UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Imperial Occlusions:

Mestizaje and Marian Mechanisms in Early Modern Andalucía and the Andes

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

by

Payton Camille Phillips Quintanilla

2018

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Barbara Fuchs, Chair

This project explores articulations of *mestizaje* (various forms of genealogical and social mixing) on the Iberian Peninsula, in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and in the legal, cultural, and religious spaces shared by both. By foregrounding texts and contexts often left out of discussions on *mestizaje*, and incorporating Mestizos into a line of scholarship dominated by comparative studies of Indios and Moros/Moriscos, I argue that, in the Hapsburg Empire, *mestizaje* was often understood, experienced, and/or represented as a transatlantic phenomenon; and that this transatlantic consciousness engendered certain "mechanisms," common to both the metropole and its colonies, which promoted or marginalized persons, products, and practices that carried supposed markers of mixing. Chapter 1, "Moorish Mestizos and Iberian Incas: From Order to Disorder in Andalucía and the Andes," analyzes how early modern literary and documentary narratives imagined *mestizaje* in pre-conquest Granada (the last polity of Al-Andalus) and

Tahuantinsuyu (the Inca Empire). Chapter 2, "*Apellidando libertad*: Real and Imagined Rebellions and Exiles of Moriscos and Mestizos," explores the intersecting experiences and interrelated repression of Iberian Moriscos and Andean Mestizos. Chapter 3, "The Cornerstone of Copacabana: Creoles and Indios, Virgins and *Wakas* in a New Andean Zion," traces how prominent Marian and evangelizing narratives shunned Mestizos in favor of Creole "purity" while simultaneously celebrating the mixed lineage of the Virgin Mary. Chapter 4, "*At the hour of our death*: Mary, Martyrdom, and Moriscos in the Alpujarra and Beyond," examines ways in which the Virgin Mary was employed in pro- and anti-Morisco rhetoric, both before and after their expulsion from Spain. Through analyses of literary works and archival documents, I will demonstrate that a series of occlusions—expressed through contact, blockage, sorption, and concealment—characterize key mechanisms of *mestizaje* in early modern Andalucía and the Andes, and that the Virgin Mary is a powerful tool of occlusion in both of these geographies.

The dissertation of Payton Camille Phillips Quintanilla is approved.

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2018

For Alvarito and Leonel. May you learn to embrace but also challenge the many worlds that will claim you as theirs, and that you will claim as your own.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to the Graduate Division, to the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, and to the various University centers that have supported my research, conference attendance, and specialized training, including: the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, the Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies, the Center for Near Eastern Studies, and the Alan D. Leve Center for Jewish Studies. My immense gratitude goes to Ben and Rue Pine for the research travel award that first introduced me to Seville and the Archivo General de Indias. Thank you to the campus working groups and their faculty directors and sponsors that provided me so many opportunities for growth and inspiration, especially: The *Comedia* in Translation and Performance (Dr. Barbara Fuchs), the Hebrew Aljamiado Research Group (Dr. John Dagenais), Indigenous Material and Visual Culture in the Americas (Dr. Stella Nair), and ucLADINO (Dr. Sarah Abrevaya Stein). I want to thank Dr. Juliet Falce-Robinson for training, supporting, and helping me to succeed as an instructor, and Professors Maarten van Delden and A. Carlos Quícoli for inviting me to teach with them in Granada (a beautiful last summer of graduate school). Many thanks to Professor John Dagenais for his endless confidence in me, and for showing me that there is a place, not just for passion, but also for laughter and levity in this profession. Thank you to my committee members—Professors Efraín Kristal, Anna More, and Stella Nair—for generously sharing their time and expertise, for their many letters of recommendation, and for helping me to envision this dissertation as a book. Of course, my deepest gratitude goes to my committee chair and respected mentor, Professor Barbara Fuchs: I would have never started this project or finished graduate school without you.

Finally, thank you to my husband, Álvaro, my parents, Susan and Britt, their spouses, Mark and Sally, and my grandparents, Joyce and Reuben, not just for believing that I could do this, but for all of their efforts, large and small, that truly made it possible.

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Introduction: Reading *Mestizaje* Across the Atlantic

DON FERNANDO Porque me volví cristiano,
¿este baldón me sucede?
DON ÁLVARO Porque su ley recibí,
¿ya no hay quien de mí se acuerde?
—Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Amar después de la muerte*, 1671 (vv. 855-858)

…aunque las dichas yndias [las madres de mestizos] hubieran en algún tiempo sido ynfieles y de gentilidad, ora que vinieron en conoscimiento de la ley de Jesu Christo nuestro señor e rescibieron el santo bautizmo no quedó mácula alguna por donde sus descendientes quedasen en alguna nota e ynffamia como lo que darían los que descienden de moros e judíos conversos…
—Complaint to the Council of the Indies, 1582 (AGI Lima 126, folios 4r-4v)

The speakers above—two fictionalized Morisco nobles in the Castilian kingdom of Granada whose honor is affronted by Old Christians and their liberties revoked by a royal pragmatic, and a contingent of over one hundred Mestizos from the Viceroyalty of Peru who mounted a legal process when denied ordination by royal decree—find themselves in a similarly precarious position: they speak the language, profess the religion, and observe the culture of the polity to which they belong, yet they are not completely trusted, nor are they fully accepted. In fact, the more they look, sound, act, think, and believe as the dominant group does, the more of a potential threat they seem to become in the eyes of their sovereigns and countrymen. With less and less with which to differentiate the conquered, the converted, and their descendants from anyone else, how could their true religious and political loyalties be convincingly demonstrated, or correctly deciphered?

A group of scholars currently studying the relationship between assimilation and marginalization in medieval and early modern Iberia explain it this way: "the desire to eradicate difference within the majority society was always combined with the fear of infiltration and contamination," so that "the disappearance of differences exacerbated the search for allegedly

essential characteristics in those with Jewish and Muslim ancestors, who were generally seen by Christians as crypto-Jews or crypto-Muslims" (CORPI).[1] The conquest of the Americas obviously complicated this scenario, for instead of Semitic "infidels," Iberian Christians were faced with converting pagan "gentiles." But, if the Church swiftly determined that the stain of heresy should not be attached to New World converts or their offspring, why did the Mestizos quoted above have to work so hard to differentiate themselves from Moriscos and Conversos? What were the allegedly "essential characteristics" of Mestizos that earned them much of the same treatment as the descendants of Jews and Moors? Was it simply because one parent (or, by this point, grandparent) was an Old Christian and the other a New Christian? Or was the problem more closely tied to ethnicity and local history, prompting fears that the affective ties which bind individuals to their native land embedded within them a desire to protect their "own" people, and to recuperate what was taken from them?

At the heart of these questions are the interrelated processes of conquest and conversion, as well as the ultimate result of both: *mestizaje*. By *mestizaje* I mean various forms of genealogical and sociocultural mixing—whether deliberate or *de facto*—that occur both within and between individuals and communities. Like conversion, *mestizaje* is fluid rather than fixed, and like conquest, it is shaped by dynamics of power. Further, if conquest and conversion may prove to be unstable or incomplete, *mestizaje* is unstable and incomplete by its very nature. This project explores articulations of *mestizaje* on the Iberian Peninsula, in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and in the legal, cultural, and religious spaces shared by both. These specific geographies were chosen after undertaking a comparative reading of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios*

[1] *Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, and Interaction: Early Modern Iberia and Beyond* (Sponsors: the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and the European Research Council; Principal Investigator: Mercedes García-Arenal).

reales (1609/1617) and Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595/1619), through which I recognized an uncanny confluence of motifs, chronologies, actors, and events that merited further exploration.

By foregrounding texts (including archival documents, historiography, religious writings, and theater) and contexts (from civil war and exile, to miracles and pilgrimage) often left out of discussions on *mestizaje*, and incorporating Mestizos into a line of scholarship dominated by comparative studies of Indios and Moros (or Indios and Moriscos), I argue that *mestizaje* was often understood, experienced, and/or represented as a transatlantic phenomenon in the Hapsburg Empire. This transatlantic consciousness, in turn, engendered certain processes—or, to borrow from Serge Gruzinski, "mechanisms"—, common to both the metropole and its colonies, which promoted or marginalized persons, products, and practices that carried supposed markers of mixing.[2] I will demonstrate that a series of occlusions—expressed through contact, blockage, sorption, and concealment—characterize key mechanisms of *mestizaje* in early modern Andalucía and the Andes, and that the figure of the Virgin Mary, which begins as a product of "mestizo mechanisms," also acts as a powerful tool of occlusion in both of these geographies.

In addition to Gruzinski's *mestizo mechanisms*, the theoretical frameworks that I have found especially useful for this project are *imperium* and *contravivencia*. In *Mimesis and Empire* (2001), Barbara Fuchs explains that "the study of empire in this period is best approached as an investigation of *imperium*, the Roman term that denotes a state's rule not only over colonies but also over the metropole: the 'home base' and its subjects" (3). Proposed by Fuchs as a theoretical

[2] What Gruzinski describes as "mestizo mechanisms" include "not only objective processes observable in various domains but also the awareness that individuals had of them in the past, as expressed through the manipulations they effected, the constructs they developed, and the arguments and criticisms they advanced" (31).

category in *Postcolonial Moves* (2003), "[i]mperium studies enable the critical recognition of the centrality of empire in Old World texts that are not explicitly engaged with colonial ventures, and reveals the transatlantic or international dimensions of texts previously read within narrow national traditions," including texts written in or about the New World (71).

David Wacks introduces the idea of medieval *contravivencia* in *Framing Iberia* (2007), where he writes:

> The rosy *convivencia* envisioned by Américo Castro has long been deconstructed. […] The historian Brian Catlos has recently introduced a second model, that of *conveniencia*, by which individuals are defined not first by religion, but by occupation, hometown, family, or sex. To this I would add a third way of understanding the cultural jumble of medieval Iberia: one of *contravivencia*, an agonistic yet productive symbiotic relationship in which each participant is a *sine qua non* in the construction of the other's identity and cultural formation. (5)

I would add, in turn, that *contravivencia* is as applicable to the colony as it is to the metropole: Spaniards, Creoles, Indios, Mestizos, Negros, Mulatos, and others are understood—and understand themselves—in contradistinction to other colonial and peninsular actors. None of these categories is fixed, and all are part and parcel of labeling the other and fashioning the self, whether inside or outside of the fatally limited and limiting Two Republic (Indio/Español) model propogated by the Spanish state.

Of course, the peninsular experience of *mestizaje* differs from the American version. Gruzinski uses the term "hybridization" to discuss processes related to peninsular *mélanges*, and reserves the descriptor "mestizo" for those processes and *mélanges* in the Americas.[3] In this way,

[3] Gruzinski on "mestizo" vs. "hybrid:"

he differentiates Iberia's long history of conquest and conversion from the American experience, which was uniquely marked by the sudden shock and extreme violence of transatlantic conquest. In contrast to Gruzinski, I use the term *mestizaje*, alongside the idea of "mestizo mechanisms," for both geographies to emphasize that any discussion of mixing on the Peninsula after the conquest of the Americas was shaped, explicitly or implicitly, by mixing in the New World. This is particularly patent in the texts that I will discuss, most of which were written in the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the realities and imaginaries of empire—including its inescapable violence—had infiltrated both life and literature in Iberia.

This time period also entails extreme violence on the Peninsula in relation to the Moriscos (rebellion, exile, Inquisition, and expulsion), and it was not at all uncommon for persons to have witnessed, suffered, and/or perpetrated violence in both peninsular and American spaces. One emblematic representative of "mestizo mechanisms" who experienced firsthand the transatlantic confluence of Mestizo and Morisco situations and struggles is, of course, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Born into the first generation of Mestizos in the Viceroyalty of Peru, he was raised amid an unfinished conquest and seemingly endless civil wars between conquistadors. Less than a decade after arriving in Spain, he joined the fight to quell the Morisco rebellion in the Alpujarra, a brutal civil war that resulted in what many would view as the completion of the conquest of Granada. However, Garcilaso left little written testimony about this experience, limiting his comments to general statements about his service under the Marqués de Mondéjar,

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> The term "mestizo" will be used to designate the mélanges that occurred in the Americas in the sixteenth century—mélanges between individuals, imaginative faculties, and lifestyles originating on four continents (America, Europe, Africa, Asia). As to the term hybridization, it will be used for mélanges that occurred within a single civilization or historic ensemble—Christian Europe, Meso-America—and between traditions that had often coexisted for centuries. (31)

and the title he earned as captain. Most scholars thus simply treat the subject as a footnote with little or no further context or discussion.[4]

Still, some scholars have attempted (with varying degrees of academic rigor and success) to make a case for the impact of the rebellion, its antecedents, and its aftermath on the life and work of Inca Garcilaso.[5] In relation to his Morisco contemporaries, specifically those within the world of letters, Lee Dowling writes, "Placing the Inca in the wider context of other marginalized intellectuals…is an endeavor likely to yield better insight into Garcilaso's own cultural predicament and the literary strategies he devised in response to its exigencies" (138). Fuchs acknowledges the existence of an analogy between Moriscos and Mestizos more generally, but contends that:

> Garcilaso probably perceived no connection between himself and the Moriscos, and the fact that others might make such a connection made it even more imperative that he distance himself from them. If fighting the Moors was, as his family's august tradition had proved, the quintessential way to prove oneself as a

[4] For their part, fiction writers inspired by Inca Garcilaso's silence have attempted to fill in these provocative blanks. Two of the most recent pieces are Selenco Vega's prize-winning short story, "El mestizo de la Alpujarra" (2006), and Francisco Carrillo Espejo's *Diario del Inca Garcilaso (1562-1616)* (1996). Carrillo and Vega are interested in exploring Garcilaso's "condición de mestizo" in general, and specifically how it figured into his experience in the Alpujarra. In an interview for Lima's *La República* Vega explained, "Lo que sucede es que cuando la Historia cierra los ojos, la Literatura los abre y empieza a fabular" (Escribano). Both Carrillo and Vega envision Garcilaso as identifying with the Moriscos and conflating their fate with that of his indigenous family in Cuzco.

[5] See, for instance: Guevara Bazán (1967), Bernand (2011), Dowling (1997), Grier Varner (1968), Hernández (1991), Lohmann Villena (1958), and Miró Quesada Sosa (1948). Several of these discussions line up with Bazán's intuition that El Inca, after watching his Andean ancestors' empire "hundirse por obra del mundo cristiano...sentiría tal vez íntima simpatía por el elemento morisco al que combatía" (470). Others are strictly opposed to the idea of any sympathy for Moriscos felt on the part of Garcilaso.

> Spaniard, then Garcilaso must refuse any analogy between himself and these domestic others. (*Mimesis* 73-74)

Together, Dowling and Fuchs point to a line of inquiry that has long been hinted at or touched upon in literary and historical studies, but which is just beginning to take shape: comparative research on Mestizos in the viceroyalties and Moriscos in the metropole as part of an effort to better understand *mestizaje* in both its local and imperial dimensions.

As Joanne Rappaport succinctly states, "In the early modern period, mixture resulted not only from sexual encounters but also from other sorts of activities, both public and intimate in character. That is, mixing was not necessarily genealogical in nature" (30-31). In the context of the early colonial era more specifically, she argues, the term Mestizo meant different things at different times to different people. Since it did not relate to a fixed or essential quality of an individual, the "central question before us is not 'Who is a mestizo?' or 'What is a mestizo?' but '*When* and *how* is someone a mestizo?' That is, we should move our gaze away from the condition of the individual, toward the context of the naming" (4-5). This line of inquiry inevitably leads to the *why*: What is the strategy or motivation behind identifying someone as Mestizo, or self-identifying as Mestizo, as opposed to another available and potentially applicable category (such as Spanish, Creole, Indio, Mulato, or Negro)?

An important predecessor to Rappaport's deep archival research, Douglas Cope's study of colonial Mexico City analyzes Inquisition and court records, alongside other supporting documents, to understand attitudes about race and strategies behind racial labeling. In these cases, the *when* ranges from proceedings against bigamists to accusations of witchcraft, and the *why* is generally connected to jurisdiction (Indians could not be tried by the Inquisition, for example) and, by extension, penalties (for instance, monetary fines for Spaniards, and lashes for

Negros, Mestizos, and Mulatos) (18-20, 52-55). While the relationship between the accused and potential witnesses, or the zeal of an investigator or inquisitor, often guided racial categorization, it followed a somewhat general trend from physical, to sociocultural, to genealogical identifiers. Physical appearance blends into cultural traits, so that clothing and hairstyle, were often more convincing identifiers of race than skin color or facial features. The next level was language and lifestyle: how one spoke and in what tongue(s); one's occupation and place of residence; and the people with whom one associated. Finally came genealogy, which rested largely in administrative, ecclesiastical, and judicial documentation. However, rather than offering a final conclusion, these documents proved to be more mutable evidence, given that a single individual may have been identified, or self-identified, with more than one category over the course of his or her lifetime, or even in one particular document.

It is the fluidity and the ambiguity embodied in the "Mestizo" subject that makes *mestizaje* at once a threat to administrative structures and social hierarchies and an opportunity for movement, advancement, and (in)visibility in a society where divisions were readily developed, but not so easily maintained or enforced. Anna More points to colonial documents that lament how Indios "became" Mestizos through simply changing their clothing, hairstyle, and public behavior, thus blending in, escaping tribute, and, in the eyes of some clergy, existing as Trojan horses and infiltrators, enemies to both God and the king (165-167). Zoila S. Mendoza demonstrates that what may have begun as racial mixing in the Viceroyalty of Peru quickly turned into an issue of cultural mixing and passing, and that its unregulated nature, which allowed "unfit" categories to gain privileges or avoid taxes, was particularly troubling to authorities (13). Marisol de la Cadena traces Peruvian *mestizaje* from the colonial era to the

present day and illustrates how, like "Indianness," it was and remains first and foremost a social condition with related advantages and disadvantages (6).

This argument is supported by Berta Ares-Queija's research on the first generation of Peruvian Mestizos (1997). When the term Mestizo began to be used in the 1550s, largely in reference to the "hijos de españoles e indias" orphaned by Peru's civil wars, there was widespread concern that these children might "become" Indios, a fate from which they should be rescued (42). By the 1560s, these Mestizos came to be indiscriminately regarded as undesirable, ungodly, and socially and ethnically indefinable peoples who threatened the territory, in part because of their ability to "hide" amongst the Indios, and in part due to their claims of dual legitimacy (43).[6] This mirrors the ambiguous position of the Moriscos of Granada, who suffered similar persecution during the same period. An intriguing example of this connection is Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's 1573 arms prohibition against Peru´s Mestizos, the need for which, he argued, rested in their large numbers, disenfranchised status, general discontent, and fluid identities. These were among the justifications previously used in the weapons ban against Moriscos and other repressive measures that, in part, sparked the devastating rebellion in the Alpujarra. A 1574 memorial, written by the Spaniard Cristóbal Maldonado, illustrates the shame experienced by these Mestizos and their families, "'que andan tan señalados e infamados como los moriscos en España'" (48). Still, for the past quarter century, the majority of comparative

[6] Expanding beyond Mestizos (which I will also do in Chapter 3), Alexandre Coello de la Rosa argues that "los términos «criollo» y «criollismo» no han de ser analizados desde una perspectiva esencialista o monolítica, sino como «estrategias» o «agencias criollas»," and that, as such, "no existe una «identidad criolla», sino varias") (54-55). Like Mestizo, Creole is a strategically employed speech act that depends greatly on context, so it is important to expand this strategic understanding from one category of identity to both—especially when they find themselves in competition with Mestizos.

research by scholars of both literature and history has focused almost exclusively on Indians and Moors (or Moriscos) to the exclusion of Mestizos.

In 1992, Fermín del Pino Díaz proposed, "Debería estudiarse por los andinistas el proceso de extirpación religiosa en las Alpujarras, y a la inversa, porque hubo reacciones indígenas y moriscas parecidas…y parecidas contestaciones metropolitanas" (62).[7] Even more important than the geographic and temporal coincidences noted by Del Pino Díaz is the reciprocal nature of the transatlantic relationship: it is not just the Morisco experience that informs the Andean one, but also vice-versa. This is precisely the relationship that Fuchs explored throughout *Mimesis and Empire*, and which served as the foundation for Youssef El Alaoui's 2006 study, *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens*. The following year, Ramón Mujica Punilla discussed how "[c]hronicles of Indies identify the Andean Indians from viceregal Peru with the Spanish «Moriscos» who practiced their true religious beliefs in secret, under the cloak of the Christian faith" (169), a subject covered more deeply by Louis Cardaillac in his 2012 book, *Dos destinos trágicos en paralelo*, which explored the parallels and the limits of parallelism in four topical spheres—evangelization and conversion, indigenous dictionaries and grammars, resistance and rebellion, and acculturation and *convivencia*—in Spain, New Spain, and Peru.[8] In 2013, Seth Kimmel noted in his discussion on dissimulation that:

[7] This appeared as a mere footnote to an article, but the subject of that article—Andean *mestizaje* and the work of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega—reveals the proposal's particular significance to this project and its central texts.

[8] Comparative studies of the Moriscos of Granada and the Indios of New Spain followed a similar trajectory. In 1992, Mercedes García-Arenal proposed an investigation that included "la consideración del precedente granadino como modelo en la conquista y colonización de Nueva España" and "los paralelos en actitudes y medidas políticas respecto a la evangelización y consideración del indígena" (153). The following year, William Mejías-López published an article which examined "la conquista y aculturación de los mexicas" under Hernán Cortéz "dentro del contexto de lo que ocurría en España contra los conversos y moriscos" (623).

> …although the peninsular *reconquista* clearly served as a model for the New World *conquista*, it is also true that by the middle of the sixteenth century the complex New Christianities produced in the Americas informed evangelization in the Old World…The Jesuit missionary José de Acosta's anxieties about indigenous syncretism, for example, undoubtedly shaped and reinforced reformers' concerns with Morisco dissimulation. (297-298)

Even more recently, scholars have begun to undertake large-scale studies that displace indigenous and Moorish actors from their usual geographies: Nancy E. Van Deusen, for instance, followed indigenous petitioners through their legal travails in Spain (2015), while Karoline P. Cook followed Moors and Moriscos to the New World (2016).

Kathryn Burns was one of the first to explicitly include Mestizos alongside Indios, Moros, and Moriscos in her 2007 essay "Unfixing Race." She identifies Mestizos and Moriscos as two "newly converted population[s]" that Philip II "saw as dangerous and restless;" proposes that a rebellion or the threat of rebellion from one group directly influenced his policies toward the other; and reminds us that Bishop Lartaún of Cuzco wrote to the King in 1580 imploring that "'mestizos should not be held in such suspicion as are conversos and moriscos'" (198-199). Catherine Julien points toward the influence of Cardinal Espinosa, a powerful foe of the Moriscos in Spain, on Viceroy Toledo and his policies in Peru. Though his focus is on Mestizos in the Viceroyalty of Peru, Felipe Ruan has begun to follow the Morisco/Mestizo connection first highlighted by Ares-Queija in that intriguing memorial by Cristóbal Maldonado (2017). Max Deardorff's book project, *New Christians, Old Christians, and Others: Cultural Mestizaje and*

Karoline Cook joined this line of investigation with a 2013 article in which she analyzed "often overlooked references to Muslims in colonial documents" to understand how Spaniards' attitude toward and treatment of the Moriscos of Granada translated into arguments for the enslavement of the Chichimeca of New Spain (15).

the Christian Republic of Philip II, promises to add much to the discussion. In short, a comparative line of research that explicitly embraces Moros, Moriscos, Indios, and Mestizos is starting to enjoy more attention from scholars, and most particularly from historians.

My project depends heavily on the work of historians, but it also complements their efforts by carefully connecting literature to the archive. *Mestizaje* is messy—by which I mean fluid, ambiguous, conflictive, and controversial—, and perhaps nowhere is this messiness more apparent than in literature (including, for the purposes of this project, historiography). Literature offers up a world where *mestizaje* is written and rewritten, invented and erased, resulting in layer upon layer of real-world experiences and textual constructions. I will tease out some of this messiness by sorting through strata of literary voices and positionalities, but also by turning to the archive—not because archival documents always or necessarily offer more accurate, objective, or complete representations of realities, but because *cartas*, *memoriales*, and *procesos*, for instance, tend to make conscious and very pointed attempts at presenting a single argument or particular vision. As such, they can serve to elucidate some of the more problematic passages and contradictory messaging in literary texts, while literature can productively complicate documentary voices that seem suspiciously simple or pat. Together, literary and documentary voices can address the weak points present in each other's narrations, not only by challenging what was said, but also by speaking to what was silenced or omitted, responding to questions that were left unanswered, or even posing questions that were left unasked.

My research on *mestizaje* in a transatlantic and interdisciplinary context has revealed a series of occlusions. The act of occluding, or the state of being occluded, embodies diverse and seemingly incongruous meanings and usages. These include: contact, the relationship between two surfaces or other types of matter when in contact, and the immediate reaction to that contact;

blockage, from a closure or obstruction; concealment, through nondisclosure, or by intentionally preventing recognition or hiding something from sight; and sorption, by adsorption (adhesion) or absorption. As a methodological tool, occlusion allows us to account for inclusion and exclusion, visibility and invisibility, activity and passivity, even simultaneously, and helps us to sort out where and why specific realities and rhetoric converge or diverge.

The first two chapters of this project demonstrate how these various types of occlusions characterize the mechanisms of *mestizaje* in early modern Andalucía and the Andes, with a particular focus on contact and blockage. Because Castile and Tahauntinsuyu both faced internal "problems of purity" that were addressed and redressed in their imperial rhetoric and mythmaking, inter-imperial contact and conquest at times conditioned and informed, and at other times revealed and exacerbated these internal fissures. Via an examination of the trope of *mestizaje* in Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595/1619) and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* (1609/1617), this study shows more convergences than divergences between the peninsular and American contexts.

Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo observed in the first part of Garcilaso's *Comentarios* an "idealización algo semejante á la que Ginés Pérez de Hita hizo de la historia granadina" (cccxc). More nuanced, of course, than a mere idealization, the *Comentarios* is in fact a corrective construction of the Inca Empire that defends the legitimacy of Inca claims to land and authority and embeds them in a civilizing, Christian narrative of *praeparatio evangelica*.[9] These arguments dialogue in interesting ways with Pérez de Hita's chivalric depiction of Moors on the cusp of conversion in the first part of his *Guerras civiles*, as well as the textual labors of Moriscos who directly addressed deep lineage in their attempts to afford a place for the

[9] See, for instance: Durand (1976), Kristal (1993/1998), Schuessler (1992), and Zamora (1982/1987).

descendants of Granada's vanquished within Hapsburg Spain. The second parts of each text present Moros and Indios alongside a new pair of protagonists, Moriscos and Mestizos, in their narrations of the protracted conquests and utter devastation of the *naturales* of Granada and the Viceroyalty of Peru. These are ultimately personal relations of a collective tragedy wherein the crimes were resistance and rebellion and the punishments were execution and exile—the latter presented by both authors as a poor alternative to death.

Chapter 1, "Moorish Mestizos and Iberian Incas: From Order to Disorder in Andalucía and the Andes," analyzes how these early modern narratives imagine *mestizaje* in, respectively, pre-conquest Granada (Al-Andalus/"Muslim Spain") and pre-conquest Tahuantinsuyu (the Inca Empire), as well as what happens to those imaginaries when they collide with Castile. By focusing on contact in the context of conquest, we find that in certain "origin stories"—which, in this case, speak to the rise of a kingdom, its fall, and the rise of a new one—, *mestizaje* is not just a consequence of conquest, but also a catalyst. While both authors are known for their defense of persons of mixed lineages and cultural realities, in their narrations of events surrounding Castilian conquest, persons of questionable caste, quality, and customs usher in political chaos and social collapse.

Chapter 2, "*Apellidando libertad*: Real and Imagined Rebellions and Exiles of Moriscos and Mestizos," deals with occlusion as blockage——in this case, the act of obstructing or closing up social channels to persons marked by mixing, as well as their reactions to that blockage—, thereby connecting *mestizaje* in the metropole to that in the colony through the intersecting experiences and interrelated repression of Iberian Moriscos and Andean Mestizos. Born into a transcolonial context of unfinished conquests, Mestizos and Moriscos lived under severe scrutiny and suspicion: their ultimate loyalties and essential qualities were forever being probed, and their

social and ecclesiastical opportunities were ever more restricted. As I will show, these two groups were often aware of the circumstances they shared and the criticisms each faced, and sometimes used this knowledge to leverage their own position against the other. Some of their detractors, by contrast, purposely conflated the two groups, to the detriment of both.

The second two chapters of this project argue that the Virgin Mary is both an emblematic product of *mestizaje* and a powerful tool of occlusion, employed in direct response to the complications engendered by mixing. Although she is in and of herself a "mestizo mechanism," she can still be employed in the service or to the peril of persons marked by *mestizaje*. In analyzing the acceptance or rejection of mixing through specific constructions and exploitations of the Virgin Mary, we will see that sorption and concealment are her primary markers, as well as her principal tools. The figure of Mary is also where we see the stories of Indios/Mestizos and Moros/Moriscos most drastically diverge.

When Granada and Tahauntinsuyu were conquered, colonized, and evangelized by Castile, the Virgin Mary was employed as both a bridge to Christianity and a barometer of conversion and assimilation. Yet the narratives that surrounded Mary's relationships with Indians and Moors soon took separate paths. By the mid 1560s, the former continued to be treated as rustic pagans, while the latter were viewed as obstinate heretics. (Mestizos could be found on both sides of this divide, depending on whether they were officially identified as Spanish or Indian.) Following this logic, evangelized Indians required a patient, forgiving Mother as they slowly abandoned their idolatrous practices and polytheistic beliefs; while wayward Moriscos were simply blasphemers of the Mother of God, stubbornly rejecting Jesus' divinity as polytheistic and the images of Mother and Son as idolatrous. In short, Mary's bridge to spiritual salvation and social inclusion within Spain's Christian empire was longer and sturdier for some

than for others. While Marian mechanisms were employed toward the rhetorical exclusion of Mestizos, who could "disappear" into one of the Two Republics (Indio or Español), in the case of the Moriscos, they were exploited toward their physical exclusion: expulsion from Spain.

Chapter 3, "The Cornerstone of Copacabana: Creoles and Indios, Virgins and *Wakas* in a New Andean Zion," traces how Mestizos went missing from a key narrative of Mary and her miracles—Alonso Ramos Gavilán's *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (1621)—in a region where they made up a significant and growing portion of the population. This textual occlusion coincided with their actual exclusion from viceregal spaces of authority and advancement, forcing their disappearance into one side or another of an ethnic binary that in no way reflected the reality on the ground. Furthermore, though the mixed lineage of the Mestizos was shunned in favor of Creole "purity," the mixed lineage of the Virgin herself was celebrated; and though she was formed by the reciprocal sorption of indigenous and European Christian beliefs, traditions, and materialities, she was still employed to conceal—rather unconvincingly—the endurance of indigenous sacrality.

Chapter 4, "*At the hour of our death*: Mary, Martyrdom, and Moriscos in the Alpujarra and Beyond," examines how the Virgin Mary was used to argue both for and against the possibility and the success of Morisco conversion and assimilation. In chronicles of the rebellion of the Alpujarra, as well as in Cervantes' *Persiles*, Mary is a largely passive character—these are not tales of Marian miracles or miraculous interventions. But she is nonetheless powerfully employed to foment antagonisms between Old Christians and Moriscos, absorbing hate and attaching the label of enemy to the "other," while concealing commonalities and shared affect. After the rebellion, when the Moriscos construct a new Mary that is neither convincingly Christian nor Muslim, sorbing aspects from both traditions while simultaneously concealing

others, she not only becomes a potent symbol for the justification of their expulsion, but also portends their ambiguous cultural and religious realities in exile.

On the Peninsula, in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and in exile, Mestizo and Marian mechanisms often provided staging grounds for conflict rather than for conciliation. But if *mestizaje* was a pervasive and polemical topic in the Hapsburg Empire, it is no less so in our world today, across countries, continents, and cultures. Early modern mechanics of mixing—and the conflicts they embodied, engendered, and answered—did not disappear: they simply evolved, devolved, and transformed in the centuries that followed. Through the texts and analyses that I present here, my readers, including those interested in other geographies, time periods, and peoples, will find productive inspiration for their own investigations into and reflections on the diverse forms and functions of *mestizaje*.

CHAPTER 1

Moorish Mestizos and Iberian Incas:

From Order to Disorder in Andalucía and the Andes[1]

Introduction

In the first part of the *Guerras civiles de Granada* (*Historia de los bandos de los zegríes y abencerrajes, caballeros moros de Granada, de las civiles guerras que hubo en ella...hasta que el rey don Fernando el quinto la ganó*; Zaragoza 1595), the popular Murcian author Ginés Pérez de Hita (c. 1544–c. 1619) narrates a series of internecine struggles that result in the fall of the Emirate of Granada, the last polity of Al-Andalus. In this text, the emirate's elite is represented as being of pure and noble or royal lineage, but when questions of treason and treachery—including close relations with Christians—arise, Moors on both sides of Granada's civil war are quick to label the offender a *mestizo*, an ill-born descendant of Christians, or a combination of the two. The use of the term Mestizo, employed as an affront and enunciated on the Peninsula, complicates our understanding of the geographic, cultural, and linguistic parameters of *mestizaje* in the early modern Hispanic world. This chapter will begin to unpack this insult by placing Ginés Pérez de Hita's treatment of *mestizaje* in the establishment and demise of the emirate of Granada in conversation with Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's treatment of *mestizaje* in the rise and fall of the kingdom of Cuzco and empire of Tahuantinsuyu. In the first part of his *Comentarios reales* (*que tratan del origen de los Incas, reyes que fueron del Perú, de su idolatría, leyes, y gobierno en paz y en guerra…antes que los españoles pasaran a el*; Lisboa 1609), the Andean-

[1] I would like to thank Dr. Mercedes García-Arenal for reading and commenting on early versions of the peninsular sections in Chapters 1 and 2.

born Andalusian humanist (born Gómez Suárez de Figueroa; 1539-1616) famously declared a certain defiant pride in reappropriating the name Mestizo, saying, "me lo llamo yo a boca llena" (IX.XXXI.279).[2] In spite of this, the subject of mixing—be it ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or religious—is fraught in both parts of the *Comentarios* (the second, commonly called *Historia general del Perú*, was published posthumously in Córdoba in 1617). Regulating *mestizaje* was a key component of the Incas' civilizing mission as described by Garcilaso: the careful curation of both behavior and bloodlines went hand in hand from the birth of the kingdom of Cuzco, and on through its expansion into an empire. As one might expect, then, it is a lapse in this control that leads to civil war and the empire's fall.

Part One: Legacies of Conversion and Mixing in Granada

> Este moro cronista, visto ya todo el reino de Granada ganado por los cristianos, se pasó en África, y se fue a vivir a tierras de Tremecén, llevando todos sus papeles consigo, y allí en Tremecén murió y dejó hijos. Y un nieto suyo, de no menos habilidad que el abuelo, llamado Argutaafa, recogió todos los papeles del abuelo, y entre ellos halló este pequeño libro, que no lo estimó en poco, por tratar la materia de Granada. Y por grande amistad hizo presente dél a un judío llamado Rabbi Santo, el cual judío le sacó en hebreo para su contento, y el que estaba en arábigo lo presentó al buen conde Baylén, don Rodrigo Ponce de León. Y por saber bien lo que el libro contenía de la guerra de Granada, porque su padre y abuelo se habían hallado en ella, o su abuelo y bisabuelo, le mandó sacar al mismo judío en castellano. Y después el buen conde me hizo a mí merced de me le dar, no habiéndolo servido.
>
> —Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Las guerras civiles de Granada*, Part One (289)

So reads the famous—and famously imitated—lineage of the first part of Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*.[3] This extended literary conceit presents an Andalusi text in

[2] Garcilaso himself had not always worn this label with such courage in his writings, and only did so after first gradually incorporating the names Indio and Inca into his literary and social personae. See, for instance: Duviols (2005), Porras Barrenechea (1955), and Solano (1991).

[3] Cervantes ironizes the fictitious origin of the *Guerras civiles* when he names Cide Hamete Benengeli as the original author of *Don Quijote*.

various states of conservation, translation, and migration. Penned in North Africa, the text's Iberian roots are neither forgotten nor depreciated with the passing of the generations. Like so many Andalusi texts before it, it was preserved in Hebrew and Romance by the translations of a Sephardic Jew, but this time from the position of the post-expulsion diaspora. Once in Iberia, it reaches the hands of two Christians with blurry ancestries: the first, a count whose blood is apparently so Christian and so Old that it's not certain whether it was his father and grandfather, or grandfather and great-grandfather who so famously fought in the last great conquest of the Peninsula; and the second, the "translator" himself. For all the renown that Pérez de Hita enjoyed both during his lifetime and after, we know surprisingly little about his person, and even less about his ancestry. This second point might not be so remarkable were his two masterpieces not about precisely that subject: the ethnic, religious, and cultural ancestry of southern Spain.

We do know that the author—a master cobbler by trade, who nonetheless produced objects of literary and material culture for popular consumption in both print and performance—lived and worked in Murcia amongst New Christians and Old, fully immersed in the *mudejar*-style world produced by this dual heritage.[4] We also know that he battled against Moriscos, and his own conscience, in the brutal rebellion of the Alpujarra (1568-1571). In the first part of the *Guerras civiles*, Pérez de Hita diplomatically celebrates both Nasrid knights and the fall of their

[4] In a rather poetic account of Pérez de Hita's environment and his artisanal participation in it, Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti (1993) writes:

> …podemos suponer que no sólo salían de su taller prendas de calzado, pues los municipios de las ciudades donde vivió—Lorca, Murcia y Cartagena—le encomendaban con mucha frecuencia las "invenciones" y la realización de los "autos" que se representaban durante las fiestas del Corpus y otras solemnidades. […] Esa mentalidad condicionada por la práctica de diseñar, elaborar y adornar objetos bellos, buscando calidades táctiles y contrastes cromáticos, no le abandona cuando se entrega a la afición de escribir. (51)

kingdom; and in the second part (Cuenca 1619) he decries the atrocities of Granada's "other" civil war and the expulsion of its Moriscos.[5] Because his social commentary is arguably as elastic as his literary framework (he was not a trained humanist, nor did he pretend to be), the proposition that Pérez de Hita might have been a Morisco, or even *cristiano viejo de moros*, is not an uncommon one.[6]

However, this suggestion also plays into a narrative in which Old and New Christians are inherently incompatible, and suggests that the author exhibits a level of nuance and empathy in his writing that could only be possible if he shared blood with the vanquished. This is precisely the type of damaging dichotomy that Pérez de Hita resists in his writing, and which is likewise eschewed by Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, a pioneering scholar of the *Guerras civiles*, when she writes: "Me resulta difícil situar a Pérez de Hita a un lado u a otro de la línea divisoria entre cristianos viejos y moriscos, que no es una línea sino una amplia franja donde creencia, ascendencia, educación y vinculación de oficio no van al unísono" (56). His readers, in turn, would have also inhabited an interstitial spectrum of shifting positionalities, ranging from highly Hispanicized crypto-Muslims to devout Christians, New and Old. The multi-faceted realities of both author and audience also speak to why Pérez de Hita, writing from a position somewhere within this "amplia franja," would choose to mount his resistance through one of the most controversial vehicles imaginable: the figure of the Mestizo.

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[5] This second part was allegedly finished in 1597, but its publication was stalled until well after the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.

[6] The term "cristiano viejo de moros" describes a status given to Muslim converts to Christianity and/or their descendants who could prove that said conversions took place voluntarily, normally before the mass forced conversions at the beginning of the sixteenth century. For more on how class played into this process, which favored a wealthy elite, see: Childers (2012).

The *Guerras civiles* reveals, unravels, and at times challenges three interrelated identifiers of *mestizaje* that resulted in the labeling and/or treatment of an individual or group as Mestizo in the early modern era: poor caste (*mala casta*), poor quality (*mala calidad*), and poor customs (*malas costumbres*).[7] The centrality of conversion in the *Guerras civiles* further complicates notions of *mestizaje*, and betrays concerns over lineage and faith that were shared by Christian and Muslim rulers, jurists, and citizens, both before and after the fall of Granada. Although Pérez de Hita wrote as a Spanish Christian a century after the fall, his text exhibits an uncanny ability to express those concerns in a way that is legible and acceptable to a Christian audience, but which also subtly communicates a familiarity with Al-Andalus and Islam that has largely gone overlooked. Therefore, my focus here will be on the religious and linguistic nuances that make the *Guerras civiles* much more than a Hispanicizing, romantic narrative of Nasrid Granada through its consideration of caste, quality, and customs on the Peninsula.

I. Noble Africans and Moorish Mestizos

According to the *Guerras civiles*, the zenith of noble and royal Andalusi ancestry is found in Granada, which itself was founded by "las gentes mejores de África" (5).[8]

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[7] Caste (*casta*), understood as lineage, can refer to ethnicity, religion, and/or social standing; quality (*calidad*), in reference to an individual or group's character and traits, is often claimed to be based in caste; and customs (*costumbres*) are the host of habits, behaviors, actions, and affinities that exemplify caste and/or quality.

[8] The narrator explains:

> …quedó la famosa Granada de moros ocupada y llena de aquellas africanas gentes. Mas hállase una cosa que de todas las naciones moras que vinieron a España, los mejores e más principales y los más señalados caballeros se quedaron en Granada de aquellos que siguieron al general Muza . . . yo no he hallado que en la ocupación de Córdoba, ni Toledo, ni Sevilla, ni Valencia, ni Murcia, ni de otras ciudades populosas poblasen tan nobles ni tan principales caballeros, ni tan buenos linajes de moros como en Granada. (4)

However, as the other great cities of Al-Andalus fall to the Christians, Granada finds itself overrun with noble blood and continual conflict. Royal lines such as that of the Zegríes, descended from the kings of Córdoba, clash with Granada's traditional favorites as they make a permanent space for themselves in the city and its court. These favorites include the Abencerrajes (7).

The Zegríes harbor a special hatred for the Abencerrajes who, by all accounts, are handsome, brave, good-natured, quick to help those in need, and expert horsemen, making them preferred by women and loved by the common people. However, they are also, "finalmente, amigos de cristianos. Ellos mismos en persona se halla que iban a las mazmorras a visitar los cristianos cautivos, y les hacían bien, y les enviaban de comer con sus criados" (56). Throughout the text, the Abencerrajes are portrayed as both "muy estimados por ser de muy claro linaje," and as unusually amicable toward Christians (24). It is their "friendship" with Christians that, in the end, calls their lineage and character into question, and which plays a key role in the unfolding tragedy of Granada's civil war and the kingdom's fall to Isabella and Ferdinand.

With the exception of Muza—the bastard son of Granada's king, Muley Hacén, and a Christian captive—not one figure in the story is described by the narrator as being of mixed ethnic or religious descent, born out of wedlock, or of having anything but pure, African lineage.[9] Muza is pragmatic, fair, and widely respected, in contrast to his half-brother Boabdil, called "el rey Chico" after wresting control of the kingdom from their father, and thus setting the stage for these civil wars (18). Throughout the text, Muza leads the peacekeeping efforts between Granada's various warring bands, attempting to manage and mediate their shifting alliances

[9] Early on in the book, one other Moor born to a Christian mother appears, but this is in the hugely famous *romance fronterizo* of Abenámar (referring to Abenámar "el viejo," not the character named Abenámar in the *Guerras civiles*) (19-21).

while staying above the fray. Not until the very end, when defeat is certain and only the terms of defeat remain in question, does Muza favor conversion and capitulation. But it is Muza who first articulates the precarious nature of lineage in Granada. Muza sends a bouquet to his love interest during a *sarao* in the royal palace, but after she dances with another man—an Abencerraje—and gives him the bouquet, Muza approaches his rival in a fury, calling him "vil y bajo villano, descendiente de cristianos, mal nacido" (39). What would it mean for the royal-born, Muslim son of a Christian slave to call a respected noble with no apparent Christian lineage a "vile and lowly commoner" and an "ill-born descendant of Christians?"

Beginning with the Umayyads, it was common for men at the upper levels of Muslim society to marry Christian noblewomen or princesses and to take Christian slave concubines; this was done for diplomatic, propagandistic, and economic purposes (Barton 2-10). In fact, writes Simon Barton, "all the Umayyad males who came to assume the rank of emir or caliph in al-Andalus between the eighth and the tenth centuries were born to slave consorts, many of them Christian, rather than to married mothers."[10] With the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, followed by Christian advances south, elite interfaith and inter-kingdom marriages declined, but recruitment to royal harems did not; in fact, looking ahead to the final kingdom of Al-Andalus, five (nearly a quarter) of the Nasrid sultans were born to Christian slave mothers (17-18). These statistics and characterizations support Pérez de Hita's construction of Muza as the fruit of interethno-religious coupling: his Christian ancestry in no way affects his standing as royalty or his integrity as a Muslim, and it does not foster any particular sympathy or affinity for Christians or Christianity.

[10] Having children with Christian women—especially slave concubines—was preferable as a means to protect the dynasty from competing claims to power waged by their wives' families (Barton 10). Jessica Coope explains that "[w]hile a high-status mother may provide her children with some additional luster, a mother who is low status does not appear to have an impact on her sons' social standing…Their mothers' background…in no way compromised their identity as Umayyads and as Arabs" (166).

This is illustrated early on in the text when Don Rodrigo Téllez Girón, the Maestre de Calatrava, challenges Muza to a battle.

In the *Guerras civiles*, conversion is deeply tied to combat, and combat is both a necessity and a pastime in this frontier zone. When the Rey Chico takes Granada's crown, the Maestre sends a letter to the new king congratulating him, and expressing his hope that "al fin tú y los tuyos vendréis en claro conocimiento de la santa fe de Cristo, y querrás el amistad de los cristianos" (25). He also requests a battle with a *caballero moro*, having exhausted all available opportunities for battles and captives while all of Granada is busy with the celebrations; the king is pleased with the letter and the request, and Muza is chosen to fight. But, when Muza is nearly defeated in this battle, the Maestre, "considerando que aquel moro era hermano del rey de Granada, y que era tan buen caballero, deseando que fuese cristiano, y que siéndolo se podría ganar algo en los negocios de la guerra, en provecho del rey don Fernando, determinó de no llevar la batalla adelante, y de hacer amistad con Muza" (33). The two swear friendship, promising to serve each other until their deaths. But, while Muza respects Don Rodrigo as a noble knight, this does not prompt him to make any moves toward conversion to Christianity (33-4).

This episode posits the insignificance of religious caste in conversion: Muza's position as the king's brother and his quality as a nobleman both factor into the Maestre's plans, while the fact that his mother is a Christian does not. At the same time, and returning to the (possibly unwitting) affront at the *sarao*, by calling the Abencerraje a "descendiente de cristianos," Muza seems to be exploiting the idea of some deep, perhaps secret Christian ancestry to explain and condemn his rival's bad behavior; and it is here that things become complicated. Although the narrator of the *Guerras civiles* never suggests that the Abencerrajes were actually descended

from Christians, many of Pérez de Hita's Morisco contemporaries claimed as much. In fact, as Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano remind us, the Granada Venegas family undertook this task with exaggerated zeal: in their carefully constructed genealogical treatise, *Origen de la Casa de Granada*, they claimed both royal Nasrid and royal Visigothic ancestry, and presented certain ancestors "as having been 'Christianophiles' or secret Christians during the Islamic period, and having collaborated often with Christian kings in the wars waged during that time" (86).[11] Still, the construction or recognition of interfaith ancestry was not reserved for a self-identified, "Christianophile," hyper-nobility. There existed a popular understanding that a large portion—or even majority—of Al-Andalus' formerly Muslim population had indigenous, Christian roots.

This idea of a deep Christian genealogy at all levels of society is communicated by the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas in his "Información acerca de los moriscos de España" (1605), addressed to Pope Clement VIII, which argues against the proposed expulsion of the Moriscos. De las Casas reproduces, in part, the Catholic Monarchs' 1501 pragmatic against the Moors of Castile and León, which ordered the exile of all Muslim men over 14 years and women over the age of 12, with the exception of "moros captivos con tanto que traigan hierros porque sean conocidos" (364-5). This legislation also details the hopelessly stringent rules, punishable by death, which dictated exactly how the Moors were to undertake their exile: what they could carry with them, where they could go, and how they could get there. De las Casas concludes, "se ve claro que no querían los píos reyes que aquellos moros se salieran de los reynos pues les imposibilitivan al salirse así... [...] Persuádome yo que el intento de los sanctos reyes era el verlos convertidos..." (364-5). He then offers an explanation for why the Monarchs would go through

[11] See also: Soria Mesa (1995).

such measures and threaten exile in order to persuade the Moors to convert: "porque entendían que los más ellos, o casi todos, eran descendientes de christianos" (365).[12] While De las Casas does point to the emblematic figures of the Christian captive and the gifted bride as sources of mixed lineage, he makes clear that the true body of Spain's wayward flock rests in the "tantos millones de hombres y mugeres" who converted to Islam, "o por temor, o por otros intentos."[13] He provides no evidence that the Monarchs believed any of this, but simply suggests an explanation for an otherwise baffling pragmatic. There is no blame in this discourse, and no accusation of apostasy, just a matter-of-fact explanation ultimately designed to fold the Moriscos into the Christian history of the Peninsula, and make the threat of their wholesale expulsion seem a ridiculous proposal.[14]

Even so, De las Casas never suggests that the Christian bloodline he assigns to the Moriscos have or ever will facilitate their true conversion to Christianity, just as Muza's Christian lineage plays no role in any alliance he makes with Christians, or even in his eventual

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[12] De las Casas' explanation includes the following:

> …que sabida cosa es por las historias que los mahometanos que entraron en España fueron muy pocos en número todas las vezes que vinieron a ella, y sola la tercera vez truxeron mugeres, y éssas pocas . . . y en poco tiempo estava toda España tal que eran pocos los christianos en lo más della; de lo qual se ve claro que se pervirtieron los naturales della. (365)

In this scenario, the Moor is not the enemy but the self, and the monarchs have a responsibility to their long-lost kin.

[13] This brings in the issue of class—yet another aspect of caste—that is embedded in Muza's insult: he doesn't just call the Abencerraje a "descendiente de cristianos," but rather qualifies that categorization with "vil y bajo villano" and "mal nacido." Recalling that Granada's commoners prefer the Abencerrajes to the other clans, this noble line is thereby associated with the ignoble masses, many of which may well be descendants of Christians.

[14] It should be noted that when De las Casas wrote this missive, the Moriscos of Granada had long been exiled from their kingdom, and were no longer the Church or crown's primary concern: the focus had already shifted to the Moriscos of Valencia.

conversion. An attentive reader might conclude, then, that the key to conversion must rest somewhere beyond genealogy. In the *Guerras civiles*, one of those keys is found in *calidad*.

II. Good Moors and Good Christians[15]

The Maestre de Calatrava uses battle and chivalry as tools for evangelization, and evangelization as a tool for building potentially fruitful alliances—or "friendships"—for strategic military and political purposes. Although he couldn't bring Muza to Christ, he will try his tactic again when challenged by Albayaldos, a Moor of unassigned lineage who hopes to avenge the death of his *primo hermano*. The Malique Alabez will serve as Albayaldos' *padrino*, and Don Manuel Ponce de León—ancestor of the count who Pérez de Hita claimed gifted him this book—will be Don Rodrigo's (116). Before the battle, the four sit beside a fountain and talk about many things, "todas tocantes de la guerra, y en el valor de los moros de Granada, y los claros linajes que en ella había" (118).[16] Then the Maestre expresses his wish that these Moorish knights arrive at the "conocimiento de nuestra santa fe católica, pues se sabe claramente ser la mejor de todas las leyes del mundo y la mejor religión." Albayaldos responds in the following manner:

> —Bien puede ello ser . . . mas como nosotros no tenemos conocimiento alguno della, no nos damos nada por ser cristianos, hallándose tan bien con nuestra secta. Así que no hay para qué tratemos ahora nada desto; posible sería después, andando el tiempo, venir en este verdadero conocimiento de esa vuestra fe,

[15] I borrow this phrase from García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano's assertion "that works like Ginés Pérez de Hita's tried to send a message of concord, on the assumption that a 'good Moor' could become a 'good Christian" (89).

[16] This section of the text, which epitomizes early modern *maurophilia*, is missing from most editions and translations of the *Guerras civiles* (including its only English translation). This is because the majority of editions and translations are not based on the 1595 *princeps*, but on the 1613 edition published in Seville, which excludes this episode.

> porque muchas veces suele Dios tocar los corazones de los hombres, y sin su voluntad no hay cosa buena. (118)

Albayaldos' response speaks to the polemics of conversion and the manner in which it should be carried out—in this formulation, with instruction, time, and God's gentle hand—, even in the midst of an impending chivalrous battle and a broader atmosphere of violent military conquest. His speech also positions Muslims not as obstinate deniers of Christ, but as a people who simply lack authentic knowledge of, or exposure to, Christian beliefs and doctrine.

Muza arrives at the scene to try and stop the battle, and joins the knights in their conversation. The narrator exclaims, "¡Oh valor de caballeros, que aunque diversos en leyes, y contrarios unos de otros, y viniendo a pelear y a matarse hablaban en conversación, así como si amigos fueran! Jamás en ningún tiempo en aquel lugar tales cinco caballeros se juntaron como aquel día" (119). They are all valorous knights, all noblemen worthy of praise, and the only thing that differentiates one from the other is his religion. Notwithstanding this touching scene, Muza is unable to stop the fight, which Albayaldos loses; but all are there to witness the defeated combatant's moving conversion to Christianity: "Albayaldos abrió los ojos, y con voz muy débil y flaca, como hombre que se le acababa la vida, dijo que quería ser cristiano" (123). Don Rodrigo and Don Manuel baptize him in the fountain, and call him Don Juan. When Alabez leaves, "considerando el valor del buen don Manuel y del Maestre, . . . le vino al pensamiento ser cristiano, entendiendo que la fe de Jesucristo era mejor y de más excelencia, y por gozar de la amistad de tan valerosos caballeros como aquéllos y como otros, de cuya fama el mundo estaba lleno" (124).

This passage should have given Pérez de Hita's Christian audience pause: the superior *calidad* of these Christians—novelized here through their chivalry and skill on the battlefield—

solicited the friendship and secured the conversion of their Moorish adversaries. Pérez de Hita's insistence on Christianity and Christians as *superior* and *mejor* is not simply a naïve or perfunctory Catholic-centric celebration of Christian virtue. Instead, it points rather heavy-handedly toward the extra-textual, contemporary controversies surrounding the methods used to "convert" Spain's Moriscos and, by extension, the state and sincerity of their faith. Indeed, De las Casas argues in his "Información" that the violent, forced baptisms carried out across the Peninsula, followed by the abuses of Christians, particularly the clergy, and the absence of adequate and appropriate evangelization are what have made true conversion an impossibility to date (371-372). He also contends that forced conversion caused a violent rift between individuals and communities that did not previously exist: "…los que, siendo mahometanos y estándose en su secta por estar en estos reynos de España eran fielíssimos amigos de los christianos y súbditos a sus señores y reyes y a su costa guardavan las costas del mar de los corsarios de su secta e yvan a las guerras contra ellos, baptizados como he dicho, se convirtieron en crueles enemigos..." (372). In short, where friendship, respect, and cooperation once existed, violence, disdain, and ignorance now reign—pushing potential Christian converts to take a sharp and decided turn in the opposite direction.

Another seemingly sincere applause of Christian Spain in the text embodies a latent criticism of Old Christians as well. In response to false charges of adultery waged against her by the Zegríes, Granada's queen (wife of the Rey Chico) declares, "Cualquiera que en mi honestidad y fama pura y limpia alguna falta pusiere, miente, y no es caballero ni aun buen villano, sino algún mestizo de ruin casta y gente, mal nacido, indigno de entrar en real palacio" (191). In the queen's view, the royal lineage of the Zegríes does not save them from being of a "vile caste and bad people." Instead, the revelation of their poor moral quality negates their

nobility, and places them below a commoner of good character. She also suggests, however, that their despicable *mestizaje* is born of the lack of positive qualities she associates with Christianity: "Mas estas cosas y otras tales no pueden salir sino de moros de quien no salen sino maldades y novedades como hombres de poca fe y mal inclinados. Benditos sean los cristianos reyes y quien los sirve, que nunca entre ellos hay semejantes maldades, y lo causa estar fundados en buena ley..." (191). Because of her belief that such travesties would never occur in a Christian court, due to the superiority of the Christian faith, she will seek out Catholic knights to come to her defense and restore her honor, in spite of the myriad Moorish knights who hope to fight in her name (211).

A member of Granada's royal court would have been well aware of the brutal civil wars that accompanied Isabella's ascension to the throne of Castile and the violence that continued throughout her reign. But the readership of the *Guerras civiles* would have recognized this as well, recalling not just the War of Succession, but also the incessant rebellions, bloody battles, and unsavory intrigues of the fifteenth century between nobles of Iberia's various Christian kingdoms, often at the cost of the lives and livelihoods of the commoners under their rule. While this fictionalized character expresses no irony in her statement, the narrator (or author) surely does: Christian and Moorish knights and royals may have nobility in common, but they also share the violence, maneuvering, and deceit that go along with it.

Granada's queen might also have been disappointed to learn that not all of her Christian saviors initially agree on coming to her defense. Esperanza de Hita, a Christian captive who has dedicated herself to evangelizing the queen (and who, of course, shares a last name with the author), advises her to write to Don Juan Chacón for help. The queen does, in Castilian, and with an affirmation of her faith in God, in the Virgin Mary, and in the Christian knights (218-20).

However, when Don Juan puts his team together—which includes Don Manuel Ponce de León, Don Alonso de Aguilar, and Don Diego de Córdoba—there is disagreement over whether they should help the queen or not (221-2). Don Alonso and Don Diego believe they should intervene on chivalric grounds, to restore her honor and right a wrong, but Don Manuel argues, "Dos cosas lo impiden . . . la una, ser sultana mora, y siendo mora no permite nuestra ley que a ningún moro se le dé favor ni ayuda en nada. La otra, no se puede hacer sin licencia del rey don Fernando" (222). To Don Manuel, this sympathetic *sultana*'s essential quality is that she is a Moor, and her religion alone should preclude them from helping her in any way.[17] Still, he is outnumbered: Don Diego is sure of their victory, even without the king's knowledge, and Don Juan reaffirms his determination and duty to help her, because "ella quería ser cristiana" (222). In the end, they are not simply helping a Moorish woman in need; they are coming to the rescue of a politically valuable potential convert.

[17] Beyond mirroring the attitude of the Zegríes in respect to amicable interfaith relations, this characterization of Don Manuel Ponce de León falls in line with contemporary mythology around an historical figure posthumously praised for both chivalry and extreme acts of violence against North African and Peninsular Moors. For a fascinating summary of the House of Arcos' intrigues, see: Carriazo Rubio (1995). Don Manuel, who had been sidelined in chronicles in favor of his brother, Don Rodrigo, was made a key protagonist in several *romances fronterizos* and then, based on those ballads, entered theater and prose, sometimes co-opting his brother's status and feats. Following Pérez de Hita's nod to Don Manuel's great-grandson (Don Rodrigo, Conde de Baylén), Alonso López de Haro, in the second part of his *Nobiliario genealógico de los reyes y títulos de España* (1622), writes that Don Rodrigo "fue cauallero de singular esfuerço y valor, muy semejante al de su bisabuelo el Conde don Manuel, heredando juntamente con el nombre la grandeza de su ánimo, resucitando en Africa la memoria de sus hazazas [sic]… (119). It is also interesting to note that another Don Manuel Ponce de León (apparently a cousin of Don Rodrigo) alive at the time of the decree of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, was a fierce opponent of the plan, on both religious and economic grounds. He suggested instead that the Moriscos be forced to build and live in fortresses so as to avoid contact with Muslims from Barbary and France; learn Castilian within two years; and only be allowed to work in agriculture—among other oppressive and exploitative measures (Regla 223-224).

III. Friends, Foes, and Faith

If Granada's queen constructs the Zegríes as Mestizos due to what she sees as their poor quality, exhibited in their lack of supposed Christian attributes, they in turn construct the Abencerrajes as Mestizos based on what they determine to be poor customs: namely, the Abencerraje clan's "friendship" with Christians, first exhibited through their sympathy for Christian captives. The tensions and fears that characterize the text's probing into the relationship between friends, foes, and faith reaches its climax during an argument over how to handle the funeral proceedings of Albayaldos, the Moor who was defeated by the Maestre of Calatrava, but converted to Christianity just before death:

> . . . después de haberle dado el pésame, se trató si sería bueno hacer por él el debido sentimiento, que por semejantes caballeros se suele hacer. Por esto hubo grandes pareceres, porque unos decían que no, por cuanto siendo Albayaldos moro, al tiempo de morir se tornó cristiano. Los Vanegas decían que no les importaba aquello, que todavía era bueno . . . Los caballeros Zegríes decían que, pues Albayaldos se había tornado cristiano, que no holgaría Mahoma que por él sentimiento se hiciese, y que esto era guardar derechamente el rito de Alcorán. Los caballeros Abencerrajes decían que el bien que se ha de hacer, se había de hacer por amor de Alá, y que si Albayaldos se había tornado cristiano en el tiempo de morir, que aquel secreto sólo Dios lo sabía, y que para él lo dejasen, y que no por eso se dejase de hacer sentimiento por él. (135)

This disagreement at first revolves around the nature of conversion—if it is just between an individual and God; to what degree it holds precedent over character and lineage; and who is

qualified to determine if a conversion has even occurred—but it quickly turns into a debate on Islamic principles and how relationships with Christians fit into them.

For the Zegríes, the issue is black and white, and the Abencerrajes are in the wrong. A Zegrí pronounces, "O el moro, moro; o el cristiano, cristiano. Dígolo porque aquí en esta ciudad hay caballeros que cada día del mundo envían limosna a los cautivos cristianos que están en las mazmorras del Alhambra, y les dan de comer, y los caballeros que digo son todos los Abencerrajes." This is not a simple echo of Don Manuel Ponce de León's argument against helping the *sultana* when he said, "siendo mora no permite nuestra ley que a ningún moro se le dé favor ni ayuda en nada" (222). This Zegrí appears to be arguing that a Moor who assists Christians through alms (*limosna*) is, in effect, not a Moor but a Christian. An Abencerraje quickly returns both a religious and practical defense:

> —Decís verdad . . . que todos nos preciamos de hacer bien y caridad a los cristianos y a otras cualesquier gentes que sean, porque los bienes el santo Alá los da para que se haga bien por su amor, sin mirar leyes. Que también los cristianos dan limosna a los moros en nombre de Dios, y por su amor la hacen, y yo, que he estado cautivo, lo sé, y lo he visto muy bien, y a mí me han hecho algún bien. Y por esto yo y los de mi linaje hacemos el bien que podemos a los pobres, y más a los cristianos que están cautivos, que no lo sabemos cuándo lo estaremos, pues tenemos los enemigos a la puerta. Y cualquiera caballero que le pareciere mal, es muy ruin caballero y siente poco de caridad, y siéntase quien se sintiere. Y cualquiera que dijere que hacer bien y limosna a quien se quisiere, no es bueno, miente, y lo haré bueno donde fuere menester. (135)

According to the Abencerraje, caring for the poor and the Christian captives first and foremost demonstrates love for God and pleases Him by fulfilling His will. Indeed, charity toward Christian captives would have fallen under *sadaqa*, a voluntary alms given to the less fortunate.[18] On a practical level, the Abencerraje also recognizes how easily the tables can be turned, as he himself has been the recipient of Christian charity while captive, and anticipates the imminent possibility of needing it again.

Infuriated by this response, the Zegrí attacks the Abencerraje, who defends himself by killing both that attacker and another Zegrí. The Zegríes then cry out, "Mueran los traidores de casta de cristianos!" (136). The use of *casta* in this war cry and its associations with both blood purity and sexual propriety is extremely significant, especially in relation to the next name the Zegríes give the Abencerrajes—"caballeros mestizos"—during a discussion of their plan for revenge: "en Granada, nosotros los Zegríes, y vosotros los Gomeles, estamos puestos en el cuerno de la luna, de riquezas y honras bien abastados y del rey tenidos en gran estimación, y estos caballeros mestizos Abencerrajes procuran de despojarnos de ella y abatirnos" (137). Although the Zegrí speaking admits that his plan "es contra ley de caballeros," it is justified because "del enemigo se ha de buscar, de cualquier modo que sea, la venganza." (137) They will tell the Rey Chico that his queen is having an affair with an Abencerraje who plans to kill him and take over Granada (138).

[18] "Charity, the obligation to help those less fortunate than oneself, was a fundamental concept for medieval Muslim ethics. Muslim authors did not have a word that can be translated as 'charity,' … [but] medieval Muslims were familiar with a number of practices that might be characterized as charitable. The most prominent of these were *zakat* (the alms tax [one of the five pillars of Islam]), *sadaqa* (alms, most often voluntary), and *waaf* (the pious endowment that sometimes served a charitable purpose)" (Sabra 146).

The immediate consequence of the Zegríes' scheme is the ambush and massacre of several prominent Abencerrajes within the walls of the Alhambra. The narratives and rumors that develop around their murders reflect the debate between these two clans:

> Y fueran todos sin que quedara ninguno, sino que Dios nuestro Señor volvió por ellos, porque sus obras y valor no merecieron que todos acabasen tan abatidamente por ser muy amigos de cristianos y haberles hecho muy buenas obras. Y aun quieren decir los que estaban allí al tiempo del degollar, que morían cristianos, llamando a Cristo crucificado que fuese con ellos, y en aquel postrer trance les favoreciesen, y ansí se dijo después. (174)[19]

At this point in the *Guerras civiles*, the Abencerrajes inhabit an ambiguous state of inner faith, public profession, and perhaps even ethno-religious lineage. Still, if the Zegríes were making a genuine allegation that the Abencerrajes have "Christian" ancestors, the rest of the text does not seem to support the idea that this bloodline would provoke an affinity for Christianity that is now influencing their character and behavior. On the other hand, the insinuation that the Abencerrajes' friendly relations with Christians (demonstrated in their charity toward captives) amount to mixing with them—and that this amicable as opposed to agonistic contact has the

[19] There are several intriguing points of ambiguity in this passage. In the first section, "Dios nuestro señor" favored the Abencerrajes and, on account of their valor and good deeds, spared the lives of others in their clan. If we partake in Pérez de Hita's narrative conceit, the chronicler who speaks these words is Muslim; therefore, the God of Islam not only approves of Abencerraje's actions, he rewards them. Still, it's not clear whether the clause "por ser muy amigos de cristianos y haberles hecho muy buenas obras" refers to the reason they were targeted for assassination, or the reason why God intervened on their behalf. In either case, nothing is said here to clearly accuse them of being anything but devout Muslims who perform good deeds and show charity to Christian prisoners. The second part of this quote presents a different kind of ambiguity. While witnesses say that the Abencerrajes died Christians, there is no clarification as to whether God chose to intervene—or not—because of this. Further, the phrase "y ansí se dijo después" opens the door to doubt about this claim, prompting the reader to question whose narrative it is meant to support.

potential to taint their religious purity (and in turn, their political loyalty)—merits further exploration.

Iberian Christian lore and the Roman Catholic pantheon of saints offer a powerful precedence for charity's connection to conversion on the Peninsula: Santa Casilda de Toledo. The daughter of a Muslim king, Casilda secretly brought food to her father's Christian captives until she ran away to Christian lands, where she was baptized and lived out the rest of her life.[20] But this would not have been the only touch point for a multicultural and potentially multilingual readership that exhibited varying degrees of familiarity and contact with Arabic and Islam. One of the Arabic terms for *friendship* and the name given to voluntary *alms/charity* are linguistically related: *sadaqa* ("alms, charitable gifts; almsgiving, charity, voluntary contribution of alms, freewill offering") and *sadāqa* ("friendship;" *sadīq*: "friend") share the same root (Hans Wehr 594).[21] Therefore, it makes sense, at least linguistically, that the Zegríes would associate charity with friendship. But, how could "friendship"—which embodies "charity" and "kindness,"

[20] In *Los baños de Argel* (1615), Cervantes would present another literary character whose "friendship" with Christians, also demonstrated through her charity toward Christian captives, reveals a sort of latent Christianity and leads, in part, to her conversion: Zahara, "una cristiana mora"—"Mora en la incredulidad,/y cristiana en la bondad"—whose soul, though inhabiting a Moorish body, is identified as Christian by her good works (1537-9, 1633, 1637-8). The Christian qualities of Zahara, even before her conversion, stand in stark contrast to the hypocritical and decidedly un-Christ-like character of the Old Christian Sacristán. In the face of the multiplication of statutes of purity and the magnification of their power, Cervantes highlights the "Christian" or "Christ-like" behavior of New Christians, some non-Christians, and those who, like Zahara, inhabit a nominal space on the spectrum of Christianity, to indict this unprecedented genealogical turn in social and religious policing. Of course, a very similar character (Zoraida) and plot (charity toward Christians and a love affair with a Christian) also appears in the better-known "Captive's Tale" in *Don Quijote*.

[21] Also from this root come the words (and words related to) truth, sincerity, veracity (of an allegation), marriage contract, corroboration, belief, consent, and certification, among others.

essential spiritual virtues that are recognized in both Christian and Muslim doctrine and required of all believers—be painted as wrong?

Someone who took a stance against friendly relations with Christians would likely exploit Surah 5:51 of the Qur'an (from the *Surat Al-Ma'idah/The Table Spread*)—a favorite among Christian and Muslim purveyors of intolerance up to the present day. In perhaps the most widely exploited English translation, the text reads: "O you who believe! Do not take the Jews and the Christians for friends; they are friends of each other; and whoever amongst you takes them for a friend, then surely he is one of them; surely Allah does not guide the unjust people" (Shakir). This verse offers ample room for controversy, beginning with the interpretation of *walīy* (pl. *auliyā'*) as "friend," as opposed to "protector," "helper," "ally," or "patron," among other possibilities (Wehr 1289).[22] Indeed, *walīy* shares its root with *walā'* which, beyond its meanings related to "friendship," "benevolence," "allegiance," and "loyalty," denotes a practice of conversion through patronage, as well as various forms of treaties and alliances (Wehr 1289; Landau-Tasseron 24-9).[23] The differences in these translations can be attributed to linguistic

[22] Many scholars of Islam shy away from the interpretation of *walīy* as "friend" and lean more toward "patron" or "protector." The Hans Wehr dictionary's entry for the word reads: "helper, supporter, benefactor, sponsor; friend, close associate; relative; patron, protector; legal guardian, curator, tutor; authorized agent of the bride in concluding a marriage contract (*Is. Law*); legally responsible person (for a child; *jur.*); a man close to God, holy man, saint (in the popular religion of Islam); master; proprietor, possessor, owner" (1289). According to the *Tafsir* of the medieval Islamic scholar Ibn Kathir, an imam of Mamluk Syria (1300-73), at least one interpretation of Surah 5:51 and the verses that follow is that they address the hypocrisy of those who called themselves Muslims and then, when they feared for their lives, renounced their beliefs and sought protection from among the Christians and Jews: they were hypocrites who did not stand with their Muslim brethren or trust their God to protect them (Saed 207-210).

[23] During roughly the first four centuries of Islamic expansion, conversion normally took place through the process of *walā'*, a system of patronage in which Arabs took on non-Arab "clients" (*mawali*), including their manumitted slaves (Bernards and Nawas ix-xi). In contradistinction to what occurred in the Islamic East, the majority of conversions in Al-Andalus took place without

shortcomings or ideological slants, but all are made possible by the wide variety of interpretations and applications of *walīy*, both outside of and within the Qur'an.[24] For the context in question, it is highly suggestive that in the "Corán de Toledo" (ms 235 Castilla-La Mancha), the only known extant complete Qur'an in *aljamía* (in this case, Castilian written in Arabic script) from the *mudéjar/morisco* period, walīy is not translated but rather Hispanicized as "algualíes," and glossed within the text itself as "algualíes de partida" (207). This highlights the difficulty of translating certain words, while still insinuating that these *algualíes* are aligned to a certain end (*de partida*).

The other crucial aspect of Surah 5:51 in contextualizing the conflict between Zegríes and Abencerrajes in the *Guerras civiles* is the phrase that states that if a Muslim takes Jews or Christians as *auliyā'*, "then surely he is one of them" (*min-hum*/"of them"). This is indeed the Zegríes' central accusation: the Abencerrajes are not Muslims but Christians due to their associations with their religious and political adversaries. Still, there is another verse that includes *auliyā'* in a proscription for relations between Muslims and Christians (or Jews) that is even more poignant in the context of the *Guerras civiles* (again from Shakir):

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walā' and overwhelmingly resulted from "an involuntary inability to continue being a Christian," and an extended process of Arabization that eventually led to Islamicization (Fierro 207-8, 230).

[24] Verses 5:55-57 of *Surat Al-Ma'idah* add another dimension to the proclamation in 5:51, recalling that Allah is the Muslims' *Walīy*, and urging them to turn to Him instead of to those among the Jews and Christians who mock and ridicule Islam. Elsewhere in the Qur'an we see *walīy* used for God in the sense of Protector, Lord, or Master (*Al-Baqarah* 2:257); in defining the legal authority of next-of-kin (*Al-'Isra'* 17:33); and in warnings against seeking the patronage of non-Muslims over that of Muslims, or for the purpose of going against fellow Muslims (*Aal-'Imran* 3:28; *An-Nisaa'* 4:144).

> Allah does not forbid you respecting those who have not made war against you on account of (your) religion, and have not driven you forth from your homes, that you show them kindness and deal with them justly; surely Allah loves the doers of justice.
>
> Allah only forbids you respecting those who made war upon you on account of (your) religion, and drove you forth from your homes and backed up (others) in your expulsion, that you make friends with them, and whoever makes friends with them, these are the unjust. (*Al-Mumtahanah/She That is to be Examined* 60:8-9)

For all the affection and respect the reader has for the Abencerrajes, based initially on their popularity among the nobles, commoners, and Christian captives of Granada, and developed further out of sympathy for their plight as an unjustly persecuted clan, they do unequivocally turn to the Christians as patrons and protectors ("friends"), and assist those who are fighting their faith and taking Muslim homes: they are "one of them."[25] The case of the Abencerrajes, then, seems to illustrate that friendship with Christians through the vehicle of charity is an early indicator of disloyalty and conversion; therefore, the Abencerrajes are labeled as Mestizos due to their poor customs. An alternative argument is that the violent, perfidious customs of the Zegríes

[25] In one of the few places that the narrative "*yo*" appears in the first part of the *Guerras civiles* (in contrast to its notable presence in Part Two), the narrator offers his opinion to clearly portray the Abencerrajes as traitors to Muslims and allies of Christians. This comes when the city of Jaén is alerted to an imminent attack by Granada's armies:

> No pudo ser tan secreta esta salida del rey de Granada para Jaén, que en Jaén no se supiese, porque los de Jaén fueron avisados de las espías que había suyas en Granada. Otros dicen que el aviso fue dado de unos cautivos que se salieron de Granada. Otros dicen que lo dieron los Abencerrajes o Alabeces, y esto entiendo que es lo más cierto, porque estos caballeros moros eran amigos de cristianos. (167)

forced the Abencerrajes into the arms of the Christians, who hold martial alliance and (at least potential) religious conversion as prerequisites to "friendship." In this equation, friendship (*sadāqa*) demonstrated through the mutually respected virtue of charity (*sadaqa*) is not the problem; friendship (*walā'*) forged and forced by the unequal power relations of patronage and clientage is.

Throughout the *Guerras civiles*, Pérez de Hita impresses upon his readers that, while the term Mestizo and related insults function as both descriptions and accusations, those insults are based on criticisms of certain qualities or customs that are not dependent upon nor necessarily connected to a person's caste; and that caste, in turn, rather than being monolithic, embodies both fluidity and ambiguity.[26] However, it is precisely that fluidity and ambiguity that causes many to view *mestizaje* as a threat in Granada and Castile, both before and after the fall of the emirate,

[26] Sebastián de Covarrubias' entries on *mestizo/mezclar* and *casta* support his contemporary's views. For *mestizo* Covarrubias writes, "el q es engendrado de diuersas especias de animales, del verbo misceo, es, por mezclarse;" and *mezclar* reads, "es juntar cosas diuersas... Mezclarse los linages, quando se confunden vnos con otros, que no son de vna misma calidad: y dezimos estar vna cosa sin mezcla, quando esta pura..." (548r-548v). The charged concept of purity vs. impurity when applied to bloodlines is what makes Mestizo a "fighting word"—quite literally, in the *Guerras civiles*. *Calidad*, in turn, does not require a descriptor of "good" or "bad," "high" or "low," but simply refers to the properties that make up a person or a thing; anything else is an evaluation of that quality. Covarrubias does not provide an entry for "calidad," but the term appears throughout the *Tesoro* within numerous entries, and its usage consistently supports this assessment. Finally, *casta* is not an insult in and of itself, and only becomes one when qualified as such. Covarrubias' entry on *casta* makes the term's popular manipulation very clear:

> vale linaje noble, y castizo, el que es de buena línea y descendencia; no embargante que dezimos, es de buena casta, y mala casta. Dixose casta, de castos.a.m. porque para la generacion y procreacion de los hijos, conviene no ser los hombres viciosos, ni desenfrenados en el acto venereo; por cuya causa los distraídos no engendran, y los recogidos, y que tratan poco con mugeres, tienen muchos hijos. Castizos llamamos a los que son de buen linaje y casta. (209r)

Significantly, there is no mention of religion in this entry, but rather an emphasis on social and sexual behaviors.

and after 1492, this alleged threat will make its way to the New World as well. Much like in the *Guerras civiles*, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* present a civil war in the Andes that facilitates the conquest of Tahuantinsuyu by soldiers from Castile. Treason and treachery between competing lineages is central to both stories as well—this time between Huáscar and Atahuallpa, royal Inca half-brothers, and their allies—, with complicated treatments of caste, quality, and customs woven throughout the texts. But there is yet another thorny narrative thread shared by the *Comentarios reales* and *Guerras civiles*: a problematic intersection of bloodlines, religious beliefs, and political patronage.

Part Two: *Mestizaje* in the Rise and Fall of Tahuantinsuyu

> Resta dezir ahora del nombre Viracocha, el cual nombre dieron a los españoles luego que los vieron en su tierra, porque en la barba y en el vestido semejaban a la fantasma que se apareció al Inca Viracocha, como en su vida diximos. La cual fantasma adoraron desde entonces los indios por su Dios, hijo del Sol, como ella dixo que lo era. Pero cuando poco después vieron que los españoles, a la primera vista, prendieron al Rey Atahuallpa, y que dentro de pocos días lo mataron, con muerte tan afrentosa como fue darle garrote en pública plaça (que la daban sus leyes a los ladrones y malhechores), y que se executó con voz de pregonero que iva publicando las tiranías que havía hecho y la muerte de Huáscar, entonces creyeron muy de veras que los españoles eran hijos de aquel su dios Viracocha, hijo del Sol, y que los havía embiado del Cielo para que vengassen a Huáscar y a todos los suyos, y castigassen a Atahuallpa.
>
> —Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, Part Two (I.XL.107)

In the first part of the *Comentarios*, Inca Garcilaso explains that several generations before the arrival of the Spanish, the "fantasma Viracocha"—a fully clothed, bearded apparition—warned a young Inca prince of an attack on Cuzco, and assured him that he would guide him to victory. When the prince followed the phantasm's instructions, victory was his, Cuzco was saved, and he rose to the throne as Viracocha Inca. In the second part of the *Comentarios*, Garcilaso explains that the Spanish conquerors were called Viracochas, first by physical association with the "fantasma Viracocha," which made them *hijos del sol* (and

therefore brothers to the Inca Atahuallpa, victor of the civil war), and then as Viracocha's divine messengers and instruments of justice when they capture and execute Atahuallpa (the "tyrant"). But while good and godly Spaniards—by both Christian and Inca standards—retain the title of *hijo del sol*, evil Spaniards are stripped of it:

> Duró esta adoración hasta que la avaricia, luxuria, crueldad y aspereza con que muchos dellos les tratavan, los desengañaron de su falsa creencia, por do les quitaron el nombre Inca, diziendo que no eran verdaderos hijos del Sol, pues en el trato que les hazían no semejavan a sus Incas, los passados; y assí les quitaron el apellido Inca y les dexaron el nombre Viracocha, por la semejança de la fantasma en barvas y hábito. Esto hizieron los indios con los españoles que se mostraron ásperos y crueles y de mala condición, y en lugar de los nombres augustos les llamaron çúpay, que es demonio... (I.XL.107-108)

In contrast to these Spanish "demons," Garcilaso presents his own father (Sebastián Garcilaso de la Vega y Vargas), who arrived in the second wave of conquistadors, as a model of virtue and chivalry, someone who went out of his way to help the conquered, the poor, and even his own enemies.[27] Therefore, he remained among "los que reconoscieron por piadosos, mansos y afables, que los huvo muchos."[28] According to Garcilaso, his father, along with other Spaniards

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[27] Examples of these acts include his generous treatment of a vanquished native combatant, his respected governance of Cuzco, and even his infamous decision to help the rebel Gonzalo Pizarro—an episode that was rewritten by Garcilaso as an exemplary act of chivalry in combat, akin to the mercy shown to enemy knights in the *Guerras civiles de Granada.*

[28] Tanto como se ha dicho honraron y adoraron en aquellos principios a los españoles que mostraron religión cristiana y costumbres humanas; y hoy hacen lo mismo a los que las tienen, sean eclesiásticos, sean seglares, que, conosciéndolos mansos y piadosos y sin avaricia ni luxuria, los adoran interior y exteriormente con grandíssimo afecto, porque cierto es gente humilde y amorosíssima de sus

of the same quality, "no solamente les confirmaron los nombres ya dichos, pero les añadieron todos los que daban a sus Reyes, que son Intipchurin, hijo del Sol, Huacchacúyac, amador de pobres." As an *hijo del sol* whose divine blood was confirmed by his deific behavior, Sebastián Garcilaso de la Vega was dually deserving of the title Inca.

Still, Garcilaso adds an entirely human element to his father's title: an "antigua costumbre" through which the Inca kings "adopted" the most meritorious men of other nations, bestowing upon them, and their descendants, the name Inca.[29] In this way, the "supernatural" argument presented by Garcilaso—namely, the familial ties that the Spanish and Inca share as *hijos del sol*—are married to their "legal" counterpart: the status of *Inca de privilegio*.[30] Though a purely rhetorical construction post-conquest, the "privilege" of this title and the honor of Inca patronage is key because, as Garcilaso will contend (continually and in meticulous detail throughout the *Comentarios*, even if he doesn't offer a fully accurate representation of Inca practices and politics), Inca lineage is passed down paternally. Therefore, although his mother was an Inca princess of pure and legitimate royal blood, the name and lineage of the Inca was not part of his birthright. In fact, it is only by virtue of the disorder that had descended upon the

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> bienhechores y muy agradescida a los beneficios, por pequeños que sean. (Garcilaso de la Vega II.I.XL.107-108)

[29] According to the assertion of José Antonio Mazzotti, Inca Garcilaso, "…asumiría por línea paterna un título que le habría correspondido al Capitán Garcilaso de la Vega como 'inca de privilegio' según la costumbre de la etnia cuzqueña de asimilar con ese título a sus mejores aliados y colaboradores o, en este caso, a quienes probaron haber mantenido una conducta benefactora digna de los gobernantes cuzqueños..." (208). Pierre Duviols traces, through both parts of the *Comentarios reales* and some archival documents, various narrative threads that sometimes support, sometimes contradict Garcilaso's self-naming, as well has his solutions to those rhetorical quandaries. He concludes, "por ascendencia masculina reivindicó los títulos de Inca de privilegio, hermano de los Incas e Inca adoptivo por herencia paterna, porque le pareció evidente que Dios había querido que así fuese" (44).

[30] For an excellent recent study on "Incas de privilegio," followed by responses from other historians, see: De la Puente Luna (2016).

Andes that Garcilaso could call himself an Inca and achieve their divinity—if only as the author of immortal texts that passionately relate a time, before the arrival of the Spanish, when he says the Incas claimed to be gods so that they could conquer and civilize men.[31]

I. Divisions and Divinity

Manco Cápac was the first Inca and earthly *hijo del sol*. He married his sister, Mama Ocllo, and together they founded the kingdom of Cuzco, which would grow into the empire of Tahuantinsuyu. In chapter XXI of the first book of the first part of his *Comentarios*, titled, "La enseñança que el Inca hazía a sus vasallos," Inca Garcilaso writes, "El Inca Manco Cápac, yendo poblando sus pueblos juntamente con enseñar a cultivar la tierra a sus vasallos y labrar las casas y sacar acequias y hazer las demás cosas necessarias para la vida humana, les iva instruyendo en la urbanidad, compañía y hermandad que unos a otros se havían de hazer, conforme a lo que la razón y ley natural les enseñava..." (I.XXI.51-52). Peace and prosperity required organization in all realms of human behavior, from the physical reduction (conquest and consolidation) of communities; to the cultivation of food and water sources; to coupling, reproduction, and household management. On this last point, Garcilaso explains, "Mandóles que no tuviessen más de una mujer y que se casasssen dentro en su parentela por que no se confundiessen los linajes" (I.XXI.52). In addition to marrying within and therefore maintaining the clarity of their own "lineage" or "nation," the Inca's new vassals were also to follow the example and instruction of their appointed *curacas*:

[31] This process is related to Lisa Voigt's argument that "Garcilaso's claim to narrative and historiographic authority is dependent upon the confusion of such categories as European civilization and American barbarism, which would otherwise exclude an American-born mestizo writer. And, as Garcilaso constantly points out, "confusion" is inextricably bound up with the process of conquest itself, as with any intercultural contact" (257).

> Para cada pueblo o nasción de las que reduxo eligió un *curaca*, que es lo mismo que *caçique* en la lengua de Cuba y Sancto Domingo, que quiere dezir señor de vasallos. Eligiólos por sus méritos, los que havían trabajado más en la redución de los indios, mostrándose más afables, mansos y piadosos, más amigos del bien común, a los cuales constituyó por señores de los demás, para que los doctrinassen como padres a hijos. A los indios mandó que los obedescieseen como hijos a padres.

The figure of the *curaca* as a community-based representative and enforcer of imperial practice and policy confirms a series of key narrative and rhetorical threads that will weave themselves into nearly every chapter of the *Comentarios reales*: the importance of personal merit; the centrality of the common good; and the "father-child" relationship required to instill proper customs in all peoples throughout the empire.

After teaching his new subjects how to live according to his expectations and rewarding with the position of *curaca* those he deemed to have demonstrated the highest quality and character, Manco Cápac also decided to gratify his loyal vassals with outward signs and symbols, referred to by Garcilaso as *divisas*. In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid 1611), Sebastián de Covarrubias (1539-1613) begins his explanation of *divisa* as "la señal que el cauallero trae para ser conocido, por la qual se diuide, y se diferencia de los demas. (Deuisa, es el solariego y vehetria, &c. Y deuisa tanto quiere dezir como heredad q viene al hombre de parte de su padre, o de su madre, o de sus abuelos, &c. …)" (323v). These visual differentiations, then, are connected to a system that communicates both lineage (*solariego*) and inheritance

(*vehetria*).[32] This definition fits neatly into Garcilaso's narrative, but gains an even more profound meaning when one takes into account Covarrubias' extensive description of *behetría*, the second word used to gloss *devisa* (128v-129r).

The entry begins with a legal explanation: "la ley 3.tit.25.part.4 dize assi: *Behetria tanto quiere dezir como heredamiento que es suyo, quito de aquel que viue en el, e puede recebir por señor a quien quisiere que mejor le faga*" (128v, italics his). This is followed by a series of philological explanations, including *behetría*'s relationship to "herria, que vale en lengua antigua Castellana enredo, mezcla, confusion, se dixo enhetrar, que es reboluer vn cabello con otro o vn hilo con otro, y desenhetrar es diuidido y apartado: y de alli se pudo dezir behetria, mezcla y confusion de gentes." This "confusion" and "mixing" resulted from an antique practice in Castile in which a dominion could choose and change its lord at will, sometimes restricted by lineage, other times with little to no restriction at all. This practice was later abolished to bring order to the kingdom, just as Manco Cápac brought order to the "mezcla y confusión de gentes" in the Andes by delineating lineages (now ostensibly fixed ethnicities) to be maintained, and assigning them *curacas* (key players in a strict political structure) to carry out his will. What was disordered is now ordered, and the lines of inheritance through ethnic and political lineages have been made clear.

Still, in the *Comentarios*, *divisas* are not simply visual identifiers of individual lineages with their corresponding inheritances, but rather symbols (and reminders) of a peoples' ultimate political and religious loyalty to the Sapa Inca, and affective manifestations of the relationship between the ruler and his subjects. Garcilaso explains that, "en el beneficio de sus vassallos, y haviendo esperimentado la fidelidad dellos, el amor y respecto con que le servía, la adoración

[32] Covarrubias goes on to note the "ley" that addresses *divisas* ("tir. 25 part. 4"), as well as the martial and mythical history of the term (323v-324r).

que le hazían, quiso, por obligarles más, ennoblecerlos con nombres e insignias" (I.XXII.53-54). *Divisas*, then, became an important part of the corporal, sensorial, and even emotional experiences of both individuals and communities, beginning with a braided adornment, or *llautu*.[33] This was a type of garland that encircled the head in the form of a wreath, and the Inca ordered his vassals "que a imitación suya truxessen todos en común la trença en la cabeça, empero que no fuesse de todas colores, como la que el Inca traía, sino de un color solo y que fuesse negro" (54). The Inca's vassals could now be visually identified as such, and while the *llautu* imitated that of the Sapa Inca, sharing in a way a part of his royal person, it could also be easily and visually differentiated from his by color. The second sign, however, would distinguish not only the Sapa Inca from his vassals, but also his vassals from each other:

> Haviendo passado algún tiempo en medio, les hizo gracia de la otra divisa, que ellos tuvieron por más favorable, y fué mandarles que anduviessen tresquilados, empero con diferencia de unos vasallos a otros y de todos ellos al Inca, por que no huviesse confusión en la división que mandava hazer de cada provincia y de cada nasción, ni se semejassen tanto al Inca que no huviesse mucha disparidad de él a ellos... (I.XXII.54)[34]

These differences, demarcating regions and ethnicities, and expressed through hair length and styles, were carefully designed, and just as carefully maintained:

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[33] *Llautu*: "Traían los Incas en la cabeça, por tocado, una trença que llaman *llautu*. Hazíanla de muchos colores y del ancho de un dedo, y poco menos gruessa. Esta trença rodeavan a la cabeça y davan cuatro o cinco bueltas y quedava como una guirnalda" (I.XXII.54).

[34] Garcilaso continues: "...y assí mandó que unos truxessen una coleta de la manera de un bonete de orejas, esto es, abierta por la frente hasta las sienes, y que por los lados llegasse el cabello hasta lo último de las orejas. A otros mandó que truxessen la coleta a media oreja y otros más corta, empero que nadie llegasse a traer el cabello tan corto como el Inca" (I.XXII.54).

> Y es de advertir que todos estos indios, principalmente los Incas, tenían cuidado de no dexar crecer el cabello, sino que lo traían siempre en un largo, por no parecer unos días de una divisa y otros días de otra. Tan nivelados como esto andavan todos ellos en lo que tocava a las divisas y diferencias de las cabeças, porque cada nasción se preciava de la suya, y más déstas que fueron dadas por la mano del Inca.

Because hair grows (and must be styled), this *divisa* invited the possibility that a person of one nation might be mistaken as belonging to another nation, and this type of confusion was unacceptable to both the Sapa Inca and to his subjects. Finally, the third *divisa* also differentiated one nation from another, and all nations from the Sapa Inca, while establishing an even more prized physical and affective connection between the emperor and his newly conquered subjects: "Passados algunos meses y años, les hizo otra merced, más favorable que las passadas, y fué mandarles que se horadassen las orejas. Mas también fué con limitación del tamaño del horado de la oreja, que no llegasse a la mitad de como los traía el Inca, sino de medio atrás, y que truxessen cosas diferentes por orejeras, según la diferencia de los apellidos y provincias" (I.XXIII.55). In contrast to the *llautu*, which is an adornment, or hair length and style, which are non-permanent modifications, this third *divisa*—the earspool—is a permanent modification of the flesh. Perhaps that is why it was also the most treasured.

Addressing the question of how the various *divisas* were assigned, Garcilaso rejects any notion of arbitrariness or inappropriate partiality on the part of Manco Cápac, and instead offers the explanation that he says was understood by the Sapa Inca's subjects themselves:

> Las diferencias que el Inca mandó que huviesse en las insignias, demás de que eran señales para que no se confundiessen las nasciones y apellidos, dizen los

> mesmos vassallos que tenían otra significación, y era que las que más semejavan a las del Rey, éssas eran de mayor favor y de más acceptación. Empero, que no las dió por su libre voluntad, aficionándose más a unos vassallos que a otros, sino conformándose con la razón y justicia. Que a los que havía visto más dóciles a su doctrina y que havían trabajado más en la redución de los demás indios, a éssos havía semejado más a su persona en las insignias y hécholes mayores favores, dándoles siempre a entender que todo cuanto hazía con ellos era por orden y revelación de su padre el Sol.

Merit, then, guides the determination of how exactly these material and visual differences will be, not just assigned, but also designed: the higher the *quality* of the persons of a particular "nation" or "name" (*caste*), as demonstrated through their actions and behaviors (*customs*), the closer their *divisas* will resemble those of the Sapa Inca.[35]

II. Privilege and Patronage

After all of these carefully articulated divisions and hierarchies are established, something surprising happens in the narrative: the Sapa Inca creates a new type of lineage. Manco Cápac, feeling that death is near, calls "los más principales de sus vasallos" to Cuzco, explains to them that he will soon return to the sky to rest with his father, the Sun,

> …y que haviéndoles de dexar, quería dexarles el colmo de sus favores y mercedes, que era el apellido de su nombre real, para que ellos y sus descendientes viessen el amor que como a hijos les tenía, mandó que ellos y sus

[35] Garcilaso on the singular *divisa* of the Sapa Inca and heir apparent, the *maskaypacha*: "De las insignas que el Inca Manco Cápac traía en la cabeça reservó sola una para sí y para los Reyes sus descendientes, la cual era una borla colorada, a manera de rapazejo, que se tendía por la frente de una sien a otra. El príncipe heredero la traía amarilla y menor que la del padre" (I.XXIII.56).

> descendientes para siempre se llamassen Incas, sin alguna distinción ni diferencia de unos a otros, como havían sido los demás favores y mercedes passadas, sino que llanamente y generalmente gozassen todos de la alteza deste nombre, que, por ser los primeros vassallos que tuvo y porque ellos se havían reduzido de su voluntad, los amava como a hijos y gustava de darles sus insignias y nombre real y llamarles hijos, porque esperava dellos y de sus descendientes que como tales hijos servirían a su Rey presente y a los que dél suscediessen en las conquistas y redución de los demás indios para aumento de su Imperio, todo lo cual les mandava guardassen en el coraçón y en la memoria, para corresponder con el servicio como leales vassallos…. (I.XXIII.56)

In effect, while there will still be a separate, "pure," and "divine" bloodline maintained within the royal family, Manco Cápac's most principal, loyal, and meritorious vassals, those men of many nations who voluntarily submitted to him, are now brethren to each other, sharing both one nation and one name with their spiritual father: Inca.

Garcilaso explains how these "Incas, hechos por previlegio"—who had been perfectly content as "vasallos ordinarios del hijo del Sol," and honored by "[e]l favor de las insignias que su Rey les dió...según los méritos precedidos de cada nación"—responded to Manco Cápac's proclamation:

> Mas cuando vieron la grandeza de la última merced, que fue la del renombre Inca, y que no sólo havía sido para ellos, sino también para sus descendientes, quedaron tan admirados del ánimo real de su Príncipe, de su liberalidad y magnificencia, que no sabían cómo la encarescer. Entre sí unos con otros dezían que el Inca…se havía humanado a darles sus insignias reales, y últimamente, en lugar de

> imponerles pechos y tributos, les havía comunicado la majestad de su nombre, tal y tan alto que entre ellos era tenido por sagrado y divino, que nadie osava tomarlo en la boca sino con grandíssima veneración, solamente para nombrar al Rey; y que ahora, por darles ser y calidad, lo huviesse hecho tan común que pudiessen todos ellos llamárselo *a boca llena*, hechos hijos adoptivos.... (I.XXIII.56-57, italics mine)

Employing the same phrase that he will later use to describe, in the last book of this first part of the *Comentarios*, his own ethnic and affective affiliation as a Mestizo—"me lo llamo yo a boca llena" (IX.XXXI.279)—, Garcilaso sows the seeds for an indictment of the Hapsburgs' treatment of their conquered indigenous subjects, and their descendants:

> Díxoles que a imitación suya hiziessen guardar sus leyes y mandamiento y que ellos fuessen los primeros en guardarles, para dar exemplo a los vassallos, y que fuessen mansos y piadosos, que reduxessen indios por amor, atrayéndolos con beneficios y no por fuerça, que los forçados nunca les serían buenos vassallos, que los mantuviessen en justicia sin consentir agravio entre ellos. Y, en suma, les dixo que en sus virtudes mostrassen que eran hijos del Sol, confirmando con las obras lo que certificavan con las palabras para que los indios les creyessen; donde no, que harían burla dellos si les viessen dezir uno y hazer otro. (I.XXV.58-59)

Submitting people through love, leading people by example, and always acting in a manner befitting children of the Sun: this was the formula for conquest and governance that Manco Cápac expected his Incas to maintain after his death. Under Manco Cápac, submission and loyalty were rewarded with love and acceptance from their ruler, and responsibility and authority within their new kingdom—including the expectation that they would continue its expansion and

civilizing mission, and spread the cult of the Sun. Indeed, they are called upon to do this under Manco Cápac's son, Inca Sinchi Roca.[36] The "Incas de privilegio," transformed from conquered into conqueror, must reduce other indigenous peoples by a kind of double example: the model of their exemplary behavior, and the exposition of how their own lives were completely and positively refigured with the arrival of the Inca.[37]

Although the narration has only reached the second Sapa Inca (of twelve, according to Garcilaso), the reader by this point cannot avoid making connections between the Inca and Spanish conquests and colonizations of the Andes. Indeed, Garcilaso has already conditioned his readers to do so by juxtaposing Spanish cruelties and deficiencies with the *buen gobierno* of the Inca, and superimposing onto a single geography persons and events that inhabited that space before and after the arrival of the Spanish. This rhetorical move goes far beyond referencing or

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[36] Just as Manco Capac married his sister, their children also married each other, "por guardar limpia la sangre que fabulosamente dezían descendir del Sol, porque es verdad que tenían en suma veneración la que descendía limpia destos Reyes, sin mezcla de otra sangre, porque la tuvieron por divina y toda la demás por humana, aunque fuesse de grandes señores de vassallos, que llaman *curacas*" (I.XXV.59). Sinchi Roca, the heir to the thrown, marries his eldest sister, "por conservar la sangre limpia y por que al hijo heredero le perteneciesse el reino tanto por su madre como por su padre...." Concluding his explanation of incest within the royal family, Garcilaso writes that, after the generation of Sinchi Roca, "no pudiesse nadie casar con la hermana, sino sólo el Inca heredero."

[37]

> …les dixo que en cumplimiento de lo que su padre, cuando se quiso bolver al cielo, le dexó mandado, que era la conversión de los indios al conocimiento y adoración del Sol, tenía propuesto de salir a convocar las naciones comarcanas; que les mandava y encargava tomassen el mismo cuidado, pues teniendo el nombre Inca como su proprio Rey, tenían la misma obligación de acudir al servicio del Sol, padre común de todos ellos, y al provecho y beneficio de sus comarcanos, que tanta necessidad tenían de que los sacassen de las bestialidades y torpezas en que vivían; y pues en sí proprios podían mostrar las ventajas y mejora que al presente tenían, diferente de la vida passada, antes de la venida del Inca, su padre, le ayudassen a reduzir aquellos bárbaros, para que, viendo los beneficios que en ellas se havían hecho, acudiessen con más facilidad a recebir otros semejantes. (II.XVI.99-100)

citing other chroniclers, or even naming and humanizing his family, friends, and informants. A prime example of these targeted superimpositions and juxtapositions appears in the first book of the Comentarios, in the chapter titled, "Los pueblos que mandó poblar el primer Inca" (I.XX.50-51). In this unusually short chapter, Garcilaso summarizes Manco Cápac's establishment of more than one hundred *pueblos* in the Cuzco region, providing both the locations of and ethnicities reduced into those settlements; notes the corresponding locations of battles involving Gonzalo Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Pizarro to geographically situate the Spanish reader through familiar names and events; and points to Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's future destruction of these settlements in favor of his own *reducciones*, "de lo cual resultaron muchos inconvenientes, que por ser odiosos se dexan de dezir."[38]

In contrast to the many "crimes" that Garcilaso will contribute to Viceroy Toledo throughout both parts of the *Comentarios* (including the ultimate crime of executing a legitimate Sapa Inca, Tupac Amaru, in 1572), Garcilaso argues that the Incas, in imitation of Manco Cápac, sought to exhibit "riquezas de ánimo, de mansedumbre, piedad, clemencia, liberalidad, justicia y magnanimidad y deseo y obras para hazer bien a los pobres" (I.XXIV.57). Only through maintaining these customs would their subjects believe that they were divine, that this behavior was in their very blood. Indeed, that was the central motivation behind their exemplary behavior, according to Garcilaso, and their efforts were successful:[39]

> …dezían los indios que [los Incas de sangre real] nunca hizieron delicto que mereciesse castigo público ni exemplar, porque la doctrina de sus padres y el

[38] For one of the most recent and novel studies on Toledo's infamous "reducciones de indios," see: Mumford (2012).

[39] "Preciarse de ser hijos del Sol era lo que más les obligava a ser buenos, por aventajarse a los demás, así en la bondad como en la sangre, para que creyessen los indios que lo uno y lo otra les venía de herencia. Y assí lo creyeron…" (II.XV.97-98).

> exemplo de sus mayores y la voz común que eran hijos del Sol, nacidos para enseñar y hazer bien a los demás, los tenía tan refrenados y ajustados, que más eran dechado de la república que escándalo della… […] Antes lo degraduaron y relaxaran de la sangre real y castigaran con más severidad y rigor, porque siendo Inca se havía hecho Auca, que es tirano, traidor, fementido. (II.XV.97-98)

Garcilaso's retelling of the life and times of each Inca sovereign make it clear that purity of blood neither determines nor guarantees the quality or merit of a ruler or his subjects: they are only as good as their customs and behavior; and their customs and behavior are only as good as the structures put into place to hold everyone accountable for their own actions, as well as for the actions of those around them. Still, unsanctioned mixing does open the door to disorder, and disorder leads to moral corruption and social collapse. An Inca turned Auca—"tirano, traidor, fementido"—will usher in the fall of the empire.

III. (Dis)Order in the Realms of the Human and Divine

According to Inca Garcilaso, although "Incas de privilegio" earned their new name through actions that both respected and reflected the political and ethical authority of their conquering sovereigns, there were still important distinctions to be made between these "adopted" Incas and those of royal blood. These distinctions rested in specialized systems that addressed ethnicity, gender, and legitimacy, all of which play into Garcilaso's overall narrative arc. For instance, when Manco Cápac gave the name Inca to the various nations and their descendants, he also ruled "que no quería que sus mujeres y hijas se llamassen Pallas, como las de la sangre real, porque no siendo las mujeres como los hombres capaces de las armas para servir en la guerra, tampoco lo eran de aquel nombre y apellido real" (55). This reinforces the idea that "Incas de privilegio" were made such based on their relationship to war and conquest:

they submitted to the Inca, and they will now submit others to Inca rule.[40] Another example is the case of priests and those who worked with them in the temples. There were certain requirements that, depending on their level and location, called for royal blood (priests in Cuzco's Casa del Sol, and the high priests of other provinces), "Incas de privilegio" (other positions in the Casa del Sol), or non-Inca nobles (priests in the provincial temples to the Sun). The assignment of priests based on rank and region mirrors the general trend in imperial Inca organization—from religious, to administrative, to military positions—, including the practice of allowing the "naturales" to continue in their pre-conquest roles, albeit with an Inca as their superior, "por no los desdeñar y por no tiranizar" (I.II.IX.84).

But most importantly, Inca lineage was passed down paternally, which has significant implications for "Inca" and non-"Inca" women and their children, male and female. In his explanation of the many "nombres y apellidos de las mujeres de la sangre real," Garcilaso begins with the wife of the Sapa Inca, and the daughters they had together: Coya.[41] By contrast, the Sapa Inca's concubines and the daughters they have with him are given names that communicate whether the mothers are of "royal blood" (legitimate), called Pallas, or "foreigners" (illegitimate), called Mamacuna:[42]

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[40] This is, of course, reminiscent of the way in which titles of nobility functioned for centuries on the Iberian Peninsula's Christian-Muslim frontier, and precisely how the Abencerrajes earned their coveted titles and positions in the lands and courts of the Catholic Monarchs, as narrated in the *Guerras civiles*.

[41] "…la Reina, mujer legítima del Rey, llaman Coya: quiere dezir Reina o Emperatriz. También le davan este apellido Mamánchic, que quiere dezir Nuestra Madre, porque, a imitación de su marido, hazía oficio de madre con todos sus parientes y vassallos. A sus hijas llamavan Coya por participación de la madre, y no por apellido natural, porque este nombre Coya pertenescía solamente a la Reina" (I.I.XXVI.61).

[42] Garcilaso writes, "A las concubinas del Rey que eran de su parentela, y a todas las demás mujeres de la sangre real, llamavan Palla: quiere dezir mujer de la sangre real. A las demás

> A las infantas hijas del Rey y a todas las demás hijas de la parentela y sangre real llamavan Ñusta: quiere dezir donzella de sangre real, pero era con esta diferencia, que a las ligítimas en la sangre real dezían llanamente Ñusta, dando a entender que eran de las ligítimas en sangre; a las no ligítimas en sangre llamavan con el nombre de la provincia de donde era natural su madre, como dezir Colla Ñusta, Huanca Ñusta, Yunca Ñusta, Quitu Ñusta, y assí de las demás provincias, y este nombre Ñusta lo retenían hasta que se casavan, y, casadas, se llamavan Palla.

All of the Inca's daughters are part of the royal family, regardless of their mothers' statuses, and the ethnic marker in their name will be dropped after they marry. However, that doesn't mean, according to Garcilaso, that they are all of the same essential quality.[43] He addresses this when he returns to the question of patrilineal descent:

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concubinas del Rey que eran de las estranjeras y no de su sangre llamavan Mamacuna, que bastaría dezir matrona, mas en toda su significación quiere dezir mujer que tiene obligación de hazer oficio de madre" (I.I.XXVI.61). For more on marriage and coupling across ethnicities, see the chapter titled, "Cómo casavan en común y cómo assentavan la casa" (IV.VIII.194-195).

[43] The difference in blood is also illustrated in the strict requirements for the virgins in the "casas de escogidas," particularly in the capital:

> Y porque las vírgenes de aquella casa del Cozco eran dedicadas para mujeres del Sol, havían de ser de su misma sangre, quiero dezir, hijas de los Incas, assí del Rey como de sus deudos, los ligítimos y limpios de sangre ajena; porque de las mezcladas con sangre ajena, que llamamos bastardas, no podían entrar en esta casa del Cozco de la cual vamos hablando. Y la razón desto dezían que como no se sufría dar al Sol mujer corrupta, sino virgen, assí tampoco era lícito dársela bastarda, con mezcla de sangre ajena; proque, haviendo de tener hijos el Sol, como ellos imaginavan, no era razón que fueran bastardos, mezclados de sangre divina y humana. Por tanto havían de ser ligítimas de la sangre real, que era la misma del Sol. (IV.I.185)

The "casas de escogidas" outside of Cuzco allowed *bastardas*, for there they were in the service of the Sapa Inca, *hijo del sol*, not in the service of the Sun itself (IV.IV-VI.189-192).

> Estos nombre y renombres davan a la descendencia de la sangre real por línea de varón, y, en faltando esta línea, aunque la madre fuesse parienta del Rey, que muchas vezes davan los Reyes parientas suyas de las bastardas por mujeres a grandes señores; mas sus hijos y hijas no tomavan de los apellidos de la sangre real ni se llamavan Incas ni Pallas, sino del apellido de sus padres, porque de la descendencia feminina no hazían caso los Incas, por no baxar su sangre real de la alteza en que se tenía, que aun la descendencia masculina perdía mucho de su ser real por mezclarse con sangre de mujer estranjera y no del mismo linaje, cuanto más la feminina. (I.I.XXVI.61-62)

Indeed, in Inca Garcilaso's Cuzco-centric *Comentarios reales*, the mixing of "foreign" female blood in the royal Inca line—namely, Huaina Cápac's coupling with the daughter of the conquered king of Quito, and the favor he showed toward the "bastard" son that resulted (Atahuallpa) over the legitimate heir (Huáscar, the Inca's firstborn son, pure of blood by way of both his father and mother)—leads to civil war in Tahuantinsuyu and the widespread, though incomplete destruction of the royal family (IX.XII.241-242; IX.XXIII.264-265; IX.XXXII-XL.280-297). This civil war, in turn, coincides with the arrival of the Spanish, which culminates the dramatic and devastating move from order to disorder in the Andes.

In spite of arriving to the Andes during a civil war, the Spanish were by and large hugely impressed by the society that the Inca had created, and many lamented witnessing the degradation of the Andes in the absence of their rule. Garcilaso tells us that most indigenous Andeans readily agreed with their assessment:

> …cuando algún español hablava loando alguna cosa de las que los Reyes o algún pariente dellos huviesse hecho, respondían los indios: "No te espantes, que eran

> Incas". Y si por el contrario vituperava alguna cosa mal hecha, dezían: "No creas que Inca hizo tal, y si la hizo, no era Inca, sino algún bastardo echadizo", como dixeron de Atahuallpa por la traición que hizo a su hermano Huáscar Inca, ligítimo heredero… (II.XV.97-98)

In this way, the last book of Part One of the *Comentarios* serves as a bookend to the first, in which Garcilaso introduced the many nations gathered into one under Manco Cápac and the name Inca, as well as the "tyranny and cruelty" of Atahuallpa, who would seek to destroy the pure, royal line established by the founding Sapa Inca:

> Destos Incas, hechos por previlegio, son los que hay ahora en el Perú que se llaman Incas, y sus mujeres se llaman Pallas y Coyas, por gozar del barato que a ellos y a las otras nasciones en esto y en otras muchas cosas semejantes les han hecho los españoles. Que de los Incas de la sangre real hay pocos, y por su pobreza y necessidad no conoscidos sino cuál y cuál, porque la tiranía y crueldad de Atahuallpa los destruyó. (I.XXIII.56)

According to his own explanation, these "Incas de privilegio" had every right to call themselves Incas, but, depending on their lineage, their wives should not have necessarily used the names Palla or Coya: many were usurping a right reserved only for women descended from royal Inca males, like Garcilaso's own mother—which explains, in part, his contempt for the practice.[44]

[44] Soon after this statement, Garcilaso adds:

> Aunque Don Alonso de Erzilla y Çúniga, en la declaración que haze de los vocablos indianos que en sus galanos versos escrive, declarando el nombre Palla dize que significa señora de muchos vassallos y haziendas, dízelo porque, cuando este cavallero passó allá, ya estos nombres Inca y Palla en muchas personas andavan impuestos impropriamente. Porque los apellidos ilustres y heroicos son apetescidos de todas las gentes, por bárbaras y baxas que sean, y assí, no haviendo

However, in spite of the fact he himself could not rightly inherit the name Inca from his mother, he nonetheless comes to employ it, at first timidly, and only under specific circumstances, but later more broadly and with increased confidence.[45] Garcilaso is, himself then, a sort of self-fashioned "Inca de privilegio," by way of his father, and via a complicated rhetorical process that is replete with conflict and contradictions.

In the first part of the *Comentarios*, the clear delineation of ethnicities is essential to ensuring order in the empire, but ethnicities also prove to be precarious, require constant upkeep, and threaten to become unfixed. Order—which translates into peace, prosperity, and the common good—calls not just for the careful curation of bloodlines, but also for an even more conscientious observance of customs. While these customs begin with physical identifiers, order ultimately rests in personal behaviors and the interpersonal relationships they betray, across all strata of society. In the end, it is the disorder of both bloodlines *and* behavior that leads to civil war in Tahuantinsuyu, the suffering of its people, and the fall of the empire. The level of chaos and destruction that follows the arrival of Spanish is unprecedented in the *Comentarios*: the only way to reconcile these new Iberian "Incas" to the old is to accept that utter disorder has come to reign in the realms of both the human and the divine

Conclusion

In the *Guerras civiles* and *Comentarios reales*, the quality of individuals and lineages are first and foremost determined by the customs they exhibit. That being said, both texts present persons marked by mixing who evince poor customs, ranging from shifting identities and

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> quien lo estorve, luego usurpan los mejores apellidos, como ha acaescido en mi tierra. (I.I.XXVI.62)

[45] Garcilaso's self-naming did not serve any legal purpose or come with monetary compensation from the crown, which at this time only recognized direct descendants of Huaina Cápac, and through strictly paternal lineage.

loyalties, to immoral conduct and treason. Still, disorder vis-à-vis *mestizaje* manifests itself quite differently in Pérez de Hita's Granada than in Inca Garcilaso's Peru, both before and during their respective conquests by Castile. Geneaological mixing, though suggested through insults, is not a central anxiety in the *Guerras civiles*, and neither is illegitimacy; however, social mixing through various forms of "friendships" (characterized by affect, alliances, and patronage) is cause for concern. By contrast, the mixing of bloodlines in the *Comentarios* clearly results in the confusion and degradation of castes and, therefore, the quality of individuals. As such, purity of blood comes to play a much larger role in Garcilaso's narration of the fall of Tahuantinsuyu than it did in Pérez de Hita's narration of the fall of Granada. Perhaps the most striking single example is that, in the *Guerras civiles*, the emir's bastard brother is actually the kingdom's greatest proponent of peace, while in the *Comentarios reales*, the Sapa Inca's bastard brother is responsible for the demise of the empire. Post-conquest, however, the forms and functions of *mestizaje* increase exponentially on both sides of the Atlantic, as does the severity of its consecuences. The second parts of the *Comentarios reales* and *Guerras civiles* chronicle the social disruption, corruption, and breakdown that occurs after the conquests of their respective states, as well as the repression of the vanquished and their descendants. These include two ubiquitous groups that embody *mestizaje* and face fierce discrimination for it: the Moriscos—Christian converts to Islam and their descendants—of the new Castilian Kingdom of Granada, and the Mestizos—or *hijos de españoles e indias*—of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

CHAPTER 2

Apellidando libertad:

Real and Imagined Rebellions and Exiles of Moriscos and Mestizos

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Introduction

After a prolonged stage of resistance in the face of Castilian conquest and colonization, events in Andalucía and the Andes finally came to a head. 1571 witnessed the failure of the Morisco rebellion in the Alpujarra, the execution of its leaders, and the exile of an entire kingdom of New Christians. This was a civil war in which both Ginés Pérez de Hita and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega served on the side of the crown. 1572 saw the execution of Tupac Amaru, the last standing Inca of Vilcabamba, followed by the exile of the royal family and, according to Inca Garcilaso, its related Mestizos.[46] The years that followed were marked by reductions and repopulations, prophecies and millenarianisms, as well as diverse debates over the "question" of what to do with these dispossessed imperial subjects. This is the world in which Inca Garcilaso and Pérez de Hita wrote and rewrote contested and contestatory histories.[47] In the second part of the *Comentarios reales* (Córdoba 1617; traditionally called *Historia general del Perú*), Garcilaso

[46] Vilcabamba was the defiant seat of Inca power from 1539-1572.

[47] The *Comentarios reales* and *Guerras civiles* dialogue in largely contestatory manners with well-known chronicles produced by contemporaries on the same historical subjects and events. Inca Garcilaso did this explicitly by building upon the work of some, including Francisco López de Gómara (1554), and challenging that of others, most notably Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), as he penned his own history of the Inca Empire and Spanish conquest. Pérez de Hita's textual conversations with dissimilar accounts of the rebellion of the Alpujarra are mostly implicit due to the order and proximity of the texts' publication dates: Luis Mármol de Carvajal's devastating portrayal of the Moriscos was published in 1600—three years after Pérez de Hita finished the second part of his *Guerras civiles*, but nineteen years before its first publication—, and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's harsh criticism of the crown (though not necessarily in favor of the Moriscos) was finished by the author's death in 1575 but published in 1610, already a year into the Morisco's expulsion from the Peninsula.

recounts the Spanish conquest of Tahuantinsuyu and delves deeply into the subsequent civil wars that break out between bands of conquistadors. This retelling of the protracted fall of the Inca Empire and the uneasy rise of the Viceroyalty of Peru has been read as tragedy, vindication, and chronicle of contradictions.[48] It is indeed an agonizing story of conversions and rebellions, honor and betrayal, which means that it communicates in fascinating ways with Pérez de Hita's account of the brutal civil war in the Alpujarra in the second part of his *Guerras civiles* (Cuenca 1619; commonly called *La guerra de los moriscos*).[49] This chapter will explore one specific intersection between these texts, as well as their real-word contexts: the deteriorating status of Peninsular Moriscos and Peruvian Mestizos in the years leading up to and directly following the rebellion of the Alpujarra in Granada and the execution of Tupac Amaru in Cuzco. Contemporary legislation, letters and memorials, and subsequent literature show that some of the harshest realities faced by both groups were interrelated and reciprocal in nature, as were their responses to those realities. This repression, in turn, was based on their shared characterization as duplicitous, disinherited communities with a thirst for liberty, and a propensity for rebellion.

Part One: Naming Blood, Belief, and Loyalty

> Porque todos éstos quieren guardar sus haciendas y bienes, y no quieren ver su patria cara destruida y saqueada ni puesta a sacomano de cristianos, ni ver sus reales banderas rotas con violencia no vista, y ellos cautivos y esclavos por diversas partes de los reinos de Castilla repartidos. Muévete a hacer lo que te digo, mira con cuánta piedad y misericordia el rey Fernando ha tratado a todos los demás pueblos del reino, dejándoles vivir con libertad en sus propias casas y haciendas, pagando lo mismo que a ti pagaban, y en su hábito y lengua observando su ley de Mahoma.

[48] See, for instance: Martínez (2003), Rodríguez Garrido (2000), and Zanelli (1999/1999/2007).

[49] Complete title: *Guerras civiles de Granada y de los crueles vandos, entre los conuertidos Moros, y vezinos Christianos: con el leuantamiento de todo el Reyno y ultima reuelion, sucedida en el año de 1568. Y assi mismo se pone su total ruina, y destierro de los Moros por toda Castilla. Con el fin de las Granadinas Guerras por el Rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe Segundo deste nombre.*

—Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Part One (283)

Near the close of the first part of the *Guerras civiles*, when it's clear that Granada will be lost to the Catholic Monarchs, Muza strives to convince his half-brother Boabdil, Granada's last Nasrid sovereign, to relinquish their kingdom to the Christians, and to become a Christian himself. A pragmatist and a peacemaker, Muza offers the powerful argument above: capitulation is necessary to preserve the lives and liberty of the people of Granada. Boabdil—"considerando, si no daba la ciudad, los males que la gente de guerra en ella podrían hacer, así de robos, como de fuerzas a las doncellas y casadas, y otras cosas que los victoriosos soldados suelen hacer en las rendidas ciudades"—agrees to surrender his power, hand over his kingdom, and depart for North Africa, but only on the condition that the Moors of Granada be allowed to remain in their homes, retain their belongings, and continue practicing their religion (284).

Of course, it is impossible to read Pérez de Hita's rendering of this scene without recalling how quickly and completely the terms of the treaty were broken, resulting in bloody revolts and forced conversions within a decade. In the second part of his *Guerras civiles*, Pérez de Hita makes a brief mention of the "first" rebellion in the Alpujarra (1499-1401), which "fue presto apaciguado," and he summarizes a series of violent episodes between Moors and Christians in the city of Granada itself, which he collectively refers to as "civiles guerras" (1-2). He then concludes this section by stating:

> …mas aunque se aplacó, no por eso paró el mortal odio de los Moros contra el Christiano vando (que, como avemos dicho, nunca jamás fue desaraygado de sus ánimos), no olvidando las ofensas de los Christianos recibidas con la pérdida de su antigua ciudad: y así se puede dezir con verdad que Granada y su Reyno no fue acabado de ganar, según las cosas sucedieron, como adelante diremos, porque

siempre los Moros tuvieron desseo de tornar en su libertad y recobrar su Reyno...

(2)

While past offenses may not have been forgotten, the blanket assertion above—that Granada's Moors were laying in wait to reclaim their kingdom from their hated Christian conquerors—is nuanced throughout his narration of the "second" rebellion in the Alpujarra seventy-seven years later (1568-1571).[50] Still, in concluding his story of the Nasrid's internal and external struggles in the manner that he does—with Muza's warning and Boabdil's recognition of how the conquest of Granada by Isabella and Ferdinand would conclude if left to the end of a sword instead of an inkwell and a plume—the author is actually describing the outcome of the civil war in the Alpujarra with the Catholic Monarchs' great-grandson Philip II on the throne, and the king's half-brother Don Juan de Austria in the field: the Moriscos' cities were sacked and destroyed; their lands and properties were taken; their women were raped and killed; and their surviving brethren were sold into slavery and displaced throughout *las dos Castillas*. The Moriscos' primary war cry was that of "libertad"—which is precisely what they wagered and lost, in full.

Between the fall of Nasrid Granada in 1492 and the full-scale expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609-1614, identifying and interpreting blood and belief became an important activity for Moors, Moriscos, and their allies, as well as for their enemies and detractors. This was especially true in post-conversion and then post-rebellion attempts to differentiate between "types" (*suertes*) of New Christians, based on their supposed capacity for true religious conversion and likeliness of total submission to the crown. At the same time, however, Indians,

[50] For instance, many Moriscos were forced rise up, others were executed for refusing to join, and still others collaborated with Old Christian friends, neighbors, and representatives of the crown.

Mestizos, and other New World actors joined this rhetorical struggle for real-world survival; and while persons and events on the Peninsula affected and informed viceregal realities and imaginaries, the reverse is also true. Names and naming wielded great power on either side of the Atlantic, but they gained a particular potency when employed in the context of imperium, recognizing intersections between experiences and anxieties in the metropole and in its colonies.

I. Elches and Genízaros

With the fall of Granada, new colonial subjects were incorporated into the state, new settlers were incorporated into the colony, and subsequent conversions and inevitable couplings shaped the kingdom's transforming reality. In turn, novel categories and classifications would be developed in an attempt to describe these people's evermore-complicated religious, political, and social affiliations, as well as to compare Granada's *naturales* to the descendants of Moors elsewhere on the Peninsula whose ancestors were conquered much earlier on. Still, the group that embodied the first high-profile site of conflict in "Christian Granada" were former Christians and their children; in other words, New Muslims. In his "Información acerca de los Moriscos de España" (1605), written for Pope Clement VIII, the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas addresses the problem of the *elches*—Christian converts to Islam (commonly called *renegados* in Spanish), and their children—in post-capitulation Granada.

After pointing out the claim of "algunos" that Granada's citizens voluntarily converted *en masse*, he quotes at length from the *Annales* of Jerónimo Zurita, "coronista del reyno de Aragón," who retells the events of 1499 when Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, arrived in Granada. Cisneros' relationship with Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, begins to show serious signs of strain when the *elches* (also called *romy/romya* by the

Catholic Monarchs, particularly in relation to Christian women who married and had children with Muslim men, and who may or may not have converted to Islam) become Cisneros' focus:

> ...y porque a los elches que avían sido más culpablemente pervertidos (eran estos elches christianos que avían apostado de la fe y se estavan en su pertinancia aun ya tomada aquella ciudad) se hazían algunos apremios para que se convirtiesen y reconciliasen y se procedía contra ellos *y* porque tornaban christianos a los hijos de los elches de menor edad lo que, según el arçobispo de Toledo entendía, lo disponía así y permitía el derecho canónico... (362)

This "derecho canónico" as applied to the young children of *elches* represents a site of ambiguity in the capitulations, which Toledo quickly exploited. The points in question read as follows:

> Item es asentado e concordado que si algund cristiano ó cristiana se hobieren tornado moro ó mora en los tiempos pasados, ninguna persona sea osado de los amenguar ni baldonar en cosa alguna; y que si lo hicieren que sean castigados por sus Altezas.
>
> Item es asentado e concordado que si algund moro toviere alguna cristiana por muger que se haya tornado mora, que no la puedan tornar cristiana sin su voluntad della; e que sea preguntada si quiere ser cristiana en presencia de cristiano e de moros; e que en lo de los hijos e hijas nacidos de las romías, se guarden los términos del derecho. (from the *Capitulations of Granada*, quoted in Carrasco García, 363-4)

The ambiguity rests in the phrase, "se guarden los términos del derecho," and the question is whether it is referring to *derecho canónico* or *derecho político*. Not only was the interpretation of "derecho" as *derecho canónico* a test case for just how far Cisneros (and by extension, the

Catholic Monarchs) could push—or even break past—the limits of the capitulations, the *elches* and their children were targeted because of the ambiguous and complex nature of mixed unions and their offspring in social, religious, and even legal and economic terms. The *elches*, then, were easy targets whose plight could divide individual families and, by extension, the communities to which they belonged.[51]

It was in fact the case that Cisneros' actions stretched far beyond the *elches* and their families. This section of Zurita's chronicle as quoted by De las Casas ends in this way: "desta novedad se alteraron mucho los moros del Albayzín, pareciéndoles que se avía de proceder con todos ellos y alborotáronse y mataron a un alguacil que fue a prender a un delinquente y levantáronse a mano armada" (362). It is generally assumed that the "delinquente" was an *elche* who refused to succumb to Cisneros' pressure to convert. The polyglot soldier and chronicler Luis del Mármol Carvajal identifies the person in question as the daughter of an *elche* who, when detained by a fiercely hated *alguacíl*, "comenzó a dar grandes voces diciendo, que la llevaban a ser christiana por fuerza contra los capítulos de las paces;" and after freeing the woman by killing her captor, "los Moros se pusieron en arma, y comenzaron a llamar a Mahoma, apellidando libertad, y diciendo que se les quebrantaban los capítulos de las paces" (116-117). The respected Morisco nobleman Francisco Núñez Muley also addresses the case of the *elches* and the rebellion of the Albaycín in his 1566 "Memorial en defensa de las costumbres moriscas:" "Cuando el Albaicín se alborotó, no fue contra el rey, sino a favor de sus firmas, que teníamos en

[51] Gonzalo Carrasco García argues, "Cisneros sabía que el flanco más débil de las capitulaciones era el de los renegados dado que había habido complicaciones tanto entre matrimonios mixtos y problemas de herencia entre miembros devenidos cristianos pero cuyo padre aún persistía en la fe musulmana." In fact, his research into the Albaycín's baptismal records from January of 1500 show that partners in mixed marriages did not always baptize (and ostensibly convert) together, nor were their children necessarily baptized, placing them in "una paradójica situación insostenible de numerosas familias pluri-religiosas" (365).

veneración de cosa sagrada. No estando aún la tinta enjuta, quebrantaron los capítulos de las paces las justicias, prendiendo las mujeres que venían de linaje de cristianas, para hacerles que lo fuesen por fuerza" (400, reproduced in Martín Ruiz).[52]

In short, the targeting of Christian converts to Islam and their children—most particularly women and girls—caused the Muslims of the Albaycín to question their new sovereigns' intentions, accuse them of breaking the capitulations they signed with Boabdil (which were also ratified by the Holy See), and to fear that that they were next in line. Indeed, their fears were soon confirmed. De las Casas goes on to tell that the Catholic Monarchs offered a general pardon protecting the lives and belongings of the residents of the Albaycín—if they converted (363). After sending a judge to punish the actors deemed most culpable for the murder and other crimes committed,

> ...después prendió a algunos de los más nobles del Albayzín, los quales luego embiaron a dezir al arçobispo que querían ser christianos y a la hora los baptizaron. Viendo los demás que los nobles se avían baptizado, pidieron ellos lo mesmo y que los consagrasen sus mezquitas en iglesias. Por esta orden, dize Çurita, se baptizaron los más moros y moras del Albayzín y otros que avían quedado en otra parte de la ciudad y de los lugares comarcanos...

Latent in this narration are the violent coercion tactics—physical, economic, and psychosocial—used to force conversions, which only increase in number and severity until they result in a rebellion in the Alpujarra (1499-1501). Although De las Casas does not give any details about the rebellion, he again quotes Zurita to assert that "la culpa de todo se atribuía al zelo

[52] In this memorial, "customs" refer to outward behaviors and practices, such as food, dress, and bathing. They are described as merely cultural and/or regional traditions and have no effect on Moriscos' inner religious beliefs. In other words, these customs do not prohibit them from being true Christians, nor do they promote or reflect the practice of Islam. Philip II disagreed.

desordenado de aquellos perlados, señaladamente del arçobispo de Toledo." The poor customs of priests, manifested in violence and lies, turned people away from their new sovereigns and imperiled the project of fomenting voluntary conversions to—or back to—Christianity.

The amount and level of attention given to the *elches* suggest that they were not merely targeted by the Church for the symbolic capital of their recuperation, but also because they constituted a significant subset of Nasrid society in both numbers and standing (Carrasco García 365). Based on extant documents, Carrasco García concludes, "No por haber sido cautivos, ni por ser de procedencia cristiana, eran forzosamente considerados súbditos de segunda. Hubo algunos individuos (sobre todo hijos de matrimonios mixtos*),* que alcanzaron posiciones de cierto relieve" (355-6). This apparent acceptance on the part of the Nasrids for converts to Islam and for children with Christian lineage concurs with Pérez de Hita's presentation of *mestizaje* in Muslim Granada: while "caste" may be thrown around as an insult, it does not determine a person's loyalties or religion, customs or quality.

This makes it all the more significant that the Spanish word *elche* is derived from an Arabic term (*'ilŷ*) that throughout the history of Al-Andalus denoted a non-Muslim, non-Arab "foreigner" or "barbarian," and was thus extended to the naming of Christians in general—often in the context of battles and conquest as recounted in numerous chronicles—, and finally to Christian converts to Islam and their children (Maillo 80-8). But in Nasrid Granada, *elche* eventually gained a secondary meaning: a Muslim who "held communion" (meaning close, amicable relations) with Christians (Gayangos 500).[53] This clearly echoes the allegations waged

[53] Maillo also cites this use of *elche*, adding Cervantes' claim that in Fez *mudéjares* (traditionally understood as Muslims who lived under Christian rule, but in this case the term refers to Moriscos living under Muslim rule) were called *elches* (87). Although they identified themselves as Muslims, they were also Spanish, and therefore associated with Christians. For many, their

by the Zegríes against the Abencerrajes in the *Guerras civiles* (as discussed in Chapter 1): their "friendship" with Christians earned them same name. This was an insult that bordered on an accusation of apostasy, a crime punishable by death.

In Castile, *elche* as a borrowed word makes slight vacillations in meaning and usage throughout the medieval and early modern periods, all of which revolve around the nature of the individual's relationship with Islam. The children and descendants of converts to Islam are generally depicted as far enough removed from their Christian roots to reject any flirtation with conversion to Christianity, but not yet far enough removed for their lineage to have been forgotten. The newer converts, by contrast, are marked by potentially fluid religious identities and shifting political allegiances.[54] In fact, a whole series of *elches* appear in Christian conquest narratives written about the fall of Granada.[55] Here, the *elches* are either severely punished, usually by death, or serve as invaluable spies to the Catholic Monarchs (89-90).

There is yet another application for the term *elche* that straddles both the Christian and Muslim contexts. Beginning with the Almoravids and continuing through the Almohad and Nasrid dynasties, *elches* were found inside the caliph or emir's palace, either raised there as

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outward habits and behaviors (customs) coupled with their incomplete or imperfect knowledge of Islam put their authenticity as Muslims into question.

[54] To complicate matters a bit more, *elches*, while normally glossed as *renegados*, are sometimes concurrently referred to or defined as *tornadizos*—converts to Christianity who then returned to Islam (Maillo 90-1). This is presumably how *elche* also came to mean *morisco*. In this formulation, a *morisco/elche* is a convert to Christianity (or child or descendant of a convert) who was suspected of practicing Islam, or who identified as Muslim.

[55] In the case of the earliest usage of the term in Castilian—a treaty signed in Seville in 1310 by the kings of Granada and Castile—, their present and/or potential religious affiliations are not completely clear (Maillo 81-2). The *elches*' general depiction as religious and political double agents foreshadow the suspicions that will be directed toward Moriscos who, because of their intimate, native knowledge of peninsular lands, languages, and cultures, are thought to pose a particularly dangerous and perfidious internal threat.

children and educated in Islam, or brought in as adult captives who may or may not have converted to Islam (Echevarría Arsuaga, "Introducción").[56] Highly Arabized and Islamicized, some *elches* found their home within a small circle of trusted counselors, and others within an elite military unit—most famously, in the ruler's own personal guard. A similar process occurred on the other side of the frontier. Throughout the fifteenth-century the kings of Castile surrounded themselves with an elite guard of Moorish knights who had left Granada and pledged their allegiance to the Christian sovereign. While most members of this *guardia morisca* had been born into Muslim families and eventually converted to Christianity in their adopted home of Castile—much like Pérez de Hita's Abencerrajes and their followers, who were awarded with important military posts and would have been excellent candidates for the *guardia morisca*—, some of the soldiers were *elches* who decided to return to their ancestral land and faith.[57]

In the larger Mediterranean context, an *elche* in the Nasrid court or a member of the *guardia morisca* in the Castilian court would have been something akin to the Janissaries of the Ottoman Empire: elite soldiers of Christian lineage who served in the personal guard of the Sultan. But, while the examples above privilege an individual's political loyalties over professions of faith (past, present, or potential), sixteenth-century Iberia will see a turn toward an obsession with deep religious lineage, exacerbated by the issues of mixed marriages and the children who were born of them. Thus, by the early seventeenth century, the term Janissary, according to Covarrubias, carries the primary meaning of mixed lineage by religion and/or

[56] See also: Lapiedra Gutiérrez (1997).

[57] Echevarría uses the name "guardia morisca" as opposed to "guardia mora" or "guardia de moros"—all of which were used, along with individual descriptions of guards as *moros*, *moriscos*, and *elches*—to stress that most of these soldiers made slow but steady progressions toward conversion. This she points out is in contrast to the numerous *mudéjar* artisans—Muslims living under Christian rule—whole built and adorned the monarchs' cities and palaces; the majority of those, she says, did not convert.

nation:[58]

> GENIZARO, vale cerca de los Turcos tanto el q es nacido de padre Christiano, y madre Turca, o al reues de padre Turco, y madre Christiana. [...] en parte son estrangeros, y procuran regalarlos, y honrarlos, por atraerlos a su mala secta. En Italia llaman Genizaro, al que es nacido de Español, y de Italiana, o al reues, finalmente el q es hijo de padres defere[n]tes en nacio[n]. Diego de Vrrea dize ser no[m]bre Turquesco, y que vale nueuo exercito. (434)

It is both fitting and fraught that in the first part of the *Guerras civiles*, when Don Juan Chacón and his three comrades enter Granada to rescue the queen, they are disguised as Turkish Janissaries (222-26).[59] After expressing their wish to defend the queen's honor (in perfect Arabic, no less; three of the four also speak Turkish fluently), the Nasrid knight Gazul explains

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[58] That being said, it is curious to note that the so-called "morisco anónimo" or "morisco refugiado en Túnez," when praising the warm welcome and special considerations bestowed upon the Morisco exiles by Uzmán Day, king of Tunisia (including three years without tax and protection from those who wished to harm them), he writes, "éramos faboreçidos con grande estremo, y decía [el rey] que éramos jeníçaros sin paga, y particularidades que por ser menudas dejo deçir" (204). It is not clear whether the usage of *genízaro* here associates the Moriscos with Christians (in a religious and/or cultural sense), with persons of mixed ethnicities, or simply with the protection and intimate integration of valuable foreigners.

[59] In her edition of the *Guerras civiles*, Shasta Bryant provides the following footnote: "*genízaros* = Janizaries—of mixed race or nationality; also elite Turkish soldiers" (224). Barbara Fuchs explains: "Historically, janissaries were elite Ottoman troops, primarily renegades or young men from conquered territories brought up as Turks, and who had long relinquished Christianity even if they had Christian origins. These hybrid figures, fantastic counter-renegades, bring together the supreme enemies of Spain — the imperialist Ottoman Turks — with its most cherished self-definition: its Christianity" (58). While Fuchs and the text itself focuses on the military career, Turkish nationality, and Christian lineage of the Janissaries, Covarrubias' entry offers further context for Bryant's primary definition of "mixed race or nationality." Finally, though we will see the use of *genízaro* in a colonial context later on in this chapter, I would be amiss to ignore the fact that the terms *morisco* and *genízaro* both appear in later colonial Mexican "casta" paintings that represent mixed-race colonial subjects, though neither category has anything to do with Semitic blood: *mulato* + *española* = *morisco*; and *chino* + *cambujo* = *genízaro* (Alvar 322-323, 327).

that the *sultana* seeks the intervention of Christians and not Moors (222-3, 225-6): "—Cuando eso sea—dijo don Manuel—, nosotros no somos moros, sino turcos de nación, genízaros e hijos de cristianos, y esto es cierto como lo digo. —No decís mal—respondió el valiente Gazul—, que por esa vía sería posible que la reina os escogiese para que le defendáis su causa" (226). While they affirm their natio(n) as Turkish and their parents' religion as Christian, they do not go so far as to say that they are practicing Christians; they are just not Moors, a name that denotes not only Muslims, but also carries ethnic connotations related to North Africa—the region from whence came the "gentes" and "naciones" that built Pérez de Hita's Granada.[60] However, according to Gazul, a Christian bloodline may suffice to convince the queen of their quality and qualifications.

In this way, Pérez de Hita writes the religious philosophy of his Hapsburg world onto the Nasrid queen, with all the contradictions that go along with it. In this sequence, Old Christians disguised as Turkish Janissaries are aligned with converted Moors, who themselves were previously accused of being "mestizos" and of "casta de cristianos." Now both groups are fighting "mestizo[s] de ruin casta y gente" to save the Moorish queen-in-conversion, all while ushering in Ferdinand and Isabella's troops, and the inevitable fall of Granada. However, the queen's slippage into purity-of-blood ideologies, like her declaration that Christian knights would never behave badly like the Muslims in her own court, is quickly corrected by the text. In the *Guerras civiles*, Christians take many forms, and no one's sincerity of belief is predicated on his or her bloodline. Unfortunately, this was not the case in the flesh-and-blood world of the

[60] Ignacio de las Casas clearly explains this distinction: "Llamaron en España a los sequaces del maldito Mahoma (que yo llamo mahometanos) moros por aver entrado en ella por la parte de Mauritan [sic] Tingitana que corresponde a Cáliz, y ya baptizados los dixeron moriscos con el qual apellido se an quedado hasta aquí sus descendientes…" (370). For more on the term *moro*, see: Irigoyen-García (2014).

author, where true-life "Mestizos" struggled to find a safe space in which to live, work, marry, and raise their children on the Peninsula—and in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

II. Moriscos and Mestizos

With the forced conversion of Valencia's Moors in 1525, Charles I was faced with a large domestic population that was Christian on paper, but not necessarily in practice. A series of laws regulating religious and cultural behaviors were approved in that same year at the *Junta de Madrid*, and other considerations were added in 1526 at the *Junta de la Capilla Real de Granada*. Still, their strict enforcement was suspended, and a period of amnesty was commenced to allow the Moriscos time to be properly catechized and integrated into society before facing systematic or severe scrutiny under the Inquisition. Forty years later, several important ecclesiastical figures decided that it was time for that amnesty to end.

In 1565, the *Concilio Provincial de Granada*, convened by Archbishop Don Pedro Guerrero, revived these decades-old measures. Guerrero then forwarded them to the Cardinal of Sigüenza, Diego de Espinosa, and Espinosa, in turn, convened the *Junta de Madrid* in 1566 to secure their approval from the king. While many still felt, for various reasons, that a gentle hand should continue be used with these new converts, it was Cardinal Espinosa who would guide the king's decision and determine, in effect, the Moriscos' fate.[61] Philip II's royal *Pragmática*,

[61] As Jiménez Estrella explains:

> Desde mediados de los sesenta el confesionalismo se había instalado sólidamente en la Corte, teniendo como principal representante al presidente del Consejo Real, Diego de Espinosa, defensor de la ultranza de la ortodoxia. Esto significaba el fin de cualquier postura conciliatoria y el fracaso de aquellos que...habían abogado por la negociación y la laxitud en las medidas contra los moriscos. […] La llegada de Pedro de Deza, hechura del cardinal Espinosa y nuevo presidente de la Chancillería, no era sino la constatación de que no habría marcha atrás en la postura intransigente de Felipe II en material religiosa. Algo evidenciado tras la

which was published in Granada on January 1, 1567, criminalized all manner of activities and traditions pertaining to the public and private lives of Moriscos, including the use of Arabic, a whole host of Andalusi customs, and the rights to gather and to carry arms.

After nearly two years of failed petitions to have the pragmatics softened or revoked, the rebellion of the Moriscos began on Christmas Eve of 1568; and after the ultimate failure of that rebellion in March of 1571, the majority of Granada's surviving Moriscos were exiled to other parts of Andalucía and throughout Castile, while thousands others had already been sold into slavery (slaves were permitted to remain in Granada in the service of their Old Christian masters). This is the background to the aforementioned letter that De las Casas sent to the Pope ("Información acerca de los moriscos de España" 1605), in which he underscores the geographic, cultural, and religious diversity of the Morisco population. He explains that, although converted Moors throughout the Peninsula were commonly lumped together and called Moriscos, they experienced different waves of forced baptisms; they had different levels of acculturation as exhibited in their speech, clothing, and customs; and they were called different names in different regions (370-1).

These distinctions are important because, according to De las Casas, "Morisco"—applied in the strictest sense—refers only to converts in Granada (before their exile) and Valencia, the majority of whom "se quedaron con su hábito y lengua y con todas las costumbres que antes tenían sin differencia ninguna ni otra señal de ser christianos que no hazer tan en público sus ritos y ceremonias de moros" (371). This is in stark contrast to the reality of *mudéjares* and

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publicación a primeros de enero de 1567 de las disposiciones adoptadas por la Junta de Madrid. (353)

tagarinos, who might receive undeserved discrimination based on the label *morisco*.[62] De las Casas explains that in "las dos Castillas," *mudéjares*, also called *convertidos*, no longer use Arabic or traditional clothing, are permitted to carry arms and take communion like other Christians, "y no se differencian dellos sino en vivir en barrios por sí, no aparentarse con christianos viejos ni beber vino ni comer tocino" (371). In Aragón they are called "tagarinos," which he explains by stating both what they are and what they are not: "...mudaron también lengua y hábito y parte por esto, parte porque los demás saben que descendían de christianos pervertidos, los llamaron mudéjares que significa renegados no como algunos piensan mestizos o genízaros de morisco baptizado y christiana vieja o, al contra, porque no son sino descendientes de ambos padres moros como he dicho, como consta claro de su origen y descendencia..." (371). Though their recent ancestors were Muslim, their deep lineage is Christian, making the *tagarinos* or *mudéjares* unwitting renegades who must be gently folded back into Spain's Christian past and present.

They are also not to be confused with *mestizos* and *genízaros*—both defined here as the children of mixed Old and New Christian couples—who occupied, according to De las Casas, a particularly unenviable position in Morisco communities and Christian Spain. In fact, as part of his response to common complaints about the Moriscos and their customs, he explains:

> El no aparentarse con christianos viejos dizen que es porque ellos los desecharían con afrentosas e injuriosas palabras; y quando algún pobre admitiesse esto no sería para su qualidad y estado y con todo eso trataría de tal suerte a su consorte que fuesse más infierno que vida maridable de lo qual dan muchos exemplos

[62] The Real Academia Española currently limits the definition of *mudéjar* to the following: "una persona: Musulmana, que tenía permitido, a cambio de un tributo, seguir viviendo entre los vencedores cristianos sin mudar de religión."

> dellos y de otros; y que con todo esto, que es insufrible, quedarían sus hijos en la misma afrenta que antes, y aun en peor, llamándolos mestizos. Acaban con dezir que no cabe en justicia ni en razón que traten mal a los que dellos viven bien por sospechas de que son los otros malos christianos ni porque sean castigados por ellos, pues es cada uno hijo de sus obras y tienen juezes que los castigarán si faltaren. (376)

In this configuration, a child born to two Christian parents, one Old and one New, is placed in the worst possible scenario: not only is his parents' marriage likely to be miserable, he will be called a "mestizo" and judged not by his own actions, but punished for the actions (suspected or verified) of others. As a result, evermore strict segregation between Old Christians and New was, in De las Casas' explanation, both forced upon Morisco communities and self-imposed from within them.

Instead, policies should be put in place to promote or even require marriages between Old and New Christians, thereby blending Semitic and (allegedly) non-Semitic blood, and creating exemplary Iberian families—a practice, he argues, that was proven successful by the Jews, but has unfortunately been rejected by the Moriscos: "Verdad es que los que digo descendir del judaísmo, como más cuerdos y discretos, se an sabido aparentar bien y mezclar de suerte que ya no ay casi raza dellos y estotros an tenido en esto mayor negligencia y falta movidos, como yo les e oydo dezir, de una cierta soberbia en parecerles que es menos deshonrra descendir del paganismo sin mezcla que no lo contrario" (408). This statement is an attack on the theological and practical value of Spain's statutes of purity; a reflection on the ideological influences and concrete consequences of these statutes within the Morisco population itself; and a justification of his proposal for a strict policy of intermarriage between Moriscos and Old Christians.

However, it is also a nod to the transatlantic polemics of his day. De las Casas presents the Peninsula as an internal Indies, a domestic missionary space that requires many of the same reforms as proposed for Indians in the colonies. He then juxtaposes the "otherness" of the Indies with the familiarity of the Peninsula—potentially "mejores Indias pues [los moriscos] son también almas y tan próximos nuestros" (414)—where *mestizaje* should be a natural tool for assimilation and conversion.

In fiercely promoting marriage between Old and New Christians, De las Casas sought to make a distantly shared ancestry a current cultural reality, thereby protecting the place of all Spaniards on the Peninsula. The projects of the priest and Pérez de Hita, then, intersect at the figure of the Mestizo, who represents their greatest hope for, but also their greatest obstacle to, reconciliation between New Christians and Old, and the very survival of the Moriscos in Spain. Of course, this project was doomed to fail on the Peninsula, and both men witnessed at least the early stages of its demise: De las Casas died in 1608, just one year before the start of the expulsion, and Pérez de Hita disappeared from all records not long after. But even as the author fought in the Alpujarra and penned his pro-Morisco histories, and the priest evangelized and advocated for Moriscos across the Peninsula, the Mestizos of the New World were living unique yet related struggles. As with Iberian *mestizos* and *genízaros*, having one Old Christian parent and one New Christian parent did not solve problems of lineage, but rather complicated them. Further, much like the large and heterogeneous Morisco population of Spain's various Christian kingdoms, the ethnically and socioeconomically diverse Mestizo population of the Viceroyalties likewise came to be closely associated with and constantly suspected of rebellion.

Mestizos accounted for the vast majority of children fathered by Spanish men during the first twenty years of European presence in the Andes (Ares Queija 38-39). In the beginning, they

were simply referred to as "hijos de españoles e indias," and normally grouped on the Spanish side of the *español/indio* binary dictated by the Two Republic model (42). The term Mestizo began to be used in the 1550s, largely in reference to the many children orphaned by Peru's civil wars: with their Spanish fathers dead, there was widespread opinion—and concern—that these children were "becoming" Indians, a fate from which they should be rescued (42-43).[63] The Dominican Friar Domingo de Santo Tomás was one of the first to express this anxiety to the crown. In a letter penned on July 1, 1550, which addressed a whole series of urgent problems in the Viceroyalty, he wrote, "Tambien ay aca nescesidad de dar orden en los hijos e hijas de los españoles e yndias naturales desta tierra que son muchos y como los pobres en esta tierra son mas que los ricos y no por ser pobres tienen menos hijos ay muchos mestizos y mestizas en ella y muchos dellos andan como yndios e entre los indios" (AGI Lima 313, folio 6r). Santo Tomás' solution is to establish "una casa donde los varones se crien y se les enseñe doctrina y buenas costumbres para que siendo de hedad para ellos se pongan a officios y no anden en perjuyzio suyo y de la Republica perdidos y las ninas se rrecoxan y no anden destraidas y perdidas porque enpieçan ya a andarlo asi los unos como los otros...." In short, without cultural and religious guidance, and without vocational training and opportunity, the Mestizos and Mestizas—many of whom were left with nothing when their fathers were killed serving the king—would be "lost" to the Spanish Republic, and possibly corrupt the Indians in the process.[64]

[63] The term Mestizo was not always employed to describe a person of mixed lineage, but when it was, it was normally in the service of a strategic purpose, for instance: to reference a group of people who allegedly required, as a whole, support or sanction; to highlight the nature of an individual who exhibited either exemplary or unacceptable behavior, toward the goal of a greater prize or punishment; or to show solidarity with (other) persons called Mestizos who were advocating for rights or rewards.

[64] For important discussions on the particular situation of Mestizas, see: Burns (1998 and 1999).

Concerns about Mestizos increased with their age, and with their numbers. In the 1560s, as the first generation reached their early to mid twenties—and precisely when Inca Garcilaso left Peru for Spain—, the Mestizos came to be seen as literally embodying disorder in the Viceroyalty. On the one hand, when Mestizos born to parents of higher social standing (and most particularly to Inca royalty) asserted their rights as dually noble and worthy citizens, their motives fell under suspicion, and their loyalty to their king was questioned. On the other hand, the poor, illegitimate, and orphaned Mestizo masses were accused of exhibiting poor quality and customs, and of moving between social categories and spaces in deceitful and self-interested ways. However, Mestizos were not alone in the latter category, nor were Spaniards their only critics: according to the indigenous chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala, the Mestizos were just one group of colonial actors run amuck, putting on costumes, shedding them at will, and playing ill-fitting roles in a "mundo al rreués" (1025).[65] Within this larger picture of disorder, Mestizos were no longer considered Spanish by default, but rather something much closer to Indian; they were often compared to Negros, Mulatos, and other "mixed" peoples of indigenous and/or African descent; and they were consistently identified as a growing and idle population.[66]

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[65] Guamán Poma describes what he witnessed in Lima, where he claims that this situation reached its maximum manifestation of dysfunction in the early seventeenth century:

> En seruicio de Dios y de la corona rreal de su Magestad el dicho autor, auiendo entrado a la dicha ciudad de los Reys de Lima, uido atestado de yndios ausentes y cimarrones hechos *yanaconas* [criado], oficiales ciendo *mitayos* [que presta trabajo], yndios uajos y tributarios, se ponían cuello y ci bestía como español y se ponía espada y otros se tresquilaua por no pagar tribute ni seruir en las minas. Ues aquí el mundo al rreués. […] Y acimismo uido el dicho autor muy muchas yndias putas cargadas de mesticillos y de mulatos, todos con faldelines y butines, escofietas. […] Que los dichos negros horros y mulatos, mestisos paguen tributo, pecho a su Magestad y dotrina y se rredusca en las ciudades y uillas. (1025-1026)

[66] Idleness is a well-trodded topic in the *Comentarios reales*. Presumably in response to complaints waged by Spaniards about idelness in the Viceroyalty—complaints that appear in

Some viceregal authorities, both secular and ecclesiastic, promoted repressive measures to mitigate one specific and plausible consequence of idleness: rebellion. Others, while acknowledging the threat of rebellion, were more concerned with addressing the root causes of their idleness—namely poverty, illegitimacy, and, in turn, minimal opportunities for advancement within colonial society. Among the latter was Juan de Vivero, an Augustinian Friar in Cuzco who had first-hand knowledge of the subject of Mestizo rebels. On January 11, 1567, Vivero was apprised of an imminent rebellion: it would be led largely by Mestizos in various cities across the viceroyalty, but it was planned by Mestizos and their Spanish co-conspirators in Cuzco, and it counted on the participation of indigenous combatants (López Martínez 376-377). Though this particular informant's loose-lips were just one pair of many that would foil the revolt, Vivero was able to warn Peru's governor and the rebels' first proposed mark, Lope García de Castro, before irreparable damage was done. Less than one year later, in a letter dated January 2, 1568, Vivero characterizes Cuzco as a city that is "populoso y poderoso y con esto ynquieto," explaining:

> …es tanbien sumamente necesario que v.mag. de algun asiento a algunos principales y nobles que tuviesen en la casa Real de comer perpetuamente para que se atasen las ynquietudes que adelante abra quando se acaben las vidas de los presentes y los herederos quedaren muntiplicados y sin tener de comer…y tanbien mandar dar algun entretenimiento a algunos mestizos y mestizas hijos de servidores de v.mag. que an quedado sin remedio y que a los demas que se tenga

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myriad letters and memorials that made their way to the Council of the Indies in the latter half of the sixteenth century—, Inca Garcilaso explains in great detail how, through the establishment of a system of mutual accountability and strict punishment (including the punishment of parents for the bad behavior of their children), this vice was not just avoided but actually unthinkable in the Inca state: "Y de aquí nascía que no havía vagamundos ni holgazanes, ni nadie osava hazer cosa que no deviesse, porque tenía el acusador cerca y el castigo era riguroso" (II.XII.90-91).

> especial cuydado de hazerles servir y aprender officios y ocuparlos que no anden ociosos y vagamundos y el mesmo cuydado se tenga con los mulatos porque de unos y otros ay gran copia y cada dia se muntiplican podria correr riesgo el Reyno si con tiempo no se provee en esto. (AGI Lima 313, folio 2r)

Among other pressing issues, then, was the imperative need for positive intervention in the lives of the Inca royalty, indigenous nobility, and their descendants, as well as in the situation of Mestizos and the Mulatos. According to Vivero, poverty and idleness—particularly in growing and dispossessed populations—posed a very real threat to peace and prosperity in the kingdom.[67]

Vivero continued to advocate for Mestizos and the need to "train" them in proper customs and viable occupations, even after their thwarted rebellion, and he also maintained relationships with the "rebel" Incas of Vilcabamba after helping to negotiate a capitulation agreement with Titu Cusi Yupanqui, ruling Inca of Vilcabamba, in 1565. This contract, which the priest viewed as central to any viable plan for the pacification and integration of the Incas, was ratified by Philip II on January 2, 1569, just one week after the start of the rebellion of the Moriscos in Granada (Julien 244). But, when Francisco de Toledo arrived to Peru as Viceroy later that year—after unsuccessfully petitioning to join the war against the Moriscos in the Alpujarra—, he began setting the stage for a war against the Incas of Vilcabamba and their Mestizo relatives, be they combatant or surrendered, pagan or baptized, and with or without Philip II's permission.

[67] Vivero also addressed education and idleness in relation to the Viceroyalty's youth more generally, writing: "es necesario y muy muncho para el bien general deste Reyno que v.mag. mande asentar en el dos otras universidades para que los moços tengan virtuoso exercicio y saliendo letrados puedan ser aprovechados y asi se escusaran munchas ofensas de dios y de vra mag evitando la ociosidad madre de los vicios y madrastra de toda virtud..." (AGI Lima 313, folio 2r).

The king may not have approved of Toledo's plans and eventual actions regarding Vilcabamba, but Cardinal Espinosa, with whom Toledo frequently corresponded, certainly did. Espinosa—who was ultimately responsible for the harsh dispositions that led to the rebellion in the Alpujarra, as well as the displacement of Granada's Moriscos after its failure—was Francisco de Toledo's patron, protector, and mentor. [68] It was thanks to Espinosa that Philip II appointed Toledo as Viceroy of Peru in 1567 (the same year as the rebellion of the Mestizos in Cuzco), a decision that would usher in major shifts in the reality of the viceroyalty after his arrival.[69]

III. Rulers and Rebels

Francisco de Toledo was with Diego de Espinosa in July of 1568, just five months before the start of the rebellion in the Alpujarra, when the latter opened the proceedings of the *Junta Magna* at his home in Madrid, at the request of Philip II.[70] While the subject of the Junta was not Moriscos, but rather the king's subjects in the American viceroyalties, Espinosa's career, reputation, and finances were tied up in the Old World and the New—as were those of most of the experts he convened.[71] At this point, Espinosa was Cardinal of Sigüenza, President of the

[68] The expulsion of the Moriscos from Granada was decided at the *Concilio de Castilla*, which was convened and presided over by Espinosa himself.

[69] Though it could have been earlier, it is likely that Espinosa and Toledo met in 1565 at the *Concilio de Toledo*: Toledo was Philip II's delegate, and Espinosa was Bishop of Sigüenza, in the Archbishopric of Toledo (Julien 251). Julien and Ruan (2017) both point to the likely influence that Espinosa's beliefs and style of governance had on Toledo and his own governance in Peru.

[70] Though it had been shortly postponed due to the condition of Philip's son, Don Carlos, it convened on July 27, just three days after the prince's death (Ramos Pérez 7-8).

[71] The Junta gathered an impressive array of churchmen and statesmen, including: the president of the *Consejo de Indias*, as well as that Council's two most senior counselors, their secretary, and a Vicar; the President of the *Consejo de Órdenes*, three representatives from the religious orders (an Augustinian, a Dominican, and a Franciscan), and the Bishop of Cuenca; and four of

Council of State (*Consejo de Estado*) and the Council of Castile (*Consejo de Castilla*), Inquisitor General, and the holder of several other positions of great prestige and power; in fact, he was the most powerful man in Spain after the king, and held a near monopoly over patronage (Ramos Pérez 6-7).

The Junta was assembled rather suddenly, prompted by a series of escalating imperial and domestic crises: papal pressure on the king to fulfill his evangelizing mission in the Americas; an intensification of the rebellion and the crown's military response in the Netherlands; growing discontent among the Moriscos of Granada which, again, was due in large part to Espinosa's program of oppression; an uptick in Turkish expansion and influence in the Mediterranean; and a strained economy that did not have the funds to address all of these problems, especially while facing indigenous resistance and labor shortages in mining regions of the two great American viceroyalties (New Spain and Peru). In short, while none of the problems included in the discussions at the Junta were new—problems which ranged from a vindication of Spain's position as the great evangelizer of the Indies, to how to persuade indigenous peoples to work in the mines without technically forcing them, to the ability of the viceroyalties to defend themselves both spiritually and militarily from the threats posed by other European powers—, they had become more urgent.[72]

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the most prominent figures from the *Consejo de Estado*, three from the *Consejo de Hacienda*, and three from the *Consejo de Cámara y Castilla* (Ramos Pérez 7).

[72] One of Toledo's contributions addressed the insufficient numbers of priests in the Indies, the dwindling number of Spanish priests who were willing to go, and the bad character and motivations of many of those who did, arguing that instead of importing priests, more colleges should be established to grow them within the viceroyalties, creating an "organic" Church like the one described at the Council of Trent (Ramos Pérez 15-16). He envisioned, of course, primarily Creole priests being trained in these colleges, not Mestizos, which, as Chapter 3 will show, was the general course that events took.

The Junta was convened so quickly, in fact, and had such a wide range of issues to address that it was unable to gather the level of information needed to resolve them; therefore, when Toledo left for Peru—after unsuccessfully petitioning for permission to join the fight in the Alpujarra—he was given unprecedented powers to resolve issues of all natures in the way he deemed most prudent (41). Certainly, many viceregal subjects and observers, including Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Friar Juan de Vivero, felt that Toledo overstepped his bounds in certain areas of his administration. Outside of his viceregal-wide program of the *reducciones de indios* (as mentioned in Chapter 1), two of the most emblematic of Toledo's "abuses" were the capture and execution of the young Inca-in-exile, Tupac Amaru, as an "auca" (traitor) to the king; and his alleged mistreatment of the Mestizos in the Viceroyalty.

Vivero—who was on the ground at the time of the events in question and the decisions and actions that led up to them—disagreed with Toledo's attitude toward the viceroyalty's Mestizos, including his proposal to ban them from carrying weapons. In the years following the "motín" of 1567, Vivero conceded that the situation of the Mestizos was in dire need of intervention, but he did not give up on folding them into the Spanish Republic and ensuring their corresponding rights. In a letter dated January 24, 1572, he wrote:

> Ay otro mal en este rreyno y es q como la tierra es tan ocasionada para q hombres se den al vicio de la sensualidad nacen gran copia de mestizos de los quales muchos salen aviesos por no les faborecer la mezcla o por criarse entre mulatos e yndios y ellas son ocasion de grandes ofensas de dios nro. señor y adelante se teme si no se enfrena esta gente con tiempo q a de ser prejudicial y aunq se piensa remediar algo con quitarles las armas seria mayor y mejor rremedio v.m. mandase hazer en los pueblos principales deste rreyno unas casas y se les diese renta de

> yndios vacos donde en una se criasen todos estos mestizillos y en otra las mestizas y alli se les enseñase la ley de dios y su themor y amor y de alli saliesen a aprender algunos oficios y asentarlos con amos o otras mas aventajadas cosas como lo pidiesen la calidad de sus padres y las niñas enseñadas a labrar y hilar e q saliesen o para casarse o para monjas o a otras partes conforme a lo q en esos rreynos se haze con los niños y niñas de la doctrina es cosa muy necesario esta... (AGI Lima 314, folio 3r)

Vivero did not feel that Toledo's proposed weapons ban against Peru's Mestizos was the proper way to secure peace in the Viceroyalty: whether their bad behavior was due to an unfavorable mixture of blood or of customs, the answer was to place them in institutions financially supported by the crown's colonial economy and to properly train them in both faith and a profession (or, in the case of Mestizas, other appropriate skills). Vivero likewise disagreed with Toledo's increasingly bellicose rhetoric regarding Vilcabamba and his lukewarm support of the capitulation agreement, a situation that was particularly troubling to the friar given the Inca's growing reticence to abandon his stronghold. In the same letter in which he addressed the situation of the Mestizos, Vivero expressed serious concern over Toledo's lack of interest in continuing to catechize and baptize the principal Incas there (Vivero himself baptized Titu Cusi Yupanqui and his legitimate wife), and Toledo's claim that the Incas had stopped answering his messages or sending messengers of their own. Vivero said he planned to go to Vilcabamba and speak to the Incas himself.

1571 had been a tumultuous year in Vilcabamba, the details of which were not known when this letter was penned, and which are still unclear today: Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui died a sudden and mysterious death; a Mestizo interpreter and a Spanish priest were killed, evidently in

retaliation; and Tupac Amaru, Titu Cusi's younger brother, was named Inca. According to available records, Toledo was not yet aware of these deaths or the succession, but since he had been unsuccessful in reestablishing contact with the Incas of Vilcabamba through a military envoy, he decided to send a lone Spaniard who was well known to Titu Cusi, and who had been with Friar Vivero when the Inca was baptized: Atilano de Anaya. Anaya may have been previously warned not to return to Vilcabamba, for he would risk his life in doing so, and Toledo may have been aware of this warning; but whether or not Toledo knowingly provoked the outcome that came to pass, Anaya was killed before ever reaching the Inca, and Toledo believed that he had justification for a war that Philip II had repeatedly barred him from undertaking (Julien 256-258, 263-264).

Toledo officially declared war on Vilcabamba in April 1572, just three months after Vivero wrote the letter cited above, and the kingdom-in-exile fell in June. Forces led by Martín García de Loyola (great-nephew of Ignacio de Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order) captured the Inca Tupac Amaru, who was publicly executed in Cuzco's main square on September 21 of the same year. If Toledo's patron, Cardinal Espinosa, had made sure that the rebel Morisco kingdom in the Alpujarra was defeated and its protagonists executed and expelled, the new Viceroy would ensure the same end for Vilcabamba.

Part Two: Fighting with Tongues, Daggers, and Swords

> *Esta gente se cria en grandes vicios y libertad sin trabajar ni tener oficio comen y beven sin orden y crianse con los indios y indias* y hallanse en sus borracheras y hechizerias, no oyen misa ni sermon en todo el año sino alguno muy raro y asi no saben la ley de dios nro Criador ni parece en ellos rastro della, muchos q consideran esto con cuidado temen q por tiempo a de ser esta gente en gran suma mas que los españoles y son de mas fuercas que los hijos de españoles nacidos aca q llaman criollos por criarse con manjares mas groseros y no tan regalados y asi que *con facilidad se podran levantar con una cibdad y levantados con una seria infinito el numero de indios que se les juntaria por ser todos de una casta y parientes y que se entienden los pensamientos por averse criado juntos, en*

> *especial prometiendoles libertad* y juntandose tantos seriales facil tomar todas las cibdades deste Reyno una a una sin que les pudiesen resistir porq estan tan distantes que no se podrian socorrer...
>
> —José Teruel (1 February 1585, AGI Lima 316, folios 1r-1v, italics mine)

In a letter penned in 1585, José Teruel, rector of the Jesuit College in Cuzco, juxtaposes the loss of liberty of the Indios with the excessive liberties of the Mestizos, and suggests the threat that this convergence entails: rebellion. Teruel points to shared blood and affect as a source of potential danger when he writes that the Mestizos could convince their indigenous brethren to rise up in the name of liberty, "...por ser todos de una casta y parientes y que se entienden los pensamientos por averse criado juntos...." *Casta*, *calidad*, and *costumbres* were three terms that often appeared in discussions about mixing in the early modern era (as we saw in Chapter 1). Of these three, *casta* appears to be the term most infrequently used in both peninsular and colonial texts, and when it does appear, it is normally employed to describe Semitic lineage. *Calidad* and *costumbres*, on the other hand, permeate colonial writings. Teruel, then, offers a rare use of *casta* in early viceregal documents about Mestizos, and he evokes caste in the same way that it appears in reference to Moriscos: the caste of the vanquished and disenfranchised is a considerable threat, not only due to their bad customs, as evidenced in the continuation of non-Christian religious rituals and indigenous cultural practices, but also because they identify with a shared sense of suffering and dishonor, and haven't given up on the hope of recuperating their land and their liberty.

In the case of the Moriscos, the crown's great fear was that they would turn to Ottomans and North Africans for support, with pleas like the one included by Pérez de Hita in a letter he says was written by Granada's Moriscos on April 20, 1568, and sent to Ochalí, the renegade king

of Ottoman Algeria.[73] The Moriscos justified military intervention with sacred scripture, promised to deliver the whole of Spain to the Grand Turk, and assured their would-be-saviors that Granada and its Alpujarra were filled with young men who were both bellicose and bored.[74] While the first two arguments may have been enticing, the 45,000 "men of war" they purported to have standing ready was hard for the Algerians to swallow, many of whom argued that "la granadina gente era ruyn y de poca palabra, y mal astuta en la guerra, y sin experiencia alguna en las armas" (5). In response this concern, a respected elder called El Morabito reasons that Mohammad and his "Book of the Sword" require the Moors of Algeria to take up arms against Christians in defense of the Moriscos for three reasons: the Moriscos wish to be true, practicing Muslims; Spain could indeed belong to the Grand Turk; and finally, regarding "la granadina

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[73] El gran Mahoma manda muy expressamente en su ley que los Moros necessitados y puestos en trabajos sean por los de su ley socorridos, especialmente en las guerras contra los Christianos. Y esto nos dize en el Alcorán, en el libro intitulado de la Espada. Pues aora esclarecido Rey de Argel, forzados de inmensa necessidad en que estamos por causa de los Españoles christianos, te suplicamos que, para salir de tan notables trabajos y pessada esclavitud, nos dés favor y ayuda con armas y gentes de guerra; que assí lo haziendo te ofrecemos de dar y entregar a España en tus manos. Y para ellos sabrás que tenemos quarenta y cinco mil hombres de guerra, toda gente moza y con desseo de usar las armas, y con el favor del Santo Alá será puesta España debajo el mando del gran Señor, como lo fue en otros tiempos; porque aora ay mejor aparejo y ocasión para lo poder ser, por estar las Alpujarras deste Reyno muy pobladas de belicosa gente desseosa de novedades. (4-5)

[74] The first point immediately stands out because there is no book in the Qur'an called "The Book of the Sword," but rather a single verse that has come to be known as "The Verse of the Sword:" "But once the Sacred Months have passed, kill the polytheists [who violated their treaties] wherever you find them, capture them, besiege them, and lie in wait for them on every way. But if they repent, perform prayers, and pay alms-tax, then se them free. Indeed, Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful" (9:5 Dr. Mustafa Khattab). Of course, it was often (and continues to be) taken out of its very specific historical and geographic context and used by Muslims and Christians to justify all manner of violent aggressions toward one another. The Grand Turk, in turn, is a stand-in for a great ruler of the Muslim world, as the Ottomans never controlled Al-Andalus.

gente" as a whole, "pues son de nuestra parte y sangre nuestra"—even if they were widely characterized as foreign, inferior, or fickle (6).

While religion may have been used to garner support for military intervention from abroad, at home the primary rallying cry was "liberty:" Don Fernando Muley, the young Morisco tapped to be king, is assured that "'[t]odo el Reyno está movido a buscar su libertad;'" Ogíjar, one of the first towns in the Alpujarra to rise up, did so "apellidando libertad;" and the newly liberated *monfí* bandits were "publicando libertad" while raising rebels (ironically, by force) (12-13). When Abenchohar, Don Fernando Muley's uncle, rallies the Moriscos of the Alpujarra, his impassioned speech focuses first on liberty lost through all that was taken from them (including a glorious history, lands and belongings, the right to own and use arms, traditional clothing, and their mother tongue) and all that is currently demanded of them (ever increasing tributes, conversion without catechism, required daily attendance at church) by the "codiciosos Christianos".[75] He then moves on to the liberty that is theirs to regain:

> ¿Pues qué sangre illustre, qué nobleza abría qué sufrir podría tales desventuras?
>
> Por cierto, leales amigos, al hombre noble y a qualquiera gente más les valdría

[75] Cavalleros ilustres, gente valerosa, estimadas reliquias de las moras y granadinas naciones: bien tendréys en la memoria quién solía ser Granada y sus gentes, y lo que es aora, y bien sabréis cómo casi ha cien años que los Christianos nos tienen robadas y usurpadas nuestras felices glorias y estimados trofeos en los passados tiempos por los nuestros adquiridos y ganados; y no contentos con esto, con nuestras ciudades, villas y lugares quisieron quedarse, aviendo prometido de no quitárnosla; también nos quitaron las armas, con graves penas amenazados al usáramos dellas; ya con esto passara nuestra desventura; mas con insaciable hambre de nuestras vidas y haziendas, a proveydo que nos quiten nuestro antiguo hábito y nuestra dulce lengua (cosa que no podemos tolerar ni sufrir); bastante causa para que todos los del granadino estado busquemos y procuremos libertad para que de los codiciosos Christianos no seamos constreñidos ni estropeados. Venga os a la memoria los crecidos tributos y fardas que nos hazen pagar tan fuera de toda razon; haziéndonos creer y adorar en casos que no entendemos ni sabemos lo que es; llamándonos cada día por padrón en sus Iglesias, como si fuéssemos sus esclavos. (Pérez de Hita 13-14)

> passar por los filos de la muerte que no sufrir demasías tales ni tan grandes desventuras. ¿Qué mayor desventura que no tener libertad? Pues por remediar semejantes causas y males, noble y valerosa gente, todo el Reyno tiene determinado buscar la sabrosa y dulce libertad; y ésta se ha de alcançar a fuerça de armas y anssí lo tenemos pretendido. (13-14)

Of course, the Moriscos were not the only noble peoples of "illustrious blood" to suffer at the hands of "greedy Christians;" nor were they the most emblematic—or sympathetic. In a memorial dated April 26, 1559—nearly a decade before the rebellion in the Alpujarra and the *motín* in Cuzco—Fray Francisco de Morales lamented how the violence, greed, blasphemy, and idolatry of Spaniards were driving Indians away from Christ and His church, and causing Indian blood to cry out for vengeance against Philip II and his kingdoms.[76] This letter was written in Spain after nearly three decades (two of those in the Viceroyalty of Peru) of petitioning the king to, first, establish protections for the lives, lands, and liberties of the Indians, and second, to actually enforce those protections, as a Christian king and representative of the Gospel.[77] If he did not, the souls of the Indians *and* the Spaniards would be lost.

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[76] …lo primero que tengo que decir es lo que toca a nra sanctissima Religion christiana y lo que es meramente salvacion de animas asi de los simples y mansos indios, como de los españoles, los quales a setenta años que viven en sumo peligro de conciencia y en espantoso escandalo del evangelio *porque los españoles no solo sin castigo pero con authoridad de justicia y con premio an muerto y matan cada dia inumerables inocentes y les an quitado, y quitan sus haciendas y tierras y pastos y su libertad* // y con todo esto sin ninguna penitencia ni Restitucion confiesan y comulgan teniendo siempre usurpada hacienda ajena, y procurandolo hacer ansi de aqui adelante, y no se consiente que contra esto se predique ni se able publicamente / de lo qual es necesario moralmente seguirse… (AGI Lima 313, folios 1r-1v, italics mine)

[77] Morales worked alongside like-minded figures such as the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, but Morales' beliefs about the rights of the *señores naturales de la tierra* remained vehement while the others' waned, bending further and further to the ever-deteriorating reality of Peru's indigenous peoples (Murra 30).

Loss of indigenous authority and honor to Christian violence and voracity was central to the story of the Incas, to the rhetoric of many priests who witnessed and condemned their demise, and—according to figures such as José Teruel and Viceroy Toledo—to the Mestizos who identified with them and their unjust persecution. If the concern on the Peninsula was that the Moriscos would seek foreign support and employ the service of *monfíes* in the fight for their liberty, in the Viceroyalty of Peru, the concern was that the Indios and Mestizos—and more specifically, the Incas and their Mestizo relatives—would join together to fight for their liberty. This fear seemed to be confirmed by the foiled rebellion of the Mestizos of Cuzco, which preceded the rebellion in the Alpujarra by nearly two years.

I. Montañeses on the Peninsula and in Peru

Toward the very end of the first part of his *Comentarios*, Inca Garcilaso presents a chapter entitled, "Nombres nuevos para nombrar diversas generaciones" (IX.XXXI.278-279). He had already presented some of this information in *La Florida del Inca*, but explains, "me paresció repetirlo aquí, por ser éste su proprio lugar" (278). In addition to explaining the meanings, connotations, and brief histories behind *español, castellano, criollo, negro, guineo, mulato,* and *cholo*, he writes the following now famous words to describe the name *mestizo*: "A los hijos de español y de india o de indio y española, nos llaman *mestizos*, por dezir que somos mezclados de ambas nasciones; fué impuesto por los primeros españoles que tuvieron hijos en Indias, y por ser nombre impuesto por nuestros padres y por su significación, me lo llamo yo a boca llena, y me honro con él" (279). However, he goes on to explain that Mestizo has come to be employed as an insult, prompting the use of an even more problematic term:

> …en Indias, si a uno dellos le dizen "sois un mestizo" o "es un mestizo", lo toman por menosprecio. De donde nasció que hayan abraçado con grandíssimo gusto el

> nombre *montañés*, que, entre otras afrentas y menosprecios que dellos hizo un poderoso, les impuso en lugar del nombre *mestizo*. Y no consideran que aunque en España el nombre *montañés* sea apellido honroso, por los previlegios que se dieron a los naturales de las montañas de Asturias y Vizcaya, llamándoselo a otro cualquiera, que no sea natural de aquellas provincias, es nombre vituperoso, porque en propria significación quiere dezir cosa de montaña, como lo dize en su vocabulario el gran maestro Antonio de Lebrixa, acreedor de toda la buena latinidad que hoy tiene España; y en la lengua general del Perú, para dezir montañés dizen *sacharuna*, que en propria significación quiere dezir salvaje, y por llamarles aquel buen hombre dissimuladamente salvajes, les llamó montanés; y mis parientes, no entendiendo la malicia del imponedor, se precian de su afrenta, haviéndola de huir y abominar, y llamarse como nuestro padres nos llamavan y no recebir nuevos nombres afrentosos, etc. (279)[78]

Garcilaso's opinion that the term *montañés* was an insult when used outside of its natural context, thus connoting mixing rather than purity, and savageness rather than valor, is likely connected to the rebellion of the Mestizos of Cuzco—in spite of the *motín*'s complete absence from the *Comentarios*. According to the prosecution's subsequent report, the Mestizos called themselves "'montañeses…genízaros y otros nombres con que se pusiesen espanto'" (López Martínez 374; qtd. from AGI Justicia 1068).

We might also remember that *mestizo* and *genízaro* were two terms used to describe a certain subset of Moriscos on the Peninsula: the children of one Old Christian and one New Christian parent. These transatlantic connections make it all the more intriguing that *montañés*

[78] Unfortunately, I have not yet clarified the identity of the "poderoso" who degraded the Mestizos with the name *montañés*.

also finds its way into a play about Moriscos written by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), appearing after a pair of heated discussions about mixed versus pure lineages in Al-Andalus and Castile. Given Calderón's literary and historiographic familiarity with the Viceroyalty in general and the works of Inca Garcilaso in particular (as we will see in Chapter 3, Calderón's only "American" play was based in large part on the *Comentarios reales*), this suggestive transatlantic nod invites critical attention.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, Calderón de la Barca tapped into the quandary of Peninsular *mestizaje* in his only play about Moriscos: *Amar después de la muerte* (composition date unknown). First published as *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra* (1671), *Amar* is a tragic historical drama set in the city of Granada and the mountains of the Alpujarra just before and then during the Morisco rebellion.[79] It is based on a story embedded in the second part of the *Guerras civiles*—the star-crossed love between the Moriscos El Tuzaní and Maleha (which will be discussed in Chapter 4)—, but it also pays considerable attention to the deep causes and immediate catalysts of the rebellion, as presented by Pérez de Hita. The former entail the devastating pragmatics of 1567; and the latter include an incident that occurred at the Salón de Caballeros Veinticuatro de Granada.[80] This salon was on the second floor of the city council

[79] There is considerable confusion and debate around the date of this play's composition, as well as the authenticity and content of its earliest editions: the 1677 *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*, in *Quinta parte de Comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, published in Barcelona by Antonio la Cavallería and Madrid by Antonio de Zafra; and the 1691 *Amar después de la muerte*, in *Novena parte de comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, published by Juan Vera Tassis. For a succinct explanation of the various controversies, see: Coenen (pp. 47-62).

[80] Pérez de Hita summarizes these pragmatics and their outcome as follows:

> En este tiempo, pues, el cathólico y serenísimo Rey Don Felipe, segundo deste nombre, con piadoso zelo y por la honra de Dios mandó que los Moros de Granada y su Reyno (pues eran baptizados y christianos), para que mejor

(*cabildo* or *ayuntamiento*), above what used to be the Nasrids' ornately decorated and internationally celebrated *madrasa* (Islamic school). This was also directly across from Granada's *Capilla Real*—where the Catholic Monarchs were entombed—and Cathedral.[81] The first thing *los caballeros veinticuatro* would have noticed upon entering the room was its ceiling: an "armadura mudéjar"—or puzzle-like wood structure—painted in red and blue, decorated with floral and aristocratic designs, and bordered by a gold-plated, gothic-style inscription that

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> sirviessen á Dios nuestro Señor, que mudassen el hábito y no hablassen su lengua, no usassen sus leylas y zambras, ni hiziessen las bodas a su usança, ni en las Navidades y días de Años nuevos sus comidas á sus costumbres, las quales comidas se llamavan mezuamas, y sin eso otras cosas les fueron vedadas que no convenía que las usassen. Todo esto se hazía porque los moriscos se enterassen más en las santas costumbres de la fe cathólica y olvidassen las cosas de su secta y Alcorán. Este mandó Su Magestad por acuerdo de los de su Real Consejo y de otros santos varones amigos de dios y zelosos de su honra. [...] Ello se hizo con santo zelo y Dios quiso que assí fuesse para que aquel antiguo reino fuesse de todo punto conquistado y los Moros quitados de tan antigua possession. Aunque es verdad que deello resultó gran pérdida y derramiento de cristiana sangre, y grande menoscabo de las reales rentas de Su Magestad, y ruina de muchos pueblos del reyno de Granada que se an caído y perdido para siempre. (3)

Veinticuatro: In Andalucía, this is the name given to the group of noble councilmen who governed and protected the city.

[81] *Madrasa*: Built in the fourteenth century by the Nasrid emir, Yusuf I, the only room of the *madrasa* that remains intact today is its ornately decorated prayer room (*Palacio de de Madraza Historical Monument*). Having been covered over with paneling early on in the "Christian era" (sometime after 1500), a move that ultimately protected the ornate plasterwork and preserved the coloring of the paint, this monument gives visitors a rare vision of how the interior of other structures, such as the Alhambra, would have looked when they were in use under Nasrid rule.

Cathedral and *Capilla Real*: The construction of the *Capilla Real* was ordered by and carried out under the Catholic Monarchs, who wished to be entombed there. It was built over the solar of Granada's Great Mosque, and is connected to the Cathedral built by their son, the emperor Charles I.

wrapped around the entire room, triumphantly recalling the capture of the city by Ferdinand and Isabella.[82]

On this ill-fated day, the young Morisco noble Don Fernando Muley—lord of Válor, Veinticuatro de Granada, Umayyad heir, and soon-to-be-crowned rebel king—forgets to remove his dagger along with his sword upon entering the room, which was a custom required of everyone by law (8-9). Don Pedro Maça, Granada's *alguazil mayor*, takes issue, and a dispute ensues. Don Fernando, still somewhat calm, says, "'Por cierto, Don Pedro, no advertido en ello no lo he hecho; mas poco importa que yo entre con daga en el Ayuntamiento, pues de mí no ay que recelar, especialmente siendo tal cavallero que muy bien podría entrar con espada y daga'" (9). Don Pedro's response confirms Don Fernando's nobility, but also highlights his "condition" as a New Christian, subtly pointing to the fact that most Moriscos were not permitted to carry arms at all: "—No niego esso…que ya se sabe que por ser tal tiene vuesa merced y sus passados privilegio real para poder llevar armas y traellas en partes vedadas y no vedadas: mas muy bien sabe vuesa merced que es uso y costumbre en todos los reynos y Señoría de Su Magestad que ningún cavallero, por delantero que sea, pueda meter ningún género de armas en la sala del Ayuntamiento." When Don Pedro takes the dagger from Don Fernando's person, the Morisco exclaims, "—Vos lo avéys hecho como villano, y juro por la real corona de mis passados, de quien soy digno, que yo tome tal venganza de vos que mi agravio quede satisfecho, y aun de algunos que han consentido que la daga se me quite.'" Don Fernando escapes arrest (by physically escaping the *cabildo*), but the damage has already been done. A group of wealthy and

[82] "los muy altos magnificos y / muy poderosos señores / don Fernando y doña Ysabel rey y / reyna nuestros señores / ganaron esta nobilissima y gran / ciudad de granada y su reyno por / fuerza de armas en dos dias del / mes de henero año del / nacimiento de nuestro señor / jesuchristo mil quatro / cientos y noventa y dos"

noble Moriscos—including Don Fernando's uncle, Abenchohar—exploits the incident (which the author insinuates may have been premeditated) to garner support for a rebellion.

Pérez de Hita concludes this episode with the following lament: "Esta ocasión, y las demás que avemos contado fueron parte para que el Reyno se levantasse. Maldita sea la daga y malditas las demás ocasiones, pues tantos males por ellas resultaron y tanto derramiento de sangre christiana en las civiles guerras que se tuvieron, que ansí se pueden llamar; pues fueron Christianos contra Christianos, y todos dentro de una Ciudad y un Reyno..." (10). Pérez de Hita is the only chronicler of the rebellion who refers to it as a civil war, and he is also the only who decries the tragedies suffered by both sides with such affect; it is in this spirit that Calderón takes on the text. However, in addition to making some strategic changes to plot and character, he also places a larger focus on peninsular *mestizaje* than Pérez de Hita does in the second part of his history. This includes discussions around mixing Moorish and Christian blood that highlight the figure of the *montañés*.

In Calderón's rendering of the events at the *salón*, an older Morisco noble named Don Juan Malec takes the place of the young Don Fernando Muley, and the argument in question—not about a dagger, but rather about the recently announced pragmatics against the Moriscos of Granada—is with Don Juan de Mendoza, "deudo de la ilustra casa / del gran Marqués de Mondéjar," instead of Don Pedro Maça (vv. 115-116). In response to the concerns that Malec raises, Mendoza replies:

> …Don Juan [Malec] habla
> apasionado, porque
> naturaleza le llama
> a que mire por los suyos,

y así, remite y dilata

el castigo a los moriscos,

gente vil, humilde y baja" (vv. 117-123).[83]

This speech echoes not just a common complaint about Moriscos—that they are more loyal to each other than to their king—, but also a statement by one of their most noble and integrated real-world representatives: Don Francisco Núñez Muley. In his 1566 memorial in response to the royal pragmatics, he wrote, "Siempre he servido a Dios nuestro señor, y a la corona real, y a los naturales deste reino, procurando su bien; esta obligación es de mi sangre, y no lo puedo negar" (402, reproduced in Martín Ruiz). In other words, Núñez Muley agues that Moriscos can be simultaneously loyal to God, to their king, and to their "blood." Calderón builds on this defense in *Amar* with an offensive argument: Malec, in his response to Mendoza, focuses on a long history of peninsular mixing and conversion that is shared by both Christians and Muslims:

...cuando estuvo España

en la opresión de los moros

cautiva en su propia patria,

los cristianos, que mezclados

con los árabes estaban,

que hoy mozárabes se dicen,

no se ofenden, no se infaman

de haberlo estado, porqué

más engrandece y ensalza

la fortuna al padecerla,

[83] Also in the play, Malec is father to Maleca/Clara, while in the *Guerras civiles*, Maleh is her brother.

a veces, que al dominarla.

Y en cuanto a que son humildes,

gente abatida y esclava,

los que fueron caballeros

moros no debieron nada

a caballeros cristianos

el día que con el agua

del bautismo recibieron

su fe católica y santa;

mayormente los que tienen,

como yo, de reyes tanta. (vv. 125-145)

In analogizing the situations of the Moriscos and Mozárabes, both of which experienced being "captives in their own homeland," Malec highlights the "mixed" Arab/Iberian history (and perhaps ancestry) of the latter. He posits, in effect, that if the Mozárabes were not seen as sullied after living for so long amongst Muslims, then neither should be the Moriscos, who are all now baptized Christians. As for Morisco nobles, if the only difference between a Christian and a Moorish knight was his religion (as we saw in Chapter 1, and in the first part of the *Guerras civiles*), then any supposed Christian superiority was erased the moment the Moor was baptized—and even more so for those Moors who came from a long line of kings.

—Sí; pero de reyes moros,

—dijo [Mendoza]. —Como si dejara

de ser real—le respondí—

por mora, siendo cristiana la de Valores, Zegríes,

de Venegas y Granadas.
De una palabra a otra, en fin,
como entramos sin espadas,
uno y otro se empeñaron.
¡Mal haya ocasión, mal haya,
sin espadas y con lenguas,
que son las peores armas,
pues una herida mejor
se cura que una palabra! (vv. 152-159)

Malec, frustrated, begins to acknowledge the futility of his attempts to live in peace and with honor as a Morisco in Granada; but when Mendoza takes Malec's staff and hits him with it, he dishonors a noble Morisco elder, and unwittingly sets the rebellion in motion.

A plan is soon hatched between nobles to cool passions and avoid bloodshed: Mendoza will marry Malec's daughter, the beautiful Morisca Clara, "la Fénix / de Granada" (vv. 806-807). As family, Mendoza and Malec will no longer be enemies, but Mendoza firmly and fully rejects this proposal:

MENDOZA La lengua cese,
[...]
que hay muchos inconvenientes.
Si es el Fénix doña Clara,
estarse en Arabia puede;
que en montañas de Castilla
no hemos menester al Fénix,

y los hombres como yo
no es bien que deudos concierten
por soldar ajenas honras,
ni sé que fuera decente
mezclar Mendozas con sangre
de Malec, pues no convienen
ni hacen buena consonancia
los Mendozas y Maleques.

D. FERNANDO[84] Don Juan de Malec es hombre...

MENDOZA Como vos.

D. FERNANDO Sí, pues desciende
de los reyes de Granada;
que todos sus ascendientes
y los míos reyes fueron.

MENDOZA Pues los míos, sin ser reyes,
Fueron más que reyes moros,
porque fueron montañeses. (vv. 808-830)

With this dismissal of the merit of Moors and of mixing with them (Ignacio de las Casas' plan to save his people), all hope for peace is lost, and Act One comes to an end. Act Two starts at the foot of the Alpujarra where Mendoza communicates the severity of the rebellion, the harshness

[84] In Calderón, Don Fernando Muley does become the rebel Morisco king, but before that he acts as emissary and peacekeeper: he is the Morisco noble who negotatiates and communicates this proposal, alongside one of Granada's Old Christian authorities.

of the terrain, and the resolve of the Moriscos to Don Juan de Austria, who has just arrived to engage what he thought was an unworthy enemy:

> Ésta, austral águila heroica,
> es el Alpujarra, ésta
> es la rústica muralla,
> es la bárbara defensa
> de los moriscos, que hoy,
> mal amparados en ella,
> africanos montañeses,
> restaurar a España intentan. (vv. 931-938)

The reference here to Moriscos as *montañeses* has been read by scholars as a subversive mirroring of the image of the Old Christian *montañés* so praised by Mendoza.[85] While this is undoubtably true, the dialogue in the first act also aligns it to the insult slyly hurled at Mestizos in the Viceroyalty of Peru by calling them *montañeses*, as described by Inca Garcilaso in his *Comentarios*. To call a Mestizo or a Morisco a *montañés* is to call out their impurity; to call out their impurity is to question their quality; to question their quality is to doubt their loyalty; and to doubt their loyalty is to recognize that they are descended from both victors and vanquished. This was indeed the reality of the Mestizo rebels in Cuzco who proclaimed themselves *genízaros* and *montañeses*, striking fear in those around them.

II. Overlapping Rebellions and Exiles

Shortly before Viceroy Toledo began his campaign against Vilcabamba, he expressed "the need to silence competing views on the legitimacy of Spanish rule in the viceroyalty,"

[85] See, for instance, in Coenen's edition: notes 937-938 (pp. 115-116).

including those held by Mestizos (Ruan 212). This goal is likewise articulated in the second part of the *Comentarios reales*, when Garcilaso presents the reasons given for the capture and execution of the young, beloved prince, Tupac Amaru, as ordered by Toledo:

> ...dixeron los consejeros que asseguraría aquel Imperio de levantamientos, que aquel moço, como heredero, con el favor y ayuda de los indios Incas, sus parientes, que vivían entre los españoles, y de los caciques, sus vassallos, y de los mestizos, hijos de españoles y de indias, podía hazer siempre que lo pretendiesse, que todos holgarían de la novedad, assí los indios vasallos como los parientes, por ver los unos y los otros restituido a su Inca, y los mestizos por gozar de los despojos que con el levantamiento podían haver, porque todos (según se quexavan) andavan pobres y alcançados de lo necessario para la vida humana. (VIII.XVI.241)

In Garcilaso's construction, the poverty and disenfranchised status of the Mestizos in relation to the Spanish state, and, therefore, their inclination toward rebellion, were important factors in Toledo's grave decision. Garcilaso later details the manner in which the Mestizos were included in the official accusations against Tupac Amaru for allegedly conspiring to join him and the other Incas in a massive revolt against the Spanish.

The passage begins with a description of the familial and social ties that the Mestizos share with the Inca and his kingdom, and continues with an emotive description of their pitiful situation due to the greed and the corruption of the Spanish:

> ...algunos de los mestizos eran parientes de los Incas por vía de sus madres, y que éstos, en su conjuración, se havían quexado al príncipe Inca, diciendo que, siendo hijos de conquistadores de aquel Imperio y de madres naturales dél, que algunas

> dellas eran de la sangre real y otras muchas eran mujeres nobles, hijas, sobrinas y nietas de los curacas, señores de vassallos, y que ni por los méritos de sus padres, ni por la naturaleza legítima de la hazienda de sus madres y abuelos, no les havía cabido nada, siendo hijos de los más beneméritos de aquel Imperio, porque los gobernadores havían dado a sus parientes y amigos lo que sus padres ganaron y havía sido de sus abuelos maternos, y que a ellos los dexaron desamparados, necessitados a pedir limosna para poder comer, o forçados a saltear por los caminos para poder vivir y morir ahorcados. (VIII.XVI.244-244)

The passage ends with the Mestizos' declaration of loyalty to their Inca, and their wish to join him in arms and fight to the death. Based on these accusations, Toledo orders the arrest of all the Mestizos of Cuzco who were twenty years of age or over (the idea being that they were capable of employing arms in a rebellion), and submitted some of them to torture, "para sacar en limpio lo que se temía en confuso" (244).

It is at this point that Garcilaso writes one of the most disturbing and memorable passages in his entire corpus:

> En aquella furia de prisión, acusación y delitos, fué una india a visitar su hijo, que estava en la cárcel; supo que era de los condenados a tormento. Entró como pudo donde estava el hijo, y en alta voz le dixo: "Sabido que estás condenado a tormento, çúfrelo y pássalo como hombre de bien, sin condenar a nadie, que Dios te ayudará y pagará lo que tu padre y sus compañeros trabajaron en ganar esta tierra para que fuesse de cristianos y los naturales della fuesen de su Iglesia. Muy bien se os emplea que todos los hijos de los conquistadores muráis ahorcados en premio y paga de haver ganado vuestros padres este Imperio". Otras muchas

> cosas dixo a este propósito, dando grandíssimas vozes y gritos, como una loca sin juizio alguno, llamando a Dios y a las gentes, que oyessen las culpas y delitos de aquellos hijos naturales de la tierra, y de los ganadores de ella, y que, pues los querían matar con tanta razón y justicia como dezían que tenían para matarlos, que matassen también a sus madres, que la misma pena merescían por haverlos parido y ayudado a sus padres, los españoles (negando a los suyos propios) a que ganassen aquel Imperio. Todo lo cual permitía el Pachacámac por los pecados de las madres, que fueron traidoras a su Inca y a sus caciques y señores, por amor de los españoles.

Out of the mouth of this grieving mother came a delirious indictment of *mestizaje* as treason. Not only do the mothers, who became consorts and collaborators to the Spanish, deserve death, but so do their Mestizo children. This represents the apex of disorder in the Andes: while the Inca punished parents for the crimes of their children, they never punished children for the crimes of their parents.

The mother continued her excruciating diatribe within the prison, and then out into the streets, causing such a scene that "se apartó el Visorrey de su propósito, por no causar más escándalo. Y assí no condenó a ninguno de los mestizos a muerte, pero dióles otra muerte más larga y penosa, que fué desterrarlos a diversas partes del Nuevo Mundo, fuera de todo lo que sus padres ganaron" (VIII.XVI.244-245). Garcilaso adds that additional Mestizos were exiled to Spain, but that all of those "que fueron assí desterrados perecieron en el destierro, que ninguno dellos bolvió a su tierra" (VIII.XVI.245). The affected Mestizos include Inca Garcilaso's

childhood friend, Juan Arias Maldonado, who died a lonely, pathetic death in Spain.[86] The narration is tragic, moving, and effective in its ability to condemn Viceroy Toledo, venerate the last Sapa Inca, and solicit sympathy for Peru's Mestizos.

However, this grand expulsion never took place. Berta Ares Queija points out this narrative deception, and even connects it to a glaring historical omission in the *Comentarios*: the conspired rebellion of the Mestizos of Cuzco in 1567, in which Juan Arias Maldonado was one of the most principal actors. In fact, Arias Maldonado was not in Peru at the time of the execution, having embarked for Spain the year before when summoned to court in the case of two co-conspirators in the *motín* (Ares Queija 24-25). More surprising still is that, though Arias Maldonado's own case had already been heard in the *Audiencia de Lima* and his penalty greatly reduced due to the intervention of his father, the conquistador Diego Maldonado "El Rico," Toledo—who was in Spain at the time of the *motín*—sent a letter to the Council of the Indies (*Consejo de Indias*) in 1571 in support of the young Mestizo, so that his case would be fully and favorably resolved. The imprisonment, torture, exile, and planned death sentences of the Mestizos, as attributed to Toledo by Garcilaso, come much closer to the actual actions taken by Governor García de Castro in response to the *motín*. Yet the *motín* itself is not mentioned in the *Comentarios* at all, outside of this possible, indirect allusion.

In spite of Toledo's support in the case of Juan Arias Maldonado, the Viceroy did seem to have a general distaste for Mestizos; and while he did not exile the Mestizos of Cuzco *en*

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86 Estuvo desterrado en España más de diez años, y yo le vi y hospedé dos vezes en mi possada, en uno de los pueblos deste Obispado de Córdova donde yo vivía entonces, y me contó mucho de lo que hemos dicho, aunque no se dize todo. Al cabo del largo tiempo de su destierro, le dió licencia el Supremo Consejo Real de las Indias por tres años, para que bolviesse al Perú a recoger su hazienda y bolviesse a España a acabar en ella la vida. [....] ...llegando a Paita, que es término del Perú, de puro contento y regozijo de verse en su tierra, espiró dentro de tres días." (Garcilaso de la Vega VIII.XVI.245)

masse, he was able to install his arms prohibition against all Mestizos in the viceroyalty on December 1, 1573, thereby placing them, both legally and symbolically, on the same social level as Indios, the descendants of Africans, and Moriscos.[87] This weapons ban was naturally met with anger and opposition from Mestizos and their allies, so Toledo allowed for some special considerations and exceptions (Ruan 213). However, these case-by-case licenses seemed to serve more as a peace offering than as a genuine attempt to protect or restore the honor of the Mestizos and their families (214). A particularly interesting memorial submitted to the Council of the Indies addressing this weapons ban was written in 1574 by Cristóbal Maldonado, another co-conspirator (though not a relative) of Juan Arias Maldonado:

> […] todos tienen grande y justo sentimiento, pues la culpa de algunos particulares no había de redundar en una tan general y pública deshonra especialmente habiendo entre ellos muchos hijos de hombres principales y conquistadores de aquel reino, *que andan tan señalados e infamados como los moriscos en España*. Y solo sirve hacerles esta afrenta de que el que intentare alguna traición halle quinientos, sin honra y desesperados, en el reino que por salir de aquella infamia la sigan, como cabe en cualquiera buena consideración […] (AGI Patronato 192, folio 19; cited in Ares Queija, p. 48, italics mine)

This statement, comparing the Mestizos of Peru to the Moriscos of Granada whose recently suffocated rebellion had been sparked, in part, by a weapons ban against their nobles, seems to suggest that Toledo's prohibition is so unfair that a large-scale reaction to it would be a natural

[87] Ruan explains that this was "a powerful exclusionary practice in a society in which a sword (and a horse) were important signs of male noble status, symbols that in Spanish America served also to mark racial distinctions between Spaniards" and non-Spaniards (220).

(and perhaps justified) response.[88] It also suggests a second possible inspiration for Garcilaso's misleading exile narrative: the exile of the Moriscos from Granada after their defeat in the Alpujarra.

Pérez de Hita offers a moving though brief narration of these events. At the end of the war, when the Moriscos begged for forgiveness as Christian subjects of the king, Don Juan de Austria responded with compassion and pardon. But, after his magnanimous showing of sympathy and reconciliation, Philip II suddenly, and without any explanation, orders their exile. In this abrupt ending, the narration focuses on the emotive reactions of the Moriscos, comparing them to both Trojans and Carthaginians, classical exempla of peoples defeated, exiled, and enslaved:

> ¿Quién podría ahora explicar el profundo dolor que sintieron los granadinos, al ver que se les mandaba salir de sus tierras? No fue menor que en los cartaginenses cuando después de rendidas las armas les fue mandado que dejaran a Cartago para que fuese asolada. Qué de llantos se hazían en todo el estado granadino al tiempo del despedirse de sus casas; con qué sentimiento las mugeres lloravan, mirando sus casas, abrazando las paredes y besándoles muchas vezes, trayendo a las

[88] A closer look at this memorial, available for review on PARES, reveals other interesting connections to the subject of *mestizaje* in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Maldonado's central motivation is getting more men to fight in Chile, and he sees these Mestizos as perfect candidates—they would put their lives on the line in a seemingly impossible war if that meant recuperating their arms, and therefore their honor. Naturally, the Council did not see it that way, but rather as a ploy to arm Mestizos for rebellion against the crown. Cristóbal Maldonado is also the Spaniard who had, as part of a plan undertaken with his relatives, previously kidnapped and forcibly married the seven-year-old princess Beatriz Clara Coya in order to orchestrate a major land-grab. This put the capitulation negotions with Titu Cusi Yupanqui in danger, as they entailed Beatriz Clara Coya's to Inca royalty. The marriage was eventually overturned, and the princess was married to Martín García de Loyola. The couple, along with their Mestiza daughter, are featured in the anonymous painting, "El desposorio de doña Beatriz Clara Coya y don Martín García de Loyola, y de la hija de ambos, Ana María, con don Juan Enriquez de Borja."

> memorias sus glorias pasadas, sus destierros presentes, sus males porvenir; llorando dezían las sin venturas: «¡ay, Dios! ¡ay, tierras mías, que no esperamos veros más!» Muchos dezían aquellas palabras que dixo Eneas al salir de Troya: «¡o, tres y quatro veces fortunados aquellos que peleando murieron al pie de sus muros, que al fin quedaron en sus tierras, aunque muertos!» Esto dezían los moriscos llorando piadosamente... (353)

The Moriscos had been assured that, in return for their submission and loyalty, they would be allowed to return to their lands and homes and remain there, "para siempre jamás." When they surrendered, they did not even ask that the oppressive laws that had provoked their rebellion be revoked: they only wished to live in their homes and their communities "como de antes." But, they were betrayed. Pérez de Hita writes, "si supieran que al fin de tantos trabaxos los avían de sacar de sus naturales, antes murieran mil muertes que rendir las armas ni aver hecho las paces."

The tragic, tactile, emotive rendering of this scene is reminiscent of Garcilaso's narration of the betrayal of Tupac Amaru, who left Vilcabamba believing that surrender—and his own innocence—would save him; of the Mestizos who, desperate and repressed, opted for resistance and ended up in exile; of the raving mother who regrets her own submission to her conquerors, and for producing a child who will pay for his parents' actions with his own life and limb. This is not to suggest that Garcilaso had read Pérez de Hita's treatment of the exile of the Moriscos from Granada; he had not.[89] Still, he would have been familiar with expulsion's facts as well as its lore: not only was he close, physically and experientially, to the event, but stories about it would

[89] The second part of the *Guerras civiles* was published in Cuenca in 1619, two years after his death, though there is evidence of its existence in complete manuscript form as early as 1597.

have circulated around the Peninsula, especially in the Jesuit circles that he frequented.[90] Instead, this is to suggest that, even if Garcilaso rejected all comparisons made between Moriscos and Mestizos, he was aware that they existed, and that they mattered: he did not want the Mestizos to meet the same fate as the Moriscos.

When discussing the deteriorating social and legal statuses of the Mestizos of Peru and the Moriscos of Spain under Philip II (1556-1598) and Philip III (1598-1621), it is important to note that Garcilaso only witnessed the latter first-hand: he immigrated to the Peninsula in 1561, precisely the decade in which both groups began to face aggressive social and structural oppression. Further, Garcilaso began his literary career and entrance into Andalucía's impressive circle of humanists during the fiercest years of Spain's debate on the fate of the Moriscos. This occurred after the brutal civil war of the Alpujarra, in which Garcilaso served on the side of the crown, and the exile of the Moriscos from Granada. Inca Garcilaso's personal reality, then, merits recognition of the ways in which his experiences and environs in Andalucía may have supplemented his incomplete knowledge of events in the Viceroyalty of Peru, or offered inspiration for narrative constructions that could skew those events in favor of the Mestizos.

Conclusion

The double reality of victor and vanquished, with its ubiquitous connection to the symbolic and concrete power of the sword, made the presence of Moriscos and Mestizos worrisome to authorities in the Hapsburg Empire: these frustrated, dispossessed subjects may want to recuperate what was lost, and they may believe that they have the political and even moral authority to do so. There is no doubt that the terms Mestizo and Morisco were at once

[90] Even Ignacio de las Casas crossed humanistic paths with Garcilaso, if not physical ones. As a member of the Company of Jesus and a native of Andalucía, De las Casas was part of a shared circle of Jesuits and humanists, and attended the Jesuit school in Montilla during Garcilaso's residence in that city (Magnier 14).

descriptors, insults, and accusations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and that they were not to be taken lightly on either side of the Atlantic. In Chapter 1, Pérez de Hita's Moorish characters use the term "mestizo" to tar other Moors who they allege to be of questionable caste or quality—particularly as manifested in poor customs or ambiguous religious and political loyalties. Earlier in this chapter, the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas explains that the children born to unions between Old and New Christians are called Mestizos, and that, while he views mixed-marriages as the ultimate tool for conversion and assimilation, the "mestizos" currently born of them lead a particularly unenviable existance. Finally, in Calderón de la Barca's *Amar después de muerte*, an Old Christian calls the rebellious Moriscos "montañeses," echoing the association of the term *montañés* with Mestizos and Mestizo rebels in the Viceroyalty of Peru. On the other hand, when New World Mestizos find themselves not only compared to Moriscos but also treated like Moriscos through repressive legislation (weapons bans, exclusion from clergy, etc.), they work to leverage themselves against their peninsular counterparts. We saw this in the Introduction with the *proceso* of the Mestizos of Peru, as well as in the memorial of Cristóbal Maldonado as discussed further in this chapter: both examples actively distance Mestizos from the Moriscos' and Conversos' alleged stain of heresy and suspected disloyalty. In the end, however, none of these expressions of *contravivencia* protect Moriscos or Mestizos from those in power who will exploit their precarious social and legal statuses in order to further repress them. In this chapter, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and his peninsular patron, Cardinal Diego de Espinosa, emerged as protagonists in the transatlantic "reduction" of Moros, Moriscos, Indios, and Mestizos, demonstrating that *mestizaje*—as embodied in unfinished states of conquest, conversion, and acculturation—was viewed as a particularly potent threat to empire, especially within its transatlantic colonial spaces.

CHAPTER 3

The Cornerstone of Copacabana:

Creoles and Indios, Virgins and *Wakas* in a New Andean Zion[1]

Introduction

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Creoles and Mestizos struggled to improve their position in the social and ecclesiastical order of the Viceroyalty of Peru, often in competition with one another. The Virgin of Copacabana, enshrined on the shores of Lake Titicaca in 1583, came to play a role in this struggle. Crafted by indigenous hands in the highlands of present-day Bolivia toward strategic spiritual and political ends, her story would be appropriated by Creoles and reconfigured, in part to erase Mestizos and displace peninsular-born Spaniards from a space of Creole sovereignty in construction.[2] During the same period, peninsular and Andean-born Spaniards, as well as indigenous Andeans and persons of mixed ancestry, invoked Mary to tout the successes of evangelization, in spite of her constant appearance in evidence to the contrary: virgins and *wakas* (indigenous sacred entities) existed

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[1] I would like to thank Dr. Carolyn Dean for reading and commenting on an early version of this chapter.

[2] As Anna More explains, Creoles did not wish to "confront the Spanish state" at this time, but rather to create a "domain of sovereignty" within it—a domain that they would control:

> …Creoles suggested that their role in Spanish imperialism would be to act as magistrates of local patrimonial orders that, through a combination of lineage and local knowledge, could govern more effectively than peninsular administrators. […] Their relationship to non-Spanish subjects…held none of the horizontal fraternalism associated with republican citizenship…but rather carried forward the paternalism implicit in Spanish imperial sovereignty. (43-44)

side-by-side—or as one and the same—, mutually ensuring each others' survival.[3] This chapter will trace how the Virgin of Copacabana was dually employed to erase the spectre of mixed lineage within a growing viceregal Creole elite, and to cleanse a problematic reality of cultural and spiritual mixing on the ground.

Part One: Copacabana in Conquest, Conversion, and Colonization

> Es Copacabana vn pueblo / que casi igualmente dista, / en la prouincia que llaman / Chucuito, pocas millas / de la ciudad de la Paz / y Potosí. Sus campiñas / son fértiles, sus ganados / muchos y sus alquerías / de frutas, pescas y caças / abundantes siempre y ricas, / cuya opulencia en su lengua / a la nuestra traducida, / Copacabana, lo mismo / que piedra preciosa explica.
>
> —Pedro Caldrón de la Barca, *La aurora en Copacabana* (vv. 2843-1857)

Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La aurora en Copacabana* (c. 1664-65) stages scenes from the Spanish "discovery," conquest, and colonization of Peru with a particular emphasis on conversion to Roman Catholicism and the abandonment of Inca "idolatry."[4] Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* (1609/1617) serve as the central source for the play's first two acts and its general socio-historical vision of the Inca and Spanish imperial projects. The third act—which is overwhelmingly inspired by the *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (1621), written by the Andean-born, Augustinian friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán (Huamanga c. 1570 – Lima c. 1639)—portrays the creation and installation of the Virgin of the Candelaria in Copacabana, symbolically replacing the Sun God of the Incas with the Christian

[3] Polo de Ondegardo was the colonial magistrate who, after much trial and error, appeared to best grasp the way *wakas* functioned in the Andes: sacred, diverse in form, and identifiable to Spaniards only by the ways in which Andeans responded to them, the power of *wakas* stemmed from their essence, not their appearance. Carolyn Dean (1999, 2010) and Sabine MacCormack (1991) both provide thoughtful analyses of Ondegardo's writings. Ana María Presta and Catherine Julien's entry on Ondegardo in Pillsbury (2008) is also very helpful.

[4] These dates are according to research published by Elías Gutiérrez Meza (2014, 175). For key scholarship on the play itself, see: Castells (1994), Gutiérrez Meza (2014), MacCormack (1982), Padron (2007), and Rowland (1968).

Son of God. When Calderón wrote this play, the metropole had already welcomed the Virgin of Copacabana with great zeal, thanks to the work of one of Ramos Gavilán's Creole and Augustinian contemporaries, friar Miguel de Aguirre. Born in La Plata (present-day Sucre, Bolivia) in 1598, Aguirre played a key role in installing the Virgin of Copacabana in peninsular spaces and imaginaries (Gutiérrez Meza 170-1). Between his arrival in Madrid in 1650 and his death in 1664, Aguirre saw to the installation of four images of this Virgin in Spain (with an additional image in Rome); further installations followed his passing. Calderón, in turn, installed the Virgin of Copacabana in peninsular literature, marrying complicated colonial historiographic texts, Roman Catholic hagiographic traditions, and indigenous oral and recorded histories within the form of the *comedia.*

In the first part of his *Comentarios reales*, Inca Garcilaso presents a creation myth tied to Copacabana that exemplifies the practice of Inca imperial historiography. As part of an effort to connect this distant but strategically important region of the Andean Altiplano to the imperial capital, the Inca claimed that the Sun deposited a son and daughter in Lake Titicaca—"para que los doctrinassen [a los hombres] en el conoscimiento de Nuestro padre el Sol" (I.XV.41)—before sending them on to establish the city of Cuzco, and the Sun cult at the Coricancha temple. This story was meant to legitimize Inca imperial rule and religion, and consolidate an enormous and potentially rebellious empire. The symbolic appropriation of Lake Titicaca went hand-in-hand with its physical appropriation (MacCormack 1984, 45-48). The Sapa Inca who cemented imperial control over the region, Tupac Yupanqui, relocated islanders in order to construct a solar temple and other ceremonial and logistical structures; increased the spiritual gravity of a preexisting pilgrimage route; established ritual and symbolic ties between the solar cult of the island and that of Cuzco; and placed settlers (*mitimaes*) from forty-two Andean nations in

Copacabana, including Incas from Cuzco.

In 1548, a decade and a half into the Spanish conquest of Tahuantinsuyu, Copacabana was made an *encomienda* and renamed Santa Ana de Copacabana.[5] In 1582, ten years after the execution of Tupac Amaru, there was a devastating frost in the region of Lake Titicaca, and Copacabana's Andean residents hoped to avert famine by forming a confraternity under the protection of a saint. The Urinsaya (those indigenous to Copacabana) wanted Saint Sebastian, considered in sixteenth-century Spain to help guard against pestilence.[6] However, the Anansaya (the Inca settlers) wanted the Virgin whose feast day of the Purification, February 2, coincided with the harvest. The deeper reason for this choice, however, is that the Virgin Mary, like the Sun before her, was seen as "the patron and protector of the conquerors" (48). As such, she offered a vehicle for the Inca Anansaya to remain in a dominant position over other Andeans vis-à-vis collaboration and cult building with their new Spanish Catholic lords.

According to Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615, folios 402 [404]-

[5] According to the apocryphal Gospel (or Protoevangelium) of James, Saint Ann is the Virgin Mary's mother. While she does not appear in the canonical texts of Christianity or Islam, her tradition is widely accepted in both. The Gospel of James also refers to consecrated temple virgins in Judaism—like those in the pre-Christian Roman and Inca traditions—, leading some Christian scholars to believe that Mary may have been a temple virgin. None of this was lost on Gavilán. In his second book he connects the name of the town to its Virgin: Santa Ana was the first "piedra preciosa" in Copacabana, and while she is a diamond, the moon, and grace, Mary is a pearl, the sun, and glory (II.I.209-10). But, while in his first book he dedicates an entire chapter to "las vírgenes dedicadas al sol que uvo en el Piru" and praises their purity, he stops short of connecting those Inca state virgins to the Virgin Mary (I.XVIII.117-22).

[6] In traditional Andean social organization, the Anansaya (Upper) are the indigenous peoples and the Urinsaya (Lower) are the newcomers, but this was reversed in Copacabana, and the new Inca Anansaya developed and maintained the cult (MacCormack 1984, 46). Key for Gavilán is that the Virgin Mary, as the Mother of all Nations, was meant to heal (or perhaps simply render irrelevant) the divide between the various *ayllus* and ethnic groups in Santa Ana that were vying for position and control (II.II.216-17). Gavilán also addresses the desire of individuals to physically return to their ancestral lands, which is the source of a tragedy and subsequent miracle when a man kills his wife so that he can return home to his people (II.XI.258-9).

403 [405]) and the second part of Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales*, the Virgin Mary saved the Spaniards from Manco Inca's troops during the fiery siege of Cuzco (1536-1537), facilitating a Spanish victory that proved to be a turning point in the conquest.[7] Inca Garcilaso writes:

> Estando ya los indios para arremeter con los cristianos, se les aparesció en el aire Nuestra Señora, con el niño Jesús en braços, con grandíssimo resplandor y hermosura, y se puso delante dellos. Los infieles, mirando aquella maravilla, quedaron pasmados; sentían que les caía en los ojos un polvo, ya como arena, ya como rocío, con que se les quitó la vista de los ojos, que no sabían donde estaban. (II.XXV.179)

Here is the key: the Incas of Copacabana and their descendants were allied with those Incas in Cuzco who collaborated with the Spanish (Gavilán I.XII.86). This relationship, in turn, connected them to the Virgin who was responsible for Manco Inca's miraculous defeat (MacCormack 1984, 48).[8] While neither Inca Garcilaso nor Guaman Poma explicitly connect the Virgin of Copacabana to Mary's intervention in Cuzco, Calderón does, effectively embodying

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[7] For more on the role of the Virgin Mary in the second part of the *Comentarios reales*, see: Zanelli (1999). Regarding this fire, the iconic candle that accompanies the Virgin of the Candelaria does not acquire any special significance in Gavilán's *Historia* beyond its traditional meaning: the light of Jesus and the Gospel. In Calderón's construction, however, this Madonna who carries fire in her hand now puts out a fire set by Manco Inca's troops that was meant to consume the Spaniards who had gathered inside a building for refuge during the siege. The flame, then, becomes completely under her control.

[8] As Gavilán explains, Manco Inca ordered the assassination of Apuchalco Yupangue, the Inca *curaca* ("Governador") of Copacabana, because:

> …avía dado favor a los Españoles…y antes de su muerte, como Governador poderoso, con Paullo Topa Inga … (conocido amigo, y favorecedor de los Españoles) de común acuerdo dieron la obediencia a nuestro invicto Emperador Carlos Quinto, favoreciendo a los Españoles … Esta es la causa, que los Ingas deste assiento de Copacabana, an sido muy favorecidos de los señores Virreyes.... (I. XII.86)

within a single Virgin both military and spiritual conquest. Calderón sets up his reveal by specifying his Virgin at the siege in the second act: "*…dos ángeles…hincados de rodillas traerán la imagen de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, con el Niño Iesús en las manos*" (170). When Calderón's Virgin returns in the third act to reign in Copacabana, he clarifies that she is the same figure, without having to repeat her name: "*vna imagen de nuestra Señora con el Niño Iesús en los bracos, la más Hermosa, adornada y vestida que se pueda, que será aquella misma que se vio en la apariencia del incendio y de la nieue"* (228). Although the Virgin of Copacabana did not exist during the siege, Calderón's play reflects how the Anansaya used this Marian conquest narrative to support their integration into the colonial-era ruling class of Copacabana.

Guaman Poma, for his part, credits the Virgin of the Rock of France (Virgen de la Peña de Francia), to whom he held particular devotion, with the miracle in Cuzco, but he does relate this Virgin to the Virgin of Copacabana when he writes,

> Y ancí es muy justo que en todo uneuerso mundo le adore y le onrre a la Uirgen Santa María de Peña de Francia y mucho más en este rreyno los yndios y españoles por la tanta mersed que en aquel tienpo y nesecidad le hizo y por los milagros de la Madre de Dios de Nuestra Señora de Peña de Francia y de Copacauana en este rreyno. (folio 203 [205], GKS 2232 4º)

He repeats this association in a drawing entitled "S[AN]TA M[ARÍ]A DE LA R[EI]NA [*sic*], PEÑA DE FR[AN]CIA[1], COPACA[BA]NA y de Nuestra Señora del Rosario," which presents the Virgin Mary with child in arms, and Saint Peter—the rock of the Church—kneeling before them (1615, drawing 311, folio 827 [841]). In spite of his general contempt for human and spiritual *mestizaje*, the relationships that Guaman Poma traces between the Virgin of Copacabana

and these "rocks" of conquest and conversion offer revelatory readings in the context of the Andes and its sacred stones.[9] Indeed, this is the same relationship that will be exploited by Gavilán, an enthusiastic extirpator of idolatry who, nonetheless, builds the genealogy of his Virgin upon that of a stone idol, and the genealogy of his Creole countrymen upon that of the Virgin.[10]

I. Compatriots in Competition

The *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* problematizes the position of Hispanic and indigenous peoples in the Andes, proposes the "Kingdom of Peru" as their geographic and spiritual homeland, and names the highland Virgin of Copacabana as their mother and queen. Faced with a weakening empire and out-of-touch metropolis, Gavilán situates this Virgin of Lake Titicaca, her earthly children, her pagan predecessors, and the *Historia* itself on a timeline more meaningfully aligned with the Kingdoms of God and of Heaven than with the empires of Castile or Tahuantinsuyu. As such, Spain is largely overlooked in favor of an East-West dichotomy in which the sun rises in the Holy Land, and then rises again Peru.

In a complementary act of dislocation, the preliminaries to the text displace peninsular Spaniards from a Creole and indigenous space, while Negros, Mestizos, and Mulatos are completely excluded. The body of the text itself presents a scarcity of subjects that fit outside of the Spanish/Indian binary: two persons are identified as *negros*, two more as *mulato*s, and only

[9] For Guaman Poma's critical views on Mestizos and other persons of mixed lineages and/or customs, as well as for readings of his chronicle as a project of cultural *mestizaje*, see: Adorno (1991/2000) and López-Baralt (1995).

[10] For Gavilán's activities in extirpation and evangelization, see: Espinoza Soriano (2003).

one as *mestizo*.[11] This contrasts in essential ways with the demographic reality of the setting of the *Historia*, which was overwhelmingly indigenous and Mestizo (Coello and Numhauser 14, 19). This textual exclusion reflects the actual exclusion of Mestizos from viceregal spaces of authority, and presents a rearticulation of the Two Republics that stubbornly clings to an Spanish/Indian binary, but in which "Spanish" refers solely to *nación* (meaning nation or ethnicity, regardless of birthplace), and *patria* (understood as both a local or regional birthplace, and as a real or imagined community of brethren based on shared culture and experience) refers, not to Spain, but to one of its American kingdoms—a kingdom best governed and guided by its Creole "natives" (*naturales*).

Between the first generation of children born to Spaniards in Peru and the early decades of the seventeenth-century, persons identified as Creoles included not just American-born persons of supposedly pure Spanish ancestry, but also *indios*, *mestizos*, *negro*s, *mulatos*, and peninsular-born Spaniards so deeply rooted in the Viceroyalty that they were grouped with American-born subjects of allegedly ambiguous ethnic, cultural, and political loyalties (Coello and Numhauser 13-14, 17).[12] Therefore, a useful starting point for understanding the term "Creole" in the Viceroyalty is as a fluid category that encompasses individuals from varied geographic and ethnic origins, certain subsets of which consciously band together in defensive or

[11] One Negro is responsible for the accidental death of a child (apparently Creole), who the Virgin resuscitates, and another Negro dies when a man from Lima asks the Virgin to save his own son's life and take that of the Negro instead (360-361; 389-390). A Mulato asks the Virgin to cure his son of leprosy, which she does, and another Mulato was saved from death by stabbing, protected by a medallion of her figure and calling out to her for help (289, 350). In short, the two Negros are virtually non-persons associated only with death, while both of the Mulatos are favored by the Virgin.

[12] These individuals of indigenous or African descent described as "acriollados" normally inhabited the mid to upper classes and consistently conformed to Spanish cultural norms in terms of language, religion, dress, customs, etc.

offensive action to achieve determined social, political, and economic ends. This group consciousness and act of self-labeling normally results from a response to discrimination by peninsular-born Spaniards—thereby reclaiming the name attached to them derogatorily by those very same detractors.

The preliminary texts that precede the *Historia*, however, offer a very specific, strategic, and Lima-centric reading of the label "Creole:" it presupposes pure (or purified) Spanish ancestry and asserts that Creoles are equal—or, in some cases, even superior—to peninsular Spaniards.[13] Implicit in this rhetoric is also the argument that Creoles should be distinguished from other American-born persons of Spanish descent who are facing similar discrimination, and with whom they are often disparagingly clustered and compared: namely, *mestizos* and *mulatos.* In fact, the first textual appearance of the term *criollo* is believed to be in relation to the conspired rebellion in Cuzco in 1567, in which many Mestizos were implicated, and that the term was used in an effort to clarify exactly who was and who was not to blame (Coello 51).[14]

[13] As More notes, the seventeenth century jurist Juan Solórzano Pereyra, "despite a history of Spanish and Amerindian intermarriage, …defines Creoles as fully Spanish, and declares that their rights 'in accordance with other rules of the same law, do not follow their place of residence but rather the natural origin of their parents'" (29). This legal definition, however, follows social practices that were established on the ground in the Viceroyalty much earlier, namely, purification through marriage with Peninsular Spaniards. This type of purification required upkeep on the part of Creoles, and buy-in on the part of *peninsulares*. In personal and legal disputes, indigenous/Mestizo lineage was commonly dug up—or fabricated—and used to attack people, sometimes with devastating consequences, much as with accusations of Semitic lineage on the Peninsula.

[14] As we saw in Chapter 2, it is true that the majority of Mestizos inhabited the lower rungs of society by the 1560s; that they were disenfranchised and frustrated; and that, as Berta Ares Queija reminds us, "[l]a sublevación les era algo muy familiar, porque en ella habían vivido sumergidos gran parte de su infancia," referencing the rebellions and civil wars of their Spanish fathers (45). But in spite of this reality, in only one of the six conspired or realized rebellions between 1564 and 1568 did Mestizos participate in significant numbers: the *motín* of 1567. The rest were planned or carried out almost entirely by Spaniards, a fact which even Lope García de

The simultaneous association of Mestizos and disassociation of Creoles with rebellion—in addition to poor customs and illegitimacy—was a discourse that enjoyed a long and fruitful life. It also translated into the spiritual realm around questions of faith and service, and was manifested in the hagiographies of Creole saints who lived or were beatified in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[15]

If-we accept the common notion that Creolism (*criollismo*)—as a series of strategies or agencies—was an urban movement in Peru that developed around the year 1620, we must also recognize that one of its earliest articulations was in Gavilán's *Historia*. Although the events it narrates take place in the highlands, the lettered Creoles of Lima claimed this chronicle as their own.[16] After all, they printed it on their press, and provided the approvals. The *Historia* helped to provide the growing urban Creole elite and viceregal oligarchy the standing necessary to claim political and spiritual authority alongside (or even over) peninsular Spaniards, who were still trying to profit at the Creoles' expense by calling into question their caste, quality, and customs.

Castro, then governor of Peru, admitted—while still requesting a weapons ban against Mestizos and Mulatos (46).

[15] Coello points to the hagiographies of Juan de Alloza (1597-1666) and Francisco del Castillo (1615-1673), both born in Lima, as texts that reflect and defend the culture of the Viceroyalty while also expressing an interest in transmitting "los valores y actitudes dominantes de una realidad social criolla en construcción" (53). Of course, the rise of these figures followed the short life of Isabel Flores de Oliva (Santa Rosa de Lima, 1586-1617), the first American-born Catholic saint, whose expedients for beatification (1667) and canonization (1671) exhibited:

> …el interés de la nueva aristocracia urbana en conseguir la santificación de una representante ideal del «protonacionalismo» criollo en el Perú del siglo XVII. No se trataba de la coronación de los sectores marginales o populares, siempre sospechosos de alumbradismo,...sino del símbolo más excelso —esto es, místico— de los diversos estamentos de la población de Lima. (54)

[16] Arguably, in the same way that Cuzco's imperial history translated into political legitimacy for Lima, Lake Titicaca's spiritual history provided the Creole saints of Lima a foundation on which to stand.

Indeed, the Jesuits began erasing the "stain" of *mestizaje* from their ranks as soon as it was practical: that is, when Creoles could allegedly compete with the Mestizos' linguistic prowess, enabling an end to the ordination of Mestizos and a relaxing of the rules that had kept Creoles at arm's length. 1582 was a pivotal year in this process due to three interrelated events that took place in Lima: the establishment of the Jesuit college of San Martín, where Gavilán would be a student; the Jesuit's Third Provincial Assembly; and the start of the Third Provincial Council of Lima—and with it, the so-called *proceso* of the Mestizos of Peru.

The *proceso* (AGI Lima 126) was a transatlantic suit brought by over one hundred Peruvian Mestizos against Philip II's 1578 Royal Decree (*Real Cédula*) that excluded Mestizos from the Holy Orders, while also addressing colonial legislation that banned Mestizos from carrying arms and prohibited Mestizas from becoming choir or full-dowry nuns.[17] It was first presented to, ruled upon, and authorized by the Third Council of Lima (1582-1583), thus validating the Mestizos' claims and transforming their arguments into *pruebas* (legitimated evidence) before bringing them to Philip II.[18] Central to these arguments was the Mestizos' intimate and profound knowledge of indigenous languages, which they claimed was so important to the evangelizing mission that they should be preferentially ordained over Spaniards and

[17] For the first detailed description and discussion of this *proceso*, see: Olaechea Labayén (1975). Excellent studies by Duve (2010) Ruan (2012/2017) have been published more recently.

[18] The Mestizos were granted permission to name witnesses and carry out a series of *interrogatorios* in order to collect testimonies regarding the priesthood in general, and the merits of Mestizos in particular. Their witnesses included priests (one of the most notable names among them being that of José de Acosta), attorneys, political figures, and former conquistadors. Witnesses were asked to corroborate information such as: if they knew that there were millions of people who did not speak Spanish or Quechua or Aymara, and therefore had not received the Word because no Mestizo who spoke their language had been ordained; and that the university language exam was therefore of little use when the chief *catedrático* was not even aware how many languages were spoken in the territory and not enough Mestizos had been placed in the University to teach them (Duve 18-20).

Creoles of equal qualifications in all other respects. This was an argument that could not be overlooked during a fourteen-month *Concilio* in which one of the principal activities was translating catechisms and other pastoral materials into Aymara and Quechua, and during which time a Royal Provision (*Real Provisión*) was made, ordering that candidates who did not speak an indigenous language could not be ordained, and that all priests of the *doctrinas de indios* must take a language exam at the Universidad de San Marcos, where figures such as the Mestizo Jesuit Blas Valera were instructors (Duve 5-6, 10).[19]

The Jesuits carried out their Assembly at the same time as the Third Council, and while they chose not to completely close the door on Creoles they did categorically exclude Mestizos, justifying their decision in part on the same Royal Decree that was being contested (17). The decision also reflected the mission of the college of San Martín, established earlier that year for Creoles in Lima. In an examination (*interrogatorio*) four years later, which was undertaken to support funding requests for the college, witnesses were asked to confirm statements regarding the necessity of the school as well as its success: that young, at-risk, Creoles—the sons of honorable Spaniards—were not just taken in and instructed in letters and virtues; they were subsequently models of learning and behavior in the community.[20] The final point to be corroborated regarding San Martín focused on language and evangelization: witnesses were

[19] The Mestizos, however, knew that it would be argued that some Creoles and Spaniards did speak an indigenous language, and that those who did not were now required to complete University courses in order to learn one (Ares-Queija 57). The Mestizos had to show, then, what made them different, so they pointed out that the university course, which only taught Quechua and lasted six months to one year at the most, was too short of a period to properly learn a language that requires either being raised with it, or living in the community in which it is spoken for an extended period of time (8-10 years). Mestizos, therefore, *were* different from Spaniards and Creoles, but in ways that were advantageous to the empire and to evangelization, and which should afford them a particularly respected position in the New World.

[20] This document (found in AGI Lima 316) is dated March 14, 1586, and was presented by the college's rector, Juan Sebastián de la Parra.

asked if they knew that:

> muchos hijos de gente pobre estudiaron para bien y vitalidad de los yndios y por falta de no aver quien los sustente en los estudios lo dexan y assi si el dicho collegio tuviese renta muchos pobres prosiguieran sus estudios en el con mucha utilidad desta republica por que muchos dellos saben la lengua de los yndios para les poder predicar y enseñar nra sancta fee. (AGI Lima 316, folio 1r)

In addition to validating this statement, several witnesses added that it was very difficult for anyone coming from Castile to become as proficient in indigenous languages as an American-born Creole.

This crucial linguistic argument, wrested from the mouths of Mestizos, also appears, though somewhat covertly, in Gavilán's text, the only time he employs the word *criollo*. This Creole is employed as a translator in the investigation of pre-conquest, proto-Christianity in the Andes: "El año de mil y quinientos y noventa y nueve, acaeció, que Christóval Muñoz Sebada...quiso informarse de un Indio anciano, si tenía alguna noticia (deribada en él de sus mayores) de la venida del Santo Dicípulo, que plantó la Santa Cruz de Carabuco, y hizo la pesquisa, interviniendo a hazerla Diego Rubio Maldonado, que por ser criollo era más ladino en el lenguaje" (I.XI.76). *Ladino* was often used in this period to describe a subject of the Spanish crown who spoke excellent Spanish with native-like fluency when it was presumably not his mother tongue (i.e., *indio ladino*; *morisco ladino*; etc.). In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Sebastián de Covarrubias reminds us that "ladino" also described a person of unusual talent, extending to areas even beyond language.[21] In this passage, the impressive linguistic

[21] LADINO, en rigor vale lo mesmo que Latino…La gente barbara en España deprendio mal la pureza de la lengua Romana, y a los que la trabajauan y eran elegantes en ella los llamaron ladinos. Estos eran tenidos por discretos y hombres

skillset is in an indigenous language, attained by virtue of being Creole.

In contrast to the only Creole in the text explicitly identified as such, is Mateo de Contreras: the only person marked as Mestizo, and a protagonist of the chapter titled "Como la Virgen de Copacabana descubrió unos ladrones" (II.XXI.308). Contreras, described as "[u]n mestizo que andava en trage de Indio," attempted to rob the Virgin of her crown made of gold, and when she and her child deflected his hands, "se estava obstinado en su mal propósito" (310). He went on to abscond with other valuable items, even in the face of a subsequent miraculous interference, but was eventually captured and put to death (312-13). This narration embodies several of the common complaints waged against Mestizos: poor morals and customs; criminal propensities; and the ability to "hide" among Indios.[22] If Mestizos—outside of this incorrigible thief—are absent from Gavilán's text, it can only mean that they are to be understood as having been "lost" to the Republic of Indians, or that they had "disappeared" into the ranks of the Creoles.[23] In short, there is no legitimate place for Mestizos in Gavilán's *Historia* or, based on this rhetoric, in the Viceroyalty of his day, a space increasingly dominated by Creoles who articulate their sovereignty through a series of binaries in which they are the keepers of their *patria*'s Creole/indigenous present and Spanish/indigenous past.

It is worth noting that Inca Garcilaso de la Vega dedicated the second part of his

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> de mucha razon y cuenta, de donde resultó dar este nombre a los que son diestros y solertes en qualquier negocio... al Morisco, y al estrangero q aprendio nuestra lengua con tanto cuidado, q apenas le diferenciamos de nosotros, tanbien le llamamos ladino. (Covarrubias 511r)

[22] As we saw in Chapter 2, for at least seven decades prior to the publication of the *Historia*, administrators and priests warned that Mestizos had either to be saved through (re)integration and reform, or suppressed through statutes and punitive actions.

[23] Just as Mestizos could "become" Indians, they could also "become" Creoles—and Creoles could also be "outed" as Mestizos. See: Rappaport (2014).

Comentarios reales (1617) to the Virgin Mary and, in an act of reconciliation, dedicated his prologue to "los indios, mestizos y criollos de los reinos y provincias del grande y riquíssimo imperio del Perú," calling himself their "hermano, compatriota y paisano," and providing as his first reason for writing the book "por dar a conoscer al universo nuestra patria, gente y nación" (7, 9). Four years later, by contrast, Gavilán's prologue consists of a letter written to him by Don Francisco Fernández de Córdova, magistrate (*corregidor*) of Guamanga, Gavilán's birthplace, and fellow alumnus of the College of San Martín, "...para suplicarle no se canse de proseguir el libro començado, aunque le cueste trabajo, que sacándole a la luz sera, para honra de los Criollos deste Reyno, fama de su Religión, crédito de sus discípulos, servicio a nuestro Señor, y a su madre Santísima" (22). Mestizos do not factor into the preliminaries, and Indians, though the declared subjects (and even alleged objects) of the *Historia*, are rarely agents of history within the text itself. Instead, history is enacted upon indigenous subjects—by the Christian God or by pre-Hispanic elites claiming to be gods—and then interpreted for them by Creoles.

II. The Glory of the Creoles

The *Historia*'s earliest endorsement (*aprobación*), penned in Lima by the priest and professor Father Luys de Vilbao, declares Gavilán's *Historia* to be important, not only to the reformation of good customs"("buenas costumbres") in general, but for spiritual development of the viceroyalty's indigenous subjects in particular, as they were still in the process of "disabusing themselves of their errors and pagan rights" —which, as Vilbao points out, are the very subject of the first part of Gavilán's book.[24] The approval of Father Diego Pérez, also penned in Lima,

[24] …le juzgo por importante para los naturales desta tierra, que tantos favores an recibido de aquella milagrosa Imagen; creciendo cada día más con el recuerdo dellos en la devoción que la tienen, y desengañándose de sus errores, y gentiles ritos, de que en la primera parte deste libro se trata, con muy graves fundamentos

likewise points to an indigenous audience when he describes the *Historia* as "libro bien deseado en este Reyno de todos los fieles, y en particular de aquellos a quien la Virgen Santíssima se a mostrado más favorable con particulares milagros, que con ellos a obrado" (14). According to Pérez, Gavilán protects and promotes this miraculous relationship between the Virgin and her indigenous followers through his "buena manera de inquirir antigüedades olvidadas:"

> ...me parece que toda esta obra es digna de estimación, pues con nueva diligencia a descubierto el origen de la Idolatría de la bárbara gente deste Reyno, que por no aver avido escrituras en él, estava sepultado en eterno olvido, y para que no queden las maravillas, y grandezas de favores singulares, con que la Virgen Santísima se a dado a conocer entre aquellas bárbaras gentes, que tan deslumbrada tenían la luz de la lumbre natural que Dios estampó en nuestras almas...

Pérez posits here that if the origins of indigenous idolatry remain buried, if they are lost or forgotten, then so will be the works of the Virgin in a people who, even as pagans, were imbued with the light of the Gospel.

Still, the reader does not get the sense, from the preliminaries or from the text itself, that anyone was under the illusion that pre-Christian beliefs and practices were anywhere near "buried in eternal oblivion." Thus for example, in Gavilán's very first chapter, when he introduces Lake Titicaca and the island that gave it its name, he writes, "…en ella estuvo aquel famoso adoratorio y Templo del Sol, cuya memoria durará quanto durare la que estos Naturales tienen de su principio" (I.1.25). Rather, the danger was that non-indigenous subjects might not be able to access, archive, and employ those origins to their own ends: for, as Jeremy Mumford

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> de antiguas tradiciones, de que ay muy poca noticia en estos Reynos... (Vilbao, in Gavilán 10-11)

reminds us, "ethnography" could be a very effective "tool for colonialism" (5-6). Gavilán's *Historia* mitigated this problem, while also addressing the issue of sacred geographies.

Gavilán dedicates his *Historia* to Don Alonso de Saravia y Sotomayor, former president of the criminal court in Lima, and present judge in the Audience of Mexico City (15).[25] This dedication, which revolves around a series of strategic pairings—arms and letters, war and peace, father and son, knight and senator, blood and prudence, Roman and Goth, Mexico and Peru—identifies Peru as their shared *patria*, and Alonso de Saravia as the ideal human patron and protector of Gavilán's book, for he would ensure its presence and propagation in the two great kingdoms of the New World (Peru and Mexico), "and even to the ends of the earth" (16).[26] Spain

[25] Saravia's father, Alonso de Sotomayor y Valmediano, served the Spanish crown as soldier and, later, statesman in locales as strategic and varied as Italy, Portugal, Flanders, Chile, Peru, Panama, and the metropole itself, confronting enemies as diverse as: the Mapuches and the Mestizo "caudillo" Alonso Díaz in the Arauco Wars; Cavendish and Drake during the Anglo-Spanish war; and the conquistador-turned-rebel *encomendero* Francisco Hernández Girón in Peru. For Sotomomayor's role in the Arauco and Anglo-Spanish Wars, see: Barros Arana (1999). Gavilán himself points to Sotomayor senior's fight against "tiranía" and "rebelión" in relation to Girón in Peru and the "Indios de guerra" of Chile (16). When he finally returned to Spain in 1609, Sotomayor was commissioned, as a member of the War Council, with the expulsion of the Moriscos from Toledo, La Mancha, and Extremadura, a project he carried out until his death in 1610 (Lapeyre 158).

[26] The first use of *patria* in this letter is mentioned above: "Patria de Vuestra Merced y mía." The second use is in reference to his dedicatee's move from Peru to Mexico: "…desseoso aquel Reyno [de México] de gozar también de sus ilustres prendes, felicíssima y caval fuera la fortuna del Pirú, mas como la luz de tal hijo en su patria, no es bien que sea solo de tramontana estrella, sino de errático, y resplandeciente luzero, passando deste nuevo mundo, es bien que también al otro…" (17). The third use of *patria*, and the one that could refer either specifically to Spain or to a transatlantic community of Spaniards more generally, appears in one of the passages praising both father and son: "…con armas, y letras, Padre, y hijo, an servido a su Rey, honrado de sus vasallos, y patria" (17). Regarding the recipient of his dedication, Gavilán writes: "…autor que escoge el braço de tan grandioso caudal, y se abraça con seno tan ennoblecido pecho, seguro puede salir a vistas de entrambos a dos nuevos mundos, Pirú, y México, y aún embarcarse viento en popa, con el aliento de tal Mecenas, hasta los confines de la tierra, sin temer las tormentas de Palinuro…" (16).

is never mentioned by name in this letter, and Spain's unspecified king(s) act as mere reciprocals of the great services carried out by Sotomayor, father and son.

But it is the letter written by Don Francisco Fernández de Córdova, which Gavilán employs as his "Prologue to the reader," that brings the clearly enunciated figure of the Creole in his New World *patria* front and center (18).[27] Fernández de Córdova begins by placing Peru within a geographic ontology of God's blessings,

> …pues enriqueció con increybles grandezas estas Indias Ocidentales con que se muestra, que da Dios a dos manos los bienes al mundo, y como estendiendo los braços de su providencia al Oriente el derecho, al Ocidente el izquierdo, y menos principal…Bien le cupo al Oriente el árbol de la vida, y a este Ocidente riquezas, y gloria. Digo riquezas, porque en este Pirú se an hallado las mayores del mundo, donde los hipérboles son verdades llanas, y las exageraciones testimonios vistos con los ojos. (18-19)

According to Fernández de Córdova, while Italy and Spain have been celebrated as lands rich in precious metals, and "otras Provincias" have been praised as having fertile soils and fruit-bearing trees year round, "todo es fábula allí, y aquí todo es verdad" (19). Still, there is another great

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[27] Gavilán first presents the required expression of false modesty:

> No uviera yo emprendido assumpto tamaño, si la obediencia no uviera animado mi cortedad, si los defetos de la obra te causaren hastío, los podra endulçar la devoción de la Virgen, y gane el Libro por ella, lo que pudiera perder por el Autor, si alguna parte te aficionare la voluntad so letura, sufre la que no te contentare, que a sombra de lo más deleytoso, se suele yr lo menos apetecible: Vale. (18)

Fernández de Córdova's letter follows, and serves as Gavilán's prologue. It is important to note that Fernández de Córdova was a Creole (born in Huánuco); that he studied in the College of San Martín in Lima, as did Gavilán; and that he was serving as magistrate in Huamanga, the birthplace of Gavilán, at the time these preliminaries were written and published.

treasure found in Peru: the human treasure of the Viceroyalty's Creoles. Fernández de Córdova begins a lengthy and passionate passage with a presentation of the qualities of the Creole:

> …Pues la gloria que tiene es glorioso (digo de hijos Criollos) de felicíssimos ingenios, de increyble agudeza, de industria rara, y de fecundidad eloquente, es numerar las estrellas del firmamento, por ser como ellas claros, y en número tantos; pues los hombres de valor para govierno, y armas, togas, arneses; no se alcança a dezir, la agudeza para los ardides, presteza en la execución, madurez en los consejos; pecho en los dificultades...

Imperative here are not just the number of the Creoles' superior qualities and abilities in arms and letters, governance and leadership, but the impressive number of Creoles themselves. Beneath the surface is the argument that, while a large and growing Mestizo population is seen as a threat (which we saw in Chapter 2), countless Creoles should be as welcome as the stars that shine in the heavens.

Fernández de Córdova continues to praise the Creoles' exemplary nature, innate nobility, and noble acts, saying: "Y a se entender desto que hazen más de su parte los hijos deste Reyno, porque ni tienen Rey que los mire, aliente, o premie, por estar tan lejos de sus ojos, aun remoto de sus manos, y assí se exceden a si mismos." These are men who act with rectitude even without a king present to "watch, encourage, or reward" them. But the Creoles' outstanding nature is not limited to the flesh; they are also spiritually disciplined and gifted: "Poco fuera esto si en lo spiritual no tuviera minas de riqueza, y gloria principiado, para llenar con la eternal esta diestra del Ocidente grandes sugetos en virtud, oración, contemplación, limosnas increybles fervor de la conversión de los Gentiles, zelo de extirpar sus idolatrías, hallándose en esto, no solo Religiosos lenguaraces criollos, sino Clérigos observantíssimos." After casually highlighting the

Creoles' dominion over indigenous tongues and careful observation of clerical duties, Fernández de Córdova then returns to an East-West rhetoric to explain why Creoles are so outstanding in all of these respects: they were born in the land of Mary.

> No se espanta San Gerónymo que los desiertos de Egipto, y Palestina, sean fértiles de Santos porque los atribuye a que el Sol de Justicia, y Oriente CHRISTO, los honro con sus divinas plantas, y lo que ellas siendo tan soberanas hollaron, ¿qué mucho que produzga plantas, Angélicas y Santas? Pues ¿a qué podremos atribuyr los bienes, y dichas, deste Reyno del Pirú, después de la dichosa entrada del Evangelio, sino a que su Santíssima Madre la Virgen MARIA quiso tomar a su cargo este Ocidente? [...]
>
> CHRISTO, y su madre tienen partido el mundo, y entre los dos como en dos Polos Artico, y Antártico, se sostiene CHRISTO en el Oriente, y MARIA en el Ocidente [sic?]. Començó este favor en España ilustrándola con diversas apariciones, con sus Imágines milagrosas (de que oy día goza con gran consuelo de sus hijos) prodigiose aqueste favor, viniendo con sus hijos los Españoles a este Reyno, y nuevo mundo más Ocidental, para serles luz, y ayudarles a convertir a estos Gentiles.

Spain and Peninsula-born Spaniards clearly served as necessary evangelical vehicles, but this narrative arguably reduces them to mere stepping-stones from East—the Holy Land itself—to (further) West, where Creole saints are born, and New World pagans are saved.

Though never called a *mestiza* or a *criolla* by Gavilán or the authors of the *Historia*'s preliminary texts, the Virgin of Copacabana carries all of the "positive" markers of *mestizaje* first expounded by pro-Mestizo rhetoric circulating at the time of her facture, and adopted and

adapted by Creoles as they sought to displace their Mestizo competitors, or even erase their own mixed ancestry: dual noble lineage, which justifies her presence and defends her position in the Andes; dual linguistic and cultural competency, making her the ideal mediator between European and indigenous worlds and worldviews; and fierce and innate love for, and loyalty to, her people and her *patria*, for she is not only *of* them, but also their mother, protector, and patron. But Gavilán will go even further, transforming her into the precious cornerstone of an Andean Zion—the solid foundation that God set upon his holy mount—and the Queen of the Kingdom of Peru. Still, the priest's project of viceregal purification and sanctification, through a rhetorical restoration of the Two Republics in a New World Jerusalem, is only possible by appropriating (or perhaps, in some measure, simply bending to) a spiritual *mestizaje* already existent on the ground.

Part Two: The Virgin Mary and Sacred Stones

> Si los antiguos llamaban a sus Dioses caseros Penates (esto es: *Penes nos nati*). Nacidos entre nosotros. Esta preciosa Imagen de Copacabana, nació entre nosotros en este Reyno....Tomó Dios por instrumento de su Gloria, el mismo que el barbarismo avía tomado para su perdición, pues por los ídolos de los Demonios, que con profanos ritos adoraron los Ingas en aquel sitio, gustó poner la Imagen de su Santíssima madre, para que con el culto de Iperdulia fuese respetada, y venerada, y en ella hallasen los fieles el remedio de sus necesidades.
>
> —Don Francisco Fernández de Córdova, in the prologue to *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (21)

In line with other lettered elites of their day, Creoles such as Fernández de Córdova and Ramos Gavilán recognized the Inca Empire and Andean belief systems to be expressions of *praeparatio evangelica*, just like the reigns and religions of the ancient Greeks and Romans. In the first part of his *Historia*, Gavilán uses the vehicle of divine providence to connect the Virgin of Copacabana to a preeminent *waka* of Lake Titicaca, which he describes as a blue stone idol

slightly resembling a disembodied human face (I.XXXII.191).[28] In this configuration, God had allowed Andeans to recognize the rock as sacred in order to prepare their hearts for Mary. Building on the blue *waka* of Lake Titicaca, Gavilán's central metaphor for Mary is that of a stone, and this takes several forms: a pearl ("una Margarita tan preciosa" II.I.207, "preciosa perla" II.I.209, "preciosa Margarita" II.II.214); a jewel or gem ("una joya de tan grande estima" II.I.207, "esta rica joya" II.I.209); and a rock or precious stone ("piedra" and "piedra preciosa" II.I.209; "bendita piedra" and "piedra de virtudes preciossísima *(Lapidem preciosum)*" II.II.214).[29] Still, "precious stone" should not necessarily be read or understood as a gemstone, but rather as a sacred—or living—"cornerstone." Gavilán extends the geographic and metaphorical trajectory of Isaiah's Cornerstone of Zion from Judea to the Andes and from Christ to Mary when he explains that God, like a father who is drawn to rather than repelled from his frenetic child, reaches out to sinners and those in darkness who resist his mercy and love:

> Esta dotrina, y el intento de Copacabana, abraça un excelente lugar de Isayas. *Audite verbum Domini viri illusores*. Hombres de burla, pecadores

[28] Gavilán expands on this lineage with an explanation of the name "Copacabana:"

> … donde fue el domicilio de monstrous fieros, es assilo dedesconsolados, y afligidos, y donde el Príncipe de tinieblas puso la piedra de escándalo, puso el Príncipe de paz, la preciossa piedra, la rica Margarita de su madre que enriqueciesse el cielo, esso quiere dezir Copacabana (lugar, y assiento donde se ve la piedra preciosa) porque Copa suena tanto como piedra preciosa, y cabana se deduze desta dición kaguana que significa lo mismo, que *Locus in quo videri poeterit*. Lugar donde se podrá ver. Juntas (pues agora) las dos diciones, y acomodándolas a este dichosíssimo lugar a boca llena, y con verdad le podemos llamar Copacabana, pueblo donde se puede ver la piedra, pues en él ven todos los fieles aquella piedra preciossa de quien parece que habló Dios, quando dixo por un Profeta. *Dabo lapidem in santuarium*. (I.XXXII.194)

[29] These examples focus on the second book of the *Historia*, which covers the miracles of the Virgin of Copacabana. However, Mary as stone is introduced in the first book, and carried through into the third, which is a guide for pilgrims at her shrine.

> de por vida oyd lo que por mi boca quiere hablaros vuestro Dios […] *Id circo ecce ego mittam in fundamentis Sion lapidem, lapidem probatum angularem, preciosum*. […] …te daré por piedra angular mi propio hijo, que esso es: *Mittam lapidem probatum*. […] Pero o soberana Reyna de los Angeles, recreo, casa, y vergel de Dios, huerto de sus regalos, Parayso de sus deleytes, soberana Virgen de Copacabana, luzero desta obscuridad, tabla segura en que aquí se salvan los que avían padecido naufragio. De vos quiere entender el lugar, favoreced pues que os toca esta interpretación. *Id circo ecce ego mittam in fundamentis Sion lapidem probatum, et preciousum*. (II.II.212-213)

Indeed, as Gavilán explains, when the clamor and weight of the sins of Peru's newly converted reached the heavens and shook the earth, instead of serving the deserved punishment, Jesus sent them His mother.

> *(Id circo)* oféndanme quanto quisieren essos bárbaros, que mi amor con sus ingratitudes nunca se enflaquece, antes quiero para reduzirlos, y asegurarlos, darles mi proteción, embiarles mi amparo con la bendita piedra, con la preciosa Margarita de mi madre. Darles una imagen milagrosa, piedra de virtudes preciosíssima *(Lapidem preciosum)*. Que esso quiere dezir en lengua del Inga Copacabana, lugar donde se ve la piedra preciosa. (II.II.214)

In the Bible, it is the author of the First Book of Peter, believed to be the Apostle himself, who inscribes the Cornerstone of Zion onto the figure of Christ. One might wonder if Gavilán and his fellow Augustinians used the lithic language employed by Christ's own "rock" when Peter quotes Isaiah 28:16 and Psalms 118:22 in his first epistle:

> As you come to him, the living Stone—rejected by humans but chosen by God and precious to him—you also, like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house to be a holy priesthood, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For in Scripture it says:
>
> "See, I lay a stone in Zion,
>
> a chosen and precious cornerstone,
>
> and the one who trusts in him
>
> will never be put to shame." (I Peter 2:4-6 NIV)[30]

Gavilán appears to purposely circumvent Peter's reference to "living stone" in the *Historia* by pointing to Matthew instead:

> Cabecera de magnífico y sumptuoso edificio, vino a ser aquella piedra que los artifices avian reprovado, según la profecía del Salmista, alegada por CHRISTO en San Mateo. *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli*. La piedra que reprovaron los que edificavan, fue puesta por remate del edificio. Casi podemos dezir de nuestra bendita Imagen, fue como piedra reprovada, pues con tanta dificultad, y tan a fuerça de braços la admitieron los Urinsayas, y es agora cabecera (en su tanto) del edificio spiritual, con que se edifica la ciudad soberana de Jerusalem. (II.V.228)

Still, the metaphor Mary/stone is both so pervasive and so passionate in Gavilán's *Historia* that it

[30] Peter also quotes Psalms 118:22 in Acts 4:11: "Jesus is 'the stone you builders rejected, which has become the cornerstone." The idea of Jesus as "foundation" appears frequently in the New Testament (for example, Luke 6:46-49 and I Corinthians 3:11). Jesus himself likens those who hear and follow his words to "a wise man who built his house on the rock" (Matthew 7:24-27), and relates the "cornerstone" of Psalms 118 to the Kingdom of God (Matthew 21:42-43). Echoing Peter, Paul calls the prophets and apostles the "foundation," and Christ the "cornerstone" (Ephesians 2:19-22). (All scripture is quoted from the New International Version.)

borders on metonymy. In an indigenous Andean context, that border is easily crossed. Some stones were indeed, as in Saint Peter's words, *living*, and after the Spanish conquest of the Andes, so were a series of Catholic Virgins—chief among them being the Virgin of Copacabana.

I. Monkeys, Mummies, and Minerals

Gavilán tells the story of the sculptor Francisco Tito Yupanqui, a noble Anansaya Inca living in Potosí, and his long and arduous journey through ecclesiastical bureaucracy, artistic apprenticeship, and public humiliation before achieving complete redemption for both himself and the Virgin that would bring Copacabana transatlantic fame and glory. According to a relation written by the sculptor and included by Gavilán in his *Historia*, Yupanqui's first clay Virgin was displayed on an altar for a year and a half before the arrival of a new priest, who removed it in disgust (II.VI.234). Yupanqui then went to Potosí where he and his brothers, Felipe de León and don Alonso Viracocha Inca, secured artistic training from a Spaniard, scoured the city's churches for the ideal model, and settled on the Virgin of the Candelaria in the Church of Santo Domingo (II.VI.235).

When their clay mold was complete, Yupanqui went to the Bishop of La Plata with a painted reproduction of the sculpture to petition the formation of her confraternity in Copacabana and a license to make her image (II.VI.236). But his petition was rejected and ridiculed by the Bishop and other Church authorities, who passed the painting around, laughed at it, and threatened to harshly punish Yupanqui if he continued with his work, asserting that only Spaniards, not "Natorales," could make images of the Virgin. Yupanqui writes that the Bishop then told him, "si lo quereys ser pentor pintaldo la mona con so mico…". This poignant scene—again, narrated by Yupanqui himself and included in Gavilán's chronicle—directly reflects

Spanish resistance to indigenous artists and their production of European-style material culture.[31]

Calderón de la Barca, however, goes even deeper than this in his play, *La aurora en Copacabana*, by gesturing toward Spanish rejection of the aesthetics and essence of indigenous sacrality. At the beginning of Act 3, The Spanish Governor of Copacabana explains to a visiting Count the difficulties faced in the creation of the Virgin, lamenting, "Mil diligencias se han hecho, / pero como a estas prouincias / aún no han passado las nobles / artes de España, es precisa / cosa que supla la fe / lo que no alcança la vista" (vv. 3014-17). He then quickly qualifies his explanation, saying, "Dirá la objeción que ¿cómo / no auía arte donde auía / estatuas de tantos dioses? / Y hallaráse respondida / con saber que eran estatuas / tan toscas, tan mal pulidas, / tan informes y tan feas, / como vna experiencia diga" (vv. 3020-27). Even Andean "idols" were shunned by the Spanish, who expected them to be "man-made" as opposed to naturally occurring, "anthropomorphic or zoomorphic," and "composed of precious materials or finely crafted" (Dean *Culture* 5).

While the Inca crafted certain "representational forms"—figures that were clearly recognizable as humans or animals and that functioned as visual metaphors—, these were far less valued than their abstract "presentational forms"—metonymic entities imbued with the presence of something or someone else (Dean 2006, 113). Because metonymy, not metaphor, was what mattered to the Inca, a rock that looked nothing like a human could "be" an Inca ruler, his actual presentation as opposed to representation.[32] In this sense, far from being, in the words of Calderón's Governor, "brutos / sus simulacros" (vv. 3054-55), Yupanqui's allegedly crude and

[31] For a detailed discussion of indigenous and Mestizo artistic production in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and of a latter seventeenth century painting of the Virgin of Montserrat in particular, see: Nair (2007).

[32] Every Inca ruler had a stone *wawqi* that was considered both his brother and his double; this *waka* in the form of a rock embodied the Inca himself (Dean *Culture* 41).

unrecognizable statues or paintings could embody the Virgin's very presence and essence—or that of a *waka*—, unencumbered by metaphor and alive with the sacred. Perhaps, then, in addition to a rejection of her appearance on aesthetic grounds, the clergymen in Yupanqui's narration feared the possibility of what could not be plainly recognized or seen.

After the Bishop's violent dismissal, Yupanqui explains that he turned to prayer, asking God to make him a good sculptor and painter, and that his prayers were answered (II.VI.236-37). Upon finishing his statue, he sets out with his brothers and two other *indios* for La Paz to have it plated in gold. But a curious incident occurs during their journey that highlights the dangerously bifurcated world of the Viceroyalty. Yupanqui writes:

> …nos lo venimos a Chuquiabo e traemos el Vergen con dos Natorales, e passamos en todos los tambos, e llegamos en el pueblo di Hayohayo al cabeldo de las casas, y lo queremos dormir in ellas, e vino el Corregidor, e me lo querían echar aporreando, para qué lo traeys a esta casa este defundo, e dispoés que lo dexera, que era un echora del Vergen me lo dexaron dormir essa noche allí… (II.VI.237)

Gavilán elaborates on Yupanqui's testimony, adding details such as a platform (*andas*)—which would have been used to transport or parade both the crafted figures of Catholic saints and the preserved bodies of deceased Andean ancestors and rulers—and the dramatic repentance of the Corregidor:

> Fue passando por algunos tambos, o ventas, y allá a prima noche vino a llegar al de Hayohayo, y pusieron la Imagen al çaguán de las casas de Cabildo, donde en esta coyuntura estava apossentado un Corregidor del Arecaxa, y entrándose a recoger como viesse vulto a la puerta, y en una

> manera de andas, pensando que era cuerpo muerto le dio un puntapié, riñendo a los Indios porque allí avían puesto aquello, dezíanle lo que era, y él no los entendiendo mandava con mucha cólera que lo echassen fuera. A este tiempo llegó Don Diego Churatopa, uno de los compañeros de Don Francisco, que se avía quedado atrás, y le dixo en lengua Castellana lo que traían, él para se enterar bien de lo que era, hizo traer lumbre, y descubrir la Imagen devotíssima, y prostrándose de rodillas la adoró, y por aquella noche la hizo poner en un lugar decente, no poco confuso de lo que le avía sucedido, y avía hecho, sin saber lo que se hazía. (II.III.221)

This episode conflates the image of the Virgin with the image of a mummy, two human figures that Spanish theologians allege to be inanimate, but which, in the Andean context, can embody an animate being. Catholic Virgins and Andean mummies (*mallki*) played active roles in the daily physical and spiritual lives of their worshippers, participating and interceding in human affairs of all kinds. Recalling that the Virgin of Copacabana was created and called upon to avert famine, it is striking to recognize that the mummy of an Inca ruler was "the repository of the ruler's feminine side and was associated with both crop and human fertility" (Dean *Culture* 42).[33] In terms of functionality then, one could replace the other, and the Magistrate's initial inability to distinguish between the two makes this all the more apparent. Further, Virgins and mummies could sometimes be found in a shared sacred space: the local Catholic parish. For instance, when Viceroy Toledo set his sights on separating Andeans from their ancestors, some people responded by burying their mummies within the physical space of the church (Mumford

[33] For more on Andean mummies, see: Dean ("Afterlife" 2010) and Morgan Butts' recent dissertation (2016).

164). This way they could continue to interact with their dead, in secret, and under the peaceful, protective gaze of the Virgin Mary.

While the Virgin of Copacabana is materially neither a stone nor a mummy, the pigments that color her surface—a key aspect of her materiality—embody the state of vital suspension that is indicative of both cadavers and rocks. These pigments include azurite and realgar (burnt orpiment), which are found on her cloak, and atacamite (a polymorph of copper), which gives the greenish hue to her veil (Siracusano 401-3).[34] The first two can be found in early modern written sources, such as Spanish testimonies that identify certain powders or pigments in descriptions of "idolatrous" practices, as well as in the treatises and manuals of various European painters (393, 401). The latter pigment, however, is "absent in the Spanish manuals of the period" and "never detected before in the Andean palette" (403). Beyond the recent scientific analysis that identified atacamite on the veil of Copacabana's Virgin, it has also been found by archaeologists and positively identified through chemical analysis in pre-Hispanic Inca burials in the Tojo and Jujuy highlands of northern Chile, the Humahuaca Valley of northwestern Argentina, and Bolivia's Lipes plateau.

As suggested by its name, atacamite is a naturally occurring copper ore found in the Atacama Desert, a region included in the province of Potosí during Yupanqui's lifetime (404). Gabriela Siracusano suggests that atacamite "may well have appealed to him [Yupanqui] because it had a powerful presence in the native tradition" (404-5).[35] Siracusano's analysis of the

[34] We might also remember that, while azurite, orpiment, and atacamite are all minerals, a rock is—scientifically—nothing more than two or more minerals combined.

[35] This process appears to be supported by a poignant anecdote from Siracusano's fieldwork:

> From what can be called an anthropology of matter, these subtle green pigments, once used in non-Christian ritual, remained present through the

materiality of the Virgin of Copacabana and other viceregal objects concludes that "[t]he memory of old practices remains in the material of these images." However, it could be than more than a memory remains. If Andean materials are metonymic, and if their sacredness is transubstantial, the materiality of the Virgin may carry *kamay* (a vital essence and presence) that has been unrecognized—or simply ignored—in Christian or secular narratives, old and new.[36]

II. Sisters and Stones

We cannot know if Yupanqui's Virgins were attempts at creating, or a natural vessel for, indigenous subtexts, paratexts, or countertexts, but we should allow for the possibility that they were read—or promoted—as such, leading to enduring consequences. In a series of interviews conducted in the highlands of Bolivia between 2009 and 2013 by Gabriela Behoteguy Chávez, the Virgin Mary emerges as if from the documentation of an early colonial extirpation campaign: she shape-shifts, taking the form of humans, animals, and rocks; she bridges life, death, and empires through the manufacture of sacred textiles; like Jesus turning water to wine, her tiny *cantarito de chicha* is inexhaustible; and she and her sisters function as *mallkus* (originary ancestors), connecting *ayllus* (kin-groups) to their land and to each other.[37]

> material of a new sacred image. The extent to which the sacred presence of this color persists for the faithful became evident during conservation work on the image. Rúa Landa, who directed the project, recalls how every cotton swab used to clean the sculpture at the sanctuary mysteriously disappeared every afternoon. After a few days, she realized that the swabs had been taken by silent and anonymous devotees who wanted to preserve what they had absorbed. (405)

[36] For discussions on *kamay*, see: Allen and Topic (in Bray 2015) and Salomon (1991).

[37] *Ayllu*: …a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. […] …for practical purposes it was not precise genealogy that finally decided who belonged to an *ayllu*, but rather social conduct—

While several oral traditions exist concerning the Virgin of Copacabana's arrival to Santa Ana, a common feature is her embodiment of the human form and daily activities of a highland woman. In one story, as a statue she had been set in a corner, so she simply got up and walked with her son though the countryside where she passed her time weaving beautiful textiles and helping other women herd their sheep (4). In another story, the Virgin animates from her statue when Tito Yupanqui stops to rest on their long journey: "'y dice que la Virgen extendió su *awayu* y colocó su telar; dice que los comunarios, viendo a una mujer, le preguntaron: '¿Tan lindo tejes?' muy fino dice que era la obra'" (7). Like Copacabana's female Inca elite, or the virgins of many Andean nations who wove for the Sapa Inca on Lake Titicaca's Island of the Moon, this Virgin's weaving was superior and solicited awe from the people of the region.[38]

The Virgin of Copacabana's ability to animate from her wooden statue brings her closer to the idea of a previously or potentially animate stone *waka*, but other Virgins actually are stones. These include countless "Vírgenes de Piedra," rural Stone Virgins that are housed in small chapels and in peoples' homes, and which both actively communicate and physically contain the divine.[39] Their veracity as Virgins derives from their natural, unworked state of

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> including political alliance—befitting a genealogically connected person. (Salomon 22)

[38] For beautiful images and a helpful discussion of the rich tradition of Andean *Vírgenes tejedoras,* see: Damian (1995).

[39] These include the Stone Virgins that inhabit the province of Yampara in the department of Chiquisaca, Bolivia. Explanatory text at the Museo de Arte Indígena, a museum curated by the group Antropólogos del Sur (Asur), reads:

> "En Chiquisaca las Vírgenes que adoran las capillas en el campo, como las que se guardan en las casas, no son un 'bulto' hecho de yeso. Si es de yeso se dice que no es verdadero, sino una piedra que anuncia su presencia de modo sobrenatural: se escucha a alguien llorar y es la piedra o paraliza al que pasa o le habla. Estas piedras especiales pequeñas o grandes, en las

petrifaction, in contrast to the inauthenticity of their counterparts that are carved out of wood. One of contemporary Bolivia's most famous Stone Virgins is the Virgen del Calvario de Letanías de Viacha (in the Department of La Paz), a small painted rock (17 millimeters tall) that once existed in the human form of a woman—a *campesina* and master weaver who braided her own hair and taught other women in the countryside how to weave (12-13).[40] The Virgin of the Litany, however, is neither the best textile-maker nor the best weaving instructor in the highlands; nor is she the most important Virgin in terms of geography and patronage: those titles belong to the Virgin of Copacabana, the tiny stone Virgin's older sister. In one tradition, the Virgin of Copacabana, the Virgin of the Litany of the Calvary of Viacha, and the Virgin of the Star of the Chuchulaya Valley "'llegaron volando a sus pueblos en forma de palomas blancas.[41]

> cuales se siente la presencia de la divinidad son recogidas por los caminantes (…)." (qtd. in Behoteguy 16)

[40] This Virgin belongs to a tradition of painted "piedras santos" (stone saints) included in Varinia Oros Rodríguez's catalog for the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Foklore's (MUSEF, La Paz, Bolivia) 2015 exhibit, "Retablos y piedras santos: La materialidad de las waka's" (29-32). According to Miriam Vargas (who presented on the subject at the Colectivo *Ch'ixi* on August 22, 2015), these stones (like the stone Virgins of Chiquisaca), which are normally triangular or rectangular in shape, are found while working in fields and pastures (Oros Rodríguez 31). The individual admires it and picks it up to observe it, but then puts it back down. When that person subsequently falls inexplicably ill and/or sees the stone in a dream, a *yatiri* (*curandero*/healer) attends to the patient or interprets the dream, recovers the stone, and then takes it to someone who can identify the saint "traced" (*calcada*) on its surface, and then paint the saint to clarify the image. The most commonly identified saint is the Virgin Mary herself, and the Virgin of Copacabana counts among these images. (See pages 164-65 of the catalog for a *piedra santo* that includes both the Virgin of Copacabana and Tata Santiago).

[41] Although two (turtle)doves (*tórtolas* or *palomas*) carried by Mary in a basket is part of the iconography of the Virgin of the Candelaria, it is intriguing that this story relates a total of three doves: the Virgin of Copacabana and two of her sisters. In Catholic (and Islamic) tradition, a white dove not only represents the Holy Spirit, but also the Virgin Mary—conceived and living without sin, according to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Therefore, the Virgin of Copacabana's modern presentation holding a basket with two doves, as she is found in her sanctuary and in some popular artisanship, could easily be read as these three *mallkus*. (See Oros Rodríguez, pages 100-107 and 218 for examples.) Regarding the biblical tradition of the two

Dice que habían salido de un hueco en la tierra, en el calvario de 'Las Letanías'. Una se había ido a Copacabana, la otra a Chuchulaya y la otra se había quedado ahí en 'Las Letanías'" (17).[42] As Behoteguy points out, it is difficult to read this as anything besides an Andean Christian manifestation of *pakarinas*, holes in the earth from which *mallkus* (originary ancestors) emerge to establish *ayllus.* This would make each Virgin the true patron of her land, the land a birthright of her people, and the people and land of one *ayllu* connected to the others through this geographically expansive sisterhood of Virgins.

In another tradition the Virgin of Copacabana has four sisters, all Patron Saints of their respective geographies: the Virgin of the Litany in Viacha, the Virgin of the Star in Chuchulaya, the Virgin of the Nativity in Puerto Acosta, and the Virgin of Mercy in Nazacara (17).[43] While each one is a sister of the Virgin from Lake Titicaca, they are not necessarily or unambiguously sisters to each other; this detail depends on the person telling the story. What does remain constant is that each Virgin finds a common relative and a respected elder in the Virgin of

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doves, they were brought as sacrifices to God when Jesus was presented in the temple as a first-born son and Mary completed her rights of purification forty days after his birth, as narrated in Luke 2:22-24. This was the sacrifice of the poor; wealthier people were required to bring a lamb and a young pigeon or turtledove.

[42] The Virgin of Chuchulaya appears to have an especially close relationship with the Virgin of Copacabana. Beyond the fact that they are both carved of wood and bear some stylistic similarities to one another, during the *fiestas* in which they are celebrated, they often leave their replacements (which function in the same way as an Inca's *wawqi*) to parade and be revered on their behalf, and they escape to the other sister's home when things get too loud or rowdy (Behoteguy 20). It should be noted that the original Virgin of Copacabana never leaves her sanctuary.

[43] The Virgin of the Litany is actually the patroness of the Calvary of Viacha, not of Viacha itself—this in spite of the fact that she was the first Virgin present in Viacha and that the people revere(d) her as their patroness and turn(ed) to her for blessings upon their daughters' coming-of-age, at which time these young women learn(ed) to weave Viacha's celebrated textiles; still, the Church refuse(d) to accept her as the patroness of the city, celebrating the Virgin of the Rosary as the Patron Saint of Viacha in her stead (Behoteguy 2013, 14, 19).

Copacabana, as well as an authority figure to whom they defer. A strikingly similar relationship is found in the late-sixteenth *Manuscrito Huarochirí*, the only extant colonial source document on pre-conquest Andean religion written in an Andean language (Eds. Salomon and Urioste 1991).[44] The famed extirpator of idolatry, Francisco de Ávila, commissioned this collection of testimonies from the Checa people, and later exploited its contents to persecute them and other indigenous Andeans. In it, the female figure of Chaupi Ñamca (a deity of the Checa and neighboring peoples, who lived just inland of Lima) stands out both in opposition and complement to the Virgin Mary. The *Manuscript* tells us, "In the old days this woman used to travel around in human form" (78). However, unlike the Virgin of Copacabana and other highland Virgins who travelled through the countryside teaching women to weave and helping them with their herds, Chaupi Ñamca had sex with other *wakas*, unsatisfied until she found a man whose "big cock satisfied [her] deliciously." Only then did she turn into a stone to be

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[44] Although the highland Virgins and the female deities of Huarochirí are from relatively distant regions, it is still productive to juxtapose their stories. As Frank Salomon explains:

> …while it is mistaken to take the Huarochirí myths as expressions of a pan-Andean religion, one may take them as representative of broader Andean cultural premises and tendencies that are manifest even in apical Inca cults. The sharing of underlying concepts makes possible ethnographic comparison with societies beyond the bounds of Huarochirí Province, both as seen in past times…and as witnessed by modern ethnographers. (5)

In addition, the language of the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, written largely in a non-standard Quechua dialect, shows strong "influence" or "interference" from the Jaqi (Aymara) family, which was the dominant indigenous language of an immense territory that began at Lake Titicaca and spread south (31). Jaqi's reach included "two areas close to the Huarochirí terrain. Both areas are in Yauyos Province, from which Huarochirí people were thought to have immigrated." During the reigns of Pachacutic Inca and his son, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, a proto-Aymara Jaqi was used as the *lingua franca* of their expanding empire (Cuzco was thus a bilingual city, but Cuzco Quechua remained the internal language of the court), resulting in the expansion of Jaqi as a language of trade and conquest far beyond its previous presence (Hardman de Bautista 189). All this points to a shared linguistic and cultural heritage between the lands of Lake Titicaca and the province of Huarochirí.

worshipped in many of the same manners as her brother, Paria Caca, the male complement to her female (77). When the Spaniards "appeared on the scene, people hid Chaupi Ñamca, the five-armed stone, underground in Mama, near the Catholic priest's stable. She's there to this day, inside the earth."[45]

The opposition (or complement) between the sexual appetite of Chaupi Ñamca and the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary notwithstanding, their Andean personae have at least two essential features in common.[46] First, indigenous Andeans refer to each female figure as "Mother" when speaking to her (77). As Mother, Chaupi Ñamca "was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men," and in colonial times Corpus Christi was celebrated as "'our mother's festival'" in honor of her (84). Second, they both have "sisters" who connect *ayllus* and accompanying territories to one another. In fact, "'Chaupi Ñamca was said to be made up of five persons,' the Checa say;" these five persons were her and her sisters, and they were all called "mothers" by the people (85). If regional Virgins in the Catholic world are manifestations of the singular Virgin Mary, and if Chaupi Ñamca embodies five deities that are also related to her as sisters, the highland tradition of the Virgin of Copacabana—the first and most important of three to five sisters—fits somewhere between these two structures. Finally, as with the narratives around the Virgin of Copacabana, "the fact is that in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions, and different names, too. People from Mama say one thing

[45] It was not an uncommon practice to bury sacred objects under or near a church, as in the case of ancestral mummies in Lima mentioned earlier in this chapter.

[46] Similarly, the chasteness of the Virgin Mary and the lustful nature of Pachamama caused colonial priests to avoid or reject a rhetorical connection between the two, even when they were comfortable with relating other Christian and Andean deities. However, Carol Damian's study of the Virgin Mary as portrayed by the Mestizo and indigenous artists of the colonial School of Cuzco describes the Virgins painted in there as syncretic, and argues that they present (rather than represent) both Mary and Pachamama (1995, 10). For more on Mary/Pachamama, see: Yetter (2017).

and the Checa say another" (87). The numbers and specific social and genealogical relations are not fixed but fluid, based on the realities or agendas of the people recounting them.

The *Huarochirí Manuscript* includes another story in which a stone is identified as a *waka*, and here the Virgin Mary is employed to defeat it:

> They say the *huaca* named Llocllay Huancupa was Pacha Camac's child.
>
> A woman named Lanti Chumpi, from Alay Satpa *ayllu*, found this *huaca*'s visible form while she was cultivating a field.
>
> As she dug it out the first time, she wondered, "What could this be?" and just threw it right back down on the ground.
>
> But, while she was digging another time, she found once again the same thing she'd found before.
>
> "This might be some kind of *huaca*!" she thought. And so, thinking, "I'll show it to my elders and the other people of my ayllu," she brought it back. (101)

While we are not told that this *waka* spoke to Lanti Chumpi or affected her physically—like the rocks that women in the highlands of Bolivia recognize and collect as virgins today—, something about the stone clearly called her attention. When finally forced by another *waka* to speak, the stone said that it was sent to protect the Checa village where the woman lived, and the people rejoiced and made a place to worship it in the courtyard of her home (101-2). Their level of worship waxed and waned both before and after the arrival of the Spanish, but according to the author, "if it hadn't been for a certain man who converted to God with a sincere heart and denounced the *huacas* as demons, people might well have kept on living that way for a long

time" (103).

This man was Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, the son of the deceased *curaca*. His father had converted to Christianity and fought idolatry until just before his death, at which point he "was deceived by these evil spirits and fell into the same sin." In turn, Don Cristóbal "was also deceived by the same ancient evil spirits because of his father's death" (104). One night at Lanti Chumpi's house, "that demon" [the *waka* Llocllay Huancupa] flashed before his eyes nine times, "like a silver plate that, mirroring the light of the midday sun, dazzles a man's eyesight." After reciting the Our Father and Hail Mary, it tried to overpower him with darkness and noise, so Cristóbal began invoking God and reciting the *doctrina* that he had been taught by the priests. When this did not work, and as he was losing hope along with his strength, he began to direct his pleas solely to the Virgin Mary, saying:

> "Oh mother, you are my only mother.
> Shall this evil demon overpower me?
> You, who are my mother, please help me
> Even though I am a great sinner,
> I myself served this very demon,
> Now I recognize that he was a demon all along,
> That he is not God,
> That he could never do anything good.
> You, my only queen,
> You alone will rescue me from this danger!
> Please intercede on my behalf with your son Jesus.
> Let him rescue me from this danger! […]"

Cristóbal then prayed the *Salve Regina* and *Mater Misericordae*, both in Latin, and while he was doing this, "that shameless wicked demon shook the house and, calling 'Chus!' in a very deep voice, went out of it in the form of a barn owl. / At that exact moment, the place became like dawn. […] From then on, Cristóbal worshipped God and Mary the Holy Virgin even more, so that they might help him always" (105). After this terrifying experience, Don Cristóbal warned "all the people" against worshiping the *waka*, ordering them not to enter or even approach the house where it lived, and telling them, "'Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him for good.'"

Frank Salomon notes that the phrase translated as *the place became like daw*n (*pachaca pacaric yna carcan*) "could be read in a grander sense as meaning 'the world was as if dawning.'" This "grander" iteration certainly foreshadows Calderón's language when at the end of his play the musicians sing, "Venturosa la mañana / que en duplicado arrebol / nos nace con mejor sol / la aurora en Copcabana" (vv. 4227-4230). But even in this *comedi*a's triumphant closing song, the poignant references to this New World Virgin's predecessor—"Piedra preciosa solía / llamarse su esfera hermosa, / pero oy la piedra preciosa / es la imagen de María" (vv. 4231-4234)—and to the Old World's transformation from pagan to Christian—"Del Faubro la idolatría / que la posseyó tirana / más luz en febrero gana, / pues de nuestra fe crisol" (vv. 4235-4236)—have a similar effect as the closing of Don Cristóbal's story in the Huarochirí. In response to his admonishments and warnings, the speaker tells us, "Some people probably assented, while others stood mute for fear of that demon" (105). In fact, in the very next chapter we learn that Don Cristóbal confronted and defeated the *waka* Llocllay Huancupa, purportedly in a dream, and that, "[f]rom that exact time on, right up to the present, he defeated various *huacas* in his dreams in the same way. Any number of times he defeated both Paria Caca and Chaupi

Ñamca, telling the people all about it over and over again, saying, 'They're demons!'" (110). If in Calderón's *Aurora* and Gavilán's *Historia* the memory of *wakas* remains, in the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, the *wakas* themselves continue to exist alongside Mary, never entirely defeated.

As much as these texts try to convince the reader that Mary has effectively replaced her pagan predecessors, suspicions that her predecessors are in fact her contemporaries—or even embodied in the Virgin herself—are not just difficult to suppress, they are confirmed by oral testimony. The Virgin of Copacabana and her Andean sisters are among the most emblematic as well as rhetorically problematic "mestizo mechanisms" in the Viceroyalty of Peru, for in spite of their mixed lineages and unorthodox customs, their essential quality as the mother of God presupposes a purity beyond reproach: a mysteriously immaculate *mestizaje*.

Conclusion

The Virgin of Copacabana was designed by a series of actors to reach distinct but, at times, intersecting ends: Inca nobility who sought to ensure their dominance over other indigenous communities of the Viceroyalty of Peru; Spanish and Creole clergy working to replace Andean "idolatry" with a sanctioned, Catholic cult of Hyperdulia; Creoles attempting to articulate and consolidate viceregal and ecclesiastical sovereignty by displacing both Peninsular Spaniards and Andean Mestizos; and, once enthroned, other indigenous actors who employed this Virgin in the preservation or rearticulation of pre-Hispanic and even pre-Inca social organization and sacrality. But while this Virgin may have been "born" in the Kingdom of Peru without stain, her cult was literally built upon "idolatry;" and if her statue was installed in Copacabana as an object of reverence to replace the adoration of idols there, these idols were the very tools that God used toward his glory. In contrast to the human realm of the Kingdom of Peru as presented in Ramos Gavilán's *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*,

which is nearly cleansed of persons of mixed ancestry, its spiritual realm is of unquestionably mixed ancestry, exemplified by and embodied in this particular Virgin.

CHAPTER 4

At the hour of our death:

Mary, Martyrdom, and Moriscos in the Alpujarra and Beyond

Introduction

As a principal figure in both Christianity and Islam, the Virgin Mary is easily exploited when the two religions collide. On the one hand, her holiness, familiarity, and maternal traits are used to attract potential converts to both religions, acting as a sort of gentle gateway before reaching more problematic or offensive dogma. On the other, she is used to define ideological divisions and instigate actual aggressions by declaring or rejecting her son's divinity. And somewhere in the middle, on unsteady soil that threatens both sects—or, in the words of the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas, threatens to "revive old heresies and start other new ones" (555, translation mine)—is the Mary that challenges all binaries and absolutes in the realms of the human and the divine.[47] This chapter explores how all three versions of Mary factor into narratives by and about Moriscos, particularly in relation to their rebellion in the Alpujarra (1568-1571), and how these narratives reflect, and perhaps even informed, the displacement of Moriscos from the lands and histories of Spain. Of course, Christian conversions deemed incomplete or feigned, Christian practices judged syncretic or heretical, and Christianity competing and/or converging with another religion were not purely peninsular concerns.

[47] This quote is from a document that addresses a series of "relics" and "gospels" found in Granada, and which will be discussed later in this chapter. De las Casas affirms that he pleaded with the tribunal charged with their investigation, asking that "considerasse que la Iglesia de Dios no tenía necessidad de nuevas reliquias, aunque fuessen certíssimas, de los apóstoles y le importava mucho *que no se renovassen las heregías antiguas o començassen otras nuevas*" (554-555, italics mine).

Therefore, this chapter will also explore how narratives that appear to engage only a single geography and its converts—in this case, Peru and its Indios, or Spain and its Moriscos—still subtly, yet powerfully, evoke the other.

Part One: Mary in the Rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada

> "Ved aora, valerosos cavalleros y soldados, qué es vuestro parecer; y si es justo que Don Fernando Rey sea, y por fuerça le compeleremos que acete la corona; porque se entiende que será para el bien de todos y de nuestra libertad." Apenas Abenchohar [tío de Don Fernando] avía dicho estas palabras quando todo aquel confuso escuadrón movió un grande alarido, diziendo: "viva el Rey Don Fernando Muley…." […] Luego començaron a sonar músicas, dulçaynas y chirimías, y trompetas y atabales, con tanto ruydo que parecía undirse el mundo. Luego le pusieron encima de la cabeça una corona de plata dorada y rica, que era de un imagen de nuestra Señora y para aquel caso la tenía Abenchohar proveyda. Después de coronado le fue tomado juramento sobre un libro del Alcorán, que los ampararía y defendería hasta la muerte.
>
> —Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Las guerras civiles de Granada*, Part Two (14-15)

The Morisco rebellion in the Alpujarra caused a rupture in the already precarious relationship between the Old Christian state and its New Christian subjects that would never be mended. In the epigraph above, taken from Ginés Pérez de Hita's chronicle of this civil war, a young Morisco noble of royal Andalusi lineage—Don Fernando Muley, lord of Válor—is tapped to serve as king to his people as they take a series of irreversible steps toward a failed insurgence, unimaginable suffering, and perpetual exile. Enthroned as Abenhumeya, this tragic antihero did not choose his role in this catastrophe, but rather was chosen for it. Nor did he witness the ultimate failure of the rebellion: his death came early, at the traitorous hands of his own men and their Turkish allies, and with the defiant pronouncement, "'Una cosa os sé decir a todos, y es, que muero cristiano, no en la secta de Mahoma, que desconozco'" (219). Regardless of the religion he professed at his death, Don Fernando's earthly fate was sealed the moment he

allowed an ill-gotten, gold-plated crown to be placed on his head—a crown that had been stolen from a figure of the Blessed Virgin.

Robbing Mary's crown for a rebel Morisco king would have been a powerful gesture in Granada where, as in Copacabana, Christians first wielded the Virgin in the psychological battles of conquest, and then employed her as the spiritual cornerstone of a New Jerusalem.[48] This process is embedded in the collective memory and materiality of the kingdom, and is evidenced in one of "Christian" Granada's earliest and most celebrated events: Hernán Pérez del Pulgar's nocturnal entrance into the city in the year 1490. According to legend, this nobleman from Ciudad Real (Castile) had planned to set Granada's Great Mosque aflame but, unable to do so, he attached to its main door the *Ave María*, along with a note announcing that, having already claimed possession of the mosque in the name of the Catholic Monarchs, he was leaving the Virgin there as a captive to be redeemed when the city was conquered. Indeed, when Nasrid Granada fell two years later, the mosque was immediately reconsecrated in the name of the Virgin of the Incarnation.

Luis del Mármol Carvajal builds on this foundation in his *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reyno de Granada* (1600).[49] In the tradition of associating or actively aligning important human events with the supernal timeline of the Church calendar, Mármol Carvajal explains that the mosque of the Albaycín was reconsecrated on the feast day of Our Lady of the O (also known as Our Lady of the Expectation) during Hernando de Talavera's tenure as Archbishop of Granada, and the first stone of Granada's "Iglesia mayor" (built on the

[48] For an overview of both the general vision and practical technicalities of the conversion of Granada into a "New Jerusalem," see: García-Arenal (2015).

[49] For a recent critical edition of this text and an excellent introduction to the author and his works, see: Castillo Fernández (2013).

site of the Great Mosque when it was finally taken down) was placed on the day of Our Lady of March under his successor, Archbishop Antonio de Rojas Manrique (I:114, 108).[50] Both of these solemn yet celebratory occasions can be read as acts of conquest within a larger historical narrative that culminates in the Alpujarra.

Mármol Carvajal's *Historia* is one of three major chronicles written about the rebellion by men who served in it on the side of the crown—the other two being Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada* (1610) and the second part of Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1619). It is the only one, however, to be published before the edict of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, and is arguably the one that presents the Moriscos in the harshest light; this is interesting given that Mármol Carvajal served as a bureaucrat and not as a soldier, while the other two authors saw combat. Mármol Carvajal consistently offers painfully detailed descriptions of cruelties carried out by Moriscos against Christians while tempering the reverse, allowing Christian cruelties to remain masked by dry statistics on casualties and captives, or buried in verbiage that makes brutalities and excesses sound like acceptable acts of war or examples of just vengeance. Given its tenor, it is not surprising that his barbed and emotive narrative also includes more (and more significant) references to the Virgin Mary than the other chronicles.

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[50] The consecration of the church in the Albaycín occurred, according to Mármol Carvajal, during a period when the evangelization methods of Talavera and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, were allegedly aligned, and exceedingly productive:

> ...dentro de pocos días vinieron muchos hombres y mugeres a pedir el santo baptismo con autoridad de sus propios Alfaquís, y en un solo día se baptizaron más de tres mil personas; y fue tanta la priesa, que no pudiéndolos baptizar a cada uno de por sí, fue necesario que el Arzobispo de Toledo los rociase con hisopo en general baptismo: y en la fiesta de nuestra Señora de la O consagró la mezquita del Albaycín, y quedó Iglesia Colegial de la advocación de San Salvador. (114)

I. Women, Mary, and Heresy in the Alpujarra

The Virgin Mary as a passive character appears early on in Mármol Carvajal's narration of the rebellion of the Alpujarra itself, first in the town of Pitres, and then again in Verja. In both of these cases, Christian women are singled out for verbal and physical attack alongside Mary, and the Moriscos are referred to not simply as Moors but also as heretics—heresy being a crime punishable by death in both Christianity and Islam. In his retelling of the torture and murder of priests and other Christians in Pitres, with the prominent participation of Morisca women, Mármol Carvajal offers an alternative vision of a female Moorish subject while still associating the Moriscos in general with a venomous hatred for the Catholic version of Mary:

> Mataron también este día una Morisca viuda, que había sido muger de un Christiano, llamada Inés de Cepeda, porque no quiso ser Mora como ellos; y les decía que era Christiana, y que no quería mayor bien que morir por Jesu-Christo. En esta constancia la degollaron, y dio el alma a su Criador encomendándose munchas veces a la gloriosa virgen María. No podían los descreídos llevar a paciencia, que los Christianos, quando se veían en aquel punto se encomendasen a Dios y a su bendita madre. Y como hereges y malos les decía: "Perros, Dios no tiene madre": y los herían cruelísimamente. (I: 268-269)

The martyred Morisca was a true Christian, willing to die for her faith. This may be read as a nod to the supposed efficacy of mixed marriages in facilitating true assimilation and conversion (a central solution to the "morisco problem" as proposed by figures such as Ignacio de las Casas and Pedro de Valencia, and seen in Chapter 2), or even an example of practiced faith trumping ethno-religious lineage. It can also be read, however, as an example of the irredeemable nature of

heretics who would sully all females of Christendom, including a convert from their own nation, and the holy Mother she called upon at the moment of her death.

In Pitres, Mary is evoked by infidels spurning her name, and invoked by the faithful at the hour of their death, but her image is not physically present in the narration. The Christians of Verja, by contrast, witness the physical destruction of their church and its holy objects, including a statue of the Virgin Mary, before they are killed:

> Siendo pues ganadas las torres, los enemigos de Christo, y especialmente los monfis y gandules, destruyeron y robaron la iglesia, deshicieron los altares, patearon las aras, los calices y los corporales, derribaron el arca del santísimo Sacramento, tomaron un Christo crucificado, y con voz de pregonero le anduvieron azotando por toda la iglesia; y haciéndole pedazos a cuchilladas, le arrojaron después en un fuego, donde tenían puestos los retablos y las imágenes. Y derribando una imagen de vulto de nuestra Señora, que estaba sobre el altar mayor, la arrojaron por las gradas abaxo, diciendo los hereges por escarnio: "Guardate no te descalabres". Y a las Christianas que estaban allí presentes les decían: que por qué no favorecían a su madre de Dios, y otras munchas blasfemias, deshonrándolas de perras, y amenazándolas con la muerte. (I: 308-309)

Christian women, targeted for their faith in general and for their relationship with Mary in particular, suffer the same verbal abuse as their Blessed Virgin, and the same physical destruction. The day after the church and its graven images are destroyed, the Christians themselves, men and women, are brought into the plaza "con grande fiesta de atabalejos y dulzaínas," and all those over the age of twelve are killed. The victims' Morisco executioners

reproached them as they died, "escarneciéndolos, y haciendo burla, porque se encomendaban a Jesu-Christo y a su bendita madre" (309). In this scenario, images of Jesus and Mary were dishonored and destroyed, as were the faithful who adored them.

While the victimization of Christians and the Virgin Mary in Pitres and Verja offer poignant stories to be lamented, the juxtaposition of Morisco evil and excess with Christian faith and innocence is fully developed as a shared experience between actor (textual subject) and audience (reader or listener) when a Marian celebration coincides with a battle: the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Candlemas) and the battle in the sierra of Ohánez.[51] This battle is carried out by the Marqués de los Vélez who, after being apprised of the presence of a large contingent of Moriscos on a certain hill in the Sierra Nevada, "mandó enderezar hacia ellos el siguiente día, víspera de la Purificación de nuestra Señora" (I: 467). As in many battles in this war, the Moriscos had in their favor their knowledge of the land and the power of their desperation, while the Christians held the advantages of both numbers and weapons.[52] Mármol

[51] As we saw in Chapter 3, this feast day, also called the Feast of the Presentation of our Lord Jesus, is held on February 2 and celebrates the ritually prescribed presentation of Jesus at the Temple in Jerusalem forty days after his birth (or 33 days after his circumcision), and the end of Mary's post-partum purification period. The Hispanic Virgin associated with this day, the Virgen de la Candelaria, originated in Tenerife during Castile's conquest of the Canary Islands, and she was embodied in the previous chapter in the Virgin of Copacabana of viceregal Peru, another virgin closely associated with conquest and conversion.

[52] The Moriscos' defeat here is all but foretold by their unfortunate choice in battleground and, perhaps, their audacity in rebeling against the crown for a second time:

> Era este lugar y sitio donde los Moros se habían juntado asaz fuerte para poderse defender, aunque de agüero infelice a su nación, porque allí se bían juntado en la rebelión pasada en tiempo de los Reyes Cathólicos; y siendo cercados y acosados por el Conde de Lorin, habían perecido de hambre, y por eso le llamaban el Cosar de Canjáyar, como si dixésemos, el lugar de la hambre. (468)

Carvajal captures this in his presentation of the Morisco captain, Tahali, and his attempt to rally his troops in the face of certain defeat:

> "Adelante, valerosos hombres, y hermanos míos, que no nos importa menos el vencer, que librar nuestras personas y las de nuestras mugeres y hijos de muerte y captiverio. Los que decís que por mi respeto os levantastes, pelead en esta ocasión, libraréis vuestra causa de culpa; lo que no podréis hacer siendo vencidos, porque ningún vencido es tenido por justo, quedando por juez de ella el vencedor enemigo." No esperaron los animosos bárbaros a que nuestra gente llegase, favorecidos del sitio: los quales tomando ánimo con las palabras que el Moro les decía, aunque eran muchos menos, y estaban peor armados, se vinieron a nuestros esquadrones… (467)

The Moriscos' resistance is fierce enough to require that the Marqués and other principal nobleman enter the fray, but in the end—and in the customary style of the dry, perfunctory summaries of causalities and spoils of war included in this chronicle—one thousand Moriscos are killed, one thousand six hundred of their women and children are captured, and the loot in clothing, jewelry, and livestock is considerable (468-469). As is also customary in his text, Mármol Carvajal contrasts the suffering of Christian women with the violence of their Morisca counterparts, writing in this instance:

> Cobraron libertad treinta Christianas que llevaban captivas, habiendo degollado con bárbara crueldad el día antes otras veinte, y entre ellas algunas doncellas hermosas y nobles, que las proprias Moras las habían hecho matar, y vituperadolas con mil géneros de vituperios; mas no quedaron sin castigo, porque los soldados mataron algunas en la pelea, y otras en el alcance, que aunque

> Moras, hacían lastima, por ser mugeres: la qual se convirtió en ira luego que se entendió la maldad que habían hecho. (469)

Though Pérez de Hita and Hurtado de Mendoza also recount acts of offensive or defensive violence carried out by Moriscas, Mármol Carvajal is so insistent throughout his chronicle about the number and nature of the great evils committed by Moorish women that one might wonder whether this is a deliberate attempt to assuage the readers' consciences along with the soldiers' who, based on these women's vile actions, were able to transform their "pity" for them into "rage." In any case, this specific juxtaposition of female Christian victims and their Morisca aggressors takes on special significance in light of the timing of the battle and the religious celebration the day after its conclusion:

> Habida esta vitoria, se alojó nuestro campo en Ohanez, donde fue otro día celebrada la fiesta de la gloriosa virgen Señora nuestra con gran solenidad, yendo el Marqués de los Vélez y todos los caballeros y capitanes en la procesión armados de todas sus armas, con velas de cera blanca en las manos, que se las habían enviado para aquel día desde su casa, y todas las Christianas en medio vestidas de azul y blanco, que por ser colores aplicadas a nuestra Señora, mandó el Marqués que las vistiesen de aquella manera a su costa. Anduvo la procesión por entre las esquadras armadas, que le hicieron muy hermosas salvas de arcabucería, y entró en la iglesia cantando los clérigos y frayles del exército el cantico de *Te Deum laudamus*, y glorificando al Señor en aquel lugar, donde los hereges le habían blasfemado. (469-470)

This brief description elicits the participation of readers' senses, emotions, and embodied memories. A Catholic audience of this period would have been familiar with the performance of

Candlemas: the spectacular sight of white candles burning, held in the hands of the faithful; the cool hues of blue and white adorning the purified Virgin; the solemn yet celebratory chant of the *Te Deum* (*Te Deum laudamus*, "We praise Thee, O God"). But, in this wartime iteration, fully armed nobles and captains who survived the battle carry the candles and, in them, the light of Jesus; thirty women—newly freed captives who were spared the fate of their twenty peers whose throats were slit—wear the blue and white gowns of the holy Virgin Mary; and battle-worn priests and army friars chant the *Te Deum*, praising God alongside His angels, apostles, prophets, and martyrs, and asking the Lord to save, bless, and govern His people forevermore. All of these participants, accompanied by the sound of artillery fire and the smell of gunpowder, proceed through armed squadrons into the church, "glorifying the Lord in that place, which the heretics had blasphemed." This is a powerful vision of triumph and redemption designed by the Marqués to be performed by his troops, written by the chronicler to be experienced by his readers, and potentially recalled by these first and second-hand witnesses every year at Candlemas.[53]

Pérez de Hita's rendering of events at Ohánez differs greatly from Mármol Carvajal's, including the number and gender of the Christians whose throats were slashed (more than thirty in total, but only two or three women among them), the activities carried out on the feast day of La Candelaria (which were limited to the burial of the Christian victims), and the role of Moriscas in the violence: in the *Guerras civiles*, it is a single Morisca—"una mora vieja encantadora o hechizera"—who incites the murders, and it is she who kills the women.[54] But

[53] If we are to believe Mármol Carvajal, the Marqués de los Vélez arranged beforehand the delivery of the candles, and either had the women's garments on hand or salvaged them on site (perhaps from the Moriscos' confiscated belongings?). This would have required a considerable amount of preparation.

[54] Aquella noche que el campo llegó al losado, los moros de Ohánez cruelmente degollaron más de treynta Christianos que tenían en su poder, y esto se hizo por

perhaps most important to this sequence is the narration of the massacre that took place in Felix just before the battle of Ohánez. Pérez de Hita, who was an eyewitness to the events, describes it as the most woeful encounter of the entire war (73-86). Among the many horrors he beheld in person and later rebuked on paper was the brutal murder of a mother along with her children; only her youngest child survived, a baby who crawled to her naked breast and tried to nurse, his mouth filling up with her milk and her blood. Pérez de Hita says he collected the child in his arms, and took it to safety.

In contrast to these pitiful images, Mármol Carvajal places women and children directly on the battle lines in his brief relation of the events at Felix, where he says that Moriscas fought "como animosos varones," even blinding Christian soldiers with dirt once they ran out of rocks to throw at them (I: 451-452). His constant (and arguably exaggerated) weaponization of Moriscas, coupled with his martyrization of Christian women and their Blessed Virgin, puts Moriscas directly at odds with Mary, the ultimate Spanish Catholic model for feminine virtue and maternal integrity.

II. The Virgin in Galera, Tíjola, and Guadalupe

Mármol Carvajal's harsh juxtaposition of heretical aggressor and righteous victim should not be underestimated in a culture with a tradition of constructing stories (oftentimes long after

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> consejo de una mora vieja encantadora o hechizera que les dixo a los Moros que si no degollavan a aquellos Christianos que serían presto vencidos y muertos, y que convenía que aquellos Christianos muriessen por su remedio de ello, y que pues los del Marqués avian degollado tantos Moros en Felix, que también era razón que ellos degollassen todos aquellos Christianos que a las manos les viniessen: assí, a esta causa, aquella noche los Moros de Ohánez degollaron los Christianos que allí avía, entre los quales avía dos donzellas o tres, las más bellas que se hallavan en todo el río de Almería; a éstas degolló la misma morisca vieja hechizera, natural de un lugar llamado Urraca, en el río de Almançora, a donde avía los más infames y perros moriscos hereges que tenía el mundo, como diremos adelante. (Pérez de Hita 98)

the events they evoked) in which images of Mary were targeted by Muslims during their conquest of the Iberian Peninsula; others in which the Virgin aided Christian knights, nobles, and kings in their recuperation of lands lost; and still others that embraced both storylines, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe. The Virgin of Guadalupe is an early fourteenth century Black Madonna who reappeared, legend says, at the battle of Salado—more than six centuries after her burial during the Islamic conquest—to secure Alfonso XI's victory against the combined forces of Granada and Morocco. It is no wonder then that she appears, however tentatively or forced, in Mármol Carvajal's *Historia*.

It is in events surrounding the siege of Galera, a particularly drawn-out and dramatic campaign tactically defined by trenches, mines, and heavy artillery, where we find the Virgin Mary in both Mármol Carvajal and Pérez de Hita's chronicles. Pérez de Hita summarizes the final battle of the siege—which Don Juan de Austria commands wearing a "fuerte y rico morrión…con un hermoso y rico penacho, cuyo assiento era en una rica medalla de la Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Concepción" (274)—as follows:

> …murieron de los enemigos dos mil y ochocientos hombres y como unas ochocientas mugeres y criaturas…se cautivaron hasta otras mil y quinientas personas de mugeres y niños, porque a hombre ninguno se tomó con vida, aviendo muerto todos…Se usó de tanto rigor y severidad con las mugeres y criaturas que me parece se llevó el estrago mucho más allá de lo que permitía la justicia y era propio de la misericordia de la gente española, que siempre se señaló hasta en favor de los bárbaros; no huvo piedad para ninguno, alcançando la muerte no solo a las mugeres sino también a las criaturas bautizadas…. (284-285)

Mármol Carvajal was present at the siege of Galera, and while he attests to its extreme violence, he celebrates a difficult victory rather than lamenting the brutality of its battles, or the excesses of its aftermath. Early on in the narration he implicates women and even children in attacks on the crown's forces: "…era grande el daño que recebían [los cristianos] de los traveses y de las piedras que les arrojaban a peso desde un reducto alto, donde estaban los Moros Berberiscos, y entre ellos algunas Moras que peleaban como varones, siendo bien proveídas de piedras de las otras mugeres, y de los muchachos que se las traían y daban a la mano" (II: 241). The Moriscas are placed here alongside North African combatants who not only embody the fear that Moriscos were a dangerous fifth column within Spain, but who also call to mind battles like Salado, in which troops from Granada and the Maghreb fought side by side against a Christian sovereign.

As the violence progresses and the Moriscos' resistance remains strong, Don Juan de Austria vows the following: "'Yo hundiré a Galera, y la asolaré, y sembraré toda de sal; y por el riguroso filo de la espada pasarán chicos y grandes, quantos están dentro, por castigo de su pertinacia, y en venganza de la sangre que han derramado'" (244). This is indeed how the battle of Galera ended, with two thousand Moors, according to Mármol Carvajal, corralled and killed in the plaza alone. Even those who surrendered elsewhere were executed, "porque aunque se rendían, no quiso Don Juan de Austria que diesen vida a ninguno; y todas las calles, casas y plazas estaban llenas de cuerpos de Moros muertos, que pasaron de dos mil y quatrocientos hombres de pelea los que perecieron a cuchillo en este día" (248). As promised, the king's brother showed no more mercy toward women or children than he did to adult male fighters, and only allowed their slaughter to stop when his own soldiers began to protest—not because they had been asked to carry out a massacre of women and children, but because the massacre

entailed killing women and children who they could capture instead and sell as slaves.[55] The episode finally ends when Don Juan de Austria orders the author himself to make sure that the Moors' wheat and barley is collected ("que bastará para sustento de un año"), and that Galera be razed and sewn with salt (249).

As in the other sequences presented here, the Moriscas of Galera stand out for their violence; and as in the story of the Christian victory at Ohánez, the Virgin Mary is not evoked during the battle itself, but rather after its close. In this case, it is when Philip II receives news of the hard-fought victory:

> Alcanzó a su Magestad en nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, que iba de camino para la ciudad de Córdoba, donde había hecho llamamiento de cortes con deseo de ver los pueblos de la Andalucía, cosa que no había podido hacer hasta esta ocasión, desde que el Christianísimo Emperador su padre le había hecho dexación de los reynos, por las muchas y grandes ocupaciones que había tenido; mas no se hicieron por ello alegrías ni otra demostración de placer, solo dar gracias a Dios y a la gloriosa virgen María, encomendándoles el Cathólico Rey aquel negocio, por

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[55] Mientras se peleaba dentro en la villa, andaba Don Juan de Austria rodeándola por defuera con la caballería; y como algunos soldados, dexando peleando a sus compañeros, saliesen a poner cobro en las Moras que habían captivado, mandaba a los escuderos que se las matasen: los quales mataron mas de quatrocientas mugeres y niños. Y no pararan hasta acabarlas a todas, si las quejas de los soldados, a quien se quitaba el premio de la vitoria, no le movieran; mas esto fue quando se entendió que la villa estaba ya por nosotros, y no quiso que se perdonase a varón que pasase de doce años: tanto le crecía la ira, pensando en el daño que aquellos hereges habían hecho, sin jamás haberse querido humillar a pedir partido; y ansí hizo matar muchos en su presencia a los alabarderos de su guardia. Fueron las mugeres y criaturas, que acertaron a quedar con las vidas, quatro mil y quinientas, así de Galera, como de las villas de Orce y Castilleja, y de otras partes. (Mármol Carvajal 248-249)

> ser de calidad, que deseaba más gloria de la concordia y paz, que de la vitoria sangrienta. (249)

This ambiguous conclusion is strangely anticlimactic and unsettling. The king, in the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe—en route to his very first tour of Andalucía with more than a decade on the throne—gives thanks to God and Mary for the victory at Galera without celebrating it or willingly claiming it for himself. Perhaps, like Pérez de Hita, he felt that the harm inflicted "se llevó...mucho más allá de lo que permitía la justicia y era propio de la gente española" (285).

In the *Guerras civiles*, it is at the battle of Galera that the reader meets El Tuzaní, and hears the story of this Morisco's star-crossed love.[56] El Tuzaní is promised to Maleha, a beautiful Morisca from a prominent family and a sister of the rebel captain Maleh, but this marriage is never consummated: she is murdered during the siege. When El Tuzaní locates Maleha among Galera's dead, he buries his love and vows to kill the "perro Christiano" who took her life (294). He is able to carry out his plan by joining the ranks of Don Juan de Austria's army as an Old Christian soldier. Well liked and easily accepted, El Tuzaní listens night after night to his comrades' stories of murder, rape, and plunder, patiently waiting for the words that will reveal his prey. A fully bicultural and bilingual Morisco indistinguishable from Old Christians and entirely above suspicion, not only does El Tuzaní successfully infiltrate Don Juan de Austria's troops and kill the soldier who murdered Maleha, but he also gives the Moriscos of Tíjola the code word of the Christian camp so that they can escape, by dark, with their women and children. Fittingly, the secret code they speak to escape another massacre and defeat is *Santa María* (324-327). As with the appropriation of the Virgin's crown by the rebel king Abenhumeya, this re-appropriation of, not only the name, but also the protection of Mary is a

[56] Pérez de Hita claims to have first heard this story from several Moriscos before meeting and interviewing El Tuzaní for himself (339).

powerful statement: in a civil war where everyone is forced to choose sides, the Virgin Mary plays (or is played by) both.

The magnitude of Pérez de Hita's rhetorical maneuvering becomes apparent when his chronicle is read in tandem with Mármol Carvajal's. The latter presents a general and violent animosity toward Mary on the part of the Moriscos—something that is conspicuously missing from Pérez de Hita's text—and specifically involves the Virgin of Guadalupe in the brutal victory of Galera. Not only was Guadalupe known as a conqueror (and sometimes converter) of Moors, and as a liberator of their Christian captives in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, she was also widely credited for the Holy League's unlikely victory over the Ottoman Turks at Lepanto in 1571 (Remensnyder 101-3, 190, 201, 204, 212-13). Directly after quelling the rebellion in the Alpujarra, Don Juan de Austria led the Spanish fleet into battle—with its flagship flying a banner of Mary—, and Philip II personally thanked Guadalupe for that maritime victory with an offering made at her sanctuary: the lantern from the captured enemy flagship (301-2).[57]

By contrast, the civil war in the Alpujarra is not a place of Marian miracles, apparitions, or interventions, and when Philip II thankfully yet somberly attributes the victory at Galera to Guadalupe, he is effectively transferring the blood of those who died in the siege (loyal or rebellious, guilty or innocent, soldiers or civilians) from his own hands onto hers. But, after the rebellion is suffocated and the vast majority of the surviving Moriscos are exiled from Granada and resettled elsewhere in Andalucía and Castile, Mary does make a pair of miraculous appearances of sorts in the former Nasrid capital. This time, rather than being employed as a Christian martyr (as in Pitres, Verja, and Ohánez), as an unwitting conqueror of Moorish rebels

[57] Galera was slowly repopulated with new settlers, beginning at the end of the sixteenth century. The city's current crest features a Turkish flagship burning and sinking at sea.

(as in Galera), or as an accidental savior of Moriscos (as in Tíjola), she will be used in an attempt to rewrite the history of Christians and Muslims alike.

Part Two: Mary in the Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain

> La travaçión que tiene todo esto de Granada con lo de los moriscos es claríssima porque como tengo ya dicho, siendo estos libros en arábigo, que es la lengua en que ellos creen que está la verdad y certidumbre de las [e]scripturas sagradas y en sola la qual habla Dios con veras lo que pertenece a la fe, tienen por muy cierto que estos libros son verdad y que, *diziendo en ellos la Virgen que a de venir un rey árabe y sugetar la tierra y que en la junta y concilio que a de hazer juntar an de ver todos que no avemos seguido bien el Evangelio ni las [e]scrituras*, corresponde con lo que ellos tienen por verdad de su Alcorán...
>
> —Ignacio de las Casas, "Del libro *Ensalçamiento de la Virgen a los altos secretos de Dios*" (564-565, italics mine)

In 1588, nearly a century after Hernán Pérez del Pulgar's daring *Ave María* episode, the last surviving structure of Granada's Great Mosque—the minaret-turned-bell tower, or so-called Torre Turpiana—was being demolished to make way for new construction. Recovered from the ruins of the tower was a leaden box containing two relics, along with a parchment (*pergamino*) that explained what the relics were: half of the linen handkerchief (*paño* or *lienzo*) Mary used to dry her tears at the crucifixion of her Son, and a bone of the proto-martyr Saint Stephen. But that was just the beginning. The descendants of vanquished Nasrid nobility who planted those objects used the contested space of the Torre Turpiana as a staging ground for an elaborate deception that still has not been fully unraveled: the forged gospels, or "Lead Books," of Sacromonte.[58]

Discovered between 1595 and 1599, buried in the hill of Valparaíso just outside of the Albaycín, these mysterious, multilingual texts—though written largely in Arabic and in the voice of Mary—were a complicated experiment in syncretism that imagined for Granada a deep and

[58] For one of the most recent and complete studies on these forgeries and the Morisco milieu that created and translated them, see: García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano (2013). For an erudite study on how conversion, faith, and specific incidents such as the Lead Books affair fit into larger discussions regarding intellectual development in early modern Spain, see: Kimmel (2015)

grand Christian lineage. However, while the Lead Books provided the bishopric the spiritual validation and relevance it had so desperately longed for, they also introduced a whole host of problems for the Church in Spain, and in Rome. These new gospels presented revisions of the history of Christianity in general, and of Christianity on the Iberian Peninsula in particular, that were highly Arabized and Islamicized—a fact pointed out by Mármol Carvajal, who was one of the earliest reviewers of the documents. These revisions also favored the complex existences and ambiguous belief systems of many of Spain's marginalized Moriscos, offering a version of Christianity that was less offensive to Islam, and/or a version of Islam that was less offensive to Christianity—an interpretation that depended on the linguistic skills and personal motives of the books' many translators and assessors.

The linen handkerchief in the Torre Turpiana and the Lead Books in Valparaíso also pointed to the great power wielded by the Virgin Mary in Christianity and in Islam, a power so fierce that she could potentially pose a threat to the Church and the crown. This was the conclusion of the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas (quoted in the epigraph above), who argued that Mary's interfaith credibility was being grossly exploited to undermine Christianity and the Spanish state. According to De las Casas, the voice of the Virgin had been coopted to promote the Qur'anic belief that:

> ...nuestro Evangelio está depravado y no es el que enseñó Jesuchristo y tienen también por cierto que es verdad lo que tengo dicho que España a de ser otra vez suya y todos los della an de seguir la secta de su perverso Mahoma...*y entendiendo, como entienden, que lo de los libros lo dixo la Virgen, házese este error más pertinaz en sus entendimientos y más peligroso para estos reynos* como se a dicho y no se le ve otro remedio que el darles a entender claramente ser todo

> esto invención de enemigos de Dios y de su Iglesia por la mejor vía que se hallare el buscar... (565, italics mine)

In the end, of course, the Virgin's prophecies of a new Arab king and a reconciliation of religions were not fulfilled, and rather than saving the Moriscos from expulsion, the gospels' close association with the beliefs of Spain's crypto-Muslims and nominal Christians may have even contributed to it.

When the relics and Lead Books were found in Granada, few Moriscos were left in the kingdom, and the attention of both the Church and the crown had long since turned to Valencia. De las Casas, who spends a great deal of effort addressing the problems and needs of this specific community, actively connects the Moriscos of Valencia with the content of the Lead Books and its many Salomonic seals, declaring:

> Que deste sello de Salomón con la mesma figura que tiene en los libros de plomo y con el mesmo nombre de sello de Salomón usan los mahometanos hasta hoy en sus conjuros y hechizerías como se puede ver en muchos libros y papeles destas hechizerías que tiene el tribunal de la Inquisición de Valencia y lo que me da más que pensar y es digno de advertir es que el título que se pone en aquel sello en todos los libros de plomo es este: "No ay otro Dios sino Dios, Jesús espíritu de Dios", que es el symbolo que usaron los arrianos para negar la divinidad del redemptor y deste mesmo usan oy los mahometanos para negar lo mesmo. (560)[59]

[59] Spells and witchcraft, while associated with the Morisco community in life and in literature (including in Cervantes' *Persiles)* are, of course, forbidden in Islam (*haram*), just as they are in Christianity. Further, Iberian Arianism is a controversial topic, even today, given its role in nationalistic narratives of the Islamic conquest, the religious history of Iberia, and the essential spiritual nature of Spain. See, for instance: García Sanjuán (2013). Regarding the words in the seal, De las Casas goes on in this passage to explain:

If the Lead Books were found and likely created in Granada by noble, leterred, and politically connected Moriscos, they still point to the "problem" of the Moriscos of Valencia who, as a largely unlettered, marginalized community of commoners, proved to be the most difficult type (*suerte*) of New Christian to truly assimilate and convert.

The Moriscos of Valencia and their problematic faith, in both confession and practice, will also be taken up by Miguel de Cervantes in his Byzantine romance, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda.* His self-declared masterpiece was published posthumously in 1617, just after the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain; and while it was written when the expulsion was being planned and debated in courts and councils across the Peninsula, and perhaps even after the expulsion had begun, its story is set in the period immediately surrounding the death of Charles V in 1558—Charles being the king who forced the conversion of Valencia's Moriscos over thirty years earlier.[60]

I. Mary and the Barbarians

The story of the *moriscos valencianos* is a moment in the *Persiles* that is troubling for its competing and seemingly incompatible literary, historiographic, and prophetic tones. It is also a challenging sequence because it entails multiple physical and cultural geographies within the Spanish empire's scope of rule or concern. But it is perhaps most striking for its ability to

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> Quitan la segunda parte deste dicho los moros y ponen "y Mahoma su propheta", diziendo: "No ay otro Dios sino Dios y Mahoma su propheta", que corresponde como e dicho con el destos libros.
>
> Sobre todo es de grandíssima consideración que los libros no llaman jamás a Jesús hijo de Dios sino espíritu de Dios y declaran los mahometanos que es como dezir es espada de Dios instrumentalmente. (560)

[60] For a useful review of the events and publications that likely influenced Cervantes as he wrote this novel, as well as its sometimes-problematic internal chronology, see: Romero Muñoz, "¿Cuándo fue escrito el Persiles?" (15-29) and "El tiempo" (29-34), in the introduction to his edition of the text.

address various forms of "barbarism" and diverse types of "barbarians"—explicitly in the case of the Old World, and implicitly in regards to the New—without categorically condemning any one of them. It is the figure of the Virgin Mary that brings all of these peoples, places, and possibilities together.

The Valencian episode occurs during the latter stretch of the protagonists' Odyssean pilgrimage to Rome where the young Nordic couple, Periandro and Auristela, will marry, finally adopting the names from the novel's title: Persiles and Sigismunda. Accompanying them are Bartolomé, "el guiador de bagaje"—a simple Spaniard enthralled by the complexities, and even heresies, of science, religion, and philosophy—, and a brother and sister pair named Antonio and Constanza. These two siblings were raised Catholic, though in near complete isolation on an island of violent pagans somewhere in the seas of Northern Europe; both of their parents are described as *bárbaros*, though their father was a Spaniard.[61] When the group reaches a Morisco village near the marina in Valencia, they are warmly welcomed with "Christian" hospitality and invited into the home of an old Morisco, all of which causes Antonio to say, "Yo no sé quien dice mal desta gente, que todos me parecen unos santos" (545). In a direct manner of foreshadowing, Periandro replies, "Con palmas…recibieron al Señor en Jerusalén los mismos que, de allí a pocos días, le pusieron en una cruz. Agora bien, a Dios y a la ventura, como decirse suele." Indeed, Rafala, the old Morisco's sympathetic daughter and genuine Christian convert,

[61] The depiction of their father, also named Antonio, as "el bárbaro español (que este título le daba su traje)" (170), is especially interesting given contemporary anxieties and regulations around dress in the empire. These were based on two competing concerns (as we saw in Chapter 2): the first, that an individual could "pass" for and move between multiple identities—in relation to ethnicity, religion, class, etc.—with just a change of clothes and physical presentation, caused extreme anxiety in the Viceroyalty of Peru; and the second, that the outward appearances of individuals, including traditional clothing and personal grooming, may not just reflect their cultural customs but also continue to shape and define their religious interiority, was behind the pragmatics that criminalized Morisco "customs" in Granada.

warns Constanza and Auristela of their imminent abduction: the entire village plans to vacate that night aboard corsair ships bound for Barbary, and the pilgrims will be taken as captives. Thanks to this timely warning, the group escapes the house and spends the night barricaded in a church with the town priest and Rafala's uncle, Jarife—"moro sólo en el nombre y, en las obras, cristiano" (546). They leave the abandoned village the following day, safely, but badly shaken.

Those are the broad strokes of a story in which the true drama belongs to a marginalized community of Moriscos, not to the book's faithful pilgrim protagonists. Yet the nuances of this brief narration, including allusions to other parts of the text and to recent realities of the Hapsburg Empire—both in the Mediterranean and across the Atlantic—, are what reveal this episode's broader significance and impressive breadth. To start, the chapter that features the *moriscos valencianos* does not begin in their seaside village, but rather on the road that leads to it. This is where Periandro and company part ways with two young men who, having bought a painting (*lienzo*) depicting slave galleys and Algiers, and having memorized some testimonies to go along with it, were passing themselves off as former captives, telling tall tales and collecting alms (527-540).[62] After a successful run with their lies, they finally crossed paths with an authentic ex-captive: an *alcalde* who (like Cervantes himself) actually was imprisoned in Algiers, and who did not find the exploitation of his true-to-life trials amusing. But, moved by

[62] The role of the *lienzo*—a favored propagandistic tool in an early modern culture "dominated by the power of the image" (González García 96)—in Cervantes' *Persiles* has been a focus of intense interest and sustained research, particularly in relation to Book III. See, for instance: Brito Díaz (1997), Lozano-Renieblas (1998), Selig (1973), and Suárez Miramón (2011). From the *lienzo* commissioned by Persiles in Lisbon (Chapter 1, 437-9; Chapter 2, 443; Chapter 4, 467-9; Chapter 10, 524-5), to the *lienzo* carried by the false captives (Chapter 10, 527-38), we find a symbiotic relationship between word (oral/written narrative) and image (*lienzo*/*retrato*). In reminding us that "pintar" and "narrar" were reciprocal terms that both alluded to the verb "describir," Carlos Brito Díaz argues that "Cervantes expone en el *Persiles*, como nadie supo hacerlo, el debate sobre la reversibilidad de las naturalezas de ambas artes" (148-149).

their poverty and their wit, instead of meting out the punishment they deserved, the *alcalde* shows the young men mercy for their crimes, and even arms them with fresh stories and minute details from his own experiences, "de modo que de allí en adelante no los podían coger en mentira acerca de las cosas de Argel" (540).[63] The "captives" took their act to Cartagena, and the pilgrims turned toward Valencia.

To the false captives, enemy corsairs and Moorish prisons were just phantasms, names and narratives circulating throughout the Peninsula that, while real to men like the *alcalde*, had become the stuff of street-stories and legends. Nonetheless, these types of contemporary legends had the terrifying ability to come to life, as they did for the pilgrims in Valencia. In this way, the young men's story of captivity clearly sets up the events to follow, but their own story is set up several chapters before, at the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe. As both a captive in Algiers and a combatant in Lepanto, Cervantes was intimately familiar with the cult of Guadalupe, and he takes great care in describing the moment when Periandro and his fellow pilgrims first reach "el grande y suntuoso monasterio, cuyas murallas encierran la santísima imagen de la emperadora de los cielos; la santísima imagen, otra vez, que es libertad de los cautivos, lima de sus hierros y alivio de sus pasiones" (471). After pondering the signs of the miracles (crutches of the crippled, false arms of amputees, wax eyes of the blind, shrouds of the dead) left there by those who had been healed by her powers, "volvieron los ojos a todas las partes del templo y les parecía ver venir por el aire volando los cautivos, envueltos en sus cadenas, a colgarlas de las santas murallas y, a los enfermos, arrastrar las muletas y, a los muertos, mortajas, buscando lugar donde ponerlas, porque ya en el sacro templo no cabían: tan grande es la suma que las paredes ocupan" (472). Neither Muslims nor Islam are explicitly evoked in this description of the shrine.

[63] For more on the subject of deceit, disguise, and dissimulation in the *Persiles*, see: Fuchs (2003), *Passing for Spain* (especially 1-20, and 87-110).

However, Cervantes still conjures Spain's Ottoman and North African enemies through the otherworldly appearance of liberated Christian captives and the physical display of the chains of their captivity—proof of both their suffering under infidels and of their miraculous deliverance by Mary.

Cervantes then places a distance of five chapters between this strangely mystical scene and the mockery made of it by the two false captives. Immediately following their departure, however, the pilgrims' guide, Bartolomé, elicits recognition of New World iterations of Christianity. As the sun paints its rise across the sky, "bordando las nubes de los cielos con diversas colores," Bartolomé marvels,

> —Verdad debió de decir el predicador que predicaba los días pasados en nuestro pueblo cuando dijo que los cielos en tierra anunciaban y declaraban las grandezas del Señor. Pardiez, que, si yo no conociera a Dios por lo que me han enseñado mis padres y los sacerdotes y ancianos de mi lugar, le viniera a rastrear y conocer viendo la inmensa grandeza destos cielos…y por la grandeza deste sol que nos alumbra. (541).

God can be known without knowing the Gospel, for all one must do is look to the skies to recognize His existence, and His greatness. These beliefs characterize a central platitude of American evangelization: indigenous hearts are prepared to accept the Good News because God, through His wonders and mercy, has already written the Truth upon them. This was indeed the contention of Ramos Gavilán in regards to the Virgin Mary, only instead of beholding the heavens, one need only behold the Queen of the Heavans and her many miracles on earth to comprehend her power and love: "Entre otros títulos, y renombres, que los sagrados Dotores (y en particular mi divino Padre San Agustín) dan a la esclarecida Reyna de los Ángeles, la Virgen

MARIA, es llamarla: *Domina gentium*: Señora de las gentes, porque no ay nación tan bárbara, y desconocida, adonde aya despuntado la luz del Evangelio, que a la soberana Virgen, no reconozca vasallaje" (II.VII.238). Belief, then, is both natural and inevitable.

Although New World indigenous subjects are not physically present for Bartolomé's speech, this cervantine character is accompanied by "barbarian" stand-ins from the Old World: Constanza and Antonio.[64] Their father Antonio, *el bárbaro español*, and their *bárbara* mother, Ricla, reared these youths in the Catholic faith, albeit outside of the Church. When the pilgrims first met Ricla, she explained, "Llamo esposo a este señor, porque, antes que me conociese del todo, me dio palabra de serlo, al modo que él dice que se usa entre verdaderos cristianos. Hame enseñado su lengua, y yo a él la mía, y en ella ansimismo me enseñó la ley católica cristiana" (176).[65] She then goes on to explain the details of her catechism, conversion, and current beliefs:

> Diome agua de bautismo en aquel arroyo, aunque no con las ceremonias que él me ha dicho que en su tierra se acostumbran; declaróme su fe como él la sabe, la cual yo asenté en mi alma y en mi corazón....Creo en la Santísima Trinidad....creo todo lo que tiene y cree la Santa Iglesia Católica Romana.... Díjome grandezas de la siempre Virgen María, reina de los cielos y señora de los ángeles y nuestra, tesoro del Padre, relicario del Hijo y amor del Espíritu Santo, amparo y refugio de los pecadores. Con éstas me ha enseñado otras cosas, que no las digo, por parecerme que las dichas bastan para que entendáis que soy alma rústica, y él,

[64] For more on the "mestizo" character of Antonio and Costanza and their connections to New World, see: Bearden (2006), Mariscal (1990), and Suárez (2004).

[65] Scholars have observed "que el castellano sirve aquí de vehículo de la evangelización, como en las empresas de Indias" (Romero Muñoz 176). But, that same observation ought to lead to an additional reading: that an indigenous language serves as a vehicle of evangelization; Cervantes' syntax here allows for either or both to be true.

> merced a los cielos, me la ha vuelto discreta y cristiana; entreguéle mi cuerpo, no pensando que en ello ofendía a nadie, y deste entrego resultó haberle dado dos hijos, como los que aquí veis, que acrecientan el número de los que alaban al Dios verdadero. (176-177)

As Ricla's conversion demonstrates, even pagans and *bárbaros* can recognize the majesty of the Lord through the sun and the sky, which makes them open to the Gospel when properly presented to them by a faithful Christian.[66] But this message goes even further: Ricla and Antonio's story posits that the affective relationship of marriage between an Old Christian and a pagan can facilitate conversion, and that the children born of such unions are not a threat to the orthodoxy of the Church, but are rather new names and additional souls expanding the celestial registry of believers.

If this convergence of characters in and of itself were not enough to evoke an image of New World *indios*, *mestizos*, and *praeparatio evengelica*, Bartolomé shares his name with a saint who, according to several viceregal chroniclers, is said to have come to the Andes to spread the gospel well before the arrival of the Spanish.[67] Further, an earlier story features two heroic

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[66] The religious teachings of Antonio, who is a layman, and his performance of the sacraments may raise for some readers serious questions about the authority of the Church, particularly in the contexts of the Counter-Reformation, the evangelism of Indios and Moriscos, and contemporary debates over who were fit to be priests. This subject has been explored most recently by scholars such as Jaume Garau (2013) and David A. Boruchoff (2011). It also echoes Inca Garcilaso's confession that, due to a lack of available priests in Peru, "a necessidad yo bautizé algunos [ancianos]" (I.II.VIII.82).

[67] For more on this saint and others like him, see: Pease (1981), Chang-Rodríguez (1987), and Abercrombie (1998). Cervantes would not have been able to read about Saint Bartholomew in the texts written by Guaman Poma, Pachacuti Yamqui, or the *jesuita anónimo* due to their late or limited diffusion, but many scholars believe that he was indeed familiar with Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales*, and that this chronicle may even have influenced important moments in the *Persiles*. See, for instance: Cro (1975), Schevill and Bonilla (1914), and Schuessler (1997). We might also consider that these types of stories—like those of North African captivity—were

figures who share their names and hometown (Trujillo, just west of Guadalupe) with real-life cousins and conquistadors of Peru (Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Juan Pizarro de Orellana), and it is precisely this sequence that reaches its climax at the elaborate and supremely famous shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe. But even without the help of New World saints and conquistadors, the Virgin of Guadalupe adds her own transatlantic dimension to Bartolomé's speech in particular, and Cervantes' text more generally, as she is directly tied to the colonial Andes of Cervantes' era. In an attempt to gather alms for this Virgin's monastery and extend her cult in the Andes, the Castilian friar Diego de Ocaña spent several years in the region (1600-1605), distributing copies of Gabriel de Talavera's *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, and painting images of the Virgin for installation in monasteries and cathedrals from Lima to Potosí (Mazzi 140). Ocaña also wrote and staged several plays in which he mixed Old World and New World stories: Ocaña's Virgin of Guadalupe conquers indigenous idolatry in the Americas as well as Islam on the Peninsula, and she even blinds Muslims with sand in a manner reminiscent of her intervention against Manco Inca's troops at the siege of Cuzco (Remensnyder 299-302).[68] Of course, she existed in the Andes well before this very deliberate work of textual, iconographic, and theatrical diffusion, as attested to by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's visits and donations to her shrines on both sides of the Atlantic: first in Guadalupe before his departure for the New World, and then in Pacasmayo directly after his arrival—allegedly out of thankfulness to the Virgin for saving him from shipwreck off of the Pacific coast of Peru (Calancha III.V.568).

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present in oral circulation at the time, and could have been picked up on by someone like Cervantes who had both an ear for narrative and a fixation on the Indies.

[68] Alfonso XI and his Christian allies, against the combined forces of Granada and Morocco, fought the fourteenth century battle depicted in this play at the Salado River, near the town of Guadalupe.

Still, these New World allusions and evangelical illusions inevitably point back to the Peninsula. After Bartolomé's speech and one brief incident on the road, the group arrives at the Morisco village and encounters its New Christian inhabitants. Rather than Bartolomé's ignorant pagans and barbarians, however, these are barbarous heretics who will bring renegades and corsairs to Spanish shores, put the pilgrims and their trek to Rome in jeopardy, and call danger and uncertainty into their own lives as well.

II. Mary and Barbary

In her warning to Auristela and Constanza, the Morisca Rafala laments, "¡Ay, señoras, y cómo habéis venido como mansas y simples ovejas al matadero!" (545). After giving them the instructions that will save them and their companions, Rafala ends her speech by warning, "y no lo echéis en burla, si no queréis que las veras os desengañen a vuestra costa, que no hay mayor engaño que venir el desengaño tarde" (546-7). Rafala appears to be fully and genuinely concerned with the fate of the pilgrims. However, based on her explanation of the fate of the New Christian communities that had already left Spain for North Africa, the references of sheep to slaughter and tardy disillusionment can be applied to the Moriscos as well:

> Piensan estos desventurados que en Berbería está el gusto de sus cuerpos y la salvación de sus almas, sin advertir que, de muchos pueblos que allá se han pasado casi enteros, ninguno hay que dé otras nuevas sino de arrepentimiento, el cual les viene juntamente con las quejas de su daño. Los moros de Berbería pregonan glorias de aquella tierra, al sabor de las cuales corren los moriscos de ésta y dan en los lazos de su desventura. (545-6)

In short, if Rafala begins her narrative by equating the pilgrims who have happened upon her village to innocent sheep being led to the slaughter, it quickly becomes clear that her fellow

Moriscos are themselves the unwitting victims of a tragedy not too far beyond the horizon. In fact, at the end of the story, the narrator declares that, amid the Moriscos' celebratory cries, "Desde la lengua del agua…comenzaron a sentir la pobreza que les amenazaba su mudanza y la deshonra en que ponían a sus mujeres y a sus hijos" (551).

Cervantes' choice of Valencia for the setting of this story carries a specific set of circumstances and connotations. After the rebellion of the Alpujarra and the dispersion of Granada's Moriscos throughout *las dos Castillas*, Valencia moved to the forefront of discussions on wholesale expulsion. This was now the region with the highest concentration of unassimilated Moriscos, many of which were monolingual Arabic speakers living in completely segregated communities. They were the last to be forcibly converted and violently baptized *en masse*, and those who suffered the most severe abuses and continual neglect by clergy. This was also the region with the fiercest defense mounted on their behalf because of the importance of their labor and subjugation to the landed gentry. Ignacio de las Casas, a fierce opponent of both the expulsion and Islam, pointed to these theological and ethical malpractices as explanation for the Moriscos' existence as nominal Christians at best, and still-practicing Muslims at worst. Of the "quatro suertes de gente...de los descendientes de moros" that he identified in his letters and *memoriales* written to the Pope, the King, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits between 1605 and 1607, the *moriscos valencianos*, by his account, were by far the most problematic:

> ...los de Valencia hablan la lengua arábiga y son raros dellos los que entienden bien la española o sean capaces de un razonamiento o discurso principalmente en cosas de la fe, por muy ladinos que sean; los más deste reyno saben leer y escrevir su lengua arábiga, tienen escondidos muchos libros de su secta, ritos y ceremonias; sustentan alfaquíes que se la enseñan y los circuncidan y resuelven

> sus dudas [...] y el día que salen al aucto o a recebir otro cualquier castigo se ponen tocadores o toquillas muy limpias y blancas en señal de su innocencia y de padecer por su fe. Quando son condenados a muerte por qualesquier justicias a la última hora y trance dizen en alta boz : «Sedme todos testigos que muero en la ley del propheta Mahoma y que confiesso que no ay otro Dios sino Dios y Mahoma su embiado »; con grande afrenta y escándalo de la ley evangélica que, voliendo, professaron con boca y recibieron en el baptismo... (378-380)

To De las Casas, this situation was unsustainable and required immediate steps towards its remedy. However, in contrast to Cervantes' Jarife, who cried out for a Spain "libre…destas espinas y malezas que la oprimen…de todas partes entera y maciza en la religión cristiana" (548), he advocated for the proper evangelization—in Arabic—and integration of the Moriscos, not their expulsion.[69]

Through the inclusion of Rafala and Jarife who, in spite of being *moriscos valencianos*, are true and devout Christians, Cervantes makes a move much like that of de las Casas when the

[69] Among other references to religion, customs, and coupling between Old Christians and converts that are woven throughout the *Persiles*, within the specific context of polemics around Arabic on the Peninsula, the story of the "bárbaro italiano" especially stands out for its reference to language:

> Preguntéle en el camino, que como, o quando avia venido a aquella tierra, y que si era verdaderamente Italiano? Respondió, que uno de sus passados Abuelos se avia cassado en ella, viniendo de Italia a negocios que le importaban, y a los hijos que tuvo les enseñó su lengua, y de uno en otro se extendió por todo su linage hasta llegar a él, que era uno de sus quartos nietos, y assi como vecino, y morador tan antiguo, llevado de la aficion de mis hijos, y muger, me he quedado hecho carne, y sangre entre esta gente, sin acordarme de Italia, ni de los parientes que allá dixeron mis Padres que tenian. (191-192)

The *italiano*, though he still speaks the language as a third-generation transplant, does not identify as Italian, but rather with the land and the people where he, his wife, and his children were raised. Nonetheless, he is still labeled by others as Italian.

Jesuit writes, "No a sido mi intento...dezir que no ay...descendientes de moros en toda España muchos buenos christianos, que sí ay muchos muy sabido y abrá otros que no se sepan...pero lo que queda referido es común en todos y muy cierto y llano y muy lastimoso este estado de gente el qual se va haciendo cada día más irremediable y peligroso..." (380). Without attaching danger, blame, and heresy to all Moriscos, Cervantes takes advantage of a particular group that was infamous for its low levels of conversion and assimilation, and he does so in an almost half-hearted manner.[70] Beyond the fact that the only two Moriscos who are named or who speak are Christians working for the good and safety of the pilgrims and of their own souls, the worst that the others did was set fire to the doors of the church, "no para esperar a entrarla, sino por hacer el mal que pudiesen…El cual no ardió, no por milagro, sino porque las puertas eran de hierro y porque fue poco el fuego que se les aplicó" (551).[71] No Marian intervention on behalf of the pilgrims was required here.

In addition to employing the marginalized figure of the *morisco valenciano* to serve as a stumbling block in the pilgrims' journey (while also adding a good measure of controversy and

[70] José Ignacio Díez Fernández describes this textual tension in the following manner, in relation to both the *moriscos valencianos* of Book III and the witchcraft-practicing *morisca granadina*, Cenotia, who appeared in Book II:

> Hay un peso y un aprovechamiento de la visión negativa sobre algunos moriscos. Cervantes, por verosimilitud y por poseer una problemática diferente, sólo escoge a los moriscos menos cristianizados y, por ello y por la visión irónica de algunos argumentos manejados en la expulsión, Cervantes no descalifica a todos los moriscos...como grupo. (58)

[71] Actually, their mule bore the brunt of the moriscos' wrath—"le dejarretaron el bagaje" (551)—, and perhaps received some friendly fire from the Christians as well: "dispararon Antonio y Periandro las escopetas; muchas piedras arrojó Bartolomé, y todas a la parte donde había dejado el bagaje, y muchas flechas el jadraque [Jarife]." There isn't much in the text to support the idea that the violence of Antonio, Periandro, and Jarife was preemptive or defensive, as they never appeared to be in any real danger inside the walls of the church.

titillation for the contemporary reader), Valencia is an optimal space in which to set this story because the expulsion that occurred on its shores would have been familiar to many readers. When Cervantes describes "un lugar de moriscos, que estaba puesto como una legua de la marina, en el reino de Valencia" (544), he begins painting a picture that was already poignantly present in the Spanish imaginary—and in the private collections of some Spaniards. In 1612, Philip III commissioned several Valencian artists to commemorate the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia; copies of these pieces were given as gifts to key noble and military figures in the operation (Gonzáles García 96).[72] While these *lienzos* were meant to be highly celebratory at the time of their creation, the visual medium of the painting and the realistic details chosen for inclusion by the artists naturally left (and continue to leave) room for individual and evolving interpretations, in the same way Cervantes' text performed (and continues to perform) this function on the narrative level.

Four of the *lienzos* depict the "'nation of new Christians'" being expelled from different ports in the Kingdom of Valencia; two more show the rebellions in the mountains of Valencia in which Moriscos futilely fought their expulsion; and one final piece relates the disembarkation of a group of Moriscos in Orán (96-7). While all of these paintings include written texts that specify the names of people or places, the number of exiles, or other declarative, bureaucratic-type information, they also incorporate more descriptive or narrative texts, making the realism of the images all the more moving (97). For instance, one of the cartouches on "Llegada de los moriscos a Orán" (1613), which was painted by Vicent Mestre, reads, "La maior parte de los

[72] Six of the seven prints are now owned and displayed by Bancaja in Valencia; the seventh remains privately stored. This collection "queda como el único testimonio plástico contemporáneo a la expulsión" (Bernabé Pons, "Una crónica…" 535); "una auténtica crónica visual" (Colección Fundación Bancaja). For a beautifully written discussion of these agonizing paintings, see: Gerli (2017).

moros del reino de Vale[ncia] fueron desenbarcados en el paraje de Oran para yr a Fes y Marrvecos pero los alarbes les salian al camino y les robavan y matavan y forsavan las mujeres y los demas fuer[on] a Argel Tunes y Tetvuan" (Fundación Bancaja). The images in the painting support the narrative, as do the testimonies of the survivors (Bernabé Pons, *Los moriscos* 120). Supporters of the expulsion would have read such a violent fate as God's punishment for the Moriscos' rejection—alleged or actual—of Christ and Mary, while its detractors would have seen Christian blood on the hands of their sovereign, who knew, or at least should have suspected, what awaited these baptized Christians on the other side of the strait.

Similar to this painting, Cervantes' Valencian tale invites his readers to consider the true-to-life experiences of Moriscos who found the transition to their new lives in exile a painful, difficult, and sometimes impossible proposition. Still neither convincingly Muslim nor convincingly Christian, the Morisco community was, in many instances, met with the same wariness and even antagonism as they had experienced in Spain: instead of living as suspected Muslims in Christian lands, they transformed overnight into suspected Christians in Muslim lands. After all, regardless of the faith they practiced or professed, the language they spoke and the culture they exhibited was "Christian." For some, it will be the Virgin of Sacromonte who brings them comfort in exile.[73] Based on the Mary of the "Lead Books," this Arabic-speaking, Islamicized-Christian Virgin both embraced and embodied the complexities and ambiguities of the New Christian communities that revered her. But for others, it will finally be time to come to terms—and peace—with the Virgin Mary of the Qur'an.

[73] For this Virgin's presence and cult in North Africa, see: Barkai (1993) and Remensnyder (2011).

In the first part of the *Guerras civiles*, Esperanza de Hita, a Christian captive and lady-in waiting, evangelizes the Moorish queen (214-217). During her proselytizing, Esperanza focuses on beliefs and practices regarding the Virgin Mary, emphasizing in particular Mary's virginity before, during, and after giving birth to Jesus. This belief is also espoused in the Qur'an, and would not have been anything new to the *sultana*. The sticking point, of course, was that Mary gave birth to none less than God, creator of heaven and earth, who came to earth as a man, and "en una cruz pagó la ofrenda / que al muy inmenso Padre se debía; / [. . .] / por darle el pecador eterna gloria" (216).[74] Still, it is Mary, God's "bendita Madre," who holds the queen's fate in her hands. Esperanza tells the *sultana*, "En esta Virgen, pues, reina y señora / ahora te encomienda en este trance / y tenla desde hoy más por abogada / y tórnate cristiana; y te prometo, / que si con devoción tú la llamases, / que en limpio sacaría esta tu causa" (216). This is exactly what the queen does, "habiendo en su memoria ya revuelto / aquel misterio altivo de la virgen; / teniendo ya impreso allá en su idea, / que gran bien le sería ser cristiana, / poniendo en las reales y virgíneas / manos sus trabajos tan inmensos."

In addition to the active role that Mary plays in the queen's conversion, the literary form and textual presentation of Esperanza's speech is also interesting: it is set apart on the page and broken down into verses in the same manner as the text's many *romances*. This bestows upon it both the authority and the utility of a ballad, and makes it visually stand out. It also suggests that Esperanza's speech carried a didactic purpose: to instruct Morisco readers (or even Old Christians) in proper Catholic theology; to give the Moriscos a sense of pride and inheritance

[74] Esperanza never actually utters the names Jesus, Christ, or Messiah—all of which appear in the Qur'an—but strictly "Dios," with one brief allusion to his "Father." It is actually the queen who first says the name Christ in this sequence, when she commends herself to Mary and asks Esperanza to stay by her side through her upcoming trials, "porque quiero / que con la fe de Cristo me consueles / y en ella tú me enseñes…" (217).

while justifying them in the eyes of their Old Christian neighbors; or to distance Moriscos from the New Christian-Old Christian antagonisms that had come to be associated with the figure of the Virgin. Through a study of Inquisition records, Mercedes García-Arenal concludes that, while religious polemics enjoy a high profile in tensions between Old Christians and Moriscos, Islam was merely the sticky glue holding together a much more general project of cultural and political resistance; and that among the strongest evidence of the Moriscos' desire to position themselves in opposition to Old Christians—particularly in locales that were less Islamicized, and where there were less cultural differences between the two communities—rested in their beliefs about Mary (107-108). Many Moriscos rejected Mary's perpetual virginity, unwittingly putting themselves at odds with Islamic doctrine, and when they encountered teachers of Islam who attempted to correct their improper beliefs, they were often firm in their denial and even argued with the experts, conflating Mary's virginity with her son's divinity. During the rebellion, for instance, a Morisco in the Alpujarra pugnaciously clashed over this very subject with an *alfaquí* from Barbary who had been sent to instruct Granada's Moriscos in Islam. This is why, when the Moriscos are finally expelled from the Peninsula and resettled in Islamic lands, they have to be properly trained in "their own" religion, and properly introduced to "their" Mary—preferably by one of their own people.

The anonymous "morisco maurófilo" who wrote the book of miscellanea now referred to as *Tratado de los dos caminos* (ms. S2 Colección Gayangos, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid; ed. Galmés de Fuentes) counts not only among the Moriscos expelled from Spain, but also among those who practiced Islam on the Peninsula. Speaking to his compatriots and their children born in exile, this author embodies the "hispanidad «oficial»" of his era, including a preoccupation with blood purity and religious orthodoxy; but he is also, as explained by Luce

López Baralt, "profundamente aculturado en ambas dimensiones de la hispanidad; tanto la triunfante como la agonizante" (37). Writing in Castilian interspersed with Arabic, this Morisco directs his words to a population of Spaniards attempting to assimilate culturally and linguistically into a Muslim nation, while still retaining certain aspects of their peninsular identity. Specifically, his work is designed to teach Spanish Moriscos the *buen camino* now that they can freely—and properly—practice their faith, and to ensure that they and their children "no se acaben de olbidar" the persecution they suffered in Spain and God's deliverance from their Christian oppressors (204).[75] This project necessarily includes the correction of misguided beliefs that were neither Catholic nor Muslim, such as the rejection of the perpetual virginity of Mary, mother of the:

> …santo profeta Içа, criatura ynpusibilitada, criada en el bientre birjinal de la exçelentísima Mariam y más particulariçada señora que á criado n*uest*ro s*eñor* en la jeneralidad de las mujeres, como quien mereçió que le biniese el ánjel con enbajada de Dios y ser madre de tal hijo que naçió d'ella, siendo birjen antes del parto y en el parto y después del parto, a quien tenemos por tal, y como a tal reconoçemos y reberençiamos. Y apartamos de dalle los títulos que los ynfieles çiegamente le dan, que tiemblan las carnes de sólo oyrlo. (201-202)[76]

[75] This text also acts toward the implicit conservation and propagation of Spanish Golden age culture, especially its literature. Not only does the author reproduce for his readers celebrated Castilian poetry—seemingly from memory—, he also includes an original exemplary novel that relishes the life he lost in Spain, but under the careful guise of condemnation: this is the *mal camino*.

[76] Mary also appears in an explanation of "el ayuno de asura," which was called such because "asra son diez, y así es el día deçeno de muharram, y tanbién porque en él particulariçó Dios a diez de los profetas con su particularidad" (354). These ten prophets include Jesus: "...y en él naçió el santo profeta Içа del bientre birjinal de la çayda Mariam y en este día lo subió a los çielos, adonde está bibo y estará hasta que benga al mundo a gobernarlo…" (354).

For the Moriscos, accepting Mary's proper place in Islam goes hand in hand with accepting their own forced placement in Islamic lands; they must learn to live among "naciones bárbaras" that already revere her, as evoked by Gavilán: "De los Turcos ya se sabe la veneración en que la tienen, los Moros no la olvidan en su Alcorán, y siempre las Moras en sus afligidos partos invocan su favor..." (II.VII.238). This passage goes on to equate "barbarians" in the Old World with those in the New through their shared reverence of Mary, but having been published after the expulsion of the Moriscos, it can unproblematically claim the "gente del Pirú" for Christianity while relegating the "Moros" to Islam.[77]

In ignoring the troubling fact that, on the Peninsula, Mary belonged not just to Christians and Muslims, but also to Christianized-Muslims, Islamicized-Christians, and everyone in between, Gavilán obscures an analogous reality in the Viceroyalty in Peru. By contrast, in his handling of the *moriscos valencianos*, Cervantes sows this very ambiguity into his narrative, partly by availing himself of familiar Mediterranean stories and scenes—the same ones that were captured in the royally commissioned *lienzos* that depict the Moriscos' desperate rebellions in the mountainsides, their doleful expulsion from Valencia's ports, and their doomed arrival on the Barbary Coast—, and partly by complicating his peninsular setting with images from America. This ambiguity is especially poignant when placed within the context of the Virgin of Guadalupe episodes and her complicated, extratextual relationships with New World indigenous pagans and Old World indigenous Muslims alike. It would be difficult to argue that the *Persiles* is not a

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77 ...y esta gente del Pirú, por aver visto las maravillas, y milagros, que a obrado entre ellos, y en particular, en esta insigne casa de Copacabana, la llaman en todos sus trabajos y nombran Mamanchic, madre de todos (que esto significa aquella dición) a cuyos afligidos ruegos, y lamentables vozes, como madre, y Señora de todos, se muestra favorable como se ha visto muchas vezes, y como de ello an dado testimonio los milagros que después pondremos. (Ramos Gavilán II.VII.238)

glorification of Christianity and Spanish Catholicism. However, one would also be amiss in arguing that this epic tale does not present and laud different kinds of Christian Catholics, even those who were not necessarily welcomed with open arms by the Church. These include various flavors of New Christians, from "barbarians" who give and receive unsanctioned sacraments, to Moriscos who defy both descent and dogma in order to preserve their *patria* and fashion their own faith.

Conclusion

Chronicles such as Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles*, and literary texts such as Cervantes' *Persiles*, capture the ambiguous (sociocultural and ethnoreligious) existences of some Moriscos and the exemplary "Christian" lives of others, which the latter exhibited through works as well as words, even "llamando a Dios y a su bendita Madre" at the moment of their deaths (Pérez de Hita 350). These diverse textual constructions reflect the on-the-ground reality that, while the Moriscos as a group were never fully above suspicion, neither were they unequivocally condemned by their neighbors and countrymen as traitors or heretics, even after their expulsion. Still, this precarious heterogeneity could not stand up against a sensationalized inquisitorial image of a larger body of Moriscos insulting Mary during life and invoking Mohammed when facing death—as in Mármol Carvajal's history of the rebellion—propagated by those who sought their expulsion. The deep and profoundly mixed lineage of the Granadan Mary of the Lead Books gave further voice to anxieties over the ultimate religious beliefs and political loyalties of Spain's Moriscos; Ignacio de las Casas even associated her with their highly marginalized community in Valencia. Interestingly enough, the unorthodox nature of the Mary unearthed in Valparaíso, designed to reign over a New Jerusalem, does not appear to be analogized with American Virgins who demonstrate similar qualities, and who were designed for the same

purpose. Neither were these American Virgins condemned in the manner of their peninsular sister: the Granadan Mary would be cleansed of her Lead Book beginnings, transformed and born anew as the Virgin revered in Sacromonte today, while the Virgin of Copacabana would simply grow in *mestizo* resplendence over the centuries. It must also be recognized that a similar fate befell the peoples who created them: the New World "barbarians" (marred by paganism but also marked for redemption by *praeparatio evangelica*) who physically factured and enthroned the Virgin of Copacabana would be claimed for Zion, while the Old World "barbarians" (contradictorily cleansed by baptism but still stained by Islam) who textually constructed an Arabic-speaking Mary would be condemned to Barbary.

And what of the Mestizos who protagonized a series of transatlantic tragedies alongside Moriscos, joined together by the specter of fluid identities and armed rebellion? As problematic as the Two Republic model proved to be for persons of dual ancestry in the Viceroyalty of Peru, it still afforded them a space for negotiation and, therefore, a place in the empire. By contrast, the Moriscos were ultimately negated the right to negotiate, and were thus forced to join the extra-peninsular, diasporic "republic" of Iberians in exile.

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