

**Spoonful of Spanish: Religiosity, cuisine, and the formation of
Creole identities**

by

Valeria Mantilla Morales

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ABSTRACT

SPOONFUL OF SPANISH: RELIGIOSITY, CUISINE, AND THE FORMATION OF CREOLE IDENTITIES

Valeria Mantilla Morales
University of Guelph, 2016

Advisor:
Professor Karen Racine
Professor Peter Goddard

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, nourishment of the spirit and the body were central to the colonial structure. Foods that entered the colonial body seasoned immigrants' understanding of their emerging society. Similarly, religious expressions informed settlers' self-perceptions and their position within the Spanish Empire. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, spheres of multiethnic sharing led Spaniards, and their Creole offspring, to develop a gut for local foodstuff. The cuisine that became distanced from the trinity of Hispanic staples – meat, wheat, and wine – speaks to processes of identity formation. Simultaneously, the settlers' religious experiences and exposure to Andean religious traditions infused their Catholicism with local colours that turned into a distinctively Peruvian religiosity. The main objective of this thesis is to present an overall understanding of the emergence of a *raison d'être* and distinctly Hispanic-American character divorced from Spanish colonialism, an area of study that merits more academic attention.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
TITLE PAGE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
INTRODUCTION	1-10
HISTORIOGRAPHY	11-32
CHAPTER ONE: EDIBLE IDENTITIES: SHAPING SPANISH AND CREOLE PALATES IN THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU	33-65
CHAPTER TWO: CREOLE PIETY: EXPRESSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY AND THE FORMATION OF CREOLE CULTURE	66-87
EPILOGUE	88-90
BIBLIOGRAPHY	91-101

INTRODUCTION

When Dominican friar Diego Durán composed the *Histories of the Indies of New Spain* in the 1570s, he admonished missionaries that they could not teach natives about the “true God” if they failed to eradicate from their memories all their ceremonies and false cults to false gods.¹ Durán likened this to trying to “grow a good field of wheat in mountainous and shrubby soil if you have not first completely removed all the roots and growths that it naturally produces.”² From the outset of the colonial enterprise, the spiritual harvest as well as the field harvest seemed closely associated to the maintenance and prosperity of the colonial structure. The colonial sphere, too, in many instances “equated eaters and eaten,” suggesting that spiritual and bodily nourishment may reveal a piquant, more dynamic understanding of colonial identity formation.³ This approach can be especially productive for the study of Creole identities, whose ambiguity emerged from the “ill-defined nature of an unprecedented imperial project,” effectively placing them in a cultural limbo.⁴ Sixteenth and seventeenth century Peru, specifically the urban centres of Lima and Cuzco, are fruitful settings for such an approach, given that historical narratives and documentation manifest the rich weavings of the cultural translation that gave birth to the Latin American Creole.

¹ Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de tierra firme*, vol. 2 (Mexico: Imprenta de Ignacio Escalante, 1880), 168.

² Translation from Rebecca Earle, “‘If You Eat Their Food...’: Diets and bodies in Early Colonial Spanish America,” *The American Historical Review* 115 (2010): 707. Original found in Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, 168, “nunca acavaremos de enseñarles a conocer el berdadero dios si primero no fueren raidas y borradas totalmente de su memorial as supersticiossas cerimonias y cultos falssos de los falssos dioses que adoraban, de la suerte que no es possible dares bien la sementera del trigo y los frutales en la tierra montuossa y llena de breñas y maleça sino estuviere primero gastadas todas las raizes y cepas que ella de su natural producía.”

³ Earle, “‘If You Eat Their Food...’,” 707.

⁴ Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti, ed., *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, texts, identities* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 31.

The general and prevalent methodology for the subject of colonization has included studies of the ways in which the native populations in the Americas found themselves stripped of their religious and cultural traditions, forced into Hispanicization through religious inquisitions, extirpation of idolatries, and cultural impositions.⁵ Much of this scholarship, too, attempts to present forms of native resistance – such as continuity of native deity worship, preservation of hidden altars and sacrificial practices, and of course, open rebellion.⁶ Such studies grant some agency to the “eaten” native populations and dispel the idea of their passivity in the face of colonization. These studies recognize bodies as essentially historical, and naturally “bearers of meanings that they have taken on and that are put on them.”⁷ This admission opens a more dynamic view of colonization processes. However, this notion is not as often applied to scholarship in the case of the Spanish colonizers, settlers, and their Creole offspring. Few investigations have so far discussed much about the native influence upon Spanish perceptions of the New World, its peoples, and the cultures they met during the conquest and beyond.⁸

The present study proposes to devote itself to the side of the Spanish and Creole experiences within historical narratives. Specifically, the side of the typical Spanish and

⁵ Scholarship on this subject is rich and varied. Some remarkable studies for initial reading include Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: "l'extirpation de l'idolâtrie" entre 1532 et 1660* (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, 1971); Fernando Cervantes and Nicholas Griffiths, *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and native religions in colonial America* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999); Claudia Brosseder, *The Power of Huacas: Change and resistance in the Andean world of colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

⁶ Alison Krogel, *Food, Power, and Resistance in the Andes: Exploring Quechua verbal and visual narratives* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011). The *Monumenta Peruana* contains a series of Jesuit letters addressing idolatry. One such letter is found in Enrique Fernandez, ed., *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. VIII (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1954), 223.

⁷ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke UP, 1999), 5-6.

⁸ Heidi V. Scott, “Más allá del texto: Recuperando las influencias indígenas en las experiencias españolas del Perú,” in Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo, ed., *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia: Estudios de historia peruana, siglos XVI-XX*, ed. Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 24.

Creole populace that, as opposed to dominant narratives, were not necessarily noblemen, or displayed any particular interest in plunder, war, and the oppression of non-Christians.⁹ This group of bodies in migration arrived to the New World with the necessity to make sense of it and understand the new order, or lack thereof. It was this group who negotiated and created their own popular viceregal culture that eventually morphed them into Peruvian Creoles, and distinctly Latin American. Although research on Creole identity and consciousness has heavily focused on the areas of New Spain and Peru, the present study seeks a singular approach.¹⁰ It argues that the evolving religious practices and cuisine popularized in the Viceroyalty of Peru – both cultural aspects under influence of indigenous traditions – reflects the confluence between Spanish and indigenous Andean cultures. This exchange, though by no means harmonious and uniform, proved critical to the early formation of a distinctively Creole and Hispanic character. The sources for this argument are not uncommon to colonial research in the area, and include chronicles, proof of merit petitions, sermons, private correspondence, and other accounts of New World events. However, these sources have yet much to say. They speak, surely, of the fluidity and flexibility ingrained within popular religious practices in the region, as well as within food choices, and how this became present in the way colonizers and settlers detached from Peninsular Spanish identities and characters, turning them gradually into early modern Latin Americans.

To understand the approach of the study, and the temporal shift of identity within the colonizing populations, it is essential to keep in mind the idea of “transculturation,” a

⁹ William D. Phillips Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, “Spain in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the sixteenth century*, ed. Rolena Adorno and Kenneth Andrien (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 15.

¹⁰ Bauer and Mazzotti, 242.

term Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortíz employed for the first time in 1947.¹¹ He declares the superior accuracy of the idea of “intermeshed transculturation,” over terms such as syncretism or acculturation, which may not capture the processes of “complex transmutations of culture,” such as that which occurred within the viceroyalty.¹² Although Ortíz studied Cuba as a setting for transculturation, his analysis is universal to the colonial experience. The Spanish migrants, from the regional patches conveniently referred to as Spain, found themselves torn loose from the Iberian Peninsula, and “transplanted” to the New World, which demanded readjustment and oftentimes forced acceptance of its nature and peoples.¹³ Ortíz’s term transculturation accepts and brings to the forefront the native populations’ influences upon migrant groups. It also highlights all incoming groups’ sense of being severed from their native moorings, faced with the problem of “disadjustment and readjustment, of deculturation and acculturation,” all of which is best synthesized in the term “transculturation.”¹⁴ Just like “sugar cane ground in the rollers of the mill,” the New World processed and gave birth to the Creole, who was Spaniard, but not quite, and American, but not completely indigenous Andean.¹⁵ Hence, this term captures what the present study intends to analyze about Spaniards and their

¹¹ Fernando Ortíz, *Cuban Counterpoints: Tobacco and sugar*, trans. Harriet de Onís (Durham: Duke UP, 1995), ch. 2. Anthropologist Nestor García Canclini proposed a similar notion, termed “cultural hybridity,” also useful to describe the Spaniard and Creole experience, in his landmark work, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xxv.

¹² Ortíz, *Cuban Counterpoints*, 98.

¹³ Spain itself not yet a reality at the time, as examined in Phillips and Phillips, “Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 11; Ortíz, *Cuban Counterpoints*, 98.

¹⁴ Ortíz, *Cuban Counterpoints*, 98. It is crucial to have in mind that, although this thesis focuses on Spaniards, transculturation happened to everybody who migrated to the New World, including Africans, Indians, Jews, Anglo-Saxons, French, Portuguese, and even some Asian groups, as Ortíz lists them.

¹⁵ Ortíz, *Cuban Counterpoints*, 98; José Antonio Mazzotti, “Creole Agencies and the (Post) Colonial Debate in Spanish America,” in *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the postcolonial debate*, ed. Enrique Dussel, Mabel Moraña, and Carlos A. Jáuregui (Durham: Duke UP, 2008), 77-110.

internal transformation into Creoles.¹⁶

The implementation of transculturation in this analysis also requires acknowledgement of the conundrum of accessing social and racial categories that were relevant and employed daily within their historical context. For instance, although this examination makes use of the word “Creole” for the sake of convenience and simplicity, there is no such thing – not in the past, and not in the present – as a “monolithic Creole identity,” one that may be completely pieced together, despite possessing the kind of common features studied in the chapters that follow.¹⁷ In truth, racial and social categories were flexible, fluid, and ever changing to suit the environment and circumstances. As a result, there is little access to how the populace understood every social and racial category relevant in sixteenth and seventeenth century Peru at the street level.¹⁸ Naturally, local population used colloquial terms that perhaps had little currency outside of their particular sphere.¹⁹ Once this admission is accepted, however, it is possible to engage in a study of identity formation among Spaniards and Creoles, based on some shared features and an acknowledgement of the inaccessibility of their more colourful and rich variants.

The first chapter of the thesis explores the temporal shifts in identity and self-perceptions present in daily food consumption. Despite Europeans’ initial fears that exposure to unfamiliar food from the New World would “turn proud, bearded Spaniards

¹⁶ By internal transformations, what is meant is their shift in self-perception, as opposed to perceptions others (Peninsular Spaniards, for instance) had of them. Peninsular perceptions, however, seep into the narrative every now and then, perhaps inevitably.

¹⁷ Mazzotti, 93.

¹⁸ Karen Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560-1640,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89 (2009): 471.

¹⁹ For a handy list of racial categories and terms, consult Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), 51; Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 471.

into timid, beardless Indians,” it was impossible to avoid native foodstuffs completely. War among conquistadors and conflict with native groups in many instances pressured Spaniards into eating native crops.²⁰ Soon enough, however, even in the presence of the “trinity of Hispanic staples” – meat, wheat, and wine – Spaniards experimented with native and Spanish varieties of plants to produce fruit, even harvesting native crops in their own gardens and valleys.²¹ Additionally, they became fond of *chicha* [ancestral Inca corn drink], and thirsty Creoles’ demand for the beverage flourished as early as the 1550s.²² This led to the concoction of new varieties of the drink, as well as the emergence of *chicherías* [corn beer taverns] that served as meeting places for multi-ethnic classes of plebeian Creoles and other colonized groups, infused with local colours and tastes, challenging colonial authority’s rigid separation of ethnicities into a *República de españoles* and a *República de indios*.

Mestizos’ dealings with coca and Creoles’ use of it for amatory purposes and acts of superstition also challenged the dichotomy of the republics.²³ Although coca retained denigrating associations with native mine labour, the Spanish settlers failed to altogether distance themselves from its use, eventually adopting it for daily consumption in the form

²⁰ Earle, “If You Eat Their Food...,” 688; Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales: El origen de los Incas*, ed. María Montserrat Martí Bruguera (Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1968), 744.

²¹ Leo Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants: The making of race in colonial Lima and Cuzco” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001), 189, 193; Garcilaso de la Vega, 752.

²² Paul Charney, “‘For My Necessities’: The Wills of Andean Commoners and Nobles in the Valley of Lima, 1596-1607,” *Ethnohistory* 59 (2012): 342.

²³ AAL, Hechicería e Idolatría Leg VI, Exp. 12, 1669, “Causa criminal fecha de oficio por el señor visitador don Juan Sarmiento de Vivero contra Alonso Cabello, mestizo, Pedro Capcha, Joseph Yauri, Indio, sobre ser traginadores de coca, y contra María de la Trinidad [India] sobre ser vendedora de coca”; AAL, Hechicería e Idolatría Leg VI, Exp. 14, 1669, “Cabeza de proceso de oficio contra Ana María de Ribera, mestiza, sobre bender coca [natural de San Juan de la Frontera].”

of medicine and sweetened tea.²⁴

The second chapter of the thesis will comprise the study of practiced religion and the interaction between pre-existing Andean religious traditions and Spanish Catholicism. This includes personal expressions of religiosity, the emergence of Santa Rosa de Lima (the first Creole saint of Spanish America), and popular religious processions – such as the Corpus Christi celebrations in colonial Cuzco – in which local colours began to emerge through mixture of native and European devotional traditions.

The local Church made efforts to remind locals of their identity as part of the Spanish empire.²⁵ Elite Creoles did the same, referencing their ancestry in order to retain imperial privileges and the recognition originally granted to Spaniards settled in the New World.²⁶ These efforts attest to a sense of detachment from Spain and a rising awareness of Creoles' status as a separate entity. Although the overall aim is to access popular Creole experiences, elite Creole reactions in this case deserve attention because they are reflective of a greater sentiment. In the Viceroyalty of Peru, this elite effort to exalt their religiosity does not only serve as proof of their gradually devalued nobility, but also betray their identity within the empire. Their eagerness to describe themselves as “Old Christians” aimed to retain continuity of “Spanishness” through nobility, but actually confirms the emergence of an identity rooted in dispossession, nostalgia, and a frustrated

²⁴ Garofalo, "The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 314; Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and the cultural identity in an Andean community* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

²⁵ AGN, Compañía de Jesús Leg. 62, Doc. 156, Caja 33, end of 17th century, “Sermón sobre los desagrazios al Sacramento ofendido por los herejes protestantes, con súplicas de que la misericordia de Dios proteja Lima de los intentos ingleses de provocar una guerra.”

²⁶ David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish monarchy, creole patriots, and the liberal state 1492-1867* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1991), 293.

wish to belong.²⁷

More popular forms of religiosity also serve as means to identify these same shifts among Creole commoners, for whom written records of the kind discussed above do not exist in the same abundance. The study of processions and popular religious expressions that enjoyed wide involvement, as well as demonstrations of popular traditions and social intermingling, also reveal some of the local character of the period. In many instances, indigenous Andean involvement, as chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega illustrates, gave room for what became a transcultured popular religion in the streets of Lima and Cuzco. Although religious and political authorities supervised indigenous participation and activity closely, they could not contain their influence. The chapter will also present a case study of Saint Rose of Lima – a Spanish Creole and the first saint of the Americas.²⁸ The vigour of adoration and celebrations in Lima in honour of their martyr may not say much about the saint herself, but rather leads to an understanding of the viceroyalty's religious culture through the ways the religious authorities and colonial society constructed and packaged this Creole saint.²⁹

Existing among an extensive body of studies heavily focused on the indigenous experience during the conquest and colonization of the region, this research aims to remind that confluence is a two-way road. Hence, it locates markers of temporal shifts in

²⁷ AGN, Series Fáticas Genealogías, Leg. 1, Doc. 8, 1685, Lima, 1664, “Información de filiación e hidalguía dada por Don Bartolomé de la Barrieta (Olabarrieta) y Dña. María sanes de Herguera,”; AGN, Series Fáticas Genealogías Leg. 1, Doc. 13, Lima, 1664, “Testimonio del expediente seguido por Carlos Torres Castellanos sobre reconocimiento de nobleza”; Brading, 293.

²⁸ For the section on Saint Rose of Lima, primary sources (such as processes of beatification and canonization, as well as witness testimonies) will be accessed through modern print sources.

²⁹ Frank Graziano, *Wounds of Love: The mystical marriage of Saint Rose of Lima* (New York: Oxford UP, 2004), 34.

identity from the angle of first and second-generation Spanish and Creole populations.

The main objective is to present an understanding of the emergence of a *raison d'être* and distinctly Hispanic American character divorced from Spanish colonialism, an area of study that merits more academic attention, and to which the study contributes.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Given the thriving interest directed at the historical processes of religious and cultural interactions through foodstuffs between Europeans and New World natives during the colonial period, this section outlines the major body of scholarship on the subject. It addresses its attention to historiography written in the past fifty years relevant to the Andean region during the first three centuries following the colonization of the New World. Some works considered, however, treat colonialism in Mesoamerica, but are included because of parallels between the colonial experiences of both regions. Other works may overstep the historical timeline outlined, reaching further back or forward in their discussions. Some of the referenced works, too, may be older than fifty years, but their permanent historical value demands mention. The works are treated chronologically where trends are best represented in this manner. For the most part, however, this section is more interested in illumination of themes and trends that characterize the historiography on the subject at hand. A major framework posed in every text discussed is that of the “resistance” narrative, a historical interpretation of natives as being in constant state of struggle against European colonizers. To varying degrees, the historiography presented demonstrates a consistent ethnographic interest in smaller localities as a productive approach to the study of colonial Spanish America. There is also a preoccupation with colonial religious transculturation and systems of meaning, as well as processes of identity formation of colonial subjects through their food choices or daily religious practices. These are the main trends to be treated, but others may also surface in the analysis of individual works.

Latin Americanists invested in the study of the colonial past have paid particular attention to cultural and religious compositions resulting from both Christian and native

beliefs, doctrines, and practices. One major concern of these scholars is the narrative of division between colonizers and colonized. An early example of this concern is projected in Magnus Mörner's study of race mixture in Latin America.³⁰ Basing his work on the framework of division, he examines the ways in which composite natures, societies, and religions emerged through negotiation. Mörner explores how, despite the Spanish Crown's initial enforcement of separatist policies during early stages of colonization, race mixture undermined this very paradigm. The study focuses on the concept of two distinct republics – the *República de españoles* and the *República de indios* –³¹ but succeeds in its analysis of the ways that miscegenation permeated these two republics. The extensive crossing between Caucasoid and Amerindian is considered here within a framework of polarized societies, acknowledging that the said polarization was inescapable and yet not altogether true to the realities of New World colonies.³² In Mörner's interpretation, polarized groups are not a limiting factor to negotiation and cultural exchanges, and in this lays the true value of his analysis.

However, Mörner's work is not representative of prevalent scholarship on the subject of religious and cultural “resistance” against colonial forces, and how it constructs a polarized framework of Spanish vanquisher and native vanquished. In 1981, Victoria Reifler Bricker produced a study of this “resistance” narrative, adhering to a history of Maya opposition to Spanish dominance in what has become a landmark work, *The Indian Christ, The Indian King*.³³ She selects the folklore of ethnic conflict of Maya Indians, communicated in the form of writings, rituals, and oral traditions, in an attempt

³⁰ Mörner, *Race Mixture in Latin America*.

³¹ Mörner, 45.

³² Mörner, 30.

³³ Victoria R. Bricker, *The Indian Christ, the Indian King: The historical substrate of Maya myth and ritual* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

to pose myths as theories of history.³⁴ She shapes a history of conqueror and conquered and brings attention to the tendency to label Spanish conquest and post-conquest accounts of ethnic conflict as “history” (*historia*), while native accounts of the very same events are labeled “legends” (*leyendas*).³⁵ Her work ultimately demonstrates that native accounts are often no less factually accurate than Spanish accounts.

In adhering to the narrative of indigenous resistance to Spanish forces, she follows the tradition of wider scholarship to be consequently discussed. However, her detailed interest in the Tzeltal Revolt of 1712, where natives expelled Spanish priesthood and replaced it with an exclusively native one, suggests that the nature of the resistance was not necessarily against religious doctrines. Instead, Bricker illustrates native resistance as an expression of displeasure against the Spanish “monopoly” over a Catholic religion in which also the natives eventually sought active involvement.³⁶ Although the case study focuses on the Mexican region, this historical scenario also took place in the Andean region.³⁷ This study positively complicates the polarized, and at times seemingly inescapable, representation of conquerors and conquered in colonial studies.

³⁴ Bricker, 4.

³⁵ Bricker, 133, 5. José Rabasa also engages in a remarkable interpretation of modes of historical communication and their comparative values in *Tell Me The Story of How I Conquered You: Elsewheres and ethnosuicide in the colonial Mesoamerican world* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

³⁶ Bricker, 69.

³⁷ Although well beyond the chronological limits of this historiographical study, seventeenth-century accounts of Andean natives’ activism in the Catholic religion are also found in Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los incas*.

Bricker's research meets its Andean equivalent in Sabine MacCormack's text, *Religion in the Andes*.³⁸ It develops its analysis on the basis that the information available on Inca and Andean religion comes from Spanish colonizers, "men committed to its destruction."³⁹ She uses this information to establish a story of cultural constraints, rather than cross-cultural negotiations. However, she applies these constraints to all the participants of colonization, placing both groups – colonizer and colonized – on equal footing in their violent confrontations. She asserts that all participants acted, to varying degrees, within the constraints established by their respective traditions.⁴⁰ This marks a level of departure from the kind of resistance narrative where native groups acted as unwilling receptacles to colonial religious indoctrination, granting more agency to these groups, recognizing that traditions constrained both colonizers and colonized alike.⁴¹

Historians of Spanish America have yet to develop research in microhistory to the extent found elsewhere, particularly Europe. Nevertheless, there has been growing enthusiasm for the examination of small communities as a method of understanding colonial experiences and native reactions. One such research is Ruth Behar's 1987 study of central Mexico's Guachichil people and their encounters with conquest, analyzed through the case of a Guachichil woman accused, tried, and hanged for witchcraft at San Luis Potosí in 1599.⁴² She presents her research as a means to illuminate the state of native groups' subjugation and active resistance in the Mexican region. This Guachichil

³⁸ Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and imagination in early colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991).

³⁹ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 5.

⁴⁰ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 9.

⁴¹ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 9. Carolyn Dean proposes a similar idea, asserting that "people – not their circumstances – have agency," and that bodies are historical, all alike in bearing self-applied and externally enforced meanings, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke UP, 1999), 4-6.

⁴² Ruth Behar, "The Visions of a Guachichil Witch in 1599: A window on the subjugation of Mexico's hunter-gatherers," *Ethnohistory* 34 (1987): 115.

woman stirred her locality through revelatory hallucinations and prophecies of a world where Indians enjoyed eternal life without Spaniards.⁴³ Though she had remained unconverted to Christianity, she invoked Christian symbolism by imagining a new Spaniard-free world called “*La Laguna*” (The Lagoon), which Behar identifies as carrying the Christian associations of water and rebirth.⁴⁴ The local Church may have failed to indoctrinate the native population, but the Guachichil woman’s acquaintance with Christian symbolism speaks to the Church’s influence in the New World.

Behar’s study of the Guachichil community of San Luis Potosí has also proven essential to scholarship of colonial Spanish America because it demonstrates the possibility for creative uses of archival material. This has become an increasing tendency in colonial Latin American studies, where there is vibrant curiosity for the reconstruction of the cultural worlds of people exposed to colonial expansions and Christian doctrinal teachings. An example of this is Louise Burkhart’s 1989 depiction of sixteenth-century central Mexico as a “hopelessly quixotic” social experiment.⁴⁵ Focusing on the Nahua population, her approach involves the examination of a variety of missionaries’ writings, defending the use of these documents to reconstruct native realities, despite the previous neglect and rejection of these ethnohistorical documents as “contaminated” due to their authorship.⁴⁶ She also demonstrates the value in the study of the largest body of native-language texts in the New World, as they illuminate in detail the extent of intercultural

⁴³ Behar, 133.

⁴⁴ Despite the identification of mixture of Christian symbolism and Guachichil patterns, Behar defends the narrative of resistance. For a critique and caution against this reading, refer to Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 6.

⁴⁵ Burkhart, 3.

⁴⁶ Burkhart, 9. Also, for a more in-depth discussion on the flaws of the traditional approach to “contaminated” sources, consult Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 333-334.

contact and what she describes as a failed attempt at “cultural engineering.”⁴⁷

Although Burkhart interprets the relationship between the Nahua people and Spaniards in a way similar to contemporary historiography – that is, as a relationship of both active and passive resistance – her work takes an inventive approach in other respects. Her use of this “contaminated” material allows her to identify a proselytizing dialogue, or “dialogical frontier,” comprising medieval theology, Catholic intolerance, and Renaissance humanism.⁴⁸ The identification and detailed consideration of this dialogical composition allows Burkhart and subsequent scholars to expand the narrative of the proselytized natives. Not only does Burkhart analyze this conventional approach, she also advances the idea that missionaries and local churches responded by remaking themselves in the encounter through tolerance and adoption of specific features of local practices.⁴⁹ Her study, though focused on the Nahua people, has become a prevalent approach to the study of native-Spanish interactions. Subsequent scholarship, as will be discussed, has become more attuned to the ways in which the local churches in the New World sculpted their Christianity and displayed a certain doctrinal flexibility to fit local native contexts.

The idea of a “dialogical frontier” is an appealing one and expresses itself in newer scholarship on intercultural relations in colonial Latin America. Thomas Abercrombie’s ethnographical study of the K’ulta people of the Andes employs the same idea but terms it “discursive frontier.”⁵⁰ He recognizes this frontier as fundamental for the

⁴⁷ Burkhart, 185.

⁴⁸ Burkhart, 3.

⁴⁹ Burkhart, 184.

⁵⁰ Thomas A. Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and history*

understanding of the relationship between colonizers and colonized, between state and subordinated people. Abercrombie's methodology and use of sources includes Spanish chronicles and documentary social memory, displaying a growing willingness to embrace and creatively use "contaminated" sources in scholarship. He juxtaposes these documents with Andean social memory and ways of registering the past in an attempt to highlight similitudes and differences in ways of employing the past to work for the present.⁵¹ Much like Bricker, too, he endeavours to review both accounts and find equal validity in "European" and "native" historical traditions.⁵²

Abercrombie's approach, however, remains distinctive in that it delves into ethnographical fieldwork to analyze and explain Andean techniques and traditions of social memory paths. Of particular interest is his study of drinking among the Andean natives as a mnemonic technique that found itself at odds with the Western interpretation of drinking as a way to forget.⁵³ He contends that these practices remained despite reinscription of native social groups within Christian universal history because they were given new content.⁵⁴ Abercrombie presents this practice and its persistence as being contrary to the Western tradition; he also presents a departure from the "resistance" narrative common to historiography of the time.

among an Andean people (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), xxiv.

⁵¹ Abercrombie, 129. Gruzinski performs a similar study, without the ethnographical fieldwork component, that also examines the role of memory in reconstructing historical pasts, in "La memoria mutilada: Construcción del pasado y mecanismos de la memoria en un grupo Otomí de la mitad del siglo XVII," in *La memoria y el olvido: Segundo simposio de la historia de las mentalidades* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1985).

⁵² Bricker, 5.

⁵³ Abercrombie, 346.

⁵⁴ Abercrombie, 318.

Historians have also explored the resistance narrative in a way that adds layers of understanding to what may otherwise be dismissed as cultural and religious divisions based on racial assumptions. A work that performs this kind of exploration is Carolyn Dean's *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.⁵⁵ The research demonstrates how the Corpus Christi celebrations in colonial Cuzco were occasions that displayed the social heterogeneity that characterized the native Andean community. Dean removes the idea of “the indigenous composite glossed by the term *indios*” to elucidate the ethnic variety characteristic to the region.⁵⁶ This approach serves to acknowledge the weavings and negotiations inherent to colonial relationships, where some natives benefited from alliances with Spaniards while others protested colonialism altogether. In this manner, she opens possibility for analysis of cultural confluence, present in the form of Corpus Christi performance and the empowered bodies who partook of it.⁵⁷ In this way, scholarship on colonial Latin America has shifted from a narrative of resistance and eventual defeat, to one that grants consideration of the subtleties and multi-faceted interactions of European-native contact.

Over the past fifty years, scholars also began to examine the formation of distinctively Latin American identities in generations of Creoles (*criollos*), a name assigned to those born in the New World from Spaniard parentage.⁵⁸ A term that has become widely associated with this identity-formation process is “Creole patriotism.”

⁵⁵ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke UP, 1999).

⁵⁶ Dean, 4.

⁵⁷ Dean, 123.

⁵⁸ The most notable contributions to the field, aside from the work discussed, are Rebecca Earle, “Creole Patriotism and the Myth of the ‘Loyal Indian’,” *Past and Present* 172 (2001): 125-145; Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke UP, 2007). More recently, another work that has garnered considerable degree of authority has been Bauer and Mazzotti, *Creole subjects in the Colonial Americas*.

Perhaps the finest exploration of this phenomenon to date is D.A. Brading's *The First America*. In it, he acknowledges Spanish America's dependence on Europe for literature, art forms, and culture in general, but argues and demonstrates that chroniclers and patriots succeeded in the creation of an idiosyncratic, original, and complex intellectual tradition distinct from the European model.⁵⁹ His chapter, "Creole Patriotism", engages a set of primary sources from Creoles, a flurry of petitions from New Spain sent to the Spanish Crown during the 1590s pleading for the grant of another generational extension on existing *encomiendas* [a semi-feudal system of entrustments that granted Spanish control of indigenous labour].⁶⁰ Brading interprets these documents as evidence of the emergence of Creole identity expressed in anguish, nostalgia, and resentment, "a collective consciousness that separated Spaniards born in the New World from their European ancestors and cousins."⁶¹ This is reflective of a greater body of scholarship that identifies these Creoles as dispossessed heirs who came to develop an independent character.

Newer studies on Creole identities still recognize this prevalent sentiment of dispossession, granting that it led to the group's ambiguous position within colonial society. This is the case in *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas*, where Bauer and Mazzotti endeavour to analyze Creole adjustment to New World orders through confrontation and negotiation with Spanish powers as well as creation of a historical imagination that clung to the myth of conquest.⁶² Both scholars find that the study demands removal of the conceptual binary of colonizer and colonized, describing it as

⁵⁹ David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots, and the liberal state 1492-1867* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1991).

⁶⁰ Brading, 293.

⁶¹ Brading, 293.

⁶² Bauer and Mazzotti, 25.

anachronistic and unhelpful for understanding Creoles' ambiguous status within the Spanish empire.⁶³ Instead, they place focus on Creole consciousness outside this binary, and set to explore this consciousness through the writings of Creoles themselves. Though citizens of the empire, and Europeans by descent, the “fatality of Trans-Atlantic birth” placed social, geographic, and legal barriers upon them, and this became reflected in the work they produced.⁶⁴ The importance of Bauer and Mazzotti's efforts rests on their ability to bring attention to the self-images that Creoles procured, rather than emphasizing those images Peninsular Spaniards created about them.⁶⁵

The varied sociability present in colonial Peru – one away from rigid binaries – meant that terms for social categorization such as Indian or Creole did not necessarily always indicate birthplace or race. Historian Karen Graubart explores this aspect of daily colonial life in her 2009 article, “The Creolization of the New World.”⁶⁶ While she admits that there is very little access to envisioning the ways plebeian society labelled and imagined itself and others, she laudably explores racial interactions and categorization at the street level. She demonstrates that, in all likelihood, individuals and groups used more compact vocabulary and locally convenient terms to refer to one another within their local spheres.⁶⁷ This indicates that Creolization, for instance, was certainly about birthplace, but also largely about a process cultural exposures. In this manner, a native who had moved into an urban space, had adopted Spanish as their

⁶³ Bauer and Mazzotti, 10.

⁶⁴ Bauer and Mazzotti include this description by Benedict Anderson, who discussed the subject in his study of the emergence of nationalism, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 57; Bauer and Mazzotti, 31.

⁶⁵ Another meritorious exploration of the Creole experience is found in Karen Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World: Local forms of identification in urban colonial Peru, 1560-1640,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89 (2009): 471-499.

⁶⁶ Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 471-499.

⁶⁷ Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 471.

everyday language, and had also adopted Spanish-inspired garments as their own, could very well have been considered a Creole, bringing forth the notion of humans as corporeal beings, or beings who experience mainly through the body.

Historian Leo Garofalo's dissertation picks up on the idea of exploring daily colonial interactions as a means of accessing colonial history. However, he does so through popular food choices in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and his study is one of the most exhaustive works on the subject to date. Published in 2001, it seeks to address several aspects of colonial life at once. It successfully studies the daily dissonance between prescription and practice, evident in popular spaces such as markets and taverns.⁶⁸ Garofalo examines this dissonance through quotidian acts of self-identification manifested in the populace's food choices, and their demand for *chicha* and other stimulants such as the coca leaf.⁶⁹ Garofalo efficiently travels through the accessible details of daily life, despite the official impositions of racial stratification.⁷⁰ In this manner, he attempts to fill a gap in scholarship, where most of the work has focused on elitist experiences of colonization, as opposed to plebeian realities. Thus, he performs illuminating work on the dynamics of cultural exchange and social cohesion among the different urban sectors.⁷¹

In a vibrant wave of interest for the process of Creolization, and colonial history from an urban plebeian viewpoint, Garofalo has also contributed, along with other

⁶⁸ Leo Garofalo, "The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants: The making of race in colonial Lima and Cuzco," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001), 6. Food historian Jeffrey Pilcher also produced a detailed world narrative of food, its meanings, and social interactions through food in *Food in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁶⁹ Garofalo, "The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 74; 8.

⁷⁰ Garofalo, "The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 9.

⁷¹ Garofalo, "The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 8.

remarkable Latin Americanists, to the work *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia*.⁷²

It is composed of a series of essays dedicated to the colonial experience in Spanish America, from the angles of different racial groups. The contributing historians remodel the New World as a much more dynamic space – as opposed to the view of the new land as merely an “inert space” where Europeans transplanted their cultural systems.⁷³

Through the inevitable presence of a plebeian sociability, the diverse essays within the text reminds that humans are all equally corporeal beings, experiencing events and environments through the body, regardless of racial stratification. This series of essays also remarkably expose the many deliberate cultural borrowings and alliances among the different races and ethnicities, despite the ambitioned official separation of products and spheres of consumption according to sectors of society.⁷⁴

Scholars Rebecca Earle and Mónica Morales commit themselves to the historical suggestion of ingested and digested identities through their historical studies on Spanish America. Earle suggests that, for the early modern Spaniard, food determined their character and corporeality.⁷⁵ She also argues that diet, in Europe as in the New World, helped create and maintain the physical differences between Europeans, Amerindians, and Africans, using as basis the popular theory of humoralism.⁷⁶ Because of these perceptions, Europeans could well become Amerindians if they became too used to consuming the abounding foodstuff from the New World. Mónica Morales has a similar

⁷² Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo, ed., *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia: Estudios de historia peruana, siglos XVI-XX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005).

⁷³ Scott, “Más allá del texto,” 25.

⁷⁴ Leo Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya en las pulperías y tabernas de Lima y el Cuzco, 1600-1690,” in *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia: Estudios de historia peruana, siglos XVI-XX*, ed. Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 108.

⁷⁵ Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, race and the colonial experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

⁷⁶ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 8.

proposition in her study of inebriation in the New World.⁷⁷ The ability – or inability – to exercise control in alcohol consumption determined a person’s character. Morales approaches this perception from a religious standpoint, where drunkenness equated “spiritual unfaithfulness,” and the latent possibility of political dissent.⁷⁸ For religious officials, inebriation menaced rationality and the advancement of man within their social environment. In this way, both food and alcohol, according to these studies, were capable of creating and maintaining a certain character and complexion, and so their consumption was not only a question of sustenance and merriment.

A primary source that has consistently received varying degrees of attention in colonial Latin American ethnohistorical studies is *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, an expression of both native and European pre-conquest and colonial worldviews, written by Quechua nobleman Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala for King Philip III of Spain.⁷⁹ The lasting allure of this source rests in Guamán Poma’s efforts to legitimize indigenous culture to Europeans by taking worldviews from both sides to produce a compelling narrative of conquest. To date, Rolena Adorno’s analysis of Guamán Poma’s writing as a form of resistance remains one of the most incisive publications on the subject of composite ethnicities and Hispanic ethnohistory. Her project is to reconstruct the ways in which this Andean author of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries projected his experience in Spanish, the language of the

⁷⁷ Mónica Morales, *Reading Inebriation in Early Colonial Peru* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

⁷⁸ Morales, 67.

⁷⁹ Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and resistance in colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press 1991), 4. Others have also produced successful readings of this source in order to elucidate Guaman Poma’s mentality and how this may prove a reflection of Quechua ways of perceiving their changing universe. Some such works include Nelson Figueroa Anaya, *El mundo al revés: Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (Lima: Centro de Producción y Documentación Radiofónica "El Día del Pueblo," 1991); Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, *La fe andina en la escritura: resistencia e identidad en la obra de Guamán Poma de Ayala* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2006).

“other.” Adorno’s main interest is to find how “the literary subject took up the challenge of cross-cultural communication” in the first hundred years of Spanish conquest in the New World.⁸⁰ In a way, Guamán Poma engages in a project reminiscent of Abercrombie’s own: Guamán Poma knew the history of the conquest from two sources – his own people’s oral tradition, and the written accounts of Spanish historians.⁸¹ As both *cacique* [native ethnic chief] and Christian,⁸² Guamán Poma took the “language of the gospel right out of [priests’] mouths,” and created a parody of the sermon in the Quechua language to denounce the colonizers’ crimes and acts of social tyranny.⁸³ Whereas historians have more recently questioned the authorship of this primary source,⁸⁴ a study such as the one Adorno proposes retains scholars’ attention due to its ability to shed light on colonial hybridity and indigenous concern to reconcile the pre-colonial past with a present that seemed rapidly effaced.

As has been noticed, the theme of resistance seems inescapable and very much inherent to colonial Spanish America, whether scholars attempt to present it as an active or passive native effort. Kenneth Mills adheres to this narrative in his work *Idolatry and its Enemies*.⁸⁵ His thesis is traditional, as it argues that colonial Andeans resisted to Christianity while also reacting to its presence, weaving aspects of it into their own

⁸⁰ Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 3.

⁸¹ This is also reminiscent of Bricker’s suggestion, as discussed earlier, that native *leyendas* and Spanish *historias* hold equal value, and that *leyendas* often stand as true and accurate despite tendencies to perceive one as more reliable than the other.

⁸² Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 121.

⁸³ Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 128.

⁸⁴ For a recent discourse that refers to and expands on earlier debates on dubious authorship and possible Jesuit origins of the chronicle, refer to Xavier Albó, “La nueva corónica y buen gobierno: ¿Obra de Guamán Poma o de Jesuítas?” *Anthropologica* 16 (2004).

⁸⁵ Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean religion and extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997).

worldviews.⁸⁶ However, he appeals for a kind of religious transculturation that was fitful, uneven, and unpredictable.⁸⁷ The refreshing aspect of Mills's work rests in its proposition of what he calls the "faces" of Christianity, an attempt to replace the monolithic images that studies of evangelization produce, and to capture instead the "different undercurrents and approaches that coexisted and jostled each other in the central Andes."⁸⁸ He instructs the reader to be aware that the Catholic Church remained generally overstretched in the Andean region, resulting in myriad interpretations of Christian teaching.⁸⁹

Mills also advances the region's historiography by moving beyond the polarized conceptions of the region's history, and the idea of Christianity engaged in "mortal combat" with American indigenous religion.⁹⁰ The work brings attention to the lack of uniformity within the Christian doctrine carried to New World localities, and the different perversions of "Catholicisms" that resulted in an extirpation of the local beliefs, labeled distinctively as an "Inquisition of the Indians."⁹¹ His sources include Jesuit reports, catechisms, books of sermons, and a diverse body of idolatry testimonies. However, he warns that the narratives found in such popular sources may lead incautious historians to conclude that natives resisted and countered Christianity whenever possible.⁹²

⁸⁶ Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, 3.

⁸⁷ A proposition that stands close to Burkhart's own vision of a kind of "syncretism" that contains no resolution of contradictions and no neutral middle ground. For further reading on this redefinition of syncretism, read Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*, 188.

⁸⁸ Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, 3.

⁸⁹ Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, 9. This is also the specific subject of Mark S. Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and religion in colonial central Mexico and Yucatan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press and The Academy of American Franciscan History, 2013).

⁹⁰ Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, 3.

⁹¹ Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, 10; The term "Inquisition of the Indians" is expounded in Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones*, 217-226.

⁹² Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, 6.

However conventional his body of sources are, his observations focus on “people with names who tell engaging and meaningful stories,” an approach not unlike Behar’s treatment of the case of the Guachichil witch in the Mexican region.⁹³ This is also reflective of an increasing interest in understanding the various ways different native groups in the Andean and the Mesoamerican region experienced colonialism.⁹⁴ Along with other scholars, Mills observes that much is learned from the study of valleys, regions, and communities where religious change can be closely investigated.⁹⁵ This observation emerges from an awareness that the preoccupations and investigative competence of one *visitador* [idolatri extirpator] differed greatly from those of another. This created a series of contradictory and peculiar cases best investigated independently to avoid erroneous conclusions about colonial Latin America as possessing one cross-regional, stable, and cohesive religion.⁹⁶

A more recent contribution to the study of Andean ethnohistory is Peter Gose’s 2008 consideration of Spanish colonialism in the Andes.⁹⁷ Gose’s work marks a significant departure from the “resistance” narrative by illustrating the encounters as a series of “intercultural alliances,” highlighting “intercultural kinship” as the most salient

⁹³ Mills, *Idolatri and its Enemies*, 6.

⁹⁴ Historical publications focused on small regional groups have proliferated, especially studies on the Mixtec people. For some of the most comprehensive works of regional investigations, see, Ida Altman and James Lockhart, ed., *Provinces of early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American regional evolution* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, 1976); Andrew K. Balkansky and Ronald Spores, *The Mixtecs of Oaxaca: Ancient times to the present* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013); John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1978). Another study that highlights the value of capturing regional subtleties, though it is not limited to one regional community, is David J. Robinson, ed., *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor: Published for Dept. of Geography, Syracuse University by University Microfilms International, 1979).

⁹⁵ Mills, *Idolatri and Its Enemies*, 10.

⁹⁶ Mills, *Idolatri and Its Enemies*, 244.

⁹⁷ Peter Gose, *Invaders as Ancestors on the Intercultural Making and Unmaking of Spanish Colonialism in the Andes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

and memorable characteristic of colonialism.⁹⁸ He offers what may be interpreted as a covert critique of previous works that address the colonial narrative as one of native resistance:

If colonialism did not depend on indigenous collaboration, it must have been what racist historiography tells us it was: a unilateral assertion of European superiority and might. In the Andean case, we would have to endorse one of the more extreme versions of the European superman myth: that a band of 170 Spaniards ‘conquered’ an empire of more than ten million people.⁹⁹

He poses this scenario as improbable and, at best, racist. Instead, he proposes the idea of indigenous collaboration as a more plausible model. He argues that disaffected Andean natives allied with the Spaniards to achieve defeat of the Incas. Gose dissects the ways in which, in this process of alliance, the natives portrayed the Spaniards as ancestors who returned to restore the sovereignty that the Incas had undermined.¹⁰⁰ Thus, he shapes a narrative interpretation of inter-ethnic collaboration that is more agreeable to the subtleties of colonial interactions than earlier historiographical structures of polarized conflict between conquerors and conquered.

Along with the emergence of a nuanced account of intricate intercultural interactions, there has been awakened interest in considering missionaries themselves as subjects of analysis. Although scholarship has yet to expand in this direction, one exemplary examination is Inga Clendinnen’s essay, within a larger collection, on a group of Franciscan missionary friars who lived among the Maya Indians of the Yucatan mid-sixteenth century.¹⁰¹ Clendinnen points to the tendency to neglect these missionaries in

⁹⁸ Gose, 3-4.

⁹⁹ Gose, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Gose, 5.

¹⁰¹ Inga Clendinnen, ed., *The Cost of Courage in Aztec Society: Essays on Mesoamerican society and culture* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2010). The essay referred to here also appears under the same title as a

favour of studies limited to the natives themselves. She presents these Franciscan missionaries as “subjects for wonder,” arguing that their use of violence and cruelty on the native population “threaded too deeply into missionary Franciscan performance to be diagnosed as aberrant.”¹⁰² Rather, their behavior was concordant with the ideology of their order. Ultimately, Clendinnen calls for a reconsideration of the system of meanings surrounding the concept of violence and cruelty in a Franciscan context, although she cautions against the interpretation of her study as a justification for colonial violence.

Another accomplished essay within the collection addresses the issue of studying Christian practices and action in sixteenth-century Mexico as opposed to religious doctrine.¹⁰³ Clendinnen here turns her attention to religion as practiced by Mexican Indians in the later sixteenth century in order to seek an understanding of it.¹⁰⁴ She prefers to look to action “and its concomitant experience.”¹⁰⁵ Employing a methodology that has remained popular, she restricts the discussion exclusively to Nahuatl-speakers of the valleys of Mexico and Puebla-Tlaxcala, with particular emphasis placed on the natives of Tenochtitlán-Tlateloco, known widely as the “Aztecs.”¹⁰⁶ For this purpose, Clendinnen turns to Spanish accounts of indigenous religious observances. She suggests

journal publication, “Disciplining the Indians: Franciscan ideology and missionary violence in sixteenth-century Yucatán,” *Past and Present* 94 (1982): 27-48.

¹⁰² Clendinnen, 92, 97. An equivalent of Clendinnen’s work in Spanish that expands its scope to include not only instances of violence but also traditional acts of proselytization and Franciscan conflict in the New World is Georges Baudot, *La Pugna Franciscana por México* (Mexico: Alianza Editorial Mexicana, 1990).

¹⁰³ Clendinnen, “Ways to the Sacred: Reconstructing “religion” in sixteenth-century Mexico,” in *The Cost of Courage in Aztec Society: Essays on Mesoamerican society and culture* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2010), 116-155.

¹⁰⁴ Clendinnen, 116.

¹⁰⁵ Clendinnen, 123. The lived religious experience (expressed in processions and festivals) has become valuable in describing religious exchanges in the New World. It has been a subject of enthusiasm for ethnohistorians of Latin America. Some fine examples are Carolyn Dean, *Inka bodies and the body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke UP, 1999); Alberto Díaz Araya, Luis Galdames Rosas, and Wilson Muñoz Henríquez, “Santos Patronos en los Andes: Imagen, símbolo y ritual en las fiestas religiosas del mundo Andino colonial (siglos xvi-xviii),” *Alpha* 35 (2012): 23-39.

¹⁰⁶ Clendinnen, 116.

that long after the conquest, Indian techniques of seeking the sacred remained those they had been prior to the conquest, though they may have acquired new meanings.

Nevertheless, she also acknowledges that religion is a “notoriously protean beast” that resists concrete and adequate strategies of study.¹⁰⁷ This is an observation that prevails in a large body of readings about colonial Latin American religious experience.

Perhaps one of the more recent works where the advancement in the historiography of Colonial Latin America can be exemplified is in Mark Christensen’s 2013 text, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms*.¹⁰⁸ Now that considerable research has been done on the nature of indigenous and Spanish exchanges, religious hybridity, and the narrative of resistance, Christensen presents an illustration of how Nahua and Mayan religious texts “prescribed and reflected various forms of Catholicism” in colonial Mexico and Yucatan.¹⁰⁹ In doing so, he also reflects a current historiographical trend that is inclined to perceive Catholic and indigenous religions as continually negotiated, as “mixed religion,” rather than imposed and altogether rejected.¹¹⁰

Christensen also engages in two innovative approaches to the study of colonial religion. For one, he performs a comparative analysis of Nahua and Mayan texts intended to fill a void in the body of religious historiography of the region. He also explores what he finds to be doctrinal variations between published and unpublished texts in these languages, a topic that remains in its infancy. For this, he performed archival research of

¹⁰⁷ Clendinnen, 123.

¹⁰⁸ Mark Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and religion in colonial central Mexico and Yucatan*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press and The Academy of American Franciscan History, 2013).

¹⁰⁹ Christensen, 3.

¹¹⁰ Christensen, 4.

Nahua and Mayan religious texts in Mexico, Spain, and the United States, as well as Spanish documents from official correspondence, councils, religious texts, and inquisition accounts.¹¹¹ From this, he is able to derive that authors composed a myriad versions of Catholicism according to their training, personal preferences, intended audience, and location. This resulted in different understandings of the sacraments and several forms of unorthodoxy that complicate the idea of religious hybridity in the New World by adding local variations and further complexities. It also promises to present a shift in the ways of interpreting cross-cultural relations between conquerors and conquered in coming historiography.

Overall, the past fifty years of studies of Latin American colonial pasts are reflective of the crucial socio-political importance of the ethnic and cultural history of the region. The historiographical literature on the subject developed from an interpretation of colonial contact as entirely hostile, to the recognition of certain patterns of religious and cultural negotiation. Also, now that enough comprehensive work has been done on the relevant regions, it is possible to predict the growth of comparative studies for further historical analysis on colonial ethnohistory, religion, food, and evolving cuisines.¹¹² So far, in attempts to give voice and agency to the subdued indigenous populations of the New World, historians have placed higher importance to understanding the ways native groups became receptacles of the colonizers' religion and culture. However, the field has yet to explore fully the role of the colonizers themselves as potential receptacles of native religious belief, performance, and dietary traditions, and what this says about processes

¹¹¹ Christensen, 11.

¹¹² Some early and laudable investigative efforts at cross-regional comparisons have been George Collier, Renato Rosaldo and John D. Wirth, ed., *The Inca and Aztec states, 1400- 1800: Anthropology and history* (Toronto: Academic Press, 1982); Geoffrey Conrad and Arthur Demarest, *Religion and Empire: The dynamics of Aztec and Inca expansionism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984).

transculturation. Such an exploration can further recognize the nuances inherent to cross-cultural weavings in colonial Latin America. It can also grant further agency to native populations through recognition that their religion and cultural traditions had as much potential to seep into traditional Spanish cultural fabrics. A shift to efforts in this direction can illuminate the processes of identity-formation so central to the region's colonial history, and contribute to understandings of modern global migration and acculturations beyond Latin America. It is the purpose of the following thesis to contribute an exploration in this very direction. Certainly, scholarship on the field outlined is established and distinguished enough as a body to permit a discourse on the matter in the future.

CHAPTER ONE

EDIBLE IDENTITIES:

SHAPING SPANISH AND CREOLE PALATES IN THE

VICEROYALTY OF PERU

“Indians aren’t people, and cassava isn’t bread” is an old adage from colonial Venezuela, and contains the gist of racial and cultural ideologies attached to comestibles and the colonial enterprise.¹¹³ The divisive ideologies behind the adage stood true in Venezuela as they did in the Spanish colonies at large. It certainly was applicable to the Viceroyalty of Peru, a key center for the Spanish Empire in the New World. Edibles and cuisines became essential markers – and makers – of identity within the viceroyalty during the periods of conquest and colonization. The foods that entered the colonial body, from the Old World and the New, seasoned the inhabitants’ understanding of their emerging colonial society. It is of little wonder, then, that the Quechua chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala thought a fit description of Lima must specify that the city sat on a “land of much food and wealth,” while Cuzco was, unfortunately, a city with “lack of food, wine, and meat.”¹¹⁴ The present chapter will take these two important loci as centers of reference, as they reflect larger dynamics of food as markers of culture and identity within the viceroyalty. Rather than placing focus on individual food products available in the viceroyalty, the aim will be to engage with popular food choices so as to trace mechanisms of change, and locate processes of identity formation.¹¹⁵

A productive approach to the relationship between food and identity is to differentiate official colonial authorities’ expectations regarding food consumption from the populace’s actual choices. In this way, it is possible to better grasp the “idiosyncratic details of local life,” decreasing – though not eliminating - the degree to which official

¹¹³ “Indio no es gente, ni casabe es pan,” quote found in Rafael José Lovera, “Intercambios y transformaciones alimentarias en Venezuela colonial: Diversidad de panes y de gente,” in *Conquista y comida: Consecuencias del encuentro de dos mundos*, ed. Janet Long (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), 65.

¹¹⁴ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615, from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, *The Guaman Poma Website*, 1032; 1052. <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm>.

¹¹⁵ Jesús Contreras, “Food Exchanges Between the Old and New Worlds,” *Food & History* 7 (2009): 145.

documents inform historical colonial narratives.¹¹⁶ The chapter engages in examination of the diversity already existent among Spanish settlers, and awareness of the alimentary necessities natural to the colonial enterprise. There is also a need to examine the settler's natural yearning for Old World staples and comfort foods, which guided their interactions with New World edibles. Finally, to aid the colouring of early colonial realities, it is essential to look into the multiethnic socialization in popular public spaces that served a variety of Andean and European food and drinks, and also to look into the popularity of *chicha* and perceptions of the coca leaf in colonial Andean society.¹¹⁷ These aspects of colonial life and identity formation demonstrate that food was "not simply the cultural icing on the colonial cake," and that what the colonial body ingested and digested speaks to the fluidity present within the early modern colonial body.¹¹⁸ Fluidity and flexibility ingrained within food choices eventually became present in the way colonizers and settlers detached from Peninsular Spanish identities and characters, turning them gradually into a bit more Andean, a bit more Creole, and ever more Latin American.¹¹⁹

To begin to grasp the Spanish colonizers' interactions with foods in the New World from the outset of colonization onwards, it is vital to have a cultural and political understanding of these people's places of origin. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Habsburgs who ruled Spain embraced cultural diversity in exchange for political subjection and formal integration into the empire.¹²⁰ This dynamic translated to the New World, and informed the settlers' perception of the environment, its food, and its

¹¹⁶ Graubart, "Creolization of the New World," 477.

¹¹⁷ *Chicha* is the name given to a variety of Andean beverages derived from corn. Here, *chicha* will refer to fermented varieties of the drink.

¹¹⁸ Earle, "If You Eat Their Food..." 713; 690.

¹¹⁹ Historian Karen Graubart discusses practices of identity in daily life during the colonial period, and asserts that the category of Creole is a product of acculturation, and not a marker of birthplace, "Creolization of the New World," 490.

¹²⁰ Bauer and Mazzotti, 40.

people. After all, cultural diversity was already ingrained within the Spanish Peninsulars themselves. Rather than understanding these settlers as belonging to a homogenous group, it is crucial to understand that they themselves were carriers of cultural diversity. Whereas for convention's sake the conquerors and settlers of Peru are termed "Spaniards," "Spain" was not in their time an "irreversible reality" more so than it was a series of distinctive regions with peculiar geographies in central and Eastern Iberia.¹²¹ Emigrants from this region arrived to the New World, all with their individual social organizations, histories, and even local characters and languages, and had left their homes after only first glimpses of unification of Catholic Spain.¹²² Hence, what they found in the Americas in terms of dietary diversity and cultural difference was not altogether alien to them. One also needs to be reminded that the Spaniards of the fifteenth century engaged in things other than "war, booty, and the oppression of non-Christians," and that very few were fully professional soldiers.¹²³ In the invasion of Peru, many of these Spaniards were artisans, merchants, accountants or notaries.¹²⁴ This knowledge offers a picture of colonization that frames relationships with newfound crops in a more nuanced manner than the static binary of distaste for New World food and relentless attachment to Old World food can suggest.

Anatomical perceptions, based largely on the popular theory of humours, also informed Spanish views on the comestibles they encountered. To many, Indian and European bodies – mutable and porous according to common belief – were critically

¹²¹ Harry Jr. Tschopik, "On the Identification of the Indian in Peru," in *Acculturation in the Americas: Proceedings and selected papers*, ed. Sol Tax (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1967), 293; William D. Phillips Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, "Spain in the Fifteenth Century," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the sixteenth century*, ed. Rolena Adorno and Kenneth Andrien (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 11.

¹²² Tschopik, 293; Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 6.

¹²³ Phillips and Phillips, 15.

¹²⁴ Phillips and Phillips, 15.

open to the influences of food, giving ingestion and digestion a central place within the new society.¹²⁵ This mutable nature also meant that categories of race and identity were often unclear, and arguably just as mutable.¹²⁶ Therefore, it was natural that, from the Spanish invasion in the 1530s to the 1600s, there were already mature multiethnic centers where consumption of particular foods and drinks gave room to altogether new dynamics and rules of interethnic sharing, sociability, but also ethnic differentiation and separation.¹²⁷ This was the case in abounding *mercados de plaza* [market places], *chicherías* [*chicha* taverns], *tambos* [wayside inns], and other vibrant public spaces. Rigidity, from the outset, was not a main feature of daily colonial life because all of its members, natives and settlers alike, were active creators and partakers of multiethnic endeavours, including food ingestion. This was a constant challenge to both religious and secular authorities' imposition of strict separation of spheres of sociability and ethnic mixing, an imposition that has informed scholarship of colonial Latin America at large.¹²⁸

Regardless of the realities of daily life, it is accurate to point that authorities relentlessly upheld the division of imperial subjects into two republics – “*república de españoles*” and “*república de indios*” – each with separate residential settlements, customs, legal status and political administration.¹²⁹ In the attempted establishment of these dynamics, authorities displayed what colonial historian Susan Ramírez terms an “ethnocentric myopia,” out of tune with the difficulties inherent to the colonial enterprise,

¹²⁵ Earle, “If You Eat Their Food...,” 713.

¹²⁶ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 6.

¹²⁷ Garofalo, “The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 9.

¹²⁸ For some remarkable examples, refer to Brading, *The First America*; Serge Grunzinski and Berta Ares Queija, *Entre dos mundos: Fronteras culturales y agentes mediadores* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997).

¹²⁹ Refer to discussions of the two republics in Don Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú: Obra escrita en el siglo XVI* (Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1910), particularly chapters XXIV and XXV; Bauer and Mazzotti, 22; Garofalo, “The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 46.

fed by the delusions of upholding a structure within one of the greatest social experiments of the early modern world – the American colonies.¹³⁰

Naturally, this attempt at absolute separation projected itself in spheres of food consumption. Columbus first expressed this concern for categorization when explaining issues of mortality among the first settlers. Columbus contended that once the “usual foods we eat in Spain” became available, mortality would cease to be a problem, promising success for the enterprise.¹³¹ Settlers, according to ideas of the body, needed the typical foodstuffs of their Iberian diet, initially absent in the New World: fresh meat from Old World animals, raisins, sugar, honey, almonds, wheat flour and, of course, wine.¹³² The insistence on availability of Iberian edibles was present from the moment of arrival, and persevered into the seventeenth century.

A formidable example of the idea of selective eating comes from the Royal Hospital of Saint Andrew in Lima, first for Spanish men in Peru.¹³³ In the early seventeenth century, a Jesuit missionary sent a letter from Lima to Rome narrating their activities in the hospital. In addition to duties mandated on Sundays and festivities, four Jesuit men, the author informed, took a day of the week to visit Saint Andrew’s hospital to tend and feed the ill. They brought seasoned birds for the sick, and for those who seemed more languid, they delivered *pistos* and more notably, almonds – a Mediterranean nut that the Spanish considered to have many medicinal benefits – which were given out

¹³⁰ Susan Elizabeth Ramírez, *The World Upside Down: Cross-cultural contact and conflict in sixteenth-century Peru* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996), 158.

¹³¹ Cited in Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 1.

¹³² Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 1; Garofalo uses the term “Trinity of Hispanic Staples,” meaning meat, wheat, and wine, in “The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 189.

¹³³ Adriana Scaletti Cárdenas, “El Real de San Andrés, primer hospital de españoles en el Perú,” *Quiroga* 7 (2015): 74.

in porcelain plates.¹³⁴ Two aspects are worth noting from this letter. One is the existence of racial lines in the sphere of healthcare, undoubtedly an extension of authorities' firmness in regards to separation of social groups according to an established caste system.¹³⁵ The second aspect pertains to what the sick, under religious and political administration and beneficence, needed to eat to improve their health and maintain their complexion. Thus, authorities attempted strict maintenance of colonial bodies through cultural and nutritional knowledge of food.

Beyond the hospital, too, there were assumptions and expectations about orbits of food and drink ingestion, even production. Colonial authorities counted on these expectations to create and perpetuate social labels of race and hierarchies, and yearned for these structures to govern daily life and commerce in multiethnic Andean cities.¹³⁶ As part of this effort, dry-goods stores [*pulperías*] emerged to dispense Hispanic food and drinks in a way familiar in Spain, offering bread, wine, oils, and other “eminently Mediterranean” consumables.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, even the *pulpería* could not stand to the more complex realities of social and economic activities of the growing plebeian sector.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ *Pistos* may refer to a variety of foods, according to the online edition of the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, including a stir-fry of vegetables and eggs. However, the likely meaning here for *pistos* is a bird broth, given to those too ill to ingest any solids, *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, s.v. “pistos,” accessed May 15, 2016, <http://dle.rae.es/?id=TDdbwD7>; Patricia Casas-Augustench, Albert Salas-Huetos, and Jordi Salas-Salvadó, “Mediterranean nuts: Origins, ancient medicinal benefits and symbolism,” *Public Health Nutrition* 14 (2011): 2298; Fernandez, 181.

¹³⁵ This could be an altogether separate field of study, relating to colonial social segregation through health care. Some works on the subject include Scaletti Cárdenas, “El Real de San Andrés,” 74; Gabriela Ramos, “Indian hospitals and government in the colonial Andes,” *Medical History* 57 (2013): 190; Francisco Guerra, *El hospital en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas, 1492-1898* (Madrid: Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo, 1994), esp. Chapter 1.

¹³⁶ Leo Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya en las pulperías y tabernas de Lima y el Cuzco, 1600-1690,” in *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia: Estudios de historia peruana, siglos XVI-XX*, ed. Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 107.

¹³⁷ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 187.

¹³⁸ Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya,” 107.

Colonial authorities, including religious ones, were acutely aware of the power of food in dynamics of socialization and solidarity. They also detested any form of fraternization between groups, such as between Native Andeans and Afro-Peruvians and “worse still, between those groups and the less privileged members of Hispanic society – poor Spaniards and mestizos.”¹³⁹ Fraternization among these groups represented, to the authorities, a degradation of imposed class divisions and ethnic boundaries.¹⁴⁰ Such scenario was best exemplified in public spaces where self-regulating dynamics of interaction and commerce took place – for instance, the market. A letter from a Jesuit in Lima to Rome in 1603 asked what was to be done about the sale of their produce at the market square. According to the author, the market square was the most common venue for the sale of produce and lack of alternative spaces meant they were unable to profit from their harvests otherwise.¹⁴¹ A peremptory response arrived from Rome, urging the Jesuit author from Lima to find another way to sell the produce, “because the one now used does not seem decent to us [. . . .]”¹⁴² In this response, there is recognition that the market was deemed an indecent environment, one unfit for members of a religious order to partake and least of all profit from. There is also suggestion of something socially, racially, and likely gender transgressive in market interactions – even economically transgressive – that paints the market as a sphere suspended from authoritative expectations, religious and secular.¹⁴³ The market perhaps even challenged these

¹³⁹ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 141.

¹⁴⁰ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 141.

¹⁴¹ Fernandez, 132.

¹⁴² “Búsquese otro modo de vender las cosa que en el memorial se apuntan, porque el que ahí se usa no nos parece decente,” in Fernandez, 132.

¹⁴³ Although gender relations within colonial spheres is a subject apart from the present study, some remarkable scholarship for those seeking and introduction to women’s cultural and economic contributions, as well as gender relations among castes, include Karen Graubart, *With our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous women and the formation of colonial society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,

expectations through mere multiethnic transactions of products, including comestibles.

The market possessed a persevering autonomy also found in *pulperías* and *chicherías*.¹⁴⁴ These places, in both Lima and Cuzco, sometimes threatened public order because, in their autonomy, they could become “propitious places for encounters and conflict.”¹⁴⁵ Additionally, there was constant struggle to keep the owners of these establishments from offering Hispanic staples because they probably understood that the commercialization of varied products within a given establishment caused the intermingling of castes, and their patterns of consumption could be altered in the process, in ways unfavourable to the strict ideals of separate republics and spheres of socialization.¹⁴⁶

Ultimately, however, New World experimentation and deliberate cultural borrowing denied the success of colonial authorities’ cultural divisions. This multiethnic experimentation also disagreed with European naturalists who denied New World crops, like maize, of a good reputation.¹⁴⁷ It also contradicted narratives such as that of Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, a Peruvian Franciscan vicar who was only too ready to exalt the abundance of wheat and wine in Lima while confining *chicha* and *guarapo* to Indian, *zambaigo* [offspring of a black parent and an indigenous parent], and *mestizo* consumption.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, despite initial caution, suspicion, and yearning for Old

2007), and Tamara J. Walker, “‘*Blanconas Sucias*’ and ‘*Putas Putonas*’: White Women, Cross Caste Conflict and the Power of Words in Late-Colonial Lima, Peru,” *Gender and History* 27 (2015): 131-150.

¹⁴⁴ *Chicherías* are establishments for the selling of *chicha*, an Andean corn beverage. *Pulperías*, *chicherías*, and other public spaces are discussed later in the chapter.

¹⁴⁵ Garofalo “La sociabilidad plebeya,” 115.

¹⁴⁶ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 186.

¹⁴⁷ Contreras, 150.

¹⁴⁸ Although there is much to say about *guarapo*, a drink derived from sugar cane, production and consumption was closely associated with African groups, a subject beyond the scope of this chapter. For

World foodstuffs, Spaniards and Creoles in the Andes drank more than wine, and ate more than wheat bread. Similarly, Indians, *mestizos*, and *zambaigos* developed taste for more than *chicha*, *guarapo*, and corn.

The conquistadors, naturally, did hold anxiety and fear of living in an altogether new environment. The notion of living in unfamiliar surroundings, among unfamiliar peoples, and the belief that this might alter “not only the customs but also the very body of the settlers” was a real sentiment in the initial stages of colonization.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the first Spaniards to arrive carried with themselves a fair degree of flexibility and pragmatism in the face of this new environment.¹⁵⁰ They were, from early on, “irrevocably committed to the new situation, devising [their] own solutions on the spot, beginning to build up [their] own traditions and techniques even if these were originally but variants of European models.”¹⁵¹ This attitude also accompanied the inescapable necessities associated with exploration and conquest of the unfamiliar new world. The *mestizo* chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega narrated that in the year 1547, when there was still an absence of wheat bread in Cuzco – but wheat was already available – Garcilaso’s parents offered shelter to the city’s Dominican bishop, Juan Solano, and his fourteen or fifteen Spanish companions, who escaped from the battle of Huarina.¹⁵² Garcilaso’s

some mention and introduction to the drink, refer to a 1603 or 1604 letter by Jesuit Priest Diego Torres, found in Quintín Aldea Vaquero, ed., *El indio peruano y la defensa de sus derechos (1596-1630)* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993), 452; Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Perú: Méritos y excelencias de la ciudad de los reyes, Lima* (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1630) From Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. <http://bdh.bne.es/bne/search/detalle/bdh0000092550> (accessed May 16, 2016), 244-245. Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova also spends much of chapter V providing other information of this nature.

¹⁴⁹ Earle, “‘If You Eat Their Food...’” 688.

¹⁵⁰ James Lockhart, “Trunk Lines and Feeder Lines: The Spanish reaction to American resources,” in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the sixteenth century*, ed. Rolena Adorno and Kenneth Andrien (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 90.

¹⁵¹ Lockhart, “Trunk Lines and Feeder Lines,” 90.

¹⁵² Garcilaso de la Vega, 744.

mother, an Inca noblewoman, fed the group corn bread, and they were so starved that they also took handfuls of raw corn kernels, some of which they fed to their horses, and some which they ate as if they were “candied almonds.”¹⁵³ Starvation and extreme circumstances allowed little room for pickiness, and corn could at times indeed become candied almonds to starved bodies.

The state of being in an altogether new environment, previously unexplored, also meant that necessity pushed conquerors and settlers into the consumption of edibles alien to them. Despite hope that “the men who are born [in Europe] and who begin to occupy those regions, whether their parents are Spanish or of different nations, do not *in obedience to the heavens* degenerate to the point of adopting the customs of the Indians,” the reality of the situation left them little choice but to risk degeneration through nutrition.¹⁵⁴ Nicolas de Ribera, one of the thirteen conquistadors who accompanied Francisco Pizarro in the conquest of the Inca Empire, recounts the predicaments encountered in search for food provisions. Given the extreme lack of food, and the equally extreme necessity, the group wandered through mangroves and swamps “for eight or nine days until we came upon a place [*rancho*] where we found some corn [. . . .]”¹⁵⁵ They eventually reached other towns where they spent many days searching for rations for the company and their horses. For these conquistadors on their quest, food did not equate maintenance or violation of culture, and it did not equate the future degeneration of their Spanish bodies. On the contrary, any comestible - whether back in the Peninsula it would have been deemed as a comestible indeed – equated provisions

¹⁵³ Garcilaso de la Vega, 744.

¹⁵⁴ Francisco Hernandez, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*, ed. Ascención de León-Portilla (Madrid: Historia 16, 1986), ch. 23.

¹⁵⁵ Cited in Scott, “Más allá del texto,” 33.

and, therefore, survival. The encounter with equatorial swamps and the vertiginous nature of the Andes left little space for choosy Spanish palates. To this, it must be added that indigenous help and conditional protection was oftentimes the only venue to survival. Without this help, Spaniards felt overwhelmed by the landscape, the suffering, and the possibility of attack and robbery at the hands of unknown indigenous groups.¹⁵⁶ Although indigenous consumption of native comestibles was perceived as contemptible, Spanish consumption of these same products was a matter of necessity.

This environment, which proved many times hostile to Spanish presence, also presented a difficulty when it came to reproducing European cuisine after the initial wave of conquest. Eating maize was an emergency measure at best, as had been the case earlier for Nicolas de Ribera. The production of European meat, fruits, vegetables, and grains became important elements of the economy and the maintenance of cultural and religious observances as settlements were established.¹⁵⁷ However, need, want, and the inability to entirely reproduce the “European alimentary landscape” in the New World compelled colonizers to make do with American substitutions.¹⁵⁸ It was this process of necessity that first introduced Spanish newcomers to American flavours, and although initially reluctant, they came to develop a taste and identity around these products.

Nutritional hardship was a common feature of the colonial enterprise. Spanish explorer Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca chronicled the vicissitudes him and his companions suffered exploring present-day Florida. With an indigenous group as companions, they were limited to eating a handful of a green fruit containing a milky

¹⁵⁶ Scott, “Más allá del texto,” 42.

¹⁵⁷ Lockhart, “Trunk Lines and Feeder Lines,” 102.

¹⁵⁸ Contreras, 152.

substance that burned their mouths and worsened their thirst.¹⁵⁹ When hunger struck these conquistadors most, they traded some of their items in exchange for two dogs to eat, and Cabeza de Vaca also recalled when this same indigenous group offered them raw meat, which they were unable to roast and had a hard time ingesting.¹⁶⁰ Not only in the Peruvian Andes, but also in the rest of the New World, exploration begged for accommodation of many comestibles that the colonizers found culturally and nutritionally disagreeable. Although never the case for dog meat, some comestibles rose in prominence through time and became popular among the colonial population despite initial abhorrence.

Such was the case for maize and other New World starches. Although settlers had initially held suspicion for these starches, it was impossible for most of them to avoid them altogether.¹⁶¹ Chroniclers described an increase in consumption of local maize-derived foods such as *atole*, *pinole*, as well as other delicacies like “scalded plantains, butter of the cacao, puddings made of Indian maize, with a bit of fowl or fresh pork in them seasoned with much red biting chili.”¹⁶² This increasing regard for maize and other New World foods extended to the Spanish peninsula by the sixteenth century, though authorities did not always find them tasteful or nutritious enough for European digestion. English herbalist John Gerard authored the *Herbal Compendium* in 1597, and included a less-than-flattering entry on maize, declaring the following:

Corn nourishes much less than wheat, barley, or oats. Bread made from corn is as hard and dry as a biscuit [...], causes violent indigestion, offers little or no nutrition to the body, is digested slowly, and constipates the stomach. We

¹⁵⁹ Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Nafragios y comentarios* (Barcelona: Orbis, 1986), 81.

¹⁶⁰ Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, 83.

¹⁶¹ Earle, “If You Eat Their Food...,” 704.

¹⁶² Thomas Gage, *The English-American: A New Survey of the West Indies, 1648*, ed. A. P. Newton (Guatemala City, 1946), 280.

still lack certain proof and experience regarding the virtues of this grain, even though the barbaric Indians, who don't know any better and are limited to the "virtue of necessity", believe that it is a good food. We can easily assess that it nourishes little, that it is hard, and that it is digested poorly, a food more suitable for pigs than for men.¹⁶³

Neither in taste, texture, nor nutrition could corn compete with its European grain equivalents, seemingly only fit for animals, and doing more harm than good to anyone who consumed it. This seems discordant with popular reception in Europe, which was the mirror contrast of its adoption in the Americas.

Corn was not the only food to enjoy increased presence in Europe. Corn and potato were the most expansively accepted, but already in the sixteenth century, other items such as tomatoes, peppers, cacao, squash, peanuts, and vanilla had also been tasted and accepted in Europe to varying degrees and for different reasons.¹⁶⁴ In regards to potato, authorities seem to have perceived it in a somewhat better, but still contemptible, light. Diderot's Encyclopedia's comments on poor farmers' labour included a mention of the value of their crops:

The fruit of his labors consists of barley, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, maize, and other low-priced products. Such is the food he obtains, such is the food on which he raises his children. *These foodstuffs scarcely keep men alive while they ruin them physically*, and they cause many to die in childhood. (emphasis added)¹⁶⁵

Whereas reception of New World foodstuffs was varied, and authorities oftentimes

¹⁶³ Cited in Contreras, 151.

¹⁶⁴ On European reception of New World foodstuff, there seems to be mixed commentaries. Some scholarship asserts positive receptions, while others assert the opposite. Some conversations on this include Arturo Warman, *Corn & Capitalism: How a botanical bastard grew to global dominance*, trans. Nancy L. Westrate (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Redcliffe Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985); Contreras, 144, 150-153. Contreras outlined the agricultural advantages that a crop like maize had for the European poor, justifying the emergence of corn dishes in the continent such as porridges, *polenta*, *mamaliga*, *puchas*, *gachas*, and *farinetes*.

¹⁶⁵ *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and D'Alembert: A translation Project*, s.v., "farmers," accessed May 15, 2016, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.147>.

frowned upon their adoption, the regular populace was more focused on their virtues, and when local Spaniards took interest in an indigenous product, the interest translated to Europe.¹⁶⁶ It is difficult to ignore that, in many cases, adoption of these foodstuffs had rather practical reasons, and not always reflected on taste. Introduction of New World crops to Europe meant that Europeans (and mostly poor Europeans) could now enjoy the high yields characteristic to corn and potato, which favoured the substitutions of millet, and sorghum, which had formerly been more traditional crops.¹⁶⁷

In any case, what predominated in the New World was the palate and experience of the common people, and they displayed more openness to the new products than could initially meet the eye. For instance, Garcilaso de la Vega chronicled how the Spaniards in the Viceroyalty of Peru experimented with maize for medicinal purposes, and claimed that this was “partly because of advice the Indians have given them [. . .] and partly because the Spaniards themselves have philosophized about this based on observation.”¹⁶⁸ In this manner, in tune with the epoch’s scientific spirit of empiricism, they found that maize, beside its nutritional value, also relieved kidney conditions, urine retention, bladder and intestinal pains, and other ailments, none of which the natives were said to suffer thanks to a beverage derived from this grain plant.¹⁶⁹ On its entry about maize, Diderot’s *Encyclopedia* commends the plant’s medicinal benefits, as it remarked that “Mexican doctors take medicinal tea with the Indian corn for their patients, and this idea is not at all bad, because this grain has much in common with barley.”¹⁷⁰ Although

¹⁶⁶ Lockhart, “Trunk Lines and Feeder Lines,” 106.

¹⁶⁷ Contreras, 145.

¹⁶⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, 188.

¹⁶⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega, 188.

¹⁷⁰ *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and D’Alembert: A translation Project*, s.v., “maize,” Accessed May 15, 2016, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0002.667>.

in the Encyclopedia, benefits are commended because the grain had apparent commonalities with barley, in the New World, the only point of reference was the Indians' use of it. This seemed to suffice the Spaniards, who began to exploit its curative properties as well, according to Garcilaso de la Vega. It is essential to note that his narrative must be taken with a grain of salt, since his historical enterprise sought to exalt the worth and greatness of the colony and its peoples. Nonetheless, the role of corn throughout the centuries, in both Europe and the Americas, has been well documented to attest to its gradual ascension as a well-regarded, inexpensive, and nutritious staple for the general populace.¹⁷¹

The initial perceptions that linked maintenance of the European body to exclusive food choices, and the initial idea that consumption of certain foods determined an individual's complexion, did not hold ground to curiosity in the presence of New World comestibles. The fear that careless food selections could easily "turn proud, bearded Spaniards into timid, beardless Indians" became fickle in time.¹⁷² Garcilaso de la Vega once more served to inform that there were very inquisitive Spaniards who experimented by grafting the branches from Spanish trees on to native trees in order to obtain "two, three, four kinds of wonderful fruits in a year."¹⁷³ Of course, here, there may be a hint of exaggeration, and the veracity of this account cannot be confirmed, but in it there is evidence of an interesting form of transculturation through agricultural testing that had little regard for theories and expectations on the body and food consumption.

¹⁷¹ Analytical works on this subject include Arturo Warman, *Corn & Capitalism: How a botanical bastard grew to global dominance*, trans. Nancy L. Westrate (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Jeffrey Pilcher, *Food in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2006), esp. introduction chapter, and his chapter, "Columbian Exchange."

¹⁷² Earle, "If You Eat Their Food..." 690.

¹⁷³ Garcilaso de la Vega, 752.

Soon enough, in addition to the eventual availability of the “Trinity of Hispanic Staples” – namely wheat, meat, and wine – Lima’s residents also became fond of native vegetables and Andean fruits to the degree that they began to grow it in their own valleys and house gardens alongside European produce.¹⁷⁴ In this way, although Spanish bodies initially differed from indigenous bodies due to their diets, the differences were transient, and a translation of Amerindian foodstuff to the colonial table attests to gradual divorce from traditional Spanish diets, and the emergence of Creole cuisine.

The divorce that took place in the farming fields and village gardens also took place within the homes of the settlers. From the early days of colonization, it was common for *encomenderos* and conquistadors to have indigenous female cooks in their kitchens due to initial absence of Spanish women, and the lack of Old World edibles and the difficulty of complete reproduction of Spanish dishes stimulated an early development of Creole cuisine at the hands of these cooks.¹⁷⁵ In the streets, too, and in public establishments, indigenous women fed the populace with distinctly Andean dishes and other dishes with European elements, such as “thick stews (*locros*) of corn and llama meat seasoned with *aji*; trout and boiled or toasted beans (especially on Catholic fast days); cooked potatoes and jerked llama and mutton seasoned with Andean pepper.”¹⁷⁶ The willingness to experiment in the fields, to receive indigenous cooking within homes, and the popularity of transculturated Andean foods – and general curiosity to try characteristically Andean ones – attests to what Garofalo coins as a “multi-ethnic plebeian solidarity” that showed gradually decreasing concern for “Spanishness” and Spanish patterns of nutrition, and instead began to claim Creole identity, and a particular

¹⁷⁴ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 193.

¹⁷⁵ Contreras, 147.

¹⁷⁶ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 73.

kind, too – a Peruvian Creole identity.¹⁷⁷

By nature, the settlers who arrived to the New World expressed yearning and need for their Old World environments and foodstuffs, being unfamiliar with the new. Even when the new became familiar to them, this yearning and sense of necessity lingered during early stages of colonization. Due to these sentiments, settlers attempted to “Europeanize” their new landscape, which included introduction of European flora and fauna.¹⁷⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega narrates an episode of one such attempt at Europeanization. He tells of a noble lady from Trujillo in Spain, named María de Escobar, who was allegedly the first individual to bring wheat to the viceroyalty.¹⁷⁹ Garcilaso adds that in gratitude for “the act of benefaction this valiant woman did for Peru, and for the services of her conquistador husband [Sir Diego de Chaves], they received a share of Indians [. . .]¹⁸⁰ The yearning for wheat, an Old World staple, placed its availability in the New World in high regards. Availability of wheat meant proximity with the familiar, a translation of traditional alimentary culture to the new environment, and the maintenance of a higher status within the colonial sphere through connection to Europe.

Whenever direct availability of a particular product was impossible, Spanish settlers took it upon themselves to attempt reproduction of European products in the viceroyalty, as was the initial case for wine. Garcilaso de la Vega informs how an

¹⁷⁷ Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya,” 117.

¹⁷⁸ “Europeanization” is a term popularized in Alfred Crosby’s work, *Ecological Imperialism: The biological expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015); Earle, “‘If You Eat Their Food...’,” 702.

¹⁷⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega, 743.

¹⁸⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, 743.

inquisitive Spaniard made a resin paste out of grapes brought from Spain, and how weak little stems grew from surviving grape seeds in the paste. This Spaniard took delicate care of the paste for three or four years, until the stems became strong enough to be planted and give grapes, although the wine produced from it was not exactly like Spain's.¹⁸¹ In any case, the Spanish yearning to have products from their land transplanted onto the Indies was so intense that "no work or hazard has been so great to keep them from fulfilling their desires."¹⁸² Although Garcilaso knew of this episode through word of mouth, from an apparently reliable source, it remains safe to assert that the yearning for the Old World bounties was a reality, based on the amount of products that eventually traveled over or were reproduced in the region.¹⁸³ This speaks to a sentiment of migration that was to be expected, much in the way that is expected today. This very sentiment, however, was one necessary for the process of transculturation that eventually gave birth to the Peruvian Creole.

Eating and drinking, then, were essential markers and makers of identity, and in the early decades of colonization, it also came to mark and make caste identity, exactly because of the presence of both Old World and New World items. In this milieu, certain diets were thought to "create the physical differences that separated Europeans from Amerindians," and indeed initial Spanish yearning for wine speaks of a yearning to

¹⁸¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, 745.

¹⁸² "ningún trabajo ni peligro se les ha hecho grande para dejar de intentar el efecto de su deseo," Garcilaso de la Vega, 745.

¹⁸³ Although it is beyond the breadth of the present discussion, there is also a significant religious aspect related to the yearning, presence, and eventual abundance of wheat and wine in Colonial Peru, since these were essential items in Catholic rites. Some notable discussions of this aspect are found in Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, particularly in chapters 3 and 4, and in Prudence M. Rice, "Wine and Brandy Production in Colonial Peru: A historical and archaeological investigation," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27 (1997): 455-479.

exercise Spanishness.¹⁸⁴ This gave wine, for instance, a particularly Spanish identity, while other foods were closely linked with other cultural identities exclusively, such as Indian, as was the case for *cuy* [guinea pig] in the Andes.¹⁸⁵ *Cuy* managed to remain a predominantly Amerindian special food, prepared for sacrifices, religious festivals, and special feasts.¹⁸⁶ In this manner, there is a display of subtle and layered engagement with food and drink in the viceroyalty. Certain food was associated exclusively with one social group and not another, like wine and wheat in the early days of the viceroyalty. However, long-term exposure to this variety of edibles and drinks alongside each other somewhat blurred lines of self, producing new ones. The environments and experiences that were initially unfamiliar, carrying no reminders of the traditional, soon evolved into new dynamics that produced, through interplays of food, cuisine, and alcohol consumption, an identity gradually apart from Spanishness, yet also not possibly fully Indian, but completely new in colour and inventiveness.

Nowhere was the casting of identities best exemplified than through the consumption of New World goods in public spaces. In the viceroyalty of Peru, in theory and official belief, “Spanish bodies differed from indigenous bodies because the Spanish diet differed from the Amerindian diet” at first, but there was also awareness that “bodies could be altered just as easily as could diets,” at least in a figurative sense.¹⁸⁷ Taverns and spaces of different kinds, including colonial *tambos* [wayside inns], *chicherías*, *pulperías*,

¹⁸⁴ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 8.

¹⁸⁵ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 8.

¹⁸⁶ Christina Zendt, “Marcos Zapata’s ‘Last Supper’: A feast of European religion and Andean culture,” *Gastronomica: The journal of food and culture* 10 (2010): 10; Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 189; Francisco Avila, Frank Salomon, and George Urioste, ed., *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A testament of ancient and colonial Andean religion* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1991), 364, and also chapter 28.

¹⁸⁷ Earle, “‘If You Eat Their Food...’” 690.

and market squares supplied Lima and Cuzco's citizens with a variety of drinks and food. Due to this ability to provide a wide variety of goods, they proved fit establishments for this figurative alteration of the body through ingestion and digestion. It was in these public spaces that Spanish plebeians, servants of all ethnic extractions, and other members of colonial society gathered and mingled.¹⁸⁸ The public spaces, and the local populace's demands for their goods, molded the emerging identities in the viceroyalty.

Their nature as spaces where multiethnic sharing and socialization – even social resistance at times – could take place out of the official policing eye made these spaces causes of concern for colonial authorities, chroniclers, and certain elite members of society. Quechua nobleman Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala expressed alarm for the interactions that took place within these environments, as they bred detrimental influences upon different members of colonial society.¹⁸⁹ Guaman Poma de Ayala projected a greater official anxiety that these autonomous spaces engendered and displayed “uncontrollable appetite and exchange for goods and bodies, rather than the dissemination of moral values and salvation.”¹⁹⁰ This concern was aggravated when it came to interactions within the walls of these establishments, but was originated in the official necessity to maintain a place for everything and everything in its place when it came to caste identities, cultures, and social separations. This anxiety surrounding public establishments came from a pre-existing concern for the influences the different castes had upon one another. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, Viceroy Juan de Mendoza y Luna expressed, for instance, a general belief that *mestizos* and *mulattoes* were a pernicious influence on the Indians because of the “dastardly customs [the Indians] learn

¹⁸⁸ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 187.

¹⁸⁹ Mónica Morales, *Reading Inebriation in Early Colonial Peru* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 12.

¹⁹⁰ Morales, 12.

in their company,” so that communication and communal living among these groups was prohibited.¹⁹¹ For the well-being of the colony, in a very paternalistic fashion, colonial authorities deemed necessary to keep these groups apart, each inhabiting their own spaces and socializing in their own exclusive establishments.¹⁹² However, it mattered little how much emphasis colonial authorities placed on social and racial separation. Ultimately, there was vibrant participation of different social and racial groups in public life, along with exchange and exposure to different cultural concepts and organizations. Indigenous and others’ constant migration to and from cities also fueled this dynamic, which nourished cultural exchange and social cohesion in urban centers like Lima and Cuzco, making new independent identities in the process.¹⁹³

Cultural historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch asserts that to “visit a pub is to step into another world” ungoverned by the rules of the outside world.¹⁹⁴ The same could also be said of the markets, taverns, and other public spaces popular in the Viceroyalty of Peru. For instance, In Lima and Cuzco’s markets, *gateras* [street sellers] and other types of sellers and establishment owners created an independent space of socialization around food and beverages, where individuals could enjoy “the flurry of activity and parade of edible delights,” and even in some cases engage in illicit activities and transactions.¹⁹⁵ It was this type of multiethnic plebeian environment that formed identities with

¹⁹¹ Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide and Angel Altolaquirre y Duvale, ed., *Colección de las memorias o relaciones que escribieron los virreyes del Perú acerca del estado en que dejaban las cosas generales del reino* (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de Huérfanos del S.C. de Jesús, 1921-1930), 168.

¹⁹² Poma de Ayala, 965. Guaman Poma de Ayala also speaks against the proliferation of *mestizos* and the corruption of Indians as degradation of the social hierarchies and divisions, in his chapter 31. Other discussions on the subject of demographics, and imperial social and ethnic separation are found in John Fisher, *Bourbon Peru, 1750-1824* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2003), 55-56; Andrew Fisher and Matthew O’Hara, *Imperial Subjects: Race and identity in Colonial Latin America* (Durham: Duke UP, 2009).

¹⁹³ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 8.

¹⁹⁴ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A social history of spices, stimulants, and intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), 167.

¹⁹⁵ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 73.

characteristically colonial shades. These worlds outside the government of the official world gave room for cultural creativity and became points of reference for individual and collective identities based on the kind of reciprocity the outside officials frowned upon.¹⁹⁶

This reciprocal influence is demonstrated through the variety of foods obtainable in these establishments. Guaman Poma de Ayala narrates what Spanish as well as Indians consumed in these settings, with specific reference to the *tambo*. He described owners serving Spaniards

corn and potatoes and sheep and chickens and eggs and lard and bacon; *ají* (hot pepper), salt, cabbage, lettuce, onions, and garlic; cilantro, mint, and rush candles, *cocoba* (a dish prepared with the white *ch'uñu*), *chochoca* (corn that was half-boiled and sun-dried), *chuño*, quinoa, *chiche* (fried small fish) and *chicha* and *frazada chuci* and stews [. . .]¹⁹⁷

The constant references to *tambos* speak to their popularity, indicating that Spaniards, Indians, and other members of society presented demand for the edibles offered in these spaces. Selling of a variety of corn dishes and drinks reveal that Spaniards had taste and demand for them, and they also had much taste and demand for New World spices such as *ají*. Owners of these establishments did not always seem to burden themselves with preparation and selling of different foods according to ethnic bubbles, the way authorities expected. European, Amerindian, and African foodstuffs and recipes were offered side by side, and quickly became a “shared taste,” despite their original prestige or associations.¹⁹⁸ In practice, the realities of colonial life transformed public spaces into sites of exchange between men and women of different ethnic and social standing. Their success and popularity throughout the cities was also a constant display of the Spanish

¹⁹⁶ Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya,” 106.

¹⁹⁷ Cited in Contreras, 156.

¹⁹⁸ Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 495; Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, ethnicity, and the urban economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham: Duke UP, 2005), 91-92.

Crown's limitations, and their inability to be idealistically omnipresent. Despite contradicting royal and municipal laws, plebeians, artisans, merchants and servants of various ethnicities met and fraternized in these spaces.¹⁹⁹ It is difficult to establish whether these multiethnic social interactions overstepped the boundaries of these unsupervised spaces to any significant degree. Yet, it is nevertheless true that they bred an identity distanced from the Spanish colonial enterprise. Eventually, in the viceroyalty, "indian ethnic chiefs (*kurakas*) dressed and lived as Spaniards, toasted with wine in Dutch goblets, and married non-Indians," while Spaniards and Creoles had a gut for corn, drank *chicha*, conjured with coca, and lived alongside peoples of different ethnic origins.²⁰⁰ The autonomous social laws of the public space possessed more power over official expectations and policing.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, alcohol consumption in the viceroyalty of Peru was another marker of identities in the Andean world. After all, "definitions attach to the drink even before it reaches the lips," and several definitions and meanings emerged through alcohol consumption from the onset of Colonial Peru.²⁰¹ This was especially the case for *chicha*, although also the case for *guarapo* and grape wine, after colonial introduction. In the seventeenth century, Jesuit scholar Bernabé Cobo provided knowledge of *chicha*, *guarapo*, and other prominent alcohols in the region, describing the following:

In this kingdom, in addition to making *chicha* from maize, they also make it from quinoa seeds and oca roots, from the berries of the molle tree, as well as from other things. Also in other places they make wine from a certain liquid which flows from the heart of palm trees after they have been cut down; in all others, from the *guarapo* made of sugar-cane juice. In short, there is no nation

¹⁹⁹ Garofalo, "La sociabilidad plebeya," 110.

²⁰⁰ Garofalo, "The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 17.

²⁰¹ David Mandelbaum, "Alcohol and Culture," *Current Anthropology* 6 (1965): 282.

of Indians that does not have their wines and beverages on which to get intoxicated, although formerly they had no knowledge of *true wine* made from grapes.²⁰² (emphasis added)

Prior to the arrival of Spanish colonizers, the Amerindians all over the continent already possessed ancestral gusto for *chicha* and other fermented beverages made from their natural resources, and used it for festivities, sacrifices, and religious occasions.²⁰³ What is remarkable, however, is that even after the introduction and presence of *true wine*, Spaniards and Creoles developed great fondness for *chicha* so that it managed to flourish as a form of sustenance after the 1550s, a little over twenty years after initial Spanish invasion of the region.²⁰⁴ *Chicha* in the colony provided refreshment, nutrition, and most importantly, strengthened community identity through communal drinking in public spaces, despite official social structures and divisions.²⁰⁵ Spaniards and Creoles soon developed their own local varieties of *chicha* – such as the *chicha de siete semillas* [seven seeds *chicha*], a colonial invention involving Old World ingredients – though never abandoning *chicha*'s traditional ingredients, thus further consolidating local identities.²⁰⁶ Due to *chicha*'s booming popularity, colonial authorities frowned upon its consumption and sought its prohibition and regulation, as well as those of other local beverages ingrained with Inca association.

The Incas had already been consuming *chicha* and other beverages made from maize and other sources for centuries, and made it an essential element in ritual, social,

²⁰² Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire: An account of the Indians' customs and their origin, together with a treatise on Inca legends, history, and social institutions*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 29.

²⁰³ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 66-69.

²⁰⁴ Garofalo, "The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 109.

²⁰⁵ Frances M. Hayashida, "Ancient Beer and Modern Brewers: Ethnoarchaeological observations of *chicha* production in two regions of the North Coast of Peru," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27 (2008): 161.

²⁰⁶ Brenda Bowser and Justin Jennings, ed., *Drink, Power, and Society in the Andes* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2009), 13.

and political exchanges.²⁰⁷ However, during the colonial period, *chicha* and other native beverages earned negative reputations, and so did indigenous consumption and drunkenness, a product of a long tradition of Catholic condemnation of drunkenness and lack of self-control. Father Bernabé Cobo claimed the Amerindians were “so addicted to these *chichas* that drinking is the height of their glory, and they do not consider it a disgrace to get drunk.”²⁰⁸ For the Incas, *chicha* had formed part and even upheld their social, economic, and political structure.²⁰⁹ For colonial authorities, *chicha* was a destroyer of these same structures. Under colonial rule, officials considered *chicha* consumption to be linked to idleness, and also associated to idolatrous practices in religion.²¹⁰ Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru during the late sixteenth century, acted upon this constructed colonial stereotype, prohibiting sales in Lima, relentlessly closing *chicha*-selling businesses.²¹¹ If definitions attached to the drink before it reached the lips, authorities were much more keenly aware of what happened when the drink finally reached the lips. For them, the perceived drunkenness hindered the progress of the conquest, and interfered with control of indigenous labour and life.²¹² But in quotidian comings and goings, the production and ingestion of corn beer “gave currency to Andean thought” within the viceroyalty’s dynamics, and most importantly, it fostered non-Spanish customs, memories, and group union.²¹³ However, for authorities, *chicha*-drinking jeopardized the social order that had been officially established, and they were

²⁰⁷ Hayashida, 162.

²⁰⁸ Cobo, 28.

²⁰⁹ For a good short introduction to the political and economic functions of corn beer, refer to Iván R. Reyna, “La *chicha* y Atahualpa: el encuentro de Cajamarca en la *Suma y Narración de los Incas* de Juan Diez de Betanzos,” *Perífrasis: Revista de Literatura, Teoría y Crítica* 1 (2010): 22-36.

²¹⁰ Reyna, 26.

²¹¹ Morales, 56-57. In these pages, Morales also mentions repeated decrees for the closing of taverns in 1572 and again in 1595, showing the popularity of the establishments and how the “system had gone renegade.”

²¹² Morales, 42.

²¹³ Morales, 56.

quick to create an “idleness-drunkenness-idolatry complex” to demonize the ingestion of corn beer, a notion so solid that it resurfaced again in a twentieth century campaign to link corn beer consumption to imbecility and violence.²¹⁴ In truth, *chicha* consumption gave room for a kind of inter-ethnic socialization that the authorities were unable to police, and the popularity of the drink did not wane despite demonizing campaigns.

Franciscan Friar Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova authored one of the most detailed *memorias* of the Andean world, and did not neglect to include figures on alcohol production per year. According to his narrative, in Lima and its surroundings alone, unspecified consumers had ingested 200 000 large jugs of wine, while Indians, *mestizos*, blacks, *zambaigos*, and mulattoes had consumed 100 000 jugs of *chicha* and *guarapo*.²¹⁵ Although there is no reason to completely rely on Salina y Cordova’s numbers to obtain a picture of alcohol consumption in Lima and the Andean world, it is possible to detect a possible narrative within these figures. He neglects to identify the consumers of wine, but does specify what sectors of the population consumed *chicha* and *guarapo*. This breakdown of consumers suggests that Spaniards and Creoles consumed wine, while the rest of the population consumed the other, bastardized, alcoholic beverages – they were, after all, not *true wine*. This clean, idealistic division of consumption perhaps sought to belittle and deny the influence of other ethnicities on Spaniards and Creoles. Yet, the realities of daily life in Lima demonstrate that its inhabitants drank something more than wine, and emphasize the degree of cultural

²¹⁴ “complejo ocio-embriaguez-idolatría,” in Thierry Saignes, comp., *Borrachera y memoria: La experiencia de lo sagrado en los Andes* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 1993), 48; Bowser and Jennings, 13.

²¹⁵ Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, 125.

influence that was often glossed over but ultimately shaped Creole culture and thought.²¹⁶

The changes *chicha* experienced after conquest and settlement of the Andean world also reinforced the discrepancy between numbers and reality. In its simplest form, *chicha* was a “wine-like liquor, and can be distilled into a fiery spirit,” but Spaniards were quick to make their own contributions to the concoction.²¹⁷ Significant changes to the drink included addition of Old World cereals (oats, barley, and wheat) and addition of cane sugar – itself a product introduced after the conquest – to increase alcohol levels and sweetness.²¹⁸ Though these contributions also included the decline in native variations of maize, *chicha* remained *chicha*, sold in the popular *chicherías*, and never became wine. It retained its native Andean meanings, while also absorbing the new ingredients that agreed with the Creole palate, which in itself, placed in the New World, became a palate with a gusto for mixture, blends, and multiethnic flavours. Overall, the flow of alcohol in a society can create tension within a social structure, but can also create a “personal agency that creates identities, channels power, and fires social change,” and *chicha* is a fit example.²¹⁹ In its production, consumption, and the environment for said consumption, the workings of this identity construction, power, and social change are in place. In spite of theoretical separation of castes, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century colonized individuals and Spanish plebeians all frequented *chicherías*, and partook of the production and distillation process of the drink.²²⁰

²¹⁶ Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya,” 106.

²¹⁷ *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and D’Alembert: A translation Project*, s.v., “maize,” Accessed May 15, 2016, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0002.667>.

²¹⁸ Bowser and Jennings, 13; Hayashida, 163.

²¹⁹ Bowser and Jennings, 2.

²²⁰ Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya,” 108.

Other interesting dynamics are uncovered about *chicha* consumption when the body is emphasized as a visceral body, and a historical body. Schivelbusch contributes some food for thought when he contends that

a person who consumes and incorporates things becomes their master. But on the other hand, he thereby delivers himself up to them, in a sense succumbs to them. For things have lives of their own. The plants and animals a person eats (aside from cannibalism) continue to have an effect within him, indeed work either *with* or *against* him, depending on whether they are well or ill disposed toward him.²²¹

This is a valuable observation to relate to the interactions with nourishment in the New World. The effect the plants and animals had on the settlers was one of identity formation, so, in a way, the settlers did come to succumb to what which they consumed. This was the particular case for *chicha*, so embedded with native Andean ritualistic meanings, yet almost immediately appealing to Spaniards and their Creole offspring. This delivered them viscerally to a sphere away from Spain, where a new composite nature was created through transculturation and taste. On the other hand, Andean natives, even when wine became widely available and inexpensive, “had very little taste for it, because they are content with their ancient beverage of *zara* [maize] and water.”²²² Andean natives retained their taste for *chicha*, and successfully installed it in Lima without removal of its ethnic significance, while Spaniards and Creoles rapidly embraced the drink even in the face of wine.²²³ Although Spaniards did avoid openly producing and selling *chicha*, they nevertheless consumed it, and in consumption there is digestion of meanings.²²⁴ Not only does this grant a degree of agency to the “conquered” but speaks to a degree of openness in colonial plebeian culture that is often overlooked in favour of the

²²¹ Schivelbusch, 168.

²²² “Los indios, aunque ya por este tiempo vale barato el vino, lo apetece poco, porque se contentan con su antiguo brebaje hecho de *zara* y agua,” Garcilaso de la Vega, 745.

²²³ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 118

²²⁴ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 125.

rigidity of conqueror versus conquered.

Overall, colonial life developed around the reality that wine never remained in a purely Spanish world, and *chicha* and *guarapo* were multiethnically shared as well.²²⁵ This also meant that the various groups succumbed themselves to the drinks, but also in the process, contributed additions that impressed their identity onto these drinks. For one, various versions of *chicha* and *guarapo* emerged, and wine also varied in qualities and strengths to cater to differing palates.²²⁶ Like individuals in colonial Peru, alcoholic beverages carried fluctuating cultural and political significance. Bowser and Jennings advise “to be wary in asserting that *chicha* drinking constituted an unbroken chain of cultural identity uniting the ancient past, the present, and the future.”²²⁷ The case remains that *chicha* was made of maize, and wine made of grapes. On that premise, there is unchanging meaning around which the main cultural changes depended on sites of consumption and variations in unessential ingredients to bend taste. Because these changes took place in the viceroyalty and were dependent on the Andean colonial experience, adapting the drinks to the localities, they became characteristic to the Creole Peruvian identity.

One exception to the relative plebeian openness to New World products was coca. The Viceroy of Peru during the part of the 1610s describes the Andean herb as the ancient nourishment for the natives, with such nutritive qualities that whoever had coca leaf in their mouths “could walk an entire day without need of any other food.”²²⁸ Besides

²²⁵ Garofalo, “La sociabilidad plebeya,” 107.

²²⁶ Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 4.

²²⁷ Bowser and Jennings, 258.

²²⁸ Beltrán y Rózpide, and Altolaguirre y Duvalé, *Colección de las memorias o relaciones*, 164.

its function in alleviating thirst, hunger, and fatigue, there were also ritualistic properties that disagreed with Spanish culture and prevented wide its Spanish adoption.²²⁹

Peninsular Spaniards in the Andes came from a culture infused with Iberian Church concern for witches and their ointments and drugs, which made them very suspicious about ingestion of coca.²³⁰ In the Spanish and Creole mind, coca contained many negative connotations that kept them from succumbing to habits related to its use. In this, they retained elements of their Spanishness. Even then, they recognized the herb's nutritive and curative qualities, and did not hesitate to use the herb in medicines and tea sweetened with sugar.²³¹ Although not in Inca ways, they still took a token of Inca culture and history, and fashioned it to their needs and wants, although transference of the herb to Europe did not happen to any notable degree. Historical waves of inquisitions and witchcraft persecution in the Old World can possibly account for this failure of transference.

Furthermore, even if coca consumption tells little about the ways Spanish and Creole colonial subjects ingested and digested the New World, the handling of coca is a bit more telling. In the city of Lima, in the year 1679, there is record of a man named Pedro Carrasco, Indian, who had sheltered coca merchant Alonso Cabello, *mestizo*, who had arrived to the locality to sell his goods.²³² Although this case is filed under crimes of idolatry, an example of the attitude reserved for coca selling and use, there is a component of multiethnic solidarity present. It is difficult to determine the nature of these

²²⁹ Amy Sue Biondich, "Coca: High altitude remedy for the Ancient Incas," *Wilderness and Environmental Medicine* 26 (2015): 567.

²³⁰ Garofalo, "The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 361.

²³¹ Garofalo, "The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 314; 357.

²³² AAL, Hechicería e Idolatría Leg VI, Exp. 12, 1669, Causa criminal fecha de oficio por el señor visitador don Juan Sarmiento de Vivero contra Alonso Cabello, mestizo, Pedro Capcha, Joseph Yauri, Indio, sobre ser traginadores de coca, y contra María de la Trinidad [India] sobre ser vendedora de coca.

two men's relationships beyond what the records tell, but it is possible to discern that there was a social component surrounding coca that became characteristic to the viceroyalty. Such remains the case today, when exchanging and chewing coca marks occasions such as the offering of a political position, marriage proposals, funerals, and even remembrance ceremonies in All Saints Day.²³³ The permanence of coca in today's Peruvian society is a testimony to the space it managed to make for itself within colonial society, securing its survival despite official condemnation.²³⁴ After all, despite relentless persecution and the superstition associated with it, it remained a feature of the region, regardless of the degree of acceptance and consumption. As historian Juan de Matienzo asserted, "to prohibit coca is to wish that there be no Peru."²³⁵

From the onset of the colonial enterprise, there were "daily acts of self-identification embodied in food choice."²³⁶ This was the case in situations when necessity compelled colonizers to settle for native foodstuffs upon their arrival, and it remained the case after the establishment of the viceroyalty, when colonial tastes created demand and engaged with new edible fusions in public spaces. The New World allowed room for flexibility already existent within the colonial body. The New World was too vast, with a dynamic too much of its own" to agree with the unrealistic rigidity the colonial authorities intended to impose.²³⁷ The Americas were not simply a space where European cultural systems were transplanted.²³⁸ Race, as well as culture and identity

²³³ Nicola Sharratt, *Carrying Coca: 1500 years of Andean chuspas* (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2014), 45.

²³⁴ Conceived as an obstacle to the mission of conversion, the battle against coca production began with condemnation during the First Council of Lima in 1552, and proved a constant headache during the colonial period, Sharratt, *Carrying Coca*, 57.

²³⁵ Don Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 130.

²³⁶ Garofalo, "The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants," 74.

²³⁷ Schivelbusch, 13.

²³⁸ Scott, "Más allá del texto," 25.

were, from the first, a “question of digestion,” and humans experienced these concepts through the body and food consumption.²³⁹ Through daily alimentary choices, as well as social interactions, the *República de indios* and the *República de españoles* became in actuality irrelevant divisions, “so mixed are these nations that one can hardly speak of one by itself.”²⁴⁰ Food and the colonial palate, in short, fuelled the formation of Andean, Creole, and at large, Latin American identities.

²³⁹ Earle, “‘If You Eat Their Food’,” 697; Heidi Scott highlights the idea of humans as “*seres corpóreos*,” an essential notion to keep in mind in studies of food consumption and history, Scott, “Más allá del texto,” 25.

²⁴⁰ “Tan mezcladas estas naciones que dificultosamente se puede hablar de la una sola,” words from Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Viceroy of Peru 1607-1615, in Beltrán y Rózpide and Altolaguirre y Duvale, 156.

CHAPTER TWO
CREOLE PIETY:
EXPRESSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY AND THE FORMATION OF
CREOLE CULTURE

The New World proved to be a complex arena for a variety of religious and identity transformations. To conceive the New World as just an “inert space” in which Europeans merely transplanted their cultural structures is to understate its social dynamics.²⁴¹ Because humans are historical beings, and highly adaptable, it is possible to see how an increasing sentiment of dispossession, derived from imperial measures and cultural perceptions from Iberians to their New World cousins, eventually fed Creoles’ identity formation. Simultaneously, the introduction and participation of native elements into Spanish religious observances also contributed to the weaving of the Peruvian Creole tradition. After all, “hybridity is the inevitable product of colonization,” and the settlers and colonizers proved unable to skip this process, and so they became cultivated products of this mixture – inevitable “cultural hybrids.”²⁴² To think of it in these more dynamic ways allows some agency to the native narrative, one that was able to infiltrate into Spanish systems. The Viceroyalty of Peru, rather than becoming simply Hispanicized, came to contain indigenous elements that were also shared beyond the native sphere.²⁴³

To achieve an understanding of overall Creole sentiments and character, the chapter explores Creole’s perceptions of themselves as members of the viceroyalty, and as dispossessed members of an Iberian empire, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This begs a moving away from Iberian sources that oftentimes exposed the disdain Spaniards had for their Creole cousins.²⁴⁴ An examination of popular religious processions and events in Lima and Cuzco, and the creation of Saint Rosa of Lima, the very first Creole saint in the Americas, reveal the nature and progression of these

²⁴¹ Scott, “Más allá del texto,” 25.

²⁴² Dean, 161.

²⁴³ Garofalo, “The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 188.

²⁴⁴ One example of disdain in Spanish narratives comes from Francisco Hernandez, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*. Graubart also discusses this phenomenon in “The Creolization of the New World,” 489.

identity-formation processes. These aspects also efficiently capture the general Creole consciousness and religiosity, not limited to elitist reactions to colonial processes. This study also asserts the cultural agency of Andean indigenous populations, often absent from historical narratives. An agency that was nevertheless critically necessary for the birth of Creole consciousness.

Some of the popular sentiments and perceptions Creoles held about themselves – such as dispossession, discrimination, and cultural detachment from their Peninsular cousins – can explain the formation of a distinct form of religiosity within the viceroyalty. Researchers have carried successful explorations of European perceptions of New World inhabitants through use of Iberian sources. The general scholarly observations agree that European visions of the New World were composed of wonder for its abundance and exoticism, but also composed of fear and concern for the morals and degeneration of those Europeans who came to inhabit the lands.²⁴⁵ However, there is still much to explore about Creoles’ perceptions of themselves, and the ways in which they reacted to European opinions.²⁴⁶ Such an exploration entreats the question, too, of who exactly were the colonizers over time, and who were the colonized. As historiography suggests, the separation between colonizers and colonized was essential for success of the enterprise, and scholarship depends on this distinction as well.²⁴⁷ One is left to presume that the “colonizer” was anyone of European descent who arrived to America. However, depending on the time and space, the roles of colonizer and colonized fluctuated, and different groups embodied the roles. Such was the case for Creoles,

²⁴⁵ Scott, “Paradise in the New World: An Iberian vision of tropicality,” *Cultural Geographies* 17 (2010): 77-101; Nancy Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

²⁴⁶ Bauer and Mazzotti, 27; 120.

²⁴⁷ Bowser and Jennings, 25.

children born in the New World from Spanish parents, and *mestizos*, the children of indigenous and Spanish parents.²⁴⁸ Once on the side of the colonizer due to privileges and inheritance of the Spanish tradition, very soon they became estranged, an important observation to have in mind when considering self-identity and the sense of religiosity that eventually developed from it.

Although in the late sixteenth century Creole identity and historical imagination still clung to the mythic image of the Spanish conquest, in truth, life and experiences in the New World slowly displaced Creoles as part of the mythic picture.²⁴⁹ This became evident, for instance, in the gradual discontinuation of the *encomienda* system [a semi-feudal system of entrustments that granted Spanish control of indigenous labour], which had initially offered settlers a role within the newly established empire.²⁵⁰ This pushed Creoles to cope with the dynamics of an empire that was no longer keen on maintaining their positions as Spaniards. As early as 1588, the overseer of the poor people of Lima wrote to King Philip II to inform that the disadvantaged population sought their share of the wealth and reward deserved for the service and labour of their relatives during the conquest.²⁵¹ This eventually became a constant Creole grievance; the colonial government granted no wealth or rewards to a significant degree. In the year 1637, the Viceroy of Peru, Luis Jerónimo de Cabrera – also fourth Count of Chinchón, Spain –

²⁴⁸ Creoles and *mestizos* did not belong to the same racial or social categories. However, due to miscegenation, it is estimated that between 20 and 40 percent of Creoles were biological *mestizos*, and it was not uncommon for *mestizos* to be raised as Creoles. Hence, it is not inadequate to mention and sometimes discuss the two groups conjointly. Some initial readings on miscegenation and *mestizaje* include, Claudio Esteva-Fabregat, *Mestizaje in Ibero-America*, trans. John Wheat (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Mazzotti, 86.

²⁴⁹ Bauer and Mazzotti, 25.

²⁵⁰ Brading, 221; 293.

²⁵¹ Mazzotti, 86.

addressed a letter to his relative and potential successor, the Marquis of Villena.²⁵² In it, among other advices, he urged the marquis to demand the old capacity of granting *encomiendas* to Spanish settlers, adding that it was obligatory for whoever governed to grant *encomiendas*, particularly to the children and descendants of those who with “great effort, utility, and interest discovered the local population and pacified these provinces.”²⁵³ He added that “with great grief they have found themselves excluded from what they justify and believe is owed to them.”²⁵⁴ Historian Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra argues that all over the Spanish American empire, Creoles vocalized a “somewhat *misleading* view of themselves as dispossessed nobles outcompeted by ravenous, transient, peninsular upstarts.”²⁵⁵ (emphasis added) However, a letter such as the viceroy’s attests to the degree to which Creoles had lost the positions that connected them more directly to the original conquerors and settlers, and they were increasingly distanced from the initial status of colonizers.²⁵⁶

Another aspect of this gradual “dispossession” emerged in Creoles’ daily expressions of what may be called “Iberianness” – their ability to display fluency in Castilian and acquaintance with Iberian symbols.²⁵⁷ This dispossession also showed in emphasis on caste status through genealogy and, particularly, through confirmation of

²⁵² Manuscript transcription found in Fred Bronner, “Advertencia privada de un virrey peruano del siglo xvii a su presunto sucesor,” *Revista de Indias* 41 (1981): 55-77.

²⁵³ Bronner, 75.

²⁵⁴ Bronner, 75.

²⁵⁵ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, “Racial, Religious, and Civic Creole Identity in Colonial Spanish America.” *American Literary History* 17 (2005): 424.

²⁵⁶ A fact easily overlooked is that most Spaniards who arrived in Peru during the first years of the conquest did not loot local riches or receive *encomiendas*. Only a minority amassed significant wealth. More on this in Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 479; James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A social history*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), ch. 2; Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri, an Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1984), ch. 4.

²⁵⁷ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 7.

religious fidelities.²⁵⁸ In the New World, Spaniards and Creoles spoke of their religion in terms ancestrally familiar in Spain. Distinction between being “Old Christians” and “New Christians” was as essential as it was back in the peninsula.²⁵⁹ The rejection of those who had newly converted to the Christian faith, whether Jewish, Moors, or pagans of other sorts, immigrated to the New World along with the colonizers and settlers. Just as it was familiar in Spain, the idea of being a “New Christian” met with some Creole distaste and suspicion, and a flurry of documents proving *limpieza de sangre* attests to this sentiment. In the year 1685, a self-claimed *hidalgo* [nobleman] citizen, Doctor Don Carlos de Torres Castellano, declared himself and his family “clean of any bad race of Moors, Jews, anyone pursued by the ecclesiastical tribunal of the inquisition, or the newly converted the Holy Catholic Faith (limpios de toda mala rraza de moros, judios, ni penitenciados ni de los nuevamente convertidos a la Santa fe Catolica).²⁶⁰ This clinging to Old Christianity equated Spanishness, and Creoles’ ability to speak this language that related to the historical struggles of the Peninsula also spoke to the idea of closeness to a land and tradition Creoles were increasingly distant from. Naturally, there were some pragmatic reasons to compose such documents, since clean and untarnished lineages meant access to prestigious appointments and advantageous marriage partners. However, the steep quantity of documents seeking to prove purity of blood also suggests a form of anxiety for recognition. Ultimately, however, the documents were ineffective in preserving Creoles’ Spanishness and granting access to official posts in the centre of the Empire.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 7.

²⁵⁹ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 8.

²⁶⁰ AGN, Series Fáticas Genealogías Leg. 1, Doc. 13, 1685, Testimonio del expediente seguido por Carlos Torres Castellanos sobre reconocimiento de nobleza, fl. 2. Similar statement repeated in fl. 4.

²⁶¹ Brading, 21.

There was a persistent attachment to Spanish history, a history that was technically foreign. Although the Creole mind possibly internalized this history as history of the homeland for the sake of finding coherence within the viceregal environment, this proposition was unsustainable due to lack of a direct and continuous Spanish experience. The Creole, after all, had not been birthed into Spanishness. The urge for attachment to this history was to a great degree also linked to financial status – the *hidalgo* was someone who could exploit local resources, and who was wealthy in substantial and permanent ways.²⁶² However, there was also a degree of sentimentalism involved in the quest for permanence of *hidalguía*. In attempts to demonstrate his status, Lima resident Don Bartolomé de la Barrieta (also identified as Olabarrieta) composed a document to prove *hidalguía* and cleanliness of blood, in the year of 1664. In it, he connected himself back to his great grandparents, who were *Hijosdalgo Vizcaynos* of “clean and good blood,” according to family historians.²⁶³ Olabarrieta also included a coat of arms, a common addition to these types of documents. The most remarkable symbols in it are a black wolf obtained from the Battle of Arrigorriaga, and four golden scallop shells obtained from the Battle of Clavijo to prove “antiquity of blood and valiant acts.”²⁶⁴ Amusingly enough, both happen to be mythical battles. There was an eagerness to establish some form of historical continuity and ancestral proximity to assert authenticity and right to *hidalguía*. Creoles perceived themselves as heirs to this historical narrative, mythical or not, and their ancestors as protagonists. Hence, their status depended on how

²⁶² Lockhart, “Trunk Lines and Feeder Lines,” 96.

²⁶³ AGN, Series Fáticas Genealogías Leg. 1, Doc. 8. 1664, Información de filiación e hidalguía dada por Don Bartolomé de la Barrieta (Olabarrieta) y Dña. María sanes de Herguera, fl. 6.

²⁶⁴ AGN, Series Fáticas Genealogías Leg. 1, Doc. 8. 1664, fl 2-3. Both battles are actually mythical events, and have served as elements of identity formation as discussed in Jon Juaristi, “Los mitos de origen en la genesis de las identidades nacionales. La batalla de Arriorruga y el surgimiento del particularismo Vasco (SS. XIV-XVI),” *Studia Historica: Historia Contemporánea* 12 (1999): 191-228; Lucila Iglesias, “Moros en la costa (del Pacífico). Imagenes e ideas sobre el musulmán en el Virreinato del Perú,” *Diálogo Andino* 45 (2014): 5-15.

well they managed to weave their New World narrative into that of their Old World ancestors.

To be Creole, then, became a matter of maneuvering connections to the *patria* and also retaining the privileges conquistadors and settlers once enjoyed in the early days of colonization. Whether it was through remote ancestry, such as Olabarrieta, or through descent from Spanish conquistadors, requests for preferential treatment, or *prelación*, from the Spanish crown were a “constant presence in almost every aspect of viceregal law and social organization.”²⁶⁵ To be Creole, and specifically one worthy of the privileges, meant to feel connected also with the Spanish historical tropes of antagonism of certain groups, significantly antagonism towards the English and the Moors. When a priest delivered a sermon with political overtones in Lima at the end of the seventeenth century, he asked for the Spanish to remain protected from lamentable tragedies at the hands of the English. He implored attendants to pray for there to be no more “feasts crossed with sadness,” and that instead there could be celebration for the protection of Spain’s sanctuaries from desecration at the hands of “insolent” England, that “miserable country of sacrilegious hands, who committed the assaults for which we weep today” (*patria infeliz de las manos Sacrilegas, que cometieron los ultrajes, que hoy lloramos*).²⁶⁶ The sermon sought to transplant Lima’s population to Spanish historical suffering through religion, which had historically been closely associated with Spanish culture and identity. In religiosity, Creole fidelity was essential, and Peru was then a “noble part of

²⁶⁵ Bauer and Mazzotti, 25.

²⁶⁶ AGN, Compañía de Jesús Leg. 62, Doc. 156, Caja 33, end of seventeenth century, Sermón sobre los desagravios al Sacramento ofendido por los herejes protestantes, con súplicas de que la misericordia de Dios proteja Lima de los intentos ingleses de provocar una guerra, fl. 6; the sermon was more directly the result of ongoing English pirate threats on the Pacific coast during the period, a separate subject beyond the interpretations of this study.

Spain and heir of its faith” (este emporio Peruano noble parte de España heredero de su fe).²⁶⁷

When referring to treatment and dispossession of Creoles, there is obligation to include the *mestizo* population, due to the complex realities of miscegenation. The term Creole is convenient because it creates the illusion of isolating a certain social group of Spanish Americans. However, estimates indicate that “somewhere between 20 and 40 percent of all creoles were biological *mestizos* whose assimilation as creoles was linked to their Spanish fathers’ efforts to retain certain privileges.”²⁶⁸ This hinders studies of one group or the other separately. Whether true Creole or “camouflaged mestizo,” this group also met with dispossession, and an even more socially ambiguous status.²⁶⁹ The *mestizo* chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, born in the Viceroyalty of Peru, exemplified a typical urban elite *mestizo* experience in the viceroyalty. Garcilaso de la Vega came to learn the Latin language, became imbued with the traditions of Spanish culture, and played and socialized with the children of conquistadors.²⁷⁰ However, he also grew up instilled with the magic of indigenous fables, the feats of Inca emperors, the greatness of the god Viracocha, and was well versed in indigenous Andean enchantments, incantations, and medicinal herbs.²⁷¹ Despite possessing both worlds’ values, both Spaniards and indigenous groups held *mestizo* ethnicity in contempt because of their mixed nature. For instance, Quechua chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala expressed strong views on Creoles, oftentimes pairing them with *mestizos*, and asserted that these

²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁷ AGN, Compañía de Jesús Leg. 62, Doc. 156, Caja 33, fl. 9.

²⁶⁸ Mazzotti, 86.

²⁶⁹ Mazzotti, 86.

²⁷⁰ María M. Martí Bruguera, prologue to *Comentarios Reales: El Origen De Los Incas* by Garcilaso de la Vega (Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1968), 19.

²⁷¹ Martí Bruguera, 19.

individuals were “arrogant, lazy, liars, gamblers, miserly, [and] uncharitable [. . ..]”²⁷² Whether qualified together or separately, the case remained that *mestizos* and Creoles were officially part of the *república de españoles*. However, they were also part of what visiting Europeans in the Americas and Spanish religious orders in the region feared were a “degenerate” New World species.²⁷³

Spain perceived the New World as a debased and corrupted environment where an individual could seek wealth, but one “sorely lacking in sophistication and culture.”²⁷⁴ Iberians’ dismissal of New World environments and dismissal of their American-born cousins also reflects in the Jesuit order’s treatment of Creoles.²⁷⁵ Jesuits in Spanish America regarded this group with suspicion and considered them extremely intemperate.²⁷⁶ Following cases where Creole assimilation into the Jesuit order proved fruitful, while some assimilations admittedly proved utter failures, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva succumbed to general bias and redacted prejudiced instructions for the admission of Creoles to the novitiate of Lima.²⁷⁷ Such instructions mandated that, from the year 1603, Creoles could be no longer accepted into the order before the age of 20, five years older than other individuals accepted, due to their apparent nature and their environment.²⁷⁸ Restrictions also included that, once Creoles were accepted into the novitiate, there would be no occasion for idleness and extensive contact with neither Spaniards nor women.²⁷⁹ Such perceptions of Creoles meant that this group accessed religion differently, and eventually developed a distinct

²⁷² Poma de Ayala, 539.

²⁷³ Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 489.

²⁷⁴ Cañizares-Esguerra, 423; Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 489.

²⁷⁵ Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World,” 491.

²⁷⁶ Fernandez, 14.

²⁷⁷ Fernandez, 15.

²⁷⁸ Fernandez, 433.

²⁷⁹ Fernandez, 164.

Creole consciousness to negate and rebel against Iberian contempt. This became reflected in Creole declaration of their capital city of Lima as the heart of human civilization, and the crown of New World religiosity.²⁸⁰

For the present argument, understanding Spanish cultural transformation, and the Creole identity, needs the acknowledgement that the Incas and other Andean native populations possessed agency. This means that they, too, had power to influence the culture and traditions of the settlers, and were not merely passive recipients of Spanish religious traditions. The Incas, after all, managed to “fashion their own bodies as empowered sites of cultural confluence,” attributing them the ability to pick and choose, and to donate aspects of their identity to the Creole population.²⁸¹ In theory, the fall of the Inca empire brought with it the end of the religion. However, the cults and myths of the Andes, and the sense of continuity of religious ideas and practices among the Andean natives remained.²⁸² In truth, the culture and religion imposed on them was inescapable, but Andeans possessed the ability to make something else of it.²⁸³

Catholic missionaries struggled in their attempts to have Andean natives renounce their religious customs and ritualistic performances. Whenever renouncement did seem to happen, “Catholicism would be a façade behind which religious alterity would hide,” making conversion little more than a mask enacted through imitation of Catholic expectations.²⁸⁴ However, native Andeans still claimed certain victories, however small,

²⁸⁰ Bauer and Mazzotti, 26.

²⁸¹ Dean, 123.

²⁸² MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 3.

²⁸³ Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the “Lettered City”: Reshaping justice, social hierarchy, and political culture in colonial Peru* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 94.

²⁸⁴ Bauer and Mazzotti, *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas*, 65.

over Spanish tradition and religion. For instance, when colonization replaced the processions of the Inca rulers with the processions of the Spanish monarchs, it became commonplace to call the Spanish King as “El gran Ynca.”²⁸⁵ Interpretation gives room for claiming this as a Spanish victory over Andeans by replacing their Inca figure with the Spanish King. But it is also possible to see that, by naming the King “El gran Ynca,” these Andeans participants accepted the new order but nevertheless injected Inca traditions into the procession, one the Spaniards became familiar and identified with. Additionally, the Spanish kings never visited the fringes of their empire, but instead, life-like figures of them were carried through processions.²⁸⁶ Within an early modern setting, lack of the physical royal presence of an unseen King positioned the viceroyalty as a place much aware of its position as peripheral. The result of the colonizing and converting experiment in the viceroyalty of Peru was the realization that the attempt failed. This became evident as early as the Second Council of Lima in 1567, summoned to outline how to impart the Catholic faith in the region. During the council, ecclesiastics displayed concern for natives’ maintenance of Andean religious practices despite 35 years of Christian order.²⁸⁷

The Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of the Second Council in Lima grieved the failure of their first attempts to convert the natives. Idols and places of worship had been destroyed during the 1540s and 1550s. However, on the outskirts of Lima, a Jesuit missionary in 1602 reported the discovery of a *huaca* where he found a sacrifice of

²⁸⁵ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 41.

²⁸⁶ Alejandra B. Osorio, “The King in Lima: Simulacra, ritual, and rule in seventeenth-century Peru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004): 448.

²⁸⁷ Morales, 63.

chicha [corn beverage], *coca*, and *molle* [native Andean plant].²⁸⁸ Nearby, he also found a cave where he saw many human bones and an altar with two deformed “demons” made of rough stone, along with other idolatrous figurines.²⁸⁹ This *huaca* was yet another expression of the errors, idolatries, and sins to which the natives in the province succumbed to, according to the letter’s author.²⁹⁰ The imposed Catholic rituals of conversion, baptism, and marriage ultimately could not overturn the native’s ways of practicing religion. The persistent reluctance to abandon their ancestral customs led missionaries to lose faith in their ability to effect change and recognize the failure of acculturation.²⁹¹

Quechua painter Marcos Zapata’s artwork, *The Last Supper* (1753), embodies the results of resilience of Andean religious practices and traditions. Although the date is beyond the scope of the present study, the painting is an end result of centuries of transculturation, where a traditional rendition of the last supper is Peruvianized, confessing native Andean religious tradition by incorporating the famous *cuy* [guinea pig] on the central plate.²⁹² The Incas bridged both cultures, occupying an in-between, a middle space that became characteristic of Peruvian culture.²⁹³ This defies the notion that Spanish colonialism and the religion they brought with themselves endured unchallenged over time. Leaving aside political upheavals that inform the narrative of native rebellion, there were systems of religious negotiation, thought, and action that proved subtler than

²⁸⁸ *Huacas* refer to geographical locations, sometimes natural formations native populations used for religious practices, including placing of religious offerings and sacrifices.

²⁸⁹ Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana*, 223.

²⁹⁰ Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana*, 223.

²⁹¹ Leo Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants: The making of race in colonial Lima and Cuzco,” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001), 12.

²⁹² Christina Zandt, “Marcos Zapata’s ‘Last Supper’: A feast of European religion and Andean culture,” *Gastronomica: The journal of food and culture* 10 (2010): 10.

²⁹³ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 162.

armed confrontation.²⁹⁴ If it is true that the identity of the natives became diluted in the process, it is also true that the identity of the Spaniards also became compromised, due to native agency upon the religion imposed on them.²⁹⁵

What preserved some of the Andeans' religious autonomy was the ancestral nature of their faith and the various layers cultivated through the centuries.²⁹⁶ However, for Spaniards, daily expressions of religion, as well as certain principles, developed differently to suit time and localities. The principles that Christian Spain used to judge and determine "religious truth and religious error" proved ambiguous, "seeing that no set of absolute and unshakable distinctions could be drawn between one and the other."²⁹⁷ They also possessed a long tradition of cultural adaptability inherited from the Holy Roman Empire, one that allowed room for local diversity.²⁹⁸ This tradition brought over from Spain was present in Creole's frame of mind, to ultimately become a scaffold for Creole expression in the New World.

This eventual Creole expression defied the Crown's initial policy of social divisions into the *república de españoles* and *república de indios*.²⁹⁹ A dualism that appeared natural at first proved unsustainable through intermarriage and miscegenation, although "ethnic hierarchies" did develop in accordance to this more informal process of

²⁹⁴ Dueñas, 2. For some background material on Andean resistance and rebellion, some works include Brosseder, *The Power of Huacas*, and Ward Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru: Conflict, community, and identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

²⁹⁵ Tschopik, 261.

²⁹⁶ For some of the features of Inca religion and its practice and interaction with colonial spheres, read MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, ch. 9.

²⁹⁷ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 49.

²⁹⁸ Bauer and Mazzotti, 40.

²⁹⁹ Mörner, 45.

racial mixture.³⁰⁰ Often, missionaries found that the Spanish and *mestizos* did not set a good religious example to the indigenous neophytes, which proved another source of distress for religious authorities.³⁰¹ Conversely, the chronicler Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova found that some natives who converted abandoned their “rusticity and barbarous customs,” thanks to the “culture, virtue and efficiency of our sacred religion.”³⁰² Because the results of religious impositions in the New World defied expectations, racial or caste identities became altered. The *república de españoles* could not be relied on to set examples, and the *república de indios* proved surprising in its efforts at times. This altogether new dynamic affected the stability of European identity within the colonial space, and highlighted the “protean nature” of identities, and one can hardly think of a more suitable space for the birth of the Peruvian Creole.³⁰³

Despite the resilient Hispanic influence present in the New World, miscegenation, interactions, and individuals’ relation to the Christian faith and indigenous customs, all contributed to a level of transculturation that eventually defined the Creole.³⁰⁴ Ultimately, the structures that took shape in the colonial Andean world were a product of negotiations and transformations that suggest that individuals living within these structures did not simply remain trapped within one or another social arrangement.³⁰⁵ Different ethnicities experienced these negotiations differently. For instance, indigenous peoples who moved to urban environments found themselves speaking Spanish, adding garments to their wardrobes that did not necessarily characterize them as Andean natives, and adopting

³⁰⁰ Bernard Lavallé, “Les tensions ethniques dans les familles péruviennes coloniales,” *Clio* 27 (2008): 3.

³⁰¹ Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 45.

³⁰² Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, 26.

³⁰³ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 10.

³⁰⁴ Garofalo, “The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 8.

³⁰⁵ Bowser and Jennings, 2.

urban social demeanours that marked them as “Creolized,” as described in archival records.³⁰⁶ On the other hand, Creoles experienced the new world structures differently. Their Spanish power was not as compromised in the face of indigenous and African presence, and their Christianity remained as a result, but they did adopt popular aspects of other ethnicities into their daily practices, weaved traditional indigenous narratives into their culture, and partook of communal activities within multiethnic *cofradías* [confraternities].³⁰⁷ In this manner, personal ethnic identities became more relevant than official race, and racial diversity thrived and proliferated outside of “racial ascriptions.”³⁰⁸ This premise is essential for the understanding of the emergence of Creole consciousness.³⁰⁹

The Creole consciousness engendered in different aspects of colonial life had its most salient expression in public celebrations, both religious and secular. Festivals and processions generally had an inclusive audience, calling for the presence of all members of society to the celebration. Because of this, the Church perceived them as potential tools for “political acculturation and ideological Castilianization of this society in construction.”³¹⁰ However, in the viceroyalty, festivals became occasions for Creoles, *mestizos*, Amerindians, and Africans to expose their identities, and negotiate them through costumes, music, rituals, and dances.³¹¹ Whereas these were also occasions for

³⁰⁶ Graubart, “Creolization of the New World,” 490.

³⁰⁷ Graubart, “Creolization of the New World,” 497.

³⁰⁸ Garofalo, “The Ethno-economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants,” 15.

³⁰⁹ Historian Karen Graubart has explored the relation between law and identities in the colonial Andean world. Her archival findings reveal that, even in legal documents, race and identity were sometimes ambiguous. A native in an urban setting, for instance, could at times be described as *criollo* in a legal entry. To further investigate this topic of law and identity, consult Graubart, “Creolization of the New World”; Mark Christensen and Jonathan Truitt, ed., *Native Wills from the Colonial Americas: Dead giveaways in a new world* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah press, 2016).

³¹⁰ Cited in Bauer and Mazzotti, 271.

³¹¹ Bauer and Mazzotti, 267.

evangelistic aims in the case of religious festivals, demonstrating the splendour of the Church, the *fiestas* also served to defend Creole spirit against Iberian “accusations of creole intellectual inferiority,” becoming a stage for “Andeanness” and the manifestation of a Creole collective mentality.³¹²

Religious and secular authorities, overall, sought to implant the idea of difference among the various participants of the viceroyalty’s festivities.³¹³ Some of the ways in which they achieved this was through imposed costumes, songs and dances, choreographing native involvement, all accessible and visible to every participant and onlooker.³¹⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega chronicled a festival performance in Lima, the City of Kings, during the sixteenth century. In it native children performed religious dialogues in Spanish and Quechua. They did so with “such grace and charm [. . .] and so much softness in their chanting, that many Spaniards shed tears of delight and happiness, witnessing the grace, ability and artfulness of the little Indians,” so that by the end they dismissed their prior perceptions of Indians as “clumsy, rough, and unskilful.”³¹⁵ Although such performances highlighted difference, they also introduced native participation and influence into the festivities. This made the events distinctly Andean, and less fully Spanish, an eventual source of anxiety for religious authorities.³¹⁶

³¹² Lisa Voigt, “Creole Patriotism in Festival Accounts of Lima and Potosí,” *Romance Notes* 45 (2005): 159. More in-depth exploration of these processes in Colonial Latin America and the Atlantic world at large in Brading, 539, and in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Padgen, ed., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton: Princeton UP), 1987. There is also abundant scholarship on festivals and popular culture as expressions of rebellion and collective mentalities in Early Modern Europe, although studies of this phenomenon in Latin America are still lacking. Some of these European perspectives include Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978); Bob Scribner, “Reformation, carnival and the world turned upside-down,” *Social History* 3 (1978): 303-329.

³¹³ Dean, 3.

³¹⁴ Dean, 46.

³¹⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, 200.

³¹⁶ Dean, 3.

This was particularly the case for what Historian Carolyn Dean calls a “Spanish discursive production” involved in Corpus Christi in the viceroyalty.³¹⁷ As had been the norm in Spain’s production of Corpus Christi, representations of non-Christian elements “over which Christ (in the form of the host) would symbolically triumph” was also a common trope in the New World.³¹⁸ Back in Iberia, Corpus Christi culture involved triumph over the “other,” be it the Moors, the Jews, or other “savages” and evil agencies, which celebrants represented through a variety of outfits.³¹⁹ In the viceroyalty, the trope translated to triumph of Christ over the idolatrous natives. What is remarkable, however, is that in the New World, the defeated “other” was actively present in the corpus procession through active participation, not representation. This provided room for negotiations of cultures and expressions, to the clergy’s appalling realization that they had partially failed to separate religious content from celebrations, creating menace and enough ambivalence for it to serve as framework for Peruvian Creole expression.³²⁰

Perhaps the brightest ornament of Creole manifestation came with the devotion and canonization of Saint Rose of Lima, the first Creole saint of Spanish America. Some scholars suggest that the canonization process of this saint, and the creation of her saintly image can be considered as the development of “protonationalism.”³²¹ However, for the present section, it will satisfy to say that the reverence of the saint did much to express, as well as form, a sharp Peruvian Creole character. At first glance, hagiographies tell little about Rosa de Lima that make her particularly Creole, *limeña*, or Peruvian at all,

³¹⁷ Morales, 32.

³¹⁸ Dean, 12.

³¹⁹ Dean, 12.

³²⁰ Dean, 51.

³²¹ Teodoro Hampe Martínez, “Los testigos de Santa Rosa: Una aproximación social a la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial,” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 23 (1997): 113.

categorizing her as one of many devoted *beatas* in the early modern world.³²² If she had made such displays of devotion in Spain as she did in Lima, her luck would have been similar to that of “hundreds of petty saints turned to bones in the prison cells of the Inquisition.”³²³ However, what is remarkable is that Rose of Lima was the timely channel to that expression of Creole identity split from Spanish imperialism.

210 witnesses declared the virtues and marvels of Isabel Flores de Oliva (1586-1617), later Saint Rosa de Lima, the first Creole woman from the New World to be canonized.³²⁴ Born to impoverished *hidalgo* parents, her beatification came a mere 50 years after death, and her canonization a bit over 20 years after that.³²⁵ Her speedy ascent to sainthood, and her elevation to altars, depended heavily on elite Creoles’ political interests within the viceroyalty. In the eyes of Peninsular Spaniards, the emergence of this local saint translated to the continuous triumph of the Catholic empire in a setting where Protestant maritime ventures at the hands of Northern Europeans threatened to permeate the structures of the Spanish Empire.³²⁶ However, her reception, veneration, and permanence amongst the plebeian Creole and general population of Lima speak to their power to invest local colours into an otherwise traditional Catholic saint figure, which translated to consolidated political sovereignty for Creole elites.³²⁷

Of the witnesses who partook of the canonization process, there were officials of the *Real Audiencia*, *la santa cruzada* and the militia, along with university professors,

³²² Ronald J. Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 68.

³²³ Cited in Teodoro Hampe Martínez, “Santa Rosa de Lima y la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial (Ensayo de interpretación),” *Revista de Historia de América* 121 (1996): 16.

³²⁴ Hampe Martínez, “Los testigos de Santa Rosa,” 113.

³²⁵ Morgan, 69; 67.

³²⁶ Morgan, 88.

³²⁷ Hampe Martínez, “Los testigos de Santa Rosa,” 113, 123; Morgan, 96.

canons from the metropolitan church, Indian *encomenderos*, and wealthy business men, all members of the higher classes.³²⁸ The plebeian population of Lima had little to do with the apostolic process, unlike the claims of some scholars.³²⁹ But when it came to public celebrations and religious events dedicated to Rosa of Lima, all strata of society were present. In a splendid celebration on the spring of 1669, many elegant members of *limeño* society partook of grand displays of devotion, which included great pieces of artillery fired at the main plaza in Rosa's honour.³³⁰ This was essential to guarantee and show that devotions and processions in the New World could easily be on par with that of the Old. But the success of such processions depended on the diverse ethnic groups who contested Rosa's identity as a means of consolidation of sovereignty, a reason why all religious guilds celebrated her, and "the entire city rejoiced."³³¹ Nevertheless, being Rosa a *limeño criolla*, her identity became bonded with that of the dispossessed Creoles.

Rosa of Lima's communication with the city beyond her living quarters may have been voluntarily limited. However, *limeños*, and especially Creoles, were bent on establishing a connection between themselves and Rosa as a unifying agent.³³² A legend says that Pope Clement IX, upon finding out that the Viceroyalty of Peru sought the canonization of a Creole virgin, exclaimed, "We will proclaim her a saint when roses rain down."³³³ Though unfounded, this legend synthesizes some the ideas of the Old World

³²⁸ Hampe Martínez, "Los testigos de Santa Rosa," 121.

³²⁹ Fernando Iwasaki, "Vidas de santos y santas vidas: Hagiografías reales e imaginarias en Lima colonial," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 51 (1994): 50.

³³⁰ Joseph de Mugaburu and Francisco de Mugaburu, *Diario de Lima (1640-1694) Crónica de la época colonial*. Vol. 7 (Lima: Imprenta y librería Sanmartí y Ca., 1917) From Biblioteca Digital AECID, *Gobierno de España*. <http://bibliotecadigital.aecid.es/bibliodig/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1023> (accessed July 2, 2016), 173.

³³¹ Morgan, 96; Mugaburu and Mugaburu, 173.

³³² Luis Miguel Glave, *De rosa y espinas: Creación de mentalidades criollas en los Andes, 1600-1630* (Lima: IEP 1993), 14.

³³³ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Vida de Santa Rosa de Lima* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta López, 1961), 197.

about the peripheries of its Spanish empire, and the Iberian perceptions of their Creole cousins. To this, the Viceroyalty of Peru made sure to shower Rosa's case for sainthood with a myriad miracles and glorifications reflective of their yearning for recognition.³³⁴

It is somewhat ambitious to study the case of Saint Rose of Lima as a case of budding nationalism. However, their enthusiasm to have their first Creole saint speaks to the realization of a collective conscience, the result of a common colonization history, but one that developed from profound attachment to the new land.³³⁵ That is why it did not seem exorbitant for Lima's mayor to ask of its citizens to keep *candeladas* [candle lights] and *luminarias* [lights placed on windows and balconies to express joy during festivities] throughout the city for the canonization of their saint the summer of 1669, and to promote octaves, feasts, and sermons for the saint into the fall of the same year.³³⁶ Rosa of Lima, ultimately, was the saintly embodiment of the "convergence of religious faith, pride of place, and an evolving sense of Creole distinctiveness from the European metropole" so that the viceroy, the archbishop, and down to the last of Lima's citizen, weaved Rosa's life and her ascension to sainthood into a cultural triumph.³³⁷

In studies of the colonization process in prominent colonial regions such as Peru, scholarship has largely focused on Spanish influences on native populations. Undeniably, these investigations are essential for a vivid picture of the colonial period in Latin America at large. They have provided a wealth of knowledge, particularly in their quest to illuminate aspects of forceful Christianization and destruction of pre-colonial religions

³³⁴ Vargas Ugarte, 197.

³³⁵ Hampe Martínez, "Los testigos de Santa Rosa," 123.

³³⁶ Mugaburu and Mugaburu, 179.

³³⁷ Jodi Bilinkoff, introduction to *Colonial Saints: Discovering the holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, by Jodi Bilinkoff and Adam Greer (New York: Routledge, 2003), xviii.

and traditions. Scholarly contributions to the topic have become staple for any approach to colonial studies as a result.³³⁸ However, not as much investigation has gone into the native influence on how Spaniards, and eventually Creoles, perceived themselves, the American territories, and their personal and cultural religiosity from the time of conquest to the establishment of the Viceroyalty of Peru.³³⁹ In historical narratives, the cultural *constraints* of the natives have been positioned against the cultural *powers* of the settlers. The arguments explored adjust this asymmetry by investigating some of the ways in which the New World and the indigenous populations in the viceroyalty employed their customs, traditions, and cultural contours to shape the fabric of Spanish religiosity in the colony.³⁴⁰ The ultimate result of this was the creation of the Creole consciousness, gradually disassociated from traditional Spanishness.³⁴¹

³³⁸ Some exceptional studies include Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial*; Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cuzco, Peru: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", 1986). Also, more recently, Claudia Brosseder, *The Power of Huacas: Change and resistance in the Andean world of colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

³³⁹ Scott, "Más allá del texto," 24.

³⁴⁰ Historian Sabine McCormack rightly asserts that "cultural constraints were operative for all participants in the story [. . .]", in *Religion in the Andes*, 9.

³⁴¹ Processes of colonization and religious expressions did not shape only the Creole character. The religions and cultures of other influential ethnic minorities and mixed races and were also affected in historically significant ways that are beyond the scope of the discussion. For more on the formation of the Creole in Spanish America, consult, Brading, *The First America*; Rebecca Earle, "Creole Patriotism and the Myth of the 'Loyal Indian,'" *Past and Present* 172 (2001): 125-145; Severo Martínez Peláez, *La patria del criollo: An interpretation of Colonial Guatemala* (Durham: Duke UP, 2009).

EPILOGUE

French writer Amin Maalouf enlightens readers when he declares that identity is not, as many would have it, a collection of individual affiliations, a loose patchwork. Instead, he invites to think about identity as a “pattern drawn on a tightly stretched parchment,” where if one touches a part of this parchment, one allegiance, “the whole person will react, the whole drum will sound.”³⁴² This notion agrees well with the colonial experience in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Certainly, the traditions, comestibles, and adaptation processes present in the New World touched the parchment of Spanish identity, resulting in the Peruvian Creole.

Many elements of these processes, as this thesis explored, took place haphazardly, in spite of religious and secular authorities’ expectation of a structured populace conduct. This greatly upset the seemingly static ideas of “colonizer” and “colonized,” and created ambiguous positions and spheres of social interactions and identity that defied these labels.³⁴³ The nascent expressions of identity through daily food choices and popular religion, products of a very rich new environment, are two examples of this phenomenon. In these examples, it is possible to see how hybridity was inevitable in this colonial enterprise.³⁴⁴ This meant that the Spanish were not entirely powerful in the imposition of their culture and traditions, and it also meant that the natives possessed more power to influence these newcomers than historical narratives often highlight.

³⁴² Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the need to belong*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001), 26.

³⁴³ Bauer and Mazzotti, 10.

³⁴⁴ Dean, 161.

This thesis has sought to demonstrate that viceregal life and colonization cultivated the fruit of hybridity.³⁴⁵ For this reason, it was essential to move away, as much as documents allow, from histories, such as that of Peninsulars or missionaries, that present hybridity and transculturation as polluted and deprecated by-products of this early modern feat.³⁴⁶ It remains certain that this perception helped shape Creole character and consciousness – though not quite Creole nationalism during the centuries discussed.³⁴⁷ However, it is just as certain that a sense of beauty and pride about their local customs also helped give birth to the Creole personality, imbedded within religious observances and quotidian food choices and preparation. It was in when men and women convened for Corpus Christi festivities in Cuzco, and when they convened to cheer and grieve with local *chicha*, that the Creoles eventually found their character and position within the early modern world.

³⁴⁵ Dean, 161.

³⁴⁶ Dean, 161.

³⁴⁷ Bauer and Mazzotti, 336. Academics and readers of early colonial Latin America must be wary of interpreting Creole pride for the homeland and their emerging identity as anti-colonial expressions.

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