"⁴⁶

The Church's practice of confession raised fears: that of being shamed by others, that of vengeance if others should know, and that of punishment.⁴⁷ In the context of closely-knit communities it raised unacceptable

⁴⁴ Tercero catecismo, f.51.

⁴⁵ "Yallinracmi punchaunincuna huchallicuyllata yuyaycu, micuytaca, upiaytaca, rimaytaca cochocuycum." Tercero Catecismo, p.15.

⁴⁶ "Padre hinaspaca uifayllach ari huchaman urmanhic,...huarmicta ricuspalla huchallicuna captinca, pitac quispinman?" Ibid., f.165.

⁴⁷ Ibid., f.69.

consequences. Two other matters raised doubts about the whole enterprise. One was that sin was not punished with the immediacy which the priest claimed, not even adultery.⁴⁸ Life went on as before, without the consequences predicted by the priest. The second was the impossibility of verifying the ultimate sanction on sin:

Father, we see that our body, our corpse dies, and we see how unclean it becomes, but we do not in any way see how sin kills, blackens and does other things to the soul.⁴⁹

These factors brought into question the priest's veracity and the authority of the Church's statements.⁵⁰

The unverifiable nature of the church's pronouncements appears not only with reference to sin's effects, but in other contexts. The relation of the visible and tangible to the unseen and invisible presented major difficulties. The Andean propensity "to think of God as something they see" was discouraged, yet the Christian conceptualisation of God as a trinity failed

⁴⁸ Ibid., f.149.

⁴⁹ "Padre, ucunchic ayanchic huanun, chaytaca y, ricuycum, ymahina mapa cascantapas, y, ricuycum, ychaca ymanach hucha animanchicta huanuchicuc, yanayachicuc, ymanachicucpas, cay caytaca manan ricucracchu caycu." Ibid., f.15.

⁵⁰ "Maybe the priests lie, thinking they will frighten people" (padrecunaca llullacumcha runacta manchachisac nisipallach). Ibid., f.149.

to convince--"Father, how can that be?"⁵¹ A doctrine of signs and theological efficacy which was decoded differently from their own, posed major problems:

Father, we cannot see a single one of the things you have said...an old man who is baptised is exactly the same as he was before. How can I accept these things you have said?⁵²

The same applied to the Eucharist:

Father, I do not see Jesus Christ in that sacrament. I do not see his flesh and his blood. But I do see something the same as white bread. I definitely see that what is inside the chalice is just the same as it was before it was consecrated. How shall I worship Jesus Christ there, or say "he is there"?⁵³

The Eucharist raised other questions--"Why did Jesus Christ our God want to be in that Most Holy Sacrament? Why is God shut up in there?"⁵⁴ There was a literalness about the indigenous understanding which found the Church's ideas of essence and real presence

⁵¹ Ibid., f.32.

⁵² "Padre, ñocaycuca manam cay ñiscayquicunamanta hucllatapas ricucracchu caycu: ...yuyac runa baptiçacucuri, cascan hina pacallatacmi. Imanatac chay ñiscayquicunacta yñisacchu?" Ibid., f.59.

⁵³ "Padre ñocaca manam Jesu Christocta chay sacramentopi ricunichu, aychantapas yahuarintapas manatacmi ricunichu; ychaca yurac tanta hina cacllatam ricuni: caliz ucupi cactari, ymanam manarac consagrasca caspa carcan, chay hina caclla tacmi ricupuni: Imanatac ñocaca, chaypi Jesu Christocta muchaycusac, y, chaypim tian ñisacpas?" Ibid., fols. 71,2.

⁵⁴ "Ma imapacmi Jesu Christo Diosninchic chay Santisimo Sacramentopi cayta munarcan? para que se encvierra allí Dios?" Ibid., f.72.

problematic. The concept seemed to violate Andean spatial categories. It was a matter with which succeeding generations had problems.⁵⁵

On the other hand, what was seen raised different questions. The reprehensible conduct of a priest meant that "masses, baptisms, and confessions" at which he officiated were invalid.⁵⁶ The Church's visual concretisation of aspects of belief seemed contradictory:

Father, how do you say to me, "Do not worship *huacas* or *uillcas*?" Do not Christians worship images, drawings, and things made from wood, silver, gold, copper, and other things? Do they not kneel down before them, beat their breasts and speak to them? Are not these *huacas*?⁵⁷

One very tangible experience was their exclusion by

⁵⁵ See Pérez, Ritual formulario, pp.473, 478, 479.

⁵⁶ "You see someone who is bad, an adulterer, a person who loves money and possessions, an irate person, [but you should not think] that for that reason the masses, the baptisms and confession he has done do not count. They do count, like those done by good priests, because of the power given by Jesus Christ." (Mana alli cauçacta, huachuca, colqueman yma haycaman soncocta, pinacta ricunquichic; manam chayraycuchumisa rurasan, baptiçascan, confessascampas mana yupay: huaquim alli sacerdotecunap rurascan hina, yupaytacmi, Jesu Christop callpa coscanmanta.) Tercero Catecismo, f.48.

⁵⁷ "Padre ymanatac camca ama huacacta, uillcacta muchanquichu ñihuanqui? Christianocunapas manachu imagencunacta quellcascacta, cullumanta, collquemanta, corimanta, antamanta, ymamantapas rurascacta muchancu, concorinhuan sayaycuspa ñauqimpi, cascontapas tacaycuspa, paycunacta rimachuncu? manachu chaycunapas huacacunacta?" Ibid., f.109.

the Church from communion: "Father, since we are baptised Christians, why are we Indians not given this sacrament?"⁵⁸ The answer that they were neophytes hardly dealt with the question.

A number of questions represent the contradiction between Andean and Christian practice. The fears expressed about confession reflect in part a reluctance to violate Andean norms. The indigenous question--"What is prayer?"⁵⁹ points to a different practice from their own, while "How can we speak to such a great God when we are afraid even to speak to *Viracocha*?"⁶⁰ may be based on their idea of reverence for the deity. If so, such questions were informed by their own religious practice.

Likewise, other questions and comments suggest worldviews in conflict. The questions of the Trinity and the unity of God resurface. Jesus Christ was "not a good God" for he did not "give you money, clothing or anything, the *huacas* and the *uillcas* readily gave you all sorts of things",⁶¹ i.e. there is no reciprocity. It was a point specifically refuted in the

⁵⁸ Ibid., f.75.

⁵⁹ "Ymactam oracion". Ibid., f.109.

⁶⁰ Ibid., f.180.

⁶¹ "Manam collquecta, pachacta, ymactapas cosunquichu, huacacuna, uillcacunatacmi yma haycactapas alli coccasurcanquichic." Ibid., f.97.

sermon on prayer:

You will ask all that you want. You will say, "Give me", and if it is for your good, he will give it to you, in accordance with what he said, "I will give you".⁶²

The Church's choice of Sunday as the day of rest raised questions. The Andeans linked their holy days to the agricultural cycle and the movement of astral bodies. The church's liturgical time did not coincide with this pattern, and that it would appear that explanations were unconvincing.⁶³

The Andean cult was related to life and all aspects of it. The indigenous people could see and experience that in ways they could authenticate. They could not see that the Christian cult as presented by the Church bore a similar relationship to everyday life. As the reply to the question on the real presence of Christ in the sacrament indicates, they were to abandon the testimony of their senses, and somehow "believe": "Look son, God says this, therefore you also say "Yes, it is true, God is in there".⁶⁴

⁶² "Yma munascayquictapas mañanqui coay ñinqui, ancham cussicum chay mañacuscaqui alli captinca, allijquipac captinca coscayquichic. Ñiscancamam cossunquichic." Ibid., f.181.

⁶³ Ibid., f.123.

⁶⁴ "Ricy churi, Diosmi caytaca ñin: chayraycu campos y sullulmi, chaypim Dios tian, nijtac." Ibid., f.72. The final verb, translated "you also see", is an imperative in Quechua.

The authoritative word of the Church was to be the norm, yet this "word" was at odds with the "word" the indigenous people knew in their oral traditions and through their cult.⁶⁵ The Church "word" was a consecrating word which had no visible or tangible effect; it was the originating word which set the matter in existence and therefore must be believed; it was the effectual word which once spoken was said to be at work--"the word of God is not useless, it realises everything according to what has been said".⁶⁶ The Church's word was questioned because of the time frame within which it functioned, the sphere in which it operated, the way in which it was implemented, or because of the characteristics of the one who uttered it. The Church's refutation of indigenous ways by rational argument led to the increasing use of similar rational methods to refute the Church's "word". A form of discourse new to the Andeans was becoming familiar to them.

⁶⁵ This was known through oracular utterances, through divinatory rites, and through omens. It was backed by the authority of the ancients or was verifiable in a tangible way.

⁶⁶ "Diospa siminca manaña uçucchu rimasca caman tucuy yma haycapas yachacuc." Ibid., f.73.

4. The indigenous world of the early seventeenth century - the case of Cajatambo

a. The *extirpación de idolatría*

In the early seventeenth century various factors combined to thrust into prominence the Church's concern with "idolatry" among the indigenous population.⁶⁷ The name associated with this is Francisco de Avila, who was parish priest of San Damian in Huarochiri in the mountains to the south of Lima.⁶⁸ He had been there for over ten years when, in 1608, he

⁶⁷ Regarding this development Pierre Duviols has argued strongly for the influence of European phenomena such as the witchcraze--La Destrucción de las Religiones Andinas, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977); Cultura Andina y Represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías. Cajatambo, siglo XVII, (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales "Bartolome de Las Casas", 1986). His views have been supported by Irene Silverblatt, Sun, Moon, and Witches, pp.159-181, and contested by Antonio Acosta for whom the social and economic conditions in the colony are the main contributing factor: "Los doctrineros y la extirpación de la religión indígena en el Arzobispado de Lima, 1600-1620", Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas 19 (1982), pp.69-109; "La extirpación de las idolatrías en el Perú. Origen y desarrollo de las campañas", Revista Andina 5, no.1 (Julio 1987), pp.171-195. Iris Gareis attempts a synthesis of their views in "Extirpación de idolatrías e Inquisición en el Virreinato del Perú", BIRA, 16 (1989): pp.55-74. While the Andean development may seem to echo Europe, it is more likely that conditions in the emerging colony were fundamental to the idolatry campaigns.

⁶⁸ See also ch.4, p.282.

launched an attack on indigenous practices. His dramatic "revelations" led the new Archbishop of Lima, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, to launch a wave of virulent anti-idolatry campaigns. These were carried out by a body of *visitadores* or *extirpadores* formed specifically for that purpose, and who were in turn aided by members of the Jesuit order. The best-known Jesuit participant was José de Arriaga whose Extirpación de la idolatría del Perú, published in 1621, was based on the findings of the *extirpadores*.

Avila's long years in the parish before he "discovered" these practices has raised questions about his own motives. In fact, prior to the "discovery" he was denounced to the authorities by the Indians for exploitation and abuse of his position, and his sudden zeal was a diversionary tactic. He had earlier turned a blind eye to the indigenous practices, and even taken advantage of them by encouraging the Indians to carry out their traditional offerings and gifts to their mummy bundles, taking his share of that.⁶⁹ He was not the only priest who became a *visitador* for personal motives:

All of the *visitadores de idolatria* mentioned by Arriaga in his book...were involved in different kinds of legal disputes, with the common denominator of *agravio* against the Indians, an economic term which includes the utilisation of their labour and the appropria-

⁶⁹ Acosta, "Francisco de Avila: Cusco 1573(?) - Lima 1647", in Taylor, Ritos, p.572.

tion of their economic resources.⁷⁰

The campaign against idolatry was not a revival of the spirit of the Catholic reformation, but rather owed its origins to factors inherent in the social and economic changes then taking place. There was complicity between these priests and the hierarchy in their actions against the Indians. The priests themselves had mixed motives--vengeance against the Indians, supplementary income, relocation, and aspirations for higher positions or better benefices. The involvement of the hierarchy lay in the desire to control the Indian parishes and to wrest power and money from the religious orders.⁷¹ "Idolatry" was a tool in this process whereby the indigenous people were manipulated and used.

Not all priests took part in these efforts, nor did they happen everywhere. Indeed certain clergy, notably Franciscans and Dominicans, opposed the measures. They maintained either that there was no idolatry or that the indigenous practices were mere customs, or simple excesses which did not imply that the people were not

⁷⁰ Acosta, "Los doctrineros...", p.105.

⁷¹ Antonio Acosta, "La extirpación...", pp.180-184. A similar conclusion is drawn by Hugo Pereyra Plasencia, "Chiquián y la región de Lampas entre los siglos XVI y XVII. Una hipótesis sobre el origen de las campañas de extirpación de idolatrías en el Arzobispado de Lima", *BIRA*, 16 (1989), pp.21-54.

Christians.⁷²

These campaigns decreased markedly following the death of Lobo Guerrero in 1622, and there was then a lull until the installation of Pedro de Villagómez as Archbishop of Lima in 1641. His Carta pastoral de exhortación, e instrucción contra las idolatrías de los Indios⁷³ summoned the clergy to a new crusade. The intensity of this second wave of campaigns did not decrease until about 1670,⁷⁴ though they did not disappear altogether until well into the eighteenth century.⁷⁵

Others were less convinced, and the archbishop's book was aimed in part at the clergy and members of

⁷² Duviols, Cultura Andina, pp.xliv-xlvi.

⁷³ Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1649. Reprinted in Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes a la Historia del Perú, ed. Horacio H. Urteaga, vol. 12, (Lima: Sanmarti, 1919).

⁷⁴ Mary Doyle takes the view that the intensity decreased only in the 1700s, but the paucity of archive materials from the period after 1670 suggests a diminution. "The ancestor cult and burial ritual in seventeenth and eighteenth century central Peru", Ph.D thesis, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1988), p.23.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Ann M. Wightman, "Diego Vasicuio: Native Priest", in Struggle and Survival in Colonial America, ed. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp.38-48.

religious orders who did not share his concerns.⁷⁶ This time round the Jesuits refused to be a part of the campaigns. Changes in the method of payment of *visitadores* and the legal disputes in which they were often embroiled, made it difficult to recruit priests for the task. Nevertheless the archbishop pursued his goals, and these received fresh impetus as a result of attacks on the Church regarding the limited effectiveness of its work amongst the indigenous population.⁷⁷

The underlying motives for this wave of campaigns are unclear, but the divided opinion in the church suggests at least some internal struggle, perhaps coupled with other factors related to the economic decline in the viceroyalty.⁷⁸ In this respect, the identification of drunkenness as the cause of idolatry is significant.⁷⁹ The link between drunkenness and idolatry pointed to the struggle between the hierarchy and the financial and business enterprises of the

⁷⁶ They had argued that "there is no idolatry", that "the Indians are now old in the faith", and that "it should be assumed that they are good", not evil. Villagómez, *op.cit.*, pp.27-37.

⁷⁷ This was begun in 1654 by a letter to Philip IV from Juan de Padilla the person responsible for law and order in Lima. Manuel Marzal, "Una polémica sobre la evangelización indígena (1654-64)", La transformación religiosa peruana, (Lima: PUCP, 1983), pp.119-171.

⁷⁸ Antonio Acosta, "La Extirpación...", p.192.

⁷⁹ In his edict on idolatry of July 1646, Villagómez pinpointed this as the basic contributing factor and ordered priests not to sell wine to Indians on any account whatsoever.

priests, *corregidores*, and orders. The wine trade reduced the income of both the church and the viceroyalty, and the fact that the Jesuits were major wine producers helps explain their refusal to participate in the campaigns.⁸⁰

As a result of the campaigns, legal processes took place in which those accused of idolatry were tried. Records of these trials are preserved in the *Archivo Arzobispal de Lima* (AAL). The largest proportion of archive materials comes from the 1650s and 1660s, which coincides with the renewed activities under Villagómez.⁸¹ The province of Cajatambo in

⁸⁰ See Keith A. Davies, Landowners in Colonial Peru, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), pp.102f., and Nicholas P. Cushner, Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600-1767, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980), pp.174-180.

⁸¹ In addition to Mary Doyle's "The ancestor cult and burial ritual in seventeenth and eighteenth century central Peru", Ph.D thesis, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1988), studies carried out on different aspects of these archives include Guillermo A. Cock, El Sacerdote Andino y los Bienes de las Divinidades en los Siglos XVII y XVIII, (Lima: PUCP, 1980); Pierre Duviols, La Destrucción de las Religiones Andinas, (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 1977), and Cultura Andina y Represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías. Cajatambo, siglo XVII, (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales "Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1986); Irene Silverblatt, Sun, Moon and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp.169-210. Doyle found the reference system of these archives a problem, and this continues to be so. In the present work the references relate to the AAL system operative in August 1990. In his 1986 work Duviols, unfortunately, does not give AAL references for his materials. Some exist in the AAL--though at times our transcrip-

north-central Peru was one area that received particular attention. The confessions and the evidence of witnesses in these trials provide a window on their beliefs and practices.⁸² They also help establish a tentative reconstruction of the social and religious history of a small part of the Andes, which may be illustrative of wider processes taking place throughout the region.

b. Leaders, origins and ancestors

In many of the trials the accused were indigenous leaders who, as leaders, were responsible for the maintenance of the local cult upon which the whole wellbeing of the community depended. So in 1656, for example, Alonso Ricariy, "principal y *camachico*" of the community of Otuco in the Indian parish of San Pedro de Hacas, was accused, together with members of his family and other leaders, of removing "bodies from the church and taking them to their *huacas* and *machays* to whom they made offerings and sacrifices at dif-

tion differs--and some do not appear to be currently held in AAL. In the reference system employed the figure in Roman numerals refers to the *legajo*, and that in Arabic numerals to case numbers within the *legajo*.

⁸² Though it must be borne in mind that as trial documents they have limitations. The testimony of the monolingual witnesses has suffered in the translation process to Spanish. The details of the indigenous rites are often summarised or glossed over. In addition, a number of the principal defendants are at pains to show themselves good Christians.

ferent times".⁸³

Not infrequently, such leaders were also the functionaries who officiated at local shrines, and headed the opposition to the Church or to priests whose actions were unacceptable:

In a loud voice he ordered the leaders that men, women and young people should abstain from pepper and salt for two days, and that they should remain awake one whole night, while he offered the said sacrifices to the idol *Guamancama*. After he had made the sacrifices, he embraced the idol and went into another state and said that the *camaquen* of the idol *Guamancama ratacurca*, the soul of the said *malqui*, came down into his heart and told him what they should do in the matter they had asked about...he told all the Indians...what his *apu* and *yayachi* had said to him...that within a year the Lic. Cartaxena would be thrown out of the parish through the charges that they had raised against him.⁸⁴

As in other instances, justice and Indian rights were upheld by recourse to indigenous mechanisms of power. The "idolatrous" context of the protest allowed the colonial authorities, both civil and religious, to punish such leaders and crush political resistance.

The maintenance of the ancestor cult was a central concern of such leaders. The Church had denounced such activities in the First Lima Council,⁸⁵ but their

⁸³ AAL III.1, f.1r. On *machay* see p.346.

⁸⁴ The words of a witness in the 1656 case against Christobal Poma Libiac, another *camachico* in San Pedro de Hacas. AAL III.9, f.9r.

⁸⁵ Const.25. Vargas Ugarte, Concilios, vol.1, p.20.

survival into the seventeenth century suggests that they were at the heart of indigenous religion. In Arriaga's recommendations for *visitadores*, the first suggested question was one to establish the origin of the inhabitants, i.e. whether they were *huari* or *llacuaz*.⁸⁶ He recognised that these groups had different origins, and that therefore they would have different sacred sites where ancestors were venerated.

For the Huari the "god *Guari*" was the most important deity, because

before there were Incas and *apus*, when the Indians were being killed in defence of their lands he appeared in the form of an old bearded Spaniard and divided out all the fields and irrigation channels in all the communities and districts; he walled them and they are the same as they cultivate now; he is the one who gives them food and water.⁸⁷

The Llacuaz traced their origin to *Llibiac*, the lightning, "who fell from heaven":

Apu Libiac Cancharco fell from heaven like lightning and had many children. He sent some one way and others another way such as *Libiac Choqerunto*, *Libiac Carua Runtuy*, the first founders of the ayllu *Chaupis Osirac*...all of the Llacuaz conquerors; when their father the *apu* sent them out, he gave them a little earth to take with them to conquer the lands where they would live.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ The former being the generic name of those who were the original inhabitants, and the latter that of the newcomers or incomers to the area. Op. cit., p.248.

⁸⁷ AAL III.1, f.6r. The assimilation of the "bearded Spaniard" reflects a version of an earlier Viracocha myth. See pp.377f.

⁸⁸ Ibid., f.11r.

At one point the two groups inhabited different ecological levels, trading peacefully and remaining distinct. The Llacuaz later conquered the Huari who lived at a lower level, and there was a fusion of the two religious systems. A Huari witness spoke of *Choquerunto* as one of "the *malquis* of his conquerors and ancestors", who was therefore given "complete worship".⁸⁹ The two ethnic groups nevertheless retained an awareness of their origins:

They have *Libia* and *Guari* as *pacarinas*⁹⁰ because these were their first founders and *malquis* who on the Libiac side came from Titicaca; the Guari were "created" in their own communities and so the Llacuaz have their *pacarinas* in the *punas* and the Guari in their communities.⁹¹

In so doing they retained certain territorial uniqueness, with a middle region between the high *puna* and the valley being common to both ethnic groups. At a religious level there was both a recognition of respective deities which served distinct purposes, and a coming together of other concepts.⁹²

⁸⁹ Duviols, *Cultura Andina*, p.69. Although it relates to a 1656 trial in Otuco (f.23r), this material could not be located in AAL.

⁹⁰ The verb *pacariy* meant "to originate", "to be born", "to break (of the new day)". The *pacarina* was the place of origin.

⁹¹ AAL III.2, f.9v.

⁹² E.g. a dance in honour of Guari Libiac. Duviols, op.cit., p.52.

This reflected Andean duality, a world where opposition was understood in terms of reciprocity and complementarity. The earth, fertility, water, irrigation, and night were dimensions of the Guari deity,⁹³ and were complemented by opposing elements of the Llacuaz "sky" deity. Out of the situation of domination and persecution came a convergence of religious ideas, where the whole community had deities in common, e.g. the sun who was "father of all the *huacas*", and yet retained ethnic identities in *huacas*:

They worshipped the sun calling him *Punchau* and 'father of all the *huacas*', and when they worship they say: Father Sun, Father of daylight, father whose sons are *huacas*, here is coca, maize beer, maize, eat it, drink it.⁹⁴

The ethnic groups therefore traced their origins back to distinct deities who were supreme in their own pantheons. These were the progenitors of the group, and, in the peculiarly Andean sense, their "creators", who could be addressed as *Yaya camagniy*⁹⁵--"Father who gives me life". Their own immediate progeny were understood as the founders of the component elements of these group--*ayllus*--and like the supreme being were understood as the originators of all the basic

⁹³ Ibid., p.90.

⁹⁴ "Inti yaya Punchao yaya guaca churiyoc yaya caymi coca azua zara micuy caita upiay." AAL III.2, f.5r, 21r.

⁹⁵ AAL V.5, f.8r.

elements of local culture.

These archetypal beings were called *malquis*. They had their own originating point in sacred mythic time in places such as Lake Titicaca. The *ayllus* which came from them also had specific points of origin where the *malquis* were buried, most often natural caves or other structures referred to as *machays*. In keeping with the regenerative and cyclical dimensions in indigenous thought regarding life, death and community, the dead were also placed in these *machays*. It was to maintain continuity with this that those who had been buried by Christian rites on a church site were disinterred and given the appropriate indigenous burial. It was therefore the ancestor cult, based on the *malquis* and the various manifestations of *Libiac* and *Guari*, which gave shape to the regional socio-political entity and its constituent *ayllus*, and provided the basic orientation for all life.⁹⁶

Just as the *malquis* had their reference point in the world below,⁹⁷ *huancas*, or sacred stones, were replicas or images of the *malquis* in the middle or intermediate world, while their vertical position linked them to the world above, thus bringing together the different levels of reality. The transformation of

⁹⁶ Doyle, op.cit., p.6.

⁹⁷ Or the world "inside".

the ancestors to stone sacralised them and gave them a continuing presence in the community.⁹⁸ The essential being of the sacred ancestor, referred to as the *camaquen*, visited the stone (which thereby became its dwelling place) and was present there to answer the indigenous priests.

c. Symbolic space, protection, and fertility

The most important rites were performed in the intermediate area between the higher altitudes and the lower valley levels, the symbolic centre of the community. These centrally performed acts had implications for land elsewhere:

The Huari ayllu worships the God *Huari* whom they address as *Marcayoc Guari*. It is a huge rock beside the community, so large it could not be removed or burnt. All the Indians take earth from the foot of it and by way of an offering they throw it on their fields so that they will be fertile and produce lots of food.⁹⁹

Names such as *marcayoc* suggest an overarching importance for the community. The importance of the central space and territorial concepts is also suggested by the reference to the *huaca Marca Pupu*, literally "the navel of the community" which was in a small enclosure

⁹⁸ Duviols, op.cit., p.164.

⁹⁹ *Marcayoc Guari* means "Guari who is owner or lord of the place". AAL III.2, f.6v.

linked to a disused house¹⁰⁰ "at the corner of the prison and the square" of the community, which was "a large stone about two feet high which they worshipped to ensure that the Spaniards would not come into the community".¹⁰¹ The protection and defence ensured at the centre was thought to radiate to the furthest reaches of the community.

The same motifs of defence and protection occurred in rites performed to the *Pucara* which was "beside the belltower of the church".¹⁰² Some witnesses distinguished between the place and the being worshipped there, "the place called *pucara*...is a walled enclosure where an idol is buried, it is a round stone referred to in the language as *collucta rumi*".¹⁰³ The word *pucara* meant "fortress" or "defensive position". At times it denoted a significant geographical feature or a man-made construction. In this instance it was rather a metaphor both for "one in whom the people

¹⁰⁰ The "disused house" is probably a Christian gloss for the Quechua *purum huaci* which was a name used for an indigenous cultic site. Its Spanish use in the trial effectively conceals the full indigenous reality behind the information. On *purum huaci* see Gerald Taylor, op.cit., p.173.

¹⁰¹ Item 11 of the confession of Alonso Ricariy, f.24r. Duviols, *Cultura Andina*, p.70.

¹⁰² AAL III.1, f.2r.

¹⁰³ Ibid. f.5r. This term possibly means "divinatory stone". See Holguien, op.cit., p.66.

find all their help or defense",¹⁰⁴ and for the sense of sacred intensity in that particular space. That help meant the provision of food for the community in return for the "food" offering of guinea pigs, llama fat, corn beer, maize, and coca:

Father *Pucara*, may there be food,¹⁰⁵ may there be enough, may there be springs of water, Father *Pucara*.¹⁰⁶

It also meant protection and blessing of community members such as the younger men who carried out their annual work obligations on the coastal plains:

Silver *pucara*, gold *pucara*, bronze *pucara*, give life to men, give life to young men, give life to the llamas, may the people have money, may they bring silver and gold from the coastal valleys, from the places by the sea...Father, defender of the people, may the young men return in health and safety.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Bertonio, Ludovic, [1612], Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara, facsimile edition, ed. Xavier Albó, and Felix Layme, (Cochabamba: CERES, 1984), p.275.

¹⁰⁵ This may also be translated "there will be...".

¹⁰⁶ "Yaya Pucara micuy yachacunca pucha yachacunca puquiu yachacunca, a Yaya Pucara". AAL III.1, f.2v.

¹⁰⁷ "Colque pucara, carua pucara, llacssa pucara, runata camay, guaynta camay, llamata camay, colqueyoc runa cachuz Iungamarca pita, cocha marca pita colqueta apamuchum caruata apamuchuy...Yaya nunap huaca, guaynap alli cutimunapac alli quispi-cunampac". AAL, III.1, fols. 5r, 6v. Our transcription and reconstruction differs here from that of Duviols (Cultura Andina, p.527). Drawing on the mention of the "Lord defender" in the Spanish translation given in the trial document, and the fact that *nunap* of *nunap huaca* lacks a corresponding possessive element, we read *huacaychaquen* ("their defender") rather than *huaca*. Duviols' reconstruction does not recognise the first *alli* ("well") in this fragment.

The deity was not expected to be silent, though the reply was not always affirmative, as in the following case after a sacrifice to ensure a good harvest: "There will be no food, nor decent rainfall".¹⁰⁸

The prayers to the Pucara relate to sacrificial rites to ensure the wellbeing of the community, in terms of agriculture, work and ritual matters. The ideas of fertility and protection were therefore inherent in the symbolic central space, and from there they went out to embrace the periphery of the community. Significantly for the inter-relationship of the indigenous practice and the development of the Christian faith, the parish church was built in that central space, with outlying annexes (marked at least by a Cross) in the peripheral areas. Christian symbolism was superimposed, often unwittingly, on indigenous sacred space.

The Church's confidence that it had eliminated indigenous deities was misplaced. Forty years after Fernando de Avendaño had burnt them and replaced them with a cross,¹⁰⁹ a number were still worshipped. The worshippers believed that "when they offered the sacrifice the said idols would come down to them and

¹⁰⁸ "Manaz micuna cancachuz manalli damiatcachuz". AAL III.1, f.12v. According to the recorder, "the demon replied in a rough buzzing voice".

¹⁰⁹ See ch.4, p.290.

would hear their requests":¹¹⁰

Lord and Father who has been burnt, owner of the irrigation canals, owner of the water, owner of the fields, give me water, give me fields, give me food. Since you were set on fire, since you were burnt, we die of hunger, from lack of food.¹¹¹

Fire had destroyed, yet the *huaca* could be as personified as fire which consumed the offering

Flower of the fire, fire flame, weakening flame, what remains of the flame, eat this, drink this, Father who has been burnt, Lord who has been incinerated, so that there will be plenty food and plenty water.¹¹²

As one witness put it, "their souls live, they are immortal".¹¹³ They were not the mere fetishes the priests thought them to be, but integrative elements of the sacred and community life.

d. Illness, sin, and community

These sacred beings played a key role in maintaining

¹¹⁰ AAL III.1, f.3r.

¹¹¹ "Rupasca yaya, laurasca yaya, parcoyoc yarcoyoc chacarayoc yacota comay, chacaracta comay micuicta comay, rupascayquimanta laurascayquimanta micuymanta pochacmanta huanunchic". Ibid., f.6r.

¹¹² "Ninap, çiçay, Ninap, Qalluy, Ninap, Puchuy, Ninap, Catiy, Caita micuy caita upiay Rupasca, yaya, lauraica yaya, allim micuy cananpac allin yacu canampac". Ibid., f.3r. The second word in this text is difficult to decipher, we have opted for çiçay, Duviols in his transcription renders it tuctuy.

¹¹³ AAL III.9, f.10r. The Quechua *camaquen* probably lies behind the word "soul" here, it appears in the document as *alma*.

the wellbeing and health of the community:

Father *Choque Runto* y Father *Raupoma*, eat this
so that my sick one will get better.¹¹⁴

When the sick person did not improve, an additional sacrifice was carried out, but this time on the road beside the house where the sick person was. The illness was personified:

Lord of the travelling pain, Lord of the
travelling illness, with this [offering] go
away.¹¹⁵

The entrails of the sacrificed guinea pig were then examined to determine the prognosis. In other cases the sickness was ritually called out of the body and the person's *camaquen* recalled to his body.¹¹⁶

The possible causes of this illness are given as "sins", the work of an enemy, or the effect of some evil which has been worked upon him.¹¹⁷ The indigenous understanding of "sin", together with rites of confession and cleansing were distinct from those of the church. It was important to observe ritual purity

¹¹⁴ "Yaya choque runto, Yaya Raupoma micuy caita, quisiacnipac allim nanpac". Ibid., f.3v.

¹¹⁵ "Nanay puric Yaya quisiac puric Yaya cail-laguantac ayhua cuy". Ibid. In the Spanish translation given in the text, the illness is feminine *Señora enfermedad* ("Lady illness"), but the use of *señora* is a result of the feminine Spanish noun *enfermedad*. The Quechua *yaya* is masculine.

¹¹⁶ AAL III.2, f.6v.

¹¹⁷ In materials from other trials the viewpoint of the recorder protrudes and makes it clear that the Church viewed the healing rites as a pact with the devil.

at certain times:

The sins of sacrilege which they confessed...were those committed during the time of working the field of the *malquis* and worship of the idols, those of eating salt, chili pepper, fish, mutton, onions, garlic, cabbage and other foods of the Spanish, which they call unclean food or black food, and drinking wine...going back to women friends instead of honouring their *malquis* was also regarded as sin.

The sexual mores contrasted with those of the Church:

It was not a sin to have thoughts and desire for another woman, nor was the desire to kill someone and steal his belongings or any evil thought regarded as sin, nor lewd touching or fingering someone. Sexual relations with women friends, relatives and wives, or siblings was not sin.

Traditional contractual relations were more important than Christian ones:

It was not sin to make accusations or swear falsely in the name of God, but if what they swore using their old custom was a lie, that was a very serious sin - they would take a little earth from the ground, kiss it and say *Caymi alpay Caymi marcay* "you see here my land, you see here my community". It was also sin to lack respect for parents or elders. It was a serious sin to hide the above-mentioned from their confessors during confession.¹¹⁸

Confession was made at night on the "flat piece of ground where the *Guari* is", the sin was symbolically thrown into the air and the stars invoked:

Star Lord, Morning Star Lord, all the people have now confessed, forgive their sin, forgive their having angered our *huacas*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Duviols, op.cit., p.54.

¹¹⁹ "Coyllor yaya, Guara yaya, huchayta ñam confessacum tucuy runacunap pampa chay caita perdonay Guacacunchic piñachisca cacta". AAL III.2, f.6r.

Confession also linked together the astral bodies and the river, which was thought to bear away sin to the sea. The wellbeing of the community was the desired goal:

Lord Sun, Lady Moon, Star Lords, your children and creatures have confessed all their sins. River, take these sins to the sea, forgive your children and creatures, and you, *malqui* and *huaca* Lords, give us life and wellbeing. May there be no illness in the community, may the people increase and have animals and fields that produce. May there be no frost nor grubs in the fields. May the Spanish not harm them.¹²⁰

The indigenous confessional also included rituals to determine the effectiveness of the confession, and ways of ensuring that a "good confession" was achieved.

Duviols has "coillor llalla guara llalla muchay tana confesacun cuycuy runa canampa chay caita perdonay guaca cunchic pisa chisca cacta", which renders his translation quite problematic. (Op.cit., pp. 91, 530f.)

¹²⁰ This prayer is in Spanish in the text, though it clearly has a Quechua original:

Señor sol, señora luna, Señoras estrellas, ya vuestros hijos y chriaturas anconfessado todos sus pecados y Rio llebad estos pecados al mar, perdonad vuestras chriaturas e hijos y vosotros señores malquis señoras guacas dadnos vida, salud, no aya enfermedad en el pueblo aya aumento de yndios buenas chacras tengan hacienda no aya elados ni gusano en las chacras y no les agrabien los españoles.

The Quechua original would have begun with *Inti yaya, quilla mama...*, i.e. Father Son, Mother Moon. The Spanish rendering shows how easily Andean reality was misconstrued, misrepresented and concealed by being written down in Spanish. San Pedro de Ticllos, 1656. (AAL III.9, f.9v)

e. The ritual calendar

The coincidence of the church calendar and the Andean calendar, together with the use of the same sacred space by the Church and the indigenous cult led to conflicting demands. There was, on the one hand, the prohibition by the indigenous priesthood of participation in Christian rites at key times in their ritual calendar:

They taught the people not to worship our Lord God nor his saints, because they were for the Spanish, and were their *huacas* and *camaquenes*. They were pieces of wood, painted and gilded, who were dumb and gave no reply to the Indians' requests, unlike their idol *Guaman-cama*, other idols, and their *malquis* from a previous generation...the god of the Spanish gives nothing to the Indians...they said they should not go into church to pray during the time of fasting and sacrifice, so that their sacrifices would be effectual.¹²¹

On the other hand, if the priest's visit coincided and they were obliged to attend church, they were to attend merely to fulfil that requirement and not "wholeheartedly".

Yet in some cases it was clearly a sin to worship the Christian God. When an Indian entered church after worshipping the huacas, he prayed:

Burnt father, burnt lords, burnt *huacas*, I have made you angry, I will make amends, right

¹²¹ AAL III.9, fols. 9v, 10r.

now I will make amends, pardon me, Father.¹²²

The deities addressed were indigenous, the expression of repentance echoed the Church's prayers.

Corpus Christi was a church festival which coincided with major agricultural rites. On such occasions the leaders of the confraternities carried out the indigenous rites simultaneously. Prior to entering the church there was a drink offering:

O revered *malquis* and *huacas*, and those of our fathers who are in the churches, drink this corn-beer first before we do, because this festival is being carried out in your honour.¹²³

Similar prayers are recorded for the festivals of St. John the Baptist (June 24) and St. Peter (June 29):¹²⁴

Lords, fathers, ancestors, do not be angry, for we do not hold all these festivals and

¹²² "Yaya rupaspa yayaquina rupaspa, guacacuna rupaspa, pinam arcay qui guanasacmi cunanca guanasacmi perdonamay yaya". AAL III.2, f.6r. Although the text here reads *rupaspa* (burning), it should probably read *rupasca* (burnt/who has been burned) as in the other prayers. Duviols has a different reading of this text, and it can only be assumed that the person who transcribed for him confused or conflated two lines. (Op.cit., pp.90, 530).

¹²³ AAL III.9, f.10r. This prayer appears only in Spanish, though it is doubtless a translation of a Quechua prayer. The Quechua word *yaya* may underlie the Spanish *señor* and *señora*.

A señores malquis y señoras guacas y señores aquellos nuestros que estais en las yglesias bebed primero esta chicha antes que nosotros bebamos por que esta fiesta se hace a onrra vuestra.

¹²⁴ These church festivals all take place at the time of the indigenous harvest.

celebrations [to honour] the God of the Spanish and their saints but in your honour.¹²⁵

During a festival which coincided with the Festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8th), the sacrificial llama and the corn beer were provided by those leading the confraternity responsible for celebrating the church festival, who prayed:

O powerful Father, O great Lord, eat this, drink this, so that there will be lots of corn beer [at the festival].¹²⁶

At such times an increasing convergence and identification of the two ritual systems was inevitable, and as early as the first wave of anti-idolatry campaigns, some leaders had justified the indigenous rites to church authorities. They insisted that "they did not invoke the devil, instead they acted as they did because it was their custom and not because of a superstitious belief".¹²⁷ The case of an indigenous leader on trial could be argued by the *defensor de indios* on the grounds that he was a "good Christian" who had worked to provide altarpieces for the church, and as community leader had provided "an image of the

¹²⁵ AAL IV.1, f.4r--in 1657 in San Juan de Machaca:

Señores yayas auquisllais no os enojeis que todas estas fiestas y regosijos no las aemos al Dios de los españoles ni a sus sanctos sino a bosotros.

¹²⁶ "A capac yaya, a apuc yaya, ca cayta micuy, cayta upiay azua miranpac". Ibid., fols.3v, 9r.

¹²⁷ AAL I.2 - Auquimarca, 1610.

Virgin and a statue of St. John".¹²⁸ Similarly an accused leader could be found to possess "a Breviary, Meditations on the Passion of our Lord, Summas, and the Hours of our Lady".¹²⁹

f. The emerging synthesis

One hundred and thirty years after the Conquest the indigenous cult in Cajatambo was strong and vital, and it may be assumed that the same was true of other parts of the country.¹³⁰ The Cajatambo case was the more striking for having been the focus of attention in the first wave of campaigns. At the very least there was a system of indigenous beliefs which gave coherence to Andean life, and enabled the indigenous social relationships and power structure to exist within colonial society. The former imperial cult is barely referred to, instead the local and regional nature of the cult is stressed. There is a reassertion of the pre-Inca religious situation. The idolatry campaigns punished and exiled the prominent leaders. This unwittingly produced a "democratisation" of the cult in the development of a larger class of lesser

¹²⁸ AAL IV.1, f.26r - San Juan de Machaca, 1657.

¹²⁹ Acosta, *op.cit.*, p.187.

¹³⁰ The Jesuit Francisco Patiño, writing to Archbishop Villagómez in 1649 to congratulate him on his book on idolatry, spoke of the Cuzco bishopric as the "mother of idolatry". Villagómez, *op.cit.*, p.282.

intermediaries.¹³¹ The search for idols may also have displaced the Andean rituals to produce a greater focus on natural *huacas*. "Idolatry" was not suppressed, it was modified and coexisted with a Christian system--a contradiction inherent in the very system of colonial domination itself, which was pledged to eliminate the indigenous system, yet could not exist without it.¹³²

It is clear that even after documenting indigenous belief and practice, the church misunderstood its coherence and embeddedness in Andean reality.¹³³ The "idol" as a representation or sign of another reality, was much closer to the Christian idea of image or sign than the Church realised. The attack on the indigenous symbols was insufficient to refashion the criteria by which the Andean understood the sacred. The structure of Andean thought facilitated the incorporation of foreign elements in the formation of a response to the new faith.

¹³¹ Women were particularly important in this shift and in the maintenance of indigenous traditions. Silverblatt, *op.cit.*, pp.200-205.

¹³² Acosta, "La extirpación...", p.189.

¹³³ The words of a parishioner in the Cuzco area are apposite--c.1640: "Father, why do you tire yourself out taking our idols away from us? Take away this mountain, if you can, for that is the God I worship". Francisco Patino S.J. to Archbishop Villagómez. Villagómez, *op.cit.*, p.278.

Within the community both cults occupied the same sacred space, though defining it differently. This meant there were points of convergence and contrast, which led the practitioners to distinguish between the two systems at certain points and to bring them together in other aspects. Similar phenomena are seen elsewhere. A mountain (*orqo*) with its tutelary deity (*apu*) could be identified with St. Christopher to become *Apu orqo San Cristobal*, with a sister who was also worshipped.¹³⁴ Meanwhile that most pervasive Christian symbol, the Cross, had been for many years identified with the indigenous *huaca* and *huanca* sites.¹³⁵

This process was furthered by the coincidence at key points of the Andean and Christian calendars, together with role played by organisations established to encourage a move away from the indigenous rites, most notably the confraternities.¹³⁶ The sharp rise in the

¹³⁴ "They have the tradition that these *malquis* were their first progenitors of this ayllu...which had their origin and were born in the huge mountain which is beside the community of Mangas, which they call Apu Hurco San Cristobal...and so they sing to him when they finish thatching their roofs: 'Mountain Lord and your sister...'. Duviols, op.cit., p.342.

¹³⁵ One witness, asked in a trial in Yauyos in 1660 how she knew that a certain mountain was an indigenous holy site, replied that she knew because "Dr. Avila had put a Cross there". AAL V.1, f.10r.

¹³⁶ "In many cases the Indian confraternity despite having the official function of venerating the patron saint, in fact functioned in terms of the ayllu...a function which had been suppressed by the

number of these organisations during the idolatry campaign indicates one strategy adopted by indigenous leaders to preserve the traditional cult,¹³⁷ and to bolster their own power, previously kinship-based but by then eroded by the clergy and colonial officials. Both indigenous rites and Christian rites were performed by the confraternities, often simultaneously. The indigenous "extra-liturgical rites" which accompanied the Church celebrations may have been "a series of practical *marginalia*" or annotations through which the Christian rituals were read and understood.¹³⁸

In the prayers themselves there is evidence of a coming together of indigenous and Christian expression, most notably in those of confession. A fundamental aspect in the convergence of the two systems was the "god-language" which was used. The Quechua prayers examined earlier point to the importance of the concept ancestor/founder/father with sons, at

Spanish authorities when they declared illegal pre-hispanic institutions, especially those of religion." Rafael Varón, "Cofradías de indios y poder local en el Perú colonial: Huaraz, siglo XVII", Allpanchis, 17 (20), 1982, p.135.

¹³⁷ Guaman Poma indicates that the lands dedicated to the *guaca* became the lands of the confraternities. Op. cit., p.669.

¹³⁸ Tristan Platt, "The Andean Soldiers of Christ. Confraternity Organization, the Mass of the Sun and Regenerative Warfare in Rural Potosí (18th-20th Centuries)", Journal de la Société des Américanistes, 53 (1987), p.144.

times in a triadic relationship, and of a male-female complementarity in the pantheon. The overwhelming use of *yaya* (father) in conjunction with *apu* (which symbolised power, and was translated "lord"), to designate beings whose role was to vivify and give life (*camay*), could not be without significance for the indigenous understanding of the Christian God, whom the Church unhesitatingly represented as *yaya*, *apu* and *camac* (creator). Nor was it without significance for their understanding of their own deities, who could be converted into Europeans (as in the case of *Viracocha*) or Christian "gods".

The area had seen previous conquests. In the case of the Cajatambo province it is possible to identify these from different layers of tradition.¹³⁹ These events do not belong to history in our sense of the term, but rather should be seen as events which took place in a mythic time or archetypal time.¹⁴⁰ These had each contributed to religious change, and Christianity was but the latest to impose its practices on the area. By the middle of the seventeenth century the changes resulting from its arrival of Christianity were becoming clear, showing how it had been perceived

¹³⁹ See ch.1, p.38.

¹⁴⁰ Though, as Duviols has shown, these do have an historical kernel, such as the immigration of the Llacuaz from further south around 1350-1400. "Huari y Llacuaz", pp.181-184.

from the Andean viewpoint and assimilated into that world.

5. The indigenous chroniclers

In the aftermath of the Conquest, the Andean people struggled not only with an alien power and customs, but also with its cultural artefacts. Few of these had such far-reaching affects as books and writing, seen from the very first encounter of Fr. Valverde with the captured Inca. Writing became a symbol of Spanish power, and was made all the more significant by the lack of such a system in the Inca empire.¹⁴¹ The early accounts of the Inca empire, of Andean reality, and the Conquest came from Spanish pens, and are influenced by that perspective.¹⁴² These shaped European and colonial perceptions of Andean reality, and the Andean voice was not heard until the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega were published in 1615. The availability now of a number of accounts by indigenous

¹⁴¹ A system of geometric shapes, dot patterns and other ciphers existed, known as *tocapu*. As yet no satisfactory understanding of this symbolic system has been achieved, but it is thought to have more than just an aesthetic function.

¹⁴² That is if one discounts Juan de Betanzos' Summa, which was an Inca account--at least from one of the septs of the Inca royal family--its stuttering Spanish reflects the underlying epic poem in Quechua, as Betanzos himself stated "to be a faithful and true translator, I must keep the way and the order of speaking of the local inhabitants". Francisco Esteve Barba, op.cit., p.7.

authors makes it possible to explore their reaction to the Christian faith.

a. Titu Cusi Yupanqui

When Sayri Tupac, Manco Inca's successor in Vilcabamba, was betrayed and killed in 1557, another son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, out-manoeuvred his half-brother and the legitimate heir, Tupac Amaru, and proclaimed himself Inca. His strategy against the Spanish was one of sporadic guerrilla activity coupled with attempted negotiations with the new rulers. In 1566 Tito Cusi allowed some Augustinians to enter the area and was himself baptised as Diego de Castro in 1568. He later fell ill and died and his place was taken by Tupac Amaru. The latter's execution on the orders of Toledo in Cuzco in 1572, an action opposed by Bishop Lartaún of Cuzco and by the religious orders, brought to an end Inca resistance to Spanish rule.

Although illiterate, Tito Cusi appears to have been the first indigenous leader to recognise the importance of writing in the colonial system. One of the Augustinians, Fr. Marcos García, served as his amanuensis for the Instruçon del Ynga Don Diego Castro Titu Cussi Yupanqui.¹⁴³ It is the earliest

¹⁴³ The full title is Instruçon del Ynga Don Diego de Castro Titu Cussi Yupanqui para el muy ilustre Señor el Liçençado Lope García de Castro,

written indigenous account of Inca resistance under his father Manco Inca II.

In Andean oral traditions successive Incas reshaped history to legitimise their rule,¹⁴⁴ Tito Cusi transposed this to the medium of writing, and began his account by establishing his own legitimacy as Inca,¹⁴⁵ an important matter in the eyes of the Spanish. He then moves to Atahualpa's encounter with Valverde and his inability to accept or understand the nature of writing. "They showed my uncle a letter or book, or whatever it was, saying that it was the *quilca* of God and the King".¹⁴⁶ Unlike other authors,

Governador que fue destos Reynos del Piru, tocante a los negocios que con su Magestad, en su nonbre, (sic) por su poder de tratar; la qual es esta que se sigue, [1570], intro. Luis Millones, (Lima: Ediciones Virrey, 1985).

¹⁴⁴ See Irene Silverblatt, "Imperial Dilemmas, the Politics of Kinship, and Inca Reconstructions of History", Comparative Study of Society and History 30 (1988), pp.83-102.

¹⁴⁵ He uses the European pattern of succession, patrilineal descent, as if it were the indigenous one. Thus ensuring his capacity to negotiate with the Spanish. While not strictly true in European terms where succession went from father to son, it could have been valid in terms of an Andean system which went from one ruler to the next most capable person within the wider kin network. Raquel Chang-Rodriguez overlooks this possibility. "Sobre los cronistas indígenas del Perú y los comienzos de una escritura hispanoamericana", Revista Iberoamericana, 120-1 (1988), p.540. On Inca succession patterns see María de Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Estructuras Andinas del Poder: Ideología religiosa y política, (Lima: IEP, ³1988), pp.130-179.

¹⁴⁶ Cusi Yupanqui, op.cit., p.2.

however, he sets the scene for his uncle's reaction by stating that earlier Atahualpa had

...received them very well. He gave one of them a drink we use from a golden vessel. As the Spaniard took it in his hand, he poured it out, and as a result my uncle became very angry.

Thus

...my uncle, as he felt affronted by the pouring out of the *chicha*, which is what our drink is called, took the letter or whatever it was and threw it down saying, "How do I know what it is you give me there? Move along, go away!".¹⁴⁷

Titu Cusi implicitly acknowledged the special character of writing and the status of the book in describing it as an inscription to God or the king, but he denied any offence by insisting on the insult's equivalence to the Spaniard's spilling *chicha* the day before--each one had caused a sacred object to end up on the ground.¹⁴⁸ There was a "reciprocal rejection of reciprocity".¹⁴⁹

He underscores the violence and the internecine strife of the first decades after the Conquest, and in this exposes the invaders' abuses. His work is a "product of the author's faith in the power of the written

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Patricia Seed, "'Failing to Marvel': Atahualpa's Encounter with the Word" LARR 26, no. 1 (1991), p.21.

¹⁴⁹ Frank Salomon's phrase.

word, appropriated from the Europeans, as a line of defense".¹⁵⁰ The written word becomes the new weapon to defend his people, and is even presented in terms of a *genre* that would be familiar to the Spanish. The speeches of Manco II are virtual homilies, and begin with expressions such as "my beloved children and brothers". For him Inca actions are justified as a right and proper *reacción* to the Spanish actions; the two are parallel. "Incas and Spaniards do essentially the same things, striking blows and counter-blows, and they talk the same way, in hortatory set-pieces in archaizing style."¹⁵¹

He judges the actions of the Spanish in the light of an Andean understanding of social relationships. These were not only reciprocal, but involved respect and trust in a person's worth.¹⁵² Both Inca Atahualpa and Manco Inca were highly esteemed by their people, they

¹⁵⁰ Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, "Writing as Resistance: Peruvian History and the *Relación* of Titu Cusi Yupanqui", in From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period, ed. Rolena Adorno, (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1982), p.56

¹⁵¹ Frank Salomon, "Chronicles of the Impossible: Notes on Three Peruvian Indigenous Chroniclers", *ibid.*, p.13. Underlying this may be the concept of *tinkuy*, the confrontation of symmetrical opposites to create a unity, such as could take place in ritualised warfare.

¹⁵² Manco II says to the Spanish in exasperation, "since you do not pay any attention to me, I have no desire to pay heed to you". Cusi Yupanqui, *op.cit.*, p.3.

had shown a trust that was nevertheless betrayed by the Spanish. This violation of accepted patterns was part of the chaos and the social disintegration experienced by his people in the first decades after the Conquest. For him the crucial break came with the loss of Cuzco, the empire's sacred centre, and the neo-Inca state strove vainly to replicate this in Vilcabamba.

In a sense Titu Cusi's Instruccion is a work of translation in which he restates Inca political ideology in a Spanish idiom. The emphasis on his own legitimacy as leader, is part of a wider attempt to state the right of the Incas to govern. He translates Andean concepts, rooted in oral tradition, into a language that would fit Spanish legal argument, and even took on characteristics of Christian discourse. In so doing he attempts to present the rulers of the neo-Inca Vilcabamba state as Christians and allies of the Spanish and not as pagan enemies of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁵³ Toledo's decision to crush the continuing resistance shortly after Tito Cusi's death, closed the door to such a *rapprochement*.

b. The anonymous author of the Huarochiri manuscript

In contrast to Tito Cusi, the author of the 1608

¹⁵³ Salomon, op.cit., p.13.

manuscript which detailed the rites and practices of people of the Huarochiri region chose Quechua as the language of his account.¹⁵⁴ This document with was found among the papers of Francisco de Avila, who probably was responsible for its revision. The author was indigenous, from the community of the Checas in San Damián, Huarochiri.¹⁵⁵ He was most likely a *ladino*, and "a fervent Christian, although not without a critical spirit with regard to the clergy and the Spanish".¹⁵⁶

The author is aware of the need to record the practices and traditions of his people:

In ancient times, if the ancestors of the people called *indios* had known what writing was, all their traditions would not have gone on disappearing as has happened until now. Instead they would have been visible as the powerful deeds of the Spanish still are. This being so, and since it is still unwritten, I am going to put down here the practices of the ancestors of the Huarochiris, who all had ^{the} same

¹⁵⁴ On the religious world of Huarochiri, see ch.1, pp.36-8.

¹⁵⁵ The Checas lived in the administrative area of Huarochiri, and although it is likely that some of their ancestors belonged to the Huarochiris--the invaders from the *puna* regions--it is uncertain whether they would have belonged to this community. The common identity of the group is expressed in the idea of being protected by the same father, or mythical ancestor, *Pariacaca*. Taylor, *Ritos*, p.43.

¹⁵⁶ Taylor, *Ritos*, p.17. The authorship of the document has been widely discussed. See also Jorge L. Urioste, Chay Simiri Caymi: The Language of the Manuscript of Huarochiri, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp.7-12; Pierre Duviols, "Los Manuscritos", in Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, ed. José María Arguedas, (Lima: IEP, 1966), pp.230-237.

father, what their faith was, and how they live to the present time. So the customs in each community will be written from their beginning.¹⁵⁷

For a Christian writer to speak of his own people's past in terms of having a "faith" (*ffeenioccha*) which they practised, indicates at the very least some degree of acculturation in religious vocabulary. The idea of "one father" (*huc yayayuc*) has already been explored in its indigenous context.¹⁵⁸ It nevertheless raises the question of whether the author is merely appropriating vocabulary, or presenting his own understanding of his people's past in relation to the new faith and the political power that legitimises it.

The key to understanding this may lie in the struggle portrayed in the life of one indigenous leader--Cristóbal Choquecassa--between the *huacas* and Christianity.¹⁵⁹ In an account of his encounter with the devil, replete with visions, flashing lights, dreams, eerie noises and apparitions, he draws on the

¹⁵⁷ Runa yndio ñiscap machoncuna ñaupá pacha quillcacta yachanman carca chayca hinantin causascancunapas manam canaccamapas chincaycuc hinacho canman himanam viracochappas sinchi cascanpas canancama ricurin hinatacmi canman chay hina captinpas canan, cama mana quillcasca captinpas caypim churani cay huc yayayuc guarocheri ñiscap machoncunap causascanta yma ffeenioccha carcan ymayñah canancamapas causan chay chaycunacta chari sapa llactanpim quillcasca canca himahina causascampas pacariscanmanta. *Ritos*, pp.40,41.

¹⁵⁸ On usage in Cajatambo, see pp.365-6.

¹⁵⁹ Chapters 20, 21. *Ritos*, pp.292-327.

resources of the church ("reciting the Our Father and the Hail Mary") to counter the frightening figure who was "like our father":

He worshipped God our Lord, shouting out at the top of his voice the prayers he knew, and reciting the *doctrina* over and over again, from beginning to end.¹⁶⁰

Choquecassa invokes Mary's help in a long prayer, and even resorts to prayers in Latin. The juxtaposition of "Our Father" (Padre nuestro) and "our father" (yayan-chicmi) highlights the encounter between the old and new faiths.

The struggle culminates in the challenge to the "demon" *Llocllayhuancupa*:

They say to you that you give life to men and shake the earth. All men worship you saying "He is the one who makes everything". Why did you call me now? I ask, "Isn't Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the true God? Should not I always honour his word? Am I mistaken? Tell me now, 'He is not God, I am the one who makes everything', then I shall revere you." When he had said this, the "devil" was silent, he did not now say anything.¹⁶¹

The triumph of Christianity¹⁶² is couched in Andean terms. The oral tradition presented the tutelary

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp.307, 309.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.322. It is difficult not to see a polemic here also with the indigenous view propagated by indigenous religious functionaries that it was the Christian God who did not speak.

¹⁶² In Quechua it is presented as a victory. Salomon draws attention to the importance of the term *atiy*--to have power, to triumph--as the key to this account. Op.cit., pp.26,27.

mountain deities of the region as victors over the deities of the coastal region, following which they exercised hegemony over mountain and coast. Now the indigenous leader Choquecassa "lays the groundwork for an Andean future in Christian terms" by forming an alliance with the Christian God, just as his ancestors had made their alliances with the *huacas* and *apus*. In this Christian era the *huacas* can still be spoken of by being allowed in their place, i.e. in the time before Christianity, a mythic time.

An examination of the Spanish loanwords in the text has drawn attention to the role of the words which overlap the semantic domain of Quechua words, but which lack precise Quechua equivalents. The use of Spanish words that are less precise and less appropriate than the Quechua original may indicate that being conquered signifies subordination and inclusion into a new order. As the mountain cults incorporated the coastal ones, and redescribed their role and function, so the *huaca* cults are incorporated into Christianity: "the content of the vanquished religions may be referred to in the language of the present, but not translated into that language".¹⁶³ It is as if the author aimed to "re-gestate" Christianity as a legitimate child of Andean thought. Christianity was appropriated from within an authentic Andean "Old

¹⁶³ Salomon, op.cit., p.30.

Testament" whose *mita* ("time") had now run its course. The Christian recension of the manuscript, and its probable use by Avila and his colleagues shows that they did not share such a view. Nevertheless their zeal ensured the preservation of the manuscript, and in so doing the author's desire to use writing to perpetuate the memory of his people was realised.

c. Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua

The convoluted language of the Relación de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Perú written about 1613 by Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua has led him to be portrayed as

lacking in discernment...his education must have been so poor, that despite making a Christian profession, he does not hesitate to take up incredible superstitions. His [account] is a confused babble where Quechua and Spanish are brought together in impossible grammatical constructions.¹⁶⁴

However, if such a comment suggests that the work fails to meet Spanish standards for historiographical excellence, it is nevertheless true that a more nuanced study of the work shows it to be an invaluable source of indigenous oral tradition, made all the more so by its non-Cuzco origin, and illustrations.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Francisco Esteve Barba, *op.cit.*, p.lix.

¹⁶⁵ See especially Regina Harrison, "Modes of discourse: The Relación de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Pirú by Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua", in Adorno, *op.cit.*, pp.65-99, and Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes: Translating

The author belonged to the middle ranking nobility of the *Collas* from the *altiplano* over one hundred and fifty miles south of Cuzco. He was possibly a ladino who had been taught in the school for the children of caciques.¹⁶⁶ The discovery of his manuscript among the papers of de Avila, may indicate that he accompanied the *extirpadores* in their work. If so, he did not necessarily share their views.

Pachacuti Yamqui makes it clear from the beginning that he is a Christian,¹⁶⁷ but he seeks to show that although Andeans did not know the Gospel at the time of the Conquest, they had long been aware of the true God, and of a code which his father's generation regarded as the commandment of God, "principally the

Quechua Language and Culture, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), pp.55-84.

¹⁶⁶ The words of the *colla* king Chhuchi Capac arrived to Inca Yupanqui confirm the thesis that Sun-worship was not original to the Incas:

You are the king of Cuzco, I am the king of the Collas. Let us drink, let us eat, let us talk. Why argue? I sit upon silver, you sit upon gold. You worship Viracocha, who orders earth, I worship the Sun.

("Camcuzcocapaca ñuca Collacapaca supyasu, micussu, rimassu, amapirima, & ñucacollque tiyacan chuqui-tiyacam Viracocha Pachayachi muchha ñuca inti muchha, &".) Op.cit., p.296.

¹⁶⁷ "I believe in the holy catholic faith, as I should, by the mercy of his divine Majesty and through his divine grace". Francisco Esteve Barba, op. cit., p.281.

seven precepts; they only lacked the name of God our Lord and his son Jesus Christ our Lord".¹⁶⁸

His own confession of the one, powerful, triune God is that of

the creator of heaven and earth and all the things in them, like the sun and the moon, the stars, the morning and evening stars, the lightning, the lightning flash, and the thunder, and all the elements.¹⁶⁹

He affirms Christian orthodoxy as taught in the Doctrina Christiana and the Confessionario, but equally is at pains to affirm within this framework the indigenous deities proscribed by those documents of the Church. His very name brings together the two worlds to which he bears witness--the indigenous *pachacuti*, the cataclysmic turning point of the Andean space-time reality, and *santa cruz*, the pervading symbol of that new reality that had come into being. This combination of mental concept, cosmovision and sign is a shorthand version of his *relación*.

In setting out a "historical" account of the Andean

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p.283. The use of the figure "seven" suggests Christian influence, perhaps related to the fourteen Articles of the Faith, which were divided into two sets of seven.

¹⁶⁹ "...que crió al çielo y tierra y a todas las cosas en ellas que estan, como el sol y luna, estrelas, luzeros, luzeros, rrayos, rrelámpagos y truenos, y a todos los elementos". Op.cit., p.282.

world from *purumpacha* down to the Conquest,¹⁷⁰ he draws on both Andean and European cultural inventories to present his message. He writes, but he also illustrates his account, as is seen in his sketch of the Andean cosmos, which was a copy of images found on the wall in the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco.¹⁷¹ The drawing enables him to present what he finds difficult to explain in Spanish--the belief systems of his people. Elsewhere in his account it is clear that he draws heavily on visual imaging of concepts. This is seen in his descriptions of the hierarchy of Inca society, where the Quechua terms for the insignia marking status and office are preserved untranslated in the account. In fact, the idea of a "sign" (*unanchay*) is a key to understanding his account. Yet his

recourse to this symbolic manner of thinking is not necessarily the product of recently acquired concepts of Christianity...he is disposed to write in this fashion because of his exposure to the *tocapu*, an Inca sign system, which was still in use in his lifetime.¹⁷²

The inclusion of such signs in his work underlines the importance of pictorial signs in Andean communication

¹⁷⁰ *Purumpacha* was "the time when all was desert" or "the time when there were no people".

¹⁷¹ This illustration is of vital importance in understanding the Andean religious world: "Following Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui's diagram, Viracocha must be addressed as androgynous...a male/female deity". Harrison, Songs, p.94.

¹⁷² Harrison, Songs, pp.59f.

and categories of thought. They enable him to deal with the translation impasse he encounters in working with Spanish, for they translate "an entire cultural system, not a simple word image".¹⁷³

In his Andean apologetic, Pachacuti Yamqui suggests that in parallel with the Inca expansion and the establishment of their "civilisation", there was an increasing intuition of the supreme God. Lloque Yupanqui Ynca, one of the earlier Incas, was

a great enemy of idols, and as such he had said to all his people that they should pay no attention to the sun or moon, saying that the sun and the moon and all the elements had been sent for the service of men and women. They say that the rites were not practised as they had been in the time of his grandfather.¹⁷⁴

Following his citation of Inca Capac Yupanqui's prayer "to the Maker", he states "if these Incas had been reached by the law of the Gospel, with what love they would have believed in God".¹⁷⁵ Later Guascar Inca, who hears of his betrayal by Atahualpa while he is worshipping the *huacas*, turns in fury on the *huacas* and condemns them as "lying, tempting, evil, enemy devils".¹⁷⁶ The whole account is reminiscent of the Old Testament accounts of the kings of Israel and Judah, some of whom "did evil in the sight of the

¹⁷³ Ibid., p.65.

¹⁷⁴ Op. cit., p.290.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p.292.

¹⁷⁶ "Llollavatica haochha aucasopay". Ibid., p.314.

Lord", but others of whom attacked and destroyed idols bringing the people back to the worship of the true God.

The wars and fratricide were due to the work of "demons" in the Andes,¹⁷⁷ who were "defeated by Jesus Christ on the Cross". The account of this pre-Hispanic Andean Christianity reaches its climax in the arrival of *Tonapa*:

He taught the people with great love, calling them sons and daughters, [but] was neither heard nor heeded by the local people. When he travelled through the provinces he openly performed many miracles, he healed sick people with only a touch. He carried neither bag nor money. They say he spoke all languages better than the natives themselves, and they called him *Tonapa* or *Tarapaca Viracochanpacha yachachicachan* or *Pacchacan* and *Bicchhaycamayoc Cunacuycamayoc*.¹⁷⁸

Pachacuti Yamqui asks "Would this not be the glorious apostle St. Thomas?"¹⁷⁹ The Andean myths of *Viracocha* are reinterpreted in the light of the Christian faith to provide an apologetic for the Andean past.

Into this "historical" framework he sets Quechua ritual texts, mainly prayers to *Viracocha*, *Tonapa* and

¹⁷⁷ Not the *çupay* used by the Church but *hapiñuños* and *achacallas*.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.283.

¹⁷⁹ Salomon has argued that *Tonapa* seems to function as a mediating deity between the Incas and the invisible *Viracocha*. (*Op. cit.*, p.18) However, the juxtaposition of *Tonapa* and *Viracocha* seems too close to make this differentiation.

other divine beings. These expressions of Andean communication with the ultimates of their existence are not translated into Spanish, but are embedded in the account within the domain of ritual and religion. His inclusion of Inca prayers runs counter to the Church's practice, where such prayers, although known, were replaced by the Church's own prayers.¹⁸⁰ Yet the presence of such prayers reveals a devotional act analogous to Christian prayer. In the process *Viracocha* becomes analogous to the Christian God, while the other while other Andean deities are treated as demons.

Despite the analogies, the differences with the Christian world of reference are also marked. The non-translation of the Quechua prayers suggests that things are not equal. In relation to the divine "the many epithets of *Viracocha*...may reveal the differentiation of Andean sacred beings, not a belief in one god, and an implicit acknowledgment of their separate identities".¹⁸¹ Yet while these differences are real,¹⁸² a Christian audience would hear echoes of the

¹⁸⁰ As has been noted, Oré felt restrained about using them until he had official approval from the hierarchy. In Church doctrine no unauthorised wording could be equivalent to the authoritative word. See ch.3, pp.204-5.

¹⁸¹ Harrison, *Songs*, p.95.

¹⁸² E.g. the concept of "creation" is different; *Viracocha* is represented as the one who establishes and maintains order.

Biblical narrative in these prayers.¹⁸³

Pachacuti Yamqui appears to react against the position epitomised by the extirpators, and presents the Andean world as a *praeparatio evangelica*, valid in its own right, and in its own time. He shows a hermeneutical framework where Andean civilisation, order and an awareness of the supreme God are linked in an Andean "Old Testament" complete with a rejected prophet. At the same time the illustrations and the images that lie behind the text, suggest the tensions involved in decoding the new:

His text allows us to glimpse the extent to which he has assimilated Hispanic culture through his references to Christian theology and the European literary tradition. More importantly, his manuscript also reveals to us the extent to which he preserved the essence of his indigenous heritage in the sketches which often convey more than his written words.¹⁸⁴

d. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala

The indigenous authors already examined aimed to

¹⁸³ E.g. the struggle with the absence of the divine being in the calamity that has befallen the Andes seen in the repeated question to Viracocha: "where are you...?" Or the words attributed to the deity: "let there be man, let there be woman...". Op.cit., pp.287f. For a detailed study of this prayer, see Harrison, *Songs*, pp.75-81, 92-101, and Edmundo Bendezú, *La Otra Literatura Quechua*, (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), pp.15-22.

¹⁸⁴ Harrison, *Songs*, p.84.

question the legitimacy of Spanish rule, recover their own history for posterity, or vindicate their people. A fourth writer, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, developed a major attack on the European understanding of the conquest and its aftermath. Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno,¹⁸⁵ probably completed around 1613, is the

¹⁸⁵ The work, of over one thousand pages, is unique in that four hundred of these pages are illustrations, and has increasingly drawn the attention of scholars in recent years. For an comprehensive view of the work, see Rolena Adorno, Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986) and Cronista y Príncipe: La obra de don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, (Lima: PUCP, 1989). For the place of Guaman Poma in relation to other indigenous writers, see Rolena Adorno, ed., From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period, (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1982), and Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, "Sobre los cronistas indígenas del Perú y los comienzos de una escritura hispano-americana", Revista Iberoamericana 120-1, (1988), pp.533-548. For analysis of the illustrations, see Rolena Adorno, "On pictorial language and the typology of culture in a New World chronicle", Semiotica 36, no.1/2 (1981), pp.51-106, "The Language of History in Guaman Poma's Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno", in Adorno, ed., From Oral to Written Expression, pp.109-137, and Mercedes López-Baralt, "La persistencia de las estructuras simbólicas en los dibujos de Guaman Poma de Ayala", Journal of Latin American Lore 5, no.1 (1979), pp.83-116; "La Crónica de Indias como texto cultural: Articulación de los códigos icónico y lingüístico en los dibujos de la <<Nueva Coronica>> de Guaman Poma", Revista Iberoamericana 120-121 (1982), pp.461-531. For influences on his thought, see Rolena Adorno, "Bartolomé de Las Casas y Domingo de Santo Tomás en la Obra de Felipe Waman Puma", Revista Iberoamericana 120-121 (1982), pp.673-679. For an analysis of the work's poetry, see Jean-Phillipe Husson, "L'art poétique quechua dans la chronique de Felipe Waman Puma de Ayala", Amerindia 9 (1984), pp.79-110, and Bruce Mannheim, "Poetic form in Guaman Poma's Warisqa Arawi", Amerindia 11 (1986), pp.41-67. On myth and history, see Juan M. Ossio, "Myth and History: The Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala", in Ravindra K. Jain, ed., Text and Context: The Social Anthropology of Tradition, (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human

account of one who shared the tragedy of his people and attempted to remedy the situation through writing. He records his own struggle to present in written form the quipu-based oral tradition and history of his people, in a way which would "give an account of them, thereby ensuring that any judgment passed [on them] would be of value".¹⁸⁶

His work is addressed to the king, and in order to give credence to his work he raises his social status. He gives his ethnic origin as that of the Yarovilcas of Huánuco in north-central Peru, a region conquered by the Incas and part of Chinchaysuyu. But in addition to this, his father becomes the viceroy of the Inca, and an ally of the Spanish following the Conquest. His mother is presented as a *coya*, an Inca queen, while he himself emerges as "prince and author".¹⁸⁷ In the same

Issues, 1977); "Guaman Poma: Nueva corónica o carta al rey. Un intento de aproximación a las categorías del pensamiento del mundo andino", in Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino, ed. Juan M. Ossio, (Lima: Ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), pp.155-213, and Sabine G. McCormack, "Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru", American Historical Review (October 1988), pp.960-1006.

¹⁸⁶ p.8.

¹⁸⁷ Rolena Adorno has shown that he incorporated this new social status during a revision stage of the work. "La Redacción y Enmendación del Autógrafo de la *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*", in El Primer Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, ed. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, (Mexico City: Ed. Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), pp.xl,xli.

way that he reorders social rankings to create this identity, so he recreates Andean history to offer a different version of it from that already given by others.

The work is in two stages--the *corónica* itself, and then the treatise on *buen gobierno*. It concludes with a section on his final travels to Lima to send his work to the king. The work shows that he drew on many sources,¹⁸⁸ and interacted with church materials already published, most notably those of the Third Lima Council.¹⁸⁹ This in itself is testimony to the profound influence of these publications.

In the first section of the work--*nueva corónica*--Andean history is firmly tied into European and Biblical history. Biblical history is divided into five ages, the fifth being that in which the birth of Jesus takes place.¹⁹⁰ The Andeans are also divided into ages, the very first generation "came out of Noah's ark",¹⁹¹ and searched for God using prayers like Habakkuk: "Powerful Lord, how long shall I cry?"

¹⁸⁸ E.g. Augustín de Zárate, Bartolomé de las Casas, José de Acosta, Jerónimo de Oré, and Luis de Granada.

¹⁸⁹ He quotes these extensively in Quechua in the section of *Indios* - pp.821-908.

¹⁹⁰ Jesus is born when the Inca Sinchi Roca was eighty years old; p.31.

¹⁹¹ p.49.

You do not hear me. Although I call, you do not respond to me."¹⁹² This Biblical prayer is equated with the pre-hispanic prayers he quotes elsewhere and comments "with this cry they adored God, and had order and law among them".¹⁹³ Guaman Poma repeatedly points to the similarity between Quechua prayer and that of the Biblical prophets¹⁹⁴ to promote his thesis that biblical and ancient Andean spiritual traditions shared the worship of the true God:

So we Indians are Christians through the redemption of Jesus Christ and his mother the blessed St Mary, patron of this kingdom, and through the apostles of Jesus Christ, St. Bartholomew, St James the elder, and through the holy cross of Jesus who came to this kingdom long before the Spanish.¹⁹⁵

The pre-Conquest presence of Christianity in the Andes

¹⁹² "Capac s^or hayca camam caparisac (v.l. capariptiypas) mana oyariuanquicho. Cayariptipas mana hayniuanquicho". p.50; see also p.78. Adorno finds the source of this quotation in Luis de Granada's Memorial de la vida cristiana. (Guaman Poma, p.60). However, the fact that Guaman Poma quotes the prayer not only in Spanish, but also in Quechua, suggests that either he translated it, or that it came from a liturgical prayer in Quechua, possibly in Oré's materials, with which he was familiar.

¹⁹³ p.54.

¹⁹⁴ The phrase he uses is "diziendo como los profetas".

¹⁹⁵ p.1080. For Guaman Poma St. Bartholomew plays the role that St. Thomas played for Pachacuti Yamqui. (pp.45, 91-94) In the encounter with the "devil", motifs similar to those of the Cristóbal Choquecassa account of Huarochiri occur. It suggests the existence of a common lexical inventory related to the Andean-Christian encounter. (pp.45, 91-95).

invalidates the Spanish idea of their right to invade the region. Not surprisingly, the ideas of the *buen gobierno* coincide with those expressed two generations earlier by the coalition of indigenous leaders and progressive colonists led by Domingo de Santo Tomás.¹⁹⁶ It opposed direct rule by foreigners, and lobbied for the restitution of land and the reinstatement of traditional Andean governors. While Guaman Poma fiercely attacked the parish clergy and both secular and ecclesiastical leaders, he nevertheless promoted the institutionalization of the Christian religion and the creation of a sovereign Andean state which would form part of a universal Christian empire presided over by the Spanish king. He was "in favour of native rule and opposed to colonialism, ...anti-Inca but pro-Andean, anticlerical but pro-Catholic".¹⁹⁷

As a young man Guaman Poma was involved as an interpreter in the anti-idolatry campaign headed by Cristóbal de Albornoz.¹⁹⁸ Yet his writings show an ambivalence toward "idolatry". He argues that in the earlier Andean ages it was completely absent and was

¹⁹⁶ Together with Pachacuti Yamqui, Guaman Poma has an idea of a "golden age" of pure Christianity just after the Conquest.

¹⁹⁷ Adorno, Guaman Poma, p.5.

¹⁹⁸ See p.335, note 37.

introduced by the Incas.¹⁹⁹ Yet, paradoxically, while Guaman Poma is critical of the Incas in his account of pre-Conquest times, once he comes to detail circumstances following the Conquest, he uses the Incas as a standard against which to judge the abuses of the Spanish government.²⁰⁰ The Incas stand accused of "idolatry", as do the Spanish, with their idols of gold and silver.

It is the final journey to Lima with his manuscript that adds the most poignant dimension to Guaman Poma's account. It seems that it was only then that he became aware of what was happening in the anti-idolatry campaigns headed by Francisco de Avila, and he is scandalised by events:

Three old women recounted all their misery and poverty to the author, weeping over all those committing suicide in the town of Hatun Xauxa. They said to him, "Sir, we have fled from the priest Dr. Avila, visitor of the bishopric of the city of kings of Lima, and the valleys of Huarochiri and Jauja".

It is in this context Guaman Poma cries out with tragic irony:

Oh what a good doctor! Where is your soul?
What serpent eats you and skins these sheep
without shepherd or owner, who have no lord?
If they had an owner, he would even yet grieve

¹⁹⁹ "Look, Christian readers, at these people... with their law and their ancient ordinances of the knowledge of God and the Creator. Although they were not taught these, they had the ten commandments, and the good works of mercy and giving to the poor and charity." (p.62)

²⁰⁰ p.657.

for the sheep of Jesus Christ, who gave his blood for them. Where are you, God of heaven? How far away the shepherd and true representative of God, the holy father, is. Where are you Philip, our lord and king?²⁰¹

It is difficult not to hear in these words the echo of the pre-Hispanic prayer to *Viracocha*--"Where are you...?" The matter seems to have come full circle for Guaman, the former extirpator now become "the voice of those who have no voice". He designates himself a *pobre* and his cause is that of the *pobres de Jesucristo*, an expression that repeats itself often. The response to the old women who long for death brings in another dimension: "We have no one who cares. Perhaps our Inca, who is king, will care".²⁰² The combination of the concepts of "Inca" and "rey", would become potent ones in Andean mythology--Inkarri--a hope that would fuel Andean messianism. Yet for the moment, Guaman Poma told them that God would remedy matters and he gave them *ymagenes* so that they could commend themselves to God and the Holy Virgin. But then he went to the Church of Nuestra Señora de Peña de Francia de Santa Clara, and seemingly to no avail.

The illustrations of Guaman Poma are integral to his work, and reveal even more clearly the Andean nature of his thinking. They show the importance of the

²⁰¹ p.1112.

²⁰² Ibid.

Andean categories of complementary dualism and tripartite divisions, and use a symbolism which can only be understood by reference to Andean concepts.²⁰³

One analysis of the illustrations has aimed to isolate distinctive features that create Andean or non-Andean culture, and to determine the "privileged signs" which serve to interpret it. This has led to an identification of dress codes and the use of space as of particular importance.²⁰⁴ Thus the "landscape of Adam in its near perfection becomes and remains the arena of Andean experience".²⁰⁵ Elements of Christian spirituality are transferred to the Andean world, to form a relationship with it, and are changed in the process.²⁰⁶ The maintenance of Andean dress codes implies that integration of the Andean with the Christian does result in the hispanicisation of the Andean or imitation of the foreigners' ways at the expense of his own. Both cultural spaces are held separate, and in contrast to what the written text says of a *mundo*

²⁰³ Mercedes López-Baralt, "La persistencia de las estructuras simbólicas en los dibujos de Guamán Poma de Ayala", Journal of Latin American Lore 5, no.1 (1979), p.93.

²⁰⁴ Rolena Adorno, "On pictorial language and the typology of culture in a New World chronicle", Semiotica 36, no.1/2 (1981), pp.51-106

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.102.

²⁰⁶ E.g. the dove of the Holy Spirit takes on traits of the Andean bird of prey--perhaps significantly for Guaman, whose name means "falcon".

al revés. The illustrations reverse the European model --the Indian represents civilisation and the European barbarity. Thus the drawings, which have been judged by some to be "the acquiescence to an overwhelming force of acculturation", convey instead "an implicit but well-defined counter-message".²⁰⁷

In Guaman Poma Andean ideas and Christian/European ideas come together. Nevertheless his "letter to the king" is deceptive. Writing and the book were symbols of civilisation and authority, and the image was an instrument of proselytism. He subverts the concept of writing by making it a political instrument of his proposal for good government. The visual image, whose traditional role in catechesis he evaluates positively, he uses as a vehicle for affirmation of the Andean concepts and rights.²⁰⁸ He paints a visual image of the *tierra india* as the *tierra en el día*, the place in the sun,²⁰⁹ yet the last image we have of the author is of one struggling with the silence of God--"there is no God, there is no king, he is in Rome and Cas-

²⁰⁷ Adorno, "On pictorial language...", pp.102-104.

²⁰⁸ Mercedes López-Baralt, "La Crónica de Indias como texto cultural: Articulación de los códigos icónico y lingüístico en los dibujos de la <<Nueva Coronica>> de Guaman Poma", Revista Iberoamericana 120-121 (jul.-dic. 1982), pp.483-5.

²⁰⁹ Pp.43,348. The indigenous failure to distinguish /i/ and /e/ facilitates such an interpretation.

tile".²¹⁰ In his journey to Lima he embodies the wandering *Tonopa-Viracocha* of the Andean myths, showing love to the poor, suffering, but in the end poor, tragic, and rejected.

e. Garcilaso de la Vega

Garcilaso de la Vega, the first person of Amerindian descent to be published and read widely throughout Europe, differs from those already considered in being a *mestizo*. His father was a Spanish officer and his mother an Inca princess. In 1560, at the age of twenty-one, he left Peru for Spain, never to return. There he continued his education, showing a particular interest in the writers of the Italian Renaissance. His first published work was the translation from Italian into Spanish of León Hebreo's Dialogos de Amor.²¹¹

Garcilaso's works have been examined from various perspectives.²¹² Our interest here is to consider what

²¹⁰ p.1216.

²¹¹ Carmelo Saenz de Santa María, ed., Obras Completas de Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, vol.1, (Madrid: Ed. Atlas, 1960), pp.15-227.

²¹² For recent studies, see Margaret Zamora, Language, Authority and Indigenous History in the Comentarios Reales de los Incas, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Susana Jakfalvi-Leiva, Traducción, escritura y violencia colonizadora: un estudio de la obra del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, (Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public

his appropriation of the Christian faith may have been and how this related to his Andean origins. His task was to reconcile the Inca experience of the past with the European worldview, in an attempt to restore and ultimately vindicate the indigenous tradition. The work of presenting Andean reality to a Spanish audience was informed by the presuppositions of his earlier work, but also drew on Andean concepts of understanding the past. It not only drew on written sources,²¹³ but also decoded the oral traditions and the quipu memories of his mother's people. He recalls a past conversation:

Inca, uncle, since there is no writing among you which is what preserves the memory of past events, what records do you have of the origin and beginning of our kings?....Nephew, I will happily tell you, but it will repay you to listen to them and keep them in your heart. This is their way of saying "memory".²¹⁴

Forty years later he found the task difficult:

The account of the origin of their kings which that Inca whom I asked, my mother's uncle gave me is lengthy. I have attempted to translate it faithfully from my mother tongue which is that of the Inca, into the foreign one, which is Castilian, although I have not written it with the majesty of words which the Inca spoke, nor with all the meaning that those words of that language have, which by including so much meaning could have been extended much more than I have done; rather I have shortened it, removing what might have made it distasteful; but it will be sufficient to have drawn out their true meaning, which is what

Affairs, 1984).

²¹³ E.g. Augustín de Zárate, Blas Valera.

²¹⁴ Comentarios Reales, vol.1, p.40.

matters for our history.²¹⁵

Just as there had been dissident voices in the Inca empire which presented alternative versions of history, so Garcilaso is a dissident voice in terms of the Spanish version of things. In establishing the "true meaning" he condemns the Toledan policy which executed Tupac Amaru and the Toledan "black legend" of the Incas. Not only so, he presents his own version of Inca history, elevating to higher status those of the *panaca* of his mother, which he knew contradicted references in the work of Blas Valera that he was using.²¹⁶

On the question of the real nature of the New World inhabitant, Garcilaso stood in the Las Casas tradition which had insisted that every person was to be considered equal in the sight of God. Drawing on José de Acosta's providentialist views on the diffusion and development of the human race, Garcilaso presented a first age which had been characterised by barbarism, and a second age--that of the Incas--which saw natural reason abound. It began with Manco Capac, the first Inca:

In the dense darkness in which they dwelt, our Lord God permitted a morning star to appear from among them to give them glimmerings of

²¹⁵ Ibid., p.45.

²¹⁶ María de Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Historia del Tahuantinsuyu, (Lima: IEP, 1990), pp.149f.

natural law, of civilisation, and of the respect men owe to one another. [He allowed] that the descendants of this leader, ever improving, should thus tame those savages and convert them into men, made capable of reason and of receiving good doctrine.²¹⁷

To a Spanish audience the rising of the "morning star" might well echo the coming of Christ. The arrival of the Incas holds a key place in Garcilaso's providentialist rewriting of the Andean past. Lest this point should be lost, he continues:

So that when God, who is the sun of justice, saw fit to send forth the light of his divine rays upon those idolaters, it might find them no longer in their first savagery, but rendered more docile to receive the Catholic faith and the teaching and doctrine of our Holy Mother the Roman church.²¹⁸

The major objection to his view of the Inca empire as the divinely-ordained *praeparatio evangelica*, was the common belief in Spanish discourse that indigenous practices were inspired by the devil. To counter this Garcilaso resorts to the humanist view of language, and the priority it gave to the "original", which, in this case, was Quechua. This enables him to refute the objection for he argues that Acosta, whose writings made this view popular, misunderstood what was happening because he misinterpreted the Quechua expressions, or because the things he related took

²¹⁷ Comentarios reales, p.39.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

place before the Inca empire.²¹⁹ Having set the linguistic record straight, Garcilaso states that the Indians made up the "idolatrous" explanations of certain terms to please the Spanish. The "idolatry" is thereby a Spanish creation with which the Indians had to comply.

In order to present the Inca empire as basically monotheistic, Garcilaso chooses to present the god of the Incas as *Pachacamac*:

The Inca kings and their *amautas* who were their philosophers, perceived by the light of nature the true supreme God our Lord, the maker of heaven and earth, as we shall see from their arguments and phrases some of them applied to the Divine Majesty, whom they called *Pachacamac*.²²⁰

He carefully avoids using the name *Viracocha*, and attributes the use of this name for the indigenous God to the Spanish: "the Spanish in their histories give another name for God, *Tici Viracocha*, whose meaning neither they nor I can give."²²¹ The reason for his avoidance of the term probably lies in the philological option open to Garcilaso--its literal meaning "sea of fat"--which is not a god-concept to commend itself to a European audience.²²²

²¹⁹ Comentarios Reales, vol.1, pp.74-76.

²²⁰ Comentarios Reales, vol.1, pp.66-68.

²²¹ A strange confession from one who used his Quechua knowledge to legitimise his authority. *Ibid.*, p.67.

²²² Zamora, *op.cit.*, p.126.

Garcilaso's rehabilitation of the Andean past bears comparison with the other indigenous chroniclers, yet his achievement was quite unique. By showing the Inca empire to be a divine instrument and an indispensable component in the process of Christianization, "he was able to attribute to Incas and Spaniards analogous roles in the march of all peoples toward Salvation, thus finally uniting the history of the New World with that of the Old."²²³ With the dissemination of his Comentarios Reales the debate on the nature of the American Indian closed "with a resounding affirmation of their full rational and moral capacity".²²⁴ In contrast to Guaman Poma, he integrated the Amerindian and Christian worlds into one providentialist continuum. Its expression in an idiom understood in seventeenth century Europe not only revindicated his people, it helped produce a new myth of the Inca empire, and so fuelled resistance and revolt to Spanish rule in the eighteenth century.

The humanist view of language which he encountered in Spain, together with the commitment of the church to use the Quechua language made it possible for Garcilaso both to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the Spanish as a valid authority, and to refute the

²²³ Zamora, op.cit., p.128.

²²⁴ Ibid., p.168.

arguments of churchmen which had been levelled against his people. The process which began with the translation of Christian texts into his mother tongue, came full circle with the translation of Andean myths, prayers and poems into that of his father; a process made possible by that initial option for the vernacular.

6. Conclusions

This exploration of the indigenous response to the Christian faith covers aspects of Andean life during the period 1560 to 1660 approximately, and shows a multi-faceted response adapted to the changing social, economic and political conditions of that period. It is a response informed and shaped by Andean logic and categories of thought, producing an appropriation which extrapolated from such apparently disparate elements as "errors" in understanding of the faith and visual representations of that same faith.

It is equally a response which embraces Christian and European elements in its articulation, whether in the nature of the discourse itself or the revitalisation of the Andean cult. In part this is made possible by the openness of Andean discourse to change, as expressed in the oral tradition's "rolling corpus" of

myths renewed with each successive conquest. The incorporation of Christian symbols and deities ensured an Andean future in the new framework.

The accommodation of the new in old cosmological map produces a new reality. Yet in the mapping of reality, the shape and organisation of the old and the new are not contiguous, allowing space for indigenous practice in the interstices, and in time producing a composite Andean Christian map. The changing vision of reality introduces new elements and alters relationships of components. Thus traditional roles are redefined, and indigenous functionaries become a vehicle both for introducing Christian and European patterns and institutions to the Andes and for the maintenance of indigenous practices, albeit with increasing convergence of the two.

Perhaps the most striking element of the appropriation of the new is seen in the "writing prophets" of the Andes for whom the new artefact of writing is the vehicle of a distinctive apologetic. They redeem the Andean past, revindicate the people, reassert Andean rights, and reaffirm the abiding validity of Andean concepts of time and history. Fundamental to this is their own language, which ultimately moves onto the European stage to question the whole enterprise of colonisation and in the Andes interacts with Christian

eschatology in the development of the hope of a new
"turning over" of the world and of an Inca *redivivus*.

CHAPTER 6 CHRISTIANISATION OF THE ANDES OR
ANDEANISATION OF CHRISTIANITY?

By 1660 the position of Spain in the world had shifted dramatically. The Spanish defeat by the French at Rocroi in 1643, and the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück in 1648 marked the beginning of a new order of things in Europe. The treaty of the Pyrenees with France in 1659 and the recognition of Portuguese independence in 1668 confirmed the end of Spanish power in Europe. Meanwhile in the New World the growing self-sufficiency of the colonies meant much heavier expenditure by their governments, smaller remittances to Spain, and the consequent weakening of ties with Europe.

The importance of Peru in the colonial world also began to decrease from the mid-seventeenth century as Buenos Aires became the effective axis of the new economic order in South America. In the second half of the seventeenth century colonial life in Peru assumed a certain stability, with an economy based on mining, agriculture, textiles. The increasing costs of silver extraction resulted in greater demands on indigenous resources, a factor which accelerated the displacement of Indians to communities other than their own and to larger urban areas as *forasteros*. In 1681 existing legislation was brought together in the Recopilación

de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, and remained in force until independence in the early nineteenth century. After reaching its lowest point around 1650, the population trend was reversed. An incipient class system became clearer in an increasingly *mestizo* Peru, which was then developing its own distinctive art and music.¹

1. Idolatry, church, and society

For over a century the question of indigenous practices gave rise to differing opinions among churchmen. From initial moves to suppress these practices, they assumed priority in the Church's polemic against "idolatry", which culminated in the extirpation campaigns. It was not so much a matter of promoting orthodoxy as of providing a tool to control and exploit the indigenous population, and to achieve and maintain economic and political power.

By the second half of the seventeenth century the colonial church was firmly established. In 1646, almost at the time the second wave of anti-idolatry campaigns was launched, its first saint was canonised, St. Rose of Lima. In 1649 the commissioning of new *extirpadores* was ironically part of the same service

¹ Manuel Marzal, La transformación religiosa peruana, (Lima: PUCP, 1983), p.62.

in Lima Cathedral as the solemn dedication of the *lignum crucis* sent by Pope Urban VIII to the Lima archdiocese. The stress at the same period of the Festival of the Holy Cross² and the *Santissimo Sacramento*,³ marked the colonial Church's continuity with Spain's late medieval piety.

Outwith the Cathedral the face of the Church bore different features, with indigenous practices continuing. Even so the questionable effects of the extirpation campaigns pointed to the need for a new approach to the matter. In the mid-seventeenth century Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, the Bishop of Quito, reformulated the question. His Itinerario para parrochos de Indios⁴ was intended as a handbook for priests, covering all eventualities of parish life. In giving priests guidelines for recognising idolatry, he argued that idolatry must be understood in terms of the intention of the worshipper, and not based on the nature of the object worshipped. The great majority of Indians did not attribute divinity to the idols, they were simply mistaken. Allowances should be made for their "lack of capacity". A second group knew that there was only one God and believed sincerely, yet out of fear they felt the need to propitiate the idols--

² Villagómez, op. cit., p.266.

³ Ibid., p.203.

⁴ Madrid: Joseph Fernández de Buendía, 1668.

they committed a mortal sin. A third group, relatively few in number, committed *latria total y consumada*, and were either heretics or apostates, and must be opposed and punished.⁵ Montenegro's definition of idolatry meant that virtually all Indians were classed as Christians.

This did not mean that there was no "idolatry",⁶ but it signalled a different approach from that of Archbishop Villagómez. "Idolatry" continued as a powerful metaphor in the maintenance of the fabric of colonial society. In 1666, in Montenegro's Quito, Alonso Florencia Inca proclaimed himself "king of the Indians" to an enthusiastic response from the indigenous population. The movement awakened the memory of the past (and hence *gentilidad*) and was suppressed--apparently on religious grounds, but in reality on political ones. "Where power could be legitimately constructed by revealing the continuing

⁵ Ibid., Lib II, Trat.IV, Sess.IV, f.150.

⁶ He took a long-term view of the Church's teaching task, since "although they have had preachers, teachers, and priests for 135 years endeavouring to take them out of their errors, they have not been able to remove them from their hearts. Thus their children's actions come from their ancestors, so although they were born with free will, this evil comes in the blood. It is in the milk they suck from their mothers, and establishes its empire within". Ibid., Lib.II, Trat.IV, Sess.1, f.176.

force of origins, the uncovering of idolatry was necessarily a major political force".⁷

Much further south, in north-west Argentina in 1656 the Andalusian Pedro de Bohórquez, a Spanish adventurer with no knowledge of Quechua, presented himself to the bilingual Kakana and Quechua-speaking *ex-mitimaes* as Pedro Titaquinhualpa, brother of the Inca. He was proclaimed Inca and led an indigenous rebellion against the Spanish. He was finally captured and executed in Lima in 1667.

Such incidents show that "the idea of the Inca as image and model of a society where there were no wrongs proved attractive to people living on the margins of *Tahuantinsuyu*".⁸ It is questionable whether the memory of the past would have been preserved and extended without the Church's option for the vernacular a century earlier, and the detailing of indigenous rituals and beliefs in sacramental con-

⁷ Carlos R. Espinosa Fernández de Córdoba, "The Fabrication of Andean Particularism", Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines 18, no.2, pp.269-298. The continuing importance of origins has not been given sufficient weight by Espinosa in arriving at the conclusion that the events surrounding Alonso "signal an incorporation of the Andean on Spanish terms and not a reading of the Spanish in an Andean framework" (p.289). See Luis Millones, Historia y Poder, p.190.

⁸ Luis Millones, in plenary address, "Jornadas de Reflexión: 1492-1992". University of Lima, 27 August 1990.

texts. It was an underlying factor in the reappropriation of the Inca ideal in an area wider than that of the empire, which was part of the messianic and utopian element in the later colonial and republican period.

By the 1660s such movements were seen as a political rather a religious threat. There was neither the same delineation of the indigenous problem as before nor, in an increasingly *mestizo* Peru, a sense of urgency in evangelisation. The liturgy, the Church feasts, popular devotion at shrines, and pilgrimages, rather than evangelisation characterised church life.⁹ In the confraternities alone mechanisms of "permanent evangelisation" had by this date been institutionalised "through the festive round of the calendrical catechism".¹⁰ There was a tacit assumption of the Christianisation of the Andes as an accomplished fact.

⁹ Spanish became more dominant, though the activities of men like Sancho de Melgar some decades later show that a concern for the communication of the faith in the indigenous language was a live issue for some.

¹⁰ Platt, "Andean soldiers...", p.173.

2. The Christianisation of Peru and the role of the vernacular.

The implantation of Christianity in Peru began amidst the destruction and social dislocation of the Conquest and its aftermath. Although the initial evangelisation was uneven, the clash of the European and the Andean worlds forced upon the peoples of the Andes an openness to a re-ordering of reality. It raised issues as basic as those of ultimate authority, time and history, community and personhood. For the colonial power it brought into question the accepted ideas of Christendom and its territorial imperatives, challenged at the level of their theological justification.

In both cultures religion and language played key roles in the establishment of hegemony in a region. Following the conquest the language issue featured prominently in the debates over the administration and evangelisation of the Andes. It led to adoption of the vernacular by the Church, a policy pursued with varying degrees of success well into the seventeenth century. This facilitated the implantation of the Christian faith, but in so doing it gave validity both to the indigenous language and to the culture which it encoded. The message of the Christian faith was appropriated in Andean thought forms. Church practices

helped preserve the memory of the indigenous past, and even the indigenous cult itself, albeit in a modified form.

The Church's option for the vernacular presented major problems, especially as it conflicted with its need to be faithful to European formulations of the faith, underpinned as they were by a Scholastic understanding of language and theology. In the first phase of the Church's activity until around 1570 the urgency to communicate resulted in what later was thought to be an indiscriminate appropriation of the vernacular. The second phase, from about 1570 to 1660, was characterised by a more nuanced appropriation which preserved key theological terms in Spanish, and attempted to redefine certain fundamental indigenous concepts. A concentration on meaning at word level, however, allowed other aspects of the total language context to shift Christian ideas into the indigenous domain. In the third phase, which may be dated from the mid-seventeenth century, there was both a shift to Spanish and an idealisation of the vernacular. The greater readiness to use vernacular concepts in Church formulations suggests that the indigenous language and culture were no longer thought to present a threat to the Church or colonial society.

The second phase was definitive for the colonial church, most notably in the production of vernacular catechetical materials, liturgical forms and pastoral guides. An education system based on creed and catechism pursued the twin aims of Christianising and civilising a population regarded essentially as children by the Church. Songs, sacraments, sermons, and Scripture in the vernacular were the vehicles for reshaping the Andean world, but the rhetoric of irony and vituperation that often characterised them vitiated these intentions. Nevertheless these formulations of the Church's theology in the vernacular represent a major achievement, and had far-reaching effects on the Andean conception of reality. However, due to inadequacies at the level of translation and communication, and the transforming nature of the translation act itself, the faith itself underwent change as it took root in the Andes.

The change was not uni-directional. The Andean appropriation of the faith meant incorporation of the new, and brought about a fusion of the two. The Church's choice of god-language was fundamental in ensuring the continuation of indigenous concepts, even at the heart of the new faith, while those same concepts experienced redefinition in the colonial context. Evidence of the coming together of the two is found in the indigenous "writing prophets", who in

their different ways set out to vindicate their people and culture, and to establish Christianity as a legitimate child of the Andean past--an argument in which language, religion and symbol were inseparably linked.

3. Symbol, language and religion¹¹

The rituals and institutions of the Christian faith were more readily established in the Andes than beliefs and ethical norms. The external was apparently easier to impose, but it could equally serve as a vehicle for continuing indigenous practice, such as confraternity celebrations, under the guise of the new. It could also be decoded according to the iconic inventory of the indigenous culture.

In a world constructed through the meaning and power of its symbols, myths and rituals, successive ruling groups re-appropriated and redefined these. By their

¹¹ The following interpretation draws on the model developed by David Chidester in "Religious Studies as Political Practice in South Africa", Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 58 (March 1987), pp.4-17, and "Stealing of Sacred Symbols: Biblical Interpretation in the People's Temple and the Unification Church", Religion 18 (1988), pp.137-162. For a consideration of the validation of political hierarchies and economic relations in terms of ritual and religion, see Irene Silverblatt, "Political Memories and Colonizing Symbols: Santiago and the Mountain Gods of Colonial Peru" in Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past, ed. Hill, Jonathan D., (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp.174-194.

interpretation they legitimated their own power, either incorporating or alienating certain aspects of the preceding system. This process took place in the idiom of religion, and meant the denial of legitimacy to what went before, even when re-appropriating it. Each group invested in such symbols, but the nature of Andean polity and the tensions between ethnicity and the ruling élite, and between region and empire, tempered the power of the ruling group and countermanded attempts to bring in a radically new system. The Andean parameters asserted themselves, and the universe of discourse remained the same, even if it was re-centred and its elements redefined. In the case of the Church, an extra-Andean power, these parameters were not operational in the same sense. Besides, the colonial authorities believed they had sufficient power to bring in a whole new system, by force if need be.

The introduction of that system to the Andes meant the denial of the legitimacy of the religion of the conquered, complete with its symbols. In destroying the tangible symbols of the indigenous religion, the Church had to establish its own authoritative "text" and spell out its nature. The limits of this were therefore defined from origins to *eschaton*. The Church claimed exclusive ownership of the "text" and the sacred symbols, and arrogated to itself the sole right

to interpret them. Meaning and interpretation lay at the heart of this question of authority, which was backed up where necessary by the coercive violence of the colonial authorities.

There could be no religious pluralism, so the varied manifestations of *gentilidad* were reduced to "idolatry". This meant that the Church could attempt to define the symbols of power and re-centre and re-order space, mapping anew the whole of reality. The negation of the indigenous understanding of space meant the imposition of a different "map" which suppressed the Andean points of reference.¹² This changed cosmovision implied a different personhood for the Andean. Since the new faith demanded a break with the past, this was no longer rooted in ancestors and community, but in salvation history and the Church itself.

Such an attempt did not go undisputed, for "the dialectic of appropriation and alienation is inherently ambivalent".¹³ It was not possible to ensure that there would not be competing acts of appropriation. The conquered could re-appropriate and subvert these

¹² In the social and economic world this was epitomised by the Andean who was a *forastero* in his own world.

¹³ Chidester, "Stealing of Sacred Symbols", p.158.

symbols by a competing interpretation. This involved "manoeuvring sacred symbols in the public arena",¹⁴ --political and religious strategies related to the process of "stealing back and forth of symbols".

At the moment of conquest *Santiago* was a sacred symbol of power and victory. It was appropriated by the vanquished as a symbol of power but in the sense of the control of the threatening elements, taking on the role of *Illapa*, the indigenous "sky-god" and more.¹⁵ At the same time the conqueror appropriated the indigenous symbol of *Viracocha*, a key figure in the corpus of myths and origins, extending it to all Spanish. They took on not only the power but the ambivalence and unpredictability of the indigenous concept, ultimately desacralising the concept through their laicisation and use of it.¹⁶

¹⁴ Chidester, "Religious Studies...", p.15.

¹⁵ For an understanding of this related to the mercantilism which had replaced traditional Andean economics, see Silverblatt, op.cit.

¹⁶ The underlying principle of the *Viracocha* concept was that of one who brings order, the founder of a particular lineage, including the new lineage of the Spanish. Urbano suggests that the myth cycle also shows an Andean hero who is "astute, devious, successful in business and other affairs". These reflect pre-Christian aspects of *Viracocha* which were eliminated in the post-Conquest identification of *Viracocha* as the Andean creator god. "La Invención Andina del Hombre, de la Cultura y de la Sociedad y los Ciclos Míticos Judeo-cristianos", Boletín de Lima 8, no.46 (Julio 1986), p.54.

The evidence cited in ch.2 suggests that while the term *apu* was attributed to the *numina* at the time of the conquest, this usage was not widespread, though the "secular" use of the term was.¹⁷ This term of power and authority was appropriated by the conqueror and sacralised in terms of the supreme being of the Christian pantheon. Subsequently it was reappropriated by the Andeans to be applied much more widely to the ultimates of Andean existence, which were both displaced to and confirmed in the natural phenomena by the attack on the *huacas*. In the seventeenth century *apu* was applied to peaks in areas as distant geographically as Cuzco and Cajatambo.

A creation-based Christian theology made the sacralisation of natural phenomena impossible for the Church, though the re-mapping of the physical universe did take place through the symbol of the Cross, and was later also marked by the shrines commemorating theophanies.¹⁸ However the identification of the Cross and the site of the *huanca* with functions related to the protection, fertility and fecundity of the

¹⁷ Pp.143-6.

¹⁸ Michael Sallnow speaks of the "resacralisation of the Andes", op.cit., pp.75-98. On the Andean aspects of the cross as a symbol, see Gary Urton, "Celestial Crosses: The Cruciform in Quechua Astronomy", JLAL 6:1 (1980), pp.87-110.

community, led to an indigenous re-appropriation of the Cross in those terms.

The prior act of appropriation--that of language--was fraught with danger for the Church, as the hesitations and careful definitions suggest. Reinterpretations were made to accommodate church doctrine and to invalidate indigenous concepts.¹⁹ Terms which were appropriated but which could not so easily be redefined, had their indigenous legitimacy undermined by the Church's apologetic.²⁰ The underside of the its rhetoric of irony was the rejection of a whole structure of meanings.

The creation of a "church Quechua" based on the language of the imperial elite ultimately flawed the aim of the conservation and communication of orthodoxy as understood by the Church. In addition, once created and declared authoritative, the "sacred texts" could (and did) become instruments of oppression. The prostitution of the "word" in the service of social control and exploitation fuelled an indigenous reaction. In some cases even the Church's interpreta-

¹⁹ E.g. the use of *camac* and the denial of *camaque* in an effort to present the Christian creator concept.

²⁰ E.g. the appropriation of *yaya* ("father") from kinship terminology and the indigenous cult required the denial of multiple origins in favour of the Christian "one father".

tion of its own carefully defined text was challenged in an attempt to undermine the legitimacy of its actions. The indigenous "writing prophets" took this further by appropriating the powerful symbol of writing in an attempt to legitimise their own cultural expressions within the colonial framework.

Language was a major factor in ensuring that the system was not interpreted according to the wish of the powerful, for it could not be imposed without being translated and decoded, both of which took place in terms of the existing system of meaning. The assimilation of Christian concepts was on Andean terms, but it was not a mere juxtaposition of the two. This can be exemplified by the rite of confession, common to both systems. The conceptual individualisation encouraged by Christian confession ran counter to the community consciousness of the "penitent", but the systems co-existed and informed each other. The *quipu* validated the Christian practice, the sign of the Cross and Christian prayers enhanced the indigenous rite. The taxonomy of sin was essentially Andean, but the "sins of thought" so important to the church also began to find a place. In producing a continuum of responses there were a number of key elements in the changes that took place--the in-

indigenous leadership, changing demographic patterns, economic changes--all of which merit extended study.²¹

At the level of discourse a new rationality entered in, whether based on the model of the sermon or *plática*, on the rhetoric used by the Church, or on legal procedures. Yet for the Andean the word is so bound to the image that imageal thinking and iconic representation provide a context which both filters and forms understanding.²² It was the church's very readiness to use the indigenous language--even with the caveats--and its imagery that both ensured that Christianity came to the Andes and that it was subverted by the Andean. The option for the vernacular means that one can speak only of the Christianisation of the Andes in the early colonial period, if one also speaks of the Andeanisation of Christianity. Far from bringing about the disintegration the native Andean

²¹ On the role of indigenous leaders, see, for example, Luis Millones, "Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas of the Central Sierra", Ethnohistory 26, no.3 (1979), pp.143-263; on demographic factors in religious change, see Wightman, op.cit., pp.106-112, 231-238; on economic change and religion see most recently Silverblatt, op.cit., pp.187-191.

²² On Andean iconography see the works already cited in ch.5 with regard to Guaman Poma, and Teresa Gisbert, Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte, (La Paz: Gisbert, 1980); Arte Textil y Mundo Andino, (La Paz: Gisbert, 1987).

practices, Christianity introduced a unifying discourse.²³

4. From the later colonial period to the contemporary world: continuing questions

From the mid-seventeenth century there was "crystallisation" in the religious situation in which the indigenous population accepted the legitimacy of the catholic religious system, as a valid intermediary with the ultimates of existence. The continued practice of the Andean cult at regional level, however, shows that they did not accord it exclusivity. A series of reinterpretations of Christian elements took place from the indigenous cultural matrix and embedded many indigenous elements in the new system. Demographic change and population movement continued to contribute to religious change.²⁴

The Sixth Lima Council took place in 1772, but it was relatively unimportant, and was not even recognised by the Pope. It did nevertheless order reprints of the pastoral materials of the Third Council. The *catecismo de San Toribio* remained in force until the next Church

²³ Though it did not thereby introduce cosmological uniformity. (Bruce Mannheim, personal communication).

²⁴ Wightman, op.cit., pp.231-238.

council to deal with the region, the plenary Latin American Council held in Rome in 1899. But the picture of church life as fairly stable and unchanged in the eighteenth century may be illusory; "the real weight of Catholic dogmas and beliefs in Andean religion of the eighteenth century remains to be investigated".²⁵

It was a period marked by indigenous movements and revolts, some quite localised and others of wide-reaching significance.²⁶ Myth, language, Christian symbol, and text played an important part in these movements. The Jesuit-trained Juan Santos Atahualpa who in 1743 set up a kingdom of Quechua and Campa Indians on the eastern slopes of the Andes in central Peru was the self-proclaimed incarnation of *apu Inca* and Jesus Christ. The currents of thought leading up to the major uprising in 1780 led by the bilingual *cacique* José Gabriel Condorcanqui (or Tupac Amaru II) involved a significant role for the Biblical narrative, especially that of the Exodus. His appropriation of the Christian text provided a Biblical precedent to

²⁵ Jan Szeminski, "Why Kill the Spaniard? New Perspectives on Andean Insurrectionary Ideology in the 18th Century" in Steve Stern, ed., Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th. to 20th. Centuries, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p.191.

²⁶ See Stern, *ibid.*; Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, Rebellions and revolts in eighteenth century Peru and upper Peru, (Köln: Böhlau, 1985).

validate and justify the rebellion.²⁷ Following the defeat of the rebels the viceregal authorities banned the Quechua language and the works of Garcilaso de la Vega. Some years later, in 1805, there was another uprising in Cuzco. The leaders based their messianic ideas on a reading of Scripture which, though unorthodox, "was nevertheless a reading of Scripture".²⁸

At the time of independence there was a renewed interest in the Bible and in the indigenous language.²⁹ Interest in the indigenous people revived in the late nineteenth century, and was characterised by a romanticism and idealism associated with the language and the Inca empire. The political dimensions of this were represented by an *indigenista* author such as Clorinda Matto de Turner, whose Aves sin Nido

²⁷ Alberto Flores Galindo, Buscando un inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes, (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agraria, 1987), pp.118-9; Szeminski, op.cit., pp.168, 174-9.

²⁸ Flores Galindo, *ibid.*, p.165.

²⁹ A return to the Bible had been promoted in the Catholic Enlightenment, particularly through the works of Benito Gerónimo Feijóo, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Claude Fleury and Juan Mabillón. The exiled Chilean Jesuit Manuel Lacunga, who popularised the sixteenth century work of Francesco Ribero, was also influential through his La venida de Mesías en Gloria y Majestad, parts of which were printed and distributed by 1785. The complete work was published in Spain in 1812. See William Mitchell, "James Thomson and Bible Translation in Andean Languages", Bible Translator 41, no.3 (1990), pp.341-345; "Diego Thomson: A study in Scotland and South America", Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies, forthcoming.

attacked the Church's treatment of the Indians. She later embraced the Protestant faith and translated most of the New Testament into Quechua in the early twentieth century.³⁰

The last thirty years have seen significant developments in the same area. The Catholic church has experienced the changes brought in the wake of the Second Vatican Council,³¹ and the protestant churches have grown dramatically, especially since the agrarian reform instituted by the military government headed by Juan Velasco.³² The contemporary situation in central and southern Peru is characterised by other social phenomena, from the Sendero Luminoso guerrilla movement to the Israelites of the New Universal Cove-

³⁰ For other movements at this time, see Wilfredo Kapsoli, Ayllus del sol: anarquismo y utopía andina, (Lima: TAREA, 1984). For a movement associated with the early beginnings of Protestantism in southern Peru, see Samuel Escobar, La Fe Evangélica y las Teologías de la Liberación, (El Paso, Tx.: Casa Bautista de Publicaciones, 1987), pp.18-20.

³¹ See Stephen Judd's judicious work, "The Emergent Andean Church: Inculturation and Liberation in Southern Peru, 1968-1986", Ph.D thesis, (Berkeley, Graduate Theological Union, 1987).

³² 1968-75. This is paralleled by similar phenomena in Bolivia and Ecuador, though the phases occur at different dates.

nant,³³ both in their way an expression of Andean messianism.

This study of the role of the vernacular in the evangelisation of Peru in the early colonial period, opens the way for a similar consideration in the late colonial, republican and contemporary situations. In that first century after the Conquest, the church's option for the vernacular as the indispensable tool of evangelisation of the Andes, led to the subverting of orthodox Christianity by the language to produce a form of Christianity authentically Andean but unquestionably Christian. The Christian faith was appropriated in terms of the systems of meaning existing in the society and enshrined in the indigenous language. These factors must now be examined in terms of their role in later Andean culture history, for they raise questions which go beyond a mere documenting of the history of ideas to the intellectual, cultural, and religious development of society.

This study also brings into sharp focus the translation factor as a fundamental element in the expansion

³³ Kenneth D. Scott, "Privileged Peru: The Israelites of the New Universal Covenant", Ph.D thesis, (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1989).

of Christianity.³⁴ Regarding translation itself, it underlines the importance of the total communication event, from the origin of the message to its appropriation and earthing in reality, as well as those dimensions beyond word and discourse. It must also be asked whether the translation factor is distinctively Christian, or whether it reflects a socio-cultural dynamic which can be identified in other contexts.³⁵ The foregoing investigation suggests that it is not on its own a sufficient condition for change, but is part of a wider process. Recent developments in Peru would also suggest that it can operate in non-Christian contexts. The contemporary Sendero Luminoso traces its origin to the Peruvian Marxist José Carlos Mariátegui who brought together religion, myth and Marxism in his thinking. For Mariátegui "it was essential that Marxism be expressed in Quechua",³⁶ and part of the dynamism of the Sendero Luminoso derives from its use of the vernacular.³⁷

³⁴ On the implications of Scripture translation in relation to cultural history, see Lamin Sanneh, Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture, (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989).

³⁵ Max L. Stackhouse, Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization, and Mission in Theological Education, (Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1988), p.59.

³⁶ Flores Galindo, op.cit., p.285. See whole section on "The power of myth", pp.266-285.

³⁷ The definition of Sendero Luminoso as not specifically Christian has to be qualified by its emergence in a context informed by centuries of Christian presence, where even the messianism is a result of the interaction of Andean and Christian ideas.

The option for the vernacular not only legitimates the vernacular, it becomes the womb through which the Christian faith is born into a culture. The pattern of the Incarnation, which is at the heart of Christianity, is in some sense repeated. There is a retranslation from the original to a distinctive form in a given culture, which repeats itself in a series of specific translations. This raises questions of the extent to which this leads to "infinite Christian diversity", and of what the criteria might be for recognising these diverse forms as authentically Christian--a matter of vital interest to the Church in the contemporary debate on church, sect and new religious movements. Translatability may be seen to represent a radical pluralism which "promotes cultural particularity while affirming in God its relativizing universal".³⁸

The issue raised by the Andean "writing prophets" continues to be a live one for the Church: in what way is God at work in a culture prior to the arrival of Christianity? The outworking of the vernacular

Mariátegui himself owed much to the Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno, and to the Scottish presbyterian missionary John A. Mackay. More recently the anthropologist Efraín Morote Best, one of the Sendero ideologues, was for many years in close contact and dialogue with presbyterian missionaries in the Ayacucho area.

³⁸ Sanneh, op.cit., p.203.

principle in the Andes suggests that Christ became whatever had ultimate significance in that culture, yet transforming it at the same time. A study of contemporary myths is necessary to evaluate the extent to which this is so, in order to determine the place Christ now holds in the myth. Has Christ been absorbed and neutralised by the myth, or is the myth re-ordered around Christ who becomes the new point of reference for understanding life?³⁹ Can the Andean past be affirmed (rather than having some marginalised existence in *ukhu pacha*) by Christ fulfilling the Andean "Old Testament", in an analogous way to that posited by Christian theologians with regard to the Jewish Scriptures?

The Second Vatican Council marked a return to the vernacular by the Catholic Church. In the contemporary social ferment that is Latin America this has produced unexpected results. In Peru

all kinds of religious sects put down their roots and multiply their meeting places in the shanty towns and rural communities. Many of them are spontaneous splinter groups from protestant missions, others, stimulated by new ideologies, are break-offs from traditional catholicism, while still others are "home-grown". *As at the time of the Reformation, the growth of literacy and the Bible put in the hands of the masses of the people ignite a new religiosity, intransigent in its evangelisa-*

³⁹ Carlos Mesters, "Consideraciones sobre la catequesis de los pueblos indígenas", in Iglesia, Pueblos y Culturas 2: Reflexiones teológicas sobre la Evangelización de los Pueblos Indígenas, ed. Botasso, Juan, (Quito: Ediciones Abya Yala, 1986), p.190.

tion of the poor, and meeting the formal structures of the Church head-on, identified as these structures are with the apparatus of the State".⁴⁰

For the first time since the Conquest the complete Bible is now available in the Andean languages, Quechua and Aymara, and raises afresh the issues of translation and appropriation and its role in religious and cultural change.⁴¹

Finally as 1992 approaches with its debate over the effects of the preceding five hundred years on the sub-continent, the study alerts us to the use and abuse of words, symbols and images, and to the way in which both theology may underwrite the legitimacy of acts of appropriation and, tragically, "the truth which frees" becomes ideology which oppresses. In fact "no one owns the morphology of the sacred",⁴² a realisation which should infuse our partial approximations to truth with humility.

⁴⁰ José Matos Mar, Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado: El Nuevo Rostro del Perú en la Década de 1980, (Lima: IEP, 1984), p.63. (Italics mine).

⁴¹ On the question of the Old Testament, see William Mitchell, "The Old Testament and the Andean Peoples", UBS Bulletin, 148-9 (1987), pp.123-132.

⁴² Chidester, "Religious Studies...", p.17.

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THE APPROPRIATION OF THE QUECHUA LANGUAGE BY THE
CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANISATION OF PERU IN THE
SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Appendices

La confession general¹

1 Yo muy gran peccador, me cõfesso y digo todos mis
 2 peccados a Dios, y a Sancta Maria, y a Sancto
 3 Domingo y a todos los Sanctos, y a vos padre, que
 4 he peccado mucho, en mal pensar, en mal hablar,
 5 hablando en vano, comiendo y beuiendo demasiado
 6 mal obrando, riyendo, haziêdo burla de otros,
 7 andando en balde, jugando, jurãdo, siêdo
 8 negligente y perezoso en biê obrar. Por tanto, de
 9 todos ellos mis peccados me pesa y me emêdare
 10 dellos, y no boluere mas a peccar. Y ruego a
 11 Señora Sancta Maria Virgen, y Madre de Dios,

1 Noca ancha hochallicocmi, appodiosta, Sancta
 2 Mariacta, Sancto Domingocta, llapa Diospa yananta
 3 hochayta villani. Cã padrectapas hochallicusqayta
 4 villayqui. Nanac hochallicurcani, mana allicta
 5 yuyaspa, mana allicta rimaspa, cacimanta
 rimaspapas, yallispa micuspa, yallispa upiaspapas,
 6 mana allicta ruraspa, accispa accipayaspa, yanga
 7 porispa, yanga pucllaspa,
 8 allincacta rurangaypac quecllacuspa. Chayrayco,
 9 cay llapa hochallicosqaymãta llaquipuni,
 guanassacmi, fispas.
 10 Manãnatac hochallicossacchu,
 11 Señora Sancta Maria tazqui Diospa mamanta

1 I being a great sinner, recount my sin to
 God the powerful one, to Holy Mary,
 2 to St. Dominic, [and] to all God's servants.
 3 To you too, father, I recount my sin.
 4 I have sinned greatly, thinking what is not good,
 5 speaking what is not good, speaking carelessly,
 going beyond in eating, going beyond in drinking,
 6 doing what is not good, laughing, ridiculing,
 7 living to no purpose, playing idly,
 8 being lazy regarding the good I should do.
 9 Therefore I am truly sad about all that I have
 done wrong, "I will correct myself", saying.
 10 I will sin no longer,
 11 I ask the Lady Holy Mary, young woman, Mother of God,

¹ Domingo de Santo Tomás, Lexico o vocabulario de la lengua general de los indios del Perú, facsimile edition, Raúl Porras B., ed., (Lima: Universidad Mayor Nacional de San Marcos, 1951), p.18.

12 y a todos los Sanctos ruegen a Dios por mi,
13 y a vos padre rogueys a Dios por mi, y en su
nombre
14 me absoluays dellos. Amen.

12 llapa diospa yanancquantac mochani, pay appodios
ruraquencchicta ñoca hochallicocpac mochapuan-
ganpac,
13 cam padrepas appodiospa randincac,
14 hochallicuscaymâta quispichiuay. Amen.

12 with all who serve God to ask God the powerful
one, our maker, on behalf of me a sinner,
13 and you too Father who are instead of God,
14 "Save me from what I have done wrong". Amen.

Platica para todos los Indios¹

1 Hermanos & hijos mios, a todos vosotros os amo y
 2 quiero mucho, como a mis propios hijos, por tanto
 3 os quiero dezir los mandamientos de dios, para que
 4 seays sus hijos y amigos suyos. Por esso estad
 5 atentos, y oydme bien esto que os quiero dezir.
 6 Nosotros todos los hombres, no somos como los
 7 caualllos, ni como las ovejas, no como los leones,
 8 ni como las demas cosas bivas, Porque los
 9 caualllos, los leones, y todas las otras cosas que
 10 biuen, quando mueren, el cuerpo, y el anima todo
 11 juntamente muere, pero nosotros los hombres no
 12 somos assi.

Llapa runaconapac conasca

1 Vauquijcona churijcona llapayquichicta
 2 churij sinacta coyayquichic.
 3 Chaypac dios ruraquẽchicpa camachicuscãta
 villascayquichic,
 4 paypa churinc pay manta coyascam cãgayquichicpac.
 5 Chay rayco, alli oyariyuaychic cay ñiscayta,
 6 ñoca~chic llappa runacona, mana cauallocona sina,
 7 mana llama sinachu, mana poma sinachu,
 8 mana yma ayca cauçacona sinachu canchic.
 9 Pay cauallloscona, pomacona, yma ayca cauçacona,
 10 guanuptinc, ayca songongan, sinantin tucuy
 11 guañuc. ñocãchic llappa runacona manaracmi
 12 caysina canchicchu,

Advice for all men

1-2 My brothers and children, I love all of you like
 my own children,
 3 therefore I will tell you what God our maker has
 commanded,
 4 in order that you may be children whom he loves.
 5 Therefore listen carefully to what I say to you.
 6 We humans are not like horses,
 7 nor llamas, nor pumas,
 8 nor like any other living things.
 9 When horses, pumas and all other living things
 10 die, the flesh and the heart die together.
 11 None of us humans
 12 are like that,

¹ Domingo de Santo Tomás, Grammatica, pp.188-207.

13 que quando morimos, nosotros, y vamos deste mundo,
14 solamente muere nuestro cuerpo. Mas nuestra anima
15 y spiritu, este hombre interior (que aca dentro
16 tenemos,) nunca muere, para siempre jamas biue. Y
17 los que son hijos de Dios (por sus sacramentos) y
18 son buenos y guardan sus mandamientos, van alla al
19 cielo (que es la morada de Dios) a donde estaran
20 con el en muy gran gozo, gloria y alegria,
21 descanso, y recreacion siempre jamas. Los que
22 fueren peccadores y malos y no obedecen ni guardan
23 sus mandamientos, quando mueren, sus animas yran
24 al infierno (que es la casa y morada de los
25 demonios), y alli estaran para siempre peñado,

13 Guañuptincchic,
14 cay aychallanchic tullullanchic çapalla guañuc
are,
15 Songonchic camaquenichic ucupicac runanchic,
16 viñay viñaypac mana guañucchu, viñaypac cauçãga.
17 Diospa churinc caccona, paypa onãchaguan onãchasca
caspã,
18 paypa camachusanta guacaychaspapas,
19 ña guañuptinc, hananpachaman paypa guacinman
ringã, chaypi
20-1 payguan viñaypac ancha cusicuspa tianganpac,
22-3 Mana allicac runacona, mana diospa
camachusanta huñiccona, ña guañuptinc
24 ucupachaman çupaypa guaciman ringã,
25 chaypi ñacaricuspa tianganpac payguan, viñaypac,

13 when we die
14 only our flesh, only our bones die. Yes.
15 Our "heart", our life force, our inner man,
16 they never ever die--they live for ever.
17 Those who are God's children, marked with his
signs,
18 and keeping what he has commanded,
19 when they now die they go to the upper world, to
his house, there
20-1 they will be for ever, rejoicing greatly.
22-3 People who are not good, who do not obey what
God has commanded, when they now die
24 they will go to the inner world, to the house of
the "devil",²
25 and will suffer there with him for ever.

² As explained in chapter 3, the church appropriated the term for shadow or phantom--çupay--to translate "devil" and "demon".

26 Y pues ha de ser assi, que las animas de los
27 buenos, despues que mueren, han de yr al cielo,
28 a tener gran gloria con dios, y las de los malos
29 con el demonio al infierno con pena para siempre.
30 Oydme bien esto que os quiero dezir, para que vays
31 al cielo, escapando os del infierno. Primero mucho
32 tiempo ha, no auia cielo, ni sol, ni luna, ni
33 estrellas, ni auia este mundo inferior, ni en el
34 auia ouejas, ni venados, ni zorras, ni aues, ni
35 mar ni pexes, ni arboles, ni otra cosa alguna.
36 Solamente entonces auia Dios, que jamas tuuo, ni
37 tiene principio, ni tendra fin. Y quando le plugo,
38 y fue servido, hizo y crio el cielo, la tierra,

26-9 Chaysina caspa,³

30 alli diospa camachiscanta oyarichiscayquichic,
31 hananc pachaman ringayquichicpac, mana alli
32 çupaymanta quispispa.
32 ñaupá ancha pacaricpi, mana hananc pacha, mana
33 indi, mana quilla,
33 mana cuyllor carcacachu, mana caypacha carcachu,
34 manaracmi cay pachapi llama, mana lluychu, mana
35 atoc carcachu, mana pisco,
35 mana cocha, mana challua, mana çacha, mana ymapas,
36 mana sucllapas carcachu.
36 Dios ruraquëchic çapalla viñaymãta carca,
37 Pay monascam manta,
38 hanãc pachacta, cay pachacta,

26-9 Since that is so,

30 I want to make you understand well what God has
31 commanded,
31 in order that you may go to the world above, being
32 saved from the evil "devil".
32 In the very first dawning, there was no world
33 above, no sun, no moon,
33 no stars, nor did this world exist,
34 there weren't yet llamas, deer, foxes, birds,
35 in this world,
35 no sea nor fish, nor trees, nor anything else.
36 God our maker alone always was,
37 because he wanted to,
38 he made the upper world, this world,

³ Lines 26b-29 are not present in the Quechua text, either through a decision to translate the material differently (since the same idea is already expressed a few lines earlier), or possibly omitted through homoioteleuton the word *alli* which would be used to translate both *buenos* and *bien*.

39 y todo lo demas que ay en ellos.
40 Hizo el cielo, para casa y morada de los Angeles,
y de los buenos hombres.
41 Hizo el sol para dar resplandor y alumbrar el dia.
42 Tambien crio la luna, juntamente con las
43 estrellas, para alumbrar la noche, y darle
44 claridad. Hizo este mundo, para que nosotros los
45 hombres biuiessemos, anduuiessemos y morassemos en
46 el. Hizo el ayre, para que respirassemos, las
47 aues, los pexes, y todo lo demas que ay criado,
48 todo lo hizo y crio para nosotros los hombres.
49 Algunas cosas dellas crio, para que nosotros
50 comiessemos. Otras para que nos ayudassen
51 y siruiessen en nuestras necessidades.
52 Otras para que gozassemos y holgassemos en verlas.

39 tucuy yma aycacacta paymi rurarca, llapãta
yachachircapas.
40 Hanãc pachacta, quiquimpa yanancconap guacimpac
rurarca.
41 indicta, pũchaocta yllaringãpac rurarca.
42-3 quillacta cuyllorguã totacta yllaringãpac
rurarca.
44 Cay pachacta ñocanchic runacaccona
45 cauçangãchicpac, tiangãchicpac, rurapuarcanhichic.
46 Guayracta, çamãganchicpac, rurapuarcãchic,
47 Piscocacta challuacta, llapppa cauçacconactapas
48 ñocanchicpac rurapuarcanhichic.
49 Paycona mãta guaquinçninta,
50 micungãchicpac,
51 guaquinçninta yanapauanganchicpac,
52 guaquinçninta, payconacta ricuspa cussicun-
gãchicpac, rurapuarcãchicmi.

39 and everything else.
40 He also made the upper world, as a house for
himself and his servants.
41 He made the sun to lighten the day,
42-3 he made the moon and the stars to lighten the
night.
44 He made this world on our behalf so that we humans
45 could live and exist.
46 He made the wind for us so that we might breathe.
47-8 He made birds, fish and every living thing for
us.
49-50 He made some of them for us to eat,
51 some of them that they might help us,
52 and some that we might look at them and be happy.

53 Crio assi mismo alla en el cielo muy gran cantidad
54 y muchos criados suyos, que llamamos angeles.
55 Los quales, ni tienen carne, ni hueso,
56 no tienen cuerpo, son spiritus puros como
57 nuestras animas. Estos angeles que digo, no son
58 como los hombres, son de otro genero, y especie que
59 nosotros. Destos angeles que os he dicho, algunos
60 fueron buenos, y guardaron y obedecieron los
61 mandamientos de Dios, cumpliendo su voluntad.
62 Y estos agora estan con el en el cielo, y son
63 bienaventurados, estando en gran contento y
64 gloria, sin faltarles cosa ninguna de las que
65 dessean, Y a estos llamamos Angeles buenos.
66 Otros fueron muy malos, no obedecieron a dios,
67 ni guardaron sus mandamientos cumpliendo su

53 Chay hanãc pachapi, ancha achica yanancconacta
54 yachachirc ãgeles xutiocta,
55 Paycona mana aychayocchu, mana tulluyocchu.
56 Camaquenchiç sina chaycona yuyayninchiç sina
chaycona mare,
57-8 ñocanchicmanta suc hamo chaycona,
59 Cay ñiscay yanancconamãta, guaquinçninc
60-1 allin carca, dios ruraquẽchiçpa camachicusçanta
huñispa,
62 paycona conã hana`c pachapi canç,
63 ancha atun appo, ancha cussicuspa,
64 ancha ymayoc, dios ruraquẽchiçguan tiacunc mare.
65 Caycona conã ãgeles xutioçmi.
66 Guaquinçninc ancha mana allim tucurca,
67 mana diospa camachicusçãta huñispa,

53-4 In that upper world he "created" his multitude
of servants called angels,
55 they do not have flesh or bone.
56 Those are like our life force, they are just like
our minds,
57-8 [but] they are a different kind from us.
59 Some of his servants that I have spoken of
60-1 were good, obeying what God our maker had
commanded,
62-4 they are now in the upper world, they are with
God our maker, they are great lords, are very
happy and have lots of possessions.
65 These are now called angels.
66 Others of them turned very bad,
67 disobeying what God had commanded

68 voluntad, antes peccaron y enojaron mucho
 69 a dios nuestro Señor.
 70 Y a estos por sus peccados, los echo Dios del
 cielo,
 71 y desterro aca baxo de la tierra, al infierno en
 72 gran fuego, y obscuridad, y hedor
 73 Donde hasta agora estan, y estaran para siempre
 encerrados, padesciendo por sus peccados.
 74 Y estos son los que en vuestra lengua llamays
 (*mana alli upay.*)
 75 Y nosotros en la nuestra, les llamamos diablos.
 76 Despues que dios ouo hecho y criado todas estas
 cosas que os he dicho.
 77 Crio en este mundo vn hombre llamada Adam,
 78 y vna muger llamada Eua.

68-9 ancha hochallicurca, nanac diosta piñachirca.
 70-1 Chay hochallicuscã rayco, paycona mana
 allicacta dios ruraquenchi ucupachamanc carcurca,
 72 ninacpi, aznacpi, totayacpi,
 73 hochanta mochospa, ñacaricuspa viñay viñaypac
 harcasca tiangãpac carcumurca, cona camapas
 chaypi tiacunc.
 74 Chacay acuyllacona mana alli çupay (simijqui-
 chicguã) xutioc,
 75 ñocaycop viracochap simijco, diablos xitiocmi
 (sic),
 76 ña dios ruraquenchi cay ñiscay tucuyta
 puchucaspas,
 77 suc cari Adam xutiocta,
 78 suc guarmeguãtac Eua xutiocta yachachirca
 rurarcapas,

68-9 they sinned a lot, and made God terribly angry.
 70-1 Because of their sin God threw the ones who
 were not good into the inner world
 72 in the fire, in the stench, in the darkness,
 73 "suffering their sins", he threw them out to
 suffer for ever in "detention". They are still
 there.
 74 Those villains are called bad çupays in your
 language,
 75 in the language of we viracochas they are called
 "devils".
 76 Now when God our maker finished all that I have
 said,
 77-8 he "created" and made a man called Adam and a
 woman called Eve.

79 Y deste hombre, y desta muger, nosotros los
christianos, y vosotros los indios,
80 y todos los negros, y los indios de Mexico,
81 y los indios que estan en los montes,
82 y todos quantos hombres ay derramados
83 y diuididos del vn cabo del mundo hasta el otro,
todos de ellos procedemos y nacemos.
84 Y este hombre llamado Adam, y esta muger llamada
Eua, son nuestro principio, y de donde procedemos.
85 Y dellos nuestros antepassados procedieron.
86 y se fueron a morar a España, donde nosotros
87 biuimos. Y vuestros antepassados
88 (de quienes vosotros venis) vinieron a biuir
89 a esta tierra, donde agora estays.
90 Y los antepassados de los negros se fueron a sus
tierras.
91 Y los antepassados de los Mexicanos,
92 y assi mismo los de todos los hombres que estan
diuididos por todo el mundo,
93 se diuidieron por diuersas tierras.

79 Chayconamãta llappa runacona, ñocayco cancona,
80-1 yana runacona, oppa runacona, purun runacona,
82-3 may ticssincama runaconapas mirasca canchic,
84 Pay Adam, pay Eua ticssinchic.
85 Cay ñiscay ñaupã machoconamãta catequẽc mochoyco
(sic) mirasca, captinc
86 Castilla, llactaycomã, rirca,
87-9 Apposquiconã cay llactaychicman (sic), xamura,
90-1 Yanarunap Oppa runap,
92 may ticssincama runaconap machonconã, succuc
llactaman, raquispa, anchorirca,
93 Sinaspalla caymã chaymã raquinacuspã, cay rurinc
pachactã hondamũchic.

79 We human beings are all descended from them,
we [Spanish], you [Indians],
80-1 blacks, "Mexicans", savages,
82-3 [all] people, wherever they may be.
84 That Adam and that Eve are our foundation.
85 When our parents who followed these first parents
increased in number,
86 they went to our land of Castile.
87-9 Your ancestors came to this land of yours.
90-1 The forefathers of the negros, the Mexicans,
92 and those of people wherever they are, divided and
went apart to different lands.
93 In just that way dividing to this way and that, we
filled this world below.

94 Aueys de saber que aquellos demonios que os dixe,
95 tentaron a nuestros primeros padres,
96 y dieron ocasion tentandolos para que peccassen,
97 y assi peccaron.
98 Y estos demonios son los que a nosotros cada dia
nos acosejan el peccar,
99 engañandonos y persuadiendonos lo malo,
100 y a vosotros (aun que no los veys)
101 os ponen en vuestros coraçones malos
pensamientos,
102 os dizen, Adorad al sol, a la luna, a las
piedras, a los ydolos.
103 Y por esto aueys enojado con vuestros peccados
mucho a dios nuestro Señor.
104 Por esso auisad de aqui adelante,
105 y no lo hagays assi como hasta agora,

94 Chay mana alli çupay ñiscaycona,
95 chay ñaupa machonchicta raycurca,
96 mana allicta yuyachispa, hochallicuychic, ñispa
ñirca,
97 Sinatacmi chay acuylla mana alli çupaycona, chay
machonchicta raycochirca.
98-9 ñocanchictapas cayantin raycoanchic,
100-1 canconactapas, songoyquichicpi mana allicta
yuyachissûguichic (panapas mana ricuriptinc)
102 songoyquichicpi, guacacta, rumicta, indicta,
quillacta, pachacta mochay, ñissunguichic
103 Chaypac ancha dios ruraquẽchicta piñachir-
cãguichic,
104-5 Conãmãta, ama sina canguichicchu,

94 Those whom I have called bad çupays
95 caused our first parents problems,
96 making them think wrong things, they said, "Go on
and sin".
97 In that way these villainous evil çupays made
those forefathers fall.
98-9 Every day they cause us problems,
100-1 and they make you also think wrong things in
your heart.
102 Even though they do not appear,
they say to you in your heart, "Worship the
huacas, the rocks, the sun, the moon,
the earth".
103 As a result you have made God our maker angry.
104-5 From now on do not be like that,

106 sino de aqui adelante emendaos de vuestros
peccados,
107 y con vuestros coraçones y pensamientos allegaos
a dios nuestro Señor, diziendo,
108 O Señor mio, vos soys mi señor y criador,
109 Hasta agora no os he conoscido,
110 y assi (adorando los ydolos) os he mucho enojado.
111 De aqui adelante me emendare, y nunca mas
peccare.
112 Y a vos solo adorare,
113 y amare mas que a todas las cosas,
114 Biuiendo assi, y siendo christianos,
115 quando murieredes, vuestras animas yran al cielo
116 con Dios para siempre jamas. Amen.

106 cay hochallicuscayquichicmanta llaquicuychic,
107 dios apponchicman songoyquichicguan chayan-
guichic.
108 A athac appoymi canguí, ruraqueymi canguí, ñispa,
109-10 Conãcama guacacta mochaspá, piñachircayqui,
111 Conãmanta guanassacmi mana ñatac hochalli-
cussacchu,
112 Cam çapallata mochascayqui,
113 camta tucuyta yallispa, coyascayqui.
114 Sina caspa, cauçanguichic, sinatacmi christiano
caspá,
115 ña guañutijquichic (sic), hanan pachaman
ringuichic,
116 payguan, viñay viñay tiangayquichicpac.

106 be sorry for the sins you have done,
107 arrive with your heart to God our lord and say,
108 "O, you are my Lord, you are my maker.
109-10 Up till now I have made you angry by wor-
shipping huacas,
111 from now on I will make amends, and I will not
sin now.
112 I will worship you alone,
113 I will love you above all else."
114 If you do that, you will live, and so being a
Christian,
115 you will go to the upper world when you die
116 to be with him for ever and ever.

(1r) DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA¹

Por la señal de la sancta Cruz, de nuestros enemigos libranos Señor Dios nuestro. En el nombre del Padre, y del Hijo, y del Spiritu Sancto. Amen.

Sancta cruzpa vnanchanraycu, ancaycucunamanta², quispichihuaycu Dios apuycu. Yayap, Churip, Spiritu Sanctop sutimpi. Amen Iesus.

Because of the sign of the holy cross, free us from our enemies, God our Lord. In the name of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Spirit. Amen, Jesus.

EL PATER NOSTER

Padre nuestro, que estas en los cielos, sanctificado sea el tu nombre. Venga a nos el tu reyno. Hagase tu voluntad, assi en la tierra, como en el cielo. El pan nuestro de cada dia, danos lo oy. Y perdona nos nuestras deudas, assi como nosotros
(1v) las perdonamos a nuestros deudores.

Yayaycu, hanacpachacunapicac. Sutijqui muchasca cachū. Capac caynijqui ñocaycumã hamuchū. Munaynijqui, rurasca cachun: ymanã hanacpachapi hinatac cay pachapipas. Punchaunincuna tātaycucta, cunã coaycu. Huchaycuctari pampachapuaycu, ymaynam ñocaycupas, ñocaycuman huchallicuccunacta, pampachaycu hina.

Our Father, the one who is in the heavens. May your name be adored. May your "royal-ness" come to us. May your will be done; as in heaven so also on the earth. Give to us now our bread of each day. Pardon our sins for us, as we forgive those who sin toward us.

¹ Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para Instrucción de los Indios, (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1584). Text used here is that of a facsimile edition published under the auspices of Petroperu in 1984 in Lima. The English translation corresponds to the Quechua text. As our interest is in the Quechua text, the Aymara text of the Doctrina is not included here.

² v.l. aucaycucunamanta.

Pater noster (cont.)

Y no nos dexes caer en la tentacio~. Mas libranos del mal. Amē.

Amataq cacharihuaycuchu, huatecayman vrmancaycupac. Yallinrac, mana allimanta quispichihuaycu. Amen Iesus.

Do not let go of us, that we might fall to temptation. Above all, save us from what is not good. Amen, Jesus.

EL AVE MARIA

Dios te salue Maria, llena de gracia. El Señor es contigo. Bendita tu en las mujeres. Y bendito (2r) el fruto de tu vientre Iesus. Sãcta Maria, virgen madre de Dios, ruega por nosotros peccadores agora, y en la hora de nuestra muerte. Amen.

Muchaycuscayqui Maria Diospa gracionhuan huntascã canqui. Apunchic Diosmi camhuan. Huarmicunamanta collananmi canqui. Vicçayquimãta pacarimuc Iesus huahuayquiri collanantacmi, Sctã Maria Virgen Diospa maman, ñocaycu huchaçapacunapac muchapuhuaycu, cunan, huañuynijcu pachapipas. Amen Iesus.

I adore you, Mary, you are full of God's grace. Our Lord God is with you. Among women you are supreme. Your child Jesus who was born from your womb is also supreme. Holy Mary Virgin mother of God, ask on behalf of us sinners, now, and in the time of our death. Amen Jesus.

EL CREDO

Creo en Dios, Padre todo poderoso, criador del cielo, y de la tierra. Y en Iesu Christo, su vnico hijo, señor nuestro, que fue concebido por Spiritu Sancto, y nacio de la virgen sancta Maria. Padescio so el poder de Põcio Pilato, fue crucificado, muerto, y sepultado.

Descendio a los infiernos: y al tercero (2v) dia resuscito de entre los muertos. Subio a los cielos, y esta assentado a la diestra de Dios padre todo poderoso. Dēde verna a juzgar los viuos y los muertos. Creo en el Spiritu Sancto. La sancta yglesia catholica. La cõmunion de los sanctos. La remission de los peccados. La resurrectiõ de la carne, y la vida perdurable.

Yñinim Dios yaya llapa atipacmã, hanacpachap, cay-
pachap ruraquẽman Iesu Christo paypa çapay churin
apunchicmãpas. Caymi Spiritu Sanctomanta runa tucur-
can. Virgen sancta Mariamanta pacarimurcan. Põcio
Pilatop siminmantam muchurcan. Cruzpi chacatasca
carcan, huañurcã, pampascatac carcan. Vcupachacunamã
vraycurcã. Quimçañequẽ pũchaupim huañuc cunamãta
cauçarimpurcã. Hanacpachacunamã vichay

(3r) ripurcan Dios yaya llapa atipacpa, pañañequempim
tiaycũ, chaymantã cana cauçac runacunacta,
huañuc cunactahuãpas taripac hãpũca. Spiritu Sanctomã
yñinim. Scta yglesia catholicacta. Sanctocunap
hucllachacuyninta. Aychap cauçarimpuyninta. Viñay
cauçaytahuãpas yñinitacmi. Amen. Iesus.

I say yes to God father all powerful, maker of heaven
and of earth, and Jesus Christ his only son our Lord.
This one became man from the Holy Spirit. He was born
from the Virgin holy Mary. He suffered through the
word of Pontius Pilate. On the Cross he was crucified,
he died, and he was buried. He went down into the
inside world. On the third day he came to life again
from the dead. He went up to the heavens. He sits
at/in God the father, the all-powerful one's right
hand, from there he will come back to judge living
people and dead people. I assent to the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic church, the togetherness of the
saints, the resurrection of flesh. I also assent to
lasting life. Amen Jesus.

LA SALVE

Salve te Dios reyna, y madre de misericordia. Vida,
dulzura, esperanza nuestra, Dios te salve, ati
llamamos los desterrados hijos de Eua. Ati suspiramos
gimiendo, y llorando en este valle de lagrimas. Ea³
pues abogada nuestra buelue a nosotros esos tus ojos
misericordiosos. Y despues de aqueste destierro,
muestranos a Iesus fructo bẽdito de tu vientre. O
clemente. O piadosa. O dulce virgen Maria. Ruega por
nos sancta madre de Dios. Que seamos dignos de las
promisiones de Christo. Amen.

(3v) Muchaycusayqui sapay coya, huacchay cuyac mama,
cauçay, ñucnu, suyanaycu, muchaycusayquitac.
Camtam huacyamuycu, Euap carcusca huahuancuna. Cãtam
yuyamuycu, huacaspã, anchispã, cay veque pachapi. Chay
ari marcãycu, ñocaycumã chay cuyapayac ñauijquicta

³ v.l. sea.

cutirichimuy, Chaymātari cay carcuypacha puchucaprin⁴
collanā Iesusta vicsayquimanta pācarimucta, ricuchi-
huaycu. A, llaquipayac, A cuyapayac, A, ñucñu virgē
Maria, Scta Diospa mamā ñocaycupac muchapuaycu Iesu
Christo coscayquichicmi ñiscāpa, caman cancaycupac.
Amen. Iesus.

I adore you, only queen, mother who has mercy on the
poor, our life, sweetness, hope, I adore you. To you
we cry, Eve's outcast children. We remember you,
weeping, groaning, in this world of tears. Therefore
take us in your arms, make your merciful eyes turn to
us. Then when this time of exile ends, show us the
supreme Jesus who came from your womb. O merciful one,
o compassionate one, o sweet virgin Mary, holy mother
of God,⁵ intercede for us, that we may be worthy of
Jesus Christ's promises.⁶ Amen, Jesus.

(4r) LOS ARTICULOS DE LA FE son catorze. Los siete
pertenescen a la diuinidad, y los otros siete a
la sancta humanidad de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo,
verdadero Dios y hombre

LOS QUE PERTENESCEN a la diuinidad, son estos

El primero. Creer un solo Dios todo poderoso. El
segundo. Creer, que es padre. El tercero. Creer, que
es hijo. El cuarto. Creer, que es Spiritu sancto. El
quinto. Creer, que es criador. El sexto. Creer, que es
Saluador. El septimo. Creer, que es glorificador.

LOS QUE PERTENESCEN a la sancta humanidad de nuestro
señor Iesu Christo, son estos

El primero, creer que nuestro señor Iesu Christo, en
quanto hombre fue cōcebido por Spiritu sancto. El
segundo, creer, que nascio del viētre virginal de la
virgen sancta Maria, siendo ella virgen antes del
parto, y en el parto, y despues del parto. El tercero,
creer, que recibio muerte y pascion por saluar a
nosotros peccadores. El cuarto creer,

(4v) que descendio a los infiernos y saco las animas
de los sanctos padres, que estauan esperando su

⁴ v.l. puchucaprin.

⁵ Or, "mother of the holy God".

⁶ Lit. "I will give you" what he said.

sancto adueuimiento.⁷ El quinto, creer, que subio a los cielos, y se assento a la diestra de Dios padre todo poderoso. El septimo, creer que verna a juzgar a los viuos y a los muertos (es a saber) a los buenos para darles gloria, porque guardaron sus mandamientos, y a los malos pena perdurable, porque no los guardaron.

Yñincanchic chunca tahuayocmi (Articulos de la fe sutioc) canchisninmi, Dios cayninmanta. Huaqu nin⁸ canchismi, Iesu Chro Dios apũchicpa runa cayninmanta.

What we assent to are fourteen items (called "articles of the faith"). Seven are about God's being. The other seven are about our lord Jesus Christ's human-ness.

Dios cayninmanta cacri, caymi.

Those which are about God-ness are these:

Naupac simipim yñini, huc sapalla Dios llapa atipac-man.

In the first word I say yes to one only God the all-powerful one.

Iscay ñequẽ simipim Yñini. Pay quiquin Diosmi Yaya.

I assent to the second word⁹: The same God is father.

(5r) Quimça ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Diosmi Churi.

I assent to the third word: The same God is son.

Tahua nequen simipim iñini. Pay quiquin Diosmi, Spiritu sancto.

I assent to the fourth word: The same God is Holy Spirit.

Pichca ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Diosmi, Camac.

⁷ v.l. advenimiento.

⁸ v.l. huaquinin

⁹ There is a conflict between the idea coming from Latin "to believe in..." and the Quechua verb chosen to express "believe", i.e. to assent to. Here the Quechua has the locative particle *-pi*, rather than the indirect object *-man*, and says literally "I assent in...".

I assent to the fifth word. The same God is the one who animates.

Socta ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Diosmi Quispichic.

I assent to the sixth word: The same God is Saviour.

Canchic ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Diosmi viñaypac cussichic.

I assent to the seventh word: The same God is the one who makes [a person] happy for ever.¹⁰

IESU CHRISTO Dios apunchicpa runa cayñmāta cacri , caymi.

Those which are about the human-ness of Jesus Christ, God our Lord, are these:

Ñaupac simipim yñini. Iesu Christo Dios apunchicmi Spiritu sancto māta runa tucurca.

I assent to the first word: Jesus Christ, God our Lord, became man from the Holy Spirit.¹¹

Yscay ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Iesu (5v) Christom virgen sctā Maria vicçan māta, pacari-murcan: manarac huachaspa, huachayninmpi, ña huachaspapas viñay virgen captin.

I assent to the second word: The same Jesus Christ was born from the womb of the virgin holy Mary, when she was always a virgin--before giving birth, in the birth, and having given birth.¹²

Quimca ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin IESV Christom ñocanchic huchasapacunacta quispichihuancanchicpac, muchurcan huañurcan.

¹⁰ Just as Santo Tomás had^a problem with *gloria*, so this translation conveys only one aspect of *glorificador*.

¹¹ Or, "as a result of the Holy Spirit"; either way it does not express the idea of conception.

¹² The need to follow the form of the Spanish (and the Latin) makes this confusing in Quechua. Added to the grammatical problems, the indigenous concept of virgin would be annulled once there had been a birth.

I assent to the third word: The same Jesus Christ in order to save us sinners suffered [and] died.

Tahua ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Iesu Chfom, vcupachacunamã uraycurcã, chaymãtã Sctõcunap animãcunacta, paypa cussi hamuyninta suyachcacta pussarcumurcan.

I assent to the fourth word: The same Jesus Christ went down into the innerworlds, the souls of the saints, the ones who awaited his happy coming, he took suddenly away from there.¹³

Pichca ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Iesu Christom, huafuscunmãta quimça ñequen punchaupi, cauçarimpurcan.

I assent to the fifth word: The same Jesus Christ on the third day after his death lived again definitively from there to here.

Cocta ñequẽ simipim
(6r) yñini. Pay quiquin Iesu Christon, hanac pachacunaman vichay ripurcan, chaypim, Dios yaya llapa atipacpa pañanequempi tiaycun.

I assent to the sixth word: The same Jesus Christ went up to the heavens,¹⁴ there, he sits at the right hand of God [the] father [the] all-powerful one.

Canchis ñequen simipim yñini. Pay quiquin Iesu Christõ, cauçac runacunacta, huafuccunactahuanpas, taripac hampunca. Alli Christiano cunactam hanacpachaman pussaspa viñaypac cussichinca, camachicuscã simita, alli huacaychascãmãta: mana allicunactã cana vcupachamã carcuspa vinaypac ñacarichinca, camachicuscã siminta mana alli huacaychascãmãta.

I assent to the seventh word: The same Jesus Christ will come to judge living people and dead ones also. Taking good Christians to heaven he will make [them] happy for ever, because they kept his commanded word well, but he will throw bad people into the innerworld and make them suffer for ever, because they did not keep his commanded word well.

LOS MANDAMIENTOS DE LA ley de Dios son diez. Los tres primeros pertenescen a la ley de Dios, y los otros siete al prouecho del proximo.

¹³ *Sancto advenimiento* is rendered by "happy coming".

¹⁴ Or, "upper worlds/spheres"

(6v) El primero. Amaras a Dios sobre todas las cosas. El segundo. No juraras su sancto nombre en vano. El tercero. Sanctificaras las fiestas. El cuarto. Honraras a tu padre y a tu madre. El quinto. No mataras. El sexto. No fornicaras. El septimo. No hurtaras. El octavo. No leuantaras falso testimonio. El noueno. No desearas la muger de tu proximo. El decimo. No cobdiciaras las cosas ajenas.

Estos diez mandamientos se encierran en dos. Amaras a Dios sobre todas las cosas, y a tu proximo como a ti mismo.

Diosninchicpa camachicuscã simin chuncam: ñaupac quimçanmi, quiquin Diosta yupaychanchicpac: huaquinin cãchismi runa masinchicpa allijninpac.

There are ten commands of our God: The first three are in order that we might honour God himself: The other seven are for the good of our fellow men.

Ñaupac simi ñinmi. Diosman sonco canqui tucuy yma haycacta yallispa.

The first word says, "You will love God above all else."¹⁵

(7r) Iscay ñequẽ simi ñinmi. Ama Diospa capac sutinta caçimanta jurãquichu.

The second word says, "Do not swear God's royal name emptily."¹⁶

Quimça ñequen simi ñinmi Domingocunapi, fiesta cunapipas, çamacunqui Diosta muchancapac.

The third word says, "On Sundays and festivals you will rest to adore God."

Tahua ñequẽ simi ñinmi Yayayquicta, mamayquicta yupaychanqui.

The fourth word says, "You will honour your father and your mother."

¹⁵ Literally, "you will have your heart inclined to God". The translators note "this is a very elegant phrase used in Cuzco where this language is spoken perfectly...it is a synonym of 'to love God'". (f.76r)

¹⁶ The second person "future" marked by the termination *-nqui* can have either an imperative or a future meaning.

Pichca ñequẽ simi ñinmi. Ama pictapas huañuchinquichu.

The fifth word says, "Do not kill anyone."

Çocta ñequẽ simi ñinmi. Ama huachucchu cãqui.

The sixth word says, "Do not be dishonest/commit adultery."

Cãchis ñequẽ simi ñinmi. Ama çuacunquichu.

The seventh word says: "Do not steal."

Puçac ñequẽ simi ñinmi. Ama pictapas, caçimanta tumpantuichu.

The eighth word says, "Do not accuse anyone emptyly."

Yscõ ñequen simi ñinmi. Ama runa maçijquip huarmenta munapayanquichu.

The ninth word says, "Do not desire over and over your neighbour's wife."

Chunca ñequen simi ñinmi. Ama hucpa yma
(7v) haycanta munapayanquichu.

The tenth word says, "Do not covet whatever is another's."

Diospa cay chunca camachicuscan simi, yscaymanmi tucun. Diosman sonco canqui tucuy yma haycacta yallispa: runa macijquictari¹⁷ quiquijquicta hina munanqui.

These ten commanded words of God are summed up in two: You will love God above all else; you will love your neighbour as [you love] yourself.

LOS MANDAMIENTOS DE
la sancta madre yglesia, son cinco.

El primero. Oyr missa entera, los Domingos y fiestas de guardar. El segundo. Confessar, vna vez en la quaresma, o antes si ha, o espera auer peligro de muerte, o si ha de comulgar. El tercero. Cõmulgar de necesidad por Pascua Florida. El quarto. Ayunar quãado lo manda la sctã madre yglesia. El quinto. Pagar diezmos y primicias.

¹⁷ v.l. maçijquictari.

Sancta yglesia mamanchicpa camachicusca simin pichcam.

There are five commands of the holy church our mother.

(8r) Ņaupae¹⁸ simi űinmi Domingocunapi,
fiestacunapipas, missacta callariscanmanta,
puchucācan cama vyarinqui.

The first word says, "You shall hear mass from the beginning to the end on Sundays and festivals."

Yscay űequē simi űinmi, huatacunapi, hucmita¹⁹
confessacunqui, oncospa, huañuypac caspa, comulgācay-
quipacpas, confessacunquitac.

The second word says, "You will confess once each year, you will also confess when you are ill, when you are near death, and in order to take communion."

Quimça űequen simi űinmi. Iesu Chřop cauçarimpuscan
hatun Pascuapi comulganqui.

The third word says, "You will take communion on the great feast of Jesus Christ's resurrection."²⁰

Tahua űequen simi űinmi Sācta yglesia mamāchicpa,
ayunay űiscāpi ayunanqui.

The fourth word says, "You must fast when the holy church our mother says 'you will fast'".

Pichca űequen simi űinmi Diezmosta, primiciastapas
conqui.

The fifth word says, "You will give tithes and first-fruits."

Los sacramentos de la sancta madre yglesia son siete

El primero. Bautismo. El segundo. Confirmacion. El
tercero. Penitencia. El cuarto. Communion.

(8v) El quinto. Extrema unction. El sexto. Orden
sacerdotal. El septimo. Matrimonio.

¹⁸ v.l. űaupac.

¹⁹ *Quaresma* (Lent) is not translated, "once in Lent" becomes "once a year".

²⁰ Despite these commands, the indigenous people were denied the Eucharist.

Sancta yglesia mamanchicpa Sacramentocuna Canchismi.

There are seven sacraments of the holy church our mother.

Ñaupaquenmi. Baptismo.

The first is Baptism.

Iscay ñequenmi. Cõfirmacion.

The second is Confirmation.

Quimça ñequenmi. Penitencia.

The third is Penance.

Tahua ñequenmi. Cõmunion.

The fourth is Communion.

Pichca ñequenmi. Extrema unction.

The fifth is Extreme Unction.

Socta ñequēmi. Ordē.

The sixth is Holy Orders.

Canchis ñequēmi. Matrimonio.

The seventh is Matrimony.

La obras de misericordia son catorze.

Las siete corporales, y las siete espirituales. Las corporales son estas.

Visitar los enfermos. Dar de comer al que ha hambre. Dar de beuer al que ha sed. Redimir al captiuo. Vestir al desnudo. Dar posada al peregrino. Enterrar los muertos.

(9r) Las espirituales, son estas.

Enseñar al simple, que no sabe. Dar consejo al que lo ha menester. Castigar al que ha menester castigo. Perdonar al que erro contra ti. Suffrir las injurias del proximo con paciencia. Consolar los tristes y desconsolados. Rogar a Dios por los viuos y por los muertos.

Runap cuyapayay ruranancuna (obras de misericordia sutioc) chūca tahuayocmi. Cācismi, ucūchicpac. Huaquinin canchismi, animanchicpac.

Man's duties of mercy (called works of mercy) are *fourteen*
There are seven for our body. The other seven are for
our soul.

Ucunchicpac cacri, caymi.

The ones for our body are these:

Oncoccta ricumūqui.

You will visit the sick.

Yaricacta micuchinqui.

You will give food to the hungry.

Chaquicta upiachiqui.

You will give drink to the thirsty.

Piñasta quispichinqui.

You will free the prisoner.

Llatā mana pachayocta, pachallichinqui.

You will clothe the naked unclothed person.

Llactayquimā puricta. Huacijquipi corpachanqui.

You will give lodging in your house to the one who
comes to your village.

Ayacunacta pampāqui.

You will bury dead bodies.

(9v) Animanchicpac cacri, caymi.

The ones for our soul are these:

Mana yachacta, yachachinqui.

You will teach the one who does not know.

Cunaypac cacta, cunanqui.

You will warn the one who needs warned.

Muchuchijpac cacta, muchuchinqui.

You will punish the one who should be punished.

Cāman huchallicucta, pampachanqui.

You will forgive the one who sins [against] you.

Queçachaquyquicta, quecachahuachumpas²¹ ñispa,
muchucūqui.

You will suffer the one who abuses you, saying "Let
him abuse me".

Llaquicucta, puticucta cochochinqui.

You will make the sad and afflicted glad.

Cauçaccunapac, huañuc xpanocunapachuã, Diosta mucha-
punqui.

Pray to God for the living and for dead Christians.²²

La virtudes theologales son tres: Fe, Esperanza,
Charidad.

Virtudes Theologales quimçam.

There are three theological virtues.

Yñincāchic. Fe sutioc.

What we ought to accept, called Faith.

10r Suyananchic, Esperanza sutioc.

What we wait for, called Hope.

Munananchic Charidad sutioc.

What we love, called Charity.

La virtudes cardinales con quatro: Prudēcia, Iusticia,
Fortaleza, Tēplāza.

Virtudes cardinales tahuam.

There are four cardinal virtues:

Amauta cay. Prudēcia sutioc.

²¹ v.l. queçachahuacumpas.

²² The dead to be prayed for are dead Christians,
any other dead are excluded.

Wisdom, called Prudence.

Cuscachay. Iusticia sutioc.

Making level, called Justice.

Callpa cay. Fortaleza sutioc.

Being strong, called Fortitude.

Pactaslla cay. Templāza sutioc.

Being careful, called Moderation.

Los peccados capitales son siete: Soberuia, Auaricia, Luxuria, Ira, Gula, Embidia, Accidia.

Llapa huchacunap callarijnin, (peccados capitales sutioc) canchismi.

There are seven [sins] from which all sins begin, called mortal sins.

(10v) Ñaupaquēmi. Apuscachay hucha, soberuia sutioc.

The first is the sin of lording it over, called pride.

Yscay ñequenmi. Micha cay hucha, auaricia sutioc.

The second is the sin of miserliness, called avarice.

Quimça ñequēmi huachuc cay hucha, luxuria sutioc.

The third is the sin of dishonesty,²³ called lust.

Tahua ñequenmi. Piña cay hucha, ira sutioc.

The fourth is the sin of being angry, called ire.

Pichca ñequēmi. Cacçapucuy hucha, gula sutioc.

The fifth is the sin of being completely satisfied, called gluttony.

Socta ñequēmi. Chiquicuy hucha, embidia sutioc.

The sixth is the sin of envy, called envy.

Canchis ñequenmi, quella cay hucha, accidia sutioc.

The seventh is the sin of laziness, called sloth.

²³ Or, "adultery".

Los enemigos del alma son tres. El Múdo, el Demonio y la carne.

Animanchicpa aucancuna quimçam.

There three enemies of our souls:

Cay llulla pacha. Mundo sutioc.

This deceitful world, called the world.²⁴

(11r) Çupay, Diablo sutioc.

Supay, called the devil.

Aychâchic, Carne sutioc.

Our flesh, called flesh.

Los cuatro novissimos.

Quatro cosas son las que el Christiano ha de tener siempre en la memoria: que son, Muerte, Inyzio,²⁵ Infierno, y Gloria.

Tahuactã pi maycan Christiano cac, viñaypac yuyaspa, soncompi apaycachanca.

There are four things whoever is a Christian will always remember and carry about there in his heart:

Huañuyninta.

His death.

Diospa taripayninta.

God's judgment.

Ucupachacta.

The inner-world.

²⁴ Note the didactic function of defining things in terms the church is comfortable with, all in Spanish, terms which mean nothing to the indigenous people.

²⁵ v.l. Iuyzio.

Hanacpachacta.

The world above.

LA CONFESSION GENERAL

Confieosome a Dios todopoderoso, y a la bienaventurada siēpre virgē Maria, y al bienauenturado S Miguel Archangel, y al bienaueñturado Sant Iuā Baptista, y a los sanctos Apostoles Sant Pedro y Sant Pablo, y a todos los sanctos. Y a vos padre: q peque mucho, con el pensamiento, con la palabra, y con la obra. Por mi culpa, por mi culpa, por mi gran culpa. Por tanto ruego a la bienauenturada siempre virgē Maria, y al bienaventurado Sant Miguel Archangel, y al bienaventurado Sant Iuan Baptista, y a los sanctos Apostoles Sant Pedro, y Sant Pablo y a todos los sanctos.

(11v) y a vos padre, que rogueys por mi al Señor Dios nuestro.

Noca huchasapá, llapa atipac Diosman cōfessacuni. Viñay virgen sancta Mariaman, Sant Miguel Archangelman, Sant Iuan Baptistaman, Apostolcuna, Sant Pedroman, Sant Pabloman, llapa Sanctocunaman, cam padremāpas, ancha huchallicurcani, yuyayhuan, rimayhuā, rurayhuampas. Huchaymi, huchaymi, ancha hatun huchaymi. Chayraycum, muchaycuni viñay virgē sancta Mariacta, Sant Miguel Archangelta, Sant Iuan Baptistacta, Apostolcuna, Sant Pedrocta, San Pablocta, llapa sactocunacta (sic), cam padrectahuāpas: apuchic (sic) Diosta, muchapuācayquichicpac.

Full of sin, I confess²⁶ to God all powerful. To the ever-virgin holy Mary, to St Michael Archangel, to St John Baptist, to Apostles St Peter, St Paul, to all the saints, and to you father, I have sinned greatly, with thought, with speech, with deed. It is my sin, my sin, my very great sin. Therefore, I ask kindly the ever-virgin holy Mary, St Michael Archangel, St John Baptist, Apostles St Peter, St Paul, all the saints, and you also father, in order that you (pl) would pray on my behalf to our Lord God.

²⁶ The confession with a strong emphasis on sin, rather than on the act of confession, as in the Spanish version.

(12r) La summa de la fe catholica²⁷

Lo que se ha de enseñar a los que por enfermedad peligrosa se bautizan, y assi mismo a los viejos y rudos, que no son capaces de catecismo mas largo, conforme al Concilio segundo de Lima en la constitucion 33 y 34 de la tercera session, y cõforme al capitulo 4 de la segunda action del tercero y ultimo Concilio de Lima, es lo siguiente.

1 De Dios. Que ay un solo Dios, hazedor de todas las cosas. El qual despues de esta vida, da gloria eterna a los buenos que le siruen, y pena eterna a los malos que le offenden.

(12v) 2 De la Trinidad. Que este Dios es Padre, Hijo, y Spiritu Sancto, que son tres personas, y tienen un mismo ser. Y assi no son tres Dioses, sino uno solo.

3 De Iesu Christo. Que el hijo de Dios verdadero se hizo hombre por nosotros, y este es Iesu Christo: el qual con su muerte y sangre nos redimio de nuestros peccados, y resuscito, y viue para siẽpre.

4 De la Sancta Yglesia. Que para ser saluo el hombre, se ha de hazer Christiano, creyendo en Iesu Christo, pesandole de sus peccados: y rescibiẽdo el sancto bautismo: o si ya es bautizado y ha tornado a peccar, confessando sus culpas al Sacerdote. Assi que rescibiendo los Sacramentos, y guardando la ley de Dios, sera saluo.

(13r) Catecismo breve para los rudos y ocupados

P. Dezidme, ay Dios?

R. Si padre, Dios ay.

P. Quantos Dioses ay?

R. Uno solo, no mas.

P. Donde esta este Dios?

R. En el cielo, en la tierra, y en todo lugar.

P. Quien es Dios?

²⁷ Only the Spanish version of this is included in the Doctrina. The content parallels Acosta's De Procuranda, Bk.V.2,4.

R. Es el Padre, y el Hijo, y el Spiritu Sancto

P. Churi villahuay, Dios canchu?
Son, tell me, is there God?

R. Y, padre, canmi.
Yes, father, there is.

P. Haycam Dios?
How many is God?

R. Huc çapallam.
Just only one.

P. Cay Dios maypim?
This God, where is he?

R. Hanacpachapi, caypachapi, maypachapihuampas.
In the world above, in this world, and in whatever
world there is.

P. Pim ari Dios?
Then who is God?

R. Dios Yaya, Dios Churi, Dios Spiritu Sctõ,
God Father, God Son, God Holy Spirit,

(13r) que son tres personas y un solo Dios.

P. Como sõ tres personas, y no mas de un solo Dios?

R. Porque de estas tres personas el Padre no es el
Hijo, ni el Spiritu Sancto. Y el hijo, no es el
padre ni el Spiritu sancto. Y el Spiritu sctõ, no
es el padre ni el hijo. Pero todas tres personas
tienen un mismo ser, y assi son no mas de un solo
Dios.

cay quimça persona huc çapalla Diosmi.
these three persons are just one God.

P. Ymanatac quimça persona caspaca, huc çapalla Dios?
And how [is there] just one God, if there are three
persons?

R. Cay quimçãtin personamanta Dios yayaca manam
churichu, manatacmi Spiritu sanctochu. Hinatac
churipas, manã yayachu, manatacmi Spũ Sancto-
chu, Spiritu Sãctori manam yayachu, manatacmi
churichu. Y chaca cay quimçãtin persona huc
cayniocllam, huc Diosllam.

From these three-together persons God Father is not

Son, nor Holy Spirit. And the Son is not father nor Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is not father, nor son. But these three-together persons are just one being, [and] are just one God.

(14r) P. Pues el Sol, la Luna, Estrellas, Luzero, Rayo, Huacas, y Cerros, no son Dios?

R. Nada de esso es Dios, mas son hechura de Dios que hizo el cielo y la tierra y todo lo que ay en ellos, para el bien del hombre.

P. Qual es el bien del hombre?

P. Ma chayca. Inti, Quilla, coyllurcuna, chasca coyllur, choque ylla, huaca, villcacuna, orcocuna, cay caycunaca manachu Dios?

Now then, the Sun, Moon, Stars, morning star, lightning, huaca, villcas, mountains, is none of these God?

R. Manam Dioschu chay chaycunaca, Diospa camascallanmi, rurascallanmi. Cay capac Diosmi, hanac pachacta, caypachacta, llapa ymaymana, haycaymana hanacpachapi, caypachapicactahuanpas, runap allijninpac camarcan.

None of these is God, just "created" by God, just made by him. This supreme God "created" heaven, earth, everything, whatever is in heaven and on earth, for the good of man.

P. Runap allijninri ymam?
What is the good of man?

(14v) R. Conoscer a Dios y alcanzar su gracia y amistad y gozar del despues desta vida, en el cielo.

P. Pues ay otra vida despues desta vida, para los hombres?

R. Si ay, porque las animas de los hombres no mueren con los cuerpos, como las bestias, mas son immortales, y nunca se acaban.

P. Como alcanza el hombre la gracia de Dios en esta

R. Diosta riccijmi, paypa gracianta, munaynintahuã

ussachijmi, cay cauçay²⁸ puchucaptinri hanac pachapi payta ricuspa cussicuymi.

To know God, to benefit from his grace and love, when this life ends to be glad seeing him in heaven.

P. Cay cauçay puchucaptinri runacunap huc cauçaynin cātacchu?

When this life finishes, is there also another life of men?

R. Y, canmi, runacunap animancunaca, manam llamacuna hinachu ucuncunahuan huañuncu, viñaypac cac, viñaypac mana huañucmi.

Yes, there is, the souls of men do not die with their insides as llamas do, what is for ever, does not ever die.

P. Runari ymacta ruraspā Diospa gracianta
What does man do to benefit from the grace of God

(15r) vida despues della la vida eterna del cielo?

R. Creyendo en Iesu Christo y guardando su ley.

P. Quien es Iesu Christo?

R. Es Dios y hombre verdadero, que siendo hijo de Dios como lo es, se hizo hombre en el vientre de la virgen Maria, y nascio quedando ella virgen, y murio en la Cruz por librar a los hombres del peccado.

cay pachapi ussachinca, hanacpachapiri viñay cussi cauçaytahuampas.

in this world, and the happy life for ever in the world above?

R. Iesu Christoman yñispam, paypa camachicuscan simintahuan huacaychaspam.²⁹

²⁸ v.l. cauçay.

²⁹ Like a number of the replies, this sentence cannot stand on its own in Quechua, it has no adequate verb. It is part of a discourse, outwith which it has little meaning. It is also the immediate answer of the preceding question and depends on it for its

Saying yes to Jesus Christ, keeping his command.

P. Pim Iesu Christo?

Who is Jesus Christ?

R. Iesu Christom checã Dios, checan runa, Diospa churin caspam, virgen sancta Mariap vicçampi runa tucurcan, paymantatacmi pacarimurcan, viñay virgen captin. Pay quiquin Iesu Christo apunchictacmi cruzpi huañurcã, llapa runacunacta huchamanta quispichihuancanchicpac.

Jesus Christ is true God, true man, being God's son, in the womb of the virgin Holy Mary he became man, and from her he came forth, while she was always virgin. And the same Jesus Christ our Lord died on the cross, in order to free all us men from our sin.

(15v) P. Pues como murio, si era Dios?

R. Murio en quanto hombre: y luego al tercero dia resuscito: y despues subio a los cielos, y viue y reyna para siempre sin fin.

P. Dime agora, pues murio Iesu Christo por todos, saluarse todos los hombres?

P. Dios caspaca, ymanatac huañurcan?

R. Manam Dios caynimpichu, runa caynillãpim huañurcã, huañuscãmantari quimça ñequen pũchaupim cauçarimpurcan. Hanacpachacunamã vichay ripurcã. Chaypim viñaypactacmi capac cauçayta cauçanca.

He died only in his human-ness not in his God-ness, from his death on the third day he lived again from there to here. He went up definitively to the heavens. He will live a royal life there for ever.

P. Ñihuay ari, y apũchic Iesu Christoca, llapa runacunaraycumari huañurcã, chayca llapa runacunachu quispincu?

Tell me, then, yes, our Lord Jesus Christ, if he died for all men, are all men safe?

grammatical sense.

(16r)³⁰ R. Los que no creen en Iesu Christo y los que aunque tienen fe, no tienen obras, ni guardan su ley, no se salvan. Mas serán condenados a penas eternas del infierno.

P. Y los que creen en el y guardan su ley, serán salvos?

R. Iesu Christoman mana yñiccuna, yñispapas camachicuscan siminta, mana huacaychaccuna, yma allicactapas mana chay cama ruraccunaca, manam quispincuchu, ucupachaman carcuscama viñaypac ñacaricuncu.

Those who do not say yes to Jesus Christ, those who although they say yes do not keep his command, those who do not do according to whatever is good, they are not safe, they suffer eternally having been thrown into inner-world.

P. Iesu Christoman yñiccuna paypa camachicuscan simintahuan huacaychaccunaca quispincachu?

Will those who say yes to Jesus Christ, those who keep his command be saved?

(16v) R. Si serán, y gozaran en cuerpo, y en alma de bienes eternos en el cielo: y por eso ha de venir al fin del mundo Iesu Christo, a tomar cuenta a todos los hombres, para lo cual resuscitarán entonces todos los muertos.

P. Pues los malos que han peccado, dime, tienen algún remedio para no ser condenados?

R. Y, quispincam, ucunhuã, animãhuan, huaquillam hanacpachapi viñaypac cussimanalla cauçanca. Chaypacmi ari apunchic Iesu Christo pacha puchucaypi llapa runacunacta taripac hampunca, chaypacham hinantin huañuc runacuna cauçarimpūca.

Yes, they will be saved, with their body, with their soul, some will live very happy for ever in the upper world. So for this our Lord Jesus Christ will come in the end of time he will come to judge all men, at that time dead people wherever they are will rise again.

P. Huchasapa runacuna mana Diosman soncocunari ymacta ruraspam hanacpachaman quispinca?

³⁰ Due to a pagination error this is numbered 14 in the text.

Sinners who do not love God, what can they do to be saved for the upper world?³¹

(17r) R. Sino son bautizados, el unico remedio es hazerse Christianos, y hijos de Dios y de la sancta Yglesia por el bautismo.

P. Que entendeys por la sancta Yglesia?

R. La congregacion de todos los fieles Christianos, cuya cabeza es Christo, y su Vicario en la tierra el Papa sancto de Roma.

R. Mana bautizca caspaca, naupacracmi bautizacunca, baptismohuã Diospa churin, sancta Yglesiap huahuampas cancampac.

If a person is not baptised, he/she should first be baptised, in order to be with baptism a son of God and a child of the Holy Church.

P. Ymactam sancta Yglesia ñispa unanchãqui?

What do you indicate [by] saying "holy church"?

R. Llapa Christianocunap huñucuyñintam. Caycunap collanan camachicuquẽmi apunchic Iesu Christo: cay pachapi Paypa rãtinri sãcto padre Romapi cacmi. Cay tucuytam sancta Yglesia ñinchic.

It is the gathering of all Christians.³² Their supreme governor is our Lord Jesus Christ. In his place in this world is the holy father who is in Rome. All this we say [is] "holy church".

(17v) P. Y si son bautizados, y han tornado a peccar, que han de hazer para no ser condenados?

R. Confessar sus culpas al Sacerdote, arrepintiendose dellas.

³¹ There is a lack of concordance between the verb "to save" and "the upper world". The suffix "-man" in this context may mean "towards", but it highlights the difficulty of relating Christian soteriology to Andean space-time reality.

³² The accusative marker of huñucuyñintam shows it to be the object of the verb unancha-, the implicit link with the preceding question. The phrase llapan... huñucuyñintam otherwise lacks a verb.

P. Y haziendo esso seran saluos?

R. Si seran, si permanescen en cumplir los mandamientos de Dios y de la sancta Yglesia, que son

P. Baptizasca runa, ñatac huchallicuspaca, ymactam ruranca ucupachaman mana rincampac?

A baptised person, if he now has sinned, what will he do in order not to go to the underworld?

R. Checa sonco llaquicuspa, puticuspa, huanassacmi ñispam llapa huchancunacta Sacerdote Diospa rantinman confessacunca.

Being sad with a true heart, being sorry, saying "I will improve" he will confess all his sins to the priest who is in place of God.

P. Cayta ruraspaca quispincachu?

If he does this will he be safe?

R. Y, Diospa camachicuscan siminta, sancta Yglesia simintahuampas viñaypac huacaychaspaca quipisncam.³³

Yes, if he always keeps God's commanded word and the word of the holy church he will be safe.

(18r) amar a Dios sobre todas las cosas, y a su proximo como assi mismo.

Dios llapa camachicusca siminri cay iscaymanmi tucun. Diosta tucuy ima haycacta yallispa munanqui, runa macijquictari quiquijquicta hina cuyanqui.

All the God's commands become two: You will love God above all else, and love your fellow man as yourself.

Fin del Catecismo breue

PLATICA BREVE en que se contiene la summa de lo que ha de saber el que haze Christiano

(18v) Oyeme hijo mio con attencion, y dezirte he breuemēte lo que te conuiene saber para salvarte. Primeramente sabras q̄ ay un Dios que es

³³ v.l. quispincam.

Señor de todo, hazedor del Cielo y de la tierra y de todas las cosas, y no ay mas q̄ un solo Dios:

Sonco camalla uyarihuay churi, huc iscay simillapi, quispincayquipac yachācayquieta villascayq̄. Caytatac ñaupaclla yachay. Hucllam Dios llapa yma hayca cacpa apun. Cay Diosmi hanacpachacta, llapa ymaymana, haycay manactahuampas camarcā pacarichircā. Pay sapallāmi Diosca.

Son, listen to me with all your heart, in one or two words I will tell you what you should know that you might be safe [from danger]. But first of all know just this: God is just one, lord of all that is. This God animated and gave origin to heaven, earth, everything, everything whatsoever. He alone is God.

(19r) porque el sol, la luna, las estrellas, los rios, los montes, y todo lo demas, es hechura de Dios, que los hizo para bien de los hōhres. (sic) Este gran Dios, que esta en el cielo, y en la tierra, y en todo lugar, es muy bueno, y muy justo, y a los hombres buenos que le siruē, despues de esta vida, les da gloria sin fin en el cielo: a los malos, que le offenden,

Inti, quilla, coyllurcuna, mayucuna, orcocuna, llapa yma haycacuaapas³⁴ runaj allijnimpac Diospa camascāmi rurascāmi Cay capac Dios manapactay, hanac pachapi, cay pachapi, may pachapihuampas cacmi, checampī collanāca allinpunica. Cay Diosmi payman sonco runacunacta, paypa camachicuscan simintahuan huacaychaccunacta cay cauçay puchucaptin, hanac pachaman pussaspa viñaypac cussichinca. Mana alli runacunacta paypa camachicuscan siminta, mana huacaychaccunactā

The sun, moon, stars, rivers, hills, and everything else, was animated and made by God for the good of man. When this life ends, this God will take to heaven and make glad for ever men who have their heart toward him, those who keep his commanded words taking to heaven will make glad for ever. Evil men, those who do not keep his command,³⁵

les da castigo
(19v) con tormentos sin fin en el infierno. Porque

³⁴ v.l. haycachuampas.

³⁵ The Spanish speaks of "those who offend God", the Quechua of "those who do not keep his word or command".

despues de esta vida ay otra vida, ñ dura para siempre, y las animas de los hõbres no se acaban como las bestias cuando mueren. Mas has de saber hijo mio, y es, que este gran Dios a quien adoramos los Christianos, es Padre, y Hijo, y Spiritu sancto, y aunque son tres personas diferentes, no es mas que un solo Dios.

ucu pachaman carcuspa viñaypac ñacarichica. Chaymanta cay cauçay puchucaptin huc cauçay canmi, runacunap animãchiccunaca, manam ucunchiccunahuãchu huañuncu llamacunahina. Astahuãrac yachay churi, cay capac Dios Chfianocunap muchascaycum, Dios Yaya, Dios Churi, Dios Spiritu sancto, quimça persona caspapas, manam quimça Dioschu, huc Diosllam.

he will throw into the world below [and] make them suffer. Thus when this life finishes there is another life, the souls of men do not die with our bodies like llamas. Moreover, know, son, this royal³⁶ God we³⁷ Christians worship, although being three persons--God Father, God Son, God Holy Spirit--is not three Gods, [he] is just one God.

(20r) Porq̄ todas estas tres personas, ñ son Padre, y Hijo, y Spiritu sancto tienẽ un mismo ser, este es el Dios verdadero, y no ay otro Dios: y todos los demas, ñ adoran las otras gentes, fuera de los christianos, son falsos y vanos.

Agora has de entender, que el hijo de DIOS, que se llama IESUCHRISTO, se hizo hõbre nasciendo de la virgẽ MARIA,

Cay quimçãtin persona, Yaya, Churi, Spiritu sancto quimça caspapas, huc cayniocllam, huc Diosllã. Cay capac Diosllam checan puni Diosca, manam huc huc Diosca cãchu, machuyquichiccunap Diosta hina muchascan huacancunaca llulla çupaymi, manã chaycancunaca³⁸ Dioschu. Caytahuampas yachaytac. Cay capac Diospa churin Iesu Christo sutiocmi viñay virgen S. Maria vicçãpi runa tucurcã, paymãtatac pacarimurcã.

³⁶ The word *capac* was used to denote royalty and nobility, and in early dictionaries it was used as a synonym for "king" or "inca".

³⁷ Quechua has two forms of first person plural, exclusive and inclusive, one which excludes the person being addressed and the other which includes those being addressed. Here the form is exclusive.

³⁸ The reading followed in the translation is *chaycunaca* ("those"). *Chaycancunaca* does not make sense.

This three-together person--Father, Son, Holy Spirit--although being three, has just one being, [and] is just one God. Only this royal God is really and truly God, there are not various Gods. The huacas that your forefathers worshipped as God are lying devils,³⁹ those are not God. Know this as well, the son of this royal God, called Jesus Christ,⁴⁰ became man in the womb of the ever-virgin Holy Mary, and originated from her.

(20v) y padecio muerte de Cruz por su volūtad para salvar los hōbres, y despues resuscito para nūca mas morir: y subio a los cielos glorioso: y al fin del mūdo ha de venir el mismo a juzgar a todos los hōbres, q̄ entonces resuscitarā: y dara premio de gloria a los buenos

Pay q̄quī Iesuxrō, munaspa muchurcā, cruzpi chacatasca huañurcā, llapa runacunacta quispichihuāchicpac. Huañuscanmantari cauçarimpurcāmi viñaypac cauçancampac, manaña huañupūcāpac, hina cauçarimpuspā huanacpachamā (v.l. hanac pachaman) collanā cussicuynioc vichayripurcan. Chay hanac pachamātari quiquillātaomi (v.l. quiquillantacmi) llapa runacunacta taripac hampunca. Chaypachā hinantin huañuc runa cauçarinpunca. Alli Christianocunacta, Diosman sonco caccunactam hanacpachaman pussaspa viñaypac cussichinca.

Jesus Christ himself suffered voluntarily, he died crucified on the cross,⁴¹ in order that he might save all us men. He came to life again from the dead in order to live for ever, not now to die. Coming back to life he went up to heaven with supreme joy.⁴² He himself will come from that heaven to judge all men. At that time all dead men everywhere will come to life

³⁹ Here the Quechua translation speaks of ancestors and indigenous deities, whereas the Spanish has "all the others, which all people other than Christians worship, are false and empty".

⁴⁰ There is a clear need to specify who Jesus Christ is and establish his relationship to God.

⁴¹ The word *chacata*- indicates a cruciform shape of intersecting pieces, such as might be seen in the stars of the southern hemispheres night skies.

⁴² The translators are fairly consistent in translating "glory" by "joy".

again. He will take to heaven good Christians, those who love God, and make [them] happy for ever.⁴³

(21r) y pena de infierno a los malos.

Y si quieres saber, porque causa se hizo hombre, y padescio, y murio enquanto hombre, Iesu Christo nuestro señor siendo verdadero Dios, sabras, que todos los hombres estauamos condenados a muerte y pena sin fin por nuestros peccados, y por el peccado de nuestros primeros padres, que fueron desobedientes a Dios y el hijo de Dios Iesuchristo,

Mana allicunacta, mana Diosman soncocunactã cana ucupachamã carcuspa viñaypac ñacarichfca. Ymaraycũ Iesu Xristo Diosñichic runa tucurcã, nacaricurcã, checã Dios caspatac, runa cayñipi huañurcã ñispa yachayta munaptijquica villascayqui. Llapa runacunã ucupacha viñay ñacaricuypac ñisca carcãchic huchãchic-raycumãta, machũchiccunap Diosta mana yupaychascã huchã raycumatahuã. Chayraycũ apũchic Iesu Christo Diospa çapay churin huacchaycuya⁴⁴ caspa por su bõdad

But the evil, those who do not love God, he will throw into the world below and make them suffer for ever. If you want to know, "Why did Jesus Christ our God, being true God, become man, suffer, and die in his human-ness",⁴⁵ I will tell you. Because of our sin all we men were decreed to suffer the world below for ever, and also because of the sin of our forefathers of not honouring God. Therefore our Lord Jesus Christ the only son of God, being a lover of the poor,

(21v) vino del cielo a la tierra a librarnos ñl peccado, y a saluarnos, y si el no viniera todos perecieramos para siempre. De aqui entẽderas hijo como para ser saluos los hõbres, han de creer en Iesu

⁴³ The expression "the good" in Spanish is given significant elaboration in Quechua to make it clear what the Church means by "good". The elaboration of the fate of the bad in the following sentence, also shows how explicit the author of the *plática* was in enunciating the nature of the afterlife.

⁴⁴ This should probably read *huacchacuyac*, a stereotyped expression for a compassionate person.

⁴⁵ The use of embedded direct speech is a feature of Quechua discourse, and its use to translate indirect speech from the Spanish is an indicator of the translators' sensitivity to the language. However, its carefully phrased theological content make it unlikely that it was a question formed on Quechua lips.

Christo y rescibir su ley, haziēdose xfanos por el sancto Baptismo, por el qual se te perdonarā todos tus peccados,

hanacpachamāta cay pachamā uraycumurcā. Huchāchic-cunamāta quispichihuācanchicpac, hanac pachamā pussahuācāchicpac. Mana Iesu Christo hamūmā carcā chayca tucuy hinātin runacunā viñaypac uçuchhuā, viñaypac huañuchhuā carcan. Cay caymātamari, churi yachanq̄ pi maycā runapas quispiscāpacca, Iesu xfo-māracmi yñinca, paypa camachicuscā simfihuā huacaychāca, bautizacuspa xfano tucūca. Cay baptismopi ari llapa huchayquicunacta pampachapussunqui.

came down from the world above to this world, in order to save us from our sin, and take us to heaven.⁴⁶ If Jesus Christ had not come, all men everywhere would have been lost, we would have died for ever. From this very thing you will learn, son, that in order for any person to be saved, he must first believe in Jesus Christ, he must keep the word he commanded, he must become a Christian through baptism. For in this baptism all your sins will be forgiven definitively,

si te arrepientes
(22r) dellos de corazon, y determinas de no los hazer mas, sino viuir como lo manda la ley de Christo. Y si eres ya christiano baptizado y has tornado a peccar, el remedio que tienes, es boluerte a Dios, y confessar tus culpas al sacerdote, y seras perdonado: y si guardas la ley de Dios, seras saluo para siempre jamas: y la ley de Dios, es muy sancta, y muy justa:

Chay huchayquicunamāta checa sonco llaquicuptijqui, cunanmātaca huanassacmi Diospa siminca mam cauçassac ñiptijqui. Ña baptizasca caspari ñatac huchallicupspaca, quispincayquipac Diosman cutiricuncayquim, llapa huchayquicunacta Diospa rātin padremā⁴⁷ cōfessacūcayquim. Cay cayta ruraspā huchayquicunamanta quispinqui, Diospa camachicuscā siminta alli huacaychaspapas viñaypacmi quispīqui. Diospa siminri ācha allinmi collanāpunim,

when with a true heart you are sorry for those sins of yours, when you say, "From now on I will make amends, I will live according to God's word". If you sin after you have been baptised, in order to be saved you must

⁴⁶ Cf. Spanish: "in order to free us from sin and save us". In Quechua the orientation is toward the other world.

⁴⁷ The expression *Diospa rantin padre* ("father in place of God") has become a standard translation for *sacerdote*.

turn back to God, you must confess all your sins to the father who is in the place of God. Doing just this you will be saved from your sins, and if you keep the word God commanded you will be saved for ever. God's word is very good, it is completely supreme,⁴⁸

y lo que toda ella
(22v) enseña, es que honres y ames a Dios, sobre todas las cosas, y hagas cō tu proximo lo que tu querrias que hiziessen los otros contigo.

Todo esto, y otras muchas cosas maravillosas enseño Dios por su palabra a la congregacion de los christianos, que se llama la sancta Yglesia, cuyo hijo te hazes por el Baptismo.

llapa ymaymana yachachiscancunari, cay yscaymāmi tucun. Tucuy yma haycacta yallispa Diosta munanqui, runa macijquictari quiquiiquicta hina cuyanqui. Cay cay ñiscayta, huaquinin ymaymana collanan cactahuanmi quiquin Diosninchic siminhuan yachachircan llapa christianocunap huñucuyinmā sancta Yglesia sutiocman. Baptismohuanmi ari Sancta Yglesiap huahuan tucunqui,

everything that it teaches is summed up in two things: Ahead of all else you will love God, you will love your neighbour as yourself. This very saying and also many other excellent things, our God himself taught with his word the gathering of all Christians, called the holy Church. With baptism, then, you become a child of the Holy Church, so then

Y assi has de estar firme y
(23r) determinado, de creer y obedecer todo lo que la sancta Yglesia de parte de Dios te enseñare y mandare. Por esso hijo mio guarda en tu alma estas palabras de Dios que te he enseñado, y doliendote de todos tus peccados, llama a Dios con tu corazon, y con tu boca diziendo. Señor mio Iesu Christo, tu eres mi Dios verdadero, y no hay otro Dios sino tu,

chayraycu cay S. Yglesiap yma hayca yachachiscanta, camachiscantahuampas tacyac soncoyquihuan yñinqui yupaychāqui. Chay raycu churi. Diospa cay cay cunascay yachachiscay simintaca soncoyquipi huacaychanqui, huchayquicunamanta llaquicuspari Diosta soncocama huacyarinqui. Simijquihuan rimarispā hina ñinñ. A, capac apuy IESU Christo, camllā ari çapay Diosnij canqui, manam maycampas huc huc Diosnijcá canchu.

⁴⁸ The stress on the supremacy of God's word is made in the context of other "words" - that of the oracle, or that encoded on the *quipu*.

whatever this Holy Church has taught and commanded, believe with a firm heart and honour [it]. Therefore, son, all this advice and teaching I have given of God's word, keep in your heart, [and] being sorry for your sins call to God according to your heart. Say audibly,⁴⁹ "Oh, my powerful Lord Jesus Christ, only you are my only God, nowhere do I have another God.

(23v) tu me redimiste por ti sangre, perdona mis culpas, y salua mi anima pues toda mi esperanza pongo en ti, y por tu bondad dame gracia, para que guarde tus mandamientos, y alcance la vida eterna. Amen.

Cammi yahuarijquihuan rantihuarcanqui quispichi-huarcãqui, huchayta, camayta pampachapullahuay, animayta quispichipullahuay. Llapa suyanayta campim churaycuni. Huacchay cuyac soncoyquiraycu graciayquita coay. Simijquita huacaychancaypac, hanacpachamã quispincaypac. Amen Iesus.

You with your blood bought me and saved me,⁵⁰ my sin, my sin,⁵¹ please pardon on my behalf, please save my soul for me. I place all my hope in you.⁵² In your compassion⁵³ give me your grace, in order that I might keep your word, in order that I might be saved to heaven. Amen. Jesus.

(25r) Catecismo Mayor, para los que son mas capaces.

Introduction de la Doctrina Christiana

Parte primera

Quiero hermano saber como tenays en la memoria lo que os he enseñado de la Doctrina Christiana y

⁴⁹ Lit. "speaking with your mouth, say thus".

⁵⁰ Cf. Spanish "you redeemed me by your blood". The Quechua word *ranti-* was the word for the bartering process of exchange of goods. It was taken over by the Spanish for "to buy". In the Quechua translation here the buying is clarified by the additional "you saved me".

⁵¹ The word *camay* is a synonym of *huchay*, but is rarely used in the Third Council materials.

⁵² An example of Latin calque syntax.

⁵³ Lit. "with your heart that loves the poor".

Churi, yachaytam munani, ma, ymanam Doctrina Christiana yachachiscayta soncoyquipi huacaychãqui,

Son, I would like to know, how do you keep in your heart the Christian Doctrine I have taught you?

(25v) començando de vos dezidme primeramente, que cosa es Hombre?

cammanta callarispa ñaupacta villahuay runaca ymam?

Beginning from you, firstly tell me, "What is man?"

R. El hombre, padre, es una criatura compuesta de cuerpo que muere, y de alma que nunca ha de morir, porque la hizo Dios a su imagen y semejança.

Runaca, padre, Diospa camascanmi rurascanmi, huañuc ucuyoc, viñay cauçac animayoc, Diospa ricchayninmã, unanchanman camasca cascanmanta.

Man, father, was created and made by God, with a body⁵⁴ that dies, with a soul that lives always, because of having been "created" God's likeness, God's representation.

P. Para que fue el hombre criado?
Runaca ymapac camascam?

What is man created for?

R. El Señor y hazedor de todo, crio al hõbre para que le viesse y gozasse en el cielo

Tucuy yma hayca camac capac Diosmi runacta camarcã quiquin Diosta ricuncãpac payhuan hanacpachapi viñaypac cussicuncapac.

The Lord God who "created" everything "created" man so that he could see God himself and be glad with him for ever in heaven.

(26r) y todo lo de mas hizo para que ayude al hombre a alcançar aquella vida bienaventurada.

Llapa ymaymana camascãcunactari, runacta yanapanca ñispã camarcan chay viñay cussi cauçayta runa ussachincampac.

⁵⁴ Lit. "with an inside".

Everything that he created he created saying, "It will help man", so that man might benefit from that life which is always happy.

P. Y todos los hombres despues de esta vida, alc̄an essa bienauenturança?

Cay cauçay puchucaptinri, llapa runacunachu chay viñay cussi cauçayta runa ussachincu?

When this life comes to an end, do all people reach that lasting happy life?

R. No padre, sino solamente aquellos que son buenos, y agradan a Dios.

Manam padre: alli runacunallã, Diospa siminta huacaychaccamallã.

No, father, only good people, only those who keep God's word.

P. Pues los malos, que no conocen ni siruen a Dios, donde van quando mueren?

Mana alli runacuna, mana Diosta riccic, paypa camachicuscã siminta mana huacaychaccunaca, huañuspa maymãmi rincu?

When people who are not good, who do not know God, who do not keep his commands, die, where do they go?

(26v) R. Despues de esta vida ay tormentos y penas sin fin, para los malos, que no siruen a Dios.

Mana alli runacuna, Diospa camachicuscã siminta mana huacaychaccunaca, cay cauçay puchucaptinmi ucupachapi muchuspa viñaypac ñacaricunca.

When this life ends, bad people, those who do not keep the word God has commanded,⁵⁵ will suffer pain for ever in the world below/inside.

P. Pues que es menester para agradar a Dios y salvarse?

⁵⁵ This is the translation for "those who do not serve God".

Runari ymactam ruranca Diosta cussichincāpac, animan-
tapas quispichincampac?

What does a person do to make God happy, and to make
his soul safe?

R. Creer en Iesu Christo hijo de Dios y Señor nuestro
confessando su sancto nombre, y guardar su ley,
esperado en el, y esto haze el que es buen christiano.

Iesu Christo Diospa churin apūchicmanmi yñinca paypa
capac sutinta yupaychāca, camachicuscā simintahuampas
huacaychācatacmi paymā suyacuspa. Cay tamari pi maycan
alli Christiano cac ruran.

He will assent to Jesus Christ God's son our Lord, he
will revere his royal name, and waiting/hoping in him
he will keep what he commanded. For this is what any
good Christian does.

(27r) P. Quien cree en Iesu Christo?

Pim Iesu Christoman yñin?

Who says "yes" to Jesus Christ?

R. El que tiene firmemente de todo corazón los
mysterios que el por su diuina palabra nos enseño, que
se contienen en el Symbolo, o Credo.

Tucuy tacyac sonconhuan, mana tunquispa Diospa capac
siminhuan ymaymana collanan yachachihuascanchicta
Credopi cacta yñicmi.

It is the one who with a completely firm heart,
assents without doubting to what is in the Creed,
those excellent things he has taught us with God's
royal word whatever supreme what he has taught us by
God's word.⁵⁶

P. Quien confiessa su sancto nombre?

Pim Diospa capac sutinta yñispa yupaychan?

⁵⁶ The translator has struggled with the phrase
"the mysteries which [Jesus Christ] has taught us by
his divine word". "Mysteries" become "excellent
things" (literally, "excellent in all kinds of ways").

Who assents to and reveres God's royal name?⁵⁷

R. El que recibe el Baptismo, y los otros Sacramentos.

Sancto Baptismocta, huaquinin Sacramētocunactahuã chasquicmi.

The one who receives holy baptism and other sacraments.

P. Quien guarda su ley esperando en el?

Pim Diosman suyacuspa paypa camachicuscan siminta huacaychan?

Who waits on God and keeps the word he commanded?

(27v) R. El que le ama, cumpliendo lo que en sus diez mandamientos nos tiene declarado, y inuocandole pide en su nõbre lo que enseña la oraciõ del Padre nuestro. Y esto es lo que la Doctrina christiana nos ensena.

Diosta munacmi, paypa chunca camachicuscan simintahuã huacaychacmi, payta huacyarispasutimpi, padre nuestro pi mañacucmi. Caytã ari Doctrina Christiana yachachi-huanchic.

The one who loves God, the one who keeps the ten commandments, whoever prays "our father" in his name, calling to him. For the Christian Doctrine teaches us this.

P. No ay otra cosa en la doctrina christiana que saber?

Doctrina Christianapiri chaillachu⁵⁸ yachancanchic?

Is that all we must know in the Christian Doctrine?

R. Si ay, muchas y muy excelentes que contiene la Sagrada Scriptura y enseña la sancta Yglesia, mas todas se reduzen a estas quatro, es a saber.

⁵⁷ Two verbs have been used in an attempt to capture the meaning of "confess".

⁵⁸ This should probably read "chayllactachu".

Ancha achcã caytaca cã collanã camatac Diospa
quellcãpi Sancta Yglesiap yachachihuascanchicpipas,
llapanri caytahuamãmi tucun.

[We should know] very many things, they are truly
excellent, in God's writing and in what the Holy
Church has taught us.⁵⁹ All are summed up in these
four things:

(28r) El symbolo de la fe. Los Sacramentos de la
Yglesia. Los mandamientos de la ley. La oracion
del Padre nuestro. Y por esso las deue saber todo
christiano, mas en particular.

Yñinincanchicman. Sacramētocunamã. Diospa camachicusã
siminman Padre nuestro oracionmanpas. Chayraycumari pi
maycã christiano cac, cay tahua ñiscaytaca, capanmãta
yachanca.

the "we say yes", the sacraments, the word God has
commanded, and the Lord's Prayer. Therefore whoever is
a Christian, should know each one of these four things
I have said.

Del symbolo: parte segunda.

P. Vēgamos a la primera de essas quatro cosas.
Dezidme, que se contiene en el Credo?

Ma chayca cay tahua ñiscayquip ñaupaquenmãtarac
callarisun. Villahuay cay yñincanchic Credoca yma
ymactã yachachihuãchic?

Therefore let us begin from the first of these four
things you have said. Tell me, this "we say yes"
Creed, exactly what does it teach us?

(28v) R. El Credo, o Symbolo (q̄ es la summa de
nuestra fé) nos ensena en doze palabras o
sentēcias quien es Dios, y lo q̄ el haze con los
hombres, que es un solo Dios en tres personas, y sus
obras son criar, redimir, y sanctificar al hombre. Y
esto mismo ensenan los catorze articulos de la fé, que
estan en la cartilla.

Credo llapa yñincãchicpa huñucuyninca chũca yscaynioc
simipim, Diospa cayninta, runaraycu yma hayca ruras-
cantahuampas yachachihuanchic. Dios cayninri hucllam,

⁵⁹ Taken on its own this reply is awkward, it has
to be understood in terms of the preceding syntax to
make sense.

quimça persona caspapas: runaraycu ymahayca rurascan-
ri, camaymi, runacta quispichijmi, sanctocta ruraymi.
Cay ñiscaytaca, chunca tahuayoc yñincanchic simi
(artículos de la fé sutuoc) cartillapi cacas yacha-
chihuanchictacmi.

The Creed, the gathering of all we believe in twelve
words, teaches us God's being and all that he has done
for man. God's being is just one, although there are
three persons. What he has done for man is to
"create", to save man, to make [him] holy. The fourteen
"we say yes" words (called "articles of the faith")
which are in the cartilla also teach us what I have
just said.

(29r) P. Qual es la primera de essas palabras, o
sentencias del Credo?

Cay yñincanchiccunap ñaupaquẽ siminri yma ñinmi?

What does the first word of what we assent to say?

R. Creo en Dios Padre todo poderoso, criador del
cielo, y de la tierra.

Yninim DIOS yaya llapa atipacman hanacpachap caypachap
ruraquenman, ñispam ñin.

It says, "I say yes to God Father the all-powerful
one, to the maker of heaven and earth".

P. Que cosa es Dios?

Diosca ymam?

What is God?

R. El que es sobre todo sin yqual, de tan gran ser y
bõdad, y saber, y poder, que ni ay, ni puede pensarse
cosa mayor ni mejor, ni que le yguale.

Tucuy yma haycacta yallic mana pactay, mana chayay
Diosmi, paypa capac caynin, collana caynin, amauta
caynin hinãtin atipac cay ninca manapunim rimaypacchu,
hamutayllahuampas hamutaypacchu.

The unequalled, unreachable God is ahead of all, his

royalty, his supremacy, his wisdom, his universal power are unspeakable and unfathomable.⁶⁰

(29v) P. Quantos Dioses hay?

Haycam Dios?

How many gods are there?

R. No mas de uno solo, q̄ siempre fue, y siempre sera sin principio, sin fin, y esta en el cielo, y en la tierra, y en todo lugar, y sabe quanto ay, y puede ser, y con sola su voluntad puede hazer quanto quiere, y todo esso confessamos diziendo Creo en un solo Dios todopoderoso.

Huc çapallã viñay cac, viñaypactacmi canca, mana callarijnioc, mana puchucaynioc, hanacpachapi, caypachapi maypachapihuampas cacmi, tucuy yma hayca cactapas, manarac cactapas, yachacmi llapa ymaymanacunactari çapay munaynillanhuan camassac ñispa camacmi, pacarichissac ñispa pacarichicmi Cay caytã, Huc çapalla Dios llapa atipacmãmi yñini, ñispa ñinchic.

There is just one alone, who always is, and will be for ever, without beginning, without end, who is in the world above, in this world, and in whatever world [there is], he is the one who knows everything that is, and that is not yet, who "created" every sort of thing with just his own will saying, "I will 'create'", the one who gave origin saying "I will give origin". We say exactly this when we say, "I say yes to God the all powerful".

(30r) P. Que entendeys diziendo, que es Padre, por ventura tiene Dios hijo?

Dios yaya ñispaca ymactam unãchãqui, Diosca, churiocchu?

When you say "God the father" what do you denote? Does God have a son?

⁶⁰ Lit. "not at all for speaking, nor for discerning not even with discernment". The Quechua translation is a complex attempt to capture the abstract qualities of the Spanish version, and results in poor Quechua.

R. Si tiene, y es tambien Dios verdadero, y assi creemos y confessamos todos los christianos que este Dios omnipotente, es Padre, y Hijo, y Spiritu sancto que son tres personas distintas, y un solo Dios verdadero.

Y, churiocmi, churimpas checan Diostacmi: cay llapa atipac Diosmi yaya, churi, Spiritu sancto, quimça persona caspa huclla checã Diosmi. Caytam llapa christianocuna, tacyac socõhuã yñinchic, yupaychanchic.

Yes, he has a son, and his son is true God too. This all-powerful God is father, son, Holy Spirit; being three persons is just one true God. We Christians all affirm this with a sure heart, we honour [it].

P. Pues como son tres y un solo Dios?

Yma hinatac quimça caspaca, huc Dioslla?

If there are three, how is there only one God?

R. Porque ninguna de estas tres personas
(30v) es la otra, y cada una de ellas es Dios,
porque tienen un mismo ser y poder y diuinidad, sin que aya en ellas mayor ni menor; y no ay otro Dios sino aqueste,

Cay quimçantin personamanta, yayaca manam churichu, manatacmi Spiritu sanctochu: hinatac churipas manam yayachu, manatacmi Spiritu sanctochu: Spiritu sanctori, manam yayachu, manaracmi churictu:⁶¹ y, çapampica maycan ñequempas checã Diosmi, huc atipaynioc: huc Dios caynioc cascãmãtã huc çapay Dioslla. Cay quimça personamãtari, manam maycannimpas huchinta⁶² yallinchu, cusca camallam, pactapunillam, manatacmi huc huc DIOSCA canchu.

Of this three-together person(s), the father is not the son, nor the Holy Spirit, likewise the son is not the father, nor the Holy Spirit, while the Holy Spirit is not the father nor the son.⁶³ Yes, in each one, whichever one it is, is true God, with one power, and is just one God, on account of having the being of one

⁶¹ v.l. churichu.

⁶² v.l. hucninta.

⁶³ This amplifies the Spanish text, which merely says that "no one [person] is the other".

God.⁶⁴ Regarding these three persons, no one of them is ahead of another, they are on a level, exactly equal, and there is no other God whatever.

(31r) que adoramos y confessamos los christianos: y el mismo lo enseño assi por su palabra.

Christianocunap muchascanchic Diosllam Diosca. Cay tucuytari quiquin Diosmi siminhuan yachachihuar-canchic.

Only the God we Christians adore is God. God himself taught us all this with his word.

P. Pues el sol, la luna, las estrellas, el trueno, las cumbres de los montes⁶⁵, y los rios, fuentes, y tierra fertil, y las otras cosas, que adoran los Indios viejos no son Dios?

Ma chayca, inti, quilla, coyllurcuna, catoylla, apachitacuna, mayucuna, pucyucuna, timpuc yacu, camacpacha, llapa imaymana machuyquichiccunap muchas-cã, chay chaycunaca manachu Dios?

If so, the sun, moon, stars, thunder, apachitas, rivers, springs, bubbling water, fertile earth, all the things that your ancestors worshipped, are those not God?

R. Nada de esso es Dios, y quiẽ lo adora enoja Dios, y le quita su honra cometiendo contra el
(31v) grandisimo peccado y offensa.

Manam Dioschu. Chay chaycunacta muchacca hatun huchacta huchallicuspã Diosta ancha piñachin, Diospa rurascanta quiquin ruraquenta hina muchascanmanta.

They are not God. The one who adores all those commits a great sin and makes God very angry, because he has adored what God made as if it was the Maker himself.

P. Pues que es el sol, y la luna, y lo de mas?

Intica, quillaca, huaquinin ymaymanacunaca ymatac?

The sun, moon, and all other things, what are they?

⁶⁴ The attempt to reflect the Church's official formulations regarding the Trinity results in very obscure Quechua.

⁶⁵ v.l. montes.

R. Son obras de Dios que el formo para que siruiessen como el lo mandasse: y esso confessamos diziendo, que nuestro Dios es Criador del cielo, y de la tierra.

Chay chaycunaca Diospa camascañmi, rurascañmi. Cay capac Diosmi tucuy yma haycacta camascañ. Paypa simincama cãcampac. Cay tamari (y, Dios yayãchicmi hanacpachacta caypachactapas camascañ) ñispa ñinchic.

Those very things are what God "created", what he made. This powerful God "created" all things whatsoever, so that it would be according to his word. In saying "yes, God our father created heaven and earth" we say this.

P. Como hizo Dios todas essas cosas?

Cay tucuy hinãtin ymaymanacunactari yma hinã Dios-ninchic camascañ?

All these things wherever they be, how did our God create them?

(32r) R. Al principio no auiẽdo cosa alguna, sino solo Dios, el con sola su palabra, de nada hizo los cielos, y tierra, y quanto vemos, y no vemos en ellos.

Manaracpacha callariptin manam ymallapas carcanchu, Dios çapallan caspam hanacpachacta, ricuscanhicta, mana ricuscanhictahuampas, chustacmanta, mana cacmanta capac simillanhuan camascañ.

Before the time began, when nothing was, when only God was, from nothing, from what is not, with his powerful word alone he "created" the world above, what we see, and what we do not see.

P. Que ay en los cielos?

Hanacpachacunapiri yma ymam tian?

What is in the worlds above?

R. Ay innumerables Spiritus, que son criados de Dios, muy lindos, y muy valerosos, que llamamos Angeles.

Ancha achca Spiritus Diospa yanancuna Angeles sutioçmi hanacpachapica huntan, ancha cinchi, ancha çumac camam.

Very many spirits, God's servants, called angels fill heaven,⁶⁶ [they are] very strong, altogether lovely.

P. Que hazen los Angeles?

Chay Angelcunari ymactam rurancu?

What do these angels do?

(32v) R. Los Angeles buenos alaban a Dios, y ayudan a los hombres para que se saluen, y cada hombre tiene un Angel bueno, que le guarda.

Alli Angelcunaca Diosllatam viñay viñay muchancu, runacunactapas Diosman rincampac yanapācutacmi, çapa runari huc allin Angel huacaychaqueyocmi canchic.

The good angels worship only God always and always, and they help men to go to God, each of us has a good angel who guards us.

P. Pues ay algunos Angeles malos?

Hinaspaca, mana alli Angelcuna cātacchu?

So, are there bad angels also?

R. Al principio, algunos de aquellos spiritus, que Dios crio, fueron rebeldes a Dios, y por su gran soberuia fueron echados del cielo
(33r) cō su principe Sathanas, cōdēnados a pena eterna, y estos son, los ñ llamamos Demonios, o Diablos.

Y, canmi, callarijpachapim huaqninin Angelcuna Diosman⁶⁷ quiuicurcācu: apuscachac huchan raycumantam, Satanas apunhuan ucupachamā carcusca carcancu, chaypi viñaypac ñacaricuncampac, (chay mana alli Angel çupay ñinchic).

Yes, there are, in the beginning of time some angels turned from God, on account of the sin of pride they were thrown out to the world below with their lord

⁶⁶ The three clauses linked by "que" in Spanish are rendered by three phrases apparently in apposition in Quechua, but in fact making one cumbersome statement.

⁶⁷ This should be Diosmanta ("from God") rather than Diosman ("to God").

Satan,⁶⁸ in order to suffer there forever, (these bad angels are called *çupay*).⁶⁹

P. Y agora que hazen esos malos que llamamos Demonios?

Cunãri chay mana alli Angel *çupay* ñiscãchic cuna ymactam rurancu?

What do these bad angels whom we call *çupay* do now?

R. Como son enemigos de Dios, procuran engañar a los hombres, y hazerles mal, para que no siruan a Dios, y se saluen.

Diosninchicpa hatunnin aucan caspam runacunacta queçachancu, ama Diosta siruincachu, ama Diosman quispincachu ñispam yma hayca huchamãpas raycuyta munanchu.

Being great enemies of our God they mistreat people, saying "do not serve God, do not be saved for God", they want to cause [people] to commit as many sins as possible.

P. Que mal han hecho los Demonios al hombre?

Yma ymapitac chay *çupaycuna* runacta queçacharcancu?

How do these devils mistreat people?

(33v) R. Al principio hizo Dios los primeros hombres, varõ y muger, llamados Adam, y Eua, y dioles muchos bienes en el cuerpo, y en el alma, y el señorío de todas las cosas, para si, y para todo su linaje: y por engaño del Diablo, perdieron estos bienes,
(34r) y cayeron en muchos males y miserias de cuerpo, y alma, y por esso nascemos los hombres en peccado original.

Callarij pachapim, apũchic Dios ñaupac caricta Adã sutioc̃ta, huarmiñtahuan Eua sutioc̃ta rurarcã. Chaycunapacmi ñaurãycuna allin cacta ucunpac, animanpac huã corcan. Chaymanta paycunacta, miramuquencunac-tahuãmi llapa ymaymana rurascampa apumpac, camachi-

⁶⁸ The use of *apu* ("lord") applied to Satan, suggest that the translators thought it was a neutral term.

⁶⁹ Even at this point the Church had to define the meaning of *çupay*.

cuquempac churarcan. Ychaca çupaypa llullaycuscanmi huchallicurcâcu. Chay huchanmantam, Diospa ymaymana coscanta chincachircancu: ucumpa, ammampa⁷⁰ anau, acau ñispa ñacay mana cauçancanta, tarircâcu. Chay peccado original sutioç huchahuanmi hinantin churincunapas pacarimunchic.

In the beginning of time, our God made the first man called Adam, and his wife Eve. For them he gave all kinds of good things for their body and soul. Then he put them with their descendants as lord and governor of everything he had made. But they sinned, deceived of the devil. Because of that sin they lost everything that God had given; they found misery of body and of soul saying "anau, acau" (what a pain! what a drag!), [it was] almost not worth living. So we their children everywhere are born with this sin called original sin.

P. Porque se enojo Dios tanto con nuestros primeros padres?

Yma raycutac Diosninchic chay callaric machunchic-cunapac chica piñacurcan?

Why was our God so angry with our first parents?

R. Porque quebrantaron su mandamiento, obedeciêdo al Demonio embidioso, y enganador, (34v) y assi ellos, y nosotros, los que dellos nascemos por el peccado original, y por los otros peccados que hazemos, quedamos en desgracia de Dios, llenos de males, captiuos del Diablo, y dignos de pena para siempre.

Paypa camachicuscan siminta, mana huacaychasanmantam, chiquicuc llulla çupaypa siminta huñiscanmantam. Chay pacarichiscan huchan raycum, paycunapas, ñocanchic churincunapas huchallicuscâchicraycumamâtahuâmi, Diospa chicnipan, ymaymana ñacaricuycunap apariscan canchic, çupaypa piñas nin viñay ñacaricuyca camâcâchic.

Because they did not keep the word that God commanded, because they obeyed the envious lying devil's word. Because of this original⁷¹ sin they and we their children (because we have sinned too) are carried away

⁷⁰ v.l. animampa.

⁷¹ The word used here--pacarichiscan--means literally "having been made to originate", and is the translators' way of presenting this difficult concept.

by God's hate and all kinds of suffering, prisoner(s) of the devil we are fit for eternal misery.

P. No ay algun remedio para boluernos a la gracia, y amistad de Dios, y ser librados de muerte eterno?

Manachu ymallapas cã, Diospa gracionman, cuyayninmampas cutipũcanchicpac, viñáy huañuymantahuã quispincanchicpac.

Is there not some way that we can return to the grace of God and to his love, so that we can be safe from eternal death?

(35r) R. Si ay, y el unico remedio es Iesu Christo hijo de Dios, verdadero Dios, y hombre, que es nuestro Salvador, y esso confessamos en la segunda palabra del Credo diziẽdo, que creemos, En Iesu Christo, unico hijo de Dios, y Señor nuestro.

Y, cãmi. Cayri çapay quispincãchic Iesu Christo Diospa churin checan Dios checan runa, quispichiquenchicmi. Cayta, yscayñequen yñincanchic simipi, yñincanchic, Iesu Christo, paypa çapay churin apũchicmanpas yñinim, fispas.

Yes, there is. This is our only safety Jesus Christ, son of God, true God, true man, our saviour. This we affirm in the second "we say yes" word, saying, "and I say yes to Jesus Christ, his only son our Lord.

P. En que manera nos saluo Iesu Christo?

Iesu Christo Diosninchicri ymactam rurarcã quispichihuancanchicpac?

What did Jesus Christ our God⁷² do in order that he might save us?

R. Viniendo del cielo a la tierra, a nos enseñar por palabra, y exemplo, el camino de Dios,
(35v) y a padecer por nuestros peccados, para librarnos del Demonio, y del infierno, y hazernos hijos de Dios adoptiuos. Y assi este Iesu Christo es nuestro Maestro, y Redemptor, y todo nuestro bien, y esperança, y por esso los que creemos en el, nos llamamos Christianos.

⁷² The word "our God" is found only in the Quechua, not in the Spanish.

Hanacpachamantam caypachaman uraycumurcã capac
siminhuã, allı rurascanhuampas Diosman rincanchic
ñanta yachachihuanchicpac pay quiquin Iesu Xfom
huchanchicraycu muchurcan, cupaypa maquinmanta,
ucupachamanta quispichihuancanchicpac, Diospa acllasca
churin cãcãchicpac. Paymi cana yachachiquenchic,
quispichiquenchic, çapay suyananchicca. Chayraycum
paymã yñiccuna christiano sutioc cãchic.

He came down from heaven to earth, to teach us the way
we must go to God with his powerful word and his good
deeds. Jesus Christ himself suffered because of our
sin(s), in order to save us from the power of the
devil, from the world below, in order that we might be
God's chosen children. He is our teacher, our saviour,
our only hope. Therefore those who say yes to him are
called Christians.

P. Como vino del cielo a la tierra,
(36r) el hijo de Dios?

Yma hinã Iesu Christo Diosninchic, hanacpachamanta,
caypachaman uraycumurcan?

Just how did Jesus Christ our God come down from
heaven to earth?

R. Esso nos ensena la tercera palabra del Credo,
diziêdo, que Fue concebido de Spiritu Sancto, y nacido
de la virgen Sancta Maria.

Chaytaca quimça ñequẽ yñincãchic simim yachachi-
huãchic. Diospa çapay churinmi Spiritu sanctomanta
runa tucurcan, Virgen sancta Mariamanta pacarimurcan,
ñispa.

The third word of the "we believe" teaches us this. It
says, "God's only son became man from the Holy Spirit,
he was born from the holy Virgin Mary".

P. Que quiere dezir, ser cõcebido de Spiritu sancto?

Yma ñincãpim, Spiritu sanctomantam runa tucurcan, ñin.

What does "he became man from the Holy Spirit" mean?

R. Que el hijo de Dios (no por obra de varon si no por
virtud del Spiritu sancto) tomo carne humana, en el
vientre de la virgen Sancta Maria,
(36v) y quedandose Dios, como lo era, y es, fue
hombre verdadero, como nosotros, enteramente,
excepto el peccado, que nunca le tuuo, ni pudo
tenelle.

Nincampim ñin, Iesu Christo Diospa çapay churin (manã carimatachu)⁷³ Spiritu sanctomãtã virgẽ sancta Mariap vicçãpi runa tucurcã, viñay Dios caspatacmi ñocanchic runacuna hina checan runa carcan. Ychaca huchallanmi manapuni carcanchu, manatacmi huchallicũcapas yachacurcãchu.

It means, Jesus Christ God's only son (not from man) from the Holy Spirit in the Holy Virgin Mary's womb became man, being everlasting God like men he was truly man. But there was no sin of his whatsoever, nor did he know what it was to sin.

P. Y como nascio de la virgen Maria?

Yma hinatac virgẽ S. Mariamãta pacarimurcã?

In what way did he was he born from the Virgin Mary?

R. Siendo ella virgen incorrupta, antes del parto, y en el parto, y despues del parto, y assi esta virgen S. Maria, es madre de Dios, y señora nuestra.

Cay virgen S.Maria Iesu Christocta manarac huachaspa, huachaynimpi, ña huachaspapas viñay virgen mana carip chayaycuscan captinmi. Cay virgen S.Mariã checan Diospa mamã, ñocãchicpari⁷⁴ çapay Coyãchictacmi.

Since this Holy Virgin Mary before giving birth to Jesus Christ, in his birth, or even having given birth [was] always a virgin who had no relationships with a man, this Holy Virgin Mary is true mother of God,⁷⁵ and she is for us the supreme Queen.

(37r) P. En que manera nos libro Iesu Christo del poder del Demonio, y del peccado?

Ymacta ruraspam Iesu Christo Diosninchic ñocãchic runacunacta çupaymanta, huchamãtahuampas quispichi-huarcanchic.

In what way did Jesus Christ our God save us from the devil and from sin?

⁷³ v.l. carimantachu.

⁷⁴ v.l. ñocãchicpacri.

⁷⁵ Or "mother of the true God".

R. Despues de auer viuido entre los hōbres, treynta y tres años, ēsenādoles, y haziendoles mucho bien, y obrādo muchas marauillas, de su voluntad se permitio entregar, a padescer dolores, afrētas, y muerte cruel en la cruz;

(37v) y esso nos ēsena la quarta palabra del credo, diziendo Que padescio so el poder de Poncio Pilato, fue crucificado, muerto y sepultado.

Quimça chūca quimçayoc huatā caypachapi runacunahuā cauçarcā paycunacta yachachircā, allicharcan, ymaymana milagrocunactahuan rurarcā. Cayta ña ruraspam, munaspa muchurcan, queçachasca carcā, ñacaricuy huañuyta cruzpi chacatasca huañurcan. Caytamari tahuañequen yñincanchic simi yachachiuanchic. Poncio Pilato siminmantam muchurcan, cruzpi chacatasca carcan, huañurcan, pampascatac carcan, ñispa.

During thirty-three years he lived with men on the earth, he taught them, he made [them] well, and he did all kinds of miracles. When he had done this, he suffered voluntarily, he was mistreated, he died a painful death crucified on the cross. The fourth "we believe" word teaches us this. It says, "He suffered from the command of Pontius Pilate, he was crucified on the cross, he died, and he was buried".

P. Pues como, siendo Dios, pudo morir, y padescer, y ser sepultado.

Dios caspaca ymanatac huañurcā, muchurcan, pampascapas carcan?

If he was God, how did he die, suffer and be buried?

R. No padescio, ni murio, ni fue sepultado enquanto Dios, sino enquanto hōbre: porque, en la muerte, el alma se aparto del cuerpo,
(38r) aunque la diuinidad, siempre se quedo junta con el alma, y con el cuerpo.

Manam Dios caynimpichu, runacaynillampim huanurcā, pāpascapas carcan: animanmi ucunmāta pitircan, anchurircan: Dios cayninca manapunim ucunta, animan-tapas çaquercanhu.

He did not die nor was he buried in his Godness but in his human-ness: his soul broke off⁷⁶ from his body,

⁷⁶ From the entry in Holguien, this would appear to be a church formulation: anima ppitin ucunmanta-"el alma se despega del cuerpo". Op.cit., p.289. Note that *ppiti* means "to break" or "to snap", often of two

and went away: his Godness did not abandon his body nor his soul.

P. Porque quiso morir muerte de cruz?

Ymaraycū cruzpi chacatasca cayta munarcan?

Why did he want to be crucified on the cross?

R. Por pagar el peccado del arbol vedado, en el madero de la cruz, y por ponerse en alto adonde todos miremos, y nos saluemos: y por esso, la señal de la S.cruz, es la señal del christiano

(38v) de la cual usamos para hazer bien, y para defendernos de nuestros enemigos.

Mana chancana hachapi callaric machunchicpa pacari-chiscā huchacta cruzpi chacatasca caspa puchucapūcam-pacmi hahuañicmā sayachisca huañuyta munarcan payman viñay cahuarispa quispincanchicpac. Chay raycum ari cay S. Cruz unāchaca christianocunap unāchan. Cay cruzhuanmi yma hayca alli rurancāchicpac, aucanchic-mantahuan quispincanchicpac unanchacunchic.

Being crucified on the cross in order to put an end to the original sin of our first parents regarding the tree that was not to be touched, he wanted to die lifted up high, so that [by] always looking to him we would be safe.⁷⁷ Therefore the sign of the Holy Cross is the sign of the Christians. With this cross we sign ourselves to do whatever good, and in order that we might be safe from our enemies.

P. Despues de muerto Iesu Christo, quedose assi como los otros hōbres, que se deshazen en la sepultura?

Iesu Christo ña huañuspa, ymanā huaquinin ayacuna curuyac, allpayac, chay hinallatacchu aya huacipi curuyarcā, allpayarcan?

After Jesus Christ died, did he turn to worms and become earth in the place of the dead, in that same way as other corpses turn to worms and become earth?⁷⁸

things closely joined together.

⁷⁷ This represents a very complex Quechua sentence which would require careful explanation for it to be understood.

⁷⁸ Lit. "corpse house".

R. No ẽ ninguna manera, mas su anima sanctissima descendio a los Infiernos cõ grã poder, y magestad para librar las animas
(39r) delos sanctos Padres, que alli estauan esperando su sancto aduenimiento, y en viniendo el tercero dia resuscito de entre los muertos. Y esso nos enseña la quinta palabra diziendo, Que descendio a los infernos, y al tercer dia resuscito de entre los muertos.

Manam. Ychaca paypa sanctissima animanmi hinantin atipayninhua capac cayninhuampas ucupachacunama uraycurca, Sanctocunap animacunacta, paypa cussi hamuyninta suyachcaccunacta pussarcomuncampac. Huañuccunamantari, quimcañequẽ pũchupim cauçarimpurcã. Caytamari pichcañequen yñincanchic simi yachahihuachic. Ucupachacunaman uraycurcã quimcañequẽ pũchupim huañuccunamãta cauçarimpurcã, ñispa.

No. But his most holy soul with its great power and royal being went down to the world below, in order to abruptly lead from there the souls of the saints, who were waiting for his happy coming. He came to life again from the dead on the third day. The fifth word of the "we believe" teaches us this. It says, "He went down to the underworld, on the third day he rose alive from the dead".

Como resuscito Iesu Christo?

Ma, yma hinam IESU Christo cauçarimpurcan?

How did Jesus Christ come alive again?

Por su proprio poder, como era Dios junto el
(39v) alma con su cuerpo, y assi se leuanto muy glorioso y para nũca mas morir, ni padescer, dando principio de vida eterna a los redimidos con su sangre.

Dios caspam, quiquimpa atipayninhua animãta ucunmã eutichircã,⁷⁹ hina cutichispam collanã cussicuyniocña cauçarimpurcan, viñaypac mana ñacaricupuncampac, mana ña huañupũcampac. Cay hinam yahuarinhuan⁸⁰ quispichiscacunaman viñay cauçaypa callarijninta corcan.

Being God, he made his soul return to his body with his own power, making it return he came back to life with supreme joy, never again to suffer, never again

⁷⁹ v.l. cutichircã.

⁸⁰ v.l. yahuarinhuan.

to die. In this way with his blood he gave to those he had saved the beginning of eternal life.

P. Que hizo despues de resuscitado?

Na cauçarimpuspari ymanarcanmi?

When he arose, what did he do?

R. Por quarêta dias diose a conocer a sus discipulos, mandâdoles que fuessen a predicar su palabra a (40r) todo el mundo paraque se saluen los que la recibieren. Y finalmête subio a los cielos, y esta assentado ala diestra de Dios Padre todo poderoso, y esso nos enseña la sexta palabra diziendo que Subio a los cielos, y esta assentado a la diestra de Dios Padre todo poderoso.

Tahua chûca punchaucamam Discipulôcunamã suti ric-cichicurcan. Paycunacta camachispa ñircã: hinâtin ticcimã simijta cunacuc rijchic, chasquiquêcuna quispincampac. Hinam cana hanacpachaman vichay ripurcã, chaypim llapa atipac Dios yayampa pañañequempi tiaycun. Caytamari çoctañequen yñincâchic simi yachachihiuâchic. Hanacpachacunaman vichay ripurcan, Dios yaya llapa atipacpa pañañequempim tiaycun, ñispa.

Until forty days he made himself clearly known to his disciples. He commanded them, "Go to the whole world preaching my word,⁸¹ so that those who receive [it] may be saved." Then he went up to heaven, there he sits at the right hand of his father the all-powerful God. The sixth word of the "we believe" teaches us this, it says, "He went up to the heavens, and sits at the right hand of father, the all-powerful God."

P. Pues Dios padre, es hõbre, que tiene diestra o siniestra?

Dios yayaca runachu pañayoc, lloqueyoc cãcampac?

Is God [the] father a human, so as to have a right hand and a left hand?

R. Dios no es cuerpo sino Spiritu,
(40v) pero entendemos por la diestra de Dios padre, los mayores bienes, y honra que Dios tiene, lo qual posee nuestro Señor Iesu Christo sobre todos los

⁸¹ The word *cunacuy* has the sense of "to warn".

Angeles, y sobre toda criatura. Y assi acabo la obra de nuestra redempcion, de la cual nos ha de pedir cuêta, si no nos aprouechamos della por nuestra culpa.

Ricuy. Diosca Spiritullam, manam ucuyocchu. Dios yayap panã ñispaca, paypa ymaymana caquenta cussicuy-nin tahuanmi unanchanchic. Cay tucuytã Iesu Christo Dios yayãchic collanã yallequeyocta hatallin llapa Angelcunamanta, Diospa hinantin rurascancunamantapas. Hinamari quispincanchicpac rurascanta puchucapuar-canchic. Cay cay ñocãchicraycu rurascanta, huchap raycuscã mana chaycama yupaychaptinchicmi nanac taripaytaca taripahuassun.

Look. God is only Spirit, he does not have a body. When we say the right hand of God the Father, we indicate all the wealth and joy he has. All this Jesus Christ, God our Father, possesses super abundantly more than all the angels, more than all the beings everywhere God has made. So in order that we might be safe he finished completely his work for us. When, because of our sin, we do not value what he has done for us as is appropriate, he will judge us very severely.⁸²

(41r) P. Quando nos ha de pedir essa cuenta?

Caytari haycapmi taripahuassun?

When will this be required of us?

R. En el ultimo dia, quando ha de venir con gran magestad, y espanto del mundo, a juzgar a todos los hombres viuos, y muertos, quãtos fuerõ, son, y seran, conuieue (v.l. conuiene) a saber, a los buenos para dalles gloria, porque guardaron sus sanctos

mandamientos, y a los malos pena perdurable,
(41v) porque no los guardaron, y esso nos dize la septima palabra, que De allã de venir a juzgar los viuos, y los muertos.

Quepa pũchaupim Iesu Christo Diosninchic cay pachaman hampunca, capac cayninhũã llapa hinantimpa manchanan. Chaypacham cauçac runacunacta huañuccunactahuãpas

⁸² The Quechua here is complex, reflecting the Spanish theological formulation. The Spanish "culpa" with the idea of "through our own fault" rather than "sin", is translated by *hucha*. The word translated "judge" (*taripay*) also means "to inquire into" (as a judge might), or "to examine" (as of accounts on the *quipu*).

callarijpachamanta, puchucancancama⁸³ cacta taripanca:
ña taripaspã allí christianocunacta hanacpachamã
pussaspa viñaypac cussichinca, camachicuscan siminta
allí huacaychascanmanta, mana allicunactam cana
ucupachaman carcuspa viñaypac ñacarichinca, camachi-
cuscã siminta mana huacaychascanmanta. Caytamari
canchisñequen yñincanchic simi yachachihuanchic,
Cauçacrunacunacta huañuccunactahuampas raripac⁸⁴
hampunca, ñispa.

On the last day Jesus Christ our God will come again to earth, with his majesty, to be feared everywhere. At that time he will judge the living and dead who have been from the beginning of time to the end. When he has judged [them], he will take the good Christians to heaven and make [them] happy for ever, because they have kept his command well. But he will throw out bad people to the underworld and make [them] suffer for ever, because they did not keep his command. The seventh word of the "we believe" teaches us this. It says, "He will come to judge the living people and the dead".

P. Pues como seremos buenos, y sanctos para alcançar la gloria, que ha de dar Iesu Christo?

Yma hinatac allí christiano cassun, sanctopas cassũ,
Iesu Christop cossac ñiscã cussi cauçayta ussachin-
cãchicpac?

How can we be good Christians, be holy, so that we can enjoy the happy life Jesus Christ said he would give?

R. Essa es obra, y don del Spiritu sancto,
(42r) que es Dios, y sanctifica a los fieles en la
Yglesia catholica, dando en ella charidad a los
justos, y perdõ a los peccadores, y esso confessamos
en las tres palabras siguiẽtes, octaua, nona, y
decima, diziẽdo, Creo en el Spiritu sancto. La sancta
Yglesia catholica. La cõmunion de los sanctos. El
perdon de los peccados.

Chayca Spiritu sancto Diospa rurayninmi, cocuyninmi.
Payllamari checã DIOS caspa CHRISTIANOcunacta sanctoc-
ta rurã, allí christianocunactari ancha munan,
huchayocunap huchantapas pampachapuntacmi. Caytamari
puçacñequen yñincauchic⁸⁵ simipi ysconpi, chuncampipas

⁸³ v.l. puchucancancama.

⁸⁴ v.l. taripac.

⁸⁵ v.l. yñincanchic.

yñinchic, SPIRITU SANCTOMANMI yñini. Sancta YGLESIA catholica.⁸⁶ SANCTOCUNAP hucllachacuyninta, huchacunap pãpachaynintahuampas, yñinitacmi, ñispa.

This is the work of God the Holy Spirit,⁸⁷ it is his gift. Only he, being true God, makes Christians holy. He really wants good Christians, and he forgives the sins of sinners. The eighth, ninth and tenth words of the "we believe" [teach us] this. They say, "I say 'yes' to the Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic Church, the being-made-one of saints, and I say 'yes' to the forgiveness of sins".

P. Que entendeys por la sancta Yglesia catholica?

Ymactã sancta Yglesia ñispa unanchanqui?

What do you mean when you say "the Holy Church"?

(42v) R. La congregacion de todos los fieles christianos, que tienẽ la verdadera fé, y doctrina, cuya cabeza es Iesu Christo, y su Vicario en la tierra, el summo Pontifice de Roma.

Llapa christianocunap huñucuynintam, checã fé yñinioc cactã. Caycunap collanã camachicuquenmi apunchic Iesu Christo, caypachapi paypa rantinri sancto padre Romapi cacmi. Cay tucuytam sancta Yglesia ñinchic.

[I mean] the gathering of all Christians,⁸⁸ the ones who affirm the true faith. The supreme governor of these is Jesus Christ, and in his place on earth is the holy father who is in Rome. "Holy Church" means all this.

P. Que cosa es la communion de los sanctos?

Sanctocunap hucllachacuyninca ymatac?

What is the making-one-together of the saints?

R. Es la union en una misma fé, y en unos mismos sacramentos, y especialmente en el mayor de todos los sacramentos, (que se llama Communion)

⁸⁶ v.l. catholicacta.

⁸⁷ Lit. "the holy spirit God".

⁸⁸ There is no principal verb, it is understood from the preceding question.

(43r) en que los fieles rescibē a nuestro Señor Iesu Christo, y por su virtud participã de las ofones, y buenas obras de toda la S. Yglesia como partes del mismo cuerpo.

Huc quiquin yñijpi, huc quiquin Sacramētocunapihuan tantanacuymi. Sacramentocunamantari collanan communion sutiocpi tantanacuymi. Cay Sacramentopim ari christianocuna apūchic IESU Christocta chasquinchic, paypa callpan raycumātam, S.Yglesiap llapa oracionnincuna, alli rurascancunapas huc ucuyoc cacman hinalla chayahuanchic.

It is a gathering in one same faith, with the same sacraments. It is a coming together in the supreme sacrament, called "communion". For in this sacrament we Christians receive our Lord Jesus Christ. On account of his strength, all the prayers and good deeds of the Holy Church come to us just as to that which has one body.⁸⁹

P. Y por la remission, y perdon de los peccados, que entendeys?

Huchacunap pampachaynin ñispaca ymactam unanchanqui?

What do you mean when you say "forgiveness of sins"?

R. Por essa palabra confessamos, que no ay peccados ningunos, tantos, ni tan graues, que no se perdonen en la Yglesia.

(43v) Por virtud de los Sacramētos, y poder que Christo les dio, y tambiē, que a ninguno se le perdonã sus peccados fuera de la Yglesia, no siendo christiano, y estos bienes tan grandes tenemos en esta vida.

Cay yñincanchic: llapa ymaymana hucha, ymana hatūnin cacpas cay sancta Iglesiapica pãpachaypac camam, Sacramentocunap callpanhuan, Diospa callpa coscanmanta. Chaymantari pi maycan mana baptizasca runap huchã manam pampachascachu canmã. Cay cay chica allin caqueyocmi cay cauçaypi canchic.

⁸⁹ The meaning of the Quechua is an approximation to the Spanish, but at points quite different. The "faithful" of the Spanish version become "Christians" in Quechua. The idea of participation in the actions of the church as parts of the same body, has proved difficult. The Church's earlier definition of "body" as *ucu* (inside), means that it is not possible to speak of "parts" of the body, but only of a "body" in a general way.

This we affirm: whatever sin, however big it may be, can be pardoned in this Holy Church, with the strength of the sacraments, from the strength God has given. In addition, the sin of the person who is not baptised cannot be forgiven. We have these very considerable possessions in this life.

P. Y en la otra vida venidera, que sera?

Cay cauçay puchucaptinri huc cauçaypica ymam canca?

When this life ends, how will it be in the other life?

R. Esso nos enseña la undecima, y duodecima palabra, que son las ultimas del Credo diziendo,
(44r) Creo en la resurrection de la carne, y la vida perdurable.

Chaytaca chūca hucnioc, iscaynioc yñincanchic simim yachachihuanchic, Aychap caucarimpuynta, viñay cauçaytahuampas yñinitacmi, ñispa.

The eleventh and twelfth words in the "we say yes" teach us that. They say, "And I affirm the resurrection of flesh and everlasting life".

P. Que entendeys por la resurrection de la carne?

Aychap caucarimpuynta ñispaca ymactam unanchanqui?

Why do you mean by saying "the resurrection of flesh"?

R. Que en el dia postrero, todos los hombres, tornando las almas a sus propios cuerpos por la virtud immesa de Dios, parecerã ante el juyzio de Dios, para nunca mas morir.

Quepa punchaupim llapa runacunap animancuna Diospa callpanmanta quiquin ucunman cutipuspa, taripaquẽ Diospa ñaupaquẽmã ricurinca, viñaypacñã cauçancampac.

On the last day the souls of all men will return to their own body by the strength of God, will appear before God the judge, in order that they may now live for ever.

P. Pues buenos, y malos, todos han de resuscitar?

Ma, chayca alli runacunapas, mana alli runacunapas lllapanchu cauçarimpunca.

So, does this mean that both good and bad people will all rise to life?

(44v) R. Si, pero en muy diferēte manera, porque los malos resuscitaran, para padescer en fuego eterno, con cuerpos, y almas, en compaṅa de los Demonios: mas los buenos, con cuerpos gloriosos, para descansar, con gran contento, en compaṅa de los Angeles.

Y cauṣarimpuytaca, llapāpas cauṣarimpūcan: ychaca yscay hamupī. Mana alli runacunā ucūcunahuā, animācunahuā, mana tucuc, mana huañuc ninapi ṣupayhua huaquilla viñaypac ñacāricūcāpac cauṣarimpūca. Alli christianocunā cana, llūpaclla ucuyoc cauṣarimpūca, Angelcunahuā huaquilla, viñaypac cussicuncāpac, ṣamacūcāpac.

Yes at the resurrection all will rise, but in two ways. Bad people will rise with bodies and souls in order that they may suffer together with the devil in the fire that never ends and never dies. But good Christians will rise with a pure body to be glad and to rest forever with the angels.

P. Y las almas que vida ternan?

Alli christianocunap animancunari yma cauṣaytā caucāca?

What kind of life will the souls of good Christians live?

R. Iuntamente con los cuerpos,
(45r) viuiran vida eterna, reynando con Dios, y gozādo de aquellos bienes infinitos, que nunca se acaban para siempre jamas. Amen.

Quiquin ucuncunahuanmi, Diospa cayllāpi viñaypac capac cauṣayta cauṣanca, ymaymanacunacta hatallispā viñaypac cussicunca, camacūca. Amen.

With their own bodies they will live royally ever near God. They will possess all sorts of things and be glad and rest for ever. Amen.

(45v) De los sacramentos

Parte tercera

P. Que cosa es Sacramento?

Sacramentoca ymam?

What is a sacrament?

R. Una señal, y cerimonia exterior, con que los christianos honran a Dios, y mediante ella participan su gracia, por virtud de la passion de Iesu Christo.

Huc unãcham, huc hahua ruraymi, cayhhanmi⁹⁰ christianocuna Diosta muchãchic, paypa yanapayninhuãtacmi gracianta chasquinchic, Iesu Christo apũchicpa muchuscampa callpanraycumanta.

It is a sign. It is an outer action.⁹¹ With this we Christians worship God. With his help we receive his grace, because of the strength of the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(46r) P. Quien ordeno estos Sacramentos?

Pim cay Sacramentocunacta camachircan?

Who commanded these sacraments?

R. El mesmo Iesu Christo Dios, y Señor nuestro, para nuestro remedio y salud.

Pay quiquin Iesu Christo apũchicmi quispincanchicpac, allininchicpachuan camachircan.

In order that we might be safe and for our good our Lord Jesus Christ himself commanded [them].

P. Quantos son?

Cay sacramẽtocunari haycam?

How many sacraments are there?⁹²

⁹⁰ v.l. cayhuanmi.

⁹¹ The expression is a church creation; *hahua* means "outside" or "above" and *ruray* "to do or make".

⁹² Lit. "These sacraments, how many are there?" The use of *cay...-ri* presumes an earlier reference to them, which means the questions are to be used together. Used individually outwith this context they would sound incorrect.

R. Solamēte siete, es a saber, Baptismo, Cōfirmacion, Communion, Penitencia, Extrema Unctiō, Orden, Matrimonio.

Cāchicllam caymi Baptismo, Confirmacion, Communion, Penitencia, Extrema Unction, Orden, Matrimonio.

There are seven: Baptism, confirmation, communion, penance, extreme unction, ordination, marriage.

P. Que cosa es Baptismo?

Baptismoca, ymam?

What is baptism?

R. Es un Sacramento,
(46v) en que se laua el cuerpo con agua natural,
diziēdo, el ministro. Yo te baptizo en el
nombre del Padre, y del Hijo, y del Spiritu sancto.

Cay Sacramento, Baptismopin baptizaquenchic ucunchicta
yacuhuan mayllahuanchic: ñocam baptizayqui yayap,
churip, Spiritu sanctop sutimpi, ñispa.

In this sacrament [of] baptism our baptiser washes our
body with water, saying, "I baptise you in the name
of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit".

P. Para que se ordeno el Baptismo?

Cay baptismoctari ymapacmi IESU Christo DIOSninchic
camachircan?

And for what purpose did Jesus Christ our God command
baptism?

R. Para que el hombre se haga christiano, y hijo de
Dios alcançando entero perdon de todas sus culpas.

Baptizasca caspa christiano Diospa churin tucūcanchic-
pacmi. Llapa huchanchiccunamātapas quispinčchicpacmi.

In order that being baptised we might become Chris-

tian(s), God's son(s).⁹³ It is also that we might be safe from all our sins.

P. Y todos los que son bautizados, alcãçã todo esso?

Llapa bautizasca runacunachu cay cay allincunacta chasquincu?

Do all baptised people receive these same good [things]?

(47r) R. Los niños, que se bautizan, luego quedan hechos hijos de Dios: mas delos ya adultos, el que tuuiere fee, y verdadero arrepentiminto de todas sus culpas, sera hecho hijo de Dios, por su gracia en el bautismo, por que sin fee, y sin arrepentimiento de los peccados passados, (aunque por el bautismo se haga christiano) no alcançara la gracia de ser hijo de Dios.

Huahuacunaca bautizasca pachallam Diospa churin tucun, yuyaccunamantari, Diosm̃ checa sonco yñic, llapa huchancunamantapas checa sonco llaquicucllã baptizacuspã Diospa graciãta chasquin, Diospa churimpas tucũ. Yuyaccunamantari Diosman mana yñicca, yñispapas huchanmanta, mana llaquicucca (pana baptismopi christiano tucuspapas) mana Diospa graciãta chasquispaca manã Diospa churinpa canman.

Children become God's son(s) in the moment of baptism. Among the adults, only those who truly say "yes" to God and who are truly sad as a result of their sins, receive God's grace. Among the adults, the one who does not say "yes" to God, or who says "yes" but is not sad, if he does not receive God's grace, he cannot be God's son, (although becoming a Christian in baptism).⁹⁴

(47v) P. Sin bautismo puede alguno ser salvo?

Pipas mana bautizasca caspa quispinmanchu?

Who can be safe without being baptised?

⁹³ The translation treats *cristiano* as a word in apposition to *Diospa churin*, it could also be "son(s) of the Christian God".

⁹⁴ The translation leaves the possibility of being a Christian while lacking the grace of God.

R. Nadie puede ser salvo sin rescibir el sancto baptismo por obra, quando puede, o a lo menos, por desseo, quando no pudiesse por la obra, como el que rescibe Muerte por la fee catholica, que se dize, ser baptizado en su sangre.

Mana baptizasca caspaca, manã pillapas quispinmanchu. Ychaca baptizaquẽ mana captin. A, pillapas baptizahuanman ñispa, tucuy sonconhuan munanmã, chayca quispinmãmi. Fee ynincanchicraycu huañucrí, yahuarimpi baptizascañam huañun.

No one at all can be safe without being baptised. But if there is no baptiser, the person who wishes wholeheartedly, "Oh, that someone would baptise me!", will be safe. The person who dies for the faith which we assent to, dies already baptised in his blood.

P. Que es Confirmacion?

Cõfirmacionri ymam

What is confirmation?

R. Es un Sacramento, en que el Obispo (48r) unge la frente con Chrisma consagrada, diziendo las palabras, que son forma de aquel Sacramento.

Cay Sacramentopim Obispo Chrisma consagrascahuan, christianop matinta hauin caypac camachisca simicta rimaspa.

In this sacrament the bishop applies the consecrated Chrisma to the Christian's forehead, speaking the word that has been commanded for this.

P. A quien se da esse sacramento, y paraque?

Pim cay sacramentocta chasquin?

Who receives this sacrament?

R. Dase a todos los christianos baptizados, para que tengan fortaleza en la fee, y ley de Dios, contra sus enemigos.

Llapa christianocunã chasquincu, aucancunacta atincampac, yñincanta tacyac soncohuan yñincampac, Diospa camachicuscã simintapas tacyac sõcohuã huacaychancãpac.

All Christians receive it, in order to defeat their enemies, in order to believe their faith with a firm heart, and in order to keep God's commanded word with a firm heart.

P. Que cosa es, Sacramento de communion?

Communion Sacramētoca ymam?

What is the communion sacrament?

R. Es aquel soberano Sacramento del altar,
(48v) que es la Hostia consagrada, y lo que esta
cōsagrado en el Caliz.

Capac collanā Sacramento altarpi cac, Hostia con-
sagrascam, Cahapihuan⁹⁵ cōsagrasca cacmi.

The most supreme Sacrament on the altar is the
consecrated Host, with what is consecrated in the
chalice.

P. Que esta alli despues de consagrarse?

Chaypiri ña consagrasca captin ymam tian?

What is in it after it is consecrated?

R. Esta el verdadero cuerpo y sangre de Iesu Christo
nuestro Señor, y assi adoramos al mismo Dios, que esta
alli, el mismo que en el cielo, por manera marauil-
llosa.

Iesu Christo apanchic⁹⁶ checan ucun, checan yahuarinmi
chaypica mana hamutay collanan hamupi tian. Hanac-
pachapipas, cay collanan Sacramentopipas huc quiquin
Diosllatatacmi muchāchic.

It is the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ and his
true blood. It is there in wonderful way that cannot
be understood. We worship the one same God who is in
heaven, and in this supreme Sacrament.

P. Paraque ordeno tã alto Sacramento Iesu Christo
nuestro Señor?

⁹⁵ v.l. calizpihuan.

⁹⁶ v.l. apunchic.

Cay chica collanan Sacramētoctari ymapacmi Iesu Christo Diosninchic camachircan?

For what purpose did our Lord Jesus Christ command this very important sacrament?

(49r) R. Para dos cosas, principalmente. La primera, para sacrificio singular, que offrezcamos al Padre eterno, por nuestros peccados, y necesidades, y esso hazē los sacerdotes en la Missa siempre que celebrā. La segunda, para mantenimiento de nuestras animas, que nos de vida de gracia lo qual haze quando los fieles resciben dignamente?

Yscay hamupacmi. Hucninmi Dios Yayamā, çapay collanan cocuyta huchanchic, camāchicraycu, cocuncāchicpac, caytā sacerdote Diospa rantincuna viñaypas missacta rimaspa ruran. Hucninmi cana animāchiccunap cauçancāchicta coācāchicpac. Cay Sacramētocta llūpac animahuan chasquispam graciapi collanan cauçayta cauçassun.

It is for two reasons. One is in order to give to God the Father a unique, supreme gift for our sin. The priests in place of God do this always when saying mass. The other reason is to give life to our souls. Receiving this sacrament with a pure soul, let us live in grace an excellent life.

(49v) P. Como se rescibe dignamente?

Ymacta ruraspam Iesu Christo Dosninchicta alli chasquissun.

What do we do to rightly receive Jesus Christ our God?

R. Teniendo el alma limpia de peccado mortal, y llegando quando la S.Yglesia nos lo concede, que por lo menos ha de ser una vez al año, por Pascua de Resurrectiō, y en el articulo de la muerte.

Huañuy huchacta animanchicmanta vischuspam chasquissun, sancta Yglesia mamanchicpa camachicuscan simin cama Iesu Christop cauçarimpuscan hatū Pascuapi, huañuy pachapihuampas comulgasunmi.

We receive [him by] ridding our souls of mortal sin,⁹⁷

⁹⁷ The word *huañuy* means "death", but can also mean "great" when used adjectivally. The phrase could therefore be "serious sin".

according to the command of the Holy Church our mother we may communicate in the great feast of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and also at the time of death.

P. Que cosa es sacramento de penitencia?

Penitencia Sacramentoca, ymam?

What is the sacrament of Penance?

R. Es un Sacramento en el qual el Christiano (50r) confiessa todos sus peccados mortales que se acuerda auer hecho, despues del baptismo, teniêdo dolor, y proposito de la enmienda, y de hazer la satisfacion deuida por sus culpas.

Cay Sacramentopim christiano cac runa, llapa huañuy huchâcunacta Diospa râtin padre, hucha pampachacpac churascamã cõfessacũca baptizacuscannmãta pacha, yuyascâtacama checa sonco llaquicuspa, puticuspa, huanassacmi ñispa, huchaycunamãta muchûcayta yma hayca rurâcaytahuãpas puchucacussacmi ñispa. Caytã Penitêcia ñinchic.

In this sacrament the person who is a Christian will confess all his mortal sins to the father [who is] in place of God, placed [there] to forgive sins. [He will confess] all that he remembers from the time of his baptism; he will be truly sad and afflicted, and say, "I will improve, I will complete the suffering and whatever I have to do for my sins". This we call Penance.⁹⁸

P. A quien ha de confessar sus culpas el Christiano

Christiano cac runari, pimãmi huchâcunacta confes-sacunca?

To whom will a Christian confess sins?

R. Al Sacerdote, que esta en lugar de Dios,

⁹⁸ This is one of the more complex replies of the *doctrina* with embedded clauses making comprehension difficult. In contrast to the Spanish, the Quechua makes it clear that the confession has to be made to a priest who is both "in place of God" and ordained by God "to forgive sin". This is underlined in the following question. There is to be no recourse to the indigenous confessor.

(50v) y tiene poder, para absoluerle.

Diospa rantin huchacta pãpachacpac churascan Sacerdotemanmi confessacunca.

He will confess to the priest who is ordained to forgive sin in God's place.

P. Y no podra callar algun peccado?

Cõfessacucuri manachu huc huchallantapas pacanca?

Can the one who confesses not hide any sin at all?

R. Aun que sea muy secreto, y muy grãde el peccado, debe dezirlo, pues el confessor, aunque le matẽ, no puede descubrirle: y si a sabiendas calla algun peccado mortal,

(51r) pecca de nuevo, y no le vale la confession.

Manã. Pana huchanca ymana pacascapas, ymana hatunnimpas cãca, Diospa rãtin Sacerdotemãca sutillam llapãta confessacunca. Confessaquen padreca confessiõmpi hucha uyariscanta huañuchiscapas mana punim villacunmanchu, confessacuspatac huc huañuy huchallãtapas huactãpi pacanman, chayca huc hatun huañuy huchactam hina pacascãmãta mossocata huchallicupunman. Confeuacuscampas⁹⁹ huaclicanmãmi. Manapunim yupayñachu canman.

No. Secret sin however hidden, even if it be very great, he must openly confess everything to the priest who is in God's place. The father confessor cannot in any way recount the sin that he heard in confession, even if he was killed (for it). If the person who confesses hides again just one mortal sin, he would have sinned again as if it were a great mortal sin. His confession would have been spoiled. It would count for absolutely nothing.

P. Que llamays peccado mortal?

Ymactã huañuy hucha ñinqui?

What does mortal sin mean?

Q. El que quita la vida del alma, que es la gracia de Dios, por ser contrario al amor de Dios, o del proximo.

⁹⁹ v.l. confessacuscampas.

Diospa graciã animanchicpa cauçayninta çaçchihua-
quẽchictã huañuy hucha ñinchic. Cay huañuy hucham, ama
Diosta munancachu, runa macintapas ama cuyãcachu ñispa
runacunacta aucahuãchic.

We say "mortal sin" [of] the person who takes away our
soul's life (the grace of God).¹⁰⁰ This mortal sin
acts against us, and says, "Do not love God, do not
love your neighbour".

P. Y ay otros peccados, que no sean mortales?

Huc huc, mana huañuy huchacunari cantacchu?

And are there other sins which are not mortal sins?

(51v) Si ay muchos, ñ son los veniales, en que
todos caemos a menudo, y aũq̃ por ellos no
perdemos la gracia de Dios: pero disponen para esso, y
de todos debe el Christiano pedir perdon al Señor: mas
los mortales, es necessario cõfessarlos tambiẽ al
Sacerdote.

Y, canmi, ancha achcã hahua hucha peccado venial
sutioc. Cay huchacunactaca llapampas viñayllam
huchallicunchic. Cay hahua huchacunaca manam Diospa
gracianta çaquencanchicpac yacam raycuãchic. Chay
raycum christianocuna cay hahua huchacunamantahuã
llaquicuspa apũchic Diosta, pãpachahuay, ñinca. Huañuy
huchacunacta confessacũcam.

Yes, there are lots of external sins called "venial
sins". We all commit these sins all the time. These
external sins are not [sufficient] for us to leave
God's grace behind, [but] they almost cause us to.
Therefore Christians will be sad about these outer
sins, and say to our Lord God, "Forgive me". They
will confess mortal sins.

(52r) Y esta obligado a confessarse luego, en
peccando mortalmente?

Huañuy huchacta huchallicucuri huchallicuspa pachalla-
chu confessacunca?

Must the person who commits mortal sin confess upon
sinning?

¹⁰⁰ The phrase "grace of God" sits uneasily
alongside "the life of our soul" in Quechua, another
example of the problem caused by Spanish dependent
clauses.

R. Luego debe arrepentirse con viuo dolor, si quiere boluer a la gracia de Dios, con proposito de confesarse, quando lo manda la sancta madre Yglesia: es a saber, cada año una vez por lo menos, y quãdo ha de comulgar, y ã cualquier peligro de muerte.

Diospa graciãman, cuyayninma ~ chayapussac ñicca, huchallicuspa pachallatacmi, llaquicuspa puticuspa huchãmanta yuyaycunca, huanassacmi ñinca, s.Yglesiap confessacuy ñiscan pachapi confessacussacmi ñinca. S.Yglesia mamãchicri huatãcunapi huc mita cõfessacũqui ñispã camachihuãchic, õcospa, huañuyac caspa, comulgãcanchicpacpas.

The person who says, "I will return to God's grace and love" the moment when he sins, will be sad and grieved and come to a decision about sin and say "I will change". He will say, "I will confess in the time called confession by the holy church". The holy church our mother commands us to confess once a year, [or] when we are ill, or about to die, and in order that we might take communion.

(52v) Que cosa es Sacramento, de extrema Unction?

Extrema Unctionca ymam?

What is Extreme Unction?

R. Es un Sacramento, enque el Sacetdote¹⁰¹ unge a los enfermos que estã en peligro de muerte, con olio bendicto, diziendo las palabras, que la Yglesia usa.

Cay Sacramentopim Diospa rantin sacerdote huañunayac runacta sancto oliohuan hauin, caypac camachisca simicta rimaspa.

In this sacrament the priest [who is] in place of God anoints the person about to die with holy oil, and says the word(s) ordained for this.

P. Paraque se da la extrema Unction?

Cay Sacramento Extrema Unctiõri, ymapac chasquinam?

For what does [a person] receive this sacrament of Extreme Unction?

¹⁰¹ v.l. sacerdote.

R. Para limpiar el alma de peccados, y
(53r) esforçarla en el trãce postrero, cõtra las
tentaciones del enemigo, y tãbiẽ para dar salud
al cuerpo, si le cõuiene.

Cay sacramentohuãmi Iesu Christo Diosninchic huañu-
nayac runacta animanta huchancunamãta pichan. Cay
Sacramẽtopitacmi graciata con, huañuynin pachapi
taquiac soncohuan cupaypa hauteca yninta atincampac,
alliapuncã captimpas alliapũcampac.

With this sacrament Jesus Christ our God sweeps the
sins from the soul of the person about to die. And in
this sacrament he gives grace, in order that with a
firm heart he may defeat the temptation of the devil
in the moment of death, and so that he may get better
(if he is to get better).

P. Que es Sacramento de orden?

Orden Sacramentoca ymam?

What is the the sacrament of ordination?

R. Es un Sacramento, por el qual el Obispo cõsagra, y
haze ministros de la Yglesia, y en el se les da gracia
para hazer bien su officio. Y tiene diuersos grados.

Cay sacramẽtopim Obispo christianocunacta sancta
Yglesiap yanancampac consagran, Cay Sacramen-
topiracmi sacerdotecuna Diospa graciata chasquincu
rurancãta Diospa simincama, alli rurãcampac. Sacerdote
caypacca, achca hamupi chayanam.

In this sacrament the Bishop consecrates Christians to
be servants of the Holy Church. In this sacrament too
priests receive God's grace that they might do their
work well according to God's word. There are many
different ways of being a priest.

(53v) P. Que es Sacramento de Matrimonio?

Matrimonioca ymam?

What is marriage?

R. Es un concierto firme, y perpetuo del varon, y
muger christianos, para engendrar, y criar hijos en
seruicio de Dios, guardandose lealtad entresi, uno a
otro.

Cay Sacramentopim cari, huarmi, christiano pura, paypas, paypas huafuncâcama, mana pascanacuncâpac huñinacuspâ casaracuncu. Cay Sacramētopitacmi Diospa gracianta chasquîcu, huahuacunacta mirachincâpac, Diosta siruinca ñispa alli huyhuâcâpac, caripas, huarmipas, mana huachoc huchayoc cauçancampac.

In this sacrament a man and a woman, both Christians, consent the one to the other not to separate until they die. In this sacrament they receive God's grace, in order that they might produce children, to bring them up well to serve God, and so that the man and the woman might live without the sin of adultery.

P. Pues esso mesmo no lo tienen los gentiles infieles?

Mana baptizasca runaca manachu chay hinallatac casaracuncu?

Do unbaptised people not marry in just the same way?

(54r) R. Verdad es, que ay concierto matrimonial entre infieles, mas no es Sacramento como entre christianos; que por virtud del, Iesu Christo les da gracia para viuir bien, y salvarse en su estado.

Manam. Y, huarmiacuytaca huarmiacunmi, huarmiri coçayacuytaca coçayacunmi: ychaca chay coçayacuy, huarmiacuy manã christianocunap casaracuynin hina Sacramentochu. Christianocunallatacmi cay Sacramentopi Diospa graciãta chasquincu, alli cauçâcampac, cay casarasca cauçaynimpi, Diosman quispincampac.

No. Yes, [the man] takes a wife in marriage, the woman takes a husband in marriage, but this husband-taking and wife-taking is not a sacrament like Christian marriage. Only Christians receive God's grace in this sacrament, in order to live well, in order to be saved to God in their married life.

P. Y puede casarse qualquier hombre, con qualquier muger?

Pi maycan cariri allichu munascancama pi maycan huarmihuan casaracunman?

Is it right for any man to marry any woman he wishes?

(54v) Ay ciertos grados de parentesco, y otras condiciones, que tiene dispuestas la sancta madre Yglesia, con las quales no se puede casar, ni vale nada el casamiento: y por esso. es que se casa, debe

primero saber del Padre, que es su cura, si puede casarse, y con quien, y en que manera, porque no peque, y este amancebado, y no casado.

Çispa yahuarmacinhuã, chaymãtas. Yglesia mamãchicpa manã casaracuypac camãchu ñiscancunahuanca manapunim casaracunan yachacunchu. Cay cay cunahuan casaracuspaca, mana yupaytam casaracun. Chayraycu pipas casaracuyta munaspaca, mana pantancãpac, huacaychaquen padrentarac rimachichũ, allichu casaracuyã, pihuãmi, ymahinã, ñispa tapucuchun: pacta pantaspa huchallicunman, casarascach cani ñispatac, mana casarasca, mancebasca canman.

In keeping with the Church's statements that it is not fitting to marry [some?] near blood relatives, it is definitely not the custom to marry.¹⁰² If one marries with these, it is invalid. Therefore if someone wants to marry, in order not to go wrong, let him get advice from the priest who looks after him, let him ask if it's good that he should marry, with whom, [and] how. Let him take care not to go wrong and sin, and be saying "I am married" , when he might be not married [but] living in sin.

P. Estos siete Sacramẽtos que aueys dicho, son todos de necesidad?

Chay canchis Sacramẽto villahuascayquicunactari quispincãchicpac llapantachu chasquissun?

These seven Sacraments you have told me, do we have to receive all of them in order for us to be safe?

R. Los dos dellos, que son Matrimonio y Orden, son de pura volũtad: los demas en sus tiẽpos, son de necesidad, especialmente el Sancto Baptismo para alcañçar perdon del peccado original,
(55v) y delos demas cometidos hasta alli. Y el Sacramento de Penitencia, para alcançar perdon delos peccados mortales despues del baptismo.

Matrimonio, Orden, cay yscaynin Sacramẽtoctaca munaccamallã chasquin, mana munacca manam. Huaquinin Sacramentoctam ychaca mitancunapi chasqssũpuni. Baptismoctã ñaupaclla chasquissun, peccado original

¹⁰² It is not clear in the Quechua how the first phrase regarding blood relatives is related to the rest of the statement.

huchamanta manarac Baptizasca caspa huchallicus-
canchicmātahuā quispincāchicpac. Ña baptizasca
caspari huañuy huchacta huchallicuspaca, Penitēcia
Sacramētōctā chasquissū, chaypim pāpachasca cassū.

Only the person who wants to receives the two sacra-
ments of marriage and holy orders, the person who does
not want [them] does not. But we must receive some
sacraments at their time. We receive baptism first of
all, from original sin, in order that we might be safe
from our sins [committed] before we were baptised.
After being baptised, if we commit mortal sin, we
receive the sacrament of penance, and we shall be
forgiven there.

P. Que tātās vezes se hã de rescibir esos Sacramētos?

Cay Sacramentocunactari hayca mitam chasquissun?

How many times should we receive these sacraments?

R. Los tres dellos, que son Baptismo, y Confirmaciō, y
Orden, una vez solamente,
(56r) y si mas se rescibē a sabiēdas, es muy gran
maldad.

Baptismoctaca huc mitallam chasquissū, Confirmacion-
tapas, Ordentapas huc mitallatacmi chasquissun. Cay
quimçanmanta maycanñequentapas ñatac chasquispaca huc
hatun huañuy huchactam huchallicunmã.

We will receive baptism only once, and we receive
Confirmation and Holy Orders just once too. If we
receive [any of] these three another time, we would
commit a very great sin.

P. Y los otros quantas vezes se han de rescibir?

Huaquinin Sacramentocunactaca hayca mitam chasquissun?

How many times should we receive the other sacraments?

R. La Penitēcia, es muy bien rescibilla a menudo
confessando sus culpas. La Sagrada Communion, quando
el confessor sabio diere licencia, y no mas. La
Extrema Unction, cada vez q̄ por enfermedad esta en
peligro de muerte.

Sacramãto Penitenciactaca, hayca mitapas allipacmi
chasquissun. Communiōtaca amauta padre confessacpa
simincamallam. Extrema Unctiontari viñaypas, huañuy
oncoypa chayapusanca chasquissuntacmi.

We may receive the sacrament of Penance however many times for our good. [We received] communion according to the word of the wise father confessor. We receive Extreme Unction each time a deadly illness comes.

P. Y el Matrimonio no se puede dexar por otro estado?

Casarasca cauçaytari, huc maycan cauçayraycu, allichu çaquechhuan?

Is it right to leave the married life because of another life?

(56v) R. Bien se puede dexar por el estado de continencia, que es mas perfecto, mas el soltero, o soltera, que no viue castamente, mejor hara en casarse, que no quemarse con peccado. Y casado una vez, no puede casarse otra vez, sino es muriendo la muger, o el marido.

Huarmihuan, carihuan mana tarinacuypacca, y, allim çaquechhuan. Cay hina cauçayracmi casarasca cauçaymanta ashuã allin: caripas, huarmipas, soltero caspa huchallicuy cachacca casaracuchun mana huchallicuncampac. Ña casarasca caspari, hucnin huañuptinracmi casaracupunca.

Yes, it can be left, if it is for a man and a woman not to have intercourse. This kind of life is better than married life. However let the man or the woman who is single and who lives in sin marry in order not to sin. Once married, only when one of them dies will [the other] marry.

Catecismo Mayor de los Mandamientos

Parte quarta

(57r) P. Quantos son los Mandamientos de la ley de Dios?

Haycam Diospa camachicuscan simin?

How many commandments of God are there?

R. Son diez, los tres primeros pertenescen a la honra de Dios, y los otros siete, al prouecho del proximo.

Chũcam. Quimça ñaupaquenmi Diosta muchancanchicpac: huaquinin canchisri runamacinchicpa allijninmpac.

There are ten. First there are three in order that we should adore God, the other seven [are] for the good of our neighbour.

(57v) P. Quales son?

May canmi?

What are they?

R. Honrar Dios sobre todas las cosas. No jurar su sancto nombre en vano. Sanctificar las fiestas. Honrar padre, y madre. No matar. No adulterar. No hurtar. No leuantar falso testimonio. No cobdiciar la muger agena. No cobdiciar los bienes agenos.

Caymi. Apũchic Diosta tucuy yma haycacta yallispa yupaychãqui. Capac sutita ama cacimãta jurãquichu. Domingocunapi, fiestacunapipas çamacũqui, Diosta muchãcapac. Yayayquicta, mamayquicta yupaychãqui. Ama pictapas huañuchinçhu. Ama huachucchu canqui. Ama çuacũquichu. Ama pictapas tũpãquichu. Ama hucpa huarmenta munapayãçhu. Ama hucpa yma haycãtapas munapayãçhu.

They are: You shall adore our Lord God ahead of all else. Do not swear [taking] his royal name lightly. You shall rest on Sundays and on festivals, in order to worship God. You shall respect your father and mother. Do not kill any one. Do not commit adultery. Do not steal. Do not blame any one. Do not desire another person's wife. Do not desire anything that someone else has.

(58r) P. Quien honra a Dios sobre todas las cosas?

Pim Diosta tucuy yma haycacta yallispa yupaychan?

Who reveres God above all other things?

R. El que tiene fee, esperançã, y charidad con Dios, creyendo en el, y esperando en el, y amãdo a el, mas que a otra cosa del mundo.

Payman yñic payman suyacuc, tucuy yma haycacta yallispa payta munacmi.

The one who says yes to him, the one who hopes in him,¹⁰³ the one who loves him above all else.

P. Quien quebranta el mādamiēto de hōrar a Dios?

Pitac Diospa cay camachuscan siminta, mana yupaychaspā pampachan?

And who breaks God's command by not respecting it?¹⁰⁴

R. El que adora qualquiera criatura, o tiene (58v) ydolos, o guacas, o da credito a falsas sectas, y heregias, o sueños, y gueros, que son vanidad, y engaño del Demonio.

Diospa rurascanta, camascanta quiquin Diosta hina muchac runacunam. Huacayoc, Villcayocunam machucunap, heregecunap, mana alli cauçayninta, yachachiscantahuan yñiocunam, moscoyta yupaychac, umucunacta yñiccunam, Diospa, cay camachuscan siminta pampachan. Cay caycunaca mana alli çupaypa llullaynincamam.

People who worship what God has made, [and] what he has "created" as if it were God himself. Those who have *huacas* and *villcas*, those who say approve of the bad customs and teaching of old people and of heretics, the one who honours dreams, those who approve of indigenous priests, break this command of God. These things are totally an evil lie of the Devil.

P. Segun esso, todas las ceremonias, que ēseñā los Indios viejos, y hechizeros, cōtra la ley de los christianos, son vanidad, y engaño del Demonio?

Hinaspaca machucunap, umucunap yma hayca pacarichiscā yachachiscancuna, christianocunap checa alli cauçayninman mana chayacca, cacī simich çupaypa llullaynillancha ari.

So then, the whatever teachings invented by old people and the indigenous priests, do not agree with the truly good life of Christians, and would only be empty words, the lie of the devil?

¹⁰³ *Suyay* means "to wait", and came to be used for "hope" and "trust".

¹⁰⁴ *Pampachay* is used here to mean "break", in other contexts it means "pardon".

(59r) R. Assi es padre sin dubda ninguna, y los que las usan seran condenados con el Demonio.

Y, padre, checampi hinapunim. Cay caycunacta yupaychacca, catichicca, çupayhuã huaquim ucupachamã carcusca canca.

Yes, father, in truth it is just so. The one who honours and follows these things, will be thrown into the underworld together with the devil.

P. Pues porque los christianos adoran las imagenes de palo, y metal, si es malo adorar los Ydolos?

Huacacuna mana muchana captinca, ma, ymaraycũ christianocuna ymagencunacta cullumanta, antamanta rurasacta muchancu?

If *huacas* should not be adored, why do Christians adore images of wood and metal?

R. No adoran los christianas (sic) las ymagenes de palo, y metal, por si mesmas, como los
(59v) ydolatras, ni piēsan, que en ellas mismas ay virtud, y diuinidad, mas mirando lo que representan, adoran a Iesu Christo en la cruz, y en su imagen, y reuerencian a nuestra Señora la virgen Maria, y a los otros sanctos, que estã en el cielo, pidiēdo su favor;
(60r) y las mismas ymagenes reuerencian, no por lo que son, sino por lo que representan.

Christianocunaca, manam huaca muchaccuna hinachu ymagencunacta cullumãta, antamanta, yma haycamantapas rurasacta muchancu: muchaspari manam Dios cayniocta hinachu muchancu. Hinam ari cruzpi Iesu Christop ymagennimpipas, quiquin Iesu Christoctam muchanchic. Virgen Sancta Mariap ymagennimpiri, pay quiquin virgētam muchãchic, sanctocunap ymagennincunapipas, pay quiquincunatatami muchanchic, yanapahuãcanchicpac. Cay ymagencunacta, sanctocunap ricchaynin, unanchan cascallãmãtã yupaychanchic, paycunacta yuyarichihuascallãchicmantam muchanchic.

Christians do not adore images of wood and things made from metals or anything else like people adore *huacas*. When they adore them they do not adore as if they have the being of God. So then in the image of Jesus Christ on the cross, we adore Jesus Christ himself. And in the image of the Holy Virgin Mary we adore Mary herself, and in the images of the saints, it is they themselves [the saints] we worship, in order that they might help us. We worship these images, the likeness of the saints, we worship only what it

represents. We worship only an account of what they bring to our memory.¹⁰⁵

P. Quiẽ quebranta el segundo mandamiento, que es, No jurar el nombre de Dios en vano?

Pim Diosninchicpa yscayñequẽ camachicuscan siminta, Ama Diospa capac sutinta cacimanta juranquichu, ñiscanta pampachan?

Who breaks our God's second command, which says, "You will not swear [by] God's royal name, [taking it] lightly?

R. El que blasfema el nombre de Dios, o de sus sanctos, y el que jura por el Criador, o por la criatura con mentira, y sin necesidad, (60v) y el que no cumple lo que jura, o promete a Dios de hazer, siendo cosa buena.

Diospa capac sutinta sãctocunap sutintahuãpas ñacacmi, Dios ruraquẽta, paypa yma hayca rurascãtahuã llullacuspa cacillapas juracucmi, allipac jurascanta, rurassac ñiscantahuã mana puchucapucmi cay simicta pampachan.

The one who curses God's royal name and the names of the saints; the one who lies when swearing and takes God his maker and what he has made lightly; the one who does not fulfil the good he has sworn [to do] and the promise he has made, breaks this command.

P. Quien quebranta el tercero, que es, Sanctificar las fiestas?

Pim Diospa quimçañequen camachicuscan siminta pampachã, Domingocunapi fiestacunapipas çamacunqui Diosta muchãcapac, ñiscanta?

Who breaks God's third command which says, "You will rest on Sundays and on festivals in order to worship God?

R. El que no oye missa los domingos, y fiestas de

¹⁰⁵ The Church's doctrine of signs here, with its apologetic of images in terms of the *unanchan* or "sign" and "what it brings to the memory" could equally be an indigenous apologetic for *huacas* or *mallquis*.

guardar, y el que haze obra seruil, y trabaja sin justa necesidad.

Domingocunapi, çamacuy fiestacunapipas missacta mana uyaric, mana ãcha muchuspatac yancã llamcacucmi cay simicta pampachan.

The one who does not hear mass on Sunday and on rest festivals, the one who does not worship much and works for no good reason, breaks this word.

(61r) P. Quien quebranta el cuarto, que es, Honrar padre y madre?

Pim Diospa tahuañequen camachicuscan siminta pampachã, Yayayquicta mamayquicta yupaychanqui, ñiscanta?

Who breaks God's fourth command which says, "You shall honour your father and mother"?

R. El que desacata a sus padres, o mayores corporales, o spirituales por obra, o palabra, y el que no le obedece con reuerencia, o no los socorre en sus necesidades.

Yayanta, mamanta, machũcunacta, padrecunactapas, siminhuan, rurayninhuanpas yancachac, queçachacmi, paycunacta mana ullpuycuc soncohuan yupaychac huaccha chanactapas manatac yanapacmi cay simicta pãpachã.

The one who by word or deed scorns and treats with contempt his father, his mother, his grandparents, or priests, the one who does not honour them in humility, who does not help the needy, breaks this command.

P. Quien quebranta el quinto, que es, No matar?

Pim Diospa pichañequen camachicuscã siminta, Ama runacta huañuchinichu, ñiscanta pampachan.

Who breaks God's fifth command which says, "Do not kill a person"?

(61v) R. No solamente aquel que mata a su proximo, mas tambien el que le hierre, o le maltrata, por obra, o por palabra, o le quiere mal en su coraçon.

Manã runa hauñuchicllachu cay simicta pampachã: runamacinta çrichacpas, macacpas, soncompi chic-nipayacpas pampachãtacmi.

It is not only the person who kills another who breaks this command, the one who wounds his fellow, who strikes a blow, and the one who goes on hating in his heart, breaks it too.

P. Assi mismo puede uno hazerse mal?

Runari allichu quiquillantatac quirichacunman, queçachacunman?

Is it right for someone to wound himself or treat himself with contempt?

R. No puede matarse, ni herirse, ni dexarse morir, ni hazerse otro daño notable.

Manam runam cipicuncan, huañuchicuncan, quirichacun-campas yachacūchu, manatacmi pi runapas soncollan-manta, yma chiquimā raycucuncan yachacūchu.

A person should not hang himself, kill himself, or wound himself, nor should anyone willingly endanger his own life.¹⁰⁶

(62r) P. Segun esso, todos los que se priuan de juyzio emborrachandose, peccan grauemente.

Hinaspaca machac runacuna, yuyaynimpas chincācancama, upiaccunaca hatun huchactach ari huchallicun? Ymanam?

So then, drunkards, those who drink until they lose their senses, do they then a commit serious sin? How?

R. Si peccan, porque de hombres se hazen bestias, y se ponen a peligro de hazer grandes males.

Y, ancha hatun huchactam huchallicun: soncoyoc, yuyaynioc runa caspatac soncōnac llama hina tucū. Yma hayca hatun huchacunaman chayancampac raycucuntac.

Yes, he commits a very great sin, being a human being with a mind to think with, he becomes mindless like a llama. He puts himself in danger of committing all sorts of great sins.

¹⁰⁶ This question and answer are related to the question of suicide, a feature of indigenous life following the devastation and dislocation caused in the aftermath of the Conquest.

P. Quien quebranta el sexto, que es, No adulterar.

Pim Diospa çoctanequen camachicuscã siminta, Ama huachucchu canqui, ñiscãta pãpachan?

Who breaks God's sixth command, which says, "Do not be dishonest"?

R. El que comete fealdad cõ muger agena, o cõ (62v) soltera, y mucho mas si es con otro hombre, o con bestia: y tãbien el que se deleyta en palabras, o tocamientos deshonestos consigo o con otro. Y tales maldades las castiga Dios con fuego eterno en la otra vida, y muchas vezes en esta presente, con graues males del cuerpo, y alma.

Hucpa huarminta, coçannac huarmictahuã pantacmi, caripura pantanacuy, yma haycahuampas pãtanacuy, cay caytacmi hatun tapia huchaca. Pēcay simicta, cussi cussilla rimaric, pencay pencayta llamcaycuspa cussicuc. Cay huchacunacta huchallicucmi Diospa cay camachicuscan siminta pampachã. Cay hina huchallicuc-taca viñaypacmi Diosninchic ucupachapi rupachin. Caypachapipas ancha achca cutitacmi ucunta, animãta-huãpas ymaymana ñacaricucunahuã, muchuchin.

One who wrongs another's wife, or a single woman; (to does wrong with another man, or with whatever it may be, is a great filthy sin); the one who uses shameful words frivolously; the one who takes pleasure touching what is very shameful; the one who commits sins like these breaks this command of God. Our God will make the person who sins like this burn for ever in the world below. In this world too the body and the soul very often suffer all kinds of troubles.

(63r)¹⁰⁷ P. Quien quebranta el septimo, que es, No hurtar?

Pim Diospa canchisñequen camachicuscan simita, Ama çuacũquichu ñiscanta pampachan?

Who breaks God's seventh command which says, "You shall not steal"?

R. El que toma la hazienda del proximo contra su voluntad: o le engaña, vendiendo, o comprando, y el que haze daño en sus cosas, por si o por otro.

¹⁰⁷ Incorrectly numbered 62 in original.

Runap ymanta, haycãta, huaycapuc, çuapuc, quechupuc:
ranticuspari llullaycuc, ymahaycãtapas queçachapuc,
queçachachipucmi cay simicta pampachan.

The one who robs, steals, or takes away something from
a person, the one who deceives exchanging, the one who
damages whatever it may be, the one who makes someone
damage [something], breaks this command.

P. Que ha de hazer el que hurta lo ageno?

Hucpa ymanta çuapucca ymanancatac?

What should a person do who steals from another?

R. Si no restituye, y satisfaze el daño que hizo,
(teniêdo con que)
(63v) no puede ser perdonando: mas viue condenado a
pena para siempre.

Çuacuscãta chayniocmã mana cutichipuptionca, ymahayca
queçachapuscanmãtari chaninta, (captintac) mana
copuptionca, manapunim huchã pãpachascachu cãman:
yallipas çupaypa huacinmã carcusca hinañã cauçã.

If he does not return completely what he has stolen,
if he does not recompense exactly what he has damaged,
his sin can in no way be forgiven, moreover he will
live like someone thrown into the house of the devil.

P. Quien quebranta el octauo, que es, No leuantar
falso testimonio?

Pim Diospa puçacñequen camachicuscã siminta, Ama
pictapas tũpanquichu, ñiscãta pãpachan?

Who breaks God's eighth command, which says, "Do not
blame someone"?

R. El que infama a otro con mentira, o descubre su
falta secreta sin necesidad, y el que juzga mal de
otros sin razon.

Runa macinta llullãtahuã rimaspa pẽcaymã chayachic,
pacapi, huasapi huchallicuscantapas sutinchapuc,
yancalla villacuc, huchannactari, mana alli unan-
chaspatac, cacita tũpaycuc. Cay cayta huchallicucmi
cay simicta pãpachan.

He who brings his neighbour into shame by lying; the
one who unnecessarily tells and makes open sins
committed in secret; the one who does not indicate the

guilty clearly and accuses lightly; the person who sins likes this breaks this command.

(64r) P. Quien quebranta el noueno, y el decimo, que es, No cobdiciar la muger, ni los bienes agenos?

Pim Diospa yscõñequẽ camachicuscã siminta, chucãtapas, Ama hucpa huarminta, Ama hucpa yma haycantapas munapayãquichu ñiscanta pampachan?

Who breaks God's ninth and tenth commands which say, "Do not desire someone's wife, do not desire anything that is another's?"

R. El que en su pensamiento consiente en querer para si la muger agena, que es, qualquiera otra, cõ quien no esta casado: o ã querer los bienes agenos: de manera, que assi lo haria si pudiesse, porque este tal ya pecca grauemente, y es digno de infierno.

Casarasca huarmicta, mana casarasca cactapas, hucpa yma haycõtahuãpas munapayacmi cay simicta pampachan: ñamari soncõpica, huchallicuncay yachacũmã, huchallicuymãmi ñin. Chayraycũ hatun huchacta huchallicun, ucupachap ri camanñam.

The one who desires (over and over again) a married woman, a single [woman], whatever belongs to another, breaks this command; even if it be [a matter of] saying in his heart, "If I could sin I would do it". Therefore he commits a great sin, fit for the world below.

(64v) P. Quando Dios nos veda la mala obra, no nos veda tambien el mal desseo della?

Diosñinchic, ama mana allicta rurãquichu ñispaca, manachu ama mana allictapas munapayanquichu ñihaunchictac?

If our God says to us "do not do evil", does he not also say to us "do not desire evil"?

R. Si padre, y assi es, en todos los mandamientos.

Y, padre, hinam. Llapa camachicuscan simimpipas, ama mana allicta munapayãquichu, ñispam camachiuanhichic.

Yes, father, just so. In all his commands, he also commands us not to desire evil.

P. Pues porque en estos dos postreros nos prohíbe en especial, el mal deseo de la mujer ajena, y de la hacienda ajena?

Ymaraycum, cay yscay quepa camachicuscan simillampi, ama hucpa huarmita, ama hucpa ymãtapas munapayanquichu, ñispa camachihuanchic?

Why in these two last commands does he command us, "Do not desire someone else's wife, do not desire what belongs to another"?

(65r) R. Porque son dos cosas, el deleyte, y el interes, que mas ciegan nuestro deseo: y por que sepamos, que la ley de dios se ha de cumplir, no solo con la obra, sino tambien con el coraçon.

Huarmi munay, yma hayca munay, cay iscaynillã hucha checampi sonconchicta pantacachic cascanmantam, sutilla Diosninchic ama munapayanquichu ñispa camachihuanchic. Cayta yachancanchicpachuan. Diosninchicpa simintaca, manam hahua rurayllahuãchu huacaychassun, soncohuampas haucaychassuntacmi.

Just the two sins of desiring a woman, or desiring whatever it may be is really what makes our heart go wrong, therefore our God has clearly commanded us, "Do not desire". In order that we may know this let us keep God's word not only in external acts but also with the heart.

P. Ay otros mandamientos que guardar mas de esos diez?

Diospa cay chunca camachicusca simillãchu huacaychãcãchic? Cayri huc huc simicuna huacaychancanchic cãtacchu?

Do we have to keep these ten commands of God? Or, are there other commands as well that we must keep?

(65v) R. Diuersos mandamientos ay para diuersos estados y negocios, y la sancta Yglesia nos ha puesto diuersos preceptos, que nos conuiene guardar, especialmente cinco.

Y, achcã caytaca cã, çapa runap cauçancãpac, rurãcãpacpas. S.Yglesia mamãchicri, achca simictatacmi huacaychancanchicpac camachihuanchic camachicuscan simincunap collanãri, pichcam.

Yes, there are lots, for each person to practice and do. The Holy Church our mother commands us to keep

many things. There are five which are the most important commands.

P. Quales son?

Maycanmi?

What are they?

R. Oyr missa los Domingos, y fiestas de guardar. Ayunar a sus tiempos. Confessar una vez en el año. Comulgar por Pascua florida. Pagar diezmos, y primicias.

Domingocunapi, fiestacunapipas Missacta uyarinqui. Mitancunapi ayunãqui. Huatancunapi hucmita cõfessacũqui Iesu Christop caucarĩpuscan hatũ Pascuapi comulgãqui. Diezmosta, Primiciastapas conqui.

You will hear mass on Sundays and Festivals. You will fast in the [appointed] times. You will confess once a year, and take communion in the great festival of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. You will give tithes and firstfruits.

(66r) P. Y debe el christiano hazer otra cosa mas de la dichas?

Cay cay ñiscayq̃ simillatachu christianocuna huacaychanca?

Must Christians keep these words you have spoken?

R. Tambien debe cumplir las obras de misericordia, corporales, y spirituales, con sus proximos.

Runap cuyapayay ruranãcuna (obras de misericordia sutioc̃ta) ucunchicpac, animanchicpac cactahuampas huacaychancatac̃mi.

Deeds of compassion for other people (called "works of mercy") for our bodies, and also that which is for our souls must be kept.

P. Quales son las obras de misericordia corporales?

Ucũchicpac cacri maycanmi?

What are the ones for our body?

P. Quales son las obras de misericordia corporales?

R. Estas siete. Dar de comer al hãbriento. Dar de beber al sediẽto. Acoger al peregrino. Vestir al desnudo. Visitar al enfermo, y encarcelado.
(66v) Redimir al captiuo. Enterrar los muertos.

Cay cãchismi. Yaricacta micuchinqui. Chaquicta upiachinqui. Llactayquiman puricta, huacijquipi corpachanqui. Llatan mana pachayocta pachallichinqui. Oncocta, huatayhuacipi harscacta ricumunqui. Piñasta quispichinqui. Ayacunacta pãpãqui.

These are seven. You will feed the hungry. You will give drink to the thirsty. You will give lodging in your house to the one who comes to your town. You will clothe the poor who have no clothes. You will visit the sick and the one who is in prison. You will save the prisoner-of-war. You will bury the dead.

P. Y las spirituales, quales son?

P. Animanchicpac cacri maycanmi?

And what are the ones for our soul?

R. Otras siete. Enseñar al ignorante. Corregir al que pecca. Aconsejar al que ha menester consejo. Consolar al affligido. Sufrir con paciencia las injurias. Perdonar su agrauio. Rogar a Dios por viuos, y defunctos, y por los que nos persiguen.

Canchistacmi, caymi. Mana yachacta yachachinqui. Huchallicucta muchuchinqui. Cunaypac cacta cunanqui. Llaquicucta, puticucta cochochinqui. Queçachaquiquicta queçachahuachũpas ñispa muchunqui. Cãman huchallicucta pãpachãqui. Cauçaccunapac, huañuc christianocunapac Diosta muchapũqui, queçachaquiquipachuampas.

There are seven too, these are: You will teach the one who does not know. You will make the sinner suffer. You will warn the one who needs admonishing. You will make the sad and afflicted happy. You will be patient with the one who despises you, saying "Let him despise me".¹⁰⁸ You will forgive the one who sins against you. You will pray to God for the living and for the dead Christians, and for the one who despises you.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ It is ironic that the entity which used the "rhetoric of vituperation" against the indigenous people should counsel this.

¹⁰⁹ The verb here can also be "maltreat".

(67r) P. Para que rogamos por los difuntos?

Ymarayč huañuc christianocunapac Diosta muchapunchic?

Why do we pray to God for dead Christians?

R. Porque ay purgatorio en la otra vida, donde padescen los que salieron de estaq vida en gracia de Dios: pero todavia lleuarõ que purgar por sus pecados, y por esso la s. Yglesia haze memoria por los fieles difuntos, y es obra de gran merito, y de misericordia, rogar a Dios, y hazer biẽ por

(67v) ellos, porque sean perdonados, y lleuados a la gloria.

Huc cauçaypim purgatorio cã. Chaypí Diosmã sonco huañuc christianocuna ñacaricuncu huchallicuscãmãta muchúcãta, mana chayca ma caypachapi tucuychascãtam, chaypirac tucuychachcã. Chayraycũ s.Yglesia mamãchic huatãcunapi, purgatoriopi cac animacunacta yuyaspa yanapã. Chaycunap quispincãpac hanacpachamã rincãpac, Diosta muchapucca, yanapacca ancha yupaytam ruran.

In the other life there is purgatory. Christians who love God and die suffer the punishment of their sins, or else what was not finished in this world, will still be finished there. Therefore the Holy Church our mother helps each year¹¹⁰ [by] remembering the souls in purgatory. In order that they might be safe and go to heaven, the one who intercedes God, the one who helps, does what counts a lot.

P. Como cūplira el christiano todos los mandamientos de Dios, y de la Yglesia, y las obras de misericordia?

Christianoca yma hinatac Diospa camachuscan siminta, sancta Yglesiap simintapas, obras de misericordiac-tapas alli huacaychanca?

Just how does the Christian keep properly God's commands, those of the Holy Church, and the works of mercy?

R. Amando a Dios sobre todas las cosas, y a su proximo como a si mismo. En estas dos palabras se encierray toda la ley de Dios, y quanto esta escrito.

¹¹⁰ The implicit idea is "on the anniversary of their death".

Tucuy yma haycacta yallispā Dios çapallanta munaspā, runa macītari quiquinta hina cuyaspam. Cay iscayni-llāmanmi Diospā llapa camachicuscan simin, yma hayca quellcampi cācpas yaycun.

Loving God alone above all else, loving his neighbour as himself. All God's commands, and whatever is in his writing, are contained in just these two.

(68r) P. Que es amar a Dios sobre todas las cosas?

Ima ñincāpim tucuy yma haycacta yallispā Dios çapallāta munāqui ñi?

What does "you will love God alone above all else" mean?

R. No cometer peccado mortal por cosa del mundo.

Tucuy yma hayca raycupācpas amatac huc huañuy huchactaca huchallicunquichu ñincāpim ñin?

It means "do not commit a mortal sin for any reason whatsoever".

P. Que es amar al proximo como a si mismo?

Yma ñincāpim runamacijquicta quiquijquicta hina cuyanqui ñin?

What does "you shall love your neighbour as yourself" mean?

R. Que lo que el hōbre no quiere pa si, no lo quiera pa el proximo: y lo que querria que hiziesse cō el, esso haga el con su proximo. Y esto es toda la ley de Dios sancta y justa.

Ñincāpī ñin: runa quiquimpac munascanta, runa macīpacpas munapūcatāc: quiquimpac mana munascātari, amatac runamacimpācpas munapūcachu ñinmi. Caymi Diosñichicpa tucuy camachicuscā simī checāpi allīmi, collanāpunī.

It means: what a person wants for himself, he must want for his neighbour; what he does not want for himself, he must not want for his neighbour. This is all that God has commanded. It is really good, and most excellent.

(68v) Catecismo mayor de la oracion del Padre Nuestro

P. Puede el christiano ser saluo, y cūplir la ley de Dios, sin su ayuda, y gracia?

Chřano, Diospa graciãhuã, yanapayninhuan mana yanapascanca, allichu quispinman, allichu Diospa siminta huacaychanman?

If a Christian is not aided by God's grace and help, is it possible he can be safe? Is it possible for him to keep God's law?

R. Sin la gracia de Dios, no puede el hombre (69r) hazer el bien, ni huyr del mal, como le conuiene.

Diospa mana yanapascanca, manã pillapas allinta, ymallatapas rurãmanchu, manatacmi yma mana allinmantapas quispinmanchu.

Without God's help no one at all could do anything good or anything else, nor could he be safe from any kind of wrong.

P. Como se alcança la gracia y fauor de Dios?

Ymacta ruraspam Diospa gracianta, yanapaynintahuampas ussachissun?

In what way may we benefit from God's grace and help?

R. Dios la da por su voluntad, y el hombre la alcança disponiẽdo su anima, y haziendo oracion.

Chaytaca ñquin Diosmi (munascancama) runaman con. Runari animanta Diosmã churaspam, oracionta ruraspam cay graciacta ussachin.

God himself gives that to man according to his will. Man acquires this grace by directing his soul to God and praying.

P. Que cosa es oracion?

Oracionca ymam?

What is prayer?

R. Pedir a Dios lo que cūple a sa¹¹¹ honra, y bien nuestro.

¹¹¹ v.l. su.

Diosninchic allí yupaychasca cancampac, ñocâchicpa
allijninchicpachuan, ññn Diosta mañacuymi, ofõ sutioc.

It is asking God himself, called "prayer", so that our
God may be rightly worshipped, and for our good.

(69v) P. Como ha de hazer oracion el christiano?

Christianoca yma hinam oracionta rurãca?

The Christian how can he make that kind of "prayer"?

R. Con el spiritu, y con la lengua; teniendo reueren-
cia interior, y exterior, y gran confianza de alcãçar
lo que pide por los meritos, y sangre de Christo
nuestro Señor, y esso nos enseña la primera palabra

(70r) del Padre nuestro, donde reconocemos a Dios
por Padre, y Señor, que esta en lo alto
diziendo, Padre nuestro, que estas en los
cielos.

Animanhuan, callunhuampas ullpuycuc ucuyoc, animayocmi
Diosta muchanca, taquiac soncohuan payman suyacuspa,
Iesu Christo apũchicpa ymaymana rurascanraycu,
yahuarin raycupas mañacuscaytaca ussachissacpuní
ñispa. Caytamari Padre nuestropi ñaupac manacuncãchic
simi yachachihuãchic. Cay mañacuy simipim quiquin Dios
hanac pachapi cacta yayãchicpac, apũchicpac riccĩchic
yupaychãchic. Yayaycu hanac pachacunapicac, ñispa.

A person with a humble mind¹¹² and soul will worship
God, waiting on him with a firm heart. He will say,
"Because of all that our Lord Jesus Christ has done,
and because of his blood I will definitely acquire
what I have prayed". The first word we pray in the
"Our Father" teaches us this. In this request--"Our
Father the one who is in the heavens"--we recognise
and worship as father and lord God himself who is in
heaven.

P. Y que es lo que pedimos a Dios, en la oracion del
Padre nuestro?

Padre ñño ofompica, ymactam Diosta mañacunchic?

¹¹² The use of *ucu* here in its more literal sense
of "inside" to indicate a mental attitude, whereas it
is normally used in the catechism to translate "body",
shows the problem that the translators faced with the
concepts of a "Christian anthropology".

In the prayer "Our Father", what do we ask God?

R. Siete cosas, en que se encierran todas quantas el christiano puede dessear, por orden tan marauilloso, que bien parece enseñando de Iesu Christo (70v) por su boca, a sus sagrados Apostoles.

Cãchic hamu mañacuyta mañacũchic. Cay cãchic hamupim christianop tucuy yma hayca munanãcuna, collanã hamutayhuan hamurasca tucuychacũ, camampas. quiq̃ Iesu Christo Diosninchicpa siminhuã sancto Apostolcunamã yachachiscan caspam, chica allin, chica collanan puni.

We make seven different requests. All that a Christian could desire are in these seven things. It is complete and fitted together with great understanding. It is really good, truly excellent, having been taught by Jesus Christ our God himself to the holy Apostles.

P. Quales son essas siete cosas?

Chay canchisri maycanmi?

What are these seven?

R. La primera pertenece a la honra de Dios, diziendo, Sanctificado sea el tu nombre.

Ñaupaquenmi, Diosta yupaychaspamuchancanchicpac, Sutijqui muchasca cachun, ñispa ñin.

The first says, "Let your name be worshipped", in order that we might honour and worship God.

P. La segunda?

Yscayñequeuca?

The second?

R. Para conseguir nuestro fin, y biẽ de gloria diziẽdo. Venga a nos el tu Reyno.

Hanac pacha cussi caucaymã chayancanchicpacmi, Capac caynijqui ñocaycumã hamuchũ, ñispa ñin.

It says, "May your majesty come to us", in order that we might arrive at the happy life of heaven.

P. La tercera?

Quimçañequeuca?

The third?

(71r) R. Para conseguir el bien de gracia diciendo,
Hagase tu voluntad, assi en la tierra como en
el cielo.

Diospa gracianta ussachicãchicpacmi, Munaynijqui
rurasca cachun, ymanam hanacpachapi hinatac cay
pachapipas, ñispa ñin.

In order that we might gain the grace of God, it says,
"Let your will be done, as in heaven so on earth too".

P. La quarta?

Tahuañequeuca?

The fourth?

R. Para conseguir el bien necesario de esta vida,
diziendo, Danos oy nuestro pan de cada dia.

Cay pachapi cauçancanchicpac alli cauenta ussachin-
canchicpacmi, Punchaunincuna tantaycucta cunan coaycu,
ñispa ñi.

In order for us to acquire good things so that we can
live on earth, it says, "Give us now our daily bread".

P. La quinta?

Pichcañequeuca?

The fifth?

R. Para ser libres del mal de culpa ya cometido,
diziêdo, Perdonanos nuestras deudas assi como nosotros
las perdonamos a nuestros deudores.

Huchap mana allijninmanta quispincanchicpacmi,
Huchaycuctari pampachapuaycu, ymanam ñocaycupas
ñocaycuman huchallicuccunacta pampachaycu, hina, ñispa
ñin.

In order for us to be safe from the evil of sin, its
says, "Forgive us our sins, as we forgive those who
sin against us".

(71v) P. La sexta?

Çoctañequeua

The sixth?

R. Para ser libres del mal de culpa futura, diciendo, No nos dexes caer en tentacion.

Huchallicuncanchicpa mana allijninmanta quispincanchicpacmi, Amatac cacharihuaycuchu huatecayman urmancaycupac, ñispa nin.

In order that we might be safe from the evil of sins we may commit, it says, "Do not let us go for us to fall into temptation".

P. La septima, y postrera?

Canchicñequeua?

The seventh?

R. Para ser libres de la pena, y mal, que resulta de la culpa, diciendo, Mas libranos del mal. Amen.

Huchallicuscāchicraycu, muchuncanchicmāta, huchap mana allimā raycuācāchicmātahuā quispincanchicpacmi, Yallinrac mana allimanta quispichihuaycu, ñispa ñin.

In order that we might be safe from the suffering that will come because of our sins, and from the danger of the evil of sin, it says, "Moreover save us from evil".

P. Y no auemosde dezir otras oraciones sino el Padre nuestro?

Padre nuestrollatachu rezassun? huc huc oracionestaca manachu rezassun?

Shall we only recite the "Our Father"? May we not recite other prayers?

(72r) R. Si, con tal que pidamos algo de lo que contiene el Padre nuestro, y por esso dezimos el Aue Maria, y la Salve, y las demas oraciones, que enseña la Yglesia.

Rezaytaca, y, maycan oracionestapas rezassunmi, ychaca chay rezascanchicpi mañacuspā, Padre nuestropi cacmātā ymallactapas mañacussun. Chay raycum ari Dios te salueta, Saluete Diostapas, sancta Yglesia mamāchicpa yma hayca yachachiscā oracionestahuāpas rezanchic.

Yes, we may recite whatever prayers [we wish], but in those prayers of ours we may only ask for what is in the "Our Father". So therefore we recite the Ave Maria, the Salve, and whatever prayers which our mother the holy Church has taught.

P. Quando auemos de hazer oracion a Dios nuestro Señor, y a la Virgen Maria, y a los Sanctos?

Haycapmi Dios yayanchicta, virgen S.Maria mamanchicta, Sanctostapas rezacuspā muchassunchic?

When may we may we pray and worship God our father, our mother the virgin holy Mary, and the saints?

R. Quato¹¹³ mas pudieramos hazer esso, es (72v) mejor y particularmēte cōuiene tener algun tiempo señalado de ordinario, para hazer ofō. Y de mas de esto ē las necessidades de alma, y cuerpo, que nos ocurren, conuiene orar de todo coraçon.

Viñayllapas rezacuspā as allim canca: ychaca rezacuncanchicpac yma pachallapas unanchascanchicmi canca. Chaymanta ucunchicpa, animanchicpa chiquin-cunapihuampas Diosninchicta muchassuntacmi.

It is better if [we can] pray all the time; but in order that we may pray some time should be signalled by us. Moreover we should pray to God for the needs of our bodies and our souls.¹¹⁴

P. En donde ha de hazer oracion el christiano?

Christianori may maypitac Diosta muchacunca?

Exactly where will the Christian pray to God?

R. En todo lugar esta Dios presente, y puede orar el christiano; mas señaladamente lo debe hazer en (73r) la Yglesia, que es casa de oracion, tomando

¹¹³ v.l. quanto.

¹¹⁴ *Muchay* is used here for "pray", the word translated "need" (*chiquin*) more often meant "danger".

agua bendita, y haziendo la señal de la cruz, hincadas de rodillas, y puestas las manos con toda deuocion; y para esto la sancta Yglesia tiene ornamentos, y cerimonias sanctas; paraque todo nos prouoque a honrar a nuestro gran Dios,
(73v) y confiar en el, y seruirle con alma y cuerpo para siempre jamas. Amen Iesus.

Dios maypipas tiacca maypipas christianop muchan-canmi: ychaca Yglesia Diospa huacinmi Diosta muchan-capac unanchasca. Chayman yaycuspam christiano yacu bendictata chasquinca, chaymantam unanchacunca, cocorhuan¹¹⁵ sayanca, maquina pitu churaspam ullpuy-cuc soncohuã Diosta muchacunca. Caypacmi sancta Yglesia mamãchic ricchaccuna ornamentos sutio pachacta ymaymana hanua¹¹⁶ alli ruraycunactahuampas camachipun cay cayta ricuspa soncocama Diosninchicta yupaychaspam muchãcãchicpac, payman suyacuncanchicpac, animanchichuan, ucunchichuanpas payta, viñaypac siruincanchicpac. Amen Iesus.

God is everywhere, and the Christian may pray in whatever place, but the Church is God's house, is the place indicated for the worship of God. On entering the Christian will take holy water, from this he will sign himself, he will kneel, put his hands together, and pray to God with a humble heart. For this our mother the holy church has suitable images, clothes called "ornaments", and all kinds of good visible acts,¹¹⁷ so that by looking at these with all our heart we may honour and worship our God, we might wait for him, and serve him always with our soul and our body. Amen, Jesus.

¹¹⁵ v.l. concorhuan.

¹¹⁶ v.l. hahua.

¹¹⁷ The phrase *hahua ruray* is literally "outside act", it is meant to translate "ceremony".

Nicene Creed¹

- 1 Checancha cunim, huc çapa Dios hinantin atipac yayaman;
- 2 hanac pachap cai pachap ruraquenmã,
- 3 suti ricurec mana ricurec cunap, camaquẽmampas.
- 4 Huc yaya Iesu Cristo, Diospa çapai churinmanhuanpas.
- 5 Yayamanta pacarimoc mana manarac hinantimpacha teccesca captin.
- 6 Dios, Diosmanta canchari cancharijmanta,
- 7 checã Dios, checan Diosmanta churiacusca,
- 8 mana rurascaman, yayahuan caisijniyocman;
- 9 pairaicum tucui ima cac cunapas rurasca carcan,
- 10 caimi cana ñocanchic runacunaraicu,
- 11 quespi cayanchicraicupas, hanac pachacunamanta uraicumurcan,
- 12 Espiritu Santomantatac aicha ruracurcan,
- 13 Purum tazque Virgen Mariamanta; runaiarcantacmi. l.runa ruracurcanmi.
- 14 Ñocanchic raicu chacata cruzpi, chutascatac carca;
- 15 Poncio Pilatop camachijninmanta muchurcan, pampascatac carca.

- 1 I affirm one only God*², [the] father/lord* who has power everywhere
- 2 maker* of heaven of earth,
- 3 and animator* of what appears and does not appear,
- 4 and also one lord/father Jesus Christ, only son* of God,
- 5 the one who originates from the father/lord when nothing anywhere was yet founded,
- 6 God from God, shining [one] from that which shines,
- 7 true God, engendered from the true God,
- 8 not what was made*, with the father/lord having that which enables one to be*;
- 9 because of him all that is was made,
- 10 for this one because of us men,
- 11 and for us to be safe, came down from heavens,
- 12 and he became flesh from the Holy Spirit,
- 13 from the unspoiled young woman Virgin Mary he became human (or he was made human).
- 14 Because of us he was stretched out on a crossed cross;
- 15 by the order of Pontius Pilate he suffered, he was buried.

¹ Juan Pérez de Bocanegra, Ritual formulario, f.692.

² The words marked with an asterisk are all objects of the first verb in the Creed.

16 Quimça punchaunimpiri, cauçarimpurcan,
 17 imanam checan quellca cuna ñin hina;
 18 hanam pachaman vichai rircatac;
 19 yayap pañampi tiachcan, chaimanta huc cuti ñatacmi,
 cussicaininhuan,
 20 cauçac, ña huañoc cunactahuanpas, patachac hamunca;
 21 caipa Capac pachanri puchucannacmi canca. l. mana
 puchu caiñiyocmi canca.
 22 Capac yaya Espiritu Sancto manhuan*,
 cauçachecmanhuan*;
 23 caimi yayamanta, churinmantahuan llocsimun:
 24 paitacmi yaya, churihuan, huaqui muchasca,
 cussiunsichiscatac.
 25 Hamauta, unanchac, tococ, profetas cunamãta rimac
 carcan.
 26 Huc sancta, tacyac, catholica, apostolica,
 Igllesiactahuan*.
 27 Iñinim huc armacui, maillacui, Baptismocta,
 huchacunap pampachaininpac.
 28 Suyacunitac ña huañoc cunap cauçarimpuininta.
 29 Hamoc pachap cauçainintahuan, Amen.

16 But on the third day he lived again,
 17 as the true writings say;
 18 he went up to heaven;
 19 he sits on the right of the father, from there
 one more time with his joy,
 20 he will come to judge³ living people and those now
 dead;
 21 the royal sphere of this one will not end,⁴ (or, it
 will not have an end).
 22 And the powerful lord/father Holy Spirit, and the
 one who gives life;
 23 this one comes out from the father/lord, and from
 the son:
 24 and he with the father/lord, and son, [is] equally
 adored and helped to be made glad,
 25 [this] was spoken by all⁵ the wise prophets who
 understood the signs.
 26 And one holy, established, catholic, apostolic,
 church.
 27 I say "yes" to the washing, cleansing Baptism for
 the pardon of sins.
 28 And I wait of those now dead to come back to life,
 29 and the life of the epoch/space which comes. Amen.

³ Lit. "to level".

⁴ The word *mana* has been supplied here to the Quechua text, as it appears to have been omitted.

⁵ Reading *tucuy* ("all") for the unintelligible *tococ* in the text.

Cristóbal de Molina: a fragment of sermon material¹

Curi chipchec yllarispa cancharispa,
Gold shimmering one, shining brightly,

inquil panchic cizac.
one who flowers and blossoms like a garden.

Achancaray, amancay, mayua, cantot ynquilcona
panchiccho?
[Don't] gardens of begonia, lilies, and *kantuta* flower
[like that]?

Ynti quilla citoc laurac Jesús sutiyo.
There is one named Jesus, the resplendent and flaming
sun and moon.

Cayta ynisan, apo capac hanac hapa pachapi cac.
We believe this, the one who is Lord and powerful, who
is in heaven.

Quimçantin, çapamanta runa cayninpi, suclla Dios.
There are three together, each one in his own human-
ness, only one God.

Citoc, laurac, canchac Trinidad cayninpi yninqhicho?
Do you believe in his shining, flaming, resplendent
Trinity?

Churillaycona, yayallaycona, mamallaycona,
panallaycona alli oyarillauay Diosrayco.
My dear sons, my dear fathers, my dear mothers, my
dear sisters, for God's sake, listen carefully to me.

¹ Quechua text from Guaman Poma, op.cit., pp.580f.

1. Francisco de Avila: Luke 21.25-33

Iesu Christo yayanchicmi discipulōcunacta cay hina ñirca Manaracc qquepa taripai manchana llacllana punchau chayamuptin ñaupacemi ynti, quilla, ccoillur cunapas huc hamu ricchafñiyocc unanchafñiyocc ccancca. Caita runacuna ricuspari mancharincca llacllancaçapa. Hinantin runacunari paipura ñittinacusra, aylo ayllumpi llactancunapi tantanacunca sonconpa, animanpa hatun millay llacllascanraicu mama ccochap caccyasccanta uyarispa, ppiñariscanta ricuspa, huañui pocchinpa hatarisccantahuan, sayarisccantahuan. Cai runacunamantari, huaquinmi chaquirincca, charquiancca, chiriyancca chay hatum manchaiñinhuan; chay hinantimpachap ñacaricuiñta suyachascãhuan. Hanac pacha marcacunapi tiacc ccoillurcunan ari paypura ñittinacunca, ccaccoricunca, cai pachaman callpan cachamunanta pantachispa. Cay llapa hinacaptinmi ccana, llapa runacuna Iesu Christo Santa Mariap huañuãta hanac pachamanta huc ppuyu huc pucuta hahua, hamoceta ricunca hatum mana atina callpampi, çapa ccapacc apucayñimpi.

Cunancama rimascanchic simicta Iesu Christo yayanchic llapa runacunamãta ñircam, alli Christiano caccmantapas mana allicunamantapas. Cunãri alli Christiano cunallahuanmi riman ñispa. Ricuichic alli runacuna ñoccap cuiasccai, ñocap simijta yupaichaspa graçiayta usacheccuna. Cay ñisccaycuna ccallariptin, allin ccahuachic, alli unanchaichic hamutacc sonccohuan yuyaicuichic qqespinaiquichic apuñanta yanaiquichicmi ari ña çispaicumun.

Cai ñisccã cunacta chaicama Paiman soncco cac runa alli unanchanccampac, huc amuttana, tincuchina simicta ñispa unanchachin. Chay simiri caymi: Higos apacc yuracta, mallquicta ccahuaycuichic, huaquin sachacunactas, chaycuna ña ruruyta callariptin, ñam poccoy chayamũ ñinquichic manachu? Hinataccmi, chay ñiscca cunacta ricuspa, yachanquichic Apumã, ccapacc caymã qqespinaiquichic utccalla chayamunanta.

Chaymantari yachaychic: cay Indiocuna ñiscca suyu, manam ccollonccachu; tucuy ñisccaypa huntacusccãcama ñocap simijri manapunim chuçãmãchu: ñaupaccracmi hanacc pacha cay pachapas ccollonman simijmanta.

Our Lord Jesus Christ spoke to his disciples thus, "Before the awesome, frightening day of judgment comes, first the sun, moon and stars will show a kind of image or sign. When people see this, they will fear and panic completely. People everywhere will crowd

together, they will gather in their communities and towns because of the terrible panic in heart and soul, on hearing the crash of the sea, on seeing its anger, the lifting and rising of its deathly waves. Some of them will dry up, will shrivel up, will go cold with great fear, with the suffering that has been waiting for the whole earth. For the stars in heavenly places will come together amongst themselves, making the power to be sent to earth go astray. So when all these things are like that, everyone will see Jesus Christ, Holy Mary's child, coming on a cloud, on a wind in invincible power, in majestic sovereignty.

What has been said until now our Lord Jesus Christ said about everyone, about good Christians and people who are bad. Now he speaks only to good Christians, "Look, good people whom I love, you who revere my word and enjoy my grace. When what I say begins, watch carefully, consider carefully, reflect with a knowing heart, for the time of your salvation, of your reward now comes near.

In order that those who are devoted to him might understand well, he made it clear using a wise word that puts things together. This is it: Look at a plant or tree that bears figs, and at the other trees. When the fruit begins to form, you say, "Summer is coming", don't you? Just so when you see these sayings [take place], you will know that your salvation to the royal dominion is coming quickly.

Know therefore that this people called "Indians" will not come to an end until all that I have said is fulfilled. My word will not disappear, heaven and earth may come to an end first, before my word.

2. Estevan Sancho de Melgar: Luke 21.25-33

Chaypacha l. chaypachapi Jesus yachachisccancunamanmi ñirccan: Unanchaccuna intipi qquillapipas ccoyllur-cunapipas runacunari, cay pachapi mamaccochap cauñij ñinpa, poc-cheqqquencunap cumñijñinpas manchacayñinvvan pputij mananccam l. llaquirayanccam, runacuna, tucuy teccimuyup havvanman hamucc-cunap maychayñinvvan yayñinvvanpas, chaquicuptincu l. llamtaymana puncu. l. tulluymanaptincu. Checcapunim hanaccpachacunap teccincuna cuyucuncca: chaypachari l. chaypachapiri hatun atipañinvvan, Apucayñinvvanpas ppuyupi hamuccta Virgenpa vvavvanta ricunccam. Caycuna cachcayta callariptin, ccavvaspa umayquichiccta hoccarijchicc: checcapunim qquespij tucuyñijquichicc ccayllaycumun l. cichpaycumun. Paycunamanracc unanchacta l. ricchayta ñirccan Higos mallquicta, llapantin mallquictapas ricuychicc: ruruptincuracc l. maypacham ruruncu rupau

mitta l. canananay mittap cichpa l. ccaylla casccanta
yachanquichicc l. reccinquichicc. Hinatac ccamcunapas
caycunacta cachcacta ña ricuspa, Diospa ccapacc
cayninpa ccayllacascanta yachaychicc. Checcamantam
ñijquichicc: cay ayllu, tucuy ñisccay hunttasca
canancama, manam chussanccachu l. manam puchuccanccachu
l. manam ccullunccachu. Hanacc pacharacc cay pacharac-
cpas chussanccam; rimascaycca manam chussanccachu l.
manam ccacichu cancca.

Then Jesus said to the ones he had taught, "There will be signs in the sun, the moon and the stars. With the terror of the sea saying "Kau!" and the waves saying "Koom!" people on the earth will grieve (or, be very sad). With all that is coming upon the world, with the alarm there will be, people will dry up (or, become like dry sticks or bones). Truly the foundations of the heavens will move, then (or, in that) they will see child of the Virgin coming on a cloud with great power and dominion. When these things begin to happen, lift up your head and look, truly the Saviour of all of you draws near (or, comes close). In addition he related a sign (or, a likeness): Look at the fig tree and all the other trees, when they are still forming the fruit (or when they form the fruit), you know that summer (or, the time of great heat) is near (or, close). So when you see these things happening, know that the magnificence of God is near. Truly I say to you, this people will not disappear (or, come to an end, or finish) until all that I have said is fulfilled. Heaven and earth will even come to an end, but what I have said will not disappear (or, be ineffective).