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052184634X - Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825

David T. Garrett

Excerpt

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## Introduction

On June 8, 1824, when Lima had fallen to Bolívar, Peru's viceroy had retreated to Cusco, and Spanish rule in the Andes had less than a year to go, Cusco's Inca nobility petitioned the viceregal court that on "... the eve and day of the glorious apostle Lord Santiago the functions of the Royal Standard be celebrated [by] ... one of the Indian nobles of the eight parishes of this capital, named by the 24 electors of the [Inca] *cabildo*; being the said functions, the most vivid demonstration of our fidelity, gratitude, and jubilee, that are performed according to the example of our ancestors."<sup>1</sup> A reminder of the existence, nearly three centuries after the conquest of the Inca empire in the 1530s, of an indigenous Andean nobility, the request wonderfully captures the complexity of colonial Andean society. The descendants of the Inca royalty whose vast empire had been seized by the Spanish did not simply swear allegiance to Ferdinand VII as the vicerealty collapsed, but insisted on their right to do so. With them, the highland Indian nobility generally repudiated the creole-dominated drive for independence, just as in the 1780s their fathers and grandfathers had rallied to the defense of the crown against the massive indigenous uprisings of Tupac Amaru and the Cataris. While there is a superficial irony in the transformation, over three centuries, of the descendants of the Inca royalty and other pre-conquest elites into "Indian nobles and faithful vassals of His Majesty," their defense of the colonial order underscores how these Indian nobles were, simultaneously, an artifact of pre-conquest civilization and the continuously evolving creation of Spanish colonialism.<sup>2</sup> This duality emerges clearly in their petition, where – in a practice with centuries of precedence – the nineteenth-century Incas called on the Spanish crown to preserve their peculiar privileges.

A study of Cusco's Indian nobility and its role in colonial society from the middle of the eighteenth century through the rebellions of the 1780s

1 ARC, INT, Vir., Leg. 159 (1823–24).

2 An expression frequently used in petitions by Indian nobles; see, for example, the cacicazgo claim by Don Fernando Tapara de Ñuñoa (ARC, RA, Adm, Leg. 167 (1808–9)).

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to the moment of the Incas' petition in support of a collapsing empire, this work both uses that group as a lens through which to analyze late colonial society more generally, and argues that the Indian elite was an essential, and accepted, part of that society until the crises of the late eighteenth century. From its inception, the structure of Spanish rule – dividing Andean society into two ethnic “republics” of Indians and Spaniards, with their own laws, hierarchies, and relation to the crown – had depended on a symbiotic, if often contentious, alliance between the crown and an indigenous elite.<sup>3</sup> Both to show its own obedience to natural law and to limit the control of private Spaniards over the indigenous Andean population, under Philip II the crown established a system of colonial governance that placed the rule of (and collection of tribute from) individual Indian communities under the control of an Indian nobility, a privileged stratum through which the crown would lead the people of the Andes from pagan barbarity to Christian civilization. While over two centuries there was considerable social movement within indigenous society, the basic contours of this colonial order remained unchanged until the late 1700s.

As a result, the Indian elite occupied a liminal position in the colonial order, on the frontier between the two republics. Their privilege and authority derived simultaneously from their rootedness in the Indian republic and from their obligation to bring indigenous society into conformity with Spanish ideals. Whether the Incas of Cusco or the great Aymara lords of the Titicaca basin, Indian elites grounded their hereditary precedence in ancestors dating to the “time of the gentility,” yet they relied for its perpetuation on the legal structure and economic organization of the viceroyalty of Peru. But although situated on this colonial frontier, the Indian nobility was marginal to neither the Indian nor the Spanish republic. The pinnacle of indigenous society, Indian nobles dominated ceremonial, political, and economic life in their communities, and in many instances – above all, the Inca nobility around Cusco – were aggressive performers of a self-conscious, indigenous identity. They were also by far the most hispanicized segment of indigenous society, often literate and fluent in Spanish, the owners of private property, and active participants in the market economy and

3 Legally, the Indian republic included all those of purely indigenous ancestry; the Spanish republic included all others. Properly, mestizos were people of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry. In fact, many Indian nobles counted Spaniards among their ancestors, and a number of Cusco's leading Spanish families had Inca blood. These people were rarely called mestizos. Rather, the term referred to those at the bottom of the *república de españoles* – the illiterate laboring classes of urban Cusco, or the rural poor who settled in Indian pueblos; it is in this sense that I have used the word. The other major division within Cusco's Spanish republic was between *creoles* (people of European ancestry born in the Americas) and *peninsulares* – those born in Iberia. In this work, “Spanish” and “Spaniard” refer to all non-Indians; mestizo, creole, and peninsular are used to distinguish among the component parts of the Spanish republic.

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ceremonial life of creole Peru. Indeed, given the dual nature of the colonial order, their very liminality placed them at the center of colonial society, with strong ties of kinship and material interest to both their communities and highland Spaniards. If the actions and position of the Indian nobility appear contradictory, it is simply because they were the fullest embodiment of the contradictions of colonial rule in the Andes, with its simultaneous efforts to conjoin and to keep separate Spanish and Indian. As a result, the Indian nobility was inextricably enmeshed within the colonial order, and did not survive the collapse of the viceroyalty: if in 1750 “indio noble” was a basic category of highland society, by 1850 it was an oxymoron. For independence replaced the ideal of a society divided into two republics, each with its hierarchies, with that of a unitary society stratified by ethnicity, one with no space for Indian privilege.

Peru’s colonial Indian nobility began to attract academic attention in the 1940s, with Ella Temple Dunbar’s articles on colonial Inca lineages.<sup>4</sup> Growing interest in the Great Rebellion (1780–3) further fed interest in the Indian elite, as John Rowe sought in them an anticolonial proto-nationalism culminating in Tupac Amaru.<sup>5</sup> However, Andean historiography greatly lagged behind Mesoamerican in the study of colonial, indigenous society, which – both because of the influence of Charles Gibson’s pioneering works of the 1950s and because of the survival of substantial archives in indigenous languages – has focused on ethnohistory and the transformation of societies during the colonial era.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, only in the past three

4 Ella Temple Dunbar, “Don Carlos Inca,” *Revista Histórica (Lima)* 17 (1948): 135–79; “Un linaje incaico durante la dominación española: Los Sahuaraura,” *Revista Histórica (Lima)* 18 (1949): 45–77.

5 John H. Rowe, “El movimiento nacional Inca del siglo XVIII,” *Revista Universitaria (Cusco)* 7 (1954): 17–47; *Quechua Nationalism in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); and “Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles,” in *The Civilization of Ancient America. Selected Papers of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists*, ed. Sol Tax (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 258–68.

6 For Gibson’s impact on the field, James Lockhart, *Nabuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 161–82. Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952); “The Aztec Aristocracy in Colonial Mexico,” in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2 (1959), pp. 169–96; and *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964). James Lockhart, *Nabuas and Spaniards: The Nabuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972) and *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979); Enrique Florescano, *Memory, Myth and Time in Mexico: From the Aztecs to Independence*, translated by Albert G. and Kathryn Bork (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th–18th Centuries*, translated by Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Robert S. Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzabui*

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decades has a large canon addressing colonial indigenous societies in the Andes developed; and in lieu of the emphasis on negotiation and evolution in the Mesoamerican literature, the Andean historiography first focused on the destructive and dislocative effects of Spanish rule – or, as Steve Stern put it, “how conquest transformed vigorous native peoples of the Andean sierra into an inferior caste of ‘Indians’ subordinated to Spanish colonizers and Europe’s creation of a world market.”<sup>7</sup> These studies have generally focused on the economic exploitation and political marginalization of native Andeans, and on indigenous resistance to the imposition, or emergence, of the colonial order.

With their materialist concerns, many of these works devoted considerable attention to the *cacique* (or *curaca*), a cross between local lord, tax

*History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Nancy M. Farris, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Robert W. Patch, *Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1648–1812* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Matthew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550–1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

- 7 Steve J. Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p. xv. Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984); Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530–1570*, translated by Ben and Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1977); Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: el valle del Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1976); Franklin Pease, *Curacas, reciprocidad y riqueza* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992); Luis Miguel Glave and Isabel Remy, *Estructura agraria y vida rural en una región Andina: Ollantayambo entre los siglos XVI y XIX* (Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1983); Luis Miguel Glave, *Trajinantes: Caminos indígenas en la sociedad colonial, siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989) and *Vida, símbolos y batallas: Creación y recreación de la comunidad indígena. Cusco, siglos XVI–XX* (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993); Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550–1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Thierry Saignes, *Caciques, Tribute and Migration in the Southern Andes: Indian Society and the Seventeenth Century Colonial Order* (London: University of London, 1985); Roberto Choque Canqui, *Sociedad y economía colonial en el sur andino* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1993); Roger Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power among an Andean People* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988); Ann Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1520–1720* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990); Karen Vieira Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: el mercado interior, regiones, y espacio económico* (Mexico: Nueva Imagen, 1983) and *Transiciones hacia el Sistema Colonial Andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994); Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Ward Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru: Conflict, Community, and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Kenneth Andrien, *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532–1825* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

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collector, and justice of the peace who personified the point of contact between the Indian community and the Spanish colonial order, and organized the flow of tribute into the royal coffers and the market economy of Spanish Peru.<sup>8</sup> In this paradigm, indigenous elites generally occupy one of two roles: that of resister and defender, or that of collaborator.<sup>9</sup> For some, the novel forms of property and new material logics of class imposed by the Spanish transformed the caciques and “indios ricos” of colonial Peru into (incipient) agrarian capitalists, necessarily in conflict with the communities whose land and labor they expropriated.<sup>10</sup> Others have stressed the disruption of cacical succession provoked by demographic collapse, the colonial economy, the intervention of Spanish officials, and the imposition of Spanish ideals of succession.<sup>11</sup> Coupled with the colonial cacique’s economic activities as a violation of the Andean moral economy is the colonial cacique as a usurper of traditional Andean political authority. Implicit in these analyses is an assumption of the “illegitimacy” of colonial innovation in the material and social relations of Andean society, as the history of colonial indigenous societies becomes the erosion of the authentically Andean and its replacement by the colonial.

This meta-narrative has created challenges largely absent in the Mesoamerican literature, with its greater interest in the transformation of indigenous society than in the collapse of preconquest organization. Most important is that of late colonial Andean society: under the Bourbons as well as the Habsburgs, overwhelmingly the indigenous peoples of the Andes lived in self-governing pueblos, under the rule of the Indian nobility. Certainly these communities differed profoundly from their preconquest forebears, but they remained “Andean,” and “Indian.” Two trends in recent historiography have addressed this question, in somewhat different ways.

8 Karen Spalding, “Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50:4 (November 1970): 645–64; “Kurakas and Commerce: A Chapter in the Evolution of Andean Society,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54:4 (November 1973): 581–99; and *Huarochirí*, pp. 209–38; Pease, *Curacas*; Saignes, *Caciques*; Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, pp. 158–83; Larson, *Cochabamba*, pp. 159–70; Glave, *Trajinantes*, pp. 279–304; Jean Piel, *Capitalismo agrario en el Perú* (Lima/Salta: IFEA/Universidad Nacional de Salta, 1995), pp. 186–92, 207–13; Powers, *Andean Journeys*, pp. 133–68; Silverblatt, *Moon*, pp. 148–58; Carlos J. Díaz Rementería, *El cacique en el virreinato del Perú: estudio histórico-jurídico* (Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1977).

9 For curacas as defenders of their communities, Pease, *Curacas*; although Wachtel argues that they oversaw the transformation of Andean reciprocity into a system of Spanish extraction. *Vision*, pp. 130–1.

10 Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos*, pp. 99–107; Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, pp. 158–83; Spalding, “Social Climbers,” and “Kurakas and Commerce”; Larson, *Cochabamba*, pp. 159–70; Piel, *Capitalismo agrario*, pp. 186–92, 207–13.

11 Powers, *Andean Journeys*, pp. 133–68; Silverblatt, *Moon*, pp. 148–58; Díaz Rementería, *El cacique*, pp. 111–24.

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Glave and others have focused on the histories of particular communities and societies over the *longue durée*, using a paradigm of evolution and re-creation rather than one of loss to explore the colonial (and postcolonial) histories of native Andeans.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, recent studies of colonial Andean religion and culture have emphasized the complexity of the beliefs, identities, and relations constructed by Peru's indigenous people during the colonial period.<sup>13</sup> Others have turned to the eighteenth century, and in focusing on the structures, contradictions, and political beliefs of late colonial indigenous societies in the area of the Great Rebellion have revealed their complex politics.<sup>14</sup> Here, too, the narrative has been of collapse, but of the larger colonial order, with a resulting restructuring, and democratization, of authority within indigenous communities. These studies have focused primarily on the popular classes, and the Indian nobility appear only as individuals, or, insofar as they form a group, as the object of class antagonism in the highly stratified societies of Upper Peru.<sup>15</sup>

This book continues both of these projects by examining in detail the organization of Cusco's mid-eighteenth-century Indian nobility and their role in society, and locating this group temporally in two stages of Spanish Andean colonialism: the consolidation of the "mature" order of the early Bourbons and the collapse of the entire colonial order from 1780 to 1825. In

12 Glave, *Vida, símbolos*, also *Trajinantes*; Choque Canqui, *Sociedad*; Rasnake, *Domination*; Thomas Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Nathan Wachtel, *Le Retour des Ancêtres: Les Indiens Urus de Bolivie XXème–XVIème siècle: Essai d'Histoire Régressive* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990).

13 Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía: muerte y resurrección de los incas* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1988).

14 Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); "Customs and Rules: Bourbon Rationalizing Projects and Social Conflicts in Northern Potosí during the 1770s," *Colonial Latin American Review* 8:2 (December 1999): 245–74 and "Disputed Images of Colonialism: Spanish Rule and Indian Subversion in Northern Potosí, 1777–1780," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 76:2 (May 1996): 189–226; S. Elizabeth Penry, "Transformations in Indigenous Authority and Identity in Resettlement Towns of Colonial Charcas (Alto Perú)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Miami, 1996); Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru*; Choque Canqui, *Sociedad*; Glave, *Vida, símbolos*, pp. 93–178.

15 A striking and important exception has been O'Phelan Godoy's work on the upper ranks of the Indian nobility in Cusco around the time of the Rebellion, which has analyzed the changing relations of this indigenous elite to the crown under the Bourbon Reforms. *La Gran Rebelión en los Andes: De Túpac Amaru a Túpac Catari* (Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1995), pp. 47–68; *Kurakas sin sucesiones: Del cacique al alcalde de indios, Perú y Bolivia 1750–1835* (Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1997); and "Repensando el Movimiento Nacional Inca del siglo XVIII," in *El Perú en el siglo XVIII: la era borbónica*, ed. Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999), pp. 263–78.



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doing so, the work has three major foci: the history of the Indian nobility's legal and economic space within the colonial order; the organization of Cusco's Indian nobility and their role in society in the mid-1700s; and the collapse of the colonial order, and with it of this indigenous elite, from 1780 to 1825.

Central to this work is the argument that the defining relations and institutions of mid-eighteenth-century Andean society were primarily products of the sixteenth-century Toledan reforms, which in turn co-opted and transformed significant aspects of the Inca order. Chapter 1 concentrates on the 1500s and the material, political, and ideological factors that created a space for an Indian elite within the emergent colonial order. Although these parameters left enormous room for negotiation and localized contestation, the general rejection of the basic elements of Spanish hegemony was almost unheard of for two centuries. The imposition of this colonial order, and the collapse of the indigenous population, did, however, effect profound changes in Andean society over the long seventeenth century, and these are discussed in Chapter 2. In particular, it examines the impacts of population decline, migration, and the imposition of monogamy and reformulation of kinship and community bonds on the indigenous elite, and the impact of the expansion of the Spanish population, rural Spanish landholding, and the market economy on Andean society generally. While these changes could have disastrous effects on particular families, groups, and communities, they did not fundamentally alter the legal ordering established in the sixteenth century.

The remainder of the book focuses on the Indian nobility from 1750 to 1825. In concentrating on the late colonial period in Cusco and the Titicaca basin, I have attempted to negotiate two, often competing, goals. The first has been to examine the organization of the indigenous nobility and its role in mid-eighteenth-century Andean society. Certainly that society was marked by contradictions and tensions, but it also shared widely held understandings of its proper order and functioning. If, in hindsight, the fitful collapse, from 1780 to 1825, of the colonial order established in the sixteenth century appears inevitable, in 1750 it did not. I have sought to balance a reading of mid-eighteenth-century society that exposes the internal contradictions leading to its collapse with one that examines the *habitus* of the late colonial Indian nobility and emphasizes the mechanisms by which they reproduced their authority.<sup>16</sup>

The central portion of the book thus provides a longitudinal study of the Indian nobility in mid-eighteenth-century Cusco, one that pays particular attention to regional variation within the bishopric (and northern

16 For *habitus*, Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

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La Paz), particularly between the Inca nobility of Cusco and the Aymara cacical elite of the Titicaca basin. Chapter 3 assesses the extent to which hereditary, provincial elites existed within the Indian republic, and, where they existed, examines their histories and their strategies for reproducing their authority. Chapter 4 is a study of the role of indigenous elites in the material economy of the Indian pueblo, concentrating on the structural role of the cacique in the pueblo economy, the importance of private property in eighteenth-century indigenous communities, and the household and familial economies of the upper ranks of the indigenous elite. Chapter 5 turns to the politics of the Indian republic. It first analyzes competition for and conflict surrounding *cacicazgos* to identify multiple, interrelated *loci* of social conflict in the late colonial pueblo, and then explores various mechanisms by which individuals and families sought to legitimate their possession of the office. Thus, Part II as a whole examines the Indian nobility of mid-eighteenth-century Peru by exploring the interrelated dynamics of hereditary status and family organization, material relations, and the political and performative aspects of indigenous authority.

The final section turns to the breakdown of the Andean colonial order in the face of rebellion, the crown's repudiation of the Indian nobility, the expansion of creole authority in the countryside, the collapse of the Spanish empire, and, finally, the formal abandonment of the two-republic system at independence. Using the Indian elite as a vantage point allows an examination that exposes the interaction of various processes that led to the restructuring of Andean politics and society at all levels. In examining the Great Rebellion(s) of 1780–3, Chapter 6 illuminates the central role of the loyalist Indian nobility, both highlighting the complex relations of class and ethnicity in the Indian republic and excavating the political ideology and strategies of the loyalist elite. Chapter 7 then turns to the royal response to the rebellion, and argues that while the rebellion greatly weakened the Indian nobility – particularly in the Titicaca basin – the collapse of this indigenous elite was ultimately the product of the crown's redefinition of the relations between the two ethnic republics in a way that eliminated the legal protections of Indian privilege. Here I seek to explain the collapse of a powerful Indian elite committed to the corporate order of colonial society in the decades preceding independence, thereby clearing the way for the creole imposition of the problematic liberalism of postcolonial Peru.

As a social history of a large group, this book relies overwhelmingly on archival sources. Indeed, the Indian nobility is the one stratum of indigenous society in colonial Peru for whom substantial archival evidence survives, both because they were the members of indigenous society with the resources to leave their mark in the written record and because they were the Indians to which literate, Spanish Peru paid most attention. Almost all the information is filtered through the notary's lens, and the rare documents actually written



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by Indian nobles were carefully crafted to appeal to crown officials; I have attempted to be attentive to the challenges that reading such documents present. But wills and other notarized documents; genealogies and proofs of nobility; lawsuits – between rival cacical claimants, between caciques and their communities, between the Inca nobility and colonial officials; petitions to the crown, all allow the study of genealogy, kinship, domestic economy, self-presentation, and ideology among the Indian nobility – and, through them, allow us to peer a bit deeper into the world of the colonial pueblo.

The area under study in this work is best described as either the bishopric of Cusco or the intendancies of Cusco and Puno (established in 1784).<sup>17</sup> Or, using the divisions of Inca rule, the area covered consists of the Inca heartland within a fifty-mile radius of Cusco, along with the northern portion of the Inca quadrant of Collasuyo (extending southeast from Cusco into northern Argentina) and the eastern section of Condesuyo (stretching southwest toward Arequipa and the Pacific). A third of these roughly 75,000 square miles are tropical jungle, outside the regional political economy until the twentieth century. Half the remaining area is above 12,000 feet, and a considerable portion above 15,000, effectively uninhabitable. The population ranged from perhaps a million under the Incas to scarcely one hundred fifty thousand in the late 1600s and more than a quarter of a million a century later.

The area divides into several distinct regions, ecologically, culturally, and economically. The city of Cusco and its immediate hinterland are located in an area of rugged, temperate highland valleys at an altitude between 7,000 and 14,000 feet. Most communities are located in the *quechua* and *suní*:

17 I have also drawn on evidence from communities around Titicaca in the bishopric of La Paz. The bishopric of Cusco's provinces were Cusco Cercado, Abancay, Marquesado of Oropesa [Urubamba], Calca y Lares, Paucartambo, Quispicanchis, Chilques y Masques [Paruro], Chumbivilcas, Canas y Canchis [Tinta], Cotabambas, and Aymaraes, all subject to the Audiencia of Lima; and Lampa, Azángaro, and Carabaya, subject to the Audiencia of Charcas. The intendancy of Cusco included those provinces in the bishopric of Cusco subject to the Audiencia of Lima; the intendancy of Puno included those subject to the Audiencia of Charcas, plus the two northwestern provinces of the bishopric of La Paz [Paucarcolla (or Huancané) and Chucuito]. At the provincial level, jurisdictional boundaries within the area were stable throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the names of some provinces did change. In the late eighteenth century, Chilques y Masques became Paruro and Canas y Canchis became Tinta. In the middle of the century, the province of the Marquesado of Oropesa was combined with that of Vilcabamba, and the pueblo of Ollantaytambo was moved from Calca y Lares to this new province, renamed Urubamba. In Chapters 1 and 2, dealing with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have used the earlier terms; for the sake of convenience and consistency in the remainder of the work I have used the later names, even though the transition was occurring during the period under study. "Cusco" in this study refers to both the city of Cusco (and its Cercado) and the bishopric. Where context has not made clear which is meant, I have attempted to do so explicitly.

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these are agricultural societies, whose foundation was corn, with potato cultivation and llama herding on the higher slopes; the Spanish added wheat, sheep, and cattle.<sup>18</sup> Historically Quechua-speaking, this area was the heartland of the Incas; the region was also the site of intensive Spanish colonization and settlement. The city of Cusco was a center of Spanish population and authority in the highlands and the largest city between Potosí and Lima; as a result, urban society and the urban economy were extremely important to the colonial Inca nobility.

To the south and west, the upper reaches of the Vilcanota and Apurímac valleys were home to hundreds of communities with roots in the preconquest Aymara societies of Condesuyo and Collasuyo.<sup>19</sup> At altitudes of 10,000–14,000 feet, these communities' material foundation was the potato and Andean camelids and, after the conquest, sheep. Just as the Pumanota–Chimboya mountain ridge divides the Titicaca and Amazonian watersheds, so the societies along it divided the Incas of Cusco from the societies of the Titicaca basin. Historically Aymara, but linguistically Quechua-speaking by the eighteenth century, the pueblos of Chumbivilcas, Tinta, and northern Lampa had a colonial history quite different from that of the Inca pueblos to the north. Subject to the mining *mitas* of Potosí and Cailloma, the Indian communities of this region bore particularly heavy colonial burdens and were subject to high rates of migration and dislocation; they also saw relatively little Spanish settlement and landowning. These *puna* communities also differed considerably from those further south where, in the Titicaca basin, larger Aymara societies continued to hold sway. Also subject to heavy mita burdens, these societies were historically more hierarchical and politically organized than those to the north – perhaps because they were more agricultural, depending for their subsistence on the fertile farmland of the lake's floodplain and tributary valleys. Their agricultural lands; their position at a critical juncture in the colonial economy, where the roads from Cusco and Arequipa join to head to Upper Peru; and the crown's early policy, to protect the mita, of discouraging Spanish settlement here combined to make the communities unusually rich and well-defended from Spanish

18 The standard work of Peruvian geography, Javier Pulgar Vidal's *Geografía del Perú: las ocho regiones naturales del Perú* (Lima: Textos Universitarios, 1972) divides the republic of Peru into eight ecological zones: *chala* (coast), *quechua* (temperate highland valleys), *sumi* (arable highlands, above the quechua), *puna* (highland pasture above 13,000 feet), *janca* (rocky mountain peaks, glaciers, etc.), *yunga* (semitropical lowland valleys), *selva alta* and *selva baja* (upper and lower jungle). For a useful, briefer discussion, Terence N. D'Altroy, *Provincial Power in the Inka Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), pp. 26–35.

19 The region had other ethnolinguistic groups – for example, the Uros and the Putina – but since the colonial period, Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara have expanded dramatically at the expense of others. For the linguistic and geographical evolution of Quechua, see Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).