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**The Inca and Corpus Christi:
The feast of Santiago in Colonial Cuzco**

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This paper, while addressing questions of religious culture and popular/elite culture, has as a wider point of reference: the politics of subversion and rebellion in the late colonial Andes. This framework influences the approach taken and the kinds of questions put. The study of popular religion provides an fresh point of entry into the study of late colonial protest and insurgent politics, which in southern Peru were characterized by the search for either an Inca or confederation of Incas to head – or just to be a figurehead – an alternative (however vaguely envisioned) to continued Spanish domination. This “Inca” phenomenon is of course well-known to historians, most obviously in its Tupamarista manifestation. What one does with it is more problematic, and it has called forth a range of interpretations. That which interests me here is the so-called “National Inca Movement”, a term coined by John Rowe, and which is often loosely called “Inca Nationalism”. This notion continues to be invoked by historians as an explanation for either the whole conjuncture of late colonial Andean rebellion or just the Túpac Amaru movement. The problem here is that the concept has long been employed uncritically, such that, for example, while the 1780 rebellion is attributed to the existence of Inca Nationalism, the main evidence adduced to support the existence of Inca Nationalism is the fact of the 1780 rebellion itself. The notion is thus reified and the argument circular. However, Incan symbolism and discourse are prominent in late colonial subversive movements, such that an analysis of this imagery must provide a major strand of any attempt to explain rebellion and Independence in southern Peru.

Rowe’s 1954 thesis drew together the findings of several studies of the 1940s and early 1950s – notably those of George Kubler and Boleslao Lewin – that had delineated the principal features of colonial Incan culture and tentatively explored late colonial rebellion within this “Incaic” context. Clearly, there are ideological and messianic elements present. A plethora of more recent studies of Andean rebellion have contributed a great deal to our understanding of the social, economic and governmental context of the several uprisings, but these structural approaches have not necessarily contributed much towards our understanding of the nature of the rebellions *per se*. It remains, for example, an open question as to whether the Túpac Amaru uprising was a rebellion aimed at radically overhauling the colonial régime in favour of the Crown’s American subjects or an attempted revolution aimed at casting off Spanish tutelage once and for all. Resolution of this question is obviously fundamental. Yet Incaic discourse and symbolism are largely left aside by structural approaches. The discourse of 1780 is manifestly different from that of 1808-1814, for all that the latter remained imbricated in the former, the new *afrancesado* and liberal currents jostling with the religious, biblical rhetoric and imagery so evident during the great uprising. In 1780, appeals for social justice were couched in terms of traditional moral teachings, religiously based; in 1814, such claims lent more on liberal, Enlightenment discourse of individual and community rights. But in spite of the secularizing tendencies of the Enlightenment, political ideology in the eighteenth century was still heavily leavened with religion. Indeed, secular and religious components cannot readily be compartmentalized, and are not in the rebel discourse of 1780. Rebellion is fundamentally a political event, and in the final analysis must be susceptible to explanation in terms of the politics of the era. There can be no politics without ideology, however, and Incan discourse and imagery constituted an integral part of rebel ideology in late colonial southern Peru. Given that the political ideology of the era was ineluctably religious, one path towards a better understanding of the politics of rebellion lies, it would seem, through investigating the ways in which colonial religion and Incan imagery intersect. The locus classicus of this intersection of colonial religion and colonial Inca culture was Cuzco’s Corpus Christi celebrations, an extravaganza preserved pictorially in sixteen large, seventeenth-century canvasses, the subject of a major study by Carolyn Dean.¹

Historians are keenly aware both of Incan imagery in rebel discourse and symbolism and attempts to find an Inca as either a leader or figurehead of a separatist movement. Given this, it is therefore

something of a paradox in the historiography of colonial Andean rebellion that historians for the most part ignore the remnant Inca nobility of the Cercado of Cuzco. These nobles, strangely, have a separate historiographical existence in the context of colonial art history, such that historians presumably overlook them on purpose. Perhaps historians have in this respect been unconsciously influenced by the tendency of anthropologists and archaeologists to dismiss the colonial Inca nobles as folkloric – culturally degenerate, as it were – with acculturation seen as having eroded their validity as *bona fide* Incas. In the few instances in which their late-colonial presence has been acknowledged, they are treated as sad anachronisms, without power, authority or even function in the mature colonial system. Throwbacks they certainly were, and few exercised much in the way of power, and that only by leave of their colonial masters. However, rather than being just a handful of folkloric oddities, they were in fact numerous (see anon), participated in all spheres of colonial life, had forged kinship links and commercial contacts with the upper tiers of creole society, were the pride of both popular and elite culture in Cuzco, and held a range of offices in the Cercado and the provinces. They were not, then, a negligible social sector, a truism underscored by the election of five of their number in the *cabildo constitutional* of 1811-14. That electoral success serves to highlight the question of their influence in the political conjuncture of the late colonial period, above all of their stance towards, and influence on, the Túpac Amaru rebellion. The point of entry to their public role, functions and putative authority has to be their central role in the Corpus Christi celebrations. Above all, within the Corpus cycle, it was the “day and eve” of Santiago (25 July) that saw them to best advantage, and which they themselves viewed as being at once the lodestar and touchstone of their individual and corporate identity – it was *their* day.

In summation, then, this paper seeks to examine questions of colonial ritual praxis in the public sphere, focusing principally on the Cercado of Cuzco. It does not distinguish between religious, popular and elite culture, in any case irretrievably fused in the case of Cuzco’s Corpus Christi celebrations. It provisionally examines official responses to these festivities in the aftermath of the great uprising, and seeks to evaluate the latent political potency innate to the use of Incaic symbolism on public occasions. This was writ large at Corpus Christi, because of the serendipitous intersection of Corpus with the erstwhile Incan feasts of Inti Raimi and Capacocha. The potential for messianic or chiliastic meanings to be read into the whole Incaic flavour of Corpus Christi is patent, and this significance was perhaps heightened during the acute cultural crisis evident in late colonial southern Peru. It also attempts to rescue the colonial Inca nobility of Cuzco from the enormous condescension of posterity (to paraphrase Edward Thompson’s famous dictum). While in the first instance analysis is geared towards the reconstruction of colonial ritual praxis and the ‘unpacking’ of its symbolic significance, and simultaneously restoring the colonial Inca nobility to centre stage in Cuzco’s cultural history, it is also intended as a prolegomenon to both a reconstruction of that nobility’s colonial history and a reconsideration of the subversive political conjuncture in late colonial southern Peru. The problem of the perseverance of autochthonous Andean religion was thrown into relief by the chiliastic overtones and Incaic symbolism of the Túpac Amaru rebellion.

The Bishop’s Broadside

The political flashpoint in late colonial Peru was Cuzco, which came to occupy the centre-stage of subversive politics in the Viceroyalty of Peru during the last half-century of colonial rule (c.1770-1825).² Cuzco was considered by Crown officials and policy-makers to be the military and political key not only to Peru but also to the whole of Spanish South America. If perhaps hyperbolic, this dictamen was nevertheless grounded in a recognition of the transcendent symbolic significance of the former Inca capital for those native Andeans who yearned for a return to the supposed Golden Age of the Incario, or for Creoles who sought either an enhanced political rôle within the imperial structure or complete emancipation from Spanish hegemony. There were sound military reasons, too, for official disquiet about the possible loss of Cuzco, because it was located at the centre of the most populous “Indian” provinces and was, for logistical purposes, difficult of access. Even so, the official view of its potency was based essentially on the observed enthusiasm with which the native Andean regarded the city “because of that memory which he conserves of its having been capital of the Incas”.³ The common denominator of the several insurgencies and conspiracies was the search for an Inca –

or confederation of Incas, according to one scenario — to lead a movement that would provide a political alternative to continued Spanish domination.⁴ It was, curiously, a search favoured as much by the Creoles as by indigenous groups. The classic expression of the Crown's concern for the possible deleterious ramifications of this pervasive Incan discourse and symbolism was formulated by Benito de la Mata Linares, Intendent of Cuzco in the immediate aftermath of the great uprising. Mata encapsulated Crown fears and the essential co-ordinates of the problem thus:

“lo importantísimo que es atender a esta ciudad del Cuzco, y con sólo decir.....que perdida ella se levantó todo el Reyno; y conservada, aunque se aniquilara Lima, y Buenos Aires no debia dar cuidado, se comprendera su importancia: el Indio tiene tal entusiasmo con ella, que interín no la posea no cree conseguir cosa particular por aquella memoria que conserva de haber sido Capital de los Incas: su disposición contribuye mucho para estar colocada entre las provincias mas numerosas de Indios, y tener distante los recursos”⁵

This jeremiad concerning the overriding emblematic importance of the city of Cuzco for Native Andeans echoed similar evaluations by other leading Crown functionaries in the wake of the rebellion, notably the well-known representation (May 1, 1781) of the Visitor-General Joseph Antonio de Areche, which called for the iconoclastic suppression of all artistic, folkloric and cultural vestiges, as well as privileges and ceremonial practices, that evoked the memory of the erstwhile Inca emperors and thereby, ran the argument, inculcated a veneration for the long-gone Incas rightfully due the Most Catholic Monarch by his subjects. Such nostalgia was thus seen as not only providing a fertile seed-bed for subversive and even separatist activities but as also carrying with it the opportunity cost that fealty — frequently compared to filial love — was imperilled by a kind of ancestor worship. The analogy is apt, however exaggerated it may appear at first sight, for it had been a fundamental function of the Incan *panacas* (lineage groups) to worship and care for the embalmed *momia* of its Incan progenitor.⁶ As the spirits of Inca rulers were regarded as animistically present, perhaps omnipresent, in the early post-conquest decades, Spanish authorities were particularly assiduous in hunting down every last *momia*. In late colonial Cuzco, there is some evidence that a version of the *panacas*, formally extinct, was still in operation. It would do less than justice to the cluster of royalist iconoclasts who oversaw the pacification of the Cuzco region after 1780 not to appreciate that their policy, at first glance a paranoid reaction, owed something to a realistic assessment of the quasi-religious dimension of Andean politics, and of the extent to which the “great uprising” of 1780-83 was grounded in traditional culture, with all its chiliastic overtones. In a society permeated with animistic beliefs, an ancestor's spirit leaves the body only to continue in the world.

Areche's submission geared towards erasing the memory of the “Gentile kings” resulted in a royal order (April 27, 1782) approving, though in much diluted form, the root and branch eradication of Incaic culture suggested by the Visitor-General. While Areche's report has frequently been cited by historians, it has not often been recognized that his proposals were but a pale epitome of the swinging critique of the late colonial Incan elite and of indigenous society generally, which the Bishop of Cuzco, Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, had submitted to Areche just two weeks prior to the latter's own call for suppression of Incaic culture.⁷ Moscoso's report drew on his own Creole background and considerable knowledge of the rites and customs of the southern Andes, a familiarity reinforced by his extensive 1780 pastoral visitation of most of the 136 parishes within his remit. The Bishop grounded his critique of the ubiquity of Incaic culture, with its concomitant veneration of the Incaic past, in a wide-ranging purview of the realms of indigenous material culture, dress, music, literature, and religious and ceremonial life. His submission indicates clearly the pervasiveness of Incaic symbolism and its deep roots in ceremonial and quotidian life, though the prelate's own interpretation of their significance is open to question. Moscoso, under investigation and eventually exiled to Granada for his part in knowingly or unwittingly promoting the rebellion, had his own reasons for shifting blame for the uprising on to the indigenous sector and its supposedly intrinsic disposition to sedition.

The initiative for the Bishop's report came, however, from the Visitador-General. Moscoso had dictated it in response to an instruction from Areche ordering the removal of all portraits and likenesses of former Inca rulers from ecclesiastical institutions. Moscoso singled out in particular the *Colegio de Indios Nobles de San Francisco de Borja* — also called the *Colegio del Sol* — which had since 1628 provided the scions of the indigenous nobility and leading caciques (*kurakas*) with an education commensurate with their future administrative and political responsibilities — should they eventually succeed to hereditary *cacicazgos* — and which harked back to an analogous Incaic institution (*Yachay Huasi*).⁸ Moscoso had removed such portraits from San Borja and from the church of Curahuasi (*par-*

tido of Abancay), even presenting Areche with a portrait of Felipe Túpac Amaru. The significance of this portrait lay in the fact that the rebel leader of 1780, José Gabriel Túpac Amaru, claimed to be a lineal descendant of that insurgent, autonomous Inca ruler. This Inca had led a war of resistance against the Spanish until his capture in 1572 by Martín García de Loyola, nephew of the founder of the Jesuit order, and subsequent, 'regicidal' execution by order of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. The portrait of Felipe Túpac Amaru had hung in the refectory of San Borja, presumably to inspire generations of young nobles with his deeds, an extraordinary oversight on the part of college authorities. For Moscoso and Areche, at any rate, the portrait was pregnant with political connotations. Of perhaps wider import, the Bishop also ordered the removal of likenesses "engraved in the wall of the lower angle" of the college. San Borja was centrally located, on a rise just above the main plaza of the city, and Moscoso's description suggests that such likenesses may have been on the exterior of the building. If so, ran the argument, they might have served as inspiration — iconic harbingers of some hypothetical Andean autonomy — not only to the College's alumni but to the entire indigenous sector, city residents as well as the numerous transients. In Moscoso's judgement, Native Andeans were "a species of rational beings" on whom what they saw made more impression than what they heard. This was the dialectical keystone upon which he built his analysis of the diffusion of colonial Inca culture and his disquisition on the political ramifications of such perceived atavism.

His attack on Inca culture encompassed also the crucial issue of the participation of the Incan nobility in the liturgical and ceremonial life of the region. It was through the religious pomp of the conquerors that the indigenous nobility was able to reaffirm and renew, at various junctures in the liturgical year, its own identity and its collective descent from the twelve Incaic "houses" or *panacas*, and thereby perhaps to command the respect and even the fealty of Native Andeans. "In public festivities, soirees, processions, and other activities", Moscoso wrote, "we observe that the Indians use no other adornment, than those that were esteemed in their Gentility". At hand to illustrate his thesis was the principal religious feast of the region: that of Corpus Christi, and in particular, the "day and eve of Santiago" within the festive cycle. Corpus in Cuzco was, as we know from contemporary canvasses, a splendid occasion; it featured processions — one principal, preceded by several smaller *santo* marches — which celebrated indigenous religious devotions, and on the day of Santiago pride of place was given over to the surviving Incan nobility, decked out in Incan regalia and insignias, and led by the *alférez real* chosen by the electors representing the twelve "houses" of the nobility. Fully in accord with contemporary artistic representations of colonial Corpus Christi, Moscoso's epistle recounted how, in the Santiago procession (July 25), nobles wore "very rich" mantles of black velvet or taffeta (*yacollas*) with a black or dark-brown type of overshirt (the *uncu*).

The undoubted centrepiece of this ensemble was, however, the *mascapaicha*, the decorative headband equivalent to a royal crown. This was embellished with plumes and precious stones and from it hung the symbol *par excellence* of the Inca, the famous *borla colorada* or tuft of coloured wool, the use of which was fiercely guarded and jealously circumscribed by the colonial Inca nobility.⁹ An equally powerful reverberation of Tahuantinsuyu was the *champi* that was borne by the Incaic *alférez real* much as if he were a prelate wielding a crook, or, best to say, a monarch with sceptre.¹⁰ Now, the *champi* is described by the chronicler Cobo as a halberd (*alabarda*), and represented by Guaman Poma as such, and appears to have evolved from a war-mace. Its colonial version may have metamorphosed into more of a broad staff or *vara*, to judge both from the variations mentioned by Cobo and the Bishop's account.¹¹ These *champis*, averred Moscoso, were embellished with either "the image of the Inca" or that of the Sun, the principal deity of the quondam Inca 'emperors' — "their adored deity". This elaborate raiment was further adorned with decorations of gold and silver figurines (*mascarones*) at the extremities of the shoulders, on the knees and on the back of the legs; the fineness of these figurines was said to be an indicator of the respective "qualities" of the wearers.¹² Quite what these symbols represented — erstwhile Inca rulers, Christian saints or autochthonous idols — is not made clear, but the general thrust of the nobility's imagery at Corpus was towards a commemoration and perhaps even veneration of pre-conquest divinities (see anon), as indicated by the hand-held disc of the Sun borne by the *alférez real*.

Moscoso emphasized that the use of such insignia characterized all of the civil as well as ecclesiastical festivities of the city. Moreover, it is evident from discrete documentation that the Incaic content of the day of Santiago extended to the rural towns of the southern sierra.¹³ While Moscoso did not single out the day of Santiago itself as being particularly reprehensible, there is little doubt that it was the surpassing feast of the colonial Inca nobility. The "Twenty-four Electors of the Alférez Real" eagerly sought election for the honour of bearing the standard of Santiago in the Corpus procession, an

honour that carried with it tacit recognition as *primus inter pares* of the colonial indigenous nobility, at least for the incumbent's year of tenure. Why Santiago should have been so venerated within indigenous society is not made explicit in the documentation, and a full clarification of the point would spring the bounds of this paper.¹⁴ However, it has to do generally with the syncretic acceptance of the warrior-saint by Native Andeans. The Santiago *matamoros* and *matajudios* of the peninsular *reconquista* and the Spanish conquest of the Americas became, during the latter event, Santiago *mataindios*, and there is evidence from several regions of colonial Peru that Santiago was equated with one or more pre-Columbian deities, above all with Illapa, the god of all "that belongs to the regions of the air".¹⁵ A Christian saint, then, became incorporated as a deity in the Andean pantheon, and Moscoso, observing that the Inca nobility carried their own banners "with the sculpted images of their Gentile kings" on the day of Santiago,¹⁶ recommended that in future only the royal standard (of the Spanish monarch) be permitted on such occasions.

Reading Santiago

The identification of Santiago, patron of Spanish arms, and Illapa, the pre-Columbian divinity of lightning, thunder, and lightning flash (*rayo, trueno, relámpago*) – in general, of all celestial or meteorological phenomena – is a commonplace of Andean historiography. The precise nature of Incan and non-Incan religion, its whole cosmic world with its multiple divinities, is very much contested ground in Andean studies. While a reprise of the sometimes acrimonious debates over the nature of Andean and Incan state religion lies beyond the bounds of this paper, the general co-ordinates of the problematic may briefly be sketched. As one study puts it, "Andean concepts of divinity were highly fluid, and Inca beliefs were no exception".¹⁷ Confusion derives in the first instance from the chroniclers' accounts. The Inca state religion emphasized "three important subcomplexes of the sky god". These were Wiracocha, Inti (the Sun), and Illapa, their interpretation however complicated by the "numerous overlaps and gradations" that existed between and among them, such that it is likely that these three divinities of manifestations were initially "far less sharply differentiated than they eventually came to be".¹⁸ Indeed, one view has it that the several divinities were "functional aspects" of one single God of the heavens.¹⁹ Indeed, Garcilaso de la Vega argued forcefully that the three manifestations of Illapa – Chuquiilla, Catuilla, Intiillapa – were not divinities as such, much less an adumbration of the Trinity. It followed that they were not worshipped by the Incas but were rather servants of the Sun God. Venerated but not worshipped, the protean Illapa would seem to occupy a ritual niche somewhat comparable to that between the saints and the angels in Judeo-Christian theology.²⁰ For Garcilaso, Incan religion had "tended toward" a monotheistic worship of the Sun, such that all other supposed divinities or idols comprised "an ordered family of attendants" to this Sun God.²¹ Geoffrey Conrad and William Demarest, in addressing the overlapping nature and apparent elasticity of Andean divinities, have constructed what seems to be the most promising working hypothesis for future research, in proposing the following solution to the confusion and contradictions manifest in the chronicles themselves:

"The chroniclers identified Inti as the sun god, but he is more properly viewed as a cluster of solar aspects within the overarching sky god.....Inti represented the conceptualization of a specific subcomplex of the sky god, the sun, as the national patron of the Inca state. This solar cluster itself could be unfolded into subcomplexes, of which three predominated: Apu-Inti ('the Lord Sun'); Churi-Inti, or Punchao ('the Child Sun', or 'Daylight'); and Inti-Guauqui ('Brother Sun').....Depending on the ritual context in question, the sky god could be adored as a whole, the Inti complex could be venerated as a single entity, or specific solar aspects could be worshiped individually."

I do not propose here to delve further into the multiple interpretations of the nature of Illapa and its multifarious relationships with other divinities within the whole pre-Columbian cosmic order. Given the constraints of space, it will be sufficient to sketch a few of the possibilities and difficulties involved in evaluating the controverted nature of Illapa, and by extension of the cosmic significance of Santiago in the colonial era. The first thing to say is that such divinities *cum* saints *cum* celestial servants did not stand above the quotidian fray. Like Catholic saints in late medieval and early modern times, they determined the fortunes, good or ill, of individuals and communities. While this belief is similarly a commonplace of studies of popular religion, its manifestations were sometimes remarkable: during the 1780 uprising, indigenous rebels systematically tied the hands of images of Santiago

in the rural churches in order to forestall the martial intervention of this fearsome warrior-saint on behalf of royalist forces.²² Manifestly, for these insurgent campesinos, the “general uprising” was not strictly a secular event.

Scholars have frequently remarked the serendipitous alignment of Corpus Christi with Inti Raimi, the Incan feast of the Sun. There was, though, a further parallel: when the PUNCHAO (see anon), the juvenile representation of the Sun, had been created, the idol was carried in a litter around the city, a ritual benediction of the city and its inhabitants by the Sun. Stemming from this, all *orejón* Inca nobles, however poor, were henceforth regarded throughout the empire as children of the Sun.²³ The Inca was thus the son of the Sun – “Intip Churin” – and the *orejón* Inca nobles were similarly children of the Sun, though it is unclear as to whether this category embraced noblewomen as well. Many sources refer to the Inca as son of the Sun, but the Incas enjoyed a similarly close relationship with Illapa, quite apart from the blurring of the characteristics and functions of the Sun, Wiracocha and Illapa in the chronicles. The Inca was not only “son of the Sun” but also the “brother” of Illapa, his “celestial brother”. This ritual and divine brotherhood was not only incorporated cultically in Coricancha, the temple of the Sun, but was also an indispensable relationship in the Inca’s prosecution of war. Illapa secured victory for the Inca, whose martial behaviour imitated the supposed martial characteristics of Illapa.²⁴

Pachacutec, the great religious reformer, chose Illapa – Chuqui illapa in this manifestation – as his *guaaqui* (*wawqi*), a divine double or alter ego chosen by each Inca ruler. Pachacutec elevated the cult or veneration of Illapa in the overarching religious schema, highlighted by his inauguration of a temple dedicated solely to Illapa in Totocache (now the Cuzqueño *barrio* of San Blas). He also ordered a golden image of his *guaaqui* to be cast, which henceforth accompanied him on campaign. When he died, the Sapa Inca dwelt in the heavens with his father the Sun. Guaman Poma represents, in a woodcut, the mummy of the dead Huayna Capac as “Inca Illapa”. Founders of lineages and deceased Inca rulers were dubbed “Illapa”, and their mummies were accompanied by tiny gold statues of their *guaaquis*, apparently similar to scaled-down versions of Pachacutec’s golden “double”. One formulation has it that the Inca’s mummy was “the illapa on the ground that called forth the illapa in the sky”.²⁵ The Inca, then, was son of the Sun, brother of Illapa, and after death would himself become one with Illapa. Suggestive is MacCormack’s interpretation of the cosmic location of the Sapa Inca: “....the Inca’s existence transcended both the limits of human time and the rhythms of calendrical time. His domination over his subjects was exemplified by his dominion over time”.

Santiago and the Virgen

There was also a gendered dimension to Illapa. Indeed, the chronicler Arriaga referred to a cult of an unspecified “hermaphroditic idol”.²⁶ There was probably a feminine aspect to Illapa. The Chuqui illa aspect of Illapa translates as “Venus of the night”; Venus had, has, two distinct astronomic manifestations, that of male (morning) and female (night).²⁷ This contingent gender of Illapa, if at first sight extraordinary, makes sense in the context of the overarching cosmic and religious schema, characterized by oppositions and complementarity. Thus in the Temple of the Sun (Coricancha), male divinities or idols were matched by corresponding female counterparts; e.g., the gold disc of the Sun, flanked by the (actual as well as facsimile) mummies of past Inca rulers, was paralleled by a silver disc representing the Moon, in turn flanked by the mummies of the Incas’ consorts (*coyas*). It is not known how far such gender complementarities were articulated through colonial religious fiestas such as Corpus Christi, but there are, albeit elliptical, indications that the “inner logic” – or “emic” dimension²⁸ – of the Corpus and analogous colonial processions contained at least implicit provision for gender complementarity.

The question of gender is thrown further into relief by the discovery of a document recording an Inca procession of 1692, which took place under the ritual patronage of the Virgen of Loreto, whose ‘home’ was the eponymous chapel which adjoins the Jesuit church of La Compañía.²⁹ It is not immediately clear how the Inca nobility’s affinity for, and devotion to the Virgen of Loreto slotted into the larger narratives of colonial accommodation and cultural appropriation, or why in other words the nobles felt themselves impelled to honour this particular representation of Our Lady. Was she accepted on her own terms or did her acceptance and veneration involve some kind of shuffling within the now highly syncretic Andean pantheon, with all that this might imply for her insertion into the traditional system of oppositions and complementarity? For according to the internal logic that, structuralists insist, lies at the core of native Andean belief system(s), Nuestra Señora de Loreto had to have

her complement or twin in that otherworld, and, by the same token, that twin had to be male. Of course, it remains possible that the Virgen of Loreto was, effectively, allocated her own pedestal in the colonial pantheon without a corresponding male saint *cum* deity. Yet to imbricate syncretic Catholic devotion to the saints in such a system of oppositions and complementarities immediately calls into question the way in which Andean Catholicism has been written. While, to take but one example, the representations of the saints in Cuzco's Corpus Christi procession have been studied ethnologically, and while some saints are "paired", few clues are available as to their putatively 'logical' counterparts in pre-Columbian ritual; it may be that these do not exist, in which case such questions would be superfluous. However, there is one case, again within the context of the *pasos* of the saints during Corpus Christi, which points to some insertion of received saints into autochthonous dualistic categories: the day of Santiago (July 25), the feast par excellence of the colonial Inca nobility, is shared with Santa Barbara, whose nominal feast-day is December 4.³⁰ Why this discrepancy? The answer seems to be that the two saints have been twinned because of their identification with thunder and lightning, as well as with warfare in Christian tradition. In one Cuzqueño community, Santiago is the patron saint of llamas, while Santa Barbara is the patron of alpacas. Recalling that Santiago is identified with Illapa, the 'thunder god', it is of interest that in another community, the feast of Santa Barbara is dedicated to Apu Qhaqha, the "Lord of the place struck by lightning". The 'logic' of the twinning of Santiago with Santa Barbara is manifest.³¹

There is in fact a great deal of extant documentation on the contents, decorations and financial records of the Chapel of Loreto and its resident *cofradías*, part of a rich documentary legacy that we owe to the Crown's 1767 embargo of all Jesuit possessions attendant upon the expulsion of the order from royal domains. While there are a few desultory hints in the Loreto records at an Incaic dimension, these are hardly convincing. Such associations may well be no more than serendipitous. In the small city of colonial Cuzco there were Incaic resonances in almost every street and every parish. Yet the *cofradía* dimension is the key to understanding the origin of the obvious link between the Virgen of Loreto and the colonial Incas. This link is revealed in a prosaic 1783 application by José Chacón y Becerra, mayordomo of the *cofradía* of Santiago in the city parish of Santiago, for formal "canonical foundation" of this existing *cofradía*.³² The connexion between Santiago and Nuestra Señora de Loreto is revealed in the confraternity's articles of foundation and association. The mayordomo noted that the *cofradía* would devote itself to the cult of Santiago, but also to set aside several days each month for the cult of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. The simple reason for including veneration of the Virgen within the remit of the *cofradía* of Santiago stemmed, he made clear, from the mundane circumstance that the effigies of Santiago and the Virgen of Loreto were juxtaposed in a diptych held within the parish church of Santiago in the city of Cuzco.

In this prosaic context, then, we find the apparent genesis of the cultic and Incaic dimensions of the simultaneous religious veneration of Santiago and the Virgen of Loreto, above all for the veneration of the Virgen by the Inca nobles, whose premier feast-day was the day of Santiago. There remains, of course, the obvious but probably unanswerable conundrum of which came first: did a pre-existing Incaic linking of pre-conquest counterparts of Santiago (i.e., Illapa) and the Virgen of Loreto find expression in the diptych, or was the diptych itself the origin of the cult of the Incaic Virgen? Evidence from episcopal visitations of the Cuzco diocese indicates that church decorations such as saints' images usually owed their existence to the individual devotions of successive curas; it is likely that the Santiago-Loreto diptych initially was unconnected with indigenous worship, noble or commoner. Be that as it may, it is here worth recalling that Santiago and Santa Barbara share, shared, the former's feast-day (July 25) during the ten-week Corpus Christi celebrations in Cuzco, but that Santa Barbara's own feast-day is and was December 4; the feast-day of Nuestra Señora de Loreto was 10 December.³³ The putative link here between Santa Barbara and the Virgen of Loreto appears to be that both had their respective feast-days in December, such that there may have been a conflation (or just confusion) of the two female saints. Moreover, the day of the fiesta and procession, 22 August, appears to fall within the Inca ritual calendar month of Coya Raimi, also the time of the more important (of two) Citua rituals: the ritual cleansing of the city, its inhabitants, and the four quarters of the empire. There is a further juxtaposition – August 22 was the octave of the feast of the Assumption, unequivocally the premier feast of the Virgen in the Catholic ritual calendar.

From Sunchild to Christchild

Drawing on the experience of his visitation of the sprawling Cuzco diocese the previous year, Bishop Moscoso had underscored the rôle of the rural churches in perpetuating a vivid memory of the Incas. There, indigenous congregations dressed statues of the infant Jesus in the *uncu, mascaipacha* and other such “insignias”, a usage paralleled in paintings hung in the churches. Alleging, perhaps with some justice, that indigenes regarded the former Inca ‘emperors’ as gods, the Bishop argued that this local cult was neither superficial syncretism nor banal folklore. He was on this point almost certainly correct, for traditional animistic beliefs had imbued religious art with real powers. The general point may be served by the example during the uprising of 1780-83: to reiterate, indigenous rebels systematically tied the hands of images of Santiago in rural churches so as to forestall the martial intervention of this fearsome warrior-saint on behalf of royalist forces.³⁴

In civic festivities held in 1610 to celebrate the beatification of Ignatius de Loyola, the Inca nobles of Cuzco mounted spectacular tableaux evoking the Incario, with the full panoply of Incaic insignia and regalia in evidence.³⁵ The third day of proceedings commenced with the parish of Santiago “receiving” the *cofradía* of Jesus, housed in the La Compañía, “taking out its child Jesus in Incan habit”. This identification of the child Jesus – probably to be equated with the ‘Little King’ familiar from universal Catholic iconography – is intriguing, because of its suggestion of an embryonic Incan messiah. It will be recalled that Moscoso alleged that statues of the child Jesus throughout his extensive diocese were customarily draped with Incaic costume. Certainly, this remarkable feature of South Andean Catholicism recurs in the last two centuries of colonial Cuzco. In the 1687-89 *visita* of the diocese of Cuzco by Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo, statues of the infant Jesus located in the churches of San Geronimo, Andahuaylillas and Caycay were identified as bearing the *mascapaicha*.³⁶ In 1774 the cura of Paucartambo (diocese of Cuzco) reported that “El dia de S[an]tiago colocaron en el Altar mayor y llevaron en procesion a la imagen del Salvador del Mundo vestido de Inga con todas las insignias de la Gentilidad.....”.³⁷ There may be present, too, some echo or evocation of Garcilaso’s assertion that the heir to the Incan throne “wore a yellow [mascapaicha] smaller than that of his father”, suggestive of the possibility that colonial indigenes may have drawn a connexion between the young heir with his yellow *mascapaycha* and the Christchild, who was conventionally depicted with a golden halo.³⁸ Huayna Capac was crowned with the *mascapaicha*, indicative of his right to succession, at the mere age of six months: his name translates as “young lord”, with the added sense of being a king in waiting.³⁹ Clearly, however, there was a strong identification of the Inca (past, present, future?) with the Christchild, though the identification is wider, more complex. For example, the Paucartambo document suggests an identification with the ‘adult’ Christ the Saviour, while the conflation of Incan and episcopal dress in the case of Diego’s infant is obviously a related phenomenon, if somewhat of a puzzle – perhaps a benediction or imprimatur of the idea of a redeeming Inca?

Yet the ritual nexus between Christchild and a putative Incan messiah is susceptible to explanation in terms of Incan ritual iconology in the pre-1532 imperial capital. Here, in dealing with the imperial religious framework “we find ourselves on what can be the most treacherous ground of all”.⁴⁰ The fluidity of cults and deities confounded the early chroniclers, who struggled to impose an order on the “overlapping and interlocking ideas” that characterized Incan religion. Researchers have focused their attention on three principal deities and their cults: Viracocha, the solar cult of Inti, and Illapa, the god of thunder and lightning, all of which had several manifestations and gradations; to these should be added Huanacari, of particular importance to the *Sapa Inca* himself. As earlier argued, in their original Incaic formulation these divinities “were far less sharply differentiated than they eventually came to be”.⁴¹ For all that, the chroniclers recorded sufficient evidence for a divine child in the imperial cult(s) for us to suspect that colonial – both rural and urban – representations of the Christchild as Inca were echoes or remembrances, explicit or implicit, of Incaic cultic praxis connected above all with memories of Inti.

The earliest mention of a child as divinity comes in the 1551 cronicle of Betanzos.⁴² In his renovation of the imperial cult, Pachacuti Tupa Yupanqui, following a dream and a vision in which first a shining child and then an unidentified shining figure appeared to him, ordered that an “idol” be cast in gold; this was the Punchao Inca (a.k.a. Punchao or Inti), henceforth to be seated in Coricanchi.⁴³ This representation of the solar divinity was the height and size of a child of one year of age, naked, which was then richly dressed; this was set off by the *llauta* (“atadura”) and *mascapaicha* (“borla”). There is a further Incaic dimension to this statue. Betanzos tells us that it was at once solidly cast and apparently “hollow” (“vaciadizo”). It is Cobo (1653) who clarifies for us the meaning of this hollowness: he informs us that the statue was of gold except for the stomach, “which was full of a paste made of milled gold mixed with the ashes or dust of the hearts of the Inca kings”.⁴⁴ Betanzos also notes that

Pachacuti ordered the idol to be carried in procession in the city on a litter or float (*anda*), borne by the three most important *principales* of the city (“his three friends”) and the mayordomo of the cult. The similarity of this to the Corpus Christi procession and especially that of 1610 will be obvious. Cristóbal de Molina “El Cuzqueño” (c.1573) records a pre-Columbian May ceremony in which the priests of Coricancha pray to Viracocha, Inti and Illapa that they remain eternally young, never to grow old.⁴⁵ Youth is here explicitly associated with strength and vigour. When, in 1572, Martín de Loyola captured Tupac Amaru I, he was brought to Cuzco with his two idols of Huanacauri and Punchao. This Sun God-child is portrayed by Guaman Poma already in the hands of a Spanish captor, symbolic of ultimate conquest.⁴⁶

The political implications of this fusion of Sun-child and Inca-child are suggested by an intriguing vignette during the peace accord that marked the end of the main phase of the Túpac Amaru rebellion. At the funeral of an infant son of Diego Túpac Amaru, *primo hermano* of the rebel leader and his undisputed deputy on campaign, the child was arrayed with Incaic as well as episcopal insignia, by a creole cura who had been a life-long confidante of José Gabriel Túpac Amaru.⁴⁷ Quite what this curious coda to the rebellion signified is unknown, but the messianic connotations are patent.

Relationships: Gods, Saints and the Incas

Pulling the threads together, it is evident that the triangular relationship of Santiago, the Virgen of Loreto, and the Christchild is susceptible of analysis on many different levels, stemming in the first instance from pre-Columbian cosmological and religious associations. Analysis of colonial Andean religion is thus multi-layered even before introduced European religious elements and their multiple meanings for Hispanic social sectors are taken into account. The permutations and combinations thrown up by weaving together autochthonous divinities and introduced saints, reading introduced European festivals such as Corpus Christi in the light of antecedent Incan festivals, and noting the religious and conceptual fluidity of Incan past and colonial present – all these efforts point up the contingency of any conclusions reached about the nature of Andean religion, then as now.

Yet the exercise throws up intriguing results. To recapitulate a little and elaborate other possibilities implicit in the foregoing associations is instructive, if bewildering. First, the Inca is the son of the Sun; the pre-1532 Inca caste were also “children” of the Sun. The Inca is the ritual brother of Illapa. When the Inca dies, he becomes Illapa. Then, conflating Illapa and Santiago, we seek the saint’s feminine complement – as Andean structuralism insists we must – we find the Incas apparently revering the Virgen of Loreto, notwithstanding that Santiago already has a Corpus *pareja* in Santa Barbara, principally because both are associated with warfare as well as thunder. With the Inca becoming Illapa upon his death, the Virgen of Loreto thus becomes his Coya, her feast falling both within the Incan feast/ritual month of Coya Raimi (“festival or ritual month of the Queen”) and on the octave of the Assumption – quite as the Inca becomes Illapa upon death, thenceforth to dwell in the heavens, so the Virgen of the Assumption was raised by God into heaven. Illapa was also linked with Venus, which had morning and evening aspects, the one masculine, the other feminine.

As if that swirl of saints and idols were not complicated enough, we are reminded that the surpassing image of Corpus Christi was the host embedded in the monstrance, that stylized burst of gold reminiscent of the *curi caccha* or “resplendor de oro” of the chronicles – reminiscent of the Sun, identified with Inti and personified by Punchao, the Sun Child. The veneration of the Christ Child, draped with the *mascapaicha*, with the Inca or adumbration of an Inca has clear messianic overtones, not least when we recall the yellow *mascapaicha* that the Incan child-successor had borne. The Virgen may stand as a gender complement to Inti, quite as the pre-conquest Inti had been ‘balanced’ by the Moon within the ritual world, witness the position of divinities in the Incan Coricancha. Well, such point-counterpoint analyses skate over a lot of thin ice, but they do underscore the point that syncretic, colonial Andean Catholicism was far more multi-layered and protean than it appears at first sight. To recall that pre-modern Catholicism generally included hierarchies of angels, devils and even the fantastic creatures glimpsed in the imaginings of Hieronymus Bosch, is to acknowledge at once the extraordinary complexity of, respectively, native Andean religion and introduced Catholicism; the parsing of the one with the other merely multiplies that complex religious universe. To the extent that even some of these parallels and complementarities are valid – and they are after all hypothetical constructions even in the chronicles – Cuzco’s colonial Corpus Christi may be seen to have enormous chilaistic and messianic implications for the politics of the last century of colonial rule in Peru.

Thus there was ample evidence to buttress Moscoso's critique of Incaic symbolism in religious fiestas, though his assertion that Incaic dress was *de rigueur* for the indigenous nobility on "all" civic and ecclesiastical occasions remains problematic. Certainly, there is little support for this in contemporary descriptions of civic ceremonies; it might be supposed that such splendour on mundane occasions would have elicited some comment on the part of the authorities. In 1787 the Cuzqueño savant, Ignacio de Castro, in his ponderous yet erudite encomium to the King on the occasion of the ceremonies marking the foundation of the Real Audiencia in Cuzco, recorded (somewhat patronizingly) the appearance of the indigenous élites in procession thus:

"Los caciques y los Indios nobles de la Ciudad, de las Parroquias y de los contornos, eran los que aparecian al principio, vestidos no ya de sus antiguos trajes, sino del uniforme Español en caballos bellamente enjaezados que saben ya montar, manejar y adestrar".⁴⁸

There is, of course, a strong presumption that this circumstance was the direct result of the strictures of Moscoso and Areche on the deleterious effects of Incaic symbolism, and Castro certainly seems to imply that Incaic costume had been the norm but had been recently abandoned, yet this awaits further proof. However, it seems to have been more the result of a related 1785 representation to the Viceroy by the Intendant Mata Linares, in which he called urgently for the extirpation of Incaic costume on festive occasions, and with it abolition of the office of the indigenous *alférez real* and the bearing of dual standards or banners on such occasions.⁴⁹ This latter, he duly noted, was a custom singular in the entire Hispanic world, and the Viceroy, Teodoro de Croix, agreed to suspend such usages pending further advice. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that Incaic raiment was worn on major ecclesiastical occasions. For all that, descriptions of only six of these – leaving aside the series of seventeenth-century canvases (sixteen in number) of Corpus in Cuzco – have come down to us, each an eloquent testimony to the Andean "capacity for mimicry" and "capacity for reinterpreting theatrical forms introduced by early evangelization".⁵⁰ Arzáns y Vela's account of the 1555 celebrations in Potosí, in acclamation of the patron saints of the city and of their success in delivering the viceroyalty from the revolt of Francisco Hernández Girón; Garcilaso de la Vega similarly recorded the 1555 inaugural Corpus Christi festivities in Cuzco, which also in part celebrated the crushing of that revolt; the detailed account of the 1610 Cuzqueño festivities consequent upon arrival of the news of the beatification of Ignatius de Loyola; an unpublished 1692 record of an Incaic procession connected with the Jesuit chapel of Loreto in Cuzco; and representations of the Incas in the 1659 and 1725 festivities in Lima. What follows will concentrate solely on the Santiago celebrations within the Corpus cycle in Cuzco, rather than on Corpus as an agglomeration of ritual events and devotions .

The Inca Nobility of Cuzco

It is one of the oddities of late colonial historiography, in an era and region in which rebellions and conspiracies featured Incan imagery and the search for native or creole "Incas", that the existence in Cuzco of a social sector of several hundred Incan noble families should be overlooked almost entirely. Most paradoxical in this context is the example of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, whose eponymous leader claimed to be the legitimate heir to the Inca "throne". Such a claim, and the very presence of Incan imagery, beg several large questions. It is evident that Cuzco's Incan nobility did not support the rebellion, but why not? How and why did they survive as a distinct social group with a clear group identity and institutions, unlike, say, their Mexican counterparts.⁵¹ What role did they play in social, cultural and political life? What sort of authority did they enjoy within native Andean society? How had they come to terms with the conquest? In the religious sphere, had they really dispensed with the erstwhile Incan State religion? How did such considerations mesh with their spectacular presence during Corpus Christi and on other civic and ecclesiastical occasions?

In the first place, they had done well to hang on to their titles, to have retained a certain ritual and social status, and especially to have maintained a corporate identity in the face of the desintegrative effects of colonialism. It was crucial, to their very survival as a group, that they convince the Crown both of their 'nobleness' and of their utility to the colonial regime then in the process of construction. The conquest *ipso facto* had rendered them an anachronism. No longer attached to the state power that had been their lifeblood and their *raison d'être*, they sought to recover those traces of their erstwhile political, social and ritual rôles that might be parlayed into a share in the operation of the colonial

system. In doing so, they appropriated parts of Spanish culture that were useful to, indeed necessary for, securing official acceptance of their pretensions.

Memories are cheap, but all that the surviving Incas had to sell was their past. They were imagining a community, but it was a past community.⁵² The success with which they drew on this memory and cobbled it to borrowings from the newly hegemonic culture would determine their place, their survival, within the new Spanish order. Their future was a “future past”.⁵³ Save for a scattering of nobles who had materially assisted the conquest, either before or after the fall of the city of Cuzco, their claim to noble status was based principally on lineage and kinship.⁵⁴ Claims based on Incaic lineage were on the whole paltry and insufficient in Spanish eyes, for all that kinship and inheritance were themselves pillars of Spanish society and thus colonialism. Indeed, these qualities were at the heart of occidental notions of the aristocratic. Yet this commonplace serves to point up a further obstacle to the Incas’ winning a place in the Spanish sun, namely that the conquerors already had their own ranked aristocracy, non-titled as well as titled. The colonial Inca nobility aimed, then, for a constancy of aristocracies. If at first the Crown was magnanimously amenable to this notion, in the long run colonial administrators often displayed little sympathy with the Incas’ nobility, which had in the early sixteenth-century been recognized by the Crown, especially by the Emperor Charles V, who had issued a plethora of decrees of *hidalguía* to prominent Inca noble families. Later viceroys and provincial administrators often looked askance at such titles, scorning the *cédulas de hidalguía* as dubious and their proud possessors as absurd, for all that they often found themselves legally constrained to honour such legal instruments.

Such ethnocentric disdain was in part a reflection of cultural misunderstanding, one alas sometimes reproduced by historians and other Andeanists.⁵⁵ The genuineness of the colonial Incas’ claim to nobility did not only depend upon a family’s receipt of either a formal grant of noble title or official affirmation of *hidalgo* status. Nevertheless, the lack of such corroborative documentation would, in the long term, have ineluctably consigned a family to historical oblivion. History, in Pareto’s famous aperçu, is the graveyard of aristocracies; in colonial societies, the truism that social mobility can work in both directions tends to be writ large. Time and again in the course of three centuries, Inca noble families, and the nobility itself as a composite of lineages, were obliged to prove their status to Crown administrators. The reason for this kind of structural uncertainty was not due solely to the customary exception from the poll-tax and personal service automatically attaching to noble status, but probably had as much to do with the thwarted social aspirations, envy and racial contempt of non-noble, Spanish colonial administrators. There was also the administrative messiness of it all: it was socially and administratively awkward, not to say absurd, to have two distinct aristocracies in the one society. All these considerations were manifest in the hostility toward the Inca nobles displayed by the Intendant of Cuzco, Benito de la Mata Linares, in the repressive aftermath of the Túpac Amaru rebellion.⁵⁶

Spanish administrators and Inca nobles had conceptions of history and status affirmation that did not always cohere, for all that they displayed a remarkable degree of commensurability. The benchmark for official acceptance of noble status was the *probanza de nobleza*, a hurdle that peninsular nobles were obliged to negotiate within Spain itself, witness the magnificent genealogies that are such a notable feature of Spanish historical documentation.⁵⁷ Inca nobles were therefore obliged to cast their claim for noble status in the form of the *probanza*, i.e., in genealogical form, but family documentation usually contained serious caesurae and lacunae that, in formal judicial proceedings, would have been adjudged insufficient. More than one noble claimant suffered that fate. For the Cuzqueño nobles, there was the further stumbling block that the customary *probanza* was a linear historical reconstruction, the very basis for recognition of nobility. The Inca nobility grounded their claims in a mixture of history, memory and myth, though they also argued that they were recognized as nobles by their peers, Native Andean as well as Hispanic elites. Effectively, they had to fit their own conception of nobility into its European homologue, formulate it so that it made sense in terms readily understandable to Spaniards. It was, in part, a matter of receptivity. To mix metaphors, the colonial context determined that they would have to put their own spin on the received notion of Spanish nobility and return it to the Spanish authorities in an easily digestible form. This, in turn, rendered the colonial definition of nobility perhaps a little more flexible than its peninsular equivalent; socially constituted in its colonial context, it gained in the telling. There was thus some latitude for error in the colonial *probanzas*, a circumstance doubtless congenial to Creole holders of *títulos de Castilla* or *hidalguía*, some of whom had some genealogical problems of their own, ranging from missing documentation to illegitimate lines, present as well as past, which might vitiate the legal status of their titles.⁵⁸

Even so, there were problems of compilation specific to the Inca nobility, above all that of rendering the *mélange* of history, memory and myth — often conflated — acceptable to the Hispanic administrative and judicial hierarchies, from Cuzco to Lima to Madrid.⁵⁹ This was less a fiction or fraud, as some royal officials had it, but rather a kind of ideological history, keenly felt and believed. It was an ancestral memory, something more than the sum of all the Incaic lineages, and it was juxtaposed with another, more conventional and derived European “history”. Indeed, any Incan justification of nobility had to be imbricated in such a “history”, were a *probanza* to have any chance of success. As memory, it was partial, involving as it did an act of forgetting of some magnitude, an elision of erstwhile ‘pagan’ ways from the Incas’ reconstructed ideological memory. Here, as in other known cases of “ethnic memory”, there is evident “the same orientation of collective memory toward the time of origins and mythical heroes”.⁶⁰ The Inca nobles were grouped into twelve “houses”, each corresponding to a former Inca ‘emperor’; depending on their kinship affiliations, many nobles might belong to more than one such lineage. These lineages, it seems clear, were a colonial reworking — a reconstitution — of the pre-conquest *panacas*, the stem-groups that had cared for the *momía* of a former Inca ruler, had administered the wealth accrued during the latter’s reign, and had constituted a fundamental social, political and ritual pillar of Tahuantinsuyu. Yet to speak of former kings is to speak of the independent reality of a ‘king-list’. Here we touch upon a controverted theme in the historiography of the Inca. Some authors accept the twelve (in the colonial schema) Inca rulers as historical individuals, others view more than half of them as mythic (perhaps composite) personages, and scholars also differ as to whether they represent twelve successive monarchs or six successive diarchies (necessarily with some overlap).⁶¹ The mythical element implicit in this grounding of the colonial self-image of the Incas nobles in ancestral tradition is, in the wider scheme of things, hardly novel. It was more generic than singular: Jacques Le Goff notes that in mediæval Western Europe, “when noble families, nations or urban communities become interested in giving themselves a history, they often begin with mythical ancestors who inaugurate the genealogies, with their legendary founding heroes”.⁶² In colonial Spanish America, genealogy was no less inventive. Yet there is good reason to think that such mythic elements corresponded to pre-conquest, official ‘historic’ tradition. At some historical point, such myth is constructed: “myth recuperates and restructures the outmoded leftovers of ‘earlier social systems’”.⁶³ To the extent that it was fictive, it was nevertheless sincerely meant. It was the essential foundation of the individual and group identities of the colonial nobles; their *ayllus*, *panacas*, rites and social arrangements made little sense without this identity net of founding heroes and ‘kings’. Their status and prestige depended upon it utterly.

The colonial *probanzas* that reflected this historical king-list thus concealed considerable interpretive difficulties, evident already to some contemporary observers. There is more than a suspicion that this schema was due as much to the Inca nobles’ awareness of Spanish historical texts as it was to their own received tradition. And that tradition was first and foremost oral, and therefore difficult to recover; precisely how that memory was kept alive — aside from its remembrance in colonial *probanzas* — is unknown. Famously, the Incas had had the mnemonic device, the quipu, as an administrative tool. The extent to which this might have been used (by the *amautas*) to retain a historical *cum* mythic memory in pre-conquest times is unclear, much less in the colonial era; indeed, this very question is the subject of heated dispute among students of Tahuantinsuyu.⁶⁴ It is, however, now abundantly clear that the nobles were capable of drawing upon Hispanic and even universal history in order to buttress their claims of a special place in the colonial sun.⁶⁵ This was not confined to their introduction into their *probanzas* of the *topoi* and narratives of the classic Hispanic accounts of the conquest, above all that of Garcilaso. They accepted, for example, the notion of the “*behetrías*”, which was congenial to (at least) the post-Toledan chroniclers, but in any case apparently a trope of pre-conquest Incan ideology. To the standard accounts of the conquest, they occasionally added their own group and familial traditions, some of which materially expand our historical knowledge of the immediate conquest and subsequent campaigns. More novel and enterprising, however, was a late eighteenth-century incorporation of the views of classical authors such as Juvenal and Pliny. They drew, too, upon a comparative history of the aristocracies of past civilizations and their respective emblems of nobility, which buttressed their own ‘founding-fathers’ myth-history.⁶⁶ Some of these past aristocracies were as much mythical as historic, but this circumstance was similarly consonant with the Inca nobles construction of history from mythic roots. In this, European and Incan lineages and genealogies dovetail neatly, and were expressed juridically in that classic Spanish institutional template, the *probanza de nobleza*. In retrospect, however, such a splash of Occidental wisdom in the Incas’ group justification should occasion little surprise, because of their education in the Colegio de

San Francisco de Borja, founded for the sons of “Indios nobles y Caciques”; a Spanish foundation, Jesuit until 1767, it was in certain measure a continuation of the pre-conquest Inca institution, the *Yachay Huasi*. The Colegio de San Borja was an important vector of Westernization for the Inca nobles, and whether by design or accident provided the nobles with an array of cultural weapons necessary to defend their status and very existence, challenges posed by the imperatives of colonial rule.

The signal mixture of memory, history and myth exhibited in the Inca nobles’ *probanzas* was not uncharacteristic of the generic category known as “ethnic memory”.⁶⁷ It was singular in the nature of its hybridization, whether one conceives of this as acculturation, syncretism, appropriation or reception of Hispanic culture. These categories of scholarship, to the extent they do not just describe the same phenomenon, were all no doubt present to varying degree. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that these processes often involved a two-way transfer or appropriation, nicely summed up in Crosby’s phrase, the “Columbian exchange”. Nicely illustrated, too, by the manner in which the Inca nobles ‘received’ the Spanish formulaic institution, the *probanza de nobleza*, and subtly altered it by inserting criteria of social memory and myth, and then winning official acceptance of their nobility on the basis of this documentary metamorphosis. How far the colonial Incas were conscious of the extent to which they transformed the received criteria is, of course, an unknown, but it was probably a combination of passive reception and appropriation, consciously transformative actions, and just cultural misunderstanding of legal criteria – colonial masters and subjects often found one another mutually incomprehensible. However, a brief look at the nature of the colonial Incas’ representative body, the “Twenty-Four Electors of the Alférez Real”, suggests that to a considerable extent, the Incas were conscious of constructing a hybrid institution; this should occasion little surprise, given that scholars have long been aware, for example, of the creativity of indigenous communities in using Christian appearances, practices and rites, in order to mask continued adherence to pre-Columbian beliefs and worship.

For all that it was more than the sum of its parts, the Incan electoral college can readily be parsed into its cultural elements and their respective provenances.⁶⁸ First, its autochthonous components. The twenty-four electors were divided into twelve “houses” (*casas*), each representing (as mentioned above) a former Inca ruler. There were thus two to each “house”, a circumstance that probably reflects the traditional Andean oppositional categories and the ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ Incan moieties of *hanan* and *hurin*, which had been so important in pre-conquest political, social and ritual arrangements. These twelve “houses” almost certainly were a continuation of the aforementioned Incan lineage or clan groups, the *panacas*. The *panacas* had fulfilled a crucial ritual rôle during the Incario, so that there was a perfect correspondence between their pre-1532 function and their colonial (post-1555) function of electing the *alférez real de los incas* who, dressed in Incan raiment and adorned with Incaic insignia, bore the royal standard on the Day of Santiago (July 25) during the Corpus Christi celebrations in the city of Cuzco. Here, then, was perfect ritual symmetry. There was an equal correspondence with Spanish institutions. First, the twenty-four electors appear to have reflected the *veinticuatro*, a Spanish civil and ecclesiastical body that derives from a synonym for the composition of a peninsular *cabildo*. In Cuzco, as elsewhere in the wider Hispanic world, “los hermanos veinticuatro” – a kind of directorate – were those who administered many hospitals, *cofradías* and *hermandades*. Moreover, the Twenty-four Electors did not only choose the *alférez real*, the traditional bearer of the royal standard who, in the Hispanic world was usually a town councillor (*regidor*, *cabildante*, sometimes also *alcalde*), but they elected also a distinct *alcalde mayor de indios* and *alguacil mayor de indios*, again, traditional Hispanic local-government officers.

In the course of addressing possible approaches to the interpretation of cultural encounters or ‘contests’, Peter Burke has underscored the need to understand the internal logic of syncretism, what he calls the “emic” approach.⁶⁹ He argues that “what the historian needs to investigate is the logic underlying these appropriations or combinations, the local reasons for these choices”. The above example of the colonial Inca electoral college is remarkable in that the ‘fit’ between Hispanic and Incaic was serendipitously perfect, on both civil and ecclesiastical criteria. In the aftermath of the conquest and civil wars, the surviving Inca nobility discovered Spanish institutional templates that were ready-made conduits for the preservation of at least some vestige of their pre-conquest, social and ritual rôles. This Incan appropriation of Spanish institutions was the counterpart of the Spaniards’ own, well-known adaptation of Incaic institutions such as tribute, the labour corvee (*mita*), the communications system (*tambos* and *chasquis*), the network of chiefdoms (*kurakazgos*), and so forth. However unequal the colonial power equation, borrowings and appropriations move in both directions. As contexts changed, the repertoire of borrowings was vast, and misunderstandings were rife. The end

result of such cultural transferences was usually something more than the sum of tradition plus received novelties, its logic and function often thereby correspondingly amended.

Yet the institutional design of the Incan electoral body was not just a happy coincidence of traditional and received elements. Its now syncretic, primary function and inner logic were also commensurately reflective of Incan and Spanish cultural accommodation. Its ostensibly sole function was to elect the Incas' *alférez real* to accompany his Hispanic homologue during the Corpus Christi procession and on other civic and ecclesiastical occasions. This office thus reflected Spanish ceremonial and civic praxis, especially in its invocation of *cofradía* officer-holders and processional participation, again paralleled by the pre-conquest *panacas*' ritual responsibilities. The dualism of two matched *alfereces*, moreover, corresponded neatly to Native Andean conceptions of ritual space, with its intrinsic oppositions and complementarities; its numinosity would have been the more potent if we accept the (albeit contested) view of some authors that Inca rule was a diarchy, each Inca of which represented separate moieties and ritual functions. Such ceremonial presence went beyond the strictly religious; Balandier's view of ritual seems especially apposite in this context: "Ritual...accentuates certain aspects of power. It evokes its beginnings, its roots in a history that has become mythic, and it makes this history sacred".⁷⁰ In the religious processions of Cuzco, Incaic conceptions of history and memory came together.

The League of Inca Gentlemen

In the early seventeenth century (c.1603), the chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, Melchor Carlos Inga and Alonso de Mesa – all of them of Incan descent and resident in Spain – calculated (in response to a request from the Crown) that there remained in Cuzco 567 nobles, "todos descendientes por línea masculina", of the erstwhile Inca rulers.⁷¹ In 1786 there were still 457 male descendants (or c.13% of the urban *indiada*), most of whom resided in the towns of San Jerónimo and San Sebastián of the Cercado of Cuzco.⁷² Yet authority within colonial indigenous society often lay elsewhere. In the 1754 viceregal census, there were 639 "caciques y principales" in the Diocese of Cuzco, yet only 29 of them were located in the Cercado.⁷³ That is to say, only a few of the Inca nobles of late colonial Cuzco were simultaneously caciques, though there was manifestly some overlap between the two groups. Notwithstanding that many *cacicazgos* were hereditary, traditional incumbents were increasingly replaced by non-Creoles in the repressive aftermath of the 1780 rebellion. This affected not only those colonial Inca nobles who were simultaneously caciques, but also the remaining nobles who were increasingly drawn within the tribute net, the result of a process coeval with the replacement of indigenous caciques by creole and mestizo incumbents. Some of these had to pay tribute; that is to say, they had lost the most important privilege of the colonial nobility, and with it much of the prestige that had hitherto attached to their rank. The logic of a continuing erosion of their traditional exemption from the capitulation tax was that, shorn of that privilege and prestige, they would as individuals and as a group be reduced to the level of common tributaries – as mere '*indios*'. Notwithstanding this minatory spectre, however, in the wake of the rebellion the nobility was forced to confront a Crown onslaught on colonial Incaic culture, its praxis and ideological foundations. The 1780 rebellion had concentrated the official mind wonderfully, and as part of a package of measures designed by civil and ecclesiastical authorities to obviate the possibility of further insurrection, the Crown homed in on "that memory that [*el indio*'] conserves of [Cuzco] having been capital of the Incas". In effect, Crown authorities envisaged nothing less than the destruction of the historical memory and identity of the colonial Inca nobility.

The Crown's chosen battleground was public ceremony. On such occasions, the colonial Incas wore Incaic raiment, replete with a range of Incaic symbols, simulacra of the Incario. This day of Santiago featured a procession in which pride of place was given over to two *alfereces reales*, one representing *españoles*, the other the indigenous nobility; these marched side-by-side from the town council to the cathedral, there to attend mass. Quite what native Andean onlookers and, indeed, the remaining Inca nobles, made of such spectacle is unknown. Was it regarded as a liminal moment, in which some communion with ancestral Incas was intended in the guise of both the preëminent colonial religious festival and the Spanish local government office of *alférez real*? After all, ancestor worship was and is an integral part of the autochthonous religion, and the colonial Inca nobility appear to have adhered still to their traditional *panacas*, the pre-conquest social and ritual lineage groups whose principal function had been to attend to the needs of their respective Inca *momías*. Crown officials directed their

attack, first, to the Incaic raiment and “pagan” symbols manifest on such public occasions, and, second, to the nobility’s own corporate organization, the *Veinti-Cuatro Electores del Alférez Real*.

Bishop Moscoso’s 1781 broadside was mirrored in the 1785 attempt by the Intendant of Cuzco, Benito de la Mata Linares, to abolish the very office of Incan *alférez real* and the corporation of the Twenty-four Electors.⁷⁴ Indeed, he wished to abolish the nobility entirely. He alleged that the legal documents employed by the nobles to justify their rank “prove nothing, but only pass from one to the other whether pawned, taken, or [from] other vicious motives”. He remarked contemptuously that the nobles used the title of Elector, “as if we were in the Holy [Roman] Empire”, dismissively noting that “all nations” had conserved and encouraged a nobility, but none “a descent of so debased (“*en-vilecida*”) royal blood....much less when this had nothing to do with the dominant [nation]”. The Electors, he added, did little other than “inebriate themselves, further kindling their spirit in order to remember more vividly their antiquity and liberty, in hatred of the dominant nation”. The Intendant was especially outraged that two standards were borne on the day and eve of Santiago, one by Spaniards and one by the Inca nobles. Sovereignty, he argued, was perfectly and appropriately represented by one insignia, inasmuch as the nobles were the vanquished and therefore “should not recognize more than one head, one dominion, one nation, one monarch, well expressed in one standard”. Sovereignty was a key consideration: “it is not the same to be noble as to be a descendant of royal blood, which circumstance infers a right of sovereignty”. All vigilance was to be exercised against preserving “memories of the ancient domination, or insignias of the separation of [the] two nations”, and all effort directed towards the notion that “there is no more than one God, one religion, one nation, one king”. Notable here is not only the zeal of a royal official charged with avoiding the recrudescence of rebellion, but the inability of a conservative cast of mind, adrift beyond the shores of its accustomed habitus, to take on board the notion of a cohabitation of cultures. Evident, too, is a cultural and probably racial contempt – which the Intendant also extended to creole groups – and in any case proposed nothing less than the abolition of the institution of the Twenty-four Electors and of the entire nobility. That is to say, he proposed an end to their individual and group identity, at least in public space, leaving no other avenue but the clandestine for retention of their nobility. In that event, their status would not count for much. The upshot was that in 1785, Viceroy Teodoro de Croix agreed to suspend that year’s election pending further consideration of the Intendant’s proposal for abolition.

The Electors were roused to appeal, and their protest was eloquent.⁷⁵ They pointed out that for 247 years without interruption they had enjoyed the privilege of wearing the *mascapaicha* on public occasions, a privilege supported by explicit royal provisions from the late sixteenth century onwards. They countered the Intendant’s assertion that some among them were not nobles at all, by noting that on several occasions “different tributary Indians of vile extraction” had attempted to arrogate to themselves the wearing of the *mascapaicha*, but had been prevented from doing so by the prompt intervention of the selfsame Electors.⁷⁶ Moreover, earlier corregidores had examined the “genealogical documents” of successive generations of Electors as a prerequisite for admission to vote. They were, they said, “fiscals who promote and watch over the literal observance of their privileges”. Indigenous parvenus who sought to insinuate themselves into noble ranks were rejected as “interlopers in the legitimate descent of the Gentile Incas”. This reference to “*estrangeros*” calls to mind the tripartite organization of pre-Columbian society into the aristocratic ruling corps (*collana*), the wholly non-aristocratic population (*cayao*), and the intermediate issue of *collana-cayao* unions – the *payan*, who served as functionaries and subalterns.⁷⁷ Whether such an allusion was intended is unclear, but the vigorous language employed by successive electoral colleges from 1600 onwards would appear to indicate a possible fear of ritual pollution of the Corpus Christi celebrations; such discrimination on the basis of pre-1532 caste ascriptions, though, would have been remarkable after some 250 years of colonial miscegenation.

The *mascapaicha*, it is clear, was not merely the central emblem of public ritual, but was absolutely totemic. To relax the barriers of exclusiveness would have been tantamount to a dissolution of the nobility: the ‘floodgate’ metaphor seems appropriate in this context. There is some indication in the Electors’ defence of this “privilege” that only current and past *alférezes reales* might wear the *borla colorada*, i.e., not necessarily all the Electors, though the turn of each would surely come. Indeed, there is even a suggestion that only the immediate and outgoing (“*Alférez Real entrante y saliente*”) standard-bearers might be so adorned.⁷⁸ Their defence avoided, for obvious reasons, any reference at all to “Gentile” symbols such as the Sun plaque, but rather subsumed the distinctive noble raiment and its adornments within the rubric of “their uniforms”. Backed by royal provisions of 1598, several of the 1690s and 1778, they posited that neither the Intendant nor the Viceroy could legally deny them the

use of their marks of royalty (*regalias*) or the office of *alférez real*. They claimed, somewhat insolently, that Crown martial success in the conquest had been due to the noble Inca allies, “as all the Peruvian Histories publicize”. The Intendant Mata Linares was especially appalled by their asseveration that Viceroy Toledo’s execution of Felipe Túpac Amaru in 1572 “was disapproved by His Majesty”, an interpretation that, *dicho sea de paso*, was closer to the truth than the Intendant’s contempt would imply.

This vigorous defence of colonial Inca rights and privileges was led by its paladin, Cayetano Túpa Guamán Rimachi Inga, in his capacity as *apoderado y comisario* of the institution of the Twenty-four Electors. His advocacy elicited an *ad hominum* attack from both corregidor and Intendant, to the effect that he was a troublemaker, adducing as evidence criminal charges then pending against Guamán Rimachi. He was, nevertheless, an effective advocate of the Electors’ case, and infuriated the Intendant even more by claiming that the Inca nobles were of undisputed royal Gentile blood stock (“*Regia Jentilica sangre*”, “*Regia Gentilica extirpe*”). Yet Guaman Rimachi’s plea was more notable for its classical allusions, a remarkable testimony to the colonial Incas’ degree of acculturation and implicitly also to the success of the Colegio of San Borja; this had been inaugurated by the Crown in order to train, under the aegis of the Jesuits, the indigenous nobles and sons of caciques for their future responsibilities as local governors and cogs in the colonial bureaucratic machinery. The reference to “all the Peruvian Histories” in their 1785 defence was not as hyperbolic as it might first appear; it appears to have reproduced the content of a 1768 memorial on behalf of the Electors by Cayetano and Tomás Túpa Guamán Rimachi.⁷⁹

On that occasion, they adduced “all the Spanish and foreign Historians” in support of their cause. They sought justification as well as precedents in world history to buttress their claim that they constituted a true nobility, one whose continued existence had been placed in jeopardy by the Crown’s post-bellum policy of repression. The *mascapaicha* served as both totem and talisman – such were its numen – of their nobility. To make the point, the Electors adverted to classical sources such as Juvenal and Pliny. In a novel and erudite foray into comparative history, they argued that not only the Spanish nobility and the great military orders, but also the many aristocracies of antiquity, had borne exclusive and excluding insignia analogous to the *mascapaicha*:

“En todos tiempos todas las naciones del mundo, y particularmente los nobles, han tenido sus divisas, y insignias propias a fin de manifestar su distinguida clase”.⁸⁰

Then followed a precise analysis of a range of aristocracies and the particular insignia and heraldic symbols which expressly connoted nobility in their respective societies. From the Arcadians, who used the symbol of the moon, to the Goths who bore the symbol of an egret, the Electors essayed the aristocratic totems of the Romans, Athenians, Persians, Britons, Egyptians, Thracians and even Germanic tribes such as the Suevos, drawing the moral that the *mascapaicha* was not only symbolic of their nobility, but also proof thereof:

“Asi pues no ha auido nacion en el mundo que por distintibo de su nobleza dejase de usar sus particulares señales, e insignias, o diferencias en sus trajes y vestidos”.⁸¹

Whether this genial dissertation was based on a wide reading of classical and early modern authors – it is known that José Gabriel Túpac Amaru had read Garcilaso’s *Comentarios reales de los incas* – it is nevertheless an impressive display of erudition. The only source cited by chapter and verse is a work by Don Bernabé Moreno de Bargas (*Nobleza de España*, volume 1, discourse 21, folio 115). The colonial Inca nobles thus based their colonial identity not merely on the memory of their respective lineages, but drew on the classical tradition and contemporary historical treatises to reinforce their somewhat fragile, because anachronistic, late colonial status. In ideological terms, the Electors turned the intellectual weapons of the dominant power back on the colonial masters themselves – an hegemony turned inside out. Aware that since the time of the Emperor Charles V many among them had been recognized by the Crown as *hidalgos*, the conclusion drawn by the Electors was ineluctable:

“La Mascapaycha es en realidad una antiquisima orden de Caballeros Yngas en demonstracion de su Regia Jentilica extirpe, y de ella han usado legitimamente todos los individuos de ella, desde la ereccion de este Peruano Imperio por Mango Capac primero que fue el año de mil quarenta y tres de la era Christiana segun comun sentir de todos los Historiadores que no sita el Suplicante por ser bien notorias....”.⁸²

The equation between Incan descent and *hidalguía* was widely recognized, and juridically expressed, during the entire colonial period, and it is strange that the Electors did not appeal explicitly to this entrenched status. Certainly, many individual nobles seeking official and legal recognition of their nobility were accustomed to mention the equivalence in their *probanzas de nobleza*. It was, however, a status that was formally endowed, and it is likely that not all the Electors had undergone that particular rite of passage.

The Infrastructure of Incan Identity

It would in any case be remiss to give the impression that the institution of the Twenty-four Electors of the *Alférez Real* was as robust as its vigorous 1785 defence might at first glance indicate. Indeed, there is even an occasional hint in the extant sources that it was moribund in the late colonial era: e.g., one applicant for admission to the electoral college noted that the prestigious twelfth “house” to which he sought election, that of Huayna Capac, had been vacant “for the space of many years”.⁸³ There were in fact two electoral colleges: the Twenty-four Electors for the city celebration, and just five for the parallel Corpus Christi ceremonies in the villa of Yucay, in the Vilcanota Valley, where the *alferezgo* was alternated between the nobles of the four towns of the Marquesado of Oropesa (Yucay, Maras, Urubamba, Huayllabamba) plus that of Ollantaytambo.⁸⁴ Some sierra towns, such as Yaurisque (province of Chilques y Masques or Paruro) and Guarcocondo (Abancay province) has *alfereces reales* who bore the royal standard on the “eve and day” of Santiago; moreover, it is clear from the former case that it involved the office or cargo of *alférez real*, rather than just the conventional, village confraternity *alférez*.⁸⁵ There may have been still other micro-regions in the southern sierra that held cognate ceremonies at Corpus Christi, but the Marquesado de Oropesa was especially significant inasmuch as this erstwhile fief and *mayorazgo* had been granted to Ana María Lorenza García Sayri Túpac de Loyola, daughter of Beatriz Clara Coya, great-granddaughter of the emperor Huayna Capac, and Martín García de Loyola, Knight of Calatrava and nephew of (St.) Ignatius de Loyola. After 1739, when the *mayorazgo* fell vacant for lack of an heir, the link with Incan lineage was effectively broken, but the institution of the *alferazgo real* in the valley continued. Marquesate candidates for the Colegio de San Borja in Cuzco boasted, in their application for matriculation, of being the sons of former *alfereces reales*, widely regarded as an *ipso facto* marker of nobility.

The office of Elector was hereditary. Succession to it, however, involved something more than the passing of a baton between generations. The succession, always contingent on the death of an Elector, needed the approval of the existing Electors and the corregidor who, with the Protector de Naturales and the Interprete General de Naturales, attended and recorded the details of the election (which was “canonical”), the incumbency alternating between the eight parishes. The successful candidate had to be a “persona benemérita que sea de la Extirpe Real de los Reies Ingas que fueron de estos Reinos”.⁸⁶ Also elected were the *alcalde mayor de ingas nobles* (a.k.a. “*alcalde de la corona*”), and the *alguacil de la corona*, neither of whom was chosen from amongst the Electors. Some care was taken to examine the *bona fides* of Electors, as in 1783 and in 1757, when all twenty-four were required to furnish genealogical proof before they were permitted to vote. Yet the apparent orderliness of this procedure disguised the fact that succession was not always so clear cut. In 1720, the “general epidemic” desolated the provinces of the southern Andes.⁸⁷ Among nobles, sixteen of the twenty-four Electors were taken, as well as many of their heirs; some left no issue, while the heirs of others were still too young to vote and thus to succeed. The corregidor noted that other, non-noble indigenes – despite their claims to the contrary – clamoured for admission to the electoral college. To circumvent this, he nominated sixteen interim noble appointees in order that the 1721 election might proceed according to custom. The sources are silent as to whether these appointees ever relinquished their office, rendering impossible any precise evaluation of the extent to which lineage succession to the various “casas” remained unbroken.

There were twelve Incan “casas”, each of which was ostensibly a *panaca*, represented by two Electors, possibly corresponding to the traditional moiety divisions of *hurin* and *hanan*.⁸⁸ Now, chroniclers such as Garcilaso, Murúa and Cobo make mention of an Inca “Council”, that sounds suspiciously like the Council of the Indies.⁸⁹ Many scholars reject this notional institution as a fancy of the chroniclers, but there remains the possibility that the colonial electoral college was a pallid survival of the putative pre-conquest institution. However that may be, within the college there was some switching between “casas”. Thus in 1804 two candidates for admission to the electoral college were admitted (with ap-

proval of their fellows) to the first and eleventh “houses” of Manco Capac and “Gran” Tupayupanqui, notwithstanding that they were descendants of Yahuar Huaccac Ingayupanqui, corresponding to the third “house”. The 1799 application of another candidate indicates that such procedure was formally recognized: Manuel Tambohuacso successfully applied to succeed his deceased father “as descendant of the ninth house of Pachacuti with option to the fifth and twelfth [houses]....”. The new *alférez real* received a staff of office (“baston”, “vara”), as indeed did the new *alcalde* and *alguacil* “de la corona”. The handing over of the *vara* was no cursory matter, but rather followed the kind of elaborate ritual customary in colonial life, as can be seen in the 1757 election:

“.....mando su merced que el dicho Electo Don Blas Inquiltopa haga el pleito ómenaje acostumbrado y estando presente juro a Dios y a una señal de Cruz segun forma en Derecho una, dos, y tres veces de guardar y cumplir su cargo en servicio de Su Magestad hasta rendir su vida como lo hasen los Cavalleros de Castilla, si asi lo hisiera Dios lo ayuda, y al contrario se lo demanda, y a la conclusion de el, dijo su juro y amen; y en señal de ello cojio el Estandarte real en la mano y al resivirlo hincado en Rodilla puso la una mano en la espada que traía en la sinta y con la otra, dicho Estandarte Real, y repitio que en su guardia y custodia dara la vida que entregarlo a otro que no sea su subcesor, electo en dicho empleo como leal basallo y servidor de Su Magestad en continuasion de sus Maiores.....”.⁹⁰

Two points touching on questions of individual and collective identity of the Inca nobles stand out in relief. The first is that the oath is to the monarch, and might be seen as inducing loyalty to the Crown at times of civil unrest, no small consideration in the late eighteenth century when subversion was often linked to notions of a return to some form of Inca rule. The second feature that compels attention is the explicit link made between the incoming *alférez real* and *hidalguía*. This emerges not only from the phrase “in the manner of the caballeros of Castille”, but also from the observation that the new incumbent wore a sword at his waist. Only hidalgos and other nobles held the right to carry a sword in public space, ceremonial or otherwise. This right was just one of the things that set them apart from provincial caciques, irrespective of whether these were powerful or of the middling sort.

This connexion between ‘Incanness’ and *hidalguía* appears constantly in documentation of the colonial period. The identification is emblematic of identity, but falls short of symbiosis, inasmuch as creole aristocrats of that ilk would not have accepted such an equation, for all that they were wont to boast of a shared Incan heritage. To strike a pose was one thing, to admit of a lack of *limpieza de sangre* quite another. The claim that indigenous nobility and Castilian nobility were two sides of the same coin was hardly a radical proposition in colonial life; after all, a high proportion of peninsular hidalgos were impoverished, a condition they shared with their Incan counterparts.⁹¹ In the long run, such poverty was telling. Aristocratic status might last a couple of generations, but in the long run economic class inexorably determined colonial social stratification, however slow such social change might have been in coming. We are reminded of the old *refrán*: *padre comerciante, hijo caballero, nieto pordiosero*. Pareto’s dictum that history is the graveyard of aristocracies also seems appropriate in this context – for die the Incan nobility assuredly did, once Peru had independence thrust upon it in 1824.

Yet the hidalgo connexion was one of the glues that obviated a real fragmentation of the nobility, and allowed it to preserve and assert a distinct identity within the social crucible of colonial life. The other was the institution of the Twenty-four Electors itself, which held together the remnants of the erstwhile *panacas* and thereby provided a buffer against the centrifugal forces that threatened to tear apart the anachronism that was the colonial Inca nobility. Quite like the peninsular nobility, individuals and their families were often required to provide documentary proof of their noble status, whether to avoid becoming enlisted in the ranks of common tributaries, or to acquire the right to the appurtenances of hidalgo status, or merely to demonstrate their right to enter the ranks of the Electors. The electoral college gave these individual pretensions a framework and a validating authority which, in tandem with its ritual function, provided a kind of infrastructure for individual and group Incan identity. It provided a map on which the individual pathways of Incan families might be plotted. It is likely that the twelve “casas” that comprised the electoral college were continuations of the original *panacas*, but in any case were redolent of them, appropriately so inasmuch as the *panaca* had been preëminently a ritual institution in Inca Cuzco. To the extent that Incan ritual continued in syncretic form in colonial Cuzco, above all in the extravaganza that was colonial Corpus Christi, the electoral college acted to cauterize any possibility of ritual pollution. Were this one of its functions, it would go a long way towards explaining the fierceness with which the Electors sought to exclude non-noble “indios particulares” from entry into their ranks and thus to participation, not only in elections, but

also as bearers of the royal standard on the “*día y vispera*” of Santiago. Indeed, there is a suspicion that some grants of *hidalguía* made in the early post-conquest decades were rewards for collaboration, and did not obey the criteria for recognition as *collana* or even *payan* Inca. The electoral college also provided validation of noble status, and was therefore an impediment to infiltration by any of “*es-traño fuero*”, whatever their social provenance. It held the line against not just ritual pollution but also any dilution of the aristocratic *bona fides* of the nobility. This sentinel function was crucial, for such dilution would have of itself led, in the long term, to the eventual dissolution of this somewhat fossilized nobility. It was a nobility of blood, not of merit.

Concluding Remarks

The “day and eve” of Santiago was for manifold reasons the day par excellence of the colonial Cuzco’s Inca nobility. It was the key to their individual and group identity, it enabled a continuation of forms of social constitution and ritual praxis to be conserved from the Incario through to at least the end of colonial rule. The manifold associations, oppositions, and complementarities of Santiago, the Virgen of Loreto, the Christchild and other saints with pre-Columbian divinities a (or, for Garcilaso, divine servants) infused the feast of Santiago, and the wider Corpus cycle generally, with multi-layered meanings. Several of these readings suggest messianic and chiliastic implications for late colonial politics, above all for the politics of subversion. Rather than assuming such political connotations, such meanings can be teased out of the chronicles and archival documentation, by sifting for traces of cultic activities and nuances – something of an ‘archaeology’ (though not quite in the Foucaultian sense) of ritual and religious meaning. The method of point-counterpoint, reading backwards and forwards between familiar chronicles and less familiar archival scourings, goes some way towards filling the silences imposed by the nature of the subject, that of reading the hearts, minds and souls of the historical protagonists. Yet, overall, what is clear from the foregoing exercise is that colonial religious feasts for important vectors for the integrity of native Andean belief systems and the vigour of syncretic Andean Catholicism, but also pregnant for with political meaning. As more and more evidence is marshalled, the widespread view that colonial Inca culture was not kosher; that the colonial Incas were figures of farce; and that their splendid presence on the day of Santiago and other occasions was colourful folklore devoid of real historical and even ethnographical significance, must be abandoned. For the colonial Inca nobles, individually and corporatively, the feast of Santiago was of the utmost seriousness, the crux of their identity rather than festive fun.

Both before and after the rebellion of 1780, the Inca nobility of colonial Cuzco found its own identity menaced; the Electors themselves were not exempt from this process. From the 1760s the indigenous nobility had found itself unravelling under the impact of what passed for modernization in the Hispanic world of the eighteenth century – the Bourbon reforms. All were threatened by the tightening fiscal screw. Many noble families found themselves, for the first time since the conquest, included in lists of common tributaries. This was an appalling assault upon their honour and public prestige, for at a stroke they became subject not only for tribute as if they were commoners, but also legally liable for forced labour service on haciendas, roads, and in private houses, monasteries, churches and mines. These noble families – for it would affect future generations – responded by assembling their *probanzas de nobleza*, just as peninsular nobles had always done. Some of these were accepted by Crown officials as proof of nobility and thus tickets to exemption from tribute and personal service, but still others were rejected, so that the number of those who fell from noble to commoner status increased gradually. Noble identity was undermined in two phases. The first came with the late 1760s overhaul of the tribute system in the Cuzco region, a by-product of the overhaul of imperial administration in the wake of Spain’s ignominious loss in the Seven Years War (1756-63). The second thrust was felt in the aftermath of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, when the authenticity of noble “genealogical documents” was once more challenged by Crown officials.

Yet serious as these minatory developments were, the Electors had even weightier matters to address. The attempt by Intendant Mata Linares to abolish the office of the *alférez real*, and with it the institution of the Twenty-four Electors, was only partly a response to the Incaic dimension of the great uprising. At a higher remove, popular religious culture came under concerted attack in the entire Hispanic world. The reformers, whose overriding aim was State security, took particular aim at street

processions, from prosaic rosary processions to large religious festivities such as Corpus Christi and Semana Santa. The idea was to drive public religiosity from the streets into the churches and cloisters, and with it any latent threat of political violence. It was envisaged that large processions such as Cuzco's Corpus Christi, would henceforth only exist as stripped-down shadows of their former splendour. As one historian has put it, the Crown feared *carnaval suave* becoming *carnaval salvaje*. To this religious reform was added the further official prejudice against religious corporations generally, whether confraternities, brotherhoods, or an electoral college. The attempt to abolish the Twenty-four Electors had, then, a wider point of reference. Yet the electoral college was accustomed to defending its privileges and prerogatives. Since 1598 it had vehemently repelled successive attempts to board it by "indios particulares".⁹² Ritual pollution and debasement of the Incan nobility would have inexorably led to the eventual dissolution of such a compromised institution, already faced with the erosion of the nobility by the adverse effects of the overhaul of the tribute system.

The Twenty-four Electors were, then, already to some extent inured against periodic challenges to its institutional integrity, for all that the late colonial reform conjuncture posed an unparalleled threat to its existence. Yet even this paled before the impertinence of an undistinguished cacique of three small *altiplano* villages. The pretensions of the parvenu Túpac Amaru had enormous implications for the Electors, who were the acknowledged leaders of the colonial Inca nobility, for all that their authority was unmatched by much in the way of power. Not merely did Túpac Amaru attempt to infiltrate the nobility, he sought to by-pass the electoral college entirely in order to win Crown recognition as first among Incas, and thereby to become their undisputed leader by official imposition. While there is little doubt that Túpac Amaru was of at least partly Incan descent, there is no indication that he belonged to a *panaca*, and had he done so he would surely have sought preëminence through the electoral college. As things stood, his own fissiparous identity posed a threat to the collective and individual identity of the Electors, and through them, to all the surviving Inca nobles of the city of Cuzco and its purlieu. It was because of this threat to its identity that the Twenty-four Electors opposed Túpac Amaru's rebellion, itself partly a private response to his being sandwiched socially between indigenous and creole elites who, at least in public space, spurned his pretensions and his multi-faceted identity — an identity at the end of its tether.

There is not much doubt that the publicly proclaimed identity of the Inca nobles was atavistic; at best, it represented a crystallization of the social status quo of the early conquest decades; it was anachronistic in terms not only of its harking back to the Incan past, but also of subsequent colonial developments, not the least of which was the growing importance of economic class as a determinant of social stratification. This criterion was writ ever larger in the course of the eighteenth century, and similarly imperilled Hispanic social criteria such as honour and estate. In the face of such inexorable change, the criteria of lineage and historical memory to which the Inca nobility appealed for their claim to a special place in the public sphere, could hardly remain unaffected. To a degree, the trajectory of Túpac Amaru's life was a reflection of such change, but where the Inca nobility of the eight parishes of Cuzco sought refuge in the past as a justification for its group identity and special status, Túpac Amaru was imagining an entirely new community. His alternative vision drew on that same golden past but looked forward to an alternative future controlled by the colonized, who would henceforth be at liberty to construct a new Incario, rather like the New Cuzcos that the quondam Inca emperors had begun to construct, until interrupted by the conquest. They envisaged their future in terms of "future past".⁹³ Where he pursued transformation, they clove to the remnant of their ancestors' glory. José Gabriel's attempt to translate — best to say, transmute — his imagined community into reality undermined, ironically so in view of their trenchant opposition to his alternative vision, the security of the nobility's acknowledged place in, and access to, public ritual and carnivalistic display. His rebellion gave further impetus to the official assault, both civil and ecclesiastical, on popular culture and popular religion that had been such a marked feature of Early Modern Europe, but which in the Hispanic world had been pursued with renewed vigour during the tenure of Charles III (1759-88). The group identity of the Inca nobility barely survived this onslaught, and limped along until Independence intervened in the 1820s. The subsequent attempts to implement other, Creole versions of an imagined future left indigenous aspirations, patrician as well as plebian, unfulfilled and largely unrecognized. While the descendants of the colonial Inca nobility continue today in the purlieu of Cuzco, its group identity in the public sphere appears to have disappeared in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In the public sphere, neither individual nor group Incan identity exists any longer. Nor, for that matter, does Túpac Amaru's New Incario. The Incan motif in contemporary

Cuzqueño popular culture represents a tradition invented rather than an imagined community, a tradition that reflects more the imaginings of Simón Bolívar than the community of Túpac Amaru.

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This paper was first delivered in the CLAH symposium, "The Festival of Corpus Christi and Alternative Political Representations," Washington, January 9, 1999.

Notes

¹ Carolyn Sue Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990).

² There is now an enormous bibliography on colonial Andean rebellion, for an evaluation of which see Steve J. Stern, "The Age of Andean Insurrection, 1742-1782: A Reappraisal", in Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries* (The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1987), pp.34-93. The two principal works on the 'conjuncture' of rebellion are: Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los orígenes de la Independencia de Hispanoamérica* (2nd edn., Librería Hachette, Buenos Aires, 1957); Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Böhlau Verlag, Köln & Wien, 1984). Several recent works are valuable: Luis Miguel Glave, *Vida, Símbolos y Batallas: Creación y recreación de la comunidad indígena. Cuzco, siglos XVI-XX* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, Lima, 1992); Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *La gran rebelión en los Andes: De Túpac Amaru a Túpac Catari* (Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, Cuzco, 1995); Núria Sala i Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: Tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el Virreinato del Perú, 1784-1814* (Instituto de Estudios Regionales José María Arguedas, Ayacucho, 1996). See also the contributions in Charles Walker (ed.), *Entre la retórica y la insurgencia. Las ideas y los movimientos sociales en los Andes, siglo XVIII* (Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, Cuzco, 1996). For overviews (apart from the titles by Glave and Sala i Vila cited above) of the period following the suppression of the *levantamiento general*, see especially John R. Fisher, "Royalism, Regionalism, and Rebellion in Colonial Peru, 1808-1815", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol.59, no.2, 1979, pp.232-257; Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, "El mito de la 'independencia concedida': los programas políticos del siglo XVIII y del temprano XIX en el Perú y Alto Perú (1730-1814)", in Inge Buisson et al., *Problemas de la formación del estado y de la nación en Hispanoamérica* (Böhlau Verlag, Köln & Wien, 1984), pp.55-92; Luis Durand Flórez, *Criollos en conflicto: Cuzco después de Túpac Amaru* (Universidad de Lima, Lima, 1985).

³ Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.29, Mata Linares to Gálvez, letter of 30 June, 1783.

⁴ The phenomenon extends from the late sixteenth century through to the present. See especially: Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes* (Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, Lima, 1987); Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía. Muerte y resurrección de los incas* (Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, Lima, 1988). The concept of *utopía andina* was first delineated by Burga and Flores Galindo, "La utopía andina", *Allpanchis*, vol.XVII, 1982, pp.85-101. For related approaches, Franklin Pease G.Y., "Mesianismo andino e identidad étnica: continuidades y problemas", *Cultura* (Quito), 1982, vol.5, no.13, pp.57-71; Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Ayllus del sol:anarquismo y utopía andina* (TAREA, Lima, 1984).

⁵ Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.29, Mata Linares to Gálvez, letter of 30 June, 1783. There is more than a suspicion of plagiarism by Mata here, of the early eighteenth-century Peruvian savant, Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo y Rocha (1664-1743), who argued: "Quit Lima from Peru and no empire will remain....With Lima defended, all is defended; with it lost, all is lost". If one substitutes Mata's Cuzco for Lima, the rhetorical resemblance is uncanny. For Peralta's views, see D.A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991), p.397, citing Peralta, *Lima inexpugnable* (ed. Luis Antonio Eguiguren Escudero, 2nd edn., Lima, 1966), pp.xxv, xxxii. See also the introduction by Jerry Williams, *Peralta Barnuevo and the Discourse of Loyalty: A Critical Edition of Four Selected Texts* (Arizona State University, Tempe, 1996)

⁶ The *panaca* was in many respects the key Inca institution, and references to them abound in the literature. Their centrality is best seen in the classic study of R.T. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1964). Good, condensed treatments of the institution are: María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: Ideología religiosa y política* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima, 1983), pp.138-150; María Concepción Bravo Guerreira, *El tiempo de los incas* (Editorial Alhambra, Madrid, 1986), pp.92-105; Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, "Las panacas del Cuzco y la pintura incaica", *Revista de Indias*, vol.XLVI, no.177, 1986, pp.58-74.

⁷ See note 10.

⁸ Bravo, *op.cit.*, pp.96-97; George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World", *Handbook of South American Indians* (Cooper Square, New York, repr. of 1944 Smithsonian Institution publication) vol.2, pp.408-409. On the Colegio de San Borja generally, see Monique Alaperrine Bouyer, "Esbozo de una historia del Colegio San Francisco de Borja de Cuzco", in *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de AHILA* (Liverpool 17-22 September, 1996) vol.IV, ed. John R. Fisher (University of Liverpool, 1998), pp.44-53.

⁹ The "royal crown" of the Inca was composed of three parts: "El llautu, que es una parte de las tres que componían su real corona, ciñendo la cabeza a modo de guirnalda o laurel, iba toda tejida de gruesos hilos de perlas, sembradas grandes esmeraldas en él; el *mascapaycha*, que es una lámina o plumaje que se levanta del llautu encima de la frente, y es la segunda parte de la corona, era de finísimo oro con unos ramillos de esmeraldas; la *unancha*, que es la borla que cuelga del pie de la lámina o plumaje sobre la frente, y es la tercera parte que compone aquella corona....", as described by Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* (ed. Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, Brown University Press, Providence, 1965) tomo 1, p.99. This account is a record of a 1555 procession in Potosí which featured representations of the Incas, and is subject to all the usual doubts concerning the verisimilitude that European perceptions of the ritual and material culture of the "vanquished". For some perceptive comments regarding Arzáns' account of the Potosí procession, see

Manuel Burga, *op.cit.*, p.378-382. In spite of the above detail, the “royal crown” of the Inca was conventionally described in colonial documents as the “*mascapaicha*” and/or “*borla colorada*”. Bravo, *op.cit.*, p.85, notes that the appearance of the *mascapaicha* approximated to “a bloody martial and ceremonial axe”. For one of many examples of the fierceness with which ‘kosher’ colonial Inca nobles protected the right to wear the *mascapaicha*, see the documentary appendix to J. Uriel García, “El alferazgo real de indios en la época colonial”, *Revista Universitaria* (Cuzco), vol.XXVI, 1937, pp.189-208, esp. pp.194-208.

¹⁰ The *champi* is also present in the Loreto procession of 1692 (see anon), in which a ceremonial banner featured a painting of an Inca in traditional costume “con su mascaipacha de la borla colorada y su champi, y valcanca en la mano ysquierda” (the *valcanca* being the Incaic shield or buckler featured in seventeenth-century pictorial representations of the Incas in the Corpus Christi procession and in the chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala), for which see, Archivo Departamental del Cuzco: Real Hacienda, Leg.171, “Instancia que han hecho Don Buenaventura Sicos: sus hijos y otros descien[n]den [sic] de este Linage.....”, 26 January, 1786, for a *traslado* of 22 August, 1692.

¹¹ Cobo, vol.II, libro XIV, ch. IX: “Tenían unas mazas de madera pesada y redondas, y otras, que eran propia arma de los Incas, con el remate de cobre, llamadas *champi*, y es [sic] una asta como de alabarda, puesto en el cabo un hierro de cobre de hechura de estrella con sus puntas o rayos alrededor muy puntiagudos. Destos *champs* unos eran cortos como bastones y otros tan largos como lanzas, y los más de mediano tamaño”. For woodcuts of the dress and insignias of successive Inca rulers, see Guaman Poma, vol.I, 85 [85] to 117 [117], pp.66-95.

¹² These *mascarones* are distinct from the *canipos* identified in the 1610 festivities held to celebrate the beatification of Ignatius de Loyola (discussed anon): “canipos....de plata, que son a figura de luna...”, for which see Carlos A. Romero (ed.), “Festividades del tiempo heroico del Cuzco”, *Inca*, vol.1, no.2, 1923, pp.447-454, esp. p.450. Cobo vol.2, Libro 14, ch.2, says of these, “usaban traer al pecho y en la cabeza una patenas de oro o plata, llamadas *canipos*, del tamaño y hechura de nuestros platos.”; Molina (“El Cuzqueño”), p.67, simply defines it as a “medalla de oro”.

¹³ It is, though, unclear how widespread the discrete celebration of the feast of Santiago was in rural districts. Participation as *alférez real* was an important indicator of status and even nobility in a town. Evidence for rural celebrations is to be found in the applications for scholarships by sons of nobles, caciques and other *principales* for attendance at the Colegio de San Francisco de Borja. See Archivo Departamental del Cuzco: Colegio de Ciencias, “Memoria y Calificación de los Indios Nobles, años 1763-1766” (Leg 1). This indicates that the office of the indigenous *alferazgo real* was also available in each parish, complementary to that of the major Incan office for the day and eve of Santiago. The same documentation also makes clear that in the Marquesado de Oropesa, comprising the doctrinas of San Francisco de Maras, San Bernardo de Urubamba, San Benito de Alcántara (Huallabamba) and Santiago de Oropesa (Yucay) — all located in the Vilcanota Valley — a separate body of five Electors chose a noble *alférez real* for annual Santiago celebrations in Yucay; at least one of these Electors was also among the Twenty-four Electors for the main city festivities. The five appear to comprise one for each doctrina, plus one for Ollantaytambo in the Valley, which in the late eighteenth century formed part, with those four, of first the *corregimiento* and then (from 1784) the *subdelegación* of Urubamba. In the Yucay feast, the *alférez real* wore, like his counterpart in the city of Cuzco, the *mascapaicha*. There is also mention of a cognate *alferazgo real* for Santiago in the doctrina of Guarocondo, on the edge of the Valley of Jaquijahuana in the province of Abancay.

¹⁴ A good account of the protean character of Santiago is Emilio Choy, “De Santiago Matamoros a Santiago Mata-Indios”, in *idem*, *Antropología y Historia* (Lima, 1979) vol.1, pp.333-437. See also Irene Silverblatt, “Political Memories and Colonizing Symbols: Santiago and the Mountain Gods of Colonial Peru”, in Jonathon D. Hill (ed.), *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous Southern American Perspectives on the Past* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1988), pp.174-329.

¹⁵ Mariusz S. Ziolkowski, *La guerra de los Wawqi: los objetivos y los mecanismos de la rivalidad dentro de la élite inka, s.XV-XVI* (Abya-Yala, Quito, 1996), p55, citing the chronicler Juan Polo de Ondegardo.

¹⁶ For a detailed description of just such a banner, see the account of the Loreto procession of 1692 (anon).

¹⁷ Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest, *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984), p.100.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.100-101.

¹⁹ Mariusz Ziolkowski, *op.cit.*, p.167, n.18, citing Arthur Demarest.

²⁰ See the detailed analysis in Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1991), Ch.8, esp.337-340.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.340.

²² See Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.15, “Consejo Expediente sobre la ereccion en la Ciudad del Cuzco de una cofradía de S[an]tiago que se intenta establecer en una Parroquia de aquella Ciudad, y aprovacion de sus Constituciones”, petition of José Agustín Chacón y Becerra, 1 August, 1786, fol.3r. In the course of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, rebel troops claimed that they had seen Santiago among the royalist forces sent to suppress the rebellion: “A cuya cauza en las Iglesias, y Capillas donde encontraron los simulacros de nuestro portentoso Mesenas, llegaron al sacrilego arrojo de amarrarle las manos, o tenerlas como en prision por que su ignorancia ô idolatria les preocupaba la razon para creer que assi no favorezeria a los fieles, y leales vaxallos de un Monarcha justo, y venigno cuyos Dominios Reales defendian”.

²³ Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas* (ed. María del Carmen Martín Rubio, Atlas, Madrid, 1987 [1551]), Part 1, Ch.XI.

²⁴ Ziolkowski, *op.cit.*, p.129.

²⁵ MacCormack, *op.cit.*, p.292.

²⁶ Ziolkowski, *op.cit.*, p.212, n.36.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.55-63, for the association of Venus and Illapa.

²⁸ This concept relates especially to reception theory, and derives from linguistics or semiotics in the first instance. In the study of cultural encounter, “it is necessary to move backwards and forwards between the ‘emic’ vocabulary of the natives of a culture, the insiders, and the ‘etic’ concepts of the outsiders who study them”, and from this vantage point, “what the historian needs to investigate is the logic underlyingappropriations and combinations, the local reasons for....choices”: see Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1997), pp.193, 209.

²⁹ For detailed analysis, see Peter Bradley and David Cahill, *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination, and Memory* (Liverpool University Press, forthcoming).

³⁰ Carol Ann Fiedler, *Corpus Christi in Cuzco: Festival and Ethnic Identity in the Peruvian Andes* (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1985), p.139. Note that Fiedler records 27 July as the shared Corpus day, whereas 25 July was the colonial “day of Santiago”, although 27 July was used in the early seventeenth century. This colonial change may perhaps have been due to the switch from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar, but there is no obvious explanation for the leap from 25 to 27 July in the modern period, given that 25 July remains the feast-day of Santiago generally. Note to that Santa Barbara is also “twinned” with San Isidro in the village of Poroy on 15 May, the latter saint’s feast-day: see Fiedler, p.314.

³¹ For these associations, Michael J. Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco* (Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., and London, 1987), p.131; Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community* (Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., and London, 1988), pp.53, 242 n.17.

³² Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.15, “Consejo Expediente sobre la ereccion en la Ciudad del Cuzco de una cofradía de S[a]ntiago que se intenta establecer en una Parroquia de aquella Ciudad, y aprovación se sus Constituciones”, petition of José Agustín Chacón y Becerra, 1 August, 1786.

³³ The feast-day of the Virgen of Loreto does not appear in either of the two colonial liturgical calendars known to me, but is mentioned in ADC, Notariales: José Agustín Chacón y Becerra, Libro No.73, 1786-87, “Fundación de la Hermandad y Cofradía de Sor. Santiago”, 20 March, 1786. Note also (*idem*) that Santa Barbara shares her feast-day of 4 December with San Pedro Chrisolongo. Thus not every opposition or twinning within Andean Catholicism was necessarily inspired by Native Andean dualism. Note in this context that, in Spain, the Virgen of Loreto was specifically twinned with San Lorenzo. In Huesca, an Augustine (“calzados”) “sanctuary and convent” was built on the site of the martyr San Lorenzo’s birthplace, into which was built the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Loreto: see *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, eds. Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez, and José Vives Gatell (Madrid, 1978) tomo IV, p.2284.

³⁴ See Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.15, “Consejo Expediente sobre la ereccion en la Ciudad del Cuzco de una Cofradía de S[a]ntiago que se intenta establecer en una Parroquia de aquella Ciudad, y aprovacion de sus Constituciones”, petition of José Agustín Chacón y Bezerra, 1 August, 1786, fol.3r. During the Túpac Amaru rebellion, rebel troops claimed that they had seen Santiago among the royalist forces sent to suppress the rebellion: “A cuya cauza en las Yglesias, y Capillas donde encontraron los simulacros de este nuestro portentoso Mesenas, llegaron al sacrilego arrojio de amarrarle las manos, y tenerlas como en prizon por que su ignorancia ô idolatria les preocupaba la razon para creer que assi no favorezeria a los fieles, y leales vazallos de un Monarca justo, y venigno cuyos Dominios Reales defendian.”

³⁵ Bradley and Cahill, *op.cit.*

³⁶ Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Lima, Leg.306, “Resumen de la Visita Eclesiástica que se hizo de los beneficios curados que ay en las provincias de Quispicancha [*sic*] Paucartambo, Calca y Lares Marquesado de Oropesa y las de la de Abancay = Pertencientes al Obispado del Cuzco Año de 1687”. The Bishop ordered that in the doctrina of Andahuaylillas (Quispicanchis), “al Niño Jhs. que esta en un altar de la yglesia se le quite la mascapaycha, y se le pongan ô rayos ô corona imperial”; in the doctrina of Caycay (Paucartambo), he similarly ordered, “Que se quite la mascapacha al Niño Jhs, que esta en la yglesia, y se le pongan ô rayos ô corona imperial”. In the doctrina of San Jerónimo, one of the two principal focii of the colonial Inca nobility, the Bishop ordered, “Que se quite al niño Jhs que esta en un Altar del cuerpo de la yglesia la mascapaycha y el sol, que tiene en el pecho, y se le dexen los rayos solamente que estan en la cabeza”, indicating an existing relationship between Inca and Sun, while the “rayos” can represent Santiago/Illapa and/or Incan solar worship.

³⁷ Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco, Pleitos xiv.5.87, “Querrela criminal seguido p[o]r Juan Gonzales, cura Paucartambo, contra el corregidor Tiburcio de Landa, sus criados y comensales, p[o]r injurias graves levantadas”, 1774.

³⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales*, book I, ch.XXIII.

³⁹ Betanzos, Part 1, Ch.xxvii.

⁴⁰ Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest, *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge & New York, 1984), p.100.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.100-101.

⁴² Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas* (ed. María del Carmen Martín Rubio, Madrid, 1987 [1551]), ch.11.

⁴³ The connexion between the colonial representation of the Christchild adorned with the *mascapaycha* and the Punchao was suggested to me by Lillian Yackeline Cáceres Gómez, an archaeology student of the Universidad de San Antonio Abad, Cuzco.

⁴⁴ P. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (ed. Francisco Mateos, Madrid, 1964 [1653]) vol.II, book 13, ch.5.

⁴⁵ Cristóbal de Molina, *Relación de las fábulas i ritos de los ingas* in *Fábulas y mitos de los incas*, ed. Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols (HISTORIA 16, Madrid, 1988 [1573]).

⁴⁶ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer corónica y buen gobierno* (ed. John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno & Jorge L. Urioste, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima, 1980), tomo II, 449-450 [451-452], pp.416-417.

⁴⁷ On López de Sosa, see Cahill, *Crown, Clergy and Revolution*, pp.205, 302. For the burial, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.75, “Copia de Cartas, y Otros Docum[en]tos Comprovantes de haverse hallado en Casa de Dr. Anton[i]o López de Sosa Cura de Pampamarca un retrato de Obispo de un hijo de Diego Christóval Túpac Amaru”, n.d., but the baptism took place on November 4, 1782, the second anniversary of José Gabriel Túpac Amaru’s capture of the corregidor Arriaga, the event that had precipitated the rebellion. The child died on November 17, and was accorded a funeral befitting an heir to the Inca throne. A further, ironic twist was given by the fact that the godfather of the infant was Francisco Salcedo, the executed Arriaga’s replacement as corregidor of the province of Canas y Canchis (a.k.a. Tinta); Salcedo arranged for the militia under his command to fire several volleys at the funeral in homage to the child.

⁴⁸ Ignacio de Castro, *Relación del Cuzco* (ed. Carlos Daniel Valcárcel Aranibar, University of San Marcos, Lima, 1978 repr. of 1795 Madrid edn.), p.81.

⁴⁹ Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.35, Mata Linares to Gálvez (No.11), 6 August, 1785; Mata Linares to Gálvez (No.28), 19 March, 1786.

⁵⁰ Luis Millones, “The Inka’s Mask: Dramatisation of the Past in Indigenous Colonial Processions”, in *Andean Art: Visual Expression and its Relation to Andean Beliefs and Values*, ed. Penny Dransart (Avebury, Aldershot & Brookfield USA, 1995), pp11-32. For Arzáns y Vela’s account, see n.26; Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú* (“segunda parte de los Comentarios Reales”) (Madrid, 1960; originally published 1617), Book 8, Ch.1, pp.84-88, 278-299, records the Corpus Christi of 1555; for the 1610 festivities, see n.28; see n.27 for the 1692 procession; the 1659 and 1725 fiestas are related in Josephe and Francisco de Muguburu, *Diario de Lima (1640-1694)* (ed. Horacio Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, Lima, 1917). For these Lima festivities, see Burga, *op.cit.*, pp.378-389.

⁵¹ Here, though, it is worth noting that native elites such as caciques are often referred to as “nobles” in the historical literature. The Inca nobles were, by contrast, distinct from such native elites, and depended for their status upon (provable) direct descent from one or more erstwhile Inca rulers.

⁵² The notion of ‘imagined community’ is now a familiar historical theme, since Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (rev.edn., Verso, New York and London, 1991). For its application to Peruvian history, see Cecilia Méndez, “República sin indios: La comunidad imaginada”, in *Tradicón y modernidad en los Andes*, comp. Henrique Urbano (Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos ‘Bartolomé de Las Casas’, Cusco, 1997); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1997), esp. Ch.2 (“Unimagined Communities”). The concept neatly collapses E.P. Thompson’s distinction between ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ in the study of nationalisms.

⁵³ Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1979); English translation as *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (trans. Keith Tribe, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1985).

⁵⁴ It should be noted that there were several classes of nobles in the pre-1532 Inca elite, while after the conquest several non-nobles were granted *hidalguía* as recompense for having assisted the Spaniards at various points during the conquest. The complexity of the pre-1532 nobility is discussed in R.T. Zuidema, "The Inca Kinship System: A New Theoretical View", in *Andean Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Ralph Bolton and Enrique Mayer (American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., 1977), pp.240-292, esp.276-279.

⁵⁵ In this respect, the comments of Marshall Sahlins on scholars' disrespect towards the post-conquest history of colonial peoples, by which acculturation is considered to have tainted autochthonous cultures, thereby rendering these non-pristine and 'impure' cultures correspondingly less valuable for 'scientific' study. There has long been a widespread view that colonial Inca culture was degenerate and debased, and therefore that the colonial Inca nobles themselves were and are not quite 'kosher'. See Sahlins, "Goodbye to *Tristes Tropes*: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History", *Journal of Modern History*, vol.65, no.1, 1993, pp.1-25.

⁵⁶ This was especially the case in the aftermath of the Túpac Amaru rebellion; see, e.g., Archivo General de Indias, Leg.35, Mata Linares to Gálvez (No.11), 6 August, 1785; Mata Linares to Gálvez (No.28), 19 March, 1786. For further discussion, David Cahill, "After the Fall: Constructing Inca Identity in Late Colonial Cuzco", in *Constructing Collective Identities and Shaping Public Spheres: Latin American Paths*, eds. Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder (Sussex Academic Press, Brighton and Portland, 1998), pp.65-99.

⁵⁷ On the Spanish nobility, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII* (C.S.I.C., University of Granada, Granada, 1992 [1963]) vol.I, pp.161-322, esp. p.172ff on the *probanzas* ("el conjunto de diligencias necesarias para demostrar la hidalguía, tenían que adquirir una importancia desmesurada a partir de comienzos del siglo XVI, cuando la delimitación jurídica de los estados comenzó a tomar una importancia preeminente, al par que crecía el afán de *honra*, es decir, de distinción social."). The highpoint of the *probanzas* thus coincided nicely with the conquest and early colonization of Peru, just in time, in fact, for the Inca nobles to make good use of them.

⁵⁸ On the Creole nobility and other elites of Cuzco, see David Cahill, "Repartos ilícitos y familias principales en el Sur Andino: 1780-1824", *Revista de Indias*, vol.XLVIII, núms.182-183, 1988, pp.449-473; Neus Escandell-Tur, *Producción y comercio de tejidos coloniales: Los obreros y chorrillos del Cuzco 1570-1820* (Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas", Cuzco, 1997).

⁵⁹ There is a burgeoning literature on the theme of memory, the most obvious manifestation of which is the journal *History & Memory*. The key work is the French project under Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire* (Gallimard, Paris, 1984-92) 7 vols. This is now being translated into a three-volume English edition: see Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French Past* (trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Columbia University Press, New York, 1996) vol.1, esp. the introduction by Nora at pp.1-20. See also David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), pp.193-210, who provides a useful introduction to the theme. Especially important is Jacques le Goff, *History and Memory* (trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, Columbia University Press, New York, 1992), and Burke, *Varieties*, pp.43-59, esp. pp.58-59 on myth; Burke, *History and Social Theory*, pp.101-103 on myth. Myth here is used in the sense of a particular construction of the past (e.g., a 'founding father' story) that provides a platform and "charter" (Malinowski) for the present, or just a story with a social function.

⁶⁰ Le Goff, p.56; see also p.129: "Just as the past is not history but the object of history, so memory is not history, but both one of its objects and an elementary level of its development." This distinction — perhaps fairly tenuous in any case — is sometimes lost to view by Nora, "Introduction", but is cogently delineated in Lowenthal, *op.cit.*

⁶¹ This is perhaps to simplify a complex problem; the question of a diarchy involves consideration of the moieties of *hanan* and *hurin*, and of whether the ruling Inca had a "brother" in the corresponding moiety who might replace the Inca absent on campaign ("hermano" cf. the colonial "segunda persona"). A good starting-point and introduction to the several issues is María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: Ideología religiosa y política* (Instituto de Estudios Andinos, Lima, 1983), pp.130-180.

⁶² Le Goff, *op.cit.*, p.134.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, citing Lévi-Strauss; cf. Burke, *Varieties*, p.58, citing Malinowski's view that "myth functions as the 'charter' of institutions".

⁶⁴ Reference here is to the discovery of a supposedly new colonial Jesuit treatise concerning a "literary quipu" which, if authentic, would appear to support the thesis that the (pre-1532) Incas had a system of writing: see Viviano Domenici and Davide Domenici, "Talking Knots of the Inca", *Archaeology*, Nov/Dec. 1996, pp.50-56. The 'discoverer' is Laura Laurencich Minelli, who presented the evidence for authenticity of this new source to the 49th International Congress of Americanists in Quito in July, 1997, as "Una Contribución a la Etnohistoria del Perú. El documento "Historia et Rudiementa Linguae Piruanorum". Both the validity of the document and Laurencich herself have been attacked by Juan Carlos Estenssoro F., "¿Historia de un fraude o fraude histórico?", *Revista de Indias*, vol.LVII, núm.210, 1997, pp.566-578.

⁶⁵ Cahill, "After the Fall", pp.65-99.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.80-83. Note the similar genealogical construction in mediæval France mentioned by Le Goff, *op.cit.*, p.134, "Thus in the mediæval West, when noble families, nations, or urban communities become interested in giving themselves a history, they often begin with mythical ancestors who inaugurate the genealogies, with their legendary founding heroes. Thus the Franks claimed to descend from the Trojans, the Lusignan family claimed to descend from the fairy [!] Mélusine, and the monks of Saint-Denis attributed the foundation of their abbey to Denis the Areopagite, the Athenian converted by St. Paul". Exactly, in fact, like the colonial Incas.

⁶⁷ Le Goff, *op.cit.*, pp.51-58, refers to "ethnic memory" without writing ("primitive"), and then goes on to analyse the "rise of memory". Given that (see above note) there were close similarities between the construction of identities in mediæval France and colonial Peru, the distinction between "ethnic" and other memory appears rather false. Burke, *Varieties*, p.47, criticizes Nora's tendentious distinction between the "spontaneous memory of traditional societies and the self-conscious 'representation' of modern societies". Certainly, in the case of the colonial Incas, the distinction is entirely false (even if we allow that such a thing as "spontaneous memory" might actually exist). Such comparative ethnology or 'world history' has a tradition that stretches back to the sixteenth century: see, e.g., Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the origins of Comparative Ethnology* (rev. edn., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988). Its influence continues through Voltaire, the Encyclopaedists, Herder and the Romantics: see the remarks of Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas* (The Hogarth Press, London, 1976), pp.148-151.

⁶⁸ Cahill, "After the Fall", pp.65-99.

⁶⁹ Burke, *Varieties*, p.209.

⁷⁰ Le Goff, *op.cit.*, p.55, citing Georges Balandier.

⁷¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, book 9, ch.XL.

⁷² Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, Intendencia: Real Hacienda, Leg.175, "Expediente relativo a los tributos del Cuzco, matrícula hecha en el año de 1786 y demas incidencias".

⁷³ Manuel A. Fuentes (ed.), *Memorias de los Virreyes que han gobernado el Perú* (Lima, 1859) tomo IV, appendix pp.7-15; this is drawn from the *memoria* of Viceroy Manso de Velasco, Conde de Superunda, also available in the edition by Alfredo Moreno Cebrían (ed.), *Relación y documentos de gobierno del Virrey del Perú, José A. Manso de Velasco, Conde de Superunda (1745-1761)* (Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo", C.S.I.C., Madrid, 1983), pp.235-246 for the "estado del reino".

⁷⁴ Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia del Cuzco, Leg.35, Mata Linares to Gálvez (No.11), 6 August, 1785; Mata Linares to Gálvez (No.28), p.81.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Representation of the Twenty-four Electors (attachment without foliation).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* This contention is borne out by discrete documentation: see the transcription of documents (1598-1601, 1673, 1685, 1728, and 1738-39) concerning the election of *alférez real* and related protests in J. Uriel García, “El alferazgo real de indios en la época colonial”, *Revista Universitaria* (Cuzco) vol.XXVI, 1937, pp.188-208.

⁷⁷ These caste definitions are here expressed at their most basic level. For an exhaustive treatment of their significance, see R.T. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cusco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (E.J. Brill, Leyden, 1964).

⁷⁸ AGI Cuzco, Leg.35, Mata Linares to Gálvez (No.11), 6 August, 1785.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Leg.29, Cuad.17, “Autos sobre la nominación de electores en propiedad, para Alférez Real, de acuerdo a las casas a los doce reyes que fueron de esto reyno”, 1721-1820 (unfoliated), Petition of Don Luis Canatupa, 30 June, 1809.

⁸⁴ It is, though, unclear how widespread the discrete celebration of the feast of Santiago was in rural districts. Participation as *alférez real* was an important indicator of status and even nobility in a town. Evidence for rural celebrations is to be found in the applications for scholarships by sons of nobles, caciques and other *principales* for attendance at the Colegio de San Francisco de Borja. See Archivo Departamental del Cuzco: Colegio de Ciencias, “Memoria y Calificación de los Indios Nobles, años 1763-1766” (Leg.1). This documentation makes clear that in the Marquesado de Oropesa (properly “de Santiago de Oropesa”), comprising the doctrinas of San Francisco de Maras, San Bernardo de Urubamba, San Benito de Alcántara (Huayllabamba) and Santiago de Oropesa (Yucay) — all located in the Vilcanota Valley — a separate body of five Electors chose a noble *alférez real* for annual Santiago celebrations in Yucay; at least one of those Electors was also among the Twenty-four Electors for the main city festivities. The five appear to comprise one for each doctrina, plus another for Ollantaytambo in the Valley, which in the late eighteenth century formed part (with the other four) of first the *corregimiento* and then (from 1784) the *subdelegación* of Urubamaba. In the Yucay fiesta, the *alférez real* wore, like his city counterpart, the *mascapaicha*. There is also mention of a cognate *alferazgo real* for the day Santiago in the doctrina of Guarcocondo, on the edge of the Valley of Jaquijahuana in the province of Abancay.

⁸⁵ For the latter, ADC, Intendencia: Real Hacienda, Leg.175, “expediente promovido por Don Nicolas Ramos Titto, y consanguineos en que solisitan se les relebe de la contribucion de Taza”, 26 January, 1786. There is here no mention of the *mascapaicha*, but Ramos Tito was a “noble”, in a province in which there was a cluster of recognized indigenous nobles, whatever that rubric signified so far from Cuzco; it is, though, instructive that Ramos Tito claimed to be one of a group of “Principales Ingas reducidos en dicho pueblo de Yaurisque”.

⁸⁶ ADC, Corregimiento: Ordinarias, Leg.29, Cuad.17, “Autos sobre la nominación de electores en propiedad....”, election of 1757.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, for the effects of the epidemic on the electoral college. On the wider impact of the epidemic (of “*fiebre*”) of 1720, see Ann M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1520-1720* (Duke University Press, Durham & London, 1990), pp.42-44, indicating that at least 300,000 Indians died in the epidemic, 80,000 of them in the diocese of Cuzco, 20,000 in the city alone.

⁸⁸ It should be noted that there was a significant difference between the royal ayllus and the *panacas*, the latter an apparently late creation (reign of Pachacutec), whereas the ayllus were the stem lineage groups. The distinction is often blurred in the chronicles, and, therefore, in most modern studies.

⁸⁹ See the cogent discussion in Martti Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and its Political Organization* (Societas Historica Finlandiae, Helsinki, 1992), pp.257-259.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, “Autos sobre la nominación.....”, election of 1757.

⁹¹ On the Spanish nobility of the Early Modern era, see especially the studies of Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Las clases privilegiadas en el Antiguo Régimen* (Ediciones ISTMO, Madrid, 1973), pp.19-200; *idem*, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII* (C.S.I.C., Universidad of Granada, Granada, 1992 of 1964/1970 edn.) vol.I; *idem*, *Sociedad y Estado en el siglo XVIII español* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1976), pp.345-358.

⁹² See the documentary appendices to J. Uriel Gracia, “El alferazgo real de indios en la época colonial”, *Revista Universitaria* (Cuzco), vol.XXVI, 1937, pp.189-208.

⁹³ The phrase comes from Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (trans. Keith Tribe, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1985). The original term is *vergangene Zukunft*.