Colonial Visions
Drama, Art, and Legitimation in Peruand Ecuador

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THE VISUAL DISPLAY OF POWER is viewed as a major feature of political domination by scholars of early modern Europe; underscored , in particular, is the use from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries of dramatic and artistic representations in absolutist monarchies. In Hapsburg Spain , John Elliott and Jonathan Brown have highlighted the link between monarchical power and painting and drama in the env iro ns of the cou rt,1 and Jose Antonio Maravall has placed the development of these arts, geared as they were toward social control, within the context of the growing urbanization of the era.' In contrast, the role of visual imagery in the legitimation of power in the Spanish colonies of the New World has received little atten tion. Yet as offshoots of the Spanish monarchy, coloni al governments in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere must also have resorted to art and drama to impose values facilitating control and explo it ation. There is, however, an immediate objection to the idea that such artistic legitimations abounded in the colonies. Did not the colonies lack large urban masses to be subjected to social control, audiences for the visual display of power? There are two answers to this objection: first, the coloni es were surprisingly urbanized, and second, town and country were so tightly integrated that rural dwellers too were compelled to witness the productions of urban culture. Hence, even the native Indians active ly participated in art istic legitimations of power.

This article explores the role that visual imagery played in the legitimation of colonial power in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and it examines native response to the art and ceremonial dramas sponsored by the colonial state. The ideal foci for this study are productions dealing with the Conquest itself, as the ethical status of the Conquest and of the order it overthrew were themes that were especially relevant to the crown's native subjects. This article addresses the interaction of the art of power with popular culture through a study of a specific incident in the seventeenth centu ry, in which native actors manipulated and responded to official representations.

A distinctive feature of the Viceroyalty of Peru is that the state established its legitimacy with reference to the pre-colonial past. That past was the Incaic

'empire,' a territorial state in which the ethnic group of the Inca ruled over a plethora of other polities. The Inca state was dismembered after the Spanish Conquest in the r53os. In its place arose the political and economic frameworks of the Viceroyalty of Peru. As an appendage of the Spanish monarchy, the viceregal state drew its moral authority from metropolitan legitimations, which is to say, dynastic lineage, consent of the people, and divine providence. Yet it also founded its legitimacy on both the rejection and assimilation of the rights and norms of the pre-Hispanic era. The administrative elite of the Viceroyalty justified a highly stratified order, in which the native population was subject to special obligations in the form of tribute and labor services through a variety of theological and juridical assertions relating to the pre-Hispanic past. Colonial authorities claimed that Spanish preeminence in the colonial context derived from three historically related sources: from the conquerors' military rout of Indian forces; from the native lords' voluntary transfer of sovereignty at the time of the Conquest; and from the colonist s' labors to alter pre-Conquest beliefs and perfect social norms.

These historically oriented claims were depicted in public ceremony and pictorial art in Peru from the decades after the Conquest until the end of Spanish colonialism in the early nineteenth century. Dramatic representations of theological and juridical justifications of colonial society took the form of outdoor plays, or *autos,* performed in the plazas of the administrative centers of the Viceroyalty. These were staged *during.fiestas reales* (royal festivities), which were the local celebrations for the birth of an *infante* (heir to the Spanish th rone) or the coronation of a new king. Claims for the legitimacy of colonial society that made reference to a pre-Conquest universe were also communicated through pictorial means. Paintings devoted to this theme were commissioned for and displayed in the course of royal festivities.

Viceregal dramas relating to the past are a standard subject of the extensive anthropological literature on the Andes, where they are termed 'dances of the Conquest.' ' This is a useful shorthand for the plays that concern us, although too narro w, since the plays portray the transition from pre-Hispanic to colonial society not only as a military contest but also as a transfer of sovereignty or a process of conversion. Anthropologists and art historians have generally viewed these colonial dramas as highly critical of colonial society. According to classic studies on the subject , the 'dances of the Conquest ' deny the legitimacy of the colonial order and hold up the past as a utopian alternative to colonial society. As dramas of resistance, they are assumed to stem from popular initiative, driven in turn by trauma over the disruption and violence of the Conquest or a desire to reinstate the Incaic cosmos.' This standard explication is, however, in

need of drastic revision for both empirical and theoretical reasons. I conceive of the 'dances of the Conquest' as originating as validations of colonial power sanctioned by the colonial state, rather than as subversive visions. This view of dramatic and pictorial depictions of the pre-Conquest past as outgrowths of the colonial power structure departs from the thesis that the colonial state vigorously rejected any manifestation of the pre-Columbian world. It stands closer to the idea of the dances as an 'invention of tradition' within a colonial context than to the prevailing scheme in which native Andeans strove to conserve local culture in opposition to the project of the colonial state to eradicate it.

The natives of the major cities of the Viceroyalty and their hinterlands participated in these plays staging the claims of legitimacy of the colonial order, as both actors and 'entreprene urs.' Hence, while the impetus for the 'dances of the Conquest ' came from the colonial administ rators , the visions of colonial society elaborated in these representations were coproduced by native participants. Colonial authorities secured native involvement in the plays with something beyond reprisals; what impelled their participation was that native leaders, the collaborators of Spanish colonial rule, validated their own power through this legitimation of the colonial order, the regime that they served. In fact, there was a subgenre of the dances that highlighted the claims of the native elite against an opaque background of a broader justification of colonial society. There was also a genre of painting that focused on the claims of native collaborators that included both portraits and genealogical representations .'

Ye t, I also would emphasize that while visual imagery depicting the pre-Hispanic past served to validate both the power of native functionaries of the colonial state and the colonial order, it also had a subversive edge. By thematizing legitimacy, highlighting native authori ty, and making reference to the pre-Hispanic past, the plays and paintings that communicated the legitimacy of colonial power were potentially threatening to Spanish domination. Might not the stratum of native collaborators who resorted to such imagery to guarantee their assets within colonial society have turned that imagery against colonial society? Modern accounts of major Indian uprisings in colonial Peru have not adequately explored the incidence of dramas or paintings in the course of violent resistance movements, but, here and there, they have been suggested as remote sources of inspiration for rebellions seeking to revive pre-Hispanic conditions. In the follow ing, I analyze such a case of resistance aimed at a kind of revival of Incaic power in which the dramas and paintings designed to legitimate colonial power did play a key role. Native intermediaries, whose political and economic stake in colonial society was always potentially threatened , seized upon the imagery of legitimation to turn its fiction into reality and thereby

assailed the foundations of Spanish legitimacy. This little known event took place in the Audiencia of Quito, a northern district of the Viceroyalty of Peru lying in what today is Ecuador.

The study of artistic legitimation in the Viceroyalty of Peru and the native response to it must be couched within a broader inquiry into how colonial society related to its pre-colonial past. Such an inquiry into the historical consciousness of colonial society extends beyond the formal claims oflegitimacy to a more fluid medium of mentalities and comportments. The diverse visual imagery relating to the Conquest and the Inca past suggests that within colonial discourse and behavior there were conflicting understandings of the degree of continuity and discontinuity that should exist between pre-Hispanic and colonial society. Colonial authorities at once valued and suppressed the past: both religious and secular practices rooted in pre-Columbian times were seen as manifestations of idolatry; yet, framed entitlements to power and property and social norms were established with reference to the past, either as continuous with it or as in some sense derivative. The authority of native collaborators, for example, was construed as founded in the pre-Hispanic era. The positing of the past as the source of colonial power and property rights in turn produced a type of historical memory, since social actors had to prove that their entitlements derived from the pre-Conquest distribution of resources. It also stimulated the theatrical representation of a bygone era, as subjects elaborately replayed the past and the events of the Conquest on which their claims were grounded. Thus, by turns, the rejection, revival, and representation of the pre-Hispanic past coexisted at the heart of the colonial framework.

Those strands of colonial discourse and behavior that denied legitimacy to survivals from the past lead to another dimension of the problem of imagery. Discourses on idolatry denounced pre-Columbian religious life as the demonically inspired worship of images. Thus, artistic images played a major role in the historical consciousness of colonial society, and, at the same time, anti-idolatry activity viewed artistic images as instrumental to the recovery of repressed modes of worship, in so far as they enabled the memory of things past.

The Advent of the Inca

On New Year's Day, 1667, as new authorities were selected throughout the Viceroyalty, Don Alonso Florencia Inca arrived at the boundary of the *corregimiento* (county) of Ibarra in the Audiencia of Quito. Riding on a mule along the royal highway, Alonso Inca was on his way to the *villa* (town) of Ibarra, the center of the *corregimiento,* where he was to assume the post of *corregidor* or royal magistrate, to which he had been duly appointed by the Viceroy at Lima.[1]

As his name implies, Don Alonso Florencia Inca was an unusual *corregidor*. He was an avowed descendant of the Incaic dynastic clans, clans organized around a historic or mythic Inca sovereign who occupied the role of progenitor. Alonso Inca claimed descent from Huaynacapac, the last Inca monarch before the Spanish arrival, and he was originally from Cuzco. Such descendants of the kin groups *(panacas* or *casas)* linked to the Inca sovereigns were recognized by the Spanish crown, but neither as local client rulers nor as heirs to a patrimony of goods.' The crown viewed them as a group unhappily dispossessed of power, status, and wealth and deserving of compensation. This contrasted with the local native authorities, called *curacas* or *caciques* (the latter a Caribbean word used by the Spanish), whose jurisdiction was confirmed by the crown. Although seeking to compensate Incaic descendants for their misfortunes, it did not typically do so by granting them the sensitive and prized position of *corregidor* commonly reserved for peninsular Spaniards. Thus, the anomalous empowerment of an Incaic descendant set into play a socia l drama in which the tensions of the colonial polity came to the surface.

As he approached the minuscule *pueblo* of San Pablo, near the limits that set off the city of Quito from the *corregimiento* of Ibarra, Alonso Inca met with triumphal arches and a boisterous procession of several hundred Indians, who had come to welcome him, bearing pantomime effigies of the Inca sovereign and a local princess. The pantomimic figures were richly adorned and seated on thrones and bore the distinctive headdress of the pre-Conquest reigning Incas, the *llauto*. This rite was referred to by witnesses as the *sacada de1 Inca y la Palla,* the 'parading of the Inca and the Palla.' Sweeping the ground before him with poles bearing flax at their ends *(chasquis),* the procession then led Alonso Inca into the plaza of the village. At a feast held at the home of the *cacique* of the village and attended by the other major *caciques* of the area, Alonso Inca proclaimed himself to be king of the Indians *(rey de los indios).'* A day later he entered the town oflbarra in the same fashion. The *cabildo,* or town council (made up of members of the local Spanish elite of property owners), went out to meet Alonso Inca. Yet Alonso Inca eschewed their reception in favor of that of the Indians, who led him into the plaza dancing before him, naked, with their faces painted and swinging the poles mentioned above.

Alonso Inca was the focus of other ceremonies in the course of his term as *corregidor.* These ceremonies not only featured ritual actions playing up his Incaic descent but also made use of symbolic objects, including paintings, heraldic blazons, and textiles. In Ibarra Alonso Inca pro minently displayed two representations authorizing his identity before the *caciques* of his *corregimiento,* a heraldic blazon and a genealogical painting.' The blazon featured the royal arms *(armas*

reales), or emblem of the Spanish crown , probably modified with a reference to Alonso Inca's Incaic claims. The genealogical painting depicted a tree that arose from Huaynacapac's chest and bore portraits of his descendants, including, on one of the upper branches, Alonso Inca . In another rite taking place in Alonso Inca's home in Ibarra, an Indian noble *(principal)* who came to serve Alonso Inca divested himself of his cape and shoes, signs of status within the colonial system of authority , and called Alonso Inca his king. When Alonso Inca entered the pueblo of Urcuqui, near Ibarra, the Indian authorities of the village kissed his hands and feet.[10] At a feast in the home of the prominent *cacique* of that pueblo, Sebastian Cabezas, Alonso Inca displayed a *camiseta de cumbi* (a fine Incaic textile) in his possession to his host, telling him that it was over one hundred years old and had belonged to the Inca. Sebastian Cabezas responded by throwing a *pano de mano,* or hand cloth, around the neck of Alonso Inca.

Finally, at carnival (Carnestolendas) the Indians oflbarra attacked the Spaniards with slings, claiming to act under the orders of the *corregidor,* Alonso Inca. The son of Sebastian Cabezas was overheard prophesying that 'soon the day would come when the Spaniards would have to ask for license to look into our eyes."[11] A friend of Alonso Inca, Roque Ruiz, in the city of Quito, struck a similar note, foretelling that 'someday you will see many things only money for Spain is lacking.'[12]

Ruler Worship and Idolatry

Beginning in February 1667, only a month after the arrival of Alonso Inca, and ending in June of that year, the proceedings of his trial by Spanish authorities called on witnesses to give evidence of a range of threats posed by this figure's exercise of extra-juridical authority deriving from his Incaic descent. The witnesses made use of a variety of discourses that gave meaning to actions, either conceding or withdrawing positive legitimate value from behavior. The trial at first pursued violations of precedence, according to well established juridical conventions for treating that transgression.[13] The emphasis on precedence as well as the availability oflanguage in which to speak about its subversion reflect the significance of visual displays of status to the operation of colonial authority. The Compilation of the Laws of the Indies, indeed, contains a section on *cortesias y precedencias* that traces through symbols and ritual acts the vertical and horizontal boundaries that distinguished secular from ecclesiastical jurisdiction .1' Th us, Alonso Inca was accused of attending native authorities before Spanish colonists, taking into his service an Indian noble exempt from manual labor, setting a *cacique* next to him at a public gathering , and receiving ceremonies that were more sumptuous than those accorded to higher officials, including bishops and royal judges.[1]

Yet the violation of precedence was more than a trope of repressive discourse. Alonso Inca no doubt was guilty of reemploying the signs of precedence of the colonial order to magnify his own authority along with that of the subjects from whom he sought recognition. By redistributing the access that members of the community had to him, he increased the prestige of 'the other'- the native authorities who alone were capable of viewing him as a royal person. By taking on and one-upping the signs of colonial higher offices, including those of the judges of the royal court *(oidores)* and the king, he could make visible the status to which he lay claim. Signs of precedence bound to a hierarchy of offices carried the potential of validating unregulated movements across the hierarchy, or shifts in the position of the offices themselves. They offered, in other words, a supple medium by which the social order could be redefined.

Within a few days the trial shifted from charges of precedence to accusations of idolatry, presenting the behavior of Alonso Inca as a cycle of scenes of idolatrous ruler worship. Idolatry became one of the major themes ordering the proceedings against him, first in the *corregimiento* of Ibarra and later in the city of Quito. Its most general definition was the worship of that which was created, rather than the Creator.[11] Created things encompassed both entities of nature, including human beings, and artifacts, among them artistic representations. According to the Spaniards, native existence had been dominated by idolatry and the purpose of the Conquest was to repress idolatry and channel native desire from natural and artistic creations towards the Creator. The ascent from the productions to the producer was mediated by writing (scriptures) and the sacramentalized body (Christ).

The type of idolatry invented by the proceedings was the worship of rulers, which raised the specter of a displacement not only of royal power, but also of Christianity. From the colonial histories of pre-Columbian monarchies to the extirpation of idolatry campaigns, Spanish writings placed monarchical power at the center of constructions of the native religion that Christianity had deposed. Hernan Cortes' account of the Mexican ruler Motecuhzoma's confession that he was not really a god, but a mortal made of flesh and blood - a scene of disenchantment - is a highlight of the 'figure of ruler worship' in Spanish writing.[12] The concept of ruler worship drew on two conventions. Ruler worship reflected the postulate that idolatry involved a cognitive error in which pagan peoples made God's creations the source of change (generation, transubstantiation, or locomotion), instead of God himself. It also drew its force from the proposition that outstanding mortals shared immortality with divine beings through the perpetuation of glory by means of memory. In a line of argument that joined the foundation of the polity to that of religion, monarchies were accredited with

the invention and development of idolatrous cults, including myths and rituals directly glorifying themselves or serving to deceive and discipline the population."

The 'figure of ruler worship' also included the claim that the worship of rulers involved artistic representations of the sacred king in both sculpture and painting. Indeed, the articulation of ruler worship with the 'figure of the adoration of idols' may be found in the very genealogy of idolatry. According to the discourse of idolatry, idolatry, which focused on art *(ars)* rather than on nature, began with the impulse to honor rulers at a distance, from afar and after their deaths. The first idols, according to this view, whether in painting or sculpture, substituted for absent rulers. Indeed rulers became deities only through their portraits. It was through representations that they attained immortality by remaining in the memory of men; and it was technical improvement in the arts that magnified the impact of rulers on their subjects' imaginations . Subjects then oriented their desires toward the body of the ruler through representations. In Peru , the Western mythology of royal statuary and portraiture as modes of idolatry proliferated in missionary and historiographical writing. An early example may be found in the soldier Francisco Xerez: 'Era tan temido y obedecido que le tenian casi por dios yen muchos pueblos le tenian hecho de bulto.'[19]

The witnesses at the trial of Alonso Inca invoked the paradigm of ruler worship in their efforts to discredit Alonso Inca , by making reference to rituals of adoration , royal portraits, and absolute power. These references made use of historical memory, as it was circulated in elite conversations and fixed by the chronicles, and of the extirpation of idolatry literature that parish priests were enjoined to possess. Witness after witness formulated the message that Alonso Inca renewed 'the figure of the sacred ruler,' engendering adoration and absolute obedience among his putative subjects. This raised the threat that the pre-Hispanic mode of power with its religious overtones was on the verge of replacing those of the king and God. The witnesses multiplied the symptoms of the process of displacement: the Indians of Urcuqui 'kissed the feet and hands' of Alonso Inca, a 'ceremony of their rite and usage;'[°] Alonso Inca displayed the vestment of the ancient monarch, asking the Indians to offer 'cere monies of adoration' to it;" he was received with 'ancient ceremonies' which in the time of their 'gentiliry' they had 'offered to the Inca ;'" and, finally, the genealogical painting or 'portrait of the Inca' " served to refresh 'the memories of their ancestors .'" All of this is dangerous - the witnesses assert - because the Indians, as is well known, are 'Christians by force.'"

The reference to the mnemonic character of Alonso Inca's painting is of considerable significance, for a regression to a repressed mode of rule and structure of desires naturally had to be mediated through submerged memories.

Thus painting and art in general not only sharpened the memories of the absent Inca, securing his immortality and through it his divinity, but also made possible the return of a repressed religion. Conversion was the process of forgetting pagan rituals and idols and inscribing Christian prayers and articles on the surface of memory. According to missionaries, this process was a laborious one, since the new memories did not easily adhere in the neophytes ' minds and the old ones did not readily vanish from their souls. Thus , memories of the 'false religion' vanquished by Christianity remained logged in their interiors." In the aesthetics of colonial Christianity, as in the Counter-Reformation in general , there was an intimate bond between artistic representations and mnemonic images. Artistic representations rekindled memories of ancient images encoded with sacred facts, whether these had been experienced directly or acquired through the substitute of texts. In the case of idolatry, paintings , textiles, and rituals relating to the past , even if they were concocted in the present, could recreate the mental images of deposed deities." The renewed mental images then supposedly aroused desires among their viewers, and the actions of these viewers, in turn, stirred the memories of others. The reawakening of repressed memories, in other words, was believed to be contagious. What the Spaniards feared was that the presence of Alonso Inca as the sacred ruler along with his visual images would trigger a mass regression to idolatry.

The theme of the resurgence of a repressed past was a major formula belonging to juridical and missionary discourses. It ordered accounts of both native rebellions and extirpation of idolatry campaigns . The scheme may be characterized as one in which a prohibition of idolatrous worship is followed by the transgression of that prohibition which takes on the form of a regression. The rupture between present and past underlying the scheme stems from the imperative that the new Christians cast off their prior personal and collective beings, and join a new body, that of Christ or its substitute, the *corpus mysticum* of the Church.

In accusing Alonso Inca of effecting a revival of idolatry, the creole proprietors of the colony constructed Alonso Inca 's artistic and ritual allusions to the past as a sudden return of the illegitimate religious life repressed by the Conquest. Yet their reading of the rituals and of the functioning of symbolic objects is notable for what *it* repressed: the fact that within colonial society real or putative survivals from the past were pervasive and had a legitimate status. Also repressed was the fact that it was legitimate to represent the pre-Hispanic past in the form of a superseded or bygone world, as an absence. This time period set off from the present was called the 'time of the Inca.' There were, in other words, alternative ways of accounting for Alonso Inca's evocation of the pre-Hispanic past other

than as an illegitimate revival of idolatry. It is not only that the events could be framed in conflicting narratives, but also that they flowed from logics of behavior at variance with those imputed to them by the discourse of idolatry.

In actuality, Alonso Inca's flaunting of images of the pre-Hispanic world and his intimate relation with it can be demonstrated as having arisen from within the context of the 'traditional sector' of the colonial regime. His pictorial and ritual evocations of the ' time of the Inca' participated in condoned political behavior, which highlighted the living presence of the past among colonial subjects. Because of Western notions of custom and natural rights and the need to adapt to the local environment, colonial authorities had organized a network of local authority conceived as a continuation of pre-Hispanic power structures and effected a simulation of an intimate relation betwee n contemporaries and their ancestors. There was a staging of the relations of indebtedness and inheritance that a people traditionally maintains with its past, along with a fabrication of the objects, or *lieux de memoire,* such as monuments, relics, and ruins that bind the living to the dead. Natural law theory established the entitlements preceding Christianity as binding rights , while the notion of custom gave validity to practices handed down from a founding event *(ab initio).*" Local Indian *caciques* in the colonial polity were ancient authorities *(antiguos seiiores)* who derived their rights from the 'time of the Inc a' and from the prestige of their ancestors, and key practices from the past, such as labor exchanges, were compulsory in the colonial present." Native communities *(p ueblos, parcialidades)* had a right to their land *(tierras)* and were bound to it on the basis of having inhabited it since *tiempos inmemo riales* . 'Ancient ceremonies' punctuated the year. Yet the flow of cultural and political values from earlier generations crossed a divide radically distinguishing past from present, the 'time of the Inca ' from Christianity. From genealogical paintings to portraits , art took on the role of guaranteeing social memory and the formulation of individual and collective identities that referred back to the dead.

Alonso Inca 's behavior also mirrored the continual re-p resentation , as opposed to return, of the repressed 'time of the Inca,' or the imposing presence of tradition. This re-presentation occurred during formal legitimations in the royal festivities and also in writing. In histo riog raphy, the evocation of the Inca monarch as an absent past allowed readers to construct their identities by compelling them to glance back not only at what had been but also at what had been overcome . Public ceremonial in the colonial period shared this function of historiography. It staged a break between past and present, calling attention to a past through which the social actors were defined, but from which they had

ascended. This was an ascent from idolatry to direct communion with the divinity, or, alternatively, a passage from pagan bodies to the various visual substitutes for the absent body of Christ (the Sacrament, the Church). Painting, in so far as it made visible the narratives of historiography, also formulated the relationship that the present kept with the past and therefore contributed to the mode in which the group defined itself in relation to 'the other.'

Reenacting the Founding Event

While Alonso Inca projected images of the past into the space of the present, he was not engaging in an operation to return what had been repressed. The hypothesis that the cluster of visual and verbal representations enacted by Alonso Inca and his followers drew upon and derived meaning from the omnipresence of a past tolerated and even stimulated by the colonial regime is not difficult to bear out. In their testimonies, two witnesses to the reception of Alonso Inca observe that the 'parading of the Inca and the Palla,' the central rite involved in the performance of Alonso Inca, had been seen before in the *fiestas reales*,[10] by which they mean, not the cycle of festivals that had organized clan and imperial relations in the Inca state that other witnesses referred to, but rather the contemporary coronation festivals for Spanish monarchs. The meaning they give to the ritual then does not come from historical writing, but from contemporary practice. Not surprisingly, these witnesses are creoles of lower status with less access to disciplinary knowledge than the other witnesses, priests and land owners who stress the idolatrous character of the rites. Their slippages reveal the unexceptional character of Alonso Inca's evocation of the past which was silenced by the elite witnesses.

In the Spanish monarchy, the general purpose of the *fiestas reales* for an *ascension,* or coronation, was for the new king's vassals to recognize him and to contemplate and praise his virtues.Fiestas *reales* were celebrated in cities throughout the Spanish 'empire.' In the major centers of Castile and Aragon the king personally attended the festivities.[11] In the Viceroyalty of Peru, the royal *pa retrato regio)* or the enunciation of the 'royal name' compensated for the absent monarch, allowing his subjects to affirm their loyalty and to offer him recog- nition. The centerpiece of the *fiestas reales* was the *jura* or ceremonial pledge of vas- salage in which the civic or viceregal authorities submitted to the new monarch on behalf of the administrative entities they presided over. The *jura* culminated with the raising of the royal banner *(pend6n real)* before the royal portrait . This invested the king with the power of the locality, as the banners were the trap- pings of sovereignty.[12] In addition to this ceremony, the diverse corporate groups

of a city staged 'demonstrations of loyalty' to the new sovereign. Among the corporate groups were the noblemen *(caballeros)*, the guilds *(gremios)*, the confraternities *(cofradias)*, and the Indians. These 'particular festivities' took the form of plays - *comedias* or *tragedias*. In some cases the representations were allegories of submission, but in others the contents could be unrelated to the *ascension* .When there was no evident connection, the representations expressed loyalty through the expenditure of resources. While the *Jura* was a constitutional ritual, these other performances were believed to be mimetic or allegorical, rather than having the status of real events . On the whole, the *fiestas reales* staged the imaginary ideal of the colonial order, a royal body bringing together disparate entities as 'members.'

What then was the role of representations of the pre-Conquest past in the *fiestas reales* of the cities of the Viceroyalty of Peru? There were several genres of performances which exhibited the pre-Columbian monarch. At the outset, it should be pointed out that unlike the discourse of idolatry which multiplied the scandalous errors of the past, these theatrical performances valued the past in a positive way, as characterized by a legitimate authority that provided the basis for what the Spanish king later came to possess.

Very common in the *fiestas reales* were scenes in which a pre-Columbian monarch, Motecuhzoma in Mexico or Atahualpa in Peru, turned over authority to the Spanish king either by verbal proclamation or a sign of submission . These scenes constructed the relation between the Indians and the crown at an intersection of diachronic and synchronic axes, at once commemorating the origin of that relation and renovating it. A typical scene of this kind was that enacted by the Indians of Lima in the *fiestas reales* for the birth of the Infante Charles II in 1661. In a pantomime, a 'figure of the Inca' presented keys to a portrait of the Infante.[11] Taking place in festivities whose program elaborated on the loyalty that vassals owed to the new king, one of the messages of the scene was the love that Indians felt toward the young ruler. There was a strong allegorical thrust to the scene. The nation of the Indians was transposed onto a royal person, the Inca, and the colonial social structure was transposed toward an original contract. The Inca acted out the part of the nation of the Indians *(la nacion indica)* and the act of subordination was set in the past.

Personifications of nations or geographic regions - from America , to Brazil, to Castille - were typical actors of propagandistic theater and pictorial art in the colonial era.[11] However , the personification of the nation oflndians in the figure of the Inca also obeyed the principle that a collective actor arises through the medium of the human body. By means of the royal person of the Inca , the

Indians could become a unified and willful collective subject , instead of dispersed individuals lacking a collective intentiona lity.'' Thus the personification was more than a substitute for the group; incorporation in the figure of the Inca was a mode of collective being. In addition, the figure of the Inca played the role of the natural spokesman of the Indian nation, its *valentior pars,* in which case representation took place without personification or the mechanism of incorporation.

On a historical plane, the submission of the Inca to the Spanish sovereign was an allegorical development of the Indians' recognition of their new lord.Yet this 'founding scene' also staged one of the crown's claims to legitimate possession of the Indies , the contention that the pre-Columbian monarchs had voluntarily transferred their kingdoms to Charles v.'' Such initial contracts were believed to be binding upon following generations. The visual representation of an original contract between the Inca and the Spanish crown served to refresh the memory of the act of subjugation and to give evidence of it to those who were absent at the time.

In addition to echoing philosophical casuistry, the 'figure of a founding contract' in public ceremony was closely connected to the charter of new societies, the *requerimiento.*The *requerimiento* was a legal text that was read aloud in a rite of conquest in the course of the initial engagements between the Spaniards and the Indians of the New World. It informed the Indians that they had been placed under the authority of the Spanish monarchy by the Papacy (th rough the Alexandrian Bulls) and that they were to undergo the process of conversion to Christiani ty.'' They were given two options with respect to these imperatives: they could either submit voluntarily to the king, in which case they would maintain their jurisdictional , personal, and property rights or suffer a 'just war' that would result in the loss of their goods. The *requerimiento,* in other words, allowed for two alternative foundings of colonial society, through just violence resulting in humiliation and dispossession or through a contract that confirmed original rights. The Peruvian conquest took the form of a just war with the Spaniards ' violent capture of the Inca monarch Atahualpa in Cajamarca in r53r.

In the early seventeenth century , how ever , the conquest of Peru was reinvented. While it was still framed in the terms of the *requerimiento,*it now assumed the form of a contract between the Inca and the Spanish monarch. The basis of legitimacy of the colonial order thus shifted from violence to consent. This is reflected not only in the contractual scenes of public spectacle described above , but also in the major native written text of the seventeenth century. In his polemical *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno,* Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala - an Indian functionary of the colonial state - depicts and describes the emblematic scene of a contractual founding. In it his father , playing the role of 'viceroy' or

ambassador of the Inca, welcomes Francisco Pizarro near Cajamarca with an embrace. Guaman Poma then goes on to argue that 'there was no conquest' because the Indians submitted voluntarily to the Spanish crown.'' The rationale for claiming a consensual founding within the colonial intellectual and legal context was that such a beginning ratified the Indians' rights and entitled them to accede to Christianity voluntarily rather than through coercion. This underwrote Guaman Poma 's plea that colonial legislation be enforced and expanded in a way favorable to the Indians, guaranteeing native powers and land titles, the control by native men over their women, and an Indian-controlled Church.

In the context of public spectacle in the mid-seventeenth century, the reworking of the founding scene emitted similar messages. But the messages of public spectacle were mimetic instead of transformative, or indicative rather than subjunctive. In public spectacle, the founding scene staged the crown 's requirement that the Indians be consensual agents under its direct authori ty, and not the servile instruments of local colonists. Thus public ceremony advertised a conception of the Indian subject as endowed with intentionality by grounding that image in a decisive historical founding event. At the same time that it stressed the freedom of native subjects, the representation recalled the closure of a pagan past and initiation of the Christian symbolic order, establishing collective identities with a reference to 'the other.'

Either as an allegory of the *jura* or as a depiction of a founding event, the scene of the Inca's transferral of signs of sovereignty to the Spanish crown reflected manifold interests. In addition to strengthening the authority of the crown vis-a-vis particular interests, the scene also enacted claims in favor of individual native authorities or *caciques,* formulating their identities. This becomes clear when we take into account the prologue that introduced these scenes in public spectacle, the mock battle between the Inca and rival native lords or the depiction of the dynastic line of the Incas. In the 1659 *comedia* that the Indians of Lima staged to offer recognition to the Infante Charles II , a pantomimic 'figure of the Inca' led an attack upon a fortress defended by two rival lords. Once he had captured the stronghold, he joined his two opponents in transferring keys to a royal portrait. By sponsoring *comedias* on the occasion of the *ascension* of a new monarch, which constituted 'royal service,' Indian nobles or authorities augmented their power within the colonial order. It was through royal service or the exercise of leadership in favor of royal interests, as tabulated in administrative documents, that local powers secured their confirmation by colonial authorities. The Inca's concession of his newly acquired domains to the Spanish crown functioned as an allegory of royal service, transforming the native lords' mundane services to the colonial state into epic history.

Beyond pointing to the local authorities' commitment to royal service, the staging of the deeds *(haza fias)* of the Inca advertised the genealogical claims of local Indian authorities . Under the system of *sefiorio natural* or natural lordship, local native authority in the colonial order was constructed on a dynastic model. The native chief monopolized power, belonged to a dynastic lineage, and passed on his rights to his eldest son. Since the source of jurisdictional rights, and so dynastic title, were the entitlements *(derec hos)* of the pre-Conquest era, claimants to the *cacicazgo* or office ofl ocal chief had to demonstrate that they belonged to a ruling lineage originating in pagan times. The written succession proceedings - centering on the *probanza de meritos* that enumerated claims and had witnesses to vouch for their truth - formu lated genea logies back to a progenitor who had been a ruler before the Conquest and underscored the magnitude of his domain. The claims of Incaic descendants took a similar cast. They set forth elaborate genealogies to acquire compensation for the goods from which they were deprived because of the Conquest . There was a crucial link between the genealogically based entitlement among In caic descendants and that of local aut horities. The latter sought to link up to the Incaic genealogies, giving themselves Incaic origins and thus adding to their prestige. In the colonial era, linkages to Inca origins among local rulers were important, as Incaic genealogies were better known and were considered more authoritative than local ones. Through this process, the Inca and ' things Inca' became symbols of power within the colonial framework. Thus the standard Incaic representations in public spectacle could make visible the genealogical claims of native authority in general.

Springing from this genealogical model of authority was the staging of the 'deeds of the Incas.' The conquests and victories of the Inca underscored the extension of the domain and magnitude of the power on which a claimant to colonial office sought to found his authority. The 'figure of the Inca' acted either as progenitor to an Incaic claimant or as a supplementary ancestor to a non-Incaic claimant. Through the positing of an Incaic progenitor or notable forebear, the claimant depicted himself as an extension or representation of the Inca. In the 1631 festivities for the birth of the Infant e Baltasar Carlos the representation of the conquest of the kingdom of Quito by Huaynacapac, for example, was sponsored by Carlos Atabalipa, a great-grandson of Atahualpa and at that time the major native authority of the Audiencia of Quito.[11] Also involved was Francisco Garcia Ati , a prominent *cacique* from Latacunga , who had married into the Atabalipa family and thereby took on their prestige.[40] T he representation fatured a pitched battle in which the Inca impaled the queen of Cochasqui, a figure oflocal historical memory. Moreover , through the organization and direct enactment of

such epic representations, the claimant established his prerogative to represent traditional authority in the space of the present. In addition to marking out the extension of the domain of the progenitor , the 'deeds of the Inca' contributed to the prestige of a lineage, a prestige that the claimant made his own.

Deeds generated glo ry in the Spanish system of status recognitio n and formed the opinion that the public held of a ruler. The glory of a dynastic lineage accrued across generations, for the judgement rendered on past deeds by the community resonated in oral memory and new deeds multiplied glory. The representation of past deeds for those who were not present was indispensable to the accumulation of glory. It allowed for opinions regarding past deeds to crystallize in the present and attach to the heir. In this model, spectacle took on the role of a 'monument ,' a representation that compensated for an absence through an image and a narrative. "

It is probable that pre-Columbian modes of legitimation were also operative in the staging of the 'deeds of the Inca' in seventeenth-century public spectacle . The recitation of the deeds of a ruling lineage was a major component of the mode of power of the pre-Columbian era. However, there is no need to counterpoise that mode of legitimation to colonial ones, since in public spectacle native genres were deployed within a Spanish dramatic framework. Moreover , in Spanish historiography the 'perpetuat ion ' of the memory of deeds was a metahistoriographical postulate. This implies that writing ordered spectacle as much as oral tradition did, that the relation oflndians to their past operated as much through written history as through oral memory , and that it was the Spanish legal concept of *seiiorio natural* along with its practice of providing written genealogies that propelled the representation of past titles and deeds.

Alonso Inca and the Royal Festivities

Thus Alonso Inca and his followers were drawing on colonial ideologies and ritual scenes rather than 'repressed material' to constitute an extra-juridical authority. There was, in other words , a whole phantasmagoria of historical representations from which an invocation of pre-Columbian power could draw its meaning. The followers of Alonso Inca took over the 'parading of the Inca and the Palla,' which, as argued above , was in normal usage probably a ritual of subordination directed at the Spanish monarch . They performed it upon his entry into San Pablo and evidently again in Iba rra , where , perhaps just a few weeks before, the Indians of Otavalo had paraded the Inca and the Palla in the *fiestas reales* (this would have been sometime between October and December of 1666, when the Viceroyalty of Peru celebrated the *ascension* of Charles II). Thus upon the entry of Alonso Inca the Indians of Otavalo must have performed the

'parading of the Inca and the Palla' a second time under the spell of the royal festivities, where the violent and chaotic colonial field became a unified entity marked by a conjunction of past and present around a powerful center, the crown.

In the *fiestas reales* those who were soon to become followers of Alonso Inca experienced themselves as a unitary body invested in the character of the Inca. At the same time Alonso Inca, contemplating the theatrical parades of contractual scenes in Lima, in turn, identified with the Inca, the body of the collectivity. Subsequently, he and his followers sought to achieve an empowering unity through the medium of this individual body. Drawing on royal ceremony , they substituted Alonso Inca, or the true royal body, for the pantomimic one that prevailed in the *fiestas reales.* One element separates the construction of an Indian collectivity in the allegories of the *fiestas reales* from those that took place upon the entry of Alonso In ca. In the later event the collective being was real. Alonso Inca and his followers pressed an allegory of colonial relations into a putatively real correlation of forces. Or, alternatively, they transformed a historical representation into an actual presence in the here and now. This transition from fiction or past to present history was not plausible." Sooner or later it had to face the real distribution of force which militated against Alonso Inca's assuming the real power and status of a client monarch under indirect rule, which seems to be what he had in mind.

Genealogy and Painting

To give background to his pretensions, let us now turn to the painting that Alonso Inca displayed in his home in Ibarra to both creole audiences and to the *caciques* of the *corregimiento.* The painting was described by the scribe of the *cabildo* in the following terms:

> .. . in his living room I saw a canvas ... at the foot of which are the ten Inca kings in a file and on top there is another Inca lying down across whose chest emerges a tree from which emerge many branches; on the right hand side there are many Spanish men and women and on the left there are many Indians...with different headdresses ... [43]

Another witness established that Alonso Inca himself appeared in the painting:

> ... this witness saw the painting many times hanging in the living room of his house. And not only were the parents of the *corregidor* painted but also on the last branch on the left was the *corregidor* .. .'"

The painting established the descent of Alonso Inca from the Inca monarchs and so made a claim regarding the identity of the *corregidor.* To reiterate the

main thesis of this paper, although the painting establishes continuity with the past, it would be difficult to see it as a case of Andean iconography surviving through resistance or coming forth from the collective unconscious. Eviden tly, the relation that the past keeps with the present is the overt theme of the painting, not a subliminal undertow that undermines the surface play. It would not even be convincing to cast the genealogical painting as an expression of nostalgia for the past or of desire for its reconfigu ration . A genealogy endows the present with meaning and determinations and channels the past into the present, rather than violen tly unleashing the past in a contemporary vacuum. Clearly, some other logic organizes the representation.

Alonso Inca does not say when or why he commissioned his painting. The matrix of the painting, however, may be determined by reference to another text. Garcilaso de la Vega - the sixteenth-century historian of Incaic origin living in Spain - in a discussion of the descendants of the Inca dynasty, tells of a genealogical painting he received from Peru. The painting featured bust portraits of the line of the Incas ending with Huaynacapac and Paullo - a post-Conquest client of the Spaniards. Garcilaso recounted that the painting was implicated in the attempts by the *descendencia del Inca* (in Cuzco) to gain exemption from the obligation to pay royal tributes." The painting, in other words, was designed to validate claims regarding lineage pressed in writing for the purpose of acquiring colonial status.

Before the events in question Alonso Inca had been a chronic seeker of compensation *(m ercedes)* from the Spanish crown. In fact, in the 1650s his brother had travelled to Spain, where he secured for himself and Alonso Inca the right to use royal arms - the honorific blazon he hung on the walls of his home in Ibarra. Far from the idolater or figure returning to the past depicted by the trial, Alonso Inca was operating entirely within the colonial context. His hope was to journey to Spain for an audience with the king, in which he expected to obtain the *alcaldia* of the district of Quito.[46] The *alcaldia* was an honorific office giving its occupant nominal authority over all of the cro wn 's Indian subjects on the scale of the Audiencia. Yet , it might be amplified so as to become a client monarchy under the aegis of the Spanish king - an image reminiscent of that developed both historically and allegorically in the royal ceremonies. Through that office, the Inca might become a synecdoche of the Indians, giving them a collective will vis-a-vis the Spanish king. The genealogical painting partook in his project of acquiring the *alcaldia.* It advertised and authorized his claim to descent from Huaynacapac, a claim that he hoped would earn him compensation from the king. The painting, moreover, acted as a 'monument ' *(mon umento)* or mnemonic device preserving the memory of succession from amnesia. The mnemonic

character of the genealogy is evident in Alonso Inca 's own account of the pictorial representation: 'le oyo decir que lo habia hecho pintar con mucho cuidado para que siempre estuviesen las memorias vivas.'[47]

The plea for privileges from the crown was undoubtedly the original matrix of Alonso Inca 's genealogical painting. However, in the course of his stay in Iba rra, the painting acquired a different function. In the original context of solicitation, it produced an identity stimulated by a redistributive order and did so before the scrutiny of an all-seeing king ('que todo lo ve'). Projected towards the eyes of the *caciques,* the painting acquired a secondary function. It constructed an identity that served as the basis for a broad authority that threatened to modify the colonial order. By means of the painting Alonso Inca assumed the role of representative (synecdoc he or spokesman) of the Indians. A more precise notion of the functioning of the painting, however, may be inferred from the archival records. Alonso Inca employed the painting in order to formulate genealogical ties with the *caciques,* telling them where they stood in relation to the Incas depicted in the genealogical tree." That use of the painting served to develop his authority over the locality through the idiom of kinship. It is tempting to see this as a regression to the strategy of the Incas to fabricate Incaic genealogies for local rulers by means of marriages between the Inca and local women , so as to give them a common ancestral deity and to stimulate their solidarity with the Inca, but it must be emphasized that linking up local author - ities to lncaic genealogies was a common colonial practice too. What Alonso Inca contributed to the game was to reverse the flow of benefits. If normally *caciques* acquired prestige by claiming Inc aic kinship, now an Incaic descendant attained power by claiming local lords as kin.

Allegory and Reality

Alonso Inca's performance as lncaic ruler was cut short by Spanish authority. By August 1667 he was on his way to stand trial in Lima under heavy guard on a ship called San Juan Bautista. Alonso Inca had moved from law to allegory, working out the empowering possibilities of the latter. His manipulation of allegory was unworkable , however, since the transposition of the nation of the Indians toward the Inca to create a co llective actor required a massive degree of force to be achieved in reality. His taking up of the imaginary provoked the wrath of local creole elites . They responded with their own metaphorical operation , turning his performance into an allegory of ruler worship and idolat ry. Art and modes of signification thus crisscrossed the incident, at once making available possibilities for native empowerment by referring to the past and foreclosing

a more intimate relation with it. The key lesson of the case study is the role of official impulses in the formulation of relations with the past and the plurality of those relations. This matrix of historical memory has not been well understood, as indicated by art historical and anthropological schemes of survival / irruption or the theory of historical utopianism. The historical strategies of the colonial order have to await fuller elaboration, but something of their complexity can be grasped through the examination of ideas about the return of the repressed, representation, and tradition.

Notes

1. *A Palace for a King, The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, 1980).

2. *Culture of the Baroque, Analysis of a Historical* Structure (Minneapolis, 1986).

3. Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished, The Spanish Conquest through Indian Eyes*, translated by Ben Reynolds (Sussex, 1977).

4. Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, and Teresa Gisbert, 'Art and Resistance in the Andean World,' in *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Colu mbus*, edjted by ReneJara and Nicholas Spadaccini (Minneapolis, 1992), 629-77,

5. Tom Cummins,' We are the Other : Peruvian Portraits of Colonial Kurakakuna,' in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Kenneth j.Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1991),203-31.

6. The details of the story come from a single arcruval source, documenting the trial of Alonso Inca, the 'Autos de Oficio de Mandato de los sefiores presidentes y oidores de la Real Audiencia de Quito sabre los Procedimjentos de Don Alonso de Arenas Flo rencia Inca Corregidor de la Villa de San Miguel: festejos que le han hecho los gobernadores y caciques de esta provincia, afio 1667,' Rebeliones , Caja 1, Archivo Nacional, Qwto.

7. Udo Oberam , *Notas y documentos sobre los miembros de la familia del Inca Atahualpa en el siglo XVI* (Guayaquil ,1976).

8. 'Autos sobreAlonso Inca,' folios 2-3 verso, 19, 27-28 verso , 38-38 verso, 43 verso.

9. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folios 6, 31.

ro. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folios 4, 18.

11. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 18 verso.

12. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 72 verso.

13. See Carlos Espinosa , *The Portrait of the Inca, Aesthetics and Politics* in *the Audiencia of Quito*, PhD dissertation (Unive rsity of Crucago, 1989), 68-72.

14. *Recopilaci6n de las leyes de Los reynos de indias*, II (Madrid, 1774), 63-75.

15. Espinosa, *Portrait ofthelnca*, 68-72.

16. One of the fullest examples of the discourse on idolatry may befound in thejeswt historian , Jose de Acos ta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Madrid, 1954), 140-42. For a discussion of idolatry see also Carlos Esp inosa , ' T he Fabrication of Andean Parti cularism ,' *Bulletin de l' Institu t Fran ais d'EtudesAndines*, II (1989), 273-76.

17. Hernan Cortes,'Second Letter ,' in *Hernan Cortes: Letters from Mexico*, translated and erut-ed byAnthony Pagden (New Haven,1986),86.

18. For the role that rulers play in colonial constructions of idolatry, see *Relacion de la descendencia, gobiemo y conquista de los Incas* (Lima , 1974), 24-29; Hernando de Santillan, *Relacion del origen y gobierno de los Incas* (Madrid, 1968); Bernabe Cobo , *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* , II (Madrid, 1956), 136, 146; Acos ta, *Historia natural*, II: 140-42.

19. Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadera relaci6n de la conquista del Peru*, edited by Concepcion Bravo (Madrid , 1985), u8. See also Cobo, *Historia*, II, 162-63.

20. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 5.

21. 'Au tos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 15.

22. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 4.

23. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio r.

24. 'Au tos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 15.

25. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 15.

26. Michael Taussig has in his own way underscored the continuation of memories

of pagan worship in missionary discourse. See 'History as Sorcery,' *Representations*, VII (1984), 97.

27. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folio 31.

28. See Espinosa, ' Fabrication of Andean Particularism,' 275, 293-94.

29. For the simulated continuity of authority, see Martin de Muma, *Historiageneral del Pen1* (Madrid, 1986), 482.

30. 'Autos sabre Alonso Inca,' folios 4 verso, 27verso.

31. Porc he coronation festivities in Spain, see Henrique Cock, *Relacion de viaje de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1876); and *Relaciones breves de actos publicos celebrados en Madrid de 1541-1650* , edited byJose Simon Diaz (Madrid, 1982).

32. A number *ofjuras* are described by Jose de Mugaburu, *Diario de Lima* (Lima, 1935). See also the English version , *Diary of Lima* , translated by Ryal Miller (Norman, 1975). There are several colonial descriptions from Quito: ' Fiestas celebradas en Quito cuando la Catolica Majestad de Carlos Ill paso de!trono de Napoles al de Espana celebradasel afio de 1760,' *Revista del Museo Historico*, XVII, 126-48; 'Certificacion de la Real Acclamacion yJura de Carlos Ill,' *Actas del Cabildo de Quito* , 1760, Archivo Historico de! Municipio de Quito.

33. As far as I know the only description of rhis particular scene is in Mugaburu, *Diary of Lima*, 49-52.For analogous contracrual scenes from Lima, see the remarkable eighteenth-cenrury account of a royal festival by Esteban deTeralla, Aiio *felizy jubilo particular con que la Nacion Indica en esta Ciudad de Lima solemnizo la exaltacion al trono de Ntro. Augustisimo Monarca el Senor Don Carlos IV en los dias 7, 8, 9, defebrero de 1790* (Lima, 1780).

34. Innum erab le examples of personification could be provided from colonial and peninsular representations. A good example may be found in a Jesuit *comedia* staged in Madrid. A description of a character in one scene reads, ' La America: la cual venia representar en una mujer con el trage indio.' See Diaz, *Relaciones Breves*, 175.

35. Incorporation isdiscussed in Keith Baker, ' Representat io n Redefined,' in *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), 225:

> .. unity in multitude could inhere only in the person of the monarch .. .'

36. For the idea of a founding contract in Spanish discourse, see Francisco Vitoria, *De relectio de Indis*, edited by L. Perena (Mad rid, 1967), 73; Bartolome de las Casas, *Los tesoros del Peru*, edited by Ange l Losada (Madrid , 1958), 309. While Las Casas and Vitoria discussed the original contract as a title of occupation, they rejected it by both doubting that it had taken place and pointing to the extenuating circumstances that impeded a truly voluntary transaction.

37. The text and commentary of the *requerimiento* are found in Silvio Zava la, *Las instituciones juridicas de la conquista* (Mexico , 1971), 487-97.

38. See Rolena Ada mo's lucid discussion of Guaman Poma' s claim of a non-violent submission to Spanish rule *(Guaman Poma, Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* [Austin, 1988], 28-30).

39.' Relacion de las celebresy famosas fiestas alegrias y demostraciones que hizo Quito al dichisimo nacimiento de! principe de Espana Don Baltasar Carlos por principio de! ano 1631 *Actas del Cabildo de Quito*, 1631, Archivo Historico de] Municipio de Quito. See also Federico Gonzalez Suarez , *Historia de la*

Republicade!Em ador, rv (Quito, 1931), 467-68.

40. For the claims of Francisco Garcia Ati, see 'Lucia Ari Pusana contra Gu illermo Ari,' Cacicazgos, Cotopaxi, Caja 3, 1687, Archivo Nacio nal , Quito ; and ' Gui llerm o contra Lucia Ari Pusana ,' Cacicazgos, Cotopaxi, Caja 4, 1687, Archivo Nacio nal, Quito.

41. A remarkable discussion of 'monuments' (often with reference to *huacas)* in the colonial context is in Las Casas, *Tesoros del Peru*, 3-33. See also Espinosa, ' Fabrication of Andean Particularism,' 277-78.

42. See Michel de Certeau for the idea that fiction is separated from historiography not because of truth but because of the avowal that it is produced *(Heterologies*, translated by Brian Mussumi [Minneapol is, 1986]).

43. 'Autos sobre Alonso Inca,' folio 6.

44. 'Au tos sobre Alonso Inca,' folio 31.

45. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales*, II (Buenos Aires , 1943), 295-97.

46. 'Autos sobre Alonso Inca,' folio 47.

47. 'Autos sobre Alonso lnca,' folio 31.

48. 'Autos sobre Alonso Inca,' folio 17 verso.