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Analogy or Erasure? Dialectics of Religious Transformation in the Early *Doctrinas* of the Colca Valley, Peru

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This paper examines the tension between the Spanish evangelical ideal of religious conversion (erasure and replacement of "idolatrous" praxis) and the exigencies of its enactment (inter-cultural communication via analogy) among a series of sixteenth century Franciscan doctrinal settlements (doctrinas) in the Colca valley of southern Peru. I suggest that the necessity and outcomes of inter-cultural communication during initial evangelization made conversion impossible, despite increasing institutionalization of coercive doctrinal measures through time. Combined archaeological and historical analysis explores how these tensions were locally negotiated. Written texts describe early extirpation campaigns, while archaeological evidence documents the remains of early doctrinas in the form of rustic chapels at local settlements which were previously centers of Inka power. Associations between these chapels and Inka ritual spaces hint at an analogical approach to conversion that is not as evident in the documentary record. Analogies linking Inka and Christian religious symbols were later "re-written" onto the surfaces and spaces of Spanish-style reducción villages established in the 1570 s.

KEY WORDS: religion; conversion; colonialism; Andes.

INTRODUCTION

In the early years following the Spanish invasion of the Americas, realization of the ideological drive to instill a unified Christian faith by church clerics was complicated not only by the immensely complex and diverse indigenous religious terrain of the conquered territories, but also by the lack of consensus regarding the principles and means of evangelization. Debates within the colonial church

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oscillated between Lascasian discourses that emphasized the imperfection of human knowledge concerning divinity and the importance of voluntary assent to conversion, and those advocating a more forceful eradication and replacement of idolatrous practices. Such ecclesiastical debates were mirrored by those among civil administrators. In the Andes, the noted rivalry between the prominent colonial jurist Juan de Matienzo and lawyer Juan Polo de Ondegardo, for example, similarly cleaved over the question of the degree to which the colonial state should be built anew or on indigenous Andean foundations (Matienzo, 1910 [1567]; Polo de Ondegardo, 1917 [1571]). In reality, however, the colonial project was never as coherent as either of these sides would have it, but instead was shaped by a series of improvised responses to the demands of colonists and royal mandates on the one hand, and to a dizzying array of indigenous interests and responses on the other. Faced with a multitude of indigenous religiosities, missionaries improvised a variety of means for translating Christian doctrine into locally intelligible idioms. But paradoxically those local pastoral improvisations necessarily referenced the very beliefs and practices that evangelization was supposed to eradicate. This paradox highlights how evangelical ideals were impossible to realize and calls attention to a dialectic tension between the permissive and coercive aspects of conversion that inevitably arises in missionary encounters.

Recent anthropological and historical research on missionization has explored the local negotiation of this dialectic, pointing toward an understanding of the missionary encounter as a two-way, mutually constitutive process that produces new hybrid social formations and religious practices (Burkhart, 1996, 1998; Deagan, 1990; Gose, 2003; Lara, 2004; Mills, 1997; Mills and Grafton, 2003). Jean and John Comaroff have been especially influential in their emphasis on how missionization effects political change by altering the received categories and practices of everyday life in ways that are not fully controlled or understood by either the missionary or the missionized (Comaroff, 1985; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1986, 1991). These institutional and everyday spheres of change are simultaneously symbolic and material, so their full accounting requires a conjunctive approach to research (Graham, 1998).

In the Andes, researchers are only beginning to explore the spatial dimension of these everyday and institutional negotiations of power and meaning in colonial contexts through archaeological research (Jamieson, 2005). Much more is known about how the Inkas and their predecessors manipulated religious ideologies, places, and practices. This research illustrates how on the eve of the Spanish invasion, local Andean peoples were already quite accustomed to the religious dimension of conquest by a foreign power. Inka hegemony was predicated on the avowed primacy of their solar deity, and significant lands and resources were often expropriated and directed toward the state cult of the sun. However, the resolution of local and imperial religious practices usually did not entail coercive rejection of ancestral deities. Inka imperial religion was not exclusionary. Rather,

the Inkas and local peoples actively re-situated and re-valorized local numina within the Inka pantheonic hierarchy. In this sense, the inclusive and open attitude of Andean communities toward Christian beliefs and practices was fundamentally misunderstood by the church, since their acceptance did not entail renunciation of prior beliefs. As Gose (2003, p. 142) observes, “It was not clear exactly what Andean people were supposed to abandon as they ‘converted,’ particularly when the colonial state otherwise relied on indirect rule through their institutions.” Thus, early ecclesiastical campaigns of mass “conversion” were often followed by reports of supposed backsliding and resistance, with attendant calls for more coercive measures (MacCormack, 1985).

This paper explores the local negotiation of this dialectic between analogical and eradicative tendencies in the context of the Colca valley, located in the southwestern Peruvian highlands and home to the Collagua and Cabana ethnic groups. In order to understand the cultural landscape that confronted the first missionaries that arrived in the valley, I provide an overview of the findings from an archaeological survey in the political center of the late prehispanic Collagua ethnic polity. Through combined historical and archaeological analysis, I then explore the local early missionary encounter during the 1540s and trace its trajectory up until the forced resettlement of the population into compact, European-style *reducción* villages in the 1570s. The general arc of this trajectory points toward a shift from a more permissive, analogical approach to missionization in which the first Franciscan friars who entered the valley were initially forced to map onto indigenous sacred and ceremonial spaces, to a more coercive one in which the prehispanic settlement pattern was erased and local indigenous communities were forced to map onto a state-imposed model of urban order. But I suggest that this shift did not resolve the dialectic tension that animated the negotiations between local communities and missionaries as much as change the terms of its expression. Rather, the *reducciones* themselves were built in part on prehispanic and early missionary precedents, in both material and conceptual terms. While *reducciones* would seem to embody colonial erasure and domination, analogies linking Christian and Inka religion and ritual from the first wave of evangelization could be thus symbolically re-written onto their structures and spatial organization. In this way, new, hybrid religious practices emerged from active indigenous interpretation and appropriation of church doctrine, rather than from “resistance” to it.

THE COLLAGUA PROVINCE

The Collagua province was the most populous and economically productive under the colonial jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa (Fig. 1). The earliest census returns for the province, recorded during the Toledan *visita general* in 1572, registered 33,900 inhabitants (Cook and Noble, 1975). Demographic retrodictions

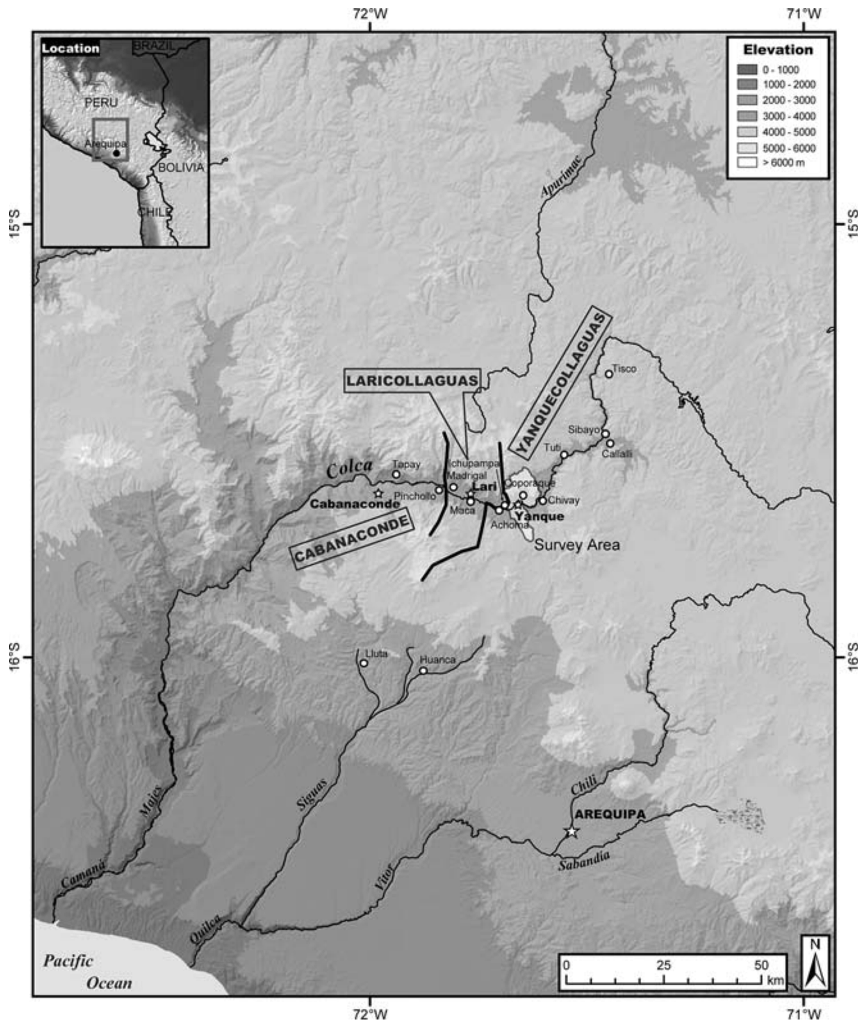

Fig. 1. The Colca river valley, showing subdivisions of the Collagua Province and survey area.

by Cook (1982) indicate that the population of the province was just under 70000 on the eve of conquest. The Colca valley and surrounding high altitude *puna* were also renowned as particularly rich agro-pastoral resources, and the province was the source of about a third of the colonial tribute collected in Arequipa (Málaga Medina, 1977).

Under Inka and Spanish colonial administration, the province was divided between two ethnic groups, the Aymara-speaking Collaguas of the central and upper stretches of the Colca valley, and the Quechua-speaking Cabanas of the lower

valley (see Fig. 1) (Ulloa Mogollón, 1965 [1586]). The Collaguas were also internally divided between two ranked groups: the higher-ranking Yanquecollaguas of the upper valley and the lower-ranking Laricollaguas of the central portion of the valley. Each was in turn subdivided into two ranked moieties (*sayas*): a higher ranking *Hanansaya* and a lower ranking *Urinsaya*. Yanque was the provincial capital, and the villages of Lari and Cabanaconde were the seats of governance for their respective *repartimientos*. Yanquecollaguas was the largest territorially and demographically, with over half of the provincial population (Cook, 1982, p. 18), and was administered as a single *encomienda* and *repartimiento* within Spanish administration, while Laricollaguas and Cabanaconde each were each divided in two grants of *encomienda* by moiety (Málaga Medina, 1977). Yanquecollaguas was especially prized as one of the most lucrative *encomiendas* in Peru, and was granted to Spaniards of the highest stature (Málaga Medina, 1977). In 1548 the *encomienda* passed to the prominent *vecino* of Arequipa, Francisco Noguerol de Ulloa, in recognition for his role in defeating Gonzalo's rebellion, and reverted to the crown in 1559 (Cook and Cook, 1991; Málaga Medina, 1977).

This study is situated in the political center of the province, around the provincial capital of Yanque and the neighboring village of Coporaque (see Fig. 1). The archaeological portion of the research consisted of a full coverage 90 km^2 survey that registered 169 archaeological sites with 300 occupational components spanning virtually the entire human occupational history of the region (Wernke, 2003). A summary of survey findings corresponding to the development of the Collagua ethnic polity, coeval with the Late Intermediate Period in the Andean regional chronology (1000–1450 CE), and the subsequent Inka occupation during the Late Horizon (1450–1532 CE) provides a view of the political, agricultural, and sacred geography that the first Franciscan friars encountered in the valley.

PREHISPANIC ANTECEDENTS

A growing body of archaeological research in the Colca valley has registered a range of archaeological indices signaling the ethnogenesis of the Collagua polity during the Late Intermediate Period, including the establishment of a series of agriculturalist villages composed of terraced residential compounds with distinctive local domestic architecture and ceramics appear (Doutriaux, 2004; Wernke, 2003, 2006c). Extensive landscape archaeological research in the valley has also documented an intensification of agricultural production between the Middle Horizon (500–1000 CE) and Late Intermediate Period, when the large complexes of irrigated bench terraces that blanket the valley sides were superimposed over earlier rain- and drainage-fed terraces (Brooks, 1998; Denevan, 2001, pp. 185–209; Malpass, 1987; Shea, 1987; Treacy, 1994). Major differences in the size and elaboration of houses within and between sites signal the emergence of a local elite,

but based on the parity of the largest settlements and the absence of a dominant political center, autonomous Collagua political organization appears to have been segmentary and heterarchical (Wernke, 2003, pp. 176–197; 2006c). As was the case throughout the central and southern Andes (Dillehay, 1995; Isbell, 1997), status and authority during the Late Intermediate Period were linked to a cult of ancestor veneration practiced at large mortuary sites composed of complexes of *chullpas* (open sepulcher mortuary monuments).

During the Inka occupation of the Late Horizon, change and continuity in settlement patterning and organization signal the development of a centralized, but locally mediated form of imperial administration (Wernke, 2006c, 2007) (Fig. 2). Overall, there is remarkable continuity of settlement—87% (46 of 53) of Late Intermediate Period sites in the survey continued to be occupied during the Late Horizon—but the settlement pattern became more centralized through the establishment of a primary administrative center in the location of what was later to become the *reducción* village and provincial capital of Yanque (Wernke, 2006c). This site, extending over at least an 18 ha area, was double the area the second largest settlement. Our collections from the dense ceramic scatter over the site extent at Yanque included a significantly higher proportion of polychrome Inka ceramics than at other settlements. The only finely-cut Inka style ashlar masonry registered in the survey is also found in Yanque, signaling that the site once housed elite Inka structures (Wernke, 2006c).

While the Inkas established a primary administrative center at Yanque, other changes in settlement organization suggest that Inka rule was coordinated by local elites at extant settlements, where Inka displays of state largesse were staged through the construction of spaces for state-sponsored ritual. Formerly top-tier Collagua settlements—Uyu Uyu (YA-050), San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100), and Tunsa/Llactapampa (CO-163)—appear to have become local secondary administrative centers as they were modified through the construction of prominent plazas and distinctive Inka *kallanka* ("great hall") structures. In all three cases, the *kallankas* face centrally-located open plaza spaces adjacent to elite housing compounds. The best preserved and largest example, at Uyu Uyu (YA-050), measures 29.3 by 6.8 m, with a ventilated, gabled roof, and seven trapezoidal doors (Fig. 3).

Kallankas are omnipresent at Inka state installations, and are virtually always situated with their doorways opening onto plazas, framing the exterior space of the plaza. This *kallanka*/plaza unit has been linked both ethnohistorically and archaeologically to state-sponsored commensal ritual. Such performative, even theatrical, engagement between the state and its subjects was a central means of enacting Inka ideology of state largesse and integrating local communities within the empire (Coben, 2006; Dillehay, 2003; Moore, 1996; Morris and Thompson, 1985). Archaeologically, the most spectacular examples are found in regional imperial centers such as Huánuco Pampa in the central highlands (Morris and Thompson, 1985), and Inkallajta in southern Bolivia (Coben, 2006), where massive central plazas are flanked by huge *kallankas*. While no site in the Colca valley

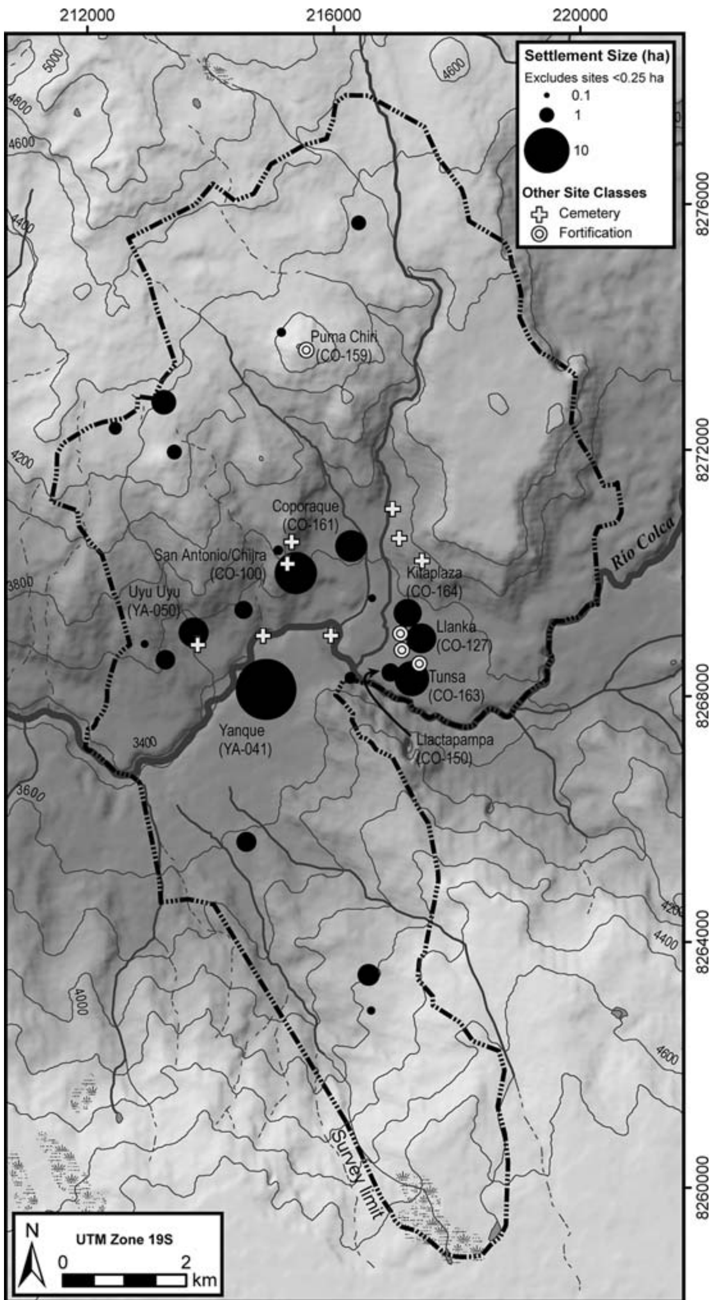

Fig. 2. The Late Horizon settlement pattern. Excludes sites less than 0.25 ha.

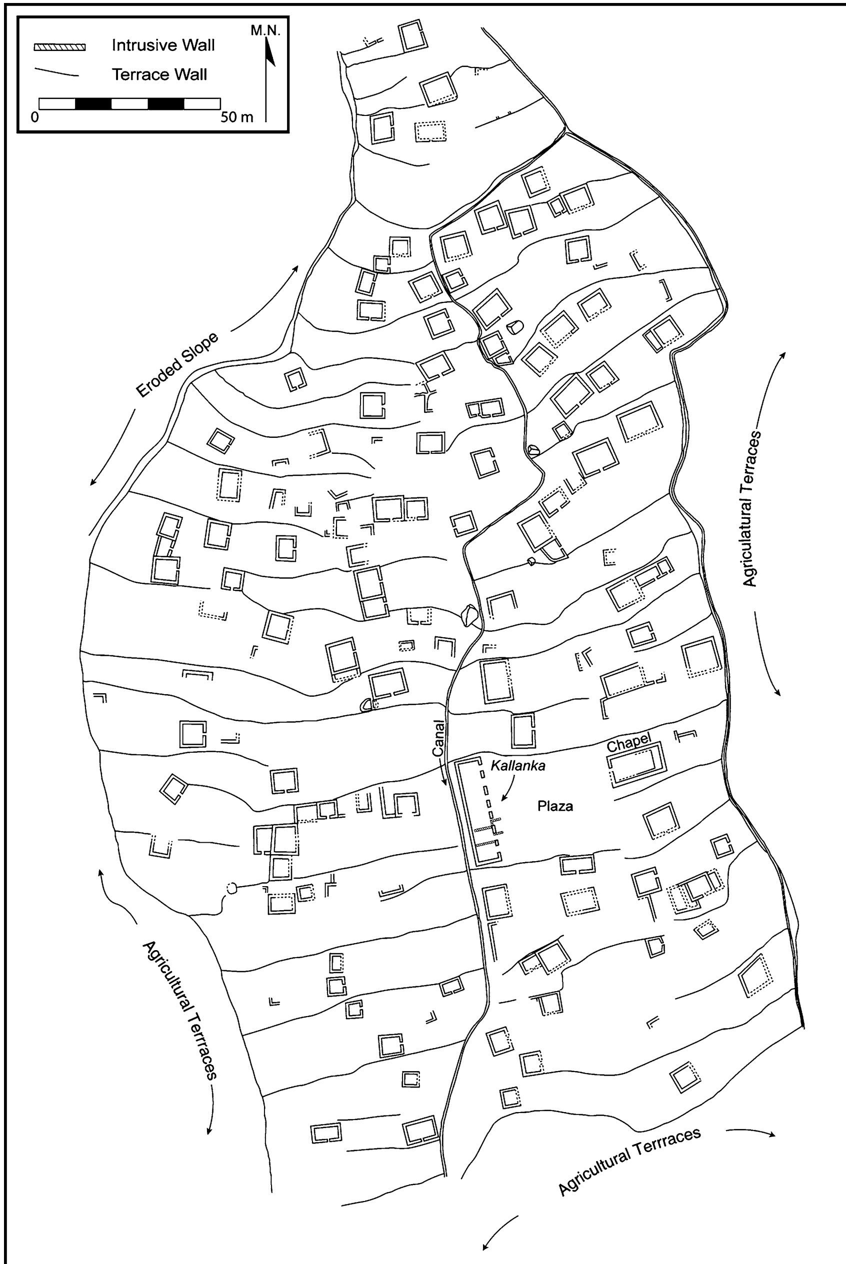

Fig. 3. Architectural map of Uyu Uyu (YA-050).

approaches the monumentality of these “other Cuzcos” (Coben, 2006), it appears that the introduction of central plazas and *kallankas* at formerly dominant Collagua settlements represents a decentralized example of how the Inkas introduced new architectural forms and ritual spaces as a means of integrating local communities and materializing their subordinate relationship to the state (Wernke, 2003, 2006c). As discussed below, these same spaces later became the central stages of evangelization during early colonial times.

FRANCISCAN INSERTIONS: LEVERAGING INKAIC SPACES OF RITUAL AND AUTHORITY

Colonial documentation is unanimous on the point that Franciscan friars were the only Spanish with a sustained presence in the Colca valley prior to the founding of the *reducciones*, and that they first established a series of *doctrinas* during the 1540s (Tibesar, 1953). The first friars probably entered the province at the invitation of Gonzalo Pizarro and/or the other *encomenderos* of the province sometime between 1540 and 1545 (Tibesar, 1953, p. 65). This early group was headed by Fray Juan de Monzón, who accompanied Fray Marcos de Niza (reputedly one of the original twelve Franciscans to reach the Panamanian isthmus) as part of the first group of Franciscans to enter Peru with Pizarro (Tibesar, 1953, pp. 14, 65). A Franciscan memorial written in 1585 recalling the first years of the missionary encounter in the Colca valley speaks to the ambitious early efforts of Monzón to extirpating the “idolatrous” practices of the Collaguas. On one occasion he was said to have sleuthed out such a haul of ancestral mummies and other idols that fifty to sixty local men were needed to carry them all back to the village of Lari, where Monzón oversaw their public destruction and the casting of their ashes into the Colca river (Tibesar, 1953, p. 65). He erected crosses on local peaks and even sought to destroy the principal “idol” of the province. Archaeologically, it appears that mummy veneration was either halted entirely or at least relegated to a clandestine practice at an early date, since our ceramic collections at *chullpa* mortuary sites—unlike settlements—are abruptly truncated at the colonial interface. We collected only two colonial sherds from *chullpa* contexts.

But most missionary campaigns in Peru began with such landscape-scale “exorcism” of what clerics saw as the diabolical presence of Andean deities (MacCormack, 1985, pp. 454–455), along with mass baptisms, often without catechesis. Ecclesiastical memorials triumphantly recall such aggressive “spiritual conquest” campaigns (e.g., see Córdoba y Salinas, 1957 [1651], pp. 151–157; Mendoza, 1976 [1664], pp. 51–54), but they belie the day to day interactions of the early missionary encounter in which clerics would have been required to take a more permissive, analogical approach to conversion.

In Peru, the “First Evangelization”—that is, the period preceding the reforms of the Third Lima Council in the 1580s (Estenssoro, 2003)—is characterized by

diverse and flexible pastoral practices (Durston, 2004, pp. 67–74; Estenssoro, 2001; 2003, pp. 31–137; MacCormack, 1985). In the absence of developed church oversight institutions, individual pastoral agents had relative autonomy during these chaotic early post-conquest years, and accommodationist orientations toward native traditions were tolerated to a greater extent than in subsequent times (Estenssoro, 2001; 2003, pp. 35–137). In part, this stance reflected somewhat more liberal church policies relative to later post-Tridentine uniformitarian decrees, but it was also a matter of pastoral expediency, since Church institutions were weak and the vastly-outnumbered clergy faced an immense and diverse indigenous population made up of communities with little or no exposure to Christian doctrine. The decrees of the First Lima Council (1551–1552) reflect how the First Evangelization took place on a material and symbolic terrain that was not of the church's making. *Doctrinas* were to be established in the primary settlements where native lords resided (Vargas Ugarte, 1952 [1551–1552]). Much as in Mexico, early catechesis emphasized general Christian narratives through performative practices, especially music (Burkhart, 1996, 1998; Durston, 2004, pp., 74–75; Edgerton, 2001; Estenssoro, 1992, 2001; 2003, pp. 149–151; Tibesar, 1953, pp. 81–82). Sacramentation of the Andean population was largely limited to baptism, confession, and marriage, and preoccupation with pre-baptismal catechesis in the First Lima Council decrees reflects how much of the adult population was still unconverted (Durston, 2004, pp. 70–71).

But the ways in which the prescriptions of the First Lima Council were translated in pastoral practice remains poorly understood due to a lack of documentation and colonial archaeological research. No printed pastoral books have survived from before the Third Lima Council (1582–1583). Some clerics advocated that the Indians continue to enact ceremonies of prehispanic origin, but in the honor of the Christian deity as a means of compensating for their earlier idolatry (Estenssoro, 2001, pp. 459–461). Such direct ritual substitution had historical precedents in Mesoamerica, where mendicant catechumenal architecture was initially adapted to the plaza of *teocalli*, or temple pyramids (Lara, 2004, p. 19; Morales, 1993). Early open chapels built in these plaza spaces were used as theatrical stagings, as the friars adapted a performative liturgy as a means of conversion through embodied participation (Burkhart, 1998; Hanson, 1995; Lara, 2004, pp. 25–36). The excellent architectural preservation of terminal prehispanic and early colonial settlements in the Colca valley—in concert with documentary evidence—affords a view of similar processes in the Andes.

Early "Stages" of Conversion: Uyu Uyu and San Antonio

The locations of rustic chapels within settlements in the survey area suggests that the earliest Franciscan efforts in the Colca valley drew upon explicit associations with the Inkaic spaces of state power and public ritual discussed above. We

identified structures as chapels at each of four major Inka period settlements, which I argue represent four of the early *doctrinas* described in Franciscan documentary sources (Fig. 4). The strong continuity between the primary and secondary Inka political centers and the locations of the early chapels signals how friars identified and grafted onto indigenous centers of power. Two of the four chapels in the survey are found at the two largest Collagua settlements that became secondary centers during Inka times: Uyu Uyu (YA-050) and San Antonio (CO-100). More specifically, I suggest that associations between the chapels, plazas, and Inka architecture within these early *doctrinas* reveal how early evangelical efforts communicated through spatial analogies that linked Inkaic and Christian ritual space. These villages were abandoned during the 1570s with the establishment of the Toledan *reducciones*, so the chapels almost certainly date to the first four decades after the Spanish invasion, making them among the earliest standing chapels known in Peru.

Uyu Uyu (YA-050), also known as Yanque Viejo (Old Yanque), is a 4 ha settlement situated on a gently sloping promontory surrounded by impressive agricultural terracing that continues to be cultivated by people of the Urinsaya community of Yanque. The present-day people of Yanque Urinsaya regard Uyu Uyu as their ancestral village, and the structure I identify as a chapel figures prominently in local oral historical accounts as their original Christian temple before the forced abandonment of the settlement and *reducción* to the village of Yanque (see Pease, 1977, pp. 152–156; Valderrama and Escalante, 1988, 1997, pp. 78–80; Wernke, 2003, pp. 327–330). The site is composed of terraced domestic compounds with well-preserved architectural remains, typically consisting of two to four houses oriented in a linear or L-shaped configuration facing terraced patio spaces.

The location and orientation of the chapel within the settlement signal how the friars intentionally associated their space of conversion with the former space of Inka state integration. The chapel structure is prominently situated on the eastern side of the site's central plaza, directly opposite the Inka *kallanka* (Fig. 5). The size and layout of the structure clearly set it apart from the surrounding prehispanic structures and identify it as a chapel. It is much larger and elongated than the vast majority of prehispanic Collagua houses, measuring 15.0 by 8.3 m on the exterior. Its double faced walls are very thick (80–90 cm), and set on a widened wall base or socle that forms a narrow facet along the exterior facing of the side walls, a feature not found in local prehispanic or Inka architecture. Also, while the doorways of Collagua houses are extremely narrow and always situated on the long axis (Wernke, 2003, pp. 200–201), the doorway of this structure is much wider (130 cm basal width) and positioned in the center of the short axis facing the plaza. On the interior, the remains of a platform (1 m high, 2 m deep) spanning the building's east end, opposite the entrance, is consistent with the placement of a chancel platform. Two low bench-like features run along the length of the north and south walls, and tapering windows (also a distinctively colonial feature) are located high in the middle of the north and south walls. Remnants of plaster

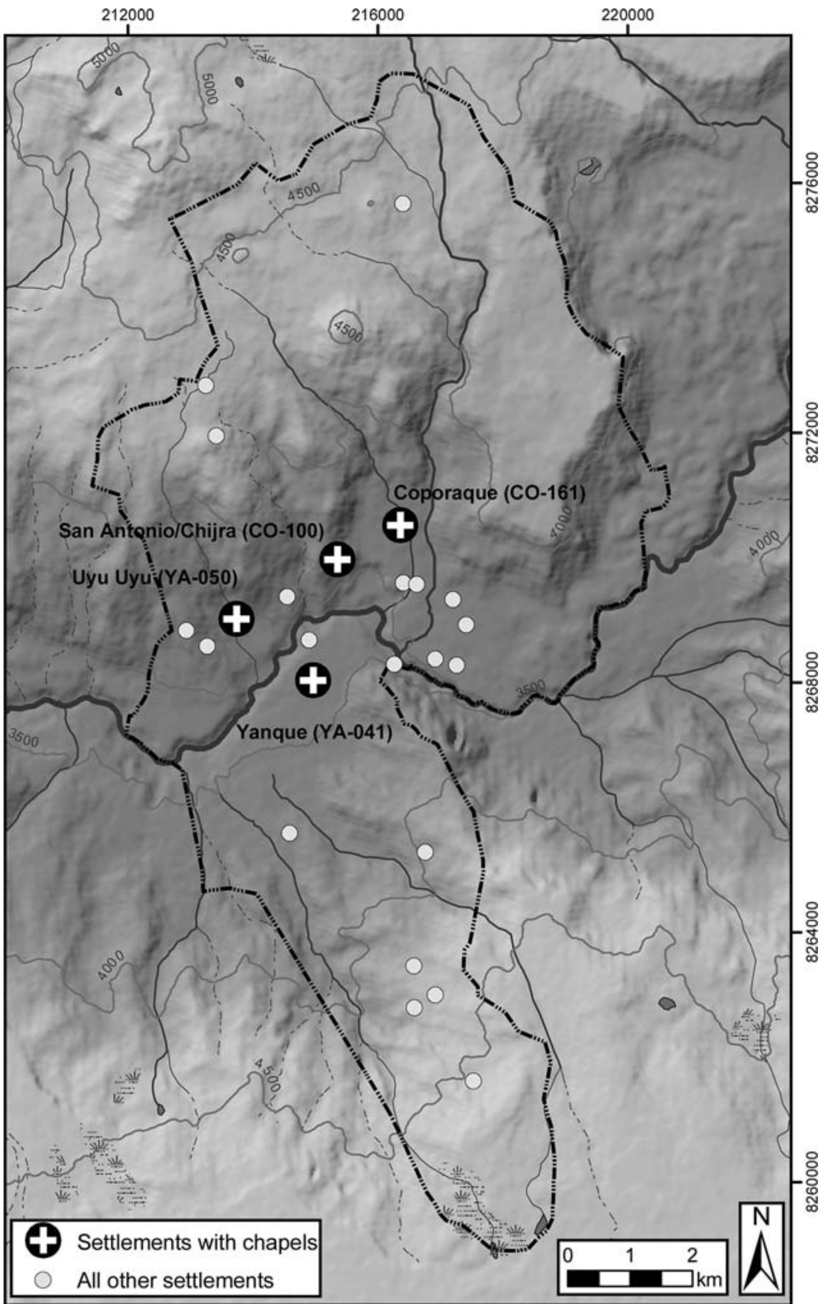

Fig. 4. Early Colonial Period (pre-*reducción*) settlement pattern.

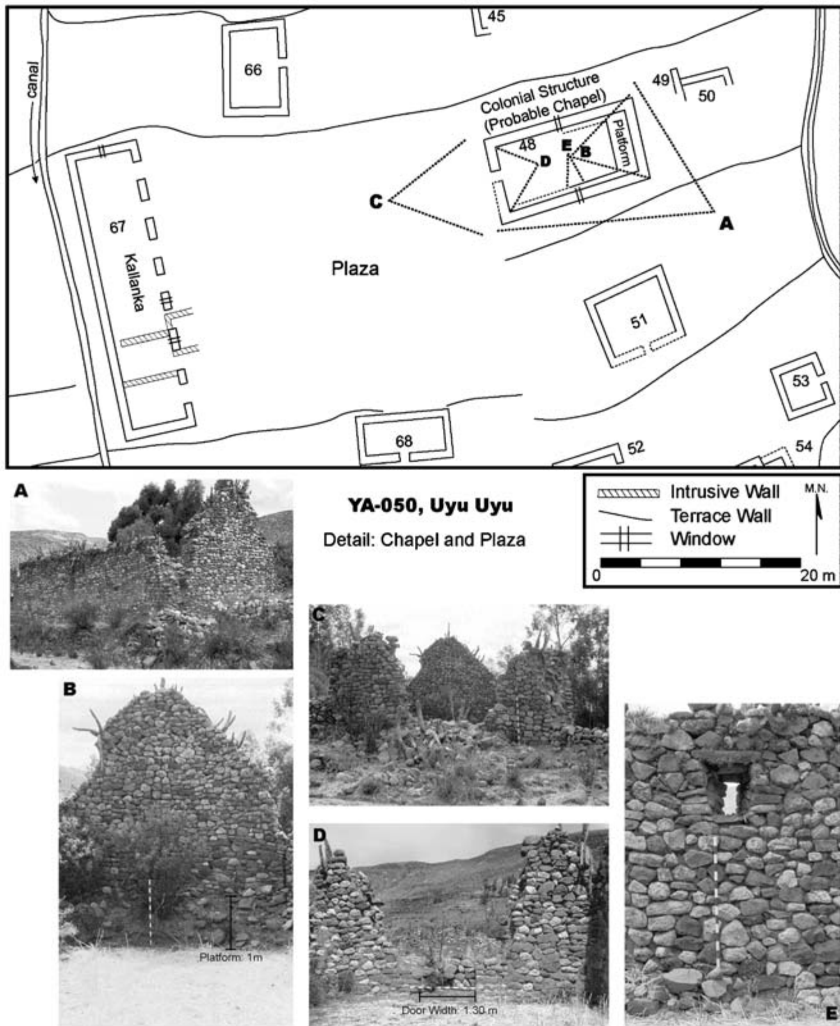

Fig. 5. Map and details of the chapel at Uyu Uyu.

were also present on the interior wall surfaces. Across the plaza, the *kallanka* was subdivided by two internal walls. These modifications probably date to the colonial period and also may be related to the missionary activities at the site. (Unfortunately these intrusive walls have been obliterated by a tourist-oriented restoration project), which in 2004 disassembled and reconstructed the masonry of the kallanka, chapel, and surrounding domestic structures of Uyu Uyu.)

At the settlement of San Antonio, located about 2 aerial km northeast of Uyu Uyu, another chapel is located in close association with a *kallanka* and plaza. A passage in the *Memoria de la Santa Iglesia de Arequipa* by Echeverría y Morales (1952 [1804], p. 80), a monograph based on research of colonial archival documentation, confirms the identification of this site as a pre-Toledan Franciscan *doctrina*:

> The friars began their work around Coporaque, they were able to bring together the dispersed *ayllos* or *Parcialidades* such as *Cupi*, *Collana-pataca*, *Yumasca*, and *Kayaupataca* into one rustic settlement. They built a chapel in Cupi, dedicated to San Antonio, and years later raised a formal temple in Coporaque consecrated to Santiago Apóstol [Saint James the Greater].
> "Los Religiosos [Franciscans] comenzaron sus tareas por Coporaque, en donde de varios ayllos o Parcialidades esparcidas, como la de Cupi, Collana-pataca, Yumasca, Kayaupataca, lograron juntarlos a una sola ranchería. Formaron una Capilla en Cupi, dedicada a San Antonio, y después de años levantaron un Templo formal en Coporaque consagrado a Santiago Apóstol."

The prominence of the chapel at the site known today as San Antonio is unmistakable (Fig. 6). It is situated on a hilltop that is visible from far up and down the valley. This hilltop almost certainly would have had sacred significance during prehispanic times, and this and the surrounding hills and peaks continue to be revered as local *apus* by Coporaque villagers today. As at Uyu Uyu, the chapel is found in close association with an Inka *kallanka* structure and plaza, which occupy a saddle between the promontory and an elite housing sector along the terraced slopes to the west. The location of the chapel again speaks to an attempt by the Franciscans to appropriate simultaneously local Andean conceptions of landscape and the Inka architectural idiom of conquest. This visual expression of conquest would have been readily interpreted by the local populace, and the triumvirate of *kallanka*, plaza and chapel would have been almost constantly visible to the villagers, since the doorways of the houses in the main housing sector on the adjacent terraced slope faced the chapel to the east (Fig. 7).

The chapel at San Antonio is similar in dimensions to the example at Uyu Uyu. Its facade is missing, so its full length cannot be determined from surficial remains, but the dimensions of the standing portion are 11.5 by 7.2 m (Fig. 8(A)). Its masonry is composed of a mix of uncut fieldstone and dressed tabular stones common to elite Collagua houses, and may have been mined from prehispanic structures. One difference in design from the Uyu Uyu chapel is that its entrance included a narthex. A remnant of the transverse wall that would have separated the narthex from the nave is still visible. This wall abuts the outer wall, suggesting it may have been added after the initial construction of the structure (see Fig. 8(B)). We also recovered ceramic roof tiles from around the structure, which definitively date it to colonial times. These tiles were almost certainly produced locally, since we identified two colonial updraft kilns in the survey, and recovered a roof tile waster from one of them (Wernke, 2003, pp. 320–321). However, it

Fig. 6. Airphoto of San Antonio (CO-100), from the east. The chapel (center) occupies the promontory to the east of the residential sector (background). The Inka *kallanka* and plaza occupies the saddle between the promontory and residential sector. From the 1931 Shippee-Johnson aerial expedition, courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, American Museum of Natural History, image number 334650s.

seems unlikely that such a well-developed ceramic industry would have been in place between the 1540s and 1560s when this chapel was probably built. The more likely scenario is that this chapel was originally thatched, and the tiled roof was added later, suggesting a significant period of use, perhaps even extending after the establishment of the *reducción* of Coporaque.

The passage by Echeverría y Morales above both affirms that the Franciscans built a chapel at the site today known as San Antonio, but also indicates that the friars were able to congregate households there from *ayllus* dispersed among several other settlements. Echeverría also identifies the site as *Cupi*, which is the name of one of the *ayllus* of the *Hanansaya* moiety registered as having been resettled to the *reducción* of Coporaque in a *visita* (administrative survey) from 1616 (APY Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya 1615–1617, f. 48v). "Bissita de los yndios del pueblo de Santiago de Coporaque de la Coronoa Real de la provincia de los Collaguas de la Parcialidad de anansaia de los pueblos Malcomussa Saio Marca Caloca Cupi y Canoca que estan reducidos en este pueblo" (Archivo Parroquial de Yanque [APY] Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya 1615–1617, f. 480v.) As I have discussed elsewhere

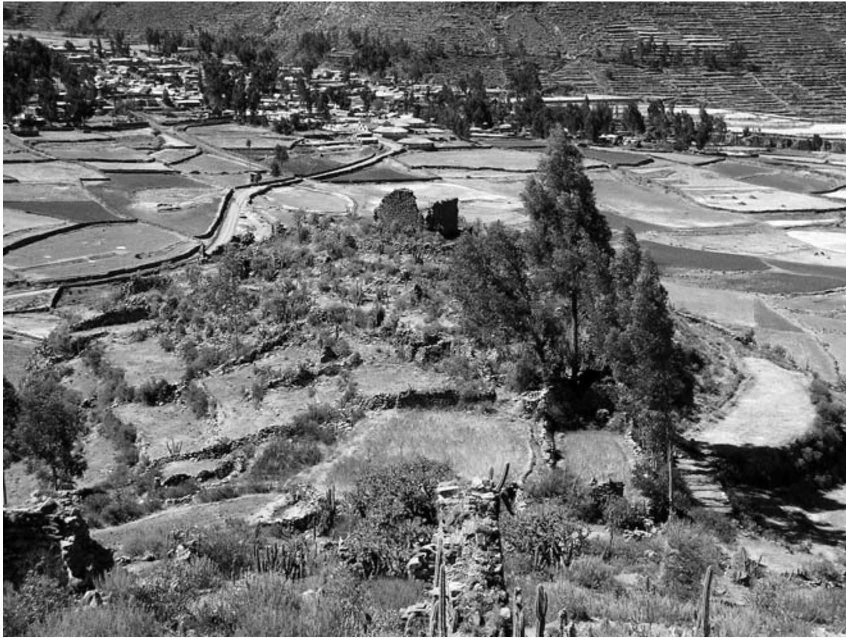

Fig. 7. The chapel and promontory as seen from the residential sector of San Antonio (from the southwest). The kallanka and plaza are located in the lower right.

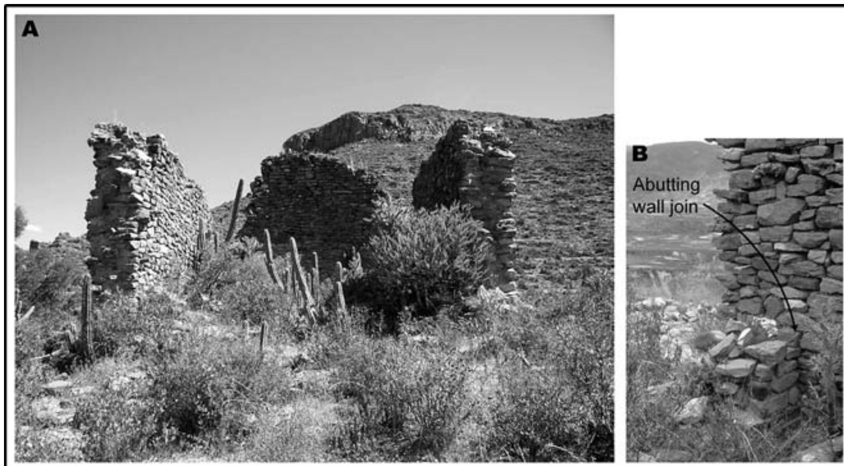

Fig. 8. **A**: frontal view of the chapel at San Antonio, from the east; **B**: detail (from the interior) of the transverse wall join that originally divided the nave from the narthex and formed the facade.

(Wernke, 2003, 2006b, c; 2007), this ayllu *Cupi*, meaning "right side", was the higher ranking half of a dualistic "right/left" ayllu structure within the Hanansaya moiety, the other side represented by the ayllu *Checa Malco* ("honored left side"). Such ranked right/left dualistic structures are a common feature of Aymara polities (Astvaldsson, 2000), though its specific spatial expression at the local scale has rarely been documented. My reconstruction of land tenure patterns based on declarations from a visita from 1616 illustrates that the fieldholdings of *Cupi ayllu* were concentrated around the settlement today known as San Antonio, signaling that most of its members resided their prior to *reducción* (Wernke, 2006a, 2007). Both the archaeological and documentary evidence thus indicate that the majority of the Cupi ayllu resided at this site, and by extension illustrate how the friars grafted onto the local power structure by establishing a *doctrina* at the primary settlement of the highest ranking ayllu of the upper (Hanansaya) moiety.

Thus, a scenario of resettlement can be reconstructed whereby the "left side" ayllus would have been displaced as their members were congregated to the higher ranking "right side" settlement of San Antonio. The implication of the growth of San Antonio as a Franciscan *doctrina* is that resettlement under the Toledan *reducciones* was not entirely without local post-conquest precedent. Rather, many households would have been displaced by *reducción* from *doctrinas* that they had occupied for only about a generation.

Formalization of the Franciscan Mission in the 1560s

Identification of other Franciscan chapels in Coporaque and Yanque also signal that the *reducciones* themselves were built on Franciscan antecedents. Several lines of evidence indicate that the Franciscans moved to reshape the space of evangelization in the decade prior to *reducción*. Church institutions throughout Peru were becoming more established by the 1560s. All indications from Rome, at the height of the Counter Reformation, were pointing in the direction of greater doctrinal uniformity—from catechesis, liturgical, and sacramental issues, to the organization of administrative territories, including the establishment of bishoprics and parishes run by secular clergy (Estenssoro, 2001; MacCormack, 1985). The decrees of the Council of Trent were received in 1565 and the Second Lima Council (1567–1568) was organized to formulate church policy consistent with them. Calls for doctrinal discipline in the face of spreading Protestantism in Europe resonated with an analogous situation in Peru, where by the 1560s the Taki Onqoy ("dancing sickness"), a charismatic millenarian cult whose spirit-possessed members prophesized a *pachacuti* (a world reversal upheaval) in which Andean huacas would conquer the Christian deity and reinstate Inka sovereignty, was spreading out of the Huamanga area (Stern, 1982a, 1982b, pp. 52–71). News of this "contagion" in the central Andes came amidst other surveillance from ecclesiastical visitas reporting that the first evangelization had made only superficial

Fig. 9. The chapel of San Sebastian (1565), after restoration.

inroads towards eradicating pagan beliefs. The Second Lima Council decrees thus mandated an aggressive campaign for extirpating "idolatrous" practices.

In the Colca valley, Coporaque and Yanque were central in a new push to expand and formalize local evangelical complexes. In Coporaque, Málaga Medina (1977, p. 101) dates the construction of a chapel dedicated to San Sebastian to 1565, and the initiation of the main church, dedicated to Santiago (Saint James the Greater) to 1569. The architectural historian Enrique Tord (1983, p. 87) subsequently identified the remains (since restored) of the chapel, based on the presence of a painted iconic image of Saint Sebastian (in martyrdom, tied to a tree and impaled by arrows) on the keystone of its entryway. Other features of the San Sebastian chapel are similar to the structures at Uyu Uyu and San Antonio and further undergird their identification as chapels. It is of similar dimensions, measuring 14.0 by 7.5 m on the exterior, and its open narthex entryway shows how its counterpart at San Antonio was probably designed (Fig. 9). This layout not only created a transition between the outside and the sacred space of the chapel interior, but would have facilitated addressing large groups in the facing *corral*.

The orientation of the chapel and the church within the settlement provide further, albeit tentative, evidence that they were built partially or entirely prior to *reducción*. An aerial photograph (Fig. 10) shows that the chapel of San Sebastian

Fig. 10. Vertical airphoto of the plaza of Coporaque. The chapel of San Sebastian (without a roof) occupies the southern end of the atrium, aligning with the lateral portal of the main church. Source: Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional (SAN) 1974, project 227–73, image number 2563.

fronts a large plaza that was later to become the atrium of the main church. The front of the chapel is aligned, though not precisely, with the lateral portal of the church, and, more importantly, neither aligns precisely with the overall grid pattern of the rest of the *reducción*. This is unique in the valley—in the other *reducciones*, the churches are perfectly aligned (either laterally or frontally) with the plaza and other residential blocks. This misalignment may thus provide a horizontal stratigraphic clue to the pre-Toledan date of the chapel and the beginning of the construction of the main church. Unlike Yanque, however, the survey did not register significant Late Intermediate Period or Late Horizon occupations in Coporaque. We recovered only 15 sherds from these periods from our systematic village survey, as compared to 236 in Yanque. Thus, the friars appear to have established a new *doctrina* in a

virtually unoccupied location in the 1560s, marking a second phase in the local remapping of sacred space in which the friars attempted to define and design new spaces of Christian indoctrination apart from those associated with Inkaic precedents.

The 1565 and 1569 construction dates for these temples are also consistent with archival evidence indicating an intensification and formalization of the Franciscan mission in the valley during the 1560s. The commissary general of the order, Fray Jerónimo de Villacarrillo assigned four new friars to the Colca valley, headed by Fray Pedro de los Ríos to the Colca valley in 1560 (Cook, 2002, p. 891). According to the Franciscan chronicler Diego de Mendoza (1976 [1664], p. 51), the friars founded two monasteries in the valley that year: one dedicated to the Immaculate Conception in Yanque, and another in the upper reaches of the valley in the village of Callalli. The local prelate in Yanque oversaw resident friars at the *doctrinas* of Coporaque, Achoma, and Chivay, while the prelate in Callalli oversaw the *doctrinas* of Tisco, Sibayo, and Tuti—each of which later became sites of *reducciones* (Mendoza, 1976 [1664], p. 51).

In Yanque, unlike Coporaque, there is only tentative architectural evidence for this pre-*reducción* stratum of missionary activity. A probable chapel of similar size and layout as the other three remains standing on the western edge of the village (Fig. 11). Like the chapel at San Antonio, the front of this structure included a vestibule, and like the chapel at Uyu Uyu, a low bench feature runs

Fig. 11. Frontal view of probable chapel in Yanque, from the north.

along the length of both sides of the interior. A possible chancel platform spans the width of the structure opposite the entrance. Dating of this structure, however, awaits excavation. The friars are known to have established a convent in Yanque around the same time as the construction of the San Sebastian chapel (Mendoza, 1976 [1664], p. 51), but it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1688 (Benavides, 1994). The impressive church and convent now seen in Yanque were built in the late seventeenth century on top of the ruins of these original 16th century structures (Benavides, 1994). Unlike the earlier church in Coporaque, the church in Yanque is oriented laterally to the main plaza, with its chancel to the east. Its facade features a sculptured relief of Saint Francis carved in the soft volcanic tuff called sillar that was also used in the construction of many of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century churches in the city of Arequipa (Benavides, 1994).

REDUCCIÓN: RENEGOTIATING THE PARADOX OF ERASURE AND ANALOGY

From the perspective of this local trans-contact trajectory then, the resettlement of the population into *reducción* villages during the *visita general* of the viceroy Toledo resembles less a radical erasure than an intensification of the centripetal trends initiated under Inka rule and extended during the early missionary encounter. Although the *reducción* program is often singled out as the quintessential example of colonial rule by fiat, the decision-making processes regarding where and how to establish *reducciones* have remained poorly understood. Clearly, *reducción* had the effect of moving at least some of the population away from their ancestral homes and agricultural lands, but how was this burden distributed and negotiated? Toledo's decrees provided only vague recommendations that native populations were to be reduced to relatively level areas in "healthy locales of good climate . . . in the least number of villages possible, choosing the best and most productive locales in each *repartimiento*" (Toledo, 1924 [1570–1575], p. 163). While Toledo urged that the *visitadores* consult with and accommodate the paramount *kurakas* (*caciques principales*) regarding the number and location of *reducciones*, scrutiny of these local-level negotiations is lacking (but see Bauer, 1992, pp. 124–139; Julien, 1991; Mumford, 2005; Urton, 1990, pp. 88–95; Wernke, 2003, pp. 393–434, 2007).

The findings presented above provide the means for reconstructing such local-level processes of negotiation. In both cases, a three phase scenario of resettlement can be discerned, beginning in the 1540s with the earliest period of missionization represented by Uyu Uyu and San Antonio, a second phase during the 1560s in which the Franciscan effort was formalized through the establishment of a convent in Yanque and a *doctrina* in Coporaque, and finally the establishment

of the *reducciones* in these locales in the 1570s. The specific movements of differently-ranked kin groups are especially revealing of the political negotiations involved in *reducción*.

In the case of Yanque, a Franciscan *doctrina*, convent, and Toledan *reducción* were located at the site of the primary Inka administrative center, minimizing residential disruption of the elites who resided there. By contrast, *reducción* would have been more onerous for the members of the lower-ranking *Urinsaya* moiety, the majority of whom, by indications of local oral history and modern community boundaries (discussed above), resided at Uyu Uyu, located across the Colca river from Yanque. Even today the Urinsaya community maintains separate pasturage, agricultural and irrigation systems on the north side of the river, and its members begin and end their days with long walks across the deep inner river gorge to and from their fields around Uyu Uyu, while the fields of the members of the *Hanansaya* community lie on the south side of the river, immediately surrounding the *reducción*.

In the case of Coporaque, the survey did not register a significant Late Horizon occupation in the site of the *reducción*, but its specific placement accommodated the topographical, hydrological, and cultural features of the local prehispanic and early colonial landscape. Here, the largest Inka-period settlement and early *doctrina*, San Antonio, is located on a steep, terraced hillside, making the construction of the gridded blocks of a *reducción* impossible. Instead, the *reducción* village is situated on the adjacent *pampa*, again in the same location as a "second phase" *doctrina* established in the 1560s. The two primary feeder canals for the local irrigation network nearly converge at the location of the *reducción*, and the village grid itself literally straddles the *quebrada* that formed the hydrological divide separating the lands and settlements of the "left" and "right" side *ayllus*. Coporaque is thus located precisely in the conceptual "middle" of the local cultural and agricultural landscape (Wernke, 2007).

Such spatial grafting occurred not only at the scale of settlement pattern, but probably also at the level of the design of the villages themselves. Setha Low (2000, pp. 101–109) has argued that the central plazas and grid plans of even the earliest Spanish towns in the Caribbean and Mexico represent a merging of European and indigenous urban design traditions rather than the imposition of a purely alien settlement form. But regardless of how colonial administrators conceived of the plan, certain aspects of it would have been quite legible as an architectural language of state control by local Andean communities, since central plazas were the norm in Inka planned settlements, and variations on orthogonal designs have a long history in state-planned settlements in the Andes. Locally, plazas figured centrally in the modification of Collagua settlements by the Inka state, and although the original site layout of Inkaic Yanque was obliterated by *reducción*, it almost certainly would have been configured around a central plaza as well.

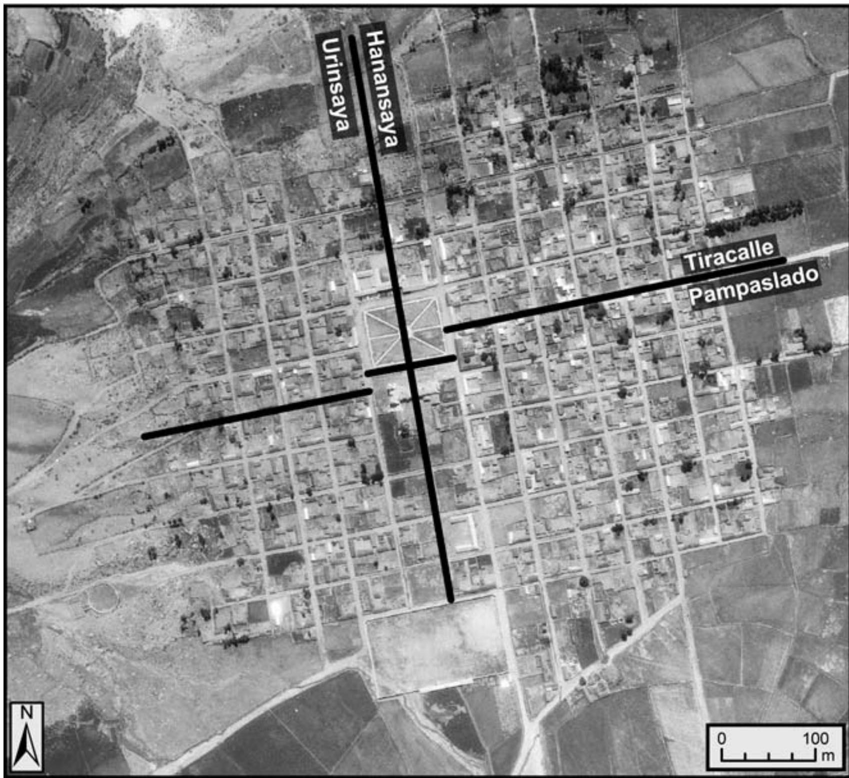

Fig. 12. Vertical airphoto of the reducción of Yanque, showing quadripartite division. Source: Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional (SAN) 1974, project 227–73, image number 2576.

Local peoples would have understood these analogies and were able to map community organization onto the village grids of the *reducciones*. In Yanque, as in other villages in the valley (Benavides, 1988), villagers continue to conceive of the village as not one but two communities (*comunidades campesinas*) that are the historical descendants of the *Hanansaya* and *Urinsaya* moieties recorded in colonial documentation (see Valderrama and Escalante, 1988, p. 49). The two communities are spatially divided along a north south axis running through the center of the village (Fig. 12). A second east/west line bisects this primary moiety line to divide each in two again, forming a quadripartite division that today is relevant for organizing labor projects related to maintaining the irrigation systems of the two communities (Valderrama and Escalante, 1988, pp. 47–59). The moiety division also runs through the center of the long axis of the church, as the epistle (conceptual right) side of the church is associated with the *Hanansaya* moiety and the evangel side is associated with the *Urinsaya* moiety. Today, this division

Fig. 13. Cobble pavement of the atrium surrounding the church of Yanque, from the north. The drainage channel (center) divides Hanansaya (background) and Urinsaya (foreground) interments beneath.

remains salient during important feast days in the liturgical calendar. Yanque church records from 1689–1731 indicate that colonial burials under the church floor reflect this *Hanansaya/Urinsaya* division (Benavides, 1994, p. 432). As noted by Benavides (1994, p. 433), later burials in the church atrium were also spatially divided by moiety. The pavement is divided longitudinally by a narrow ditch, which demarcates the division between *Hanansaya* burials near the church and *Urinsaya* burials on the opposite side. Patterning in the cobblestone pavement, still visible today (Fig. 13), divides each side into strips, apparently demarcating *ayllu* or family divisions within each moiety (Benavides, 1994, p. 433).

The unusual preservation of the original church architecture in Coporaque provides a view into how such conceptual grafting occurred at a smaller scale. Here, despite the physical move away from the Inkaic past brought about by *reducción*, the analogies and associations with the Inka state that the friars drew upon in their early efforts resurfaced in the decorations of the chapel and church—again pointing to the tension between erasure and analogy in the missionary encounter. The chapel's facade is executed in a renaissance-influenced style that was probably designed by a non-local artisan (Fig. 14). Above the portal, a frieze with alternating rosettes and cherubs is flanked by doric columns and topped by a pediment and

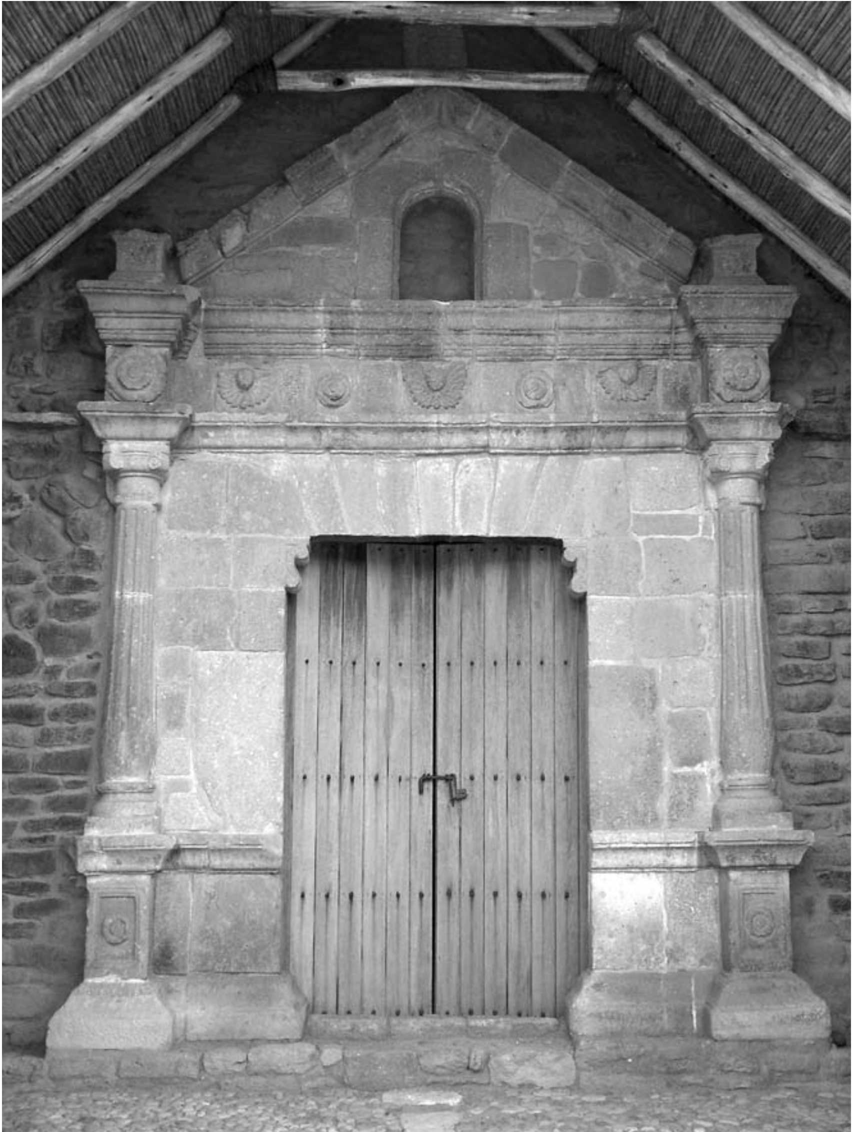

Fig. 14. Facade of the chapel of San Sebastian.

arched niche. The facade of the main church essentially repeats this composition on a larger scale (Fig. 15). On the one hand, these facades project an idealized representation of European order, proportion, and divine hierarchy. Of course, this composition itself incorporated pre-Christian Greco-Roman architectural elements

Fig. 15. The Church of Santiago de Coporaque.

that had long since been appropriated as canonically Christian. But on the other hand, a closer viewing of each reveals the beginning of a similar syncretic process of distinctly Andean origin. The interior portal of the chapel is decorated with a baroque motif of the sun and the moon (Fig. 16(A)). The keystone of the portal of the main church is likewise embellished with what is perhaps a purposefully ambiguous emblem (see Fig. 16(B)). It could be read as a depiction of a lion's face with a long mane—an image closely associated with the Judeo-Christian deity in Old World iconography (Lara, 1998), or of the sun. The added irony here is that the solar and lunar cults were of Inkaic, not local, origin. These symbols thus speak not only to indigenous agency in the interpretation of church iconography, but also to an emergent understanding of the Christian deity by reference to multiple sets of analogies from the Old World and Inka state religion.

CONCLUSION

The documentary and archaeological analyses presented here provide a means for reconstructing a preliminary sequence of evangelization complexes in the early colonial Andes. In broad terms, there appears to be a transition from what might be called "exterior Andean" to "interior European" architectonic space, beginning with early open chapels that piggybacked on Inka spaces of state ritual to leverage—if not quite coerce—the "corralling" of the unconverted for indoctri-

Fig. 16. **A**: interior of doorway, chapel of San Sebastian, Coporaque. Note crescent moon and sun motif; **B**: lion/solar motif on the portal keystone of the Church of Santiago, Coporaque.

nation. These structures are analogous to the early *ramada*-type open chapels of Mesoamerica, which accommodated outdoor catechesis and functioned as stage sets for a participatory and performative pastoral approach (Burkhart, 1998; Hanson, 1995; Lara, 2004, pp. 21–39). Here, former spaces for Inka state-sponsored rituals were recycled for catechesis, which (as in Mexico) likewise centered on processional, musical, and theatrical practices, thus resonating both spatially and functionally with Ink precedents. In the second iteration, represented by the chapel of San Sebastian of Coporaque, the open chapel took more formal shape within a space defined mostly or entirely by the Franciscans. The overall diminutive scale of the chapel relative to the *corral* suggests that much catechesis was still practiced in the open air, as the friars most likely addressed the catechumenate from the open narthex of the chapel. Lastly, the main church of Coporaque illustrates the post-Tridentine form that combines a larger scale open chapel with a large interior space situated within grid pattern of a *reducción*. But here too, the "open chapel" feature that dominates the church facade—one of the best preserved examples from the period in the viceroyalty—echoes the narthex of the earlier chapels and reflects how the clergy probably still addressed large crowds from this elevated balcony.

In sum, while ecclesiastical decrees, memorials, and other documentation provide a view of the institutional and ideological contexts of early evangelization, the archaeological analysis presented here, by moving outside of written texts, bypasses the colonialist perspective and points toward two-way negotiations of meaning and power not evident in the documentary record. Changes in settlement patterning, architecture, and the organization of the built environment suggest how interactions between colonial and indigenous actors created new hybrid social fields and spaces that were the creation of both but not controlled entirely by either. I have argued that despite their early efforts aimed at eradicating idolatrous practices, the structure of the early colonial conjuncture forced missionaries to improvise and draw analogies that referenced and reused Inkaic rituals and spaces of state integration. This perspective differs significantly from the view of conversion as a "spiritual conquest" or as a dimension of colonial domination. Ironically, the success of these analogies in framing cultural dialogue ultimately contributed to the reactionary approach embodied in the *reducciones*, but by that time, local peoples had already internalized and appropriated those analogies as their own.

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