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# Missing Idolatry: Mid-Colonial Interactions between Parish Priests and Indians in the Diocese of Arequipa

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MARÍA N. MARSILLI

Much attention has been paid to the study of the apparent persistence of Indian religion in the Central Andes during the colonial period.<sup>1</sup> In stark contrast, not as much focus has centered on the southern quadrants of the Inca Empire, known in pre-Hispanic times as Kuntisuyu and Collasuyu, which were apparently spared from the surge of Catholic orthodoxy that upset the Central Andes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> However, an apparent lack of Indian "idolatry" in this region should not be understood as evidence of a genuine conversion to Catholicism. Scattered evidence suggests that the vitality of pre-Hispanic religious practices in this specific area systematically escaped the attention of agents of colonial Catholicism.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the most cited studies are the seminal work by Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: "L'extirpation de l'idolatrie," entre 1532 et 1660* (Lima: Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, 1971); Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatría y hechicería, Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas," 1986); Frank Salomon and Jorge Urioste, eds. and trans., *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, by Francisco de Ávila (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); and Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Also focusing on the Central Andes and considering the dynamics at play in the Church establishment are Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); and Gabriela Ramos and Enrique Urbano, eds., *Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrías, siglos XVI-XVIII: Charcas, Chile, México, Perú* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas," 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Kuntisuyu was the portion of the Inca Empire encompassing what is today southern Peru, from Arequipa to Tacna. Collasuyu covered most of present-day Bolivia, north-eastern Argentina, and northern Chile. For a map of the four sections of the Inca Empire, see Kenneth J. Andrien, *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532-1825* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 16.

As will be seen, the development of personal, political, and economic relationships in southern colonial Peru between *curas* and *kuracas*<sup>3</sup> hindered the enforcement of religious orthodoxy among indigenous peoples during the Habsburg administration.<sup>4</sup>

For clergymen in the colonial Diocese of Arequipa, a satisfactory interaction with the parish Indian elite was key to advancing in their career and entrepreneurial initiatives. Indians, too, made an effort to establish and preserve good rapport with their local pastors. Native leaders, in particular, sought to build sound relationships with their parish priests to secure acceptable economic exchanges and validate their position of authority in the eyes of the Spanish administration. These associations determined over time the nature of Indian conversion and religious life in the Diocese of Arequipa and made this region stand in sharp contrast with the Central Andes.

*Doctrineros* in the Central Andes first brought charges of Indian "paganism" to the attention of ecclesiastical authorities in the early seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> Shortly thereafter, such allegations initiated

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<sup>3</sup> *Kuracas* were community or *ayllu* leaders in the Andes, also referred to as *caciques*.

<sup>4</sup> For Arequipa, see Elio R. Masferrer, "Religión colonial de los condesuyos de Arequipa," in *Etnohistoria y antropología andina*, ed. Marcia Koth de Paredes and Amalia Castelli (Lima: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1978), 165-71; and María Marsilli, "El diablo en familia: herejes, hechiceros e idólatras en Arequipa colonial," 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), 77-103. A study of late colonial religious resilience in the area is found in Frank Salomon, "Ancestor Cult and Resistance to the State in Arequipa, ca. 1748-1754," in *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 148-65. Mario Polia Meconi compiled the little evidence available of native religious practices gathered by the Jesuits in *La cosmovisión religiosa andina en los documentos inéditos del archivo romano de la compañía de Jesús, 1581-1752* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999). For colonial Collasuyu, see the classic Bartolomé Álvarez, *De las costumbres y conversión de los indios del Perú: memorial a Felipe II (1588)*, ed. María del Carmen, Martín Rubio, Juan José R. Villarias Robles, and Fermín del Pino (Madrid: Polifemo, 1998); and the influential Thomas A. Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), Part Two. For native colonial religion in present-day northern Chile, see the few remarks made by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa in his *Compendio y descripción de las indias occidentales*, ed. Charles Upson Clark (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948), Vol. 108, Chap. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Doctrineros* were priests working in Indian villages, also referred to as *curas*.

the campaigns of extirpation of idolatry in the area. In 1609, Francisco de Ávila accused the Indian parishioners of San Damián de Huarochirí of engaging in clandestine religious practices that were contrary to Catholicism. Ávila's charges immediately attracted the attention of the inquisition-friendly Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero in Lima. Other extirpaters with experience in parish work rapidly joined the initiative, among them Diego Ramírez, Alonso Osorio, Fernando de Avendaño, and Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe. The Society of Jesus seized the opportunity to gain visibility and offered the archbishop a comprehensive investigation of native religious misconduct. By 1641, the establishment in Lima of another extirpating prelate, Pedro de Villagómez, unleashed the most frenetic period of religious zeal in the Central Andes.<sup>6</sup>

According to Nicholas Griffiths, the role played by Lima-based archbishops in the organization of these campaigns was crucial in explaining the sporadic impetus of these efforts. Extirpation campaigns heavily depended on the personal initiative of these prelates. Thus, extirpation activities failed to become effectively institutionalized.<sup>7</sup> By mid-colonial times, several archbishops in Lima had actively promoted the eradication of native religion. In contrast, most Arequipan bishops did not pay attention to the resilience of "paganism" among their native flock throughout the colonial period.<sup>8</sup> Although further research is needed to explain why southern bishops did not prosecute native religion as enthusiastically as did some of the prelates in Lima, most likely the Arequipan church establishment and the local elite did not encourage bishops to use the persecution of Indian religion as a stepping-stone in their careers. The case of Pedro de Villagómez, who served as bishop in Arequipa between 1632 and 1640 and was promoted to the Archdiocese of Lima in 1641, is indicative of this situation. As bishop, Villagómez personally inspected his diocese and

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<sup>6</sup> Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, 16-38.

<sup>7</sup> Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, 29-64.

<sup>8</sup> A total of thirteen bishops were in charge of the diocese during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. None of these prelates called for an extensive eradication of native religion, and only a handful of them personally inspected the diocese. Most of these churchmen enhanced their reputations by making generous donations that aimed at reconstructing churches and convents, subsidizing schools and hospitals, and maintaining Arequipa's irrigation system. Alejandro Málaga Medina, "Organización eclesíástica de Arequipa," in *Historia general de Arequipa*, ed. Máximo Neira Avendaño et al. (Arequipa: Fundación M.J. Bustamante de la Fuente, 1990), 275-307, 278-81.

wrote detailed letters to the king describing the problems he witnessed.<sup>9</sup> The effectiveness of Indian conversion in the area, he wrote, was hampered by the abuses that parish priests and Crown bureaucrats inflicted upon the Indians.<sup>10</sup> Thus, true conversion was far from accomplished in the diocese, according to Villagómez.

During the same inspection, while visiting the surroundings of Caraveli in early 1637, Villagómez discovered over three thousand tombs where Indians still worshipped their ancestors. He destroyed them and willingly covered the expenses "to save the souls of so many plants new to the faith."<sup>11</sup> Back in Arequipa, the bishop started collecting money to hasten the canonization of Spanish King Ferdinand III. He also asked local wealthy churchmen to make generous donations to support the imperial army that always needed funding. The Arequipan elite seized the opportunity to gain visibility by contributing to these causes, and, by late 1637, Bishop Villagómez had collected and sent 500 pesos to Spain for the king's canonization and over 2,000 pesos for the army.<sup>12</sup> The bishop's ingenuity did not go unnoticed by the imperial administration. On 22 May 1641, Pedro de Villagómez entered Lima as its new archbishop.

The case of Villagómez makes clear that fundraising—and not denouncing "pagan" Indian practices—was an effective career move in the Diocese of Arequipa. Young, ambitious *doctrineros* rapidly understood this dynamic and adapted accordingly. Archival evidence indicates that the Diocese of Arequipa investigated only a handful of cases of Indian "idolatry" during the entire colonial period. It is also clear that a slim number of those cases was initiated by local *curas*.

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<sup>9</sup> Jorge Hidalgo and Víctor Díaz transcribed and published some of these letters in their "Cartas del obispo de Arequipa sobre los indios del corregimiento de Arica," *Revista Chungará* 15 (1985):77-97.

<sup>10</sup> Villagómez accused churchmen and *corregidores* (Spanish rural magistrates in charge of an Amerindian province called a *corregimiento*) of forcing Indians to transport wine for minimum wages to Arica and Pica. El Obispo de Arequipa da cuenta a su Magestad de lo que resulta de la visita que a acabado a todo su Obispado, Arequipa, 10 December 1639, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter cited as AGI), Lima 309, fols. 2v-3r.

<sup>11</sup> El Obispo de Arequipa da cuenta a su Magestad, Arequipa, 10 December 1639, AGI, Lima 309, fol. 2v. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the author.

<sup>12</sup> For the money collected for the canonization of Ferdinand III, see Carta del Rey al Obispo de Arequipa, Madrid, 30 May 1637, AGI, Lima 572, L. 21, no.1, fol. 245r. On the second initiative, see El Obispo de Arequipa da cuenta a V.M. de las Diligencias que ha hecho del Donativo que V.M. le mando a pedir por Cedula de 26 de febrero de 1639 y de lo que de ellas ha resultado, Arequipa, 26 February 1639, AGI, Lima 309, fols. 1r-1v.

Why did the southern *curas* persistently ignore native religious practices taking place in their parishes? The answer is related to two intertwined factors: first, the dynamics of the colonial regime in the southern provinces of the viceroyalty; and second, the nature of the relationships established between parish priests and their native flock. Both factors defined the limitations of the Spanish evangelical enterprise and the character of native Catholicism.

Thierry Saignes has documented how *curas*, *kuracas*, and *corregidores* in the colonial southern Andes fiercely competed over labor, resources, and political leadership. This competition shaped the whole colonial system, as it defined the effectiveness of the Toledan system of *reducciones*.<sup>13</sup> According to Saignes, these three middle-level authorities determined how both spirituality and the local economy shaped the colonial identity of southern Indian communities.<sup>14</sup>

The interactions between two of these three players, namely the *curas* and the *kuracas*, make clear that economic conditions and the nature of ecclesiastical careerism in the Diocese of Arequipa prompted a close dependency between *curas* and Indians. This interconnection prevented clergymen from condemning acts of religious deviation among the native population. Local *kuracas* (acting alone or on behalf of their communities) took advantage of the relationships with their *doctrineros* as a venue to increase their own colonial political and spiritual power. The Andean notion that spiritual and material matters were intertwined shaped the exchanges with their parish priests. *Curas* also viewed the amalgamation of the spiritual with the material as natural. Pre-modern Spanish tradition held the intertwining of both spheres as crucial for its expansion in the New World, and parish priests considered the mixing of business with evangelical duties as customary.<sup>15</sup> The intermingling of the sacred with the material eventually helped communication between the Indians and the parish

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<sup>13</sup> *Reducciones* were Spanish-style towns created by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1579-1583) where Indians were forced to resettle.

<sup>14</sup> Thierry Saignes, "Lobos y ovejas: formación y desarrollo de los pueblos y comunidades en el sur andino, siglos XVI-XX," in *Reproducción y transformación de las sociedades andinas, siglos XVI-XX: simposio auspiciado por el Social Science Research Council*, ed. Segundo Moreno Yáñez and Frank Salomon (Quito: Ediciones ABYA-YALA, 1991), 1:91-135, 119-22.

<sup>15</sup> See Kathryn Burns' discussion of the concept of "spiritual economy" in the introduction to her *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 3.

priests. This common ground decisively influenced the limits and nature of Indian conversion.

The relationships between Indians and *curas* in the colonial Diocese of Arequipa also illustrate the distinction that Michel de Certeau makes between the concepts of "strategy" and "tactics" in everyday life. For Certeau, everyday life is a collection of repetitive and unconscious acts that uses "strategy"—a structure created by institutions and organizations of power—as a framework. Individuals develop and utilize "tactics" within this structure. Certeau defines "tactics" as "an art of the weak," that is, the means that individuals use to create a space for themselves within the organizations determined by the overall "strategy." According to Certeau, everyday life is based on the processes by which individuals constantly explore, adapt to, and rearrange the rules determined by this general structure.<sup>16</sup>

The set of colonial cases found in the Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa and analyzed herein exemplify both peaceful and confrontational interactions between Indians and *doctrineros*. Successful interactions that mutually benefited both parties exemplify some of the tactics developed to adapt to the structure of colonial power. Antagonistic exchanges prove how suspicion of native idolatry and allegations of pastoral incompetence eventually marked the end of interactions and the point at which Indians and clergymen decided that common tactics were no longer feasible.

Pope Paul V created the Diocese of Arequipa in 1614, after years of lengthy petitions addressed to the king by prominent *arequipeños* who wanted to have their own diocese, separate from Cuzco.<sup>17</sup> The new ecclesiastical jurisdiction consisted of the following *corregimientos*: the city of Arequipa, the city of San Marcos de Arica (with jurisdiction over Tarapacá), Collagua, Ubinas, the Valley of Moquegua, Vitor, Condesuyos, and the village of Camaná. The diocese's territory encompassed the pre-Hispanic provinces of Kuntisuyu and a significant portion of Collasuyu, an area that currently makes up most of southern Peru and northern Chile (see Map 1).<sup>18</sup> The

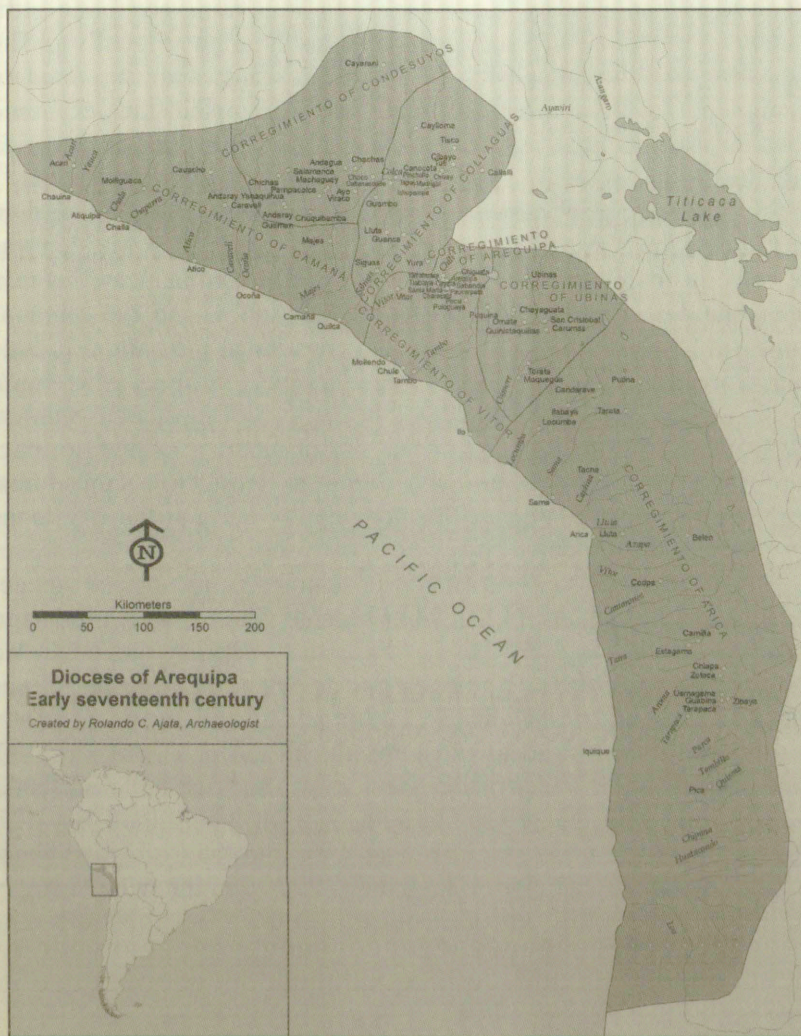
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<sup>16</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 29-43, 34-39.

<sup>17</sup> Carta al rey de vecinos de Arequipa, Arequipa, 15 September 1606, AGI, Lima 111, 1601, 2 fols.

<sup>18</sup> Autos de la division de los obispados de Guamanga y Arequipa separados del de Cuzco, por el Papa Paulo V a instancias del Rey Felipe III, AGI, Lima 36, 1614 (incomplete document).

Map 1



Details of Arequipa in the early 1600s.



majority of the parishes were assigned to the secular clergy, a decision that highlights the post-Tridentine principle of keeping the religious orders in Peru in their convents.<sup>19</sup>

Towards the early seventeenth century, the new diocese's countryside had already experienced an important economic shift, namely from a semifeudal economy to agrarian capitalism. The discovery of silver deposits in Potosí in 1545 and the flood of immigrants to Peru after the civil wars prompted this economic adjustment throughout the Andes. This change coincided in Arequipa with the decline of the first *encomiendas* by the late sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

Lacking local mines and Indian workforce, early Spaniards in Arequipa turned to agricultural production. Geographic location was the region's main asset. Arequipa could easily communicate between Lima, the center of Spanish power in the Andes, and the mines of Potosí, in Upper Peru. The region also constituted the natural passage from Cuzco, once the center of the Inca Empire, to Chile, where news of astonishing riches and an endemic war attracted substantial numbers of Spanish immigrants. Arequipan *encomenderos* rushed to plant European crops, which, along with European livestock, occupied most of the arable land.<sup>21</sup> Wine production rapidly became the key to the prosperity of the region.

The early success of these entrepreneurs placed greater demands on the Indians. Indian labor became vital for wine production and transportation, and, by the late sixteenth century, natives controlled the muleteer profession. By the late 1570s, when the Toledan reforms relocated Indians throughout Peru, Arequipan natives were already integral players in the local economy. For instance, as early as 1550, the Collaguas of the Colca Valley were known as "rich Indians," thanks to their control of the production and trade of wool cloth. By 1585, *corregidores* were eagerly introducing wine into the Collagua villages in exchange for Indian cloth. The Indians then used the wine to supply the markets of Potosí and Cuzco, thus creating a large-scale trade

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<sup>19</sup> A late-sixteenth-century anti-secularization initiative in the Colca Valley, an event highly publicized by the Franciscans, can be considered a curiosity. María Marsilli, "I Heard it Through the Grapevine": Analysis of an Anti-Secularization Initiative in the Sixteenth-Century Arequipa Countryside," *The Americas* 61:4 (2005):647-72.

<sup>20</sup> For a list of the first *encomenderos* in Arequipa, see Keith A. Davies, *Landowners in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), Appendix A, 167-68.

<sup>21</sup> Davies, *Landowners*, 20-27.

circuit.<sup>22</sup> In an increasingly dynamic local economy, large ethnic groups controlling resources located at different elevations enjoyed a particularly advantageous situation.<sup>23</sup> This case among the Collaguas demonstrates that the emergence of a colonial market created new interests and opportunities for Indians. As the natives rushed to develop the first and take advantage of the second, they became active agents in the new economic system. Over time, the ways and means they used to participate in the market also had an effect on their conversion to Catholicism.

Europeans, too, reacted to the new market conditions. As wine consumption gained importance in cities, Spaniards moved to establish a wine-based economy in the coastal valleys and oases of the diocese. This group of entrepreneurs was known as *heredados*, and they fashioned an economy and landholding system that continued in southern Peru well into the eighteenth century. Wealthy and politically powerful, this local elite controlled and maximized the farming potential of the small pieces of land (known as *heredades*) where they supervised all aspects of wine making. Because of the nature of wine production, *heredados* depended heavily on a secure supply of Indian labor at crucial times during the process. This required good relations with government authorities and Indian leaders.<sup>24</sup>

The seventeenth century brought major challenges for *heredados*. In 1600, a violent earthquake and volcanic eruption left their vineyards covered with ashes. The disaster handicapped wine production, and producers in the Ica-Pisco area seized the opportunity to gain control over the important market in Lima. In addition to strong competition and natural disasters, *heredados* also faced labor shortages. European-introduced illnesses and strictly enforced Indian labor laws made it difficult to secure an adequate work force. Labor shortage directly affected wine prices. Vineyard owners without access to Indian workers were forced to depend on much more expensive African slaves. The seventeenth century brought, therefore, an extended period of crisis for the Arequipa wine industry, characterized by stiff competition, tight markets, and labor shortages.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> María N. Marsilli Cardozo, "God and Evil in the Gardens of the Andean South: Mid-Colonial Rural Religion in the Diocese of Arequipa" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2002), 20-24.

<sup>23</sup> Marsilli, "I Heard it Through the Grapevine," 655-59.

<sup>24</sup> Davies, *Landowners*, 22.

<sup>25</sup> Wine producers eventually turned to brandy distillation, a more profitable activity that still required significant labor and investment. Kendall W. Brown, *Bourbons and*

Not surprisingly, *heredados* were eager to expand and strengthen their power networks. The creation of a new diocese opened important opportunities, and they rushed to place their own children among the upper and lower clergy ranks. For these elite families, placing a son in an Indian parish constituted a long-term investment. An ambitious *cura* could eventually get a position in the upper clergy and become influential in the diocese's decision-making. In addition to making a good living, *doctrineros* could always use their parish Indians to provide their families with labor. Both *heredados* and *curas*, therefore, regarded Indian parishes as attractive positions.

Expectations placed upon parish priests were justified by the significant power that *curas* enjoyed during the Habsburg administration. This was the result of several fundamental principles, such as poorly defined boundaries between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, deflection of confrontation by intercession, and the treatment of precedents as inviolable. Tolerant of ambiguity, the Habsburgs based their power upon a balance of opposite forces, triggered by the mutual suspicion that arose between imperial agents and parish priests as competing, yet complementary, protectors of the Indians' well being.<sup>26</sup>

Evidence indicates that parish priests managed to amass substantial wealth under the Habsburgs. Antonio Acosta has documented how in the rich parishes of central Peru mid-colonial *curas* enjoyed a supplementary income that could easily reach 10,000 pesos a year per person, several times the taxes collected by local *encomenderos*.<sup>27</sup> Using illicit means to accumulate wealth was common among parish priests. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, possibly the keenest observer of daily life in the colonial Andes, produced very negative, detailed descriptions of the ways these men amassed wealth.<sup>28</sup>

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*Brandy: Imperial Reform in Eighteenth-Century Arequipa* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 40-42.

<sup>26</sup> By the mid-eighteenth century, as the Bourbons aimed to redefine the role of the clergy as spiritual professionals with fewer judicial and administrative responsibilities, they standardized rules of parish administration. *Curas'* stipends (*synodos*) and service fees were carefully examined and placed under centralized control. William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 13-14.

<sup>27</sup> Antonio Acosta, "Religiosos, doctrinas y excedente económico indígena en el Perú de comienzos del siglo XVII," *Histórica* (Special Issue) 6:1 (1982):1-34.

<sup>28</sup> Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ed. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno and trans. Jorge L. Urioste (Mexico City: Siglo Veintuno, 1980), 564-78.

Covering a vast territory, the Diocese of Arequipa offered priests numerous parishes where they could work as *curas*. Clergymen competed fiercely for the most profitable assignments in public contests known as *oposiciones*.<sup>29</sup> Written records of the *oposiciones* shed light on the personal backgrounds of Arequipan *curas* and constitute a data set useful in reconstructing the ecclesiastical careers of over one hundred *doctrineros* in the Diocese of Arequipa from 1580 to 1765.<sup>30</sup> This evidence reveals two widely shared trends. First, the majority of clergymen attending Indian parishes in the Diocese of Arequipa were *vecinos* of the cities of Arequipa or Moquegua. This indicates that most of these men had strong attachments to the local elite and the regional economy under its control.<sup>31</sup> Second, these priests deemed parishes located far from Arequipa to be of lesser importance. Arequipa was the center of their family networks and the place where the most successful *curas* wanted to return, thanks to a position in the Cathedral Chapter known as a *prebenda*.<sup>32</sup>

Data from the *oposiciones* also indicates that Arequipan *curas* regularly presented the construction or decoration of their churches as a major accomplishment during their tenure in the parish. Twenty-one clergymen documented how they built, reconstructed, or decorated their parochial churches, which in most cases earned them a promotion.<sup>33</sup> Recurrent earthquakes, which periodically destroyed numerous buildings around the Diocese of Arequipa, surely compelled mid-colonial *doctrineros* to undertake this task. Church building, then, became essential for ecclesiastical careerism. The recurrence of these activities determined the nature of the associations that the diocese's *curas* established with the Indian elite of their parishes.

<sup>29</sup> For a list of the diocese's *synodos*, see *Relación de las doctrinas de los obispos de la ciudad del Cuzco y ciudad de La Plata, Cusco* [?], 1622[?], AGI, Lima 305.

<sup>30</sup> Marsilli Cardozo, "God and Evil," 58-71.

<sup>31</sup> Marsilli Cardozo, "God and Evil," 62.

<sup>32</sup> This position was paid by the Cathedral. Marsilli Cardozo, "God and Evil," 56-58.

<sup>33</sup> Marsilli Cardozo, "God and Evil," 68. William Taylor has revealed similar findings among the *résumés* of late colonial parish priests in Mexico. The existence of these builder-priests was linked, according to Taylor, to two intertwined elements in the Bourbon church. First, the Habsburg legal tradition expected priests and parishioners to take care of their churches, and, second, the bishops made use of tithe revenues to maintain cathedrals at the detriment of local churches. Late colonial priests willing and capable of maintaining their churches could then win favor with the bishops and advance in their careers. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 103.

The early social climbing aspirations demonstrated by the colonial Andean indigenous elite have been amply documented.<sup>34</sup> These Indians also skillfully accommodated the new colonial spiritual power and thus played a pivotal role in the conversion and religious orthodoxy of their community members.<sup>35</sup> Throughout the Andes, native chiefs quickly became the link between the demands dictated by the colonial market and the resources available in their communities. In the case of Arequipa, this position made them key players in the efforts of parish priests to advance in their careers. Arequipan *curas* needed a sizeable and steady supply of Indian labor to build and decorate their churches. Andean tradition dictated that common Indians could not bypass their leaders to offer their labor freely. As a result, career-driven parish priests were forced to establish and maintain good relations with the *caciques* of their parishes. Indian leaders, too, used Catholicism and its representatives to legitimize their social standing and political influence in their communities.

Guillermo Cock has documented how Arequipa's powerful moiety community leaders (known as *caciques Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* throughout the Andes) controlled special groups of artisans in their communities, such as weavers, carpenters, pottery makers, and silversmiths.<sup>36</sup> This responsibility turned these Indian authorities into crucial links between career-oriented *curas* and their Indian flock. An ambitious builder-priest needed to establish and maintain an excellent rapport with the powerful *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* chiefs of his

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<sup>34</sup> See the classic works by Karen Spalding, "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50:4 (1970):645-64; and Karen Spalding, "Kuracas and Commerce: A Chapter in the Evolution of Andean Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53:4 (1973):581-99. On the early colonial adaptations of the *kuracazgo* (native chieftain) in the Andes, see Susan E. Ramírez, "The 'Dueño de Indios': Thoughts on the Consequences of Shifting Bases of Power of the 'Curaca de los Viejos Antiguos' under the Spanish in Sixteenth-Century Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 67:4 (1997):575-610; and Steve Stern, "Early Spanish-Indian Accommodations in the Andes," in *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience, and Acculturation*, ed. John E. Kicza (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 23-52.

<sup>35</sup> Luis Millones, "Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas of the Central Sierra," *Ethnohistory* 26 (1979):243-63; and Luis Millones, "Los ganados del señor: mecanismos de poder en las comunidades andinas de los siglos XVIII y XIX," *América Indígena* 39 (1979):107-43.

<sup>36</sup> Indian communities in the Andes are traditionally divided in two halves, named moieties. Guillermo Cock, "Los kurakas de los Collaguas: poder político y poder económico," *Historia y Cultura* 10 (1976-1977):95-118, 104-06.

parish to obtain the labor that would eventually permit him to advance in his career.

The 1679 case of Don Felipe Suárez de Thineo, *cura* of Maca and Ichupampa, illustrates this situation. That year, Don Pedro Manríquez de Lara, the town councilman in charge of recruiting Indians to complete *mita* assignments in Arequipa, visited Ichupampa to ask for the town's labor quota.<sup>37</sup> The Indian leaders asked him to address Suárez de Thineo instead. After a brief investigation, Manríquez de Lara discovered that an entire ethnic group, the *Platero ayllu*, now resided in the coastal *heredad* that belonged to the priest's parents. In exchange for the relocation, Suárez de Thineo was to pay for the missing kinship group's *mita* quota.<sup>38</sup> The placing of an ethnic group specializing in silver work under the protection of the priest's family surely constituted an agreement between the clergyman and the parish moiety leaders that benefited both parties. The priest's family had the workers needed for wine production, and Suárez de Thineo secured access to the artisans needed for church decoration.<sup>39</sup> In exchange, the native chiefs could rely on the priest to fulfill cumbersome *mita* obligations.

Church construction and decoration were hardly the only means that Arequipan *curas* used to advance their careers. Parish priests were subject to periodical *visitas*, inspections of their parishes completed by a *visitador*, usually a priest or friar with enough seniority

<sup>37</sup> The city of Arequipa was assigned a number of Indian workers on a rotational basis to cope with the effects of recurrent earthquakes. Víctor Barriga, *Documentos para la historia de Arequipa, 1534-1558: documentos inéditos de los Archivos de Arequipa* (Arequipa: Editorial La Colmena, 1951), 1:304-05.

<sup>38</sup> Investigación a Felipe Suárez de Thineo, Arequipa, 8 March 1699, Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa (hereinafter cited as AAA), Collaguas Yanque, 1673-1889; this is a deteriorated and incomplete document. The Thineo family was part of the *arequipeño* elite. In 1689, shortly before the death of Felipe, Captain Diego Suárez de Thineo and Doña Gerónima de Arce, natives of Spain, had placed Joseph, a younger son, in the local clergy. Lista de Vocaciones, año 1689, Arequipa, 6 May 1689, AAA, Arequipa Órdenes Religiosas, 1620-1699. Joseph Suárez de Thineo lived a flawless career as parish priest in Moquegua, where he died in 1709. See *Por muerte del Dr. Don Joseph Suarez de Thineo, cura de Moquegua, se nombra cura interin al Licenciado Don Miguel Cornejo Daza*, Arequipa, 15 November 1709, AAA, Libros del Cabildo Eclesiástico de la Catedral de Arequipa, 1660-1729.

<sup>39</sup> These native artisans decorated the churches of the Arequipan countryside with masterful samples of "mestizo-style" art. Luis Enrique Tord, *Templos coloniales del Colca, Arequipa* (Lima: Industria Papelera, 1983); and Ramón Gutiérrez, Cristina Esteras, and Alejandro Málaga, *El Valle del Colca (Arequipa): cinco siglos de arquitectura y urbanismo* (Buenos Aires: Libros de Hispanoamérica, 1986).

to have his observations unquestioned by the local bishop. *Visitadores* used the *Constituciones synodales del obispado de Arequipa*, issued in 1684 by Bishop Antonio de León, as a guideline.<sup>40</sup> According to these rules, *curas* were expected to instruct the Indians in the mysteries of the faith, making sure that children and *forasteros* attended and understood catechism.<sup>41</sup> While children were to be instructed in Spanish, adult catechesis could be offered in Quechua, the *lingua franca* of the Inca Empire, at the natives' request.<sup>42</sup> Also, the *doctrinero* was strictly forbidden from taking economic advantage of the natives. For instance, he could not compel dying Indians to modify their wills, and he also had to pay for any service provided by the community, such as farming and house cleaning. To enforce the observance of a strict moral code, *curas* were not allowed to hire young female Indians as domestic servants.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the priest had to keep detailed and updated parish records, including a list of parish residents, marriages, baptisms, and deaths. *Visitadores* verified that parish priests correctly fulfilled their pastoral duties, observed parish residence requirements, and justly treated the Indians. The requirements attached to the *visitas* made these inspections crucial events in the *curas'* careers.

Post-Tridentine Habsburg administration wanted parish priests to serve as teachers, judges, and role models for the Indians in their charge. Arequipan *curas* were, therefore, expected to be the moral authorities of their parishes. They had to solve marital problems, control the sexual morality of the natives, and censor "immoral behavior" likely to take place during Indian celebrations. Parish priests were to denounce native chiefs who kept unmarried Indian women working as domestic servants in their houses.<sup>44</sup> In order to be credible role models, *curas* were specifically required not to engage in any commercial activity. Thus, *visitadores* in the Arequipan diocese were explicitly asked to punish those clergymen who had recruited Indian labor for wine production in the coastal *heredades*. *Doctrineros* were also expected to discourage the selling of *lagunilla*, a wine produced in these estates and avidly consumed by the Indians.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Antonio de León, *Constituciones synodales del obispado de Arequipa, 1684* (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1971).

<sup>41</sup> *Forasteros* were Indians who were resident aliens, usually migrants from other regions.

<sup>42</sup> León, *Constituciones synodales*, 63-64.

<sup>43</sup> León, *Constituciones synodales*, 82.

<sup>44</sup> León, *Constituciones synodales*, 107-08.

<sup>45</sup> León, *Constituciones synodales*, 29-30.

Records of *visitas* held at twenty-two diocese parishes and dating from 1631 to 1719 reveal that only one *cura* failed an inspection.<sup>46</sup> Most certainly, these results do not prove the success of Arequipan *doctrineros*. A close analysis of the witnesses called to testify in support of the priests elucidates the liaisons between the clergymen and the natives.<sup>47</sup> These mid-colonial Arequipan *curas* asked 114 witnesses to offer testimony on their behalf. Ninety-six of these witnesses, over 84 percent, were Indians. Of these, seventy natives (72 percent) held offices created by the Spanish bureaucracy. Offices created by the colonial church in Indian parishes were also represented. Four witnesses were *sacristanes* (sextons), three *maestros de Canto* (master cantors), one *mayordomo de la Iglesia* (church majordomo), three *indios cantores* (choir members), and one *indio alguacil* (church constable). These natives represented 12 percent of all Indian witnesses. Finally, a total of fifteen Indians (over 15 percent) with no apparent authority were listed simply as *indios naturales*. This assortment of witnesses indicates the building of personal relationships between *doctrineros* and Indian parishioners that eventually defined the limits of Andean religious acculturation.

A 1677 case that took place in the parish of Pampacolca reflects the impact that personal alliances had on Indian religious orthodoxy. That year, a *forastero* Indian accused the priest Don Baltazar de Cárdenas of systematically denying the position of *alférez* to very pious natives.<sup>48</sup> The bishop ordered an investigation, and the local *caciques* hurried to testify in favor of the parish priest. They stated that Cárdenas was a good pastor and had denied that position only to Indians known to be heavy drinkers. The *visitador* cleared the priest of the charges but decided to assess the *caciques'* religious competence. To his surprise, all of them were ignorant of the basic tenets of Catholicism and could not recite basic prayers in their native language. When asked to explain, the chiefs replied that they were too busy recruiting Indians to work in the coastal *heredades* belonging to

<sup>46</sup> Marsilli Cardozo, "God and Evil," 71-80. The parish priest of Pampacolca, Luis Arias Bezerra, was initially approved in 1631. In 1633, he was reexamined and failed. *Visita a Luis Arias Bezerra, cura de Pampacolca, Pampacolca, 17 February 1631, AAA, Condesuyos Pampacolca 1710-1884*. The second examination appears in the same document.

<sup>47</sup> Marsilli Cardozo, "God and Evil," 74.

<sup>48</sup> The *alférez* is still today the individual in charge of organizing and funding religious celebrations in Andean communities.



the priest's relatives to attend catechism.<sup>49</sup> The diocese's regulations strictly prevented *curas* from hiring Indian parishioners. Although the Indians probably knew about this prohibition, they did not incriminate their parish priest. Andeans viewed economic exchanges as instrumental to conversion, and a mutually satisfactory arrangement with the local *cura* was to be protected from the intrusion of the diocese's authorities.<sup>50</sup>

Not all Arequipan *curas* maintained positive relationships with their native flock. A handful of cases found at the Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa draw attention to charges that Indians and clergymen brought against each other. These accusations demonstrate the limits of cooperation between the two parties. They also suggest that charges of "paganism" pressed by *curas* and allegations of doctrinal incompetence raised by Indians were instrumental in settling economic conflicts.

The charges pressed against the parish priest of Lluta by the Indians in his jurisdiction in 1648 illustrate this situation. In August of that year, the chiefs of the parish of Lluta and its *anexos* (outlying dependent villages) wrote a detailed letter to the bishop denouncing the abuses that the Indians were suffering at the hands of the interim *cura*, Don Antonio Maldonado. According to the chiefs, Maldonado excessively charged the Indian *alférez* for community celebrations, forced commoners to supply him with mules to transport and sell wine from the coastal *heredades*, and required the Indians to work at his farm without a salary. The priest also ordered native chiefs to recruit women from nearby villages to weave clothing for him. According to the chiefs, these excesses had driven numerous Indians away from the

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<sup>49</sup> Averiguaciones contra los curas Don Francisco de Velasco, de Chuquibamba, Don Baltazar de Cardenas, de Pampacolca y Don Antonio Coronel, de Andaray, Chuquibamba, 6-8 March 1677, AAA, Condesuyos Chuquibamba, 1677-1883; and Decisión del Cabildo Eclesiástico de investigar a Don Baltazar de Cardenas, Arequipa, 4 January 1677, AAA, Libros del Cabildo Eclesiástico de la Catedral de Arequipa.

<sup>50</sup> The extent to which the native elite was willing to protect such exchanges becomes clear in a case dated 1728. That year the *corregidor* of Condesuyos decided to denounce Don Domingo Pacheco, priest of Salamanca, for what he considered a very deficient pastoral performance. Pacheco, according to the *corregidor*, did not know the Indians' language and had failed to appoint an interpreter for over a year. Upon learning of the *corregidor's* decision, Pacheco entered his house and attacked him with the help of several Indians recruited by Don Andrés Saturnino Gonse, the local *cacique*. In his complaints before the bishop, the *corregidor* stated that the *cura* was also a farmer, miner, and textile entrepreneur, thus going against Church regulations. Pacheco also lived sinfully with an Indian woman in his own home and hired, at good salaries, Indian workers for his businesses. Causa contra el cura de Salamanca Don Domingo Pacheco, 13 August 1728, AAA, Condesuyos Viraco, 1646-1898.

parish. The native leaders also feared for their own spiritual well being, they said, because the priest accused them of practicing witchcraft whenever they refused to serve him.<sup>51</sup>

Maldonado's case points to the dynamics regulating Indian-parish priest relationships in the Diocese of Arequipa. Maldonado was the holder of a temporary position and, therefore, felt compelled to maximize profits during his residence. He was also an outsider and unfamiliar with the power networks of his community. He had to resort to the only effective means of coercion he had—veiled accusations of religious malfeasance. Maldonado's plan backfired, and the parish's native elite, fearing the materialization of these accusations, took their complaints to the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard their jobs.

Maldonado surely had reliable information about the persistence of pre-Hispanic Indian practices in his parish. Throughout the colonial Andes, *caciques* routinely performed clandestine pre-Columbian rituals to guarantee abundant harvests and livestock reproduction. These actions legitimized their authority in their communities. The persistence of these practices among the native elite of colonial Arequipa has been documented. Arequipan leaders used traditional cults to preserve and even create positions of power for themselves in their communities during colonial times.<sup>52</sup> It is most likely, therefore, that the native chiefs of Lluta were indeed guilty of "paganism." Maldonado, who certainly misused his clerical authority, was well aware of such practices, but both parties had opted to maintain the *status quo*. However, by the time of the accusations, their relationship was no longer viewed as mutually satisfactory.

What circumstances marked for the Indians the limits of cooperation with their parish priests? A practical clergyman had to be aware that the effectiveness of coercive methods varied greatly. Adjustments in the local economy, sharp demographic fluctuations, and the actual power of his native allies could determine the limits of Indian cooperation. Additionally, priests had to be mindful of cultural boundaries. The following cases examine instances of open confrontation between Indians and *curas* that demonstrate points of irreconcilable differences.

<sup>51</sup> Causa de los indios de Lluta y sus anexos contra el cura interin Don Antonio Maldonado, Lluta, 8 August 1648, AAA, Collaguas Caylloma, 1632-1892.

<sup>52</sup> See the discussion of a 1671 Indian witchcraft case in the parish of Salamanca in Marsilli, "El diablo en familia," 81-88. The late colonial case of Gregorio Taco, the idolatrous leader of Andagua, is in Salomon, "Ancestor Cult and Resistance," 148-65.

Evidence suggests that, in spite of the Church's emphasis on celibacy, sexual contact between priests and female parishioners were common in colonial Latin America. This was the case particularly in remote, second-class Indian parishes. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala harshly criticized sexual transgressions committed by clergymen, actions that he claimed to be common throughout the Andes. The chronicler included horrid details such as infanticide, allegedly committed to "clean" the priest's reputation.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, although condemned by the Church establishment, Indian parishioners did not appear to deem clerical sexual misconduct scandalous or worth denouncing.<sup>54</sup> In Arequipa, too, priests' transgressions of their celibacy vows did not concern either ecclesiastical courts or Indians. In the practice of everyday life, these misbehaviors did not alter the harmonious relationships that most Arequipan priests established with the Indians in their parish.

This is evident in the 1741 investigation of a priest-on-priest attack in Carumas. Sometime during that year, Don Joseph Cavello, *cura* of Carumas, attacked Father Santiago de la Torre in his ranch with the help of over one hundred Indians recruited by the local *cacique*. De la Torre denounced the aggression to the ecclesiastical authorities, stating that he did not know the reasons for the assault. A brief inquiry demonstrated that Cavello had ordered the natives to rescue an Indian woman from De la Torre's house. Apparently the woman, who was a parish resident, had been kidnapped to provide De la Torre with sexual services.<sup>55</sup> Led by their *cacique*, the Indians rushed to testify in defense of Cavello and produced a list of Indian women who had been seduced by De la Torre. De la Torre denied the charges, arguing that he was protecting the women from the sexual harassment they suffered in the parish at the hands of Cavello. The local *cura*, he argued, was using the natives to regain the sexual control he exerted over vulnerable women.

De la Torre's position as an outsider in the Indian community worked against his claims. The Indians supported Cavello and did not appear bothered by his alleged sexual misbehavior. Having only the two priests' contradictory versions and no evidence, the bishop had to side with Cavello and ordered De la Torre's excommunication. The basic tenet of De la Torre's defense—the assumption that the natives

<sup>53</sup> Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica*, 575.

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 185-91.

<sup>55</sup> Acusación del Padre Santiago de la Torre y Padilla contra el Padre Juan Joseph Cavello, por agresión, Arequipa, 12 September 1741, AAA, Moquegua Carumas, 1636-1889.

viewed allegations of Cavello's sexual misconduct as diminishing for the *cura's* reputation—proved erroneous. Sexual contact between Indian women and clerics were common in the colonial Andes, and both priests had probably broken their chastity vows. Although the natives knew about their parish priest's sexual misconduct, they helped him regain access to his mistresses and supported him in front of the Diocese authorities. This case makes clear that sexual transgressions did not necessarily undermine the priest's position in the eyes of the Indians in his charge.<sup>56</sup>

If natives did not consider clerical sexual misbehavior reprehensible, what could set them against their *curas*? Indians felt very keenly that their parish priests should observe a public etiquette that recognized the limits of native social rank. This Andean tradition sometimes conflicted with the degree of physical violence that *curas* felt entitled to exert. Colonial bureaucracy allowed priests to use physical force in some justified circumstances. Still, restrictions based upon moderation were clearly marked by law and custom.<sup>57</sup> In the case of Arequipa, it appears that parish priests frequently exerted physical violence against their Indian parishioners. Native leaders viewed such actions as part of the priest's spiritual obligations and, therefore, considered them usual and acceptable.<sup>58</sup> However, physical violence

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<sup>56</sup> This is confirmed by a 1682 case of a physical attack against a local *corregidor*. In September of that year, Don Francisco Mendoza de los Ríos, *corregidor* of Condesuyos, was attacked in his house in the town of Salamanca by Father García de Orejón y Zeballos, the local parish priest, and a sizeable number of Indians. The intruders rescued Don Juan Coaguila, an Indian chief held in custody by the *corregidor*. During the investigation, the natives testified that Coaguila, following the priest's orders, had secretly entered the building to free two Indian housemaids. The women were kept in custody by Mendoza de los Ríos because they were publicly known to be the *cura's* mistresses. Community leaders and common Indians supported the priest's initiative during the ecclesiastical investigation that followed the events. *Denuncia de Don Francisco Mendoza de los Ríos contra el cura de Salamanca Don García de Orejón y Zeballos por ataque, Arequipa, 13 September 1682, AAA, Condesuyos Chuquibamba, 1634-1899.*

<sup>57</sup> Taylor, *Magistrates*, 207.

<sup>58</sup> For instance, in August 1680 Miguel Maniacha, an Indian of Salamanca, tried to take communion despite being obviously drunk. The parish priest whipped and imprisoned him and then rushed to explain the facts to the bishop. Called to Arequipa, Don Pedro Yaurillamoca, the local chief, acknowledged that he had offered Maniacha some wine before Mass because of the cold weather. Yaurillamoca justified the actions taken by the priest and asked for some leniency for Maniacha, adding that he was an Indian of limited intelligence. With the chief's approval, Maniacha was sentenced to have his hair cut in public and fulfill one month of church service. *Denuncia contra*

met with the disapproval of the Indians when it violated community rank and social privileges.

This is apparent in a 1713 complaint against the Mercedarian friar, Fray Juan de Savalaga, assistant to the parish priest of Ubinas, Father Antonio de Rivero. According to several *caciques*, the friar had regularly asked the Indians to provide him with mules to carry wine from the coastal *heredades* to the village. The diocese's authorities strictly prohibited the selling of wine in Indian villages. It is likely that Savalaga, De Rivero, and the native leaders disregarded the prohibition and were partners in the illegal business. All parties were satisfied until one of the lesser *caciques* failed to give Savalaga the number of animals agreed upon. The friar publicly whipped the chief, opened his trousers, and showed the Indian's genitals to a stupefied audience gathered in front of the church. The main community leaders took prompt action. Don Juan Cáceres Cohoma, *governador y cacique principal* of Ubinas *Hanansaya*, and Don Juan Coaguila, chief of Ubinas *Hurinsaya*, denounced both assistant and parish priests to the bishop.

Having decided to test the mutual loyalty of the two clergymen, Cáceres Cohoma and Coaguila added further details in their letter to ecclesiastical authorities. Savalaga, they stated, had been trying to force the Indians to work in a nearby mine. The mine, the natives claimed, was traditionally theirs, and Savalaga did not intend to share profits with De Rivero. The friar had also threatened the Indians. Demonstrating his greed, Savalaga had affirmed that he was aware of "pagan" practices taking place among the natives and viciously threatened to denounce those individuals involved. The diocese's authorities sided with the Indians and ordered the immediate removal of the friar.<sup>59</sup>

The public humiliation inflicted to a *cacique* of lesser rank was probably the pretext that the main native leaders used to initiate legal actions against Savalaga and De Rivero. The real cause of the conflict had been the friar's attempt to profit from mines located outside the Toledan *reducción*. These mines constituted a traditionally held resource that the Indians were not prepared to share. Fray Juan de Savalaga then had to force the *caciques* to collaborate using veiled

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Manuel Maniacha por aber comulgado borracho, Arequipa, 12 August 1680, AAA, Condesuyos Salamanca, 1633-1896.

<sup>59</sup> Denuncia de los indios principales de Ubinas contra el Padre Fray Juan de Savalaga de la Orden de La Merced, Arequipa, 10 October 1713, AAA, Moquegua Ubinas, 1669-1895.

accusations of religious deviation. The Indians reacted rapidly and removed Savalaga. This action fulfilled two goals: first, to secure control over the mines, and second, to maintain their standing as good Catholics in the eyes of the diocese's authorities.

Public disrespect exhibited against symbols of native authority also compelled Indians to raise accusations of evangelical incompetence. The accusations brought against Gaspar Pacheco de la Cuba in 1743 by the *caciques* of Maca and Ichupampa serve as an example. In September of that year, Pacheco de La Cuba physically attacked the *forastero* Indian Sebastián Quelluya for involuntarily damaging his small gardening plot. When the local native chiefs tried to protect the Indian from the priest's fury, the clergyman grabbed one of their *varas* and broke it into pieces.<sup>60</sup> The priest was convinced that the *caciques* were using Quelluya to drive him out of the parish. Deeply offended, the chiefs went to Arequipa and asked the diocese's authorities to punish Pacheco de La Cuba for his evangelical incompetence.<sup>61</sup>

Indians had the upper hand in these contests of mutual blaming. Throughout colonial times, ecclesiastical authorities in Peru paid more attention to their complaints than to charges of Indian "paganism" mentioned by *doctrineros* in distress. By the early eighteenth century, the golden age of idolatry extirpation was over, and the Peruvian church was no longer interested in "discovering" vestiges of pre-Columbian religion still at large among the natives. However, one hundred years earlier, and prompted by a short-lived inquisitorial zeal, the ecclesiastical administration did respond to charges pressed by one of the most (in)famous *curas* of colonial Peru, Francisco de Ávila, and launched a holy war against native religion.

The fervor with which Ávila denounced the "pagan practices" of his Indian parishioners in 1609 boosted his career at a much-needed time. The Indians in Ávila's charge had initiated legal procedures against him in 1607, and the initiative resulted in his brief incarceration.<sup>62</sup> The native chiefs of San Damián de Huarochirí accused

<sup>60</sup> Wooden staff, symbol of authority in Andean communities.

<sup>61</sup> The results of these accusations are unknown. Autos seguidos sobre capitulos puestos por los caciques del pueblo de Maca y Ichupampa contra su cura el Bachiller Don Gaspar Pacheco de la Cuba, Arequipa, 19 December 1743, AAA, Collaguas Maca, 1614-1871.

<sup>62</sup> Antonio Acosta, "Francisco de Ávila, Cusco 1573(?) - Lima 1647," in *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII*, ed.

Ávila of prolonged absences, excessive demands for Indian labor, missing payments of services rendered by the community, and illicit sexual relations with Indian women that had produced at least one illegitimate son. More strikingly, the Indians also stated that Ávila encouraged and even taxed the tributes they offered to their ancestors' mummies, known as *mallquis*.<sup>63</sup>

It is apparent that Ávila was well acquainted with "pagan" practices hidden in his parish. He decided to "discover" them only when in the midst of a legal battle initiated (and partially won) by the Indians. The bases for the quarrel were of an economic nature and destroyed what was formerly a mutually beneficial relationship. Prior to the legal actions against him, Ávila was about to establish a partnership with the local *encomendero* to build an *obraje* in the community, an initiative that probably exceeded the resources that the Indians were willing to offer.<sup>64</sup>

Church efforts to eradicate "paganism" from the Andes should be understood as another facet of the colonial economic interplay between Indians and Spaniards. Like Ávila, the majority of the early-seventeenth-century priests who championed the campaigns of extirpation of idolatry were in legal battles against the Indians in their charge at the time of their "discoveries." Allegations of abuses made by Indians and "idolatry" findings displayed by *curas* were, in reality, two sides of the same coin. These charges marked the exact point at which Indians deemed unfair previously accepted economic exchanges.

A delicate balance between specific variables, such as demographic fluctuations, agricultural productivity, market demands, and personal ambitions, determined the breaking points in the interactions between parish priests and their Indian flock. Most likely, limits of tolerance varied from time to time and place to place. In the case of the Diocese of Arequipa, the constant absence of Indian "paganism" in colonial records should be deemed indicative of the

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Gerald Taylor (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 1987), 553-616.

<sup>63</sup> The Peruvian Church strictly prohibited this pre-Hispanic ritual. Not only did it undermine the natives' conversion to Catholicism, but it also threatened the efficiency of Toledo's plan, as it encouraged the Indians to hide in their former villages to worship their mummies. Indifferent to ecclesiastical rules, many *curas*, including Ávila, allowed the practice to continue and even turned it into an extra source of income. Antonio Acosta, "El pleito de los indios de San Damián de Huarochirí contra Francisco de Ávila," *Historiografía y Bibliografía Americanista* 23 (1979), 3-33.

<sup>64</sup> *Obrajes* were colonial textile workshops. Acosta, "Francisco de Ávila," 578.

stability of the reciprocal bonds, or "tactics," that natives and *curas* were able to explore and maintain. This peaceful coexistence precluded the finding of clandestine pre-Hispanic religious practices. The enforcing of religious orthodoxy, in practice, marked the breaking point in the relationships between clerics and Indians.

The absence of idolatry findings in the Indian parishes of the Diocese of Arequipa is a result of the successful accommodations made by Indians and *curas*. In this region, the two parties craftily used each other to make the most out of their interaction. Colonial Andean Catholicism in Arequipa (as well as its "deviances") should be understood in a broader context, namely, the local colonial economy and society. Indians, on one side, used the agents of imposed Catholicism to better profit from the opportunities offered by the local economy. The native elite, in particular, found it instrumental to attach themselves to their parish priests. By doing so, they validated the political and spiritual power they enjoyed in their communities. *Curas*, on the other side, used native chiefs to gain access to the Indian labor needed for the production of goods for market consumption and for church building, a crucial career-promoting task.

Indian conversion to Catholicism was of secondary importance in these networks of reciprocal services. Native religious unorthodoxy, as defined and targeted by mid-colonial idolatry persecution, was used as a tool of coercion when necessary. Along with charges of clerical misconduct, it made its way into the archives only when Indians and clergymen had exhausted all possible forms of accommodation. What might appear today as an accomplished exercise of corruption was apparently the norm in colonial society. Both Andean and Spanish cultures shared the notion that the tapestry composed of economy, society, and religion was basic for their reproduction. Most surely, this shared notion allowed the members of Andean colonial society to routinely adapt royal orders to their needs or those of their communities. It was, after all, not corruption. It was merely how things were meant to be in the practice of daily life.