

Alienation in the Andes:
Labor and Cultural Disenfranchisement in Colonial Peru, 1570-1640

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation locates a pre-history of modern material alienations in colonial Spanish America. Alienation is often understood as a modern phenomenon, the byproduct of exploitation under industrial labor or the crisis of the individual in the face of the strictures of modern society. Colonial actors, however, sensed, internalized, and expressed an understanding of and frustration with their material marginalization in the face of an ever-intensifying colonial economy that rewarded the landowning benefactor class at the expense of the diverse residents of the colonial world. Focusing on the literature, visual culture, and hagiography of mid-colonial Peru, these alienations appear and reappear in varying discourses of isolation, marginalization, and outsideness (*enajenación* in early modern Spanish) extending to indigenous, Spanish, and Afroperuvian subjects. In each case, land and labor are at the center of these forms of primitive alienation, causing diverse subjects to feel that the economic climate and conditions of work and worship have led the world around them to become unrecognizable, unfamiliar, and ultimately meaningless. Reading the works of Spanish colonial chroniclers, satirist Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and the hagiographers of Afroperuvian saint Martín de Porres as expressions of *enajenación* that anticipate later theorizations of alienation, I argue that as primitive accumulation anticipates capitalism, diverse colonial primitive alienations (from lands, community, spirituality, and history) arise in anticipation of the alienation of the industrial worker. This pre-history makes patent the modernity of colonial subjectivities to suggest that affective responses to the colonial enterprise mark the onset of the modern individual.

Dedication

For Claudia, Elvita, the little one on the way, and my entire family, whose constant smiles, infectious laughter, and supreme sense of humor render every day all too enjoyable!

¡Para Claudia, Elvita, la pequeña que pronto nos llega y toda mi familia, cuyas sonrisas constantes, risas imparables y divinos sentidos de humor hacen cada día demasiado divertido!

...And for everyone who has ever felt outside of themselves...

...Y para todos que han tenido la sensación de estar fuera de sí mismos...

Table of Contents	
Acknowledgments	iii
Introduction: Men at Work: Foundation and Alienation	1
<i>Part I. Definitions</i>	
Chapter 1: Work: The Economy in Colonial Peru, 1570-1640	26
Chapter 2: Defining Alienation and Reading Affect in the Colonial Andes	55
<i>Part II. Interventions</i>	
Chapter 3: “Pues ya me desencanté”: Mateo Rosas de Oquendo and the Poetics of Primitive Alienation	94
Chapter 4: Alienation in the Andes: <i>Andino</i> Dignity and Disenfranchisement	147
Chapter 5: Withdrawing from the World: Heavenly Labor in the Hagiography of San Martín de Porres	185
Epilogue: Primitive Alienation and Colonial Modernity	221

Acknowledgments

The academic world is interesting for its ability to manipulate time. For as one finds a rhythm in the calendar cycles of publications and presentations, fellowship and grant applications, and actually completing the work that these endeavors support, it is apparent that the academic never really lives in the present, but rather, always in the future. Many an academic would acknowledge that while we write and teach in the present, we are never really present. That is because there's always another article submission for this date, a conference proposal for that date, an upcoming trip for that research project, and some other forthcoming publication for a future date. In a profession that would, ideally, be characterized by mindful study in the present, we come to live six, twelve, eighteen months out, planning our work from calls for papers through final revisions and publication dates.

Within this prevailing mode of work, it is rare to find a moment for reflection. But, in rounding out a period of many rewarding life experiences that coincided with my doctoral studies, I find it appropriate to pause my thinking and working towards the next step and the next project and the next job in order to reflect on the past. While academia can be a cloistered vocation, it is also full of people—professors, colleagues, friends—who break the silences, carry conversations, and ensure that there is joy in the present, that the past is appreciated, and that there is (God, politics, and budgets willing) a future to look forward to. In looking back, I also look forward to sustaining professional relationships with the following people who have so contributed to my intellectual growth, graduate studies, and professionalization by enabling the realization of this project among many others.

I must begin with a tremendous expression of gratitude to Ivonne del Valle. I showed up at Berkeley intent on working on colonial Latin American literatures while also trying to balance an ambitious agenda of writing as much as I could about surfing(!) and contemporary Peru. I also generally insisted on working on many things that I was neither prepared to work on nor that I had spare time to dedicate to during my graduate studies. Yet as the resident scholar of colonial Latin America and my chosen advisor from day one, Ivonne supported me in my stubborn, hyperactive, and multitudinous efforts. As one can imagine, she has shown tremendous patience with me as a pupil, as I am veritably her polar opposite. Where she is characteristically rigorous, meticulous, thoughtful, introspective, and generally brilliant, I was almost none of these things, at least not by nature. So first, I must thank her for her patience and willingness to mentor an obstinate, blue-collar surf rat through years of coursework, dozens of applications, hundreds of proposals, several time-consuming publications, and, finally, this dissertation. If there is one thing that Ivonne and I have shared since my arrival to Berkeley, it is our political convictions. The remarkable distinction between our ideals, though, is that hers tend to be rooted in a transcendent mastery of Western philosophy and mine are basically born of a lifetime of listening to bad-to-okay punk rock music and being from a proud union family. In spite of the differing origins of these shared principles, I am particularly grateful to have worked with a person who makes patent the connections between scholarly work and activist work and carries the struggle into the classroom and back to the streets. Thank you.

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Introduction:

Men at Work: Foundation and Alienation

Flipping through the first edition of Pedro Cieza de León's *Parte primera de la crónica del Perú* (Seville: Montedoca, 1553), the reader is confronted with twelve distinct woodcuts that seem to depict the events that the chronicle recounts. Of the images in this large format, luxury edition of Cieza's account of the exploration and foundation of Spanish South America, bound together with Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1552), two images of the construction of buildings and city walls appear and reappear and reappear, lending a sobering tone to the tome without reading a word.¹



Figure 1: Woodcut from the workshop of Martín de Montedoca, Sevilla, 1553. In Pedro Cieza de León, *Parte primera de la crónica del Perú* (Seville: Montedoca, 1553), 2r.

In the first 7.5-centimeter by 7.3-centimeter woodcut image, men are working, hard, under the watchful, imposing eye of an overseer. Appearing thirteen times in the text, this first construction image shows five men at work on two adjacent buildings, of which only the crude, block outer façades are visible.² In the foreground, the long-bearded overseer wears an ornamental flat cap, popular throughout the Renaissance. His stockings and codpiece are partially concealed by the flowing quarters of a high-collared jacket with pillowy, ruffled

¹ The folios measure approximately 18.5cm wide by 27.5cm tall, the largest of all formats of Cieza's text published during the early modern period.

² The image first appears on folio 2r, and later on folios 13v, 20r, 29r, 36r, 48r, 65r, 70v, 84v, 92r, 95v, 104r, and 121r. This image is the most frequently reprinted woodcut in the volume.

sleeves. Hose and pointed shoes round out the depiction of the overseer as the epitome of high sartorial taste across Habsburg Europe. Drawing attention from his luxury ensemble, though, is the sword that protrudes from beneath his coat, hinting at the violence that binds the other men depicted to the contract of their labor, likely forced, certainly coerced, and only perhaps compensated. Marking his social superiority, the elegantly dressed master is positioned on the literal high ground above the trench where the work takes place, using a scepter to point down at two laborers plunging pickaxes into a pile of stone blocks below, one crushing overhead blow at a time. One of the men is bearded and wears a crude helmet, reminiscent of the *cervelliere* typical of medieval crusaders and renaissance soldiers. The other's hair is cut above his ears, further marking the men as distinctly European. Almost obscured from view behind the overseer, another laborer hoists a rope using a primitive pulley system, supplying the fourth laborer—a *cervelliere*-wearing mason seated on improvised scaffolding—with bricks for the continued construction of the walls. Neither structure is complete, as additional stone awaits fabrication into bricks at the feet of the laborers.³

Depicting tropified stone building procedures and masonry techniques typical of early modern Europe, the overseer vigilantly awaits completion of the structure, his left hand resting near the concealed grip of his sword. Montesdoca's overseer and another laborer wear long beards and all five figures are outfitted in the peasant fashions of sixteenth-century Europe, the marked class difference of the men indicated by their dress. In this illustration Montesdoca's subjects are not distinguishable through their outward appearance as Europeans or Indians (they are all Europeans or highly Europeanized subjects): the laborers dress consists of the simpler knee-length tunics and hose common of early-mid sixteenth-century Spain, whereas the overseer's garments exhibit significantly more ornamentation and stylistic complexity, even if their form is given by the same thick relief lines of the wooden block.⁴

The woodcut first appears immediately following the heading of the second chapter, titled "...de la ciudad de Panamá y de su fundacion: y porque se tracta della primero que de otra

³ In its depiction of tropified stone building procedures and masonry techniques typical of the early modern period, this simple woodcut anticipates Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 1563 representation of the same construction techniques in the allegorically significant scene of *The Tower of Babel* recounted in the book of Genesis. The overseer in Montesdoca's woodcuts strikes a pose undeniably similar—more so before being reversed from the drawing to the carving of the woodblock—to that of Nimrod, who ordered the construction of the Tower of Babel. Technically and compositionally, there are remarkable similarities between the architecture in the Montesdoca Cieza woodcuts and that of the 1538 Northern Renaissance woodcut of the Tower of Babel produced by Hans Holbein the Younger.

⁴ Early modern costume books would visually codify dress code as a marker of social status. For a prominent northern renaissance example, see Hartmann Schopper, *Panoplia Omnium illiberalium mechanicarum aut sedentariarum artium ...* (Frankfurt: Sigmund Feierabend, 1568), in which woodcut depictions and descriptions of various professions use dress code as a primary marker of identity and social class. The essays in Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004) provide a useful overview albeit centered on England and Northern Europe. Particularly informative is Catherine Richardson, "Fabrics of Nation: The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Clothing Culture*, 1-28.

alguna.”⁵ The ensuing chapter restates Cieza’s “mi intención principal es, en esta primera parte figurar la tierra del Peru: y cōtar las fundaciones de las ciudades que en el ay.”⁶ The author goes on to emphasize the foundation of cities in the Americas in the context of *civitas* and *policía*: “en su real nõbre se han fundado en este grã reyno del Peru tâtas ciudades y tâ ricas: dõde su magestad a las republicas ha dado leyes con q[ue] quieta y pacificamente biuan.”⁷ For Cieza, Spanish American cities are founded on law, order, the governance of the republic, and peacefulness, not the physical structure of the city or the visible violence and disparity behind it, in striking contrast to the depiction of the cities’ material foundations.

Somewhere between a chorographic view and a communicentric view, each of this image’s thirteen reappearances accompanies a textual passage describing the foundation of a city. As Cieza’s text takes the form of Michel De Certeau’s itinerary—a navigation of space that identifies each place within the itinerary with social acts, “a discursive series of operations”—the act of foundation is associated with each Spanish city in passages textually rendered in the past tense, of cities founded (*fundó*) and populated (*pobló*).⁸ Though Rolena Adorno notes that the prominent, repeated construction images in early editions of Cieza’s text “highlight the recurring [textual] theme of Native American and colonial Spanish foundations,”⁹ this might be taken a step further by suggesting that their accompaniment of textual passages render the act of taking possession and founding cities as discursive acts that transgress the boundaries of past tense physical acts. The recurrence of these construction images in the text “[f]ar from being “illustrations,” iconic glosses on the text, these figurations, like fragments of stories, mark on the map the historical operations from which it resulted. [...] It is equivalent to a describer of the “tour” type.”¹⁰

And thus Cieza’s textual foundation of the political city is marked by the pictorial construction of urban space. More than merely a black dot on a two-dimensional cartographic spatial plane, each Spanish city textually founded in the past tense (*fundó*, *pobló*) in Cieza’s *Crónica* becomes a present-progressive pictorial verb of the historical operation of construction along an itinerary of past-tense textual footprints. Herein lies the contradiction between text and image: the textual act of foundation is historically complete, articulated in the past tense and cartographically referent to a singular place “seven degrees from the northern Equatorial boundary”¹¹ whereas the chorographic view of the city shows a work in progress, each repetition of the above woodcut a signifier for a sort of generic colonial “Men at Work” sign along the reader’s textual itinerary.

⁵ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú* [1553], 2r.

⁶ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú* [1553], 2r.

⁷ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú* [1553], 2r (my emphasis).

⁸ Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 104-120; 119.

⁹ Rolena Adorno, “Depiction of Self and Other in Colonial Peru,” *Art Journal* 49.2 (1990): 110.

¹⁰ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 121.

¹¹ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú* [1553], 15r.



Figure 2: Woodcut from the workshop of Martín de Montedoca, Sevilla, 1553. In Pedro Cieza de León, *Parte primera de la crónica del Perú* (Seville: Montedoca, 1553), 10v.

Further focusing on the material process of building cities through manual labor is a second construction image.¹² This woodcut seems it could almost be an alternate angle or an image from a consequent moment of the first scene: unfinished walls loom ominously in the background as a well-dressed overseer points his scepter at two bearded laborers armed with pickaxes, resting upon large stone blocks. The laborer nearest the center raises a palm in rebuttal to his supervisor, seemingly disregarding or challenging his position as subordinate in the colonial order. Wearing a *cervelliere* helmet, the second idle laborer watches on with a look of contempt. An additional worker hauls stone on his back and another bearded and helmeted (or capped) figure uses a pulley to transport materials to a rooftop. The city is much more complete in appearance, though definitively still under construction: a rounded *tholos*-styled building rests adjacent to a series of squarish, medieval structures scaffolded and framed with a pulley. A rounded tower stands behind the resting laborers, indicative of the architectural antecedents informing the producers of the woodcut. In this second image of the Spanish colonial city, the material, structural representation of *urbs* has evolved, but the carved wooden block still serves as a present-progressive signifier for the incomplete colonial project across the viceroyalty: a wooden stamp announcing *hombres trabajando*, “Men at Work,” in founding colonial Peru.

The repetition of these images seem to suggest that the actual physical work of building cities is almost as simple as stamping the block on the typeset page, a similar effect also

¹² This woodcut first appears on 10v, with additional iterations on 18v, 21r, 32v, 41v, 72v, 86r, and 94v.

encountered in Cieza's repeated maxims, "la poblamos" and "fue poblado."¹³ Cieza's text hardly discusses the conflict and chaos of building Spanish American cities as foundation is often simply glossed with a pair of past-tense verbs and the name of the municipality. In fact, compared to the outright insurrections recounted a half-century later by Bartolomé Arzáns y Orsúa, Cieza's text is both a simplification and an idealization of the human relations of founding—that is, building the physical infrastructure of—cities.

Yet what Cieza's text does not sufficiently state is made patent in the images that the Montesdoca print shop uses to adorn the pages. There, the tense compositional relations between the overseer figures and the manual laborers depicted in the "men at work" blocks augment the textual glosses of idyllic settlement. The medieval style and tone of the "men at work" images allude to the stark reality of the colonial construction project: the workers are somber, their overseers unforgiving, and the work being performed takes place under an unseen and unspoken specter. Violence appears a constant threat for the workers, whose scrutinized activities are not the result of free will but of coercion. Linear perspective fails to organize the distinct elements of each block, and the lines lending three-dimensional shape to objects run haphazardly and unchecked into the horizon. This lack of a guiding representational principle reminds the viewer that another principle is artificial, that of law and order. As the lines of the scaffolding, the stone blocks, and the buildings each point in different directions, the wills of the men depicted are similarly divergent, unified only through violence and chaos instead of a natural convergence of elements advancing towards a unifying endpoint. Alienation rears its head from the earliest moments of foundation.

If subtle and sartorial in the Montesdoca "Men at Work" woodcuts, the force and the violence behind the alienating potential of colonialism and its economic engines is visually apparent some four decades later in Theodor de Bry's 1590 image of men at work in the Cerro Rico of Potosí.¹⁴ As Jane Mangan notes,

...de Bry provided one of the most enduring visual images of the mine labor. In contrast to pictures showing the grand Cerro Rico from the outside [as Montesdoca did in a woodcut accompanying Cieza's text, figure 4], de Bry's engraving [1590] opened up the view to indigenous workers laboring inside. For those who know Potosí's grand, conical shape, and the slope of the mine entrances, it would appear that de Bry, who had never seen Potosí, had it all wrong. His image became legendary, however, because it portrayed the Indians' victimization by the Spanish. In this aspect de Bry could not be accused of misrepresentation; the Spanish victimization of native Andeans through the mita is indisputable.¹⁵

In spite of the political motives behind his *Collectiones peregrinationum*, meant to consolidate the Spanish black legend, de Bry's image makes mining synonymous with misery. And as Mangan highlights, mining, and particularly mining at Potosí, was largely sourced by Spanish implementation of the mita forced labor tribute system under which whole communities were

¹³ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú* [1553], 11r, 13r.

¹⁴ Theodor de Bry, *Collectiones peregrinationum in Indiam Occidentalem et Indiam Orientalem* (Frankfurt: Beckenerum, 1590).

¹⁵ Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 4-5.

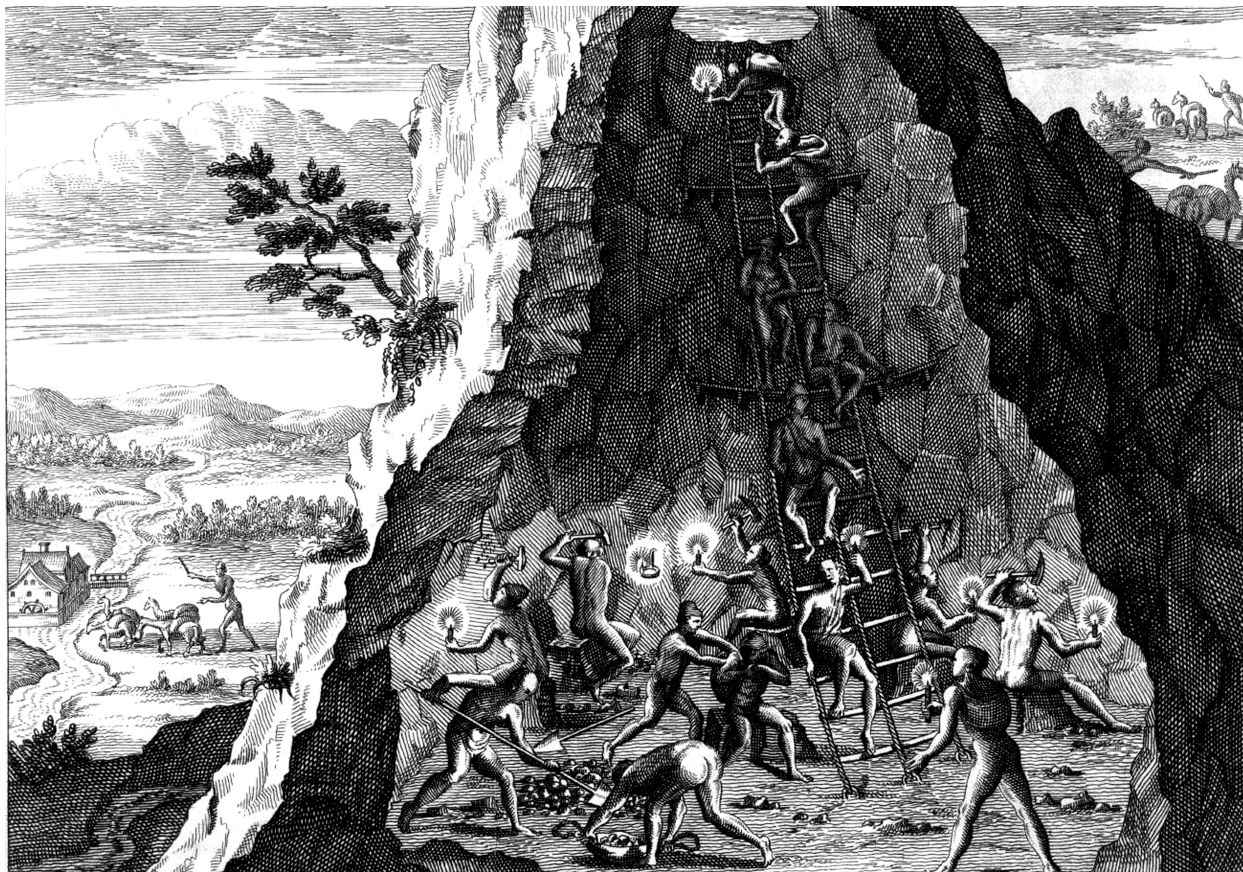


Figure 3: Theodor de Bry, *Cerro Rico de Potosí* in *Collectiones peregrinationum in Indiam Occidentalem et Indiam Orientalem* (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1590).

uprooted, relocated, and made to work in the mines at the behest of Spanish encomenderos and crown officials. Though tribute labor was not the only means of getting Indians into the mines—servitude (*yanacónaje*), contract labor, and wage labor all accompanied the *mita* draft—, there was a clear sense of coercion, as no native Andean might have ever willingly set foot in Potosí were it not for Spanish demands for silver. Yet de Bry’s Indians not only enter the mines, they toil naked or draped only with a loincloth in spite of Potosí’s generally cold climate (which de Bry was unfamiliar with), their poses marking the intensity and frenzied tenor of their work.

Given the contexts of colonial social and political change in the Andes that led to these workers’ descent into the mine, it is hard to view the cross-section of the famous vein without finding alienation. The Indian workers depicted can occupy only two positions on the spectrum of colonial labor: they are either “part and parcel of the means of production” as colonial “slaves, bondsmen, etc.” (slaves, *yanacónas*, or *mitayos*) or “the sellers of their own labour power ... unencumbered by any means of production of their own,” *mingados* and other free wage workers of colonial Peru.¹⁶ The forced laborer has no agency, autonomy, or freedom and the wageworkers have traded theirs for compensation in the process of selling their labor, marking the first step towards a more extensive alienation under the making and consolidation of capital in later centuries. While one is forced to labor and the other coerced to sell their labor, this differentiation of workers at Potosí does not change the edict that “the same labour extracts from rich mines more metal than from poor mines,” the print placing emphasis on the productivity of

¹⁶ Karl Marx, *Capital* [1867], vol. 1 (n.p.: Marxists Internet Archive, 2010), 500-501.

the mine and not the type or terms of indigenous labor and the subsequent potential for alienation through such work.¹⁷

The print simultaneously alienates the viewer, who is forced to differentiate between the busy cross-hatching shading stone and flesh, bodies and bullion. The men entering and exiting from the mine tonally blend into its walls, the latter workers emerging opposite the scene and down into the valley below, where Spaniards break Andean beasts of burden, forging an unmistakable parallel between indigenous laborers and cattle. And though meant to engender a visceral response from the viewer (de Bry would do the same with the other engravings of the *Collections*, by graphically depicting cannibalism and sodomy, among other practices condemned by Europeans), this image is also a reminder of the human element of the backbreaking work responsible for generating wealth in colonial Peru, a wealth enjoyed primarily by a select few (Montesdoca's overseer-encomendero and an even more select few back in Europe). De Bry's viewer is alienated not only by the revoltingly difficult conditions and compositional bleed of man into mountain, but by the blatant excess of those responsible for installing Andeans in the mines.

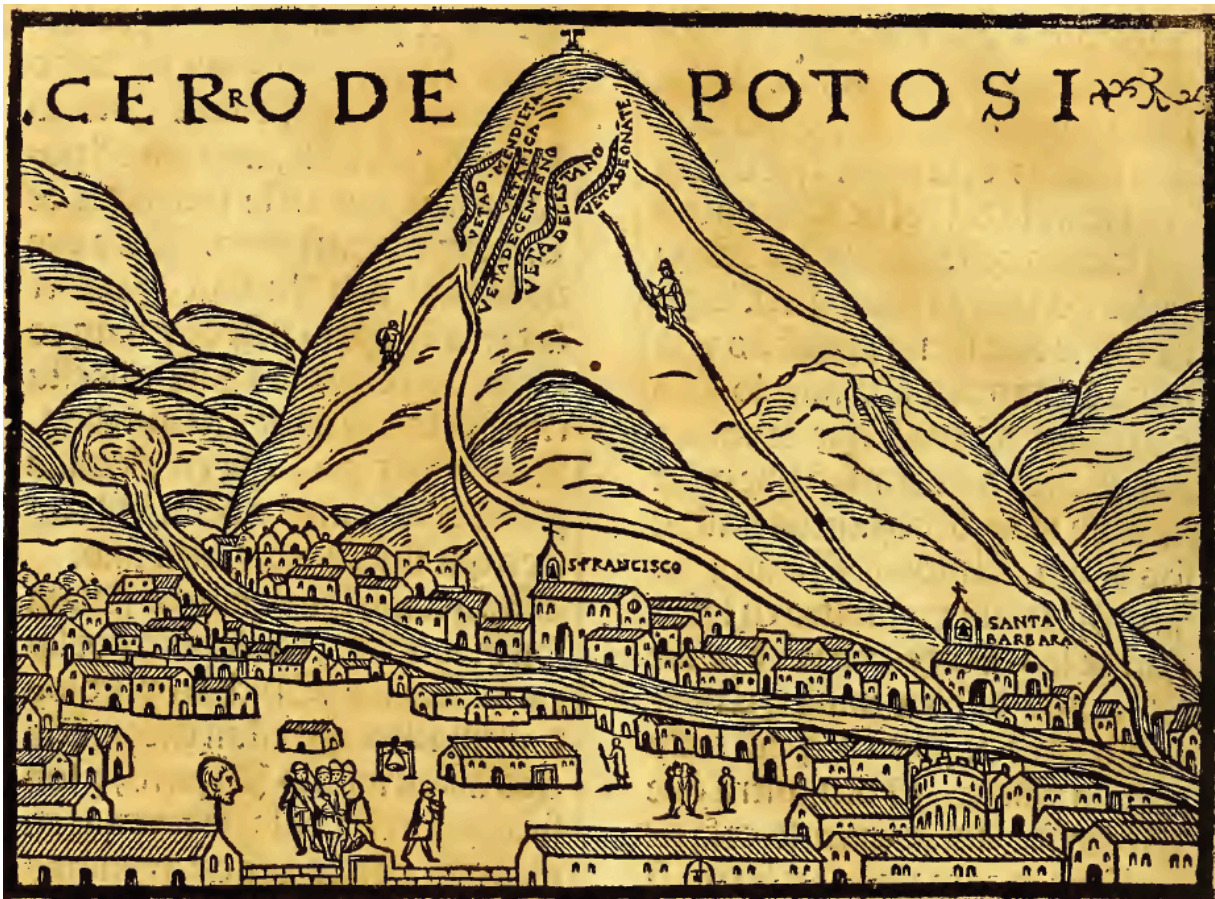


Figure 4: Martín de Montesdoca, *Cerro de Potosí*, Seville, 1553. In Pedro Cieza de León, *Parte primera de la crónica del Perú* (Seville: Montesdoca, 1553),

¹⁷ Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 28.

A Return to Alienation

At a fundamental level, these images suggest the alienation of a massive population in colonial Peru. But what do we really mean by alienation? Understanding alienation in its most general form, many images can be said to be alienating, whether by their overall content and tone or the condition of the subjects depicted (Bosch's *The Haywain* comes to mind for both reasons). As a critical lexeme, alienation has fallen into obscurity in the wake of the decline of structuralism and the recent affective turn in humanities scholarship. The undoing of the term is attributable, in part, to the overwhelming discussion of the concept through the last decades of the twentieth century. In such discussions, focused during the 1970s, alienation became (too) many things to (too) many people, rendering the critical concept either too labyrinthine to retain sufficient precision or too precise to retain a more general relevance. This was exacerbated by appraisals of alienation as a diagnostic, descriptive term direly in need of—and lacking—theoretical solutions. Alienation, as evolved from the language of Marx's conceptualization of capitalist economy, was shelved because as a theoretical means it lacked clear theoretical ends. One might understand the heyday of alienation theory nearly half a century ago by relating the field to Adam Smith's famous pin: alienation critique became a theoretical blueprint for the many different—indeed salient and complex—critical objects that a pin could prick without ever actually yielding a pin. That is, alienation critique remained diagnostic without providing any resolution to the questions that it proposed. As Richard Schacht reminds his reader in his brief definition of the term, “the language of alienation settles nothing normatively or evaluatively. Its actual applications and possible further applicability likewise settle nothing theoretically or interpretively.”¹⁸ Such grasping for “actual applications” became outmoded and further marginalized by numerous works whose key achievements were only to catalog and describe an already descriptive concept, leading the alienation pin to drop with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

So why do I return to the dead (or gasping) concept of alienation and why now? And why do I bring alienation into the Spanish American colonial context far earlier than those literary works entangled with the emergence of such theories (such as the Romantics that accompanied Hegel, Fichte, and Goethe)?¹⁹ In beginning to answer these questions, I begin with the words of Rahel Jaeggi, whose recent work constitutes perhaps the most substantial and thorough scholarly return to the concept of alienation in decades. Her framing of alienation is worth citing at length:

Alienation ... is an interpretive schema, a concept with whose help one (individually or collectively) understands and articulates one's relation to oneself and to the world. An interpretive schema of this kind is productive when it puts us in a position to perceive,

¹⁸ Richard Schacht, “Alienation,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Ethics*, ed. Hugh LaFollette, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2013), 205.

¹⁹ Alienation is often identified as a theoretical centerpiece in the literatures of Romanticism and Realism that accompanied Hegel and then Marx's concepts of alienation and their early-twentieth-century revisionists, especially in women's literature. See Bridget Fowler, *The Alienated Reader: Women and Romantic Literature in the Twentieth Century* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); Grazyna Borkowska and Usula Phillips, *Alienated Women: A Study on Polish Women's Fiction, 1845-1918* (New York: Central European University Press, 2001); and Rajani Sudan, *Fair Exotics: Xenophobic Subjects in English Literature, 1720-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

judge, or understand aspects of the world that would remain unknown without it. The merit of concepts like alienation lies in their ability to enable us to see certain phenomena “together” (or to think them together)—that is, to make visible connections among phenomena that would otherwise remain hidden. And in some respects alienation critique does in fact describe phenomena in ways that run against the grain of how they are normally described.²⁰

The present work, then, purports to do more than just identify generalized forms of alienation or specific forms of alienated labor in the colonial period. Instead, this project seeks to deploy the deep history of alienation critique to establish a metrics through which to understand anew colonial literatures straddling the turn of the seventeenth century. Placing then-emerging modes of economic, religious, and political thought into dialogue with diverse (indeed, divergent) texts reflects how giving up on or attempting to overcome one’s alienation (from colonial society, Andean society, Spain, self, God, or nature) builds and advances understandings of colonial society in material terms.

In taking up this schema to reread the texts at hand against the grain, I read alienation as an accompaniment to that process of primitive accumulation that Marx understands as the moment “preceding capitalistic accumulation; an accumulation not the result of the capitalistic mode of production, but its starting point.”²¹ This starting point begins, precisely, with the onset of mining at Potosí and throughout the Andes:

[t]he discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation.²²

The texts of the Spanish American colonial world must be read against that backdrop of primitive accumulation that yields the early and widespread accumulation of capital, the establishment of capitalistic production, and the generation of surplus value from that production. But of course, as Marx would understand mature capitalist production to yield *entfremdung* and an absolute, multivalent alienation of the worker, primitive accumulation registers a concurrent phenomenon that profoundly affects the bodies that labor under colonial Spanish America’s organization of labor in the early modern image of the market economy. It is that response, so prominent in texts and images of mid-colonial Peru, that comes to constitute a form of primitive *alienation*. Primitive *alienation* can be seen as the central response of the peoples displaced by and reorganized under primitive accumulation, a response that takes shape almost immediately after colonialism registered on the shores of Spanish South America.

Primitive Alienation as the Pre-History of Alienation

²⁰ Rahel Jaeggi, *Alienation*, trans. Frederick Neuhouser and Alan E. Smith, ed. Frederick Neuhouser (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 22.

²¹ Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 500.

²² Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 527.

Marx's archaeology of the process of primitive accumulation "expressly relegates ... [the concept and the process] to the 'pre-history of capital'."²³ This designation, which shipwrecks the violence and coercion of capitalism as a pre-history stranded in the early modern period (at least in England, where Marx viewed the process to be completed), has caused an abundance of critics to return to the concept in order to suggest that capitalism's appropriations of lands, peoples, and resources are recurring and ongoing, especially beyond the confines of Europe. These critics collectively argue that instead of being situated in the past, in a pre-history of modern economy, global capitalism undertakes a constant, active, and violent state-supported commandeering of the means of production, under its broadest definition. For example, Peter Kropotkin forcefully dismisses Marx's 'silent compulsion' theory.²⁴ Rosa Luxemburg, similarly sees primitive accumulation as the central, constant, and still ongoing process behind the rise, normalization, and spread of capitalism through and in consonance with imperial expansion:

The existence and development of capitalism requires an environment of non-capitalist forms of production. ... Capitalism needs non-capitalist social strata as a market for its surplus value, as a source of supply for its means of production and as a reservoir of labour power for its wage system. ... Capitalism must therefore always and everywhere fight a battle of annihilation against every historical form of natural economy that it encounters.²⁵

Luxemburg's argument is echoed by David Harvey, especially in his commentary on the never-ending nature of capital accumulation: "capitalism perpetually seeks to create a geographical landscape to facilitate its activities at one point in time only to have to destroy it and build a wholly different landscape at a later point in time to accommodate its perpetual thirst for endless capital accumulation."²⁶ Harvey reinforces this point in his definition of "accumulation by dispossession," in particular the notion that "capitalism necessarily and always creates its own 'other'."²⁷ Ranajit Guha also forcefully takes on the limitations of Marx's strict situation of primitive accumulation in the colonial period, arguing that the accumulation of capital accompanied and needed overt state violence throughout the history and present consolidation of capital, not just in the "pre-history" of capitalism outlined by Marx's primitive accumulation.²⁸ Playing off of Guha's titling and critical direction in thinking through the conquest of Peru, Gonzalo Lamana also partially questions the immediacy, totality, and completion of primitive

²³ Robert Nichols, "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation," *Radical Philosophy* 194 (2015), 18. Nichols neatly summarizes many theoretical revisions of primitive accumulation, often in an attempt to understand how primitive accumulation is a constant, ongoing process.

²⁴ Peter Kropotkin, "Western Europe," in *The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995 [1892]), 203-232.

²⁵ Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003 [1913]), 348-349.

²⁶ David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 101. Also see 101-102 and 132-133.

²⁷ Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, 141. On accumulation by dispossession, 45, 137-185.

²⁸ See Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983) and Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

accumulation in mid-sixteenth-century Spanish colonialism.²⁹ Of course, inspired by Guha and his peers in South Asia, the Latin American Subaltern Studies group also sought to foreground the specificities of imperial domination as a direct challenge to Western Marxism's framing of economic dominance as "hegemony."³⁰ Glen Coulthard refocusing of primitive accumulation on the colonial relation instead of the capital relation.³¹ Taken together, these posterior revisions to Marxian thought, indeed, register as geographically specific (partial) rebuttals of the pre-industrial completion of the process of primitive accumulation as outlined in *Capital*.³²

These reassessments of the time and nature of primitive accumulation also allude to questions of the historicization of Marx's concept of alienation (*entfremdung*), that central consequence of capitalist production defined in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.³³ Unlike primitive accumulation's installation in the early modern and colonial world, Marx and many of his followers situate alienation firmly in European (English) industrial and postindustrial capitalist societies. As theorized by Marx, this "whole estrangement," this "devaluation of the world of men . . . in direct proportion to the *increasing value* of the world of things" is the byproduct, the remainder of the worker's forced incorporation into the unskilled ranks of wage laborers under the capitalist division of labor in industrial contexts.³⁴ And so it would seem that for Marx et al there is little or limited recognition of the alienating effects of capitalist accumulation over "non-capitalist social strata."³⁵ There is slight recognition of a form of absolute estrangement a la *entfremdung* in those peoples most prominently affected by those early transoceanic instances of primitive accumulation, those living, breathing, embodiments of the devaluation of human beings and the rise in value accorded to things during the early, colonial manifestations (if not a rigidly defined pre-history) of capital.³⁶

This is, perhaps, because of the concept of *entfremdung*'s temporal and structural specificities, which leave little room for extrapolation backwards in time, onto pre-capitalist modes of production and societal relations. In fact, a direct temporal transposition of post-Enlightenment concepts of alienation and its opposites (authenticity, for example) onto the literatures of the turn of the seventeenth century might prove an application of theories of the individual at a moment when both the individual and theory, per se, did not yet exist. But if we step away from *entfremdung* and think more generally about the ability of economic and societal relations to make a person *feel* a certain way—abject, excluded, different, or outside of larger social relations and one's very existence or prescribed place in the world and relationships to things and people through things—at earlier moments in time, then it becomes apparent that

²⁹ See Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

³⁰ On the short-lived Latin American Subaltern group, see Ileana Rodríguez (ed.), *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001).

³¹ Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

³² Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 24.

³³ Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* [1844] (n.p.: *Marxists Internet Archive*, 2009), 28-35. www.marxists.org (accessed January 2017).

³⁴ Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, 28-29 (original emphasis).

³⁵ Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, 349.

³⁶ For the association of estrangement (*entfremdung*) with industrial workers, see Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, 28-35.

some visceral form of alienation is possible long before industrial and post-industrial *entfremdung*. Material objects and the currencies in which they are traded have the innate ability to terrify, both with their absolute power to impact social life and their seeming unavailability throughout human history. This power can be seen across the early modern Iberian world, as in Francisco de Quevedo's letrilla "Poderoso caballero es don dinero" (1580) and Guaman Poma's conversion of silver into a quasi-subject in and of itself, both texts accompanying the technological advances of transoceanic commerce and colonialism. Alienation or estrangement, too, has a place in the early appendages (dare I say pre-history) of capital, and the colonial processes at the center of primitive accumulation. As capitalist production can isolate the individual and make her social and material world senseless and unrecognizable, so too the labor forms inherent to primitive accumulation can shift relationships and systems of meaning-making for the individual and the communities put to work by and for those persons and groups amassing lands, stockpiling resources, and deploying laborers. Where there is Marx's primitive accumulation (and its many subsequent revisions that refocus Eurocentric capital relations on race, gender, and coloniality), there is also, certainly, primitive *alienation*.

So like Marx's primitive accumulation, which originally retained marked specificity to the early modern period before theories of constant, ongoing capitalist accumulation propelled the concept into the present and future, a central premise of the current project is that primitive alienation can be identified in early modern colonial American society by reaching back. By working from modern theories of alienation and returning to the colonial period to explore how the logic of capital engendered feelings of difference and separation from self, other, society, and the material world in pre-capitalist forms of labor preceding mature industrial labor, we can arrive at a pre-history of alienation that retains an ongoing, fluid character, capable of evolving and morphing as it accompanies different forms of labor and different, later forms of colonialism and imperialism.

Coloniality and the center-periphery dichotomy that colonial enterprise assumes are central to this pre-history of alienation and the subsequent explorations of alienation theory that it makes possible. While the historical foundations of alienation *can* be found across feudal Europe, and perhaps elsewhere as well, it *must* be thought of in the context of the colonies and, specifically, colonial Spanish America, indisputably "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."³⁷ This is because of the forceful, immediate introduction of the colonial order and the consolidation of a society predicated on the economic dominance of one ethnic group over others via devastating violence. Under the specter of the tremendous violence of European colonial expansion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, indigenous societies, themselves imperial and defined by their own economic, social, and political relations (frequently with religion overlaid across or at the center of all three), were fragmented, as indigenous society sought to make sense of the new Spanish, Christian, mercantile order taking hold across the Americas. If European, African, and indigenous subjects were privy to vastly disparate experiences under the advance of primitive accumulation, they were equally likely to encounter unique experiences of alienation, differing in intensity and nature, emanating from global commerce and its supply chain under the colonial order. But these experiences would not

³⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eye: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 6-7.

be so oppositional as to entail different universes, and there is in primitive alienation the possibility of a shared confraternity of disenfranchisement, both due to and in spite of the phenomena of "... copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power."³⁸

As the onward march of primitive accumulation consolidated an evolving, ever more vast and all-encompassing colonial means of production (here I betray an adherence to an understanding of the phenomenon as an extremely violent, sixteenth-century form of "land-grabbing"³⁹ benefitting Spanish conquerors and settlers), primitive *alienation* did not spare members of any demographic community, including Europeans. While a Spanish conquistador could end up on the 'winning' team or the 'right' side of primitive accumulation with an encomienda or, after the 1542 New Laws, repartimiento, he might just as easily feel disenfranchised or relegated to the margins of colonial society because of the collateral effects of the intensity, pace, and scope of ever-changing economic relations in the colonial world. A European might accumulate, but he might also experience alienation, his own shifting relationship to the material, human, and divine world resulting in an estrangement from the new colonial society and its impacts on Iberian cultures. Expressed through his own negative affective responses to those shifts in material and human relationships on display in the colonial world around him, such a sense of uneasiness might be seen to result from living through the installation of the abstraction of labor and value, beginning in the colonial world.

Of course, much more evident are the affective foundations of primitive alienation among Native Americans and—after consecutive waves of conquest (1521), settlement (1525), and royal licenses to import slaves (1537)—Africans and African-Americans. This alienation is so apparent because of Indians', Africans', and mixed-race persons' central role as laborers in the tributary, mercantile, and domestic economies of the colonies, a role characterized fundamentally by coercion, regardless of potential modes of reclaiming agency or navigating colonial superstructures.⁴⁰ If primitive alienation is a byproduct of coercion and labor, albeit not yet highly specialized industrial labor, it stands to reason that it would most intensely and broadly be felt by the primary populations of workers: Indians, Africans, mestizos and those Spaniards and Creoles, fewer in number, obligated to sell or give away their labor within colonial primitive accumulation and its agrarian and extractive successors. In seeking to chart the way that alienation is felt and expressed as an affective response to the colonial economy, the readings of Rosas de Oquendo, Guaman Poma, and the hagiography of Saint Martin of Porres contained herein seek to discern a pre-history of alienation, to explore responses to Spanish American colonialism and its predominantly commercial impulses between 1570 and 1640.

While Marx considered primitive accumulation to be "a historically completed stage" of the evolution of British capitalism,⁴¹ the expressions of alienation found in colonial Peru constitute only a starting point for understanding alienation after the colonial "labor pains of

³⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

³⁹ Nichols, "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation," 20. Also, 28 n20.

⁴⁰ Regarding coercion in colonial labor, especially in the primary mining sector, see Peter Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545-1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1984), 33-34.

⁴¹ Nichols, "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation," 20.

capitalism.”⁴² Here, there is no endpoint of alienation, as my theorization of primitive alienation takes subsequent critiques of primitive accumulation as its companions, suggesting that alienation is an unfailing companion of the accumulation of capital, a constant resulting from and responding to the violence (state and otherwise) behind evolving iterations of “accumulation by dispossession.”⁴³ Indeed, similar expressions of disenfranchisement and formative alienation permeate other literatures of the period and continue well into the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ In fact, negative, affective literary and cultural expressions engendered by economic conditions and societal changes continue right through the structural economic advances into the very temporal moment of *entfremdung* to become fully manifest during the post-industrial nineteenth century.

Of the many coordinates on the Spanish colonial map characterized by primitive accumulation and accompanying sentiments, why, one might ask, focus on the Andes? The response is twofold. First, a few short decades after Spanish arrival, the Andes boasted strong mining, production, and agricultural economies, yielding significant contributions to the transoceanic economies that would privilege extractive mercantilism and the formative venture capital structures that financed these antecedents to mature capitalism. While these industries each existed in Andean society, colonial commercialization placed them outside of tribute economies and firmly within the milieu of capital. The second reason is that neither the urban administrative centers nor the sites of extraction and transport founded in the Andes were historically indigenous population centers. While the *Tawantinsuyu* had focused its urban populations around Cusco, Spanish colonialism in the Andes did not primarily take over indigenous spaces. Unlike the capital of New Spain, which was erected atop the toppled and reengineered ruins of the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan, Peru’s primary economic centers were artificial populations. On the coast, Lima was founded and populated to facilitate and regulate Spanish colonialism. The accompanying port of El Callao was, like the Cercado de Lima, an invention of Spanish economic, military, and political necessity. While both the Spanish port and city center were less symbolic of Spanish military domination than the New Spanish capital, the economic practices that these cities supported resulted in restructured networks connecting existing indigenous populations with emerging economies and infrastructure at the service of the colonial means of production. For example, the crown jewel of the Spanish-controlled highlands, the area around Potosí, was largely unpopulated until mining began there in 1545. The mercantile (Lima) and extractive capitals (Potosí) of the viceroyalty undoubtedly disrupted

⁴² Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum (New York: Zone Books, 1990), 9.

⁴³ Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, 161.

⁴⁴ In literature, this can be seen in Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela’s *Historia de la villa imperial de Potosí*, and countless other works expressive of frustrations and disillusionment with the Spanish colonial enterprise and the society that it yielded. Satirical texts such as Juan del Valle y Caviedes’ *El diente del Parnaso* (1683-1691), Esteban Terralla y Landa’s *Lima por dentro y fuera* (1797) and José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi’s *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816-1817) express concerns over the changing face of social relations in the colonies at the hand of evolving economic structures. In terms of historical events, repeated indigenous revolts against Spanish colonization including the Taki Unqoy (1564-1572), Juan Santos Atahualpa (1742-1756), Túpac Amaru II (1780-1783), and Tupac Katari (1780-1781) rebellions can be characterized as attempts to overcome marginalization by Spanish American economic and political demands.

indigenous populations; however, the foundation of these Spanish cities in areas sparsely populated by indigenous communities was less a process of reinscribing the indigenous city with Spanish urbanization than in other parts of Spanish America. Peruvian cities were, by and large, Spanish cities founded at a distance from indigenous populations with an economic mission: to facilitate, stimulate, and regulate extractive and trade activity.

This can be seen in the history of Lima's foundation. After Pizarro's October 1533 military defeat of Jauja, the conquistador had every intention of settling the city, previously known in Quechua as Hatun Xauxa, for the central governance of Andean territories. Pizarro deemed its location between the northern cities of San Miguel de Piura and Trujillo (cities which Pizarro founded in 1532 and 1535, respectively) and Cuzco ideal for governing both the Piuran port of Paita and the former highland capital of the Tahuantinsuyu. However, Pizarro's return to Cuzco to take the city in late 1533 led to a need to re-found Jauja in April 1534, which functioned as capital until November of the same year. However, a series of circumstances—the cold, altitude, distance from the coast, and the notable scarcity of firewood and lumber—led the city's Spanish population to relocate to Lima, a site previously occupied by the cacique del Rímac, in January 1535. And while there was a sparse indigenous presence on the central coast, it paled in comparison to those populations of Cusco or Cajamarca. The original Spanish settlement was new construction, as the subsequent outward and upward expansions of the city would be. True, the construction of Lima and Callao displaced indigenous communities. But they also emerged from a relatively unpopulated landscape in stark contrast to the Spanish demolition and reconstruction of Tenochtitlán as México in colonial New Spain. Common to the capitals of Peru and New Spain, though, was the relocation of Indians to the city and their reorganization around the urban economy. Peruvian cities were, perhaps more than their Mexican homologues, artificially constructed laboratories of capitalism.

Similarly, as Andean coastal cities were established based on ideal geography and topography instead of atop major indigenous populations, the most abundant Andean mines were founded organically, as sites such as Potosí (1545) and Huancavelica (its mercury mines founded in 1559, the city, as Villa Rica de Oropesa, in 1571) were established around mineral sources. Simply, the urban populations characteristic of Spanish colonialism in the Andes evolved from a Spanish response not to people (indigenous populations), but to resources and the means of transporting them (silver, ore, mercury, and pacific bays for port construction). As Andean cities evolved through the colonial period, they strategically corresponded to the emergence of new political, extractive, and mercantile economies. Spanish settlement and foundation of cities in the Andes was commercially focused, similar to its Mexican predecessor, which sought to take advantage of preexisting indigenous markets and supply routes while symbolically building Spanish México over the ruins of indigenous Tenochtitlan. However, Spanish settlement of the Andes was characterized by the foundation of cities based almost exclusively on proximity to water or the major commodities of the colonial economy, finding these resources in areas sparsely populated by indigenous communities before Spanish arrival. Given Spanish Peru's extractive and commercial ambitions, it was necessary to relocate large numbers of people to work in and around Lima, Potosí, and other Spanish settlements. The often-unfamiliar experiences of these uprooted workers would suggest that participating in the colonial economy was part and parcel with various forms of estrangement of indigenous and African populations. With commerce and economic growth the primary factors behind colonial Peru's urbanization, the resonances of Andean disenfranchisement and marginalization in the face of extraction and commerce are notable in the cultural production of the region.

As the geographic focus of this work might be called into question, so too one might question the temporal scope of this work: why the focus on 1570-1640? Far from arbitrary, the present study starts not in 1570, but in late 1569, with the appointment of Francisco de Toledo as viceroy of the viceroyalty of Peru. While Rosas de Oquendo, Guamán Poma, and Martin de Porres would not contribute to the literary and cultural canon until the late 1590s and into the 1600s, the appointment of Toledo on November 30, 1569 and the accompanying reforms enacted until vacating the post in May 1581 served to organize the viceroyalty both politically and economically in the interests of maximizing the productivity of Andean territories. The legacy of Toledo's reforms impacted the lived experiences of all three protagonists, and both Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma speak directly to the changes enacted in Peru and their effects on Spanish and indigenous subjects alike. The life of Martin de Porres, born on December 9, 1579, was also informed by the legacy of the Toledan reforms. And, while Martin de Porres' life serves as the counterpoint to the alienated existence of Rosas' poetic subject and Guamán Poma's narrative voice, his death on (November 3) 1639 nears the end point of this study. Coinciding with Porres's passing and nearly immediate veneration, 1640 marks another important year for understanding the saint's life and legacy: the conclusion of the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns between 1580 and 1640 under the Habsburg monarchs Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV of Spain. The 1640 separation of the two crowns resulted in the need for subsequent Spanish monarchs to fortify their reign by celebrating those saintly figures alive in America under the unified crown. They also were forced to necessarily make up for lost revenue in the territories accorded the Portuguese crown in 1640, leading to renewed interests in labor reform in Spanish America. As Celia Cussen notes, the Habsburg unification of the Iberian peninsula had the mission of "[c]reating new saints [which] was only one aspect of the Catholic revival, a project that coincided with the global expansion of the Catholic monarchy during the dynastic union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal between 1580 and 1640."⁴⁵ As the last chapter explores, it is in this process of venerating religious figures and reforming labor that sanctity would come to interact with the idea and practice of work in colonial Peru, an idea referenced first by Rosas de Oquendo, reformulated by Guaman Poma, and ultimately embodied by Martin de Porres.

Colonial Enterprise and Circuits of Transatlantic Alienation

An underlying premise of this work, if somewhat implicit, is that the first century and a half of colonial enterprise results from forms of social disenfranchisement in Western Europe (here, Spain) and their installation in the New World. Of course, here I am referring to the legions of residents of the Iberian Peninsula who abandoned Spain in search of social mobility as conquistadors and settlers, a response to the lack of social mobility and its general discouragement under feudal structures and the religious legitimization of those structures residual from the medieval period.⁴⁶ Though Teófilo Ruiz and Fernand Braudel suggest that late medieval and early modern Spain and Europe were long moving towards a regime of wage labor and market economic structures, the vestiges of feudal society proved powerful and lasting for many, limiting social mobility and leading to the consolidation of market structures as well as

⁴⁵ Celia Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 6.

⁴⁶ See Teófilo Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600* (Essex, UK: Pearson, 2001).

overseas movement.⁴⁷ This becomes visible as much in those expressions of discontent present in literature as in archival documents, early modern images, and hagiography: prior to overseas imperial and commercial expansion and their evangelizing impulses, a profound sense of European frustration and disenfranchisement with Europe—as much as awe, wonder, or marvel with America—begets the colonies.⁴⁸ Over the course of the first century of Spanish colonization, these very sentiments are furthered by deepening European frustrations with limitations to mobility on both sides of the Atlantice, expressed in the cultural production of the turn of the seventeenth century. To escape social limits in one place and seek solace elsewhere through accumulation engenders alienation in the new space, both for others (those peoples dispossessed by primitive accumulation) and potentially for those fleeing marginalization in Europe (those failing to engineer their social or material empowerment in America). This latter attitude towards transatlantic social ascent is articulated by Pablos at the conclusion of Francisco de Quevedo's *El Buscón* (1621): “determiné ... de pasarme a Indias ... a ver si, mudando mundo y tierra, mejoraría mi suerte. Y fueme peor ... pues nunca mejora su estado quien muda solamente de lugar y no de vida y costumbres.”⁴⁹

Though Pablos never made it from Quevedo's pen to America, the closing to *El Buscón* alludes to how and when acerbic responses to Spanish colonialism emerge from individual experiences in the colonies and increasingly collective understandings of larger colonial social relations not as an improvement but as a continuation or interruption of earlier social organization. Mateo Rosas de Oquendo's poetic subject articulates an ideology similar to that which Quevedo expounds with Pablos, suggesting that one can only accept his role in the world and thus seeing himself as an alienated figure in both realms: the Spaniard discontent with his situation at home cannot improve his lot overseas. Taking up the opposite side of the same coin, Guaman Poma, highlights how Spanish, creole, and even African desires for wealth and social mobility lead to the flight of indigenous subjects, those whose material dispossession enables the social mobility of colonists (by turning over the lands at the center of primitive accumulation and generating wealth and surplus value). Those colonists with least to show for their overseas travels, argues Guaman Poma, are often the most abusive and violent towards displaced Indians, their inability to secure vast plots of land or tribute labor causing them to seek other means of extracting wealth from indigenous communities. This desire of non-Indians to transcend their own social position and overcome their malaise with colonial limits on the individual condition can only result in the alienation of others. The benefactors of primitive accumulation cast alienated indigenous subjects everywhere, joining the ranks of those settlers excluded from the raucous half-century of remunerations on the grounds of military service.

As such, the alienation processes outlined above that most forcefully impact the colonial worker suggest a circuit: alienation from the early modern Spanish economy drives some, though

⁴⁷ See Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600* and Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol I: The Structures of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁴⁸ On awe, wonder, and marvel at and in Spanish America, see Jerónimo Arellano, *Magical Realism and the History of the Emotions in Latin America* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press), 15-19, 37-100, 137-138.

⁴⁹ Francisco de Quevedo, *El Buscón* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006 [1621]), 308.

not all, to travel to America.⁵⁰ Upon arrival, these subjects then assume one of three positions: 1) to remain disillusioned, peripheral to larger political and social structures and excluded from official colonial compensation; 2) to enjoy material advance through the colonial economies of plunder,⁵¹ of extraction, and/or of commodity exchange (which, in its rewriting of material-human relations, can alienate both the benefactor and the dispossessed) and thus push others to a “race to the bottom,” excluding others from the spoils—starting with the lands at the center of the means of production—of colonial and transatlantic economy; or 3) to seek to exist outside of economic life, searching for divine, existential solace—not social ascent—in the spiritual economy. Only the last option can interrupt the circuit of alienation, and even then, never fully (although one’s refuge in the church and individual spirituality might largely run parallel to the merchant economy, this path repeatedly intersects with commerce and political life).

These circuits of alienation, then, and the textual and archival examples used to explore and give voice and identity to primitive alienation then further allude to “what the possibility of alienation reveals about the nature of subjectivity in general.”⁵² Such insights into the nature of subjectivity at the turn of the seventeenth century enable an understanding of how colonial subjectivity may have been shaped not only by social and economic phenomena but also by the antecedents of “modern individuals’ reified relations to world and self and the “transformation of the human being into a thing” that accompanies it, a situation in which individuals mistakenly view the world as given rather than as the result of their own world-creating acts.”⁵³ And with this, the wagers of primitive alienation show, again, that they don’t limit themselves to the colonial or the early modern. Rather, they span the time of the human condition itself, including the present and the future. Alienation, if present in the technological, material, and ideological changes that abstracted labor into value and ushered in industrialism, capitalism, high finance, and the digital sphere, can also be found in the face of subsequent changes under which labor remains a source of abstraction. While it is not a focus of this work, my conclusions allude to the often rapid and far-reaching changes that make possible phenomena as diverse as socialism (as

⁵⁰ In terms of the motives of individuals to travel to America, some merchants and clergy were not motivated by their disenfranchisement with feudal-noble political and economic structures, nor were *funcionarios* appointed by the crown. On those who traveled to Peru in search of wealth or growth beyond these boundaries, see James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru: 1532-1560, A Social History*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994 [1968]), 159-166. On nobles and the clergy, who traveled to expand their wealth and influence but not necessarily as a result of social limitations in early modern Iberia, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 38-54 and 55-68.

⁵¹ In reference to the conquest economy, Karen Spalding uses the term “plunder economy,” which she describes as “the expropriation of a considerable proportion of the goods produced by the members of Andean society for their own use, and for the luxury and display of the state destroyed by the conquerors” (*Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 134). Also see Karen Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 43-51.

⁵² Frederick Neuhouser, “Translator’s Introduction,” in Rahel Jaeggi, *Alienation*, (Columbia University Press, 2014), xiv.

⁵³ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 11. Also see Erich Fromm, *Marx’s Concept of Man*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013 [1961]).

Soviet socialism was state capitalism, retaining capitalist notions of labor) and digital modes of expression (or even new means of reading and processing information).

As Moishe Postone has noted, the very opposition of alienation to capitalism proper found in Marx's writing suggests that "una crítica histórica del capitalismo [o aquí, su pre-historia] emprendida desde el punto de vista del socialismo ya no puede ser considerada como una crítica de las bases de la falta de libertad y de la alienación desde el punto de vista de la emancipación general humana."⁵⁴ For Postone, questions of alienation and "la emancipación general humana" cannot be resolved within traditional Marxist interpretation, and one must push beyond notions of the market and private property in seeking to theorize alienation and its modern character foils, liberation and authenticity.⁵⁵ While Postone seeks to articulate a critique that can bridge the gap between the emancipatory ideals of capitalism and the real sources of "la actual insatisfacción social en los países industrialmente avanzados,"⁵⁶ his challenges to Marxist orthodoxy through his suggestion that *labor* itself must be abolished, allude to the conclusion that any change within an economic order that abstracts labor into value, and the social and cultural practices (here I refer to consumption) that follow such a change yield alienation or estrangement (from either self or society) across the time-space continuum. This is bound to occur so long as labor exists in the image of capitalism (as in Soviet socialism) or as an earlier twinkle in the eye of wage labor, that is, as a means of producing and consuming goods where labor's abstraction into value yields the generalized alienation of society.⁵⁷ And so as long as labor-abstracted-into-value has the dual function not only of production (and the abstraction of labor into value) but also of consumption, alienation transcends *entfremdung* in that it has two possible sources: the production of goods (which Marx details) and the production of a means of consumption, present in the earliest moments of primitive accumulation and its modern continuations. Alienation is indigenous to consumption and its accompaniment of new technologies, almost always the companion of social change. And it is this relationship of alienation to change—social, economic, religious—that anchors the following readings of primitive alienation at the turn of the seventeenth century.

A Note on Alienation

One of the primary reasons that the term alienation has fallen out of vogue in scholarly circles is due to the tremendous vagaries of the term, this in opposition to the abundance of literature which defines and redefines it (or as Ignace Feuerlicht suggests, plural alienations, "them").⁵⁸ Deployed with great fervor and imprecision during the mid-twentieth century, no shortage of scholars suggested giving up the term or modifying its usage to reinvest it with

⁵⁴ Moishe Postone, *Tiempo, trabajo y dominación social. Una reinterpretación de la teórica crítica de Marx* (Barcelona: Marcel Pons, 2006), 18.

⁵⁵ Postone, *Tiempo, trabajo y dominación social*, 18.

⁵⁶ Postone, *Tiempo, trabajo y dominación social*, 18.

⁵⁷ Andrew Feenberg, "Review: *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory* by Moishe Postone," *Theory and Society* 25.4 (1996), 609.

⁵⁸ Ignace Feuerlicht, *Alienation: From the Past to the Future* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1978), 16.

renewed specificity and meaning.⁵⁹ Yet a premise upon which the terminological coordinates of this dissertation relies coincide with Feuerlicht's assertion that, "the very vagueness and elusiveness of alienation may enhance its popular usefulness and strength."⁶⁰ Although I have, up until this point, referred to the concept in largely general terms, the chapters that follow seek to specify the exact valences that specific forms of primitive alienation, primitive *alienations*, really, refer to. Still, at this juncture, it might prove useful to rehearse the limits that I place on my understanding of the term and its use in this work.

Echoing Walter Kaufmann, Ignace Feuerlicht suggests that instead of discarding the term, "[m]uch more comprehensive and convincing is the suggestion that alienation be used only if it is specified from whom or what alienation has taken place ... Since alienation, at least originally, means separation, the entity from which one is separated should be made clear. One is not simply alienated but alienated from one's self, from others, from one's work, from society, and so forth."⁶¹ He continues, noting that critics "succumb to the general usage where alienation means a feeling of powerlessness and isolation or refer to ... alienation from society."⁶² While this has been my prevailing mode of applying the term thus far, I would like to now turn to the specific feelings that primitive alienation alludes to being alienated *from* at the intersection of a deeply Catholic Spanish colonialism and pre-existing indigenous societies under rapidly intensifying mercantile (proto-capitalist) culture and the seemingly self-evident market logic that it welcomed in.

Alienation might be understood as a process, as a gradual eroding of the senses: the sense of belonging to a people, place, or institution are diminished by economic, social, and cultural shift and the inability of the individual to feel a kinship with institutions and ideologies under shifting relationships with each—and the world itself—across time and space. Key here is the word *feel*: alienation is not merely a process nor a phenomenon but a matrix of *feelings* that impact the individual, and thus it is inherently affective and subjective, in spite of its ability to impact massive swaths—classes—of the population (most directly, those dispossessed by primitive accumulation). This is something that, as will be seen in the second chapter, has come and gone from scholarly usage of the term over the last three centuries, as alienation has come to be understood more as a process than an event. But if it is a process, it is a process of feeling negatively, of feeling disconnected and estranged from one's surroundings as well as the people and processes that govern those surroundings. Likewise, if we are to understand alienation as a phenomenon, as it is often defined in both lexical and philosophical terms, then we must emphasize that it is not necessarily a phenomenon of physically being disconnected, estranged, or outside (although it can be), but one of feeling as such. First and foremost, alienation is affective. And as affect, it is often internal, although it evokes vocal articulations and expressions transcendent of such personal origins. This project is an exploration of precisely these expressions.

Given this affective character, alienation is not exclusively related to the abstraction of labor and value and the installation of private property, although it is most identifiable in texts concerned with economic processes and the administration of the means of production and the

⁵⁹ For a rehearsal of critics and revisionists of the term through the 1970s, see Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 1-17.

⁶⁰ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 17.

⁶¹ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 14.

⁶² Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 14.

wealth (land, laborers, precious minerals). But as Spanish colonialism is intimately tied to early modern economies—economies of plunder, extraction, and mercantile activity—primitive alienation in the colonial world reflects an inherently economic character. This is because, as Richard Halpern reminds us, “certain early forms of capital—in particular, merchant’s capital—were already firmly entrenched by the beginning of the sixteenth century.”⁶³ As “certain political, legal, or cultural domains were able to anticipate those of a capitalist formation even in advance of capitalism *as such*,”⁶⁴ the Spanish colonial enterprise, too, demonstrates what Ivonne del Valle has termed a “commercial and capitalist economic rationality” well before and into the turn of the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ In spite of this undeniably economic character, primitive alienation is not exclusively limited to some evolutionary form of *entfremdung*, although the resonances of young Marx’s four forms of separation of the self (from the product of his labor, from his activity, from species-being, and other human beings) are apparent in those colonial texts expressive of negative affective responses to new forms of labor and understandings of value in the colonial period.

And so, even in defining primitive alienation in terms of its affective character, it cannot be divorced from a vision of colonial Latin America as the site *par excellence* of early modern European primitive accumulation, founded in colonial enterprise per Marx, but also renewed throughout subsequent stages of capitalist development.⁶⁶ Lacking the feudal structures historically embedded in early modern Europe, the Latin American colonial enterprise is defined by forceful European acquisition of resources by private individuals, most prominently in the form of below-market labor and expansive tracts of land abundant in raw materials and mineral resources. As the next chapter shows, urban micro-economies evolved quite naturally around this private consolidation of capital and prominent trade centers and ports quickly emerged in the colonial world, ushering in a market-leaning mercantilism as the dominant economic paradigm. Under these structures, individual and group subjectivities would come to be defined by their relationships to capital, leaving a wide margin for colonial subjects to articulate and express their (often negative) feelings about the hegemony of this material relationship over others. Although certainly lacking characteristics of later industrial capitalism, the colonial economy’s birth from the medieval “labor pains of capitalism”⁶⁷ constituted a powerful force with the ability to destabilize longstanding social attitudes through the abstraction of labor, commodities, and value over three centuries prior to the industrial age. In seeking to understand the relationships of individuals to the colonial economy, primitive alienation emerges from the tensions between structural economic change and personal, emotional responses to such changes. With these tensions between the affective and the economic coordinates of primitive alienation firmly in mind, I turn now to the layout of the present volume.

⁶³ Richard Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 9. I agree with David Landreth that Halpern’s work constitutes “the most comprehensive theorization of [the] Marxian prehistory of capital into the criticism of early modernity” (Landreth, “At Home with Mammon: Matter, Money, and Memory in Book II of the Faerie Queene” *ELH* 73.1 (2006): 271, n. 27).

⁶⁴ Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 9.

⁶⁵ Ivonne del Valle, “*Grandeza Mexicana* and the Lakes of Mexico City: Economy and Ontology in Colonial Technological Development,” *Hispanic Issues Online* 12 (2013), 39.

⁶⁶ Marx, *Capital*, vol. III, 905.

⁶⁷ Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life*, 9.

The Project

Chapter one examines the nature and structure of the colonial economy leading up to and following the reforms implemented by viceroy Francisco de Toledo between 1569 and 1581. In reviewing each of the key economic sectors—mining, the trades, weaving, and agriculture—, this chapter plots the basic coordinates of the types of labor, laborers, and compensation structures present in colonial Peru beginning during the mid-sixteenth century. The chapter also seeks to highlight how the Spanish colonial economy was not a wholesale reinvention of Andean labor and compensation structures, but an appropriation of pre-colonial tribute systems that retained intelligibility with their indigenous precursors. This discussion renders a more complex picture of the colonial economy than most alienation theory would admit, arguing that Spanish, indigenous, African, and mixed-race subjects operated with different levels of agency in spite of frequent and often brutal coercion of workers to enter the extractive or production economies on Spanish terms. Similarly, it suggests that workers, often indigenous but also African and European, navigated and manipulated colonial superstructures to their own benefit in spite of the many forms of coercion that moved laborers around the viceroyalty and brought laborers from around the world to work within the reconfigured means of production and contribute to the redistribution of wealth back towards Spain via its emissaries.

Chapter two seeks to establish how primitive alienation is constructed at a rudimentary level, as an affective, subjective experience of eroding the individual's sense of belonging in a colonial context of contact and conflict that proves neither Spanish nor indigenous, but something altogether unique. Beginning with Pedro Cieza de León's discussion of the Andean landscape in terms of its agricultural (and cultural) potential to be rendered in the image of Spain, I argue that the conquest genres of *crónica*, *relación*, *historia*, and *diario* evidence colonists' recognition of the uncomfortable existence of the Spanish in the viceroyalty of Peru. This discomfort and the desire to eliminate it through Spanish cultivation of familiar comestibles and products affirm a Spanish sense of existing outside of—alienated from—Iberian society and the known European world. This “outsideness” directly relates Spanish existence in the Andes to a Latin-derived early modern Spanish term reflective of modern definitions of alienation: *ser ajeno* (to be outside). By loosely defining primitive alienation in terms of the conceptual currency behind that outsideness (*enajenación*) historically and linguistically grounded in imperial Rome and early modern Europe, I posit the fundamental coordinates of that primitive alienation which accompanies the colonial process of primitive accumulation without the strictures of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment philosophy's interpretations and reconfigurations of the concept of alienation.

Departing from this discussion of alienation as understood in the Iberian world through the first century of Andean colonization, I then engage in an archaeology of modern theories of alienation emergent between the late-eighteenth and the twentieth century. In tracing alienation's modern philosophical lineage, I highlight the contributions of Rousseau, Kant, Schiller, Hegel, Kierkegaard, Feuerbach, and Marx to modern definitions of the concept. Within this corpus, two conceptualizations of alienation emerge: 1) those defining alienation within existentialist modes (beginning with Kierkegaard) and 2) “the tradition of Marx and his heirs, who, following Hegel, understand alienation primarily as a disruption in human beings' appropriation of their species

powers due to the structure, especially the economic structure, of their societies.”⁶⁸ I then follow each strand’s evolutions during the early twentieth century, the former inherited by Heidegger and the latter taken up simultaneously by Lukács and dramaturges Shklovsky and Brecht. Here, the companion concepts of authenticity, reification, and appropriation are crucial to a broad understanding of alienation theory. These concepts then serve as a point of entry for defining those attributes of primitive alienation consistent with modern alienation while demarcating the boundaries of a pre-history of alienation.

Part two advances the definitions laid out in the first part of the project through close readings of colonial texts rooted in expressions of disenfranchisement with the colonial economy and the human condition therein. Chapter three takes up Mateo Rosas de Oquendo’s *Sátira hecha a las cosas que pasan en el Pirú, año de 1598* in order to explore what Spanish affective responses to primitive accumulation entailed and how these responses were articulated. The chapter takes as its focus not the victors of conquest who benefited from *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, and other forms of royal remunerations, but Spaniards marginalized from conquest compensation, as the satire’s poetic subject alleges to be. The *Sátira*’s poetic subject subtly suggests that texts celebrating conquest (*carta, crónica y relación*) or colonial commerce (Balbuena) are the other side of colonial experience: positive affective responses to primitive accumulation. Exploring how satire itself might be understood as a genre of alienation based on its embeddedness in (and response to) imperial systems from ancient Rome to colonial Spanish America, the chapter suggests that a form of primitive alienation specific to marginalized soldier-settlers takes hold, what I have termed Spanish settler primitive alienation. This type of alienation emerges from the satirist’s perception of his life and his circumstance as an objective thing with an immutable character of its own, instead of seeing his life as a product of his own actions, which may have contributed to his failings. The poetic subject’s conceptualization of primitive accumulation as a slowing enterprise at the turn of the seventeenth century suggests that the colonies’ advance into market economies (of extraction and commerce instead of plunder) leaves Spaniards outside of primitive accumulation first institutionalized as patronage, forcing them to labor and thus take on an alienated subjectivity allusive to later *entfremdung*. While money circulates as a result of extractive enterprise (under the benefactors of primitive accumulation) and the urban markets that it supports, the poetic subject and Spaniards like him are forced to work, constituting a second form of subjective alienation from—existence outside of—a society that no longer supports conservative sixteenth- and seventeenth-century notions of one’s “proper” place in society and questions the futility of seeking social mobility. This is exacerbated by the way that merchants from other castes are able to profit from urban markets, endowing Spanish settler primitive alienation with a specifically racialized (and racist) dimension: a nostalgia for a return to previous modes of social organization dependent on race, gender, and bloodlines.

Chapter four rereads Guaman Poma’s *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* focusing on how the confiscation of indigenous lands, consonant with early modern definitions of *enajenación* as the relinquishment of one’s lands, leads to indigenous flight from the Spanish centers of the viceroyalty. Arguing that Indians are born into a default condition of material alienation, the chapter examines how Poma sees the disintegration of indigenous communities and indigenous identity to result from their landlessness. Dispossession, he claims, relegates Indians to participation in forced and wage labor on rural *encomiendas*, in workshops, and upon fleeing to

⁶⁸ Axel Honneth, “Foreword,” ix, in Rahel Jaeggi, *Alienation*.

urban centers where vice accompanies labor practices that diminish Andean community identity. Such flight and resulting labor practices send native Andeans into a downward spiral of meaninglessness under Spanish colonial rule, rendering Indians vulnerable not only to a creolization that endangers indigenous community identity, but nefarious habits that further impede indigenous communities from retaining autonomy over their own material and spiritual conditions. In offering suggestions for the rectification of material and spiritual alienation of native Andeans, Poma does not advocate unseating colonial rule, but instead returning lands to Indian communities where they can determine their own forms of labor and tribute contributions to the Spanish crown while embracing Christianity.

Chapter five takes the literatures of alienation analyzed in the previous chapters as a point of departure to explore the potential for colonial subjects to live outside of or beyond material alienations in the colonial Andes. Examining the hagiography of San Martín de Porres, the chapter demonstrates how Porres' cult locates the Afroperuvian saint outside of alienation by representing him in constant labor. This labor, though, short-circuits alienation by constructing the saint's work as an extension of God's hand or toil in the service of God. By highlighting Porres' non-stop participation in domestic and healing labor, narratives of the saint's life call into question the very categories of working time and resting time, combining his ceaseless efforts into a form of work-life in the service of God. However, while Porres proves inalienable by commending his labors to God and bypassing reification (of matter and of circumstance), his saintly authenticity (that is, his ability to define his existence in terms of uncoerced, willing work on God's behalf) contributes to cycles of systematic alienation of others, as the idealization and sanctification of his devotion contributes to the subjugation and denigration of Afroperuvians within colonial Lima. While Porres achieves spiritual enlightenment through his work, his cult serves to institutionalize submission, silence, and ceaseless labor among Peru's slave population.

Final Thoughts

By taking up alienation at length here, I not only invest renewed faith in the concept but, also in the concept's utility of reading the colonial world (and its literatures) at the turn of the seventeenth century. Erich Fromm wrote, in his introduction to his edition of Marx's early manuscripts, that "Marx's philosophy, like much of existentialist thinking, represents a protest against man's alienation, his loss of himself and his transformation into a thing; it is a movement against the dehumanization and automatization of man inherent in the development of Western industrialism."⁶⁹ And while in and of itself the colonial period is not synonymous with Western industrialism, the colonial reorganization of the globe and its economic reaches, indeed from primitive accumulation (and its legacy) to the technological advances that oiled the wheels of the extractive and merchant economies, is indeed, essential in crafting a pre-history of capital upon which the history of Western industrialism depends. In the texts and historical moments explored herein as expressions—and critiques—of the alienating potential of transatlantic colonialism, one can sense a similar movement against dehumanization five centuries prior to Fromm.

Of course, these two moments of dehumanization are related, as indigenous peoples, immigrant populations, and the working population of the world continue to confront challenges and affronts to their humanity, dignity, and self-realization, impeded by many of the ideas explicitly articulated by Western colonial enterprise. It is my hope that by reading alienation in

⁶⁹ Fromm, "Marx's Concept of Man," *Marx's Concept of Man*, ix.

the colonial period, these linkages become more apparent, highlighting not only the modern character of the colonial period and its impact on notions of modern subjectivity, but also the means by which workers and common people continue to struggle in the face of institutions and ideologies that yield aversion and repugnance in individual man and humanity more generally. This is not only an analysis. It is also, to the extent that it can be, a protest.

Part I: Definitions

Chapter 1

Work: The Economy in Colonial Peru, 1570-1640

Fierce waves push eastward under grey, overcast skies, the Pacific swell's deep troughs escorting the last of two Dutch East Indies galleons into the port of El Callao, on the central coast of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Joining nearly two-dozen other ships, these galleons' ballasts ride high, apparently ready to make landfall, re-supply, and load cargo for transport. Hundreds of people inhabit the shores of El Callao, lining the west-facing bay as they go about their daily activities. Deep in the background, a majestic city—perhaps the Spanish administrative center of Lima some twelve kilometers from the port, perhaps the fabled indigenous capital of Cuzco, or perhaps the silver mining center of Potosí—sits nestled between two mountain peaks, deep in the clouds. At a glance, this image seems to depict just another day at sea and on the docks at the logistical center of the viceroyalty's transatlantic colonial economy.



Figure 5. "Caljou de Lima," plate no. 11 from Joris van Spilbergen, *Ooste ende West-Indische Spiegel* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkerchen, 1619), 73.

Yet in the midst of the scene there is cannon fire, evidenced by plumes of smoke neatly obscured by the contours of the waves and the wind in the ships' sails. The Dutch ship the *Jagher* (labeled K) darts in and out of the Spanish ships (H), wreaking havoc on the anchored merchant vessels.⁷⁰ The innumerable figures populating the shore—Spanish soldiers (labeled D, E, F, and G)—bear lances and standards, not pushcarts and mules or crates and barrels. Nary a civilian is recognizable among the throngs of Spanish soldiers on both sides of the Rímac river. The five arriving Dutch ships do not bear the standard of arms of Felipe III and the Habsburg emblazons of the House of Austria.⁷¹ To the contrary, ancient and modern Burgundy, Brabant, Flanders, the alpine Tirol and Portugal are all conspicuously absent from their masts. Instead, the five heavily armed vessels bear the red, triangular swallowtail flags of belligerents, seen most clearly atop the *Morghen-sterre* (M) and the *Halve Maen* (N), their crimson color lost in the single-color relief print. The sterns of Spilbergen's ship (I) and the *Aeolus* (L) fly the Dutch horizontal tricolor that would have accompanied the insignia of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*; VOC). Accompanying the VOC's westward expansion under Dutch navy man Joris van Spilbergen to consolidate a monopoly on the overseas spice trade, the scene at hand is a confrontation between the world's first multinational corporation, based in Amsterdam, and Spanish forces consisting of colonial navy men, international merchants and sailors, and likely, African sailors and fishermen.⁷² The Dutch ships operate under letters of marque allowing attack and capture of enemy vessels (*letters de course* in French and *patentes de corso* in Spanish), the corporate model boldly marrying imperial reason, mercantile expansion, and early modern piracy. Only eight of the ships are Spanish, two crown galleons and several poorly armed private commercial frigates contracted to defend the port.⁷³ And while both sides depicted in the print are fundamentally merchant forces, albeit very heavily armed merchant forces, commerce appears to have screeched to a halt during this bellicose encounter.

This battle, taking place between the fleet sent by the VOC and the Spanish *armadilla* (small armada) defending the port of Callao on July 17, 1615 is, perhaps, a mere footnote in the history of Lima and the social and economic histories of the Spanish colonies.⁷⁴ Depicted in

⁷⁰ For the key and brief textual descriptions of each element of the plate, see Joris Van Spilbergen, *The East and West Indian Mirror, Being an Account of Joris Van Speilbergen's Voyage Round the World (1614-1617) and the Australian Navigations of Jacob Le Maire*, trans. J.A.J. de Villiers, *The East and West Indian Mirror*, Second Series, No. XVIII. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1906), 78.

⁷¹ Spilbergen is labeled as captaining his flagship the *Groote Sonne*, labeled "I." The *Jagher* is "K"; the *Aeolus* of Zeeland, "L"; the *Morghen-sterre* of Rotterdam, "M"; and the *Halve Maen*, "N." See Spilbergen, *The East and West Indian Mirror*, 78.

⁷² On African participation in fishing and near-shore maritime activity, see James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru: 1532-1560, A Social History*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994 [1968]), 138-139, 208. On the abundance of international sailors present in early Peru through the seventeenth century, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 129-151.

⁷³ For textual description of this passage, see Spilbergen, *The East and West Indian Mirror*, 77-79.

⁷⁴ For a detailed account of Spilbergen's voyage for the Dutch East Indies Company, see Spilbergen, *The East and West Indian Mirror*. See also, Pedro Rodríguez Crespo, *El peligro holandés en las costas peruanas a principios del siglo XVII: La Expedición de Spilbergen y la defensa del Virreynato (1615)* (Lima: 1964).

early accounts of Spilbergen's travels,⁷⁵ this scene and the journey that it references are just another daily encounter in the transatlantic and transpacific colonial world. Commissioned by the VOC and the Dutch States-General, Spilbergen's six ships and "approximately 700 to 1600"⁷⁶ men had left the Low Countries not with the primary objective of taking El Callao or Lima, nor interrupting Spanish commerce, but with the mission of circumnavigating the globe from Amsterdam to the Spice Islands (the Moluccas, present-day Indonesia), returning by sailing around Africa via the Cape of Good Hope. The Spilbergen voyage's intent, at least as recorded, was simply to survey economic interests and plot the potential for new trade routes as they traveled. Crossing the Atlantic and rounding the Strait of Magellan, the outbound voyage of the VOC fleet had planned only on making a stopover in Spanish Acapulco before crossing the Pacific. While unforeseen events accompanied Spilbergen's voyage—a ship mutinied and deserted the expedition before reaching the Strait of Magellan—, his fleet also found the port of El Callao poorly defended and susceptible to attack,⁷⁷ his own ships better armed than the Spanish forces in spite of having fewer fighting men. And so due to the sheer convenience of the endeavor, the Dutch spent more than a week engaging the Spanish armada in Peru's principal port, sinking or capturing several ships and harassing merchant vessels in and around the harbor.⁷⁸

Spilbergen noticed the fervent trade environment, writing that, "[o]n the 20th [of July, 1615], the wind being favourable, we ... sailed straight to the harbor, where we saw about fourteen vessels of all kinds which carried on trade with Peru, continually going and coming along the coast."⁷⁹ So strong was the commercial impetus of the port of Callao, fueled by the silver bullion of Potosí headed for Panama and then Spain, that merchant ships continued to frequent the port throughout the active eleven-day naval battle.⁸⁰ Uninterested in capturing Lima, Spilbergen would resume his travels northward up the Peruvian coast, seizing small ships and further engaging Spanish forces at Peru's northern port of Paita (Piura) on his way to Panama, and ultimately, Acapulco, where the Dutch corsairs were unexpectedly welcomed by residents and generously outfitted for their transpacific voyage. Similarly prominent to El Callao in Peru, the port at Acapulco, which Fray Andrés de Urdaneta described as "grande, seguro, muy saludable y dotado de buena agua,"⁸¹ was arguably the most active commercial space in all of

⁷⁵ See Joris van Spilbergen, *Ooste ende West-Indische Spiegel*, Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkerchen, 1619.

⁷⁶ Mariselle Meléndez, "Geographies of Patriotism: A South American Port in the Age of Enlightenment," *Vanderbilt E-Journal of Luso-Hispanic Studies* 9 (2013): 115.

⁷⁷ Meléndez, "Geographies of Patriotism," 116.

⁷⁸ On the Spilbergen attack's impact on subsequent fortification and development of El Callao, see Meléndez, "Geographies of Patriotism," 115-116.

⁷⁹ Spilbergen, *The East and West Indian Mirror*, 78.

⁸⁰ On Panama's commercial role, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 87, 92-93, 99-101.

⁸¹ "Derrotero muy especial hecho por Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, de la navegación que había de hacer desde el puerto de Acapulco para las islas de Poniente" in Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Los primeros de Filipinas: crónicas de la conquista del archipiélago de San Lázaro* (Madrid: Ediciones Polífono, 1995), 90-91. On Acapulco and the transpacific trade routes between New Spain and the Philippines during the same period, see Ostwald Sales Colín, *El movimiento portuario de Acapulco: el protagonismo de Nueva España en la relación con Filipinas, 1587-1648* (México: Plaza y Valdés, 2008).

New Spain for a few weeks a year between 1571 and 1815 during the departure and return of the Philippines-bound Spanish galleons inaccurately referred to as *Nao de China*.

This story of Dutch piracy-as-trade in the midst of lively Spanish port activity serves to foreground the intense global commercial activity of turn-of-the-century Peru and subsequent decades, during which Dutch and, earlier, English pirates frequently cruised the South American Pacific coast “in order to examine all the commodities and obtain some supply of provisions” through pillage or purchase.⁸² In this context, we ought also keep in mind that the world’s first corporation—the VOC/Dutch East Indies—outfitted its ‘traders’ with cannons, experienced soldiers (many veterans of the Battle of Gibraltar), and legal license to engage in warfare and pillage through letters of marque, common to European maritime commerce and naval warfare from the fourteenth century onward. Such scenes were common in early and mid-colonial Peru and along the Pacific coastline of Spanish America. The British pirates Sir Francis Drake (1540-1596; active in Peru 1578-1579), Sir Thomas Cavendish (1560-1592; in Peru circa 1587), and Sir Richard Hawkins (1562-1622; in Peru circa 1594) successfully harassed Spanish traders and their allies during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Later, the Dutch-flagged VOC fleet led by Jacques L’Hermite (1582-1624) attempted a failed blockade of Callao in 1624. For the purposes of this dissertation, these episodes do not speak strictly to the interruption of commerce, nor the economic mainstays of black markets and contraband networks in the colonial Americas. Rather, such interruptions speak to the ability of early modern transoceanic commerce to continue its activities and prevail through and over foreign military intervention, its guerrilla and pirate conscripts, or even Spanish royal decrees against open trade.⁸³ After all, Spilbergen’s assault on El Callao only garnered “a small vessel that was scarcely of any value,”⁸⁴ while Peru’s viceregal economy hardly noticed. While the means of transporting commodities could be disrupted, the means of production hardly noticed and neither did those laboring ceaselessly to keep the port open and its ships outfitted with cargo.

This episode, and the presence of privateering—state-sponsored sea-robbery—smuggling, and piracy more generally, further speaks to colonial South America as a wildly international commercial space, where merchants, soldiers, sailors, corsairs, bureaucrats, and clerics of varied national and linguistic allegiances cohabitated in and around Lima and El

⁸² Spilbergen, *The East and West Indian Mirror*, 81.

⁸³ On piracy in colonial Spanish America, see Kris Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Global Piracy on the High Seas, 1500-1750*, 2nd edition (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2015) and Emiro Martínez-Osorio, *Authority, Piracy, and Captivity in Colonial Spanish American Writing: Juan de Castellano’s “Elegies of Illustrious Men of the Indies”* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2016), xxiii-xxxvii. On pirate encounters around Callao, see Lane, *Pillaging the Empire*, 76-90 and 134-159. Elena Phipps reminds her readers that “[s]hipping in Lima was open from 1581-1582, but it was later restricted by royal decree. In 1591 laws were enacted forbidding traffic between Peru, Terra Firme (including Chile and Patagonia), Guatemala, and China or the Philippines, prohibitions that were repeated in 1593, 1595, and 1604” (Elena Phipps, “Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 97n46). Like Lane and Martínez-Osorio, Phipps notes that these decrees and others against transpacific commerce failed to temper traffic in import goods from China and other prohibited regions (97).

⁸⁴ Spilbergen, *The East and West Indian Mirror*, 79.

Callao. And of course, one must remember that the merchant, bureaucratic, military, and religious classes were supported by the massive majority populations of indigenous laborers redistributed throughout the viceroyalty by Spanish mandates for tribute labor, as well as significant African slave populations. On the backs of these workers, colonial Lima emerged as a booming commercial center within a half-century of Spanish conquest, thriving into the mid-seventeenth century in spite of moments of decline. The city and its port served as a bilateral point of convergence for mineral exports from the sierra headed to Seville via Panama and for all sort of overseas goods arriving to Lima to outfit the colonial administrative center and its residents. Pedro Cieza de León charts this trade route and the commercial nature of the cities between Lima and Seville, already well established by the 1553 publication of his *Crónica del Perú*. Referring to Panama as the mid-point between Peru and Spain, he writes:

Toda la más de esta ciudad está poblada como yo dije, de muchos y muy honrados mercaderes de todas partes, trata en ella y en el Nombre de Dios, porque el trato es tan grande, que casi se puede comparar con la ciudad de Venecia. Porque muchas veces acaece venir navíos por la mar del Sur a desembarcar a esta ciudad cargados de oro y plata, por la mar del Norte es muy grande el número de flotas que allegan al Nombre de Dios, de las cuales gran parte de las mercaderías viene a este reino por el río que llaman de Chagre [Chagres] en barcos y del que está cinco leguas de Panamá los traen en grandes y muchas recuas que los mercaderes tienen para este efecto. Junto a la ciudad hace la mar un ancón grande, donde cerca del surgen las naos, y con la marea entran en el puerto, que es muy bueno para pequeños navíos.⁸⁵

Typical of colonial chronicles, Cieza's description of the productive potential of Panama as a port region notes that commerce came from both the north (Mexico) and the south (Peru and Ecuador), further complementing the mid-colonial vision of El Callao and Paita as Spanish South America's economic gateways to oceanic commerce.

Lima, of course, was not the only commercial center in colonial Spanish America, nor was it popularly regarded as the primary trade center, a title that México, in New Spain, claimed veritably from the sixteenth century onward. As Bernardo de Balbuena's *Grandeza mexicana* (1604) reminds readers, Mexico was an economic center in which at least hypothetically, every variant of international luxury commodity embarked and disembarked, passing through the streets of Mexico while fueling the precipitous rise of the New Spanish economy.⁸⁶ Yet this position would be partially disputed by the viceroyalty of Peru, first through the mines of Potosí and later through the commerce passing through Lima via El Callao and, to a lesser extent, Piura via Paita. Though this rivalry would prevail through the eighteenth century as reflected particularly by satirical writers familiar with both viceroyalties, the economic importance of both cities was indisputable, especially on their respective continents. While Mexico retained an

⁸⁵ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú*, ed. Franklin G.Y. Pease (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), 16-17.

⁸⁶ See Bernardo de Balbuena, *Grandeza Mexicana* (México: Melchior Ocharte, 1604). On Balbuena, see Ivonne del Valle, "Grandeza mexicana: economía y ontología en el desarrollo tecnológico colonial," *Revista Iberoamericana* LXXVIII.241 (2012), 783-804 and "Grandeza Mexicana and the Lakes of Mexico City: Economy and Ontology in Colonial Technological Development," *Hispanic Issues OnLine* 12 (2013), 38-54.

economic and cultural prominence unmatched by other Spanish American cities, the Peruvian economy generated tremendous material wealth and stood at the center of mid-colonial Spanish South America.⁸⁷ In Spain and among Spaniards in Peru, this wealth generated great excitement about the potential for fortune and upward social mobility. As Spilbergen's incursions remind us, there was also great anxiety about the potential for Peruvian political and economic instability and shifts in Spanish American social hierarchies and structures to jettison imperial and individual aspirations, respectively, particularly among Spaniards whose advancement depended upon the systematic exploitation of indigenous and African labor to produce commodities and set them into global circulation.⁸⁸ This anxiety also included worries that Spanish American bullion and monetary culture would enrich parties outside of Spain and Spanish America, not only through piracy, but also through outside investment and the credit economy.⁸⁹ With these coordinates in mind, I turn now to the industries and forms of labor and compensation that catapulted El Callao, Lima, and the whole of Peru onto the global economic map.

The Colonial Economy of Peru: An Overview

The above plate of Spilbergen's attack on El Callao merely hints at the types of economies and labor that were present in colonial Spanish America. It was, indeed, human labor that produced the things necessitating such maritime movement and enabling colonists, royal government, corporations, and piracy-turned-privateering to engage in mercantile practices that conspired towards mature forms of market economy. More specifically, the sections that follow serve to plot the primary economic sectors present in turn-of-the-seventeenth-century Lima and the surrounding viceroyalty of Peru and the means by which people contributed the manpower—human labor—that generated unprecedented wealth and “transformed Peruvian metals into the money that kept the Empire together.”⁹⁰

This undertaking is more complex than it first seems. While the urban environment of Lima, the official viceregal seat, served as the primary setting for many administrative, literary, philosophical, and religious discussions of Peru, Lima's economy was part of a much broader

⁸⁷ For satirical poetry comparing the two viceregalities, see Mateo Rosas de Oquendo in Antonio Paz y Meliá, “Cartapacio de diferentes versos á diversos asuntos, compuestos ó recogidos por Mateo Rosas de Oquendo” *Bulletin Hispanique* 8.2 (1906), 154-162 and “Cartapacio de diferentes versos á diversos asuntos, compuestos ó recogidos por Mateo Rosas de Oquendo” *Bulletin Hispanique* 9.2 (1907), 154-185. Also see the opening to Esteban Terralla y Landa, *Lima por dentro y fuera* (Lima: 1797), vv. 9-28, which ridicules the idea of leaving Mexico's rich capital for Lima.

⁸⁸ On those Spaniards known as *indianos* who made a fortune in America before returning to Spain, see Elvira Vilches, *New World Gold: Cultural Anxiety and Monetary Disorder in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 294-308. Their success inspired future generations of colonists and instilled visions of Spanish American abundance in early modern Iberian society.

⁸⁹ Elvira Vilches has termed this “the Indies Paradox”: the abundance of wealth in the Spanish colonies ultimately enriching other parties outside of Spain and with no lasting loyalties to the Spanish crown. See Vilches, *New World Gold*, 36-43.

⁹⁰ Orlando Bentancor, *The Matter of Empire: Metaphysics and Mining in Colonial Peru, 1520-1640* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 1.

series of processes of extraction, production, and circulation taking place across South America and the transatlantic and transpacific worlds. As the first century of Spanish settlement of Peru saw the obligatory passage of goods and bullion from the Andean highlands to the coast, along the littoral to Lima, and onto the docks of El Callao before embarking for Spain via Panama and Cuba, Lima registered as more of a stopover of bureaucratic and logistical necessity than a brute production site. Indeed, until relatively late in the sixteenth-century Peruvian economy, Lima was of slight economic consequence compared to the major highland mines, workshops, and coastal agricultural hubs beyond the city center's walls. While highland mining, mostly concentrated in Upper Peru (modern Bolivia), accounted for the majority of economic activity, the colonial economy ought not be reduced to a simple binary of industries and trade centered in Lima and other coastal cities—seeing the coast largely as a trade and transit zone—against the extractive economy of the highlands. As will be explored below, vibrant weaving and agricultural industries on the coast generated significant wealth alongside mining, and the expansive labor systems and many laborers that they employed should not go without mention in their own unique contexts. Examining some of the most prominent economic historiography of the region yields the revelation that colonial Peru's overall economy was correlative to mining productivity, each industry growing or contracting in accordance with silver lodes. The vast mining infrastructure both intensified the demand for agriculture, weaving, and manufactured goods and provided the precious metals used to finance and further these other industries, as well as generating commerce outfitting a variety of industries and their benefactors.

Though mining was consistently strong between 1570 and 1640 with some fluctuations, this period merits disambiguation. To understand the decades sandwiching the turn of the seventeenth century, one must necessarily begin prior to the viceroyalty of Francisco de Toledo. It was once assumed that the Peruvian economy didn't really develop until after Toledo's viceroyalty, as the tumultuous political conditions characteristic of early colonial South America prevented sustained economic activity or the establishment of lasting commercial practices.⁹¹ However, at least one seminal study of Spanish Peru has contended that Peru's colonial economy had already fundamentally developed by the mid-sixteenth century.⁹² James Lockhart has sustained that Spanish conquest and the following infighting “served as a stimulus to commerce, artisanry, and navigation” and that “all the main economic and social trends had taken shape by 1545 or 1550, and in many cases much earlier, in the course of a spontaneous, undirected development concurrent with the conquest and civil wars.”⁹³ While the extent of such early economic development paled in comparison to that taking root after the precipitous late-sixteenth-century peak of mining revenues, the broader corpus of recent Peruvian economic and social histories sustains the notion that the foundation of formal colonial economies took root almost as quickly as Spanish settlers arrived to the region.

This is because from Pizarro's arrival to Peru, the Spanish learned, adopted, and adapted Andean forms of spatially organizing labor to support extraction and production in a manner that would systematically enrich primarily Spaniards.⁹⁴ It was immediately apparent to Spanish

⁹¹ For a list of such sources, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 277n1.

⁹² Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 6.

⁹³ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 6.

⁹⁴ Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 27-28; and Gonzalo Lamana,

settlers that indigenous labor structures and social organizations were so engrained in the region that they could not be undone. Similarly, a foreign, Iberian system of labor exploitation could not be easily implemented among massive, diverse populations long accustomed to indigenous structures and inconveniently spread across large expanses of territory. Given these difficulties, Andean forms (many of them pre-Incan) of allotting and relocating laborers to specific regions to perform specific tasks were quickly incorporated into Spanish control of the means of production. This is most clearly seen in the early colonial distribution of *yanaconas* (conscripted servants without freedom of movement loyal to a lord/master instead of a community) and *mitimas* (tributary laborer-colonists taken from stable indigenous communities and relocated to work elsewhere while retaining affiliation to their home group). While *yanaconas* and *mitimas* were indigenous to Andean labor tribute systems, wage laborers were not, though the three groups worked together and one could participate in more than one type of labor. Under the Spaniards' revised implementation of the *yanaconaje* and the *mita* systems, which intersected with the administration of *encomienda* and *repartimiento* grants of indigenous workers, Toledo's mandates boosted the presence of wage labor in response to the diminished willingness of Indians to participate in *mita*.⁹⁵

Let us take for example the common understanding of *mita* labor, which intersected with *encomienda* labor in the decades leading up to Toledo's general inspections. "An *encomienda*," writes Lockhart, "is generally described as a royal grant, in reward for meritorious service at arms, of the right to enjoy tributes of Indians within a certain boundary, with the duty of protecting them and seeing to their religious welfare. An *encomienda* was not a grant of land."⁹⁶ *Encomienda* labor obligations, which the Spanish termed *mita* after the homonymous Inca system of labor tribute, may have been indistinguishable from indigenous *mita* for the Indians performing the work. In the 1550s, *encomenderos* sent labor details to Potosí and other mines in shifts which the Indians referred to as *mita*. It has been argued that "there is no true continuation between the Incaic and Spanish *mitas*, since in Inca times the rote worker (*mit'ayuj*, Hispanized to *mitayo*) served and produced for an economic system and a society of which he was a part, whereas under the Spanish he created wealth for a system extrinsic to him."⁹⁷ Certain technical distinctions certainly exist, both in economic and structural terms and the systems were not identical, precisely due to the indigenous worker's existence within the society that the Inca economy contributed to and her or his exclusion from the Spanish society that indigenous labor fed into. Still, as early as the 1550s and through Toledo's much commented *mita* structure during the 1570s, Indian accounts—often in Spanish administrative documents—evidence a "perceived ... institutional and practical continuity between the two" and "this perception facilitated the

Domination Without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 214-218.

⁹⁵ On *mitimas*, see Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 27-39 and 257; and Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance*, 214-218. On *yanaconas*, Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 154-161; Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance*, 148-157; and Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender Ethnicity and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 21-44 and especially 34-35.

⁹⁶ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 11. For further detailing of specific cases of *encomienda* grants, see 12-37. Also see Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 43.

⁹⁷ Josep María Barnadas, *Charcas, 1535-1565. Orígenes históricos de una sociedad colonial* (La Paz: CIPCA, 1973), 262; Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 45.

working of a Spanish draft.”⁹⁸ This type of continuity, as well as parallels between *yanaconas* and servants, enabled indigenous incorporation into labor forces that were loosely intelligible to both European market logic privileging wage labor and cash compensation and Andeans familiar with reciprocity of labor for goods and the barter of objects.⁹⁹ As Gonzalo Lamana notes:

... not only were there similarities between [Andean and European] parties, but ... the conquerors actively imitated native practices to develop their colonial enterprises. ... the emergence of colonial markets was not a process in which Andean peoples surrendered their customs to an altogether alien logic In fact, Spaniards copied native [economic] customs.¹⁰⁰

More explicitly, Lamana states that “to create a “new” economic order the Spaniards engage in large-scale mimicking” which not only bred continuity and similarity between systems, but also necessitated European subjugation and exoticization of Indians to legitimate the Spanish economic order and rationale as something new.¹⁰¹ In marking Spanish ideological dominance, the privileging of metallic currency (and the wage labor that it paid) further reinforced the colonial order by placing precious metals, money, and abstract value at the center of labor relations. Beyond the use of coin, though, physical and ideological force were the primary mechanisms for justifying the “Spanish” colonial economy.

Karen Graubart highlights that “[e]arly tribute was a chaotic affair” and *encomienda* demands knew only the limits of the desires of the *encomenderos*. *Encomienda* tribute understood (or disguised) as continuous with Inca *mita* began with precious metals and “food and other staples” and led to veritably anything, “personal services as well as any commodity—locally available or not—that struck the *encomendero*’s imagination, and all was rationalized as both expressing continuity with the Inca past and as appropriate remuneration to the colonial overlords offering protection as well as religious instruction to their Indian subjects.”¹⁰² As Graubart also points out, Spanish “tribute obligations were shifted from an Inca requirement of performing a certain number of days of labor per year to one demanding specific quantities of commodities at periodic intervals.”¹⁰³ Through the sixteenth century, the plunder economy was institutionalized as tribute, as Indian laborers were contractually bound to produce set quantities (*tasa*) of goods for their *encomenderos* while receiving only vagaries of protection and hypothetical religious support.

Late 1569 marks Francisco de Toledo’s arrival to the viceroyalty and the beginning of the then 53-year-old’s twelve-year tenure in Peru. His administrative changes would also seek to build from indigenous labor systems and early Spanish appropriations of them, although Toledan labor systems became even less similar to their indigenous predecessors. This resulted from

⁹⁸ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 45.

⁹⁹ Throughout the historiography of the colonial economy, there is a perceived opposition of production through wage labor and subsequent sale of goods to barter. From all accounts, though, documented instances of barter take on an enterprising mode that seeks a competitive advantage as in the sale of goods with surplus value. See Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 5, 99-100, 108.

¹⁰⁰ Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance*, 208-209.

¹⁰¹ Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance*, 210.

¹⁰² Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 43.

¹⁰³ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 43.

Toledo's goals of maximizing royal "control over taxes, settlement, and labor as opposed to local control, either indigenous or Spanish," which held origins in a geographically stable, modernizing Spanish system of colonial management focused on urbanization.¹⁰⁴ As Kenneth Andrien summarizes the viceroy's efforts, Toledo "attempted to use a reinvigorated state apparatus to direct the socioeconomic development of the Viceroyalty of Peru" focusing on "(1) congregating the indigenous peoples into large strategic towns, (2) imposing a regularized system of taxation, and (3) establishing a regimen of forced labor to support the silver mines of Peru and Upper Peru."¹⁰⁵ Peter Bakewell expands such responsibilities to include "[r]ectitude of church and civil government, evangelization of the native population, subjugation of rebels (whether Spanish or Indian), regulation of the treasury" and "instilling royal government" more generally.¹⁰⁶ In seeking to achieve these ends, Toledo implemented extreme measures: the establishment of forced Indian (re-)settlements in Spanish-fashioned towns known as *reducciones* that relocated Indians to more concentrated, urban populations to strategically diminish the remnants of Andean ethnic and social organization, the levying of high taxes on Andeans, and the 1571 imposition of *mita* forced labor drafts theoretically derived from the Inca system of state labor.¹⁰⁷ Such measures immediately yielded increased tax revenues for the Spanish crown during the Toledo years, even if only temporarily and in partial completion of their stated aims.¹⁰⁸ By increasing the number of *mita* laborers and the duration of their time in

¹⁰⁴ Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ Kenneth Andrien, *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532-1825* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 49-50. For a modern edition of Toledo's reforms, see Guillermo Lohmann Villena (ed.) and María Justina Sarabia Viejo (transcription), *Francisco de Toledo: Disposiciones gubernativas para el virreinato del Perú, 1569-1574*, 2 vols. (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1986). On Toledo, also see Peter Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545-1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1984), 54-86, 117-120, 157-161; and Kendall Brown, *A History of Mining in Latin America: From the Colonial Era to the Present* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 19-20; and Karen Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 41-57, 170-176.

¹⁰⁶ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 61.

¹⁰⁷ On *mita*, see Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 54-118; Kenneth Andrien, *Crisis and Decline* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 14, 31, 181-182, 194; Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 24-25, 52, 61-63, 76, 85, 97, etc.; James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 234-235 and 248-249; Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 11-16, 28-31, 43-49, 63, 78, 87, 151, 169-178; Brown, *A History of Mining in Latin America*, 50-58, 75-82; Nicolas Robins, *Mercury, Mining, and Empire: The Human and Ecological Cost of Colonial Silver Mining in the Andes* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 33-38, 62-72, 94-97; On the argument that the *mita* has engendered economic underdevelopment in affected districts even into the present, see Melissa Dell, "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining *Mita*," *Econometrica* 78.6 (2010), 1863-1903. On *mitayo* workers' manipulation of *kajcheo* as resistance, see Orlando Bentancor, "La apropiación de la figura del *kajcha* en la *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* de Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela," *Revista Iberoamericana* 73.220 (2007), 437-452.

¹⁰⁸ Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 56-66.

the mines and relocating Indians to the reducciones—over a million people to around six hundred reducciones—¹⁰⁹, Toledo succeeded in increasing indigenous labor under centralist Spanish control. However, this increase was achieved through wage labor as Indians fled their mita obligations and the resettled Spanish towns, instead participating on their terms in the open labor markets from around the viceroyalty.¹¹⁰

After Toledo's departure in 1581 a long period of decline took root, forging a second period that carries through the 1640 end date of this dissertation and even beyond the decades of Porres's beatification *procesos* in the late seventeenth century. As Andrien puts it, "Within a few years after their implementation . . . the Toledan reforms began to fail, and by the early seventeenth century dishonesty and bad government had undermined the smooth operation of government."¹¹¹ Recurrent floods and crises of production at major mines, Andean resistance, Creole corruption, and inconsistent implementation of Toledo's policies further weakened the enduring effects of his reforms.¹¹² Flight from the *mita* labor tribute and evasion of tariff obligations, repeatedly referenced by Guaman Poma,¹¹³ would become commonplace by the mid-seventeenth century, as infringements against *mitayos* and other indigenous workers drove laborers to the margins.¹¹⁴ Peru's raw economic productivity and total tax revenues would fall precipitously after Toledo's departure, and the colonial government tried and failed to keep the viceroyalty's economy from entering a tail spin that it would never fully recover from after Potosí's 1592 production peak.

This periodization of the years before, during, and after Toledo's administration, like many discussions of the colonial economy in Peru, recognizes that under Toledo the disorganized, unwieldy Peruvian economy centered around silver mining (and to a lesser extent, mercury for silver amalgamation) became more productive, consistently contributing massive volumes of precious metals to the coffers of Philip II and other creditors in Western Europe. Similarly, this periodization recognizes that the Toledan Reforms were not, by nearly all accounts, lasting. It is true that some institutions, such as the *mita*, continued through Philip III's 1598 succession and into the seventeenth century, well into Philip IV's reign.¹¹⁵ However, conflict between Madrid and Lima over how to organize and regulate mining would intensify, leading to economic decline in Peru and across Spanish holdings during the years of Philip IV.¹¹⁶ The decline that followed the failures of Toledo's reforms are undeniable, even if Potosí had a banner year a decade after Toledo's death in 1592. Yet the authors and individuals at the center

¹⁰⁹ Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 119.

¹¹⁰ Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 36. On how some of these Indians chose to work in Potosí instead of resettling elsewhere, *Trading Roles*, 40.

¹¹¹ Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 56-66.

¹¹² Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 56-57; Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 143-174.

¹¹³ For more detailed discussion of indigenous flight from the *reducciones* and avoidance of *mita*, see my discussion of Indian absence in chapter four. Also, see Guaman Poma's claim that Indians "viven en pueblo en pueblo ajeno, sin conocer al Criador, . . . dejando de pagar sus tributos y servicios personales y minas" (*Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 266 [872/886]). Also see Jeffrey A. Cole, *The Potosí Mita (1573-1700): Compulsory Indian Labor in the Andes* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1985), 23-33, 56-57.

¹¹⁴ Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 61-63. Also see Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 156-58.

¹¹⁵ In Potosí, the *mita* was in effect until 1812.

¹¹⁶ Andrien, *Crisis and Decline*, 133-164.

of this study—Rosas de Oquendo, Guaman Poma, and Martín de Porres—each lived in Toledan and immediate post-Toledo Peru, his reforms and their aims and impacts informing each of their lived realities and writings. And at the center of Toledo’s reforms was the debate around forced labor and wage labor, especially for Indians working in the mines. More than any other facet of daily life in the Andes, labor underwent a stark transformation between the original conquest campaigns and Toledo’s *visita* that would long impact how work was administered, compensation was structured, and, consequently, how work and pay were understood in the cultural production of the region. With this in mind, I now turn to the major industries of colonial Peru, keeping in mind how the Toledan reforms impacted labor and compensation across mining, textiles, and agriculture.

Mining and the Extractive Economy

The extractive economy spanned the Andes, with the most abundant concentration of mineral veins located in Upper Peru. Chief among these mines were the early veins of Carabaya, Porco, and La Plata, all of which were rendered secondary by the fabled silver mine of Potosí, whose mineral abundance became apparent to the Spanish in 1545.¹¹⁷ Almost immediately thereafter, easy surface mining with high returns led Potosí to explode into a boomtown as dwellings to house indigenous workers appeared veritably everywhere with little planning or attempt at organized urbanization in the Spanish grid style. This residential infrastructure was also accompanied by the emergence of markets that supplied and sustained workers and mine administrators alike, as commerce from around the region focused on satiating the needs and tastes of the rapidly growing city.¹¹⁸ When indigenous mining techniques and smelting (with *guayras*) gave way to mercury amalgamation in the early 1570s, a technological advance that coincided with Toledo’s installation of the Spanish version of mita forced labor drafts. Potosí’s production boomed, making the mine the standard bearer of the Spanish extractive economy in the Andes. After this “combination of cheap ore, cheap labor, and a new and efficient technology [mercury amalgamation] made the period from 1573-1582 a *decas mirabilis* for Potosí,” 1592 marked the single-year height of silver production at the mine.¹¹⁹ And while the network of Andean mines provide evidence of the Toledo reforms’ impacts on labor, Potosí serves as a rich

¹¹⁷ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 8-10. For colonial accounts of Potosí, see Luis Capoche, *Relación general de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* [1585], in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. CXXII, Lewis Hanke (ed.) (Madrid, 1959); and Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (eds.), 3 vols. (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1965). Mendoza (in Arzáns, *Historia*, vol. 1, 37-38) and Bakewell (*Miners of the Red Mountain*, 8-9) both note that the mine’s mineral deposits were likely known to indigenous Andeans prior to the arrival of the Spanish, although there were no indigenous settlements on the *cerro* and the site was not systemically mined.

¹¹⁸ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 11-12. Bakewell notes that at the end of the sixteenth century, the town’s center had become “remarkably orderly,” an effect which he attributes more to the city’s inhabitants than Toledo’s *visita* (11-12). He does concede that Toledo tried to reorganize specific areas of the city, particularly “the part of the town between the stream and the *cerro*, which, by the time of his visit, was largely a suburb inhabited by native mine workers and their families” (12).

¹¹⁹ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 26, 4.

case study from which to discuss the mining economy, Toledo's policies, and labor and compensation practices throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Prior to Toledo, the mines were staffed with indigenous laborers who largely migrated—voluntarily—to the streamside site from the earlier Spanish mine of Porco which, unlike Potosí, had been an Inca mining center.¹²⁰ At first, indigenous mining and refining techniques continued, prioritizing the extraction of pure metals and surface deposits.¹²¹ These metals would also serve to compensate the relocated workers known at mid-century as *indios varas*, who were, at least in theory, paid in kind from the mineral products of their labor.¹²² However, as ore refining progressed from these techniques to smelting and the mercury amalgamation processes that would see the mine reach its productive peak, the local labor force was simply too small to outfit the mines and amass metals at the pace desired by Spanish mine owners, administrators, and the crown. This dilemma—of a mineral-rich but otherwise barren landscape and efficient, labor-intensive technologies with an insufficient labor force to work the mines and refineries—would become the centerpiece of Toledo's viceregency, as well as his historical legacy.¹²³

It is from this conundrum of leveling manpower sufficient to match Potosí's productive potential that the mine in Upper Peru, and the viceroyalty more generally, would come to be “commonly associated as no other in colonial Spanish American history with forced labor.”¹²⁴ Here, Bakewell highlights important questions about the role of coercion in mining labor that are also essential to thinking through the present pre-history of alienation:

[t]he central enquiry running through ... [scholarly understandings of Toledo's labor policies] is about coercion—but not *was there* coercion of Indian mine workers at Potosí? (for there clearly was); but rather the more elusive question of the *degree* of coercion to which those workers were subjected. This question raises many others that demand attention. How did coercion arise? To what extent was Toledo to blame for it? What, if anything, did workers receive in return for their labor? How was that labor organized? What were the conditions of work? In what measure did workers move from forced to voluntary labor, and for what reasons?¹²⁵

Though these same considerations in the other primary economic sectors of mid-colonial Peru are essential to this chapter, the centrality of mining to the Andean colonial economy insist that discussions of the types of labor, laborers, and compensation begin with the dominant extractive economy. This is also because of the landscape where colonial mining took place: the highlands were the political, economic, and social center of the pre-Columbian Andes (and not the coast), a societal organization that contradicted European notions of the mountains as peripheral to Western societies focused on ports, maritime commerce, and political investment in riverside and coastal populations.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 14.

¹²¹ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 14-16 and Chapter 2.

¹²² See Bentancor, *The Matter of Empire*, 259-261.

¹²³ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 62-3.

¹²⁴ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 33.

¹²⁵ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 33-34.

¹²⁶ Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 34-39.

Spanish organization of labor recognized the centrality of indigenous organization of space and work in the Andes, retaining many of its features. Early colonial Peru saw Spanish deployment of the Incaic and pre-Incaic *yanacónaje*, or the separation of a class of people from the larger social body for the purpose of service to societal elites (“for example, to nobles, military leaders, local curacas, or to the Sapa Inca himself”).¹²⁷ Described as “free-floating” by several commenters, *yanacónas* were either coerced or compelled (by force, by compensation, or by other benefits such as freedom of movement) into working for the Spaniards even prior to the widespread implementation of the *encomienda* system after the resolution of the Spanish civil conflicts present through the 1560s.¹²⁸ These Indians, who, as *forasteros* enjoyed a certain autonomy from traditional *ayllus* and remained free from subsequent tribute demands by the Spanish, performed a variety of tasks including mining and domestic work. Indeed, the vast majority of laborers in mid-century mining appear to have been *yanacónas*, and Potosí alone was reported to have more than seven thousand such workers.¹²⁹ Obligated to produce weekly quantities of silver for their Spanish overseers, these Indians were allowed to keep ore beyond the established tribute for themselves, some accruing such wealth that they willingly remained in the mines in spite of the artificially high cost of living and basic foodstuffs in mining meccas.¹³⁰ While coercion caused some Indians in early colonial Peru to enter into *yanacónaje*, others apparently enjoyed a level of income and autonomy—from extant indigenous obligations and evolving forms of Spanish tribute—lacking for other tributaries.

The peak of post-conquest *yanacónaje* appears to have coincided with Gonzalo Pizarro’s 1540s rebellion, as this labor structure was applied by the rebel factions beyond the reaches of Spanish mandates that the Pizarristas disregarded or opposed.¹³¹ Widely documented in the mines of Porco and Potosí through the mid-sixteenth century, the presence of *yanacónas* would continue with more limited Spanish conscription of indigenous servants from *forastero* populations even after Toledo’s inspections.¹³² By the time royal governance was reestablished in 1548-1549 during Potosí’s first boom, though, *yanacónas* were just one of many types of laborers in mining and related industries, as these workers were transferred from defeated Spanish rebels to royalists. Coinciding with this was the extension of the longstanding, royally administered *encomienda* system, as well as the direct oversight of some indigenous communities by the crown. As several sources confirm, “[o]ne outcome ... of the rush to Potosí in 1548-49 was that regular, tribute-paying *encomienda* Indians appeared on the scene in large

¹²⁷ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 34. On *yanacónaje*, see 34-39 and 46-60, the latter pages contrasting *yanacónas* with *mitayos*.

¹²⁸ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 34-35 and Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570*, trans. Ben and Siân Reynolds (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1977), 67-86 and 110-138.

¹²⁹ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 36; this estimate appears in *Relación de las cosas del Perú* (attributed to Juan Polo de Ondegardo) in *Crónicas del Perú*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela, vol. 5 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1998), 297.

¹³⁰ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 36; *Relación de las cosas del Perú*, vol. 5, 297.

¹³¹ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 35-37.

¹³² Mumford *Vertical Empire*, 154, 158-161. Mumford distinguishes between *comuneros* and *forasteros* as the former living among their social group and benefiting from privileges such as grazing land and irrigation access in exchange for contributions to tribute demands to the Spanish while *forasteros* lacked these privileges and contributed less tribute (158-160).

numbers” in spite of earlier Spanish prohibitions against using *encomienda* labor in the mines; both Pizarristas and royalists ultimately used large swaths of *encomienda* labor to extract and refine ore.¹³³ While the early mines had not generated *encomendero* interest in sending their workers across the viceroyalty in search of mineral wealth, Potosí reversed this trend during the late 1540s as *encomendados* from across Spanish South America were sent to form labor details in Upper Peru, a practice that was challenged and upheld by viceroy Pedro de la Gasca and Corregidor of La Plata and Potosí, Juan Polo de Ondegardo.¹³⁴

In all, by 1550 more than 20,000 Indians under the charge of 130 *encomenderos* were present in Potosí, with proportionate figures present in other mining sites of Upper Peru.¹³⁵ Most of the *encomenderos* did not accompany their workers, but placed them under the supervision of contracted mine owners (nearly all Spaniards), administrators, and intermediary agents. Others were placed under the charge of curacas local to the highlands. While historians suggest different levels of coercion of Indians to stay in Potosí and Spanish reports of the working conditions contradict one another, in particular those of Ondegardo and the Bishop of Charcas, Domingo de Santo Tomás, it is clear that some Indians preferred to stay in Potosí where commercial products and foodstuffs were abundant and mining yields were sufficient to enable at least some Indians to produce more silver than required of them, which they kept as profit.¹³⁶ Beyond mere profitability, though, “the root of the attraction [to Potosí] was that mining provided [*encomendados*] with the tribute that their *encomenderos* demanded, and that this tribute was difficult to produce elsewhere,” especially given the toll of decades of Spanish civil wars on indigenous communities and their resources.¹³⁷ Working in the mines enabled Indians to appease their *encomenderos*, even before *mita* would see these laborers assigned a fixed, though minimal, wage.

During Toledo’s early inspection tours, the *mita* was officially reintroduced circa 1571, although it may have changed the face of mining labor more for Spanish mine owners and administrators than for the Indians performing the actual work. What it did do was quantify the labor force, as the forced labor draft sought to put one-seventh of men from the Indian communities surrounding mines to work extracting or processing ore and metals instead of working in other trades. These workers were guaranteed a wage meant to sustain them while working in the mines, although it appears to have been less than the side income of early *yanacunas*, contract laborers known as *indios varas*, or the compensation of the voluntary wage laborers termed *mingados*.¹³⁸ Though Spanish *mita* did not prove more beneficial to laborers and increased the number of Indians in the mines, Andean perceptions of continuity between Incan and Spanish *mita* structures—the simple fact that under both the Incas and the Spanish some members of society had to provide material or metallic tribute to the ruling class—may have

¹³³ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 39-40.

¹³⁴ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 40.

¹³⁵ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 40-41.

¹³⁶ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 43.

¹³⁷ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 44.

¹³⁸ On the distinction between *indios varas*, *mitayos/indios de cédula*, and *mingados*, see Bentancor, *The Matter of Empire*, 259.

diminished resistance to such tribute among some indigenous parties, especially those of rural origin.¹³⁹

Regardless of the possibility of an Andean epistemological continuity of labor tribute, questions of coercion merit complication around *encomienda* and *mita* labor. After all, coercion is intimately related to the anxiety and discomfort constituting colonial precursors to the specific forms of alienation resulting from wage labor. Replies to Polo de Ondegardo's mid-century inquiry shows that "encomienda Indians were indeed forced into mining, but that the coercion was a good deal more complex than the crown and Gasca thought."¹⁴⁰ From Gasca's tenure through the turn of the seventeenth century, the level of agency of workers and ethnic groups could vary greatly, as "[s]ome laborers worked for wages while others were held in quasi-servitude as *yanaconas*," a balance that existed on "Spanish workshops, farms, or ranches," as well as in the mines.¹⁴¹ Indigenous experiences under Spanish labor demands could vary, especially for those already accustomed to relocation or tribute cycles, these Indians being perhaps more able to profit under Spanish *mita* than sedentary Indians uprooted from their lands for the first time by colonization. The most productive years of Potosí, during the late 1540s and through the mid-1570s, seemed to yield sufficient excess metals such that Indians working under all types of agreements—*yanaconas*, *mitayos*, and free *mingados* laborers—were able to profit to some degree. This may have been tied to the fact that attempts to import African slaves for extractive work failed, even prompting legislation limiting the trades in which Africans could be put to work. As mining remained a predominantly indigenous affair, the means of supplying and sustaining laborers was always somewhat varied, although conditions were consistently dangerous and difficult.

Alongside the tribute economy, other Indians, the *mingados*, supplemented the *mitayos* as wage laborers. Some of these workers were *mitayos* who stayed on to work for pay after they had completed their community's obligatory labor cycle. Many of these wage laborers compensated for their work literally sold their time and skill to mine owners for cash compensation, a trend which increased with the abundant circulation of metal coins and institutionalization of cash wages after Toledo's establishment of the Potosí mint in 1572.¹⁴² These laborers seemed to retain greater autonomy than those *indios varas* subjected to "[b]inding work agreements [that] pepper notary records throughout colonial Spanish America."¹⁴³ But *mitayos* were also enticed by an allowance of ore that they could collect when the mines were closed on Sundays and feast days, known as *kajcheo* (alternately, *kacheo*).¹⁴⁴ Similarly, *indios varas* and *mingados* even

¹³⁹ Mangan and Graubart suggest that one can differentiate indigenous attitudes towards market-leaning commerce and production to some extent based on the rural or urban origins of individuals and groups, with the latter group often embracing Spanish trade practices. See Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 7, 14-15; Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 11-22, 67-68, and 77-84.

¹⁴⁰ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 45.

¹⁴¹ Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 92.

¹⁴² Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 39-40.

¹⁴³ Kris Lane, "Colonial Labor," in Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills, *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 183.

¹⁴⁴ For a theorization of *kajcheo* as a symbolic expression of the contradictions of the coercion and violence of mid-colonial mode of production in Peru, see Bentancor, "La apropiación de la figura del *kajcha*," 437-452.

occasionally asked to exploit veins when and where mineowners had insufficient contract laborers.¹⁴⁵ These practices brought about alternate forms of compensation outside of the cash wages paid to voluntary wage laborers. In particular, this was a special form of enticing otherwise (largely) unpaid tributary workers to remain in mining centers through material compensation instead of compensation in kind.

By no means do I intend to paint a picture of some sort of early modern trickle-down economics where Indians profited from the larger mining apparatus or improved their lives under *mita*, *yanacónaje*, contract arrangements, or wage labor. Rather, I hope that this discussion has highlighted how Indians were subject to a range of obligations and experiences that could have been interpreted as entailing varying degrees of agency, always under the specter of the exploitation of their labor for the profit of others (mine owners, *encomenderos*, and the crown). As Jane Mangan has suggested, “it [is] impossible to speak of a single or common indigenous experience in the colonial era.”¹⁴⁶ Indeed, one must at all times remember that

[i]t was ... the Indians’ general circumstances that were coercive: their ingrained acquiescence to the notion of tribute (and it is worth recalling that the Incas had demanded tribute in labor), the Spanish notion (shared, of course, by the crown) that *hatunrunas* should yield tribute, the hunger for bullion of both Spanish individuals and the Spanish state, and the destruction of other forms of native wealth by the infighting among the Spanish. All these together constituted a *force majeure* that ... [encomendados] seem to have found so powerful and enveloping that they scarcely thought it worthwhile resisting, allowing themselves to be swept by it even as far as Potosí.¹⁴⁷

Mangan similarly echoes that “[i]f taken as a whole, recent scholarship on Andean trade has highlighted the critical importance of indigenous adaptation to colonial rule, that community’s overwhelming exploitation by the colonial system was never far from view. ... Thus [Potosí] the very site of the *mita*, the most dramatic symbol of Spanish exploitation, proved home to a history of native perseverance and innovation.”¹⁴⁸ Though a certain degree of agency can be attributed to indigenous miners, the commentaries and expressions of those present in the Andes, such as those appearing in subsequent chapters, serve as testament to the fact that these experiences could be very much alienating even if occasionally rewarding.

Trades and Textiles, Artisans and *obrajes*

The mines were manned largely by indigenous workers, many of whom arrived to Upper Peru under the charge or orders of enterprising Spanish *encomenderos*. Yet not all Spaniards were *encomenderos*. Nor were all Indians miners and nor were all black slaves relegated to coastal agriculture or domestic servitude. Spanish artisans constituted a formidable population, with some estimates suggesting that one in ten Spaniards in early colonial Peru was a tradesman

¹⁴⁵ Bentancor, *The Matter of Empire*, 259.

¹⁴⁶ Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 7.

¹⁴⁷ Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, 45.

¹⁴⁸ Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 8.

of some sort: tailors, cobblers, smiths and metalworkers, carpenters, muleteers, barbers, apothecaries, and even less common tradesmen, such as musicians and bookbinders.¹⁴⁹ These tradesmen often worked for other Spaniards upon first arriving to Peru to pay off their debts and establish their businesses in the outlying districts of the cities where most trade communities thrived, many practitioners of the same trade often grouped together in close proximity.¹⁵⁰

But these artisans did not leave Spain with the intention of working for other Spaniards, instead seeking to stake their independence as businessmen and artisans. In order to do so, Spaniards trained indigenous apprentices and bought and trained black slaves to assist them in all sorts of subsidiary roles, sometimes on credit before their businesses were well established.¹⁵¹ So while Spaniards were the primary artisans in Peru through 1560, mid-colonial Peru saw artisans born all over Spain, South America, and Africa producing the goods and providing the technical labor to outfit and house the residents of the viceroyalty. The latter black population would thrive in the trades, as a whole industry emerged of training slaves in skilled jobs for rent or later resale to other tradesmen.¹⁵² Skilled slave tradesmen—almost always male—earned special privileges and garnered rights even under the ownership of others, some “achieving much of the substance of freedom without its forms” by negotiating “their slavery to the level of an obligation to share their profits.”¹⁵³ Increasingly through the seventeenth century, slaves used their trade skills to work on their own and purchase their freedom or that of their children.¹⁵⁴

But as not every Spaniard was an encomendero, neither was every Spaniard a shop-owning tradesman or trainer-trafficker of slaves. Though “documents suggest that Spanish newcomers to the Americas almost universally aspired to total reliance on slaves,”¹⁵⁵ for at least some Spaniards this was only an aspiration. Though unquantifiable based on current historiographic literature, a segment of newly arrived Spaniards worked in the trades for a wage as they built skills or sought other employment. Low-skilled Spaniards were often hired in short-term positions or during times of high demand for goods or services, these being paid wages, often low and corresponding to their productivity and worth to the workshop owner or master tradesman.¹⁵⁶ For these workers, a wage was a wage, but their working experience was not a ticket to prosperity and it almost never resulted in the wealth amassed by encomenderos and political charges.

And here is where the disruption of previously marked racial hierarchies favoring white Christian Spaniards in Iberian guild systems came to change in the Spanish Andes, engendering the sentiment that social life had been turned upside down, much to the chagrin of newly arrived

¹⁴⁹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 109-110.

¹⁵⁰ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 111. Lockhart suggests that high rents near the plazas forced artisans to rent shops and work primarily on the periphery of urban centers.

¹⁵¹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 112.

¹⁵² Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 112, 202, 207.

¹⁵³ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 207-208.

¹⁵⁴ Leo Garofalo, “The Shape of a Diaspora: The Movement of Afro-Iberians to Colonial Spanish America,” In *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora*, eds. Sherwin Bryant and Rachel O’Toole, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2016): 35. Also see Rachel O’Toole, “To Be Free and *Lucumí*: Ana de la Calle and Making African Diaspora Identities in Colonial Peru,” in *Africans to Spanish America*, 76-77.

¹⁵⁵ Lane, “Colonial Labor,” 184.

¹⁵⁶ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 110-114.

Spaniards who expected to prosper over other castes on racial grounds. As immigration had provided the primary influx of new craftsmen, skilled and unskilled, it became more cost effective for senior Spanish artisans to train Indians and slaves, whose skills quickly outmatched those Spaniards less experienced or capable in their work. Spaniards, unaffected by the structural coercion of Indian populations or slaves lacking even the most basic rights theoretically afforded to free Indians, were also less willing to work under difficult and demanding conditions unless they were contractually bound to do so.¹⁵⁷ These Indians and free blacks—either born to slaves or who purchased their freedom by selling their labor to other craftsmen—were able to compete for work and demand wages beyond those paid to inexperienced, new Spanish arrivals. In early Peru, annual compensation for Spanish artisan workers was so low, “usually 150 to 200 pesos, ... hardly more than the cost of renting a trained slave for a year” that skilled Indians and Africans could demand higher wages.¹⁵⁸ Spanish preferences to seek out other vocations instead of working their way up the middling artisan ranks contributed to the image of the itinerant Spaniard who bounced from profession to profession and place to place, working in trades or mining or as a majordomo or merchant outfitting others with raw materials, vacillating between cities across the viceroyalty and the whole of Spanish America.¹⁵⁹

This led to the juxtaposition of the established Spanish artisan and the peripatetic, relatively unskilled vocational mercenary or ever-calculating merchant both of whom came under political scrutiny by colonial officials seeking to avoid the potential spread of political malcontent among Spaniards. The former stayed in one place, settled, bought property and often came to hold land and slaves at a rate that no artisan could imagine in Spain, their social mobility considerably greater in Peru even if attendant to the *encomendero* and bureaucratic class.¹⁶⁰ They dressed well and owned luxury goods, to the dismay of the political authorities, and many with only an apprentice’s lot in Spain operated as master tradesmen in Peru.¹⁶¹ The indigenous and black workers who were paid wages in these shops came to experience relatively stable lives, as well, leading their ethnic identities to be deeply associated with specific trades in specific cities, such as tailors, blacksmiths, and carpenters.¹⁶²

It must be mentioned that the civil wars of mid-century and the Toledan and post-Toledan campaigns against indigenous rebellions led to great wealth for artisans of all the trades, as they readily redirected their energies to the production of armaments and the tools of combat.¹⁶³ With each civil conflict armaments and military supplies were in immediate demand, leading to their

¹⁵⁷ Kris Lane writes that “binding work agreements pepper notary records throughout colonial Spanish America. Most represent the relatively luxurious, urban end of a spectrum of captive or dependent labor that had as its baseline chattel slavery” (“Colonial Labor,” 184). Though enjoying a relative freedom over others, indentured servitude among Spaniards obliged to pay off debts for passage to Peru existed through the sixteenth century (Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*).

¹⁵⁸ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 112.

¹⁵⁹ Lockhart *Spanish Peru*, 112-114. On Spanish rogues and vagabonds, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 159-166.

¹⁶⁰ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 114-116. On the general condition of Spanish artisans in early modern Spain, see Teófilo Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600*, 195.

¹⁶¹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 115.

¹⁶² Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 203, 206.

¹⁶³ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 116-117.

widespread production across the artisan ranks in Peru, where Lima served as the artisan capital and primary producer of weapons, armor, and military accouterments. This had the effect of keeping at least some artisans from taking political positions or participating in combat, preferring to profit from their skills rather than join a melee whose outcome was uncertain or limiting to their business activities.¹⁶⁴

The artisan ranks highlight that there were a variety of workers—master artisans, apprentices and wage earners of every caste, *mitayos*, and slaves—with varying levels and means of training and compensation. Slavery was the preferred means of sourcing cheap labor, and most Spaniards sought to have slaves under their charge instead of wage earners. Wage labor was also common across castes, and this form of compensation was common among unskilled Spaniards without an immediate means of acquiring slaves or tools or seeking out other forms of work beyond the major urban centers. The trades, then, saw largely African or mixed race slaves and wage workers of all castes performing some of the same tasks side by side, with African and Indian skilled labor gaining increasing social importance with each generation.¹⁶⁵ The importance of African labor would further increase in Peru after 1640, as “Spain redirected its slave imports to South America” from Mexico after the peak of the Mexican slave trade between 1580 and 1640.¹⁶⁶

Textiles and *obrajes*

Textile production also proved an important part of the colonial Peruvian economy, illustrative of labor and compensation practices as well as the emergence of Andean-produced luxury goods alongside their imported transoceanic counterparts.¹⁶⁷ This industry was already highly specialized in the Andes upon Spanish arrival to South America due to a long indigenous history of weaving culture in the Andes, under which textiles formed a major part of Inca culture and their tribute economy. Produced by specially trained weavers expert in different qualities and styles of textile, Spanish observers noted at least five types of cloth found in the Andes: “*ahuasca* (coarse and thick); *cunbi* [*sic*] (fine and precious); *cumbi* woven with colored feathers; *chaquira* (embroidered cloth of silver and gold); and *chusi* (crude cloth used for carpets, blankets, and covers).”¹⁶⁸ The *cumbi* garments produced by male *cumbicamayos* and female *acclacuna* (“chosen women,” chosen to weave in the service of the Inca political elite), and particularly tapestry weaves, stood as the crowning achievement of Andean weaving. Using only the highest quality materials, rigorous production standards, and intricate visual designs of political importance to imperial administrators, *cumbicamayos* participated in “a specialized

¹⁶⁴ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 116-117.

¹⁶⁵ Herbert Klein, “The African American Experience in Comparative Perspective: The Current Question of the Debate,” in *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora*, eds. Sherwin Bryant and Rachel O’Toole (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 209 and 217.

¹⁶⁶ Frank Trey Proctor III, “African Diasporic Ethnicity in Mexico City to 1650,” in *Expanding the Diaspora: Africans to Spanish America*, 51.

¹⁶⁷ Phipps, “Cumbi to Tapestry,” 81-82.

¹⁶⁸ Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 23 [16-43].

production system, including the selective breeding of animals as sources of luxury fibers, the concentrated processing of particular dyes, and the meticulous refinement of weaving and needlework techniques by master artisans.¹⁶⁹ These workers were moved around the Tahuantinsuyu as part of the *mitmaq* labor tribute, which located specialized workers in specific regions as production needs demanded in order to maintain “an intricate system of political diplomacy established around a broader concept of reciprocity ... garments in exchange for fealty.”¹⁷⁰

Before Spanish colonization, Andean textiles differed greatly from European textiles both in quality and form, characterized by a higher standard of quality and a more intensely specialized production process than their Iberian counterparts. While European weaving yielded single-sided documents with a ‘wrong’ face, “Inca master weavers always ensured a complete, finished surface on both sides of their tapestry garments; even the embroidery stitches used to cover the seams and edges of garments woven of *cumbi* were double-sided, so that inside and outside, front and back, were identical surfaces of a complete, “unblemished” object.”¹⁷¹ Such precision was achieved by isolating weavers from larger society and training them in every “aspect of the weaving process, including fiber preparation, spinning, gathering of colorants and other raw materials, and dyeing” as “a specialized practice ... learned from a young age.”¹⁷² Such was the appreciation of *cumbicamayos* within Inca society that they were regarded as capable of endowing the fine textiles with “*camay*,” or animated energy also associated with the many objects and places regarded as *wakas*.¹⁷³

In this way, textiles especially differed from the European artisan trades (with the exception of decorative metallurgy) in the Spanish Andes, in that an existing labor force of highly skilled textile workers perhaps numbering in the thousands was readily available.¹⁷⁴ In the trades, most workers in the colonies had to be thoroughly trained. Unskilled Spaniards, Indians unfamiliar with European trade practices, and recently arrived slaves could only be used to complete manual tasks while slowly receiving task-specific training.¹⁷⁵ The sophistication of

¹⁶⁹ Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 22. Also see the discussion of *cumbi* in Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 33, 37, 57, 70, 91, 123-155.

¹⁷⁰ Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 23.

¹⁷¹ Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 24.

¹⁷² Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 24. Phipps also admits that though “we know that men and women worked together in the weaving centers, we do not clearly understand the division of labor” (24).

¹⁷³ Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 24 and 38n52; Frank Salomon and George Urioste (eds.), *Huarochiri Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 45n31 and 45n33.

¹⁷⁴ Phipps suggests that “[h]undreds, possibly thousands of weavers and craftspeople contributed to the production of *cumbi* cloth” (“Garments and Identity,” 24).

¹⁷⁵ Lockhart argues that Africans, a group which contributed greatly to Spanish conquest of the region, “assimilated Spanish skills much more rapidly and thoroughly than did the Indian” and lived in “strong mutual hostility” with Indians, “the blacks occupying a position of much greater power” and hierarchically figuring somewhere between the Spanish and indigenous populations (*Spanish Peru*, 194). Lockhart appears to be referencing artisan and military skills, as indigenous populations were considerably more advanced in mining, weaving, and agricultural techniques. The tensions between the two groups are clear, though, as reflected by Guaman Poma’s disdain for the black population’s treatment of Indians (for example, *Primer*

existing Andean weaving traditions, however, gave the region a distinct technical and technological advantage in textiles production. A primary challenge for Spaniards was identifying indigenous weaving specialists, convincing them to work in the service of Spanish colonial representatives (often *encomenderos* or workshop owners who used *encomienda* labor), and grouping weavers in a location where they could continue producing textiles and train additional workers. The diminished scale of reciprocity under Spanish *mita* resulted in the introduction of additional compensation structures for weavers who, in colonial Peru, worked for the promise of wages, sustenance, and legal protections in exchange for the wares they produced.

The early seventeenth-century explosion of *obrajes*, or textiles workshops and small factories, sought to overcome these challenges to Spanish continuation of the indigenous weaving economy by using *encomienda* and wage laborers to produce textiles for domestic consumption and export. Yet in doing so, the *obrajes* fundamentally changed the political and identitarian nature of Inca weaving, converting its formerly political production organization into a foreign division of labor merging European and Andean technical processes and technologies. Textile production was also impacted by Spanish gendering of specific tasks—weaving principle among them—that became redefined as female or male under the Spanish colonial state. As “the relations of production and consumption” merged Spanish and Andean systems, “rural Andean women [were] identified by the state mainly as weavers, mothers, and agricultural workers, ... while rural men, assumed to be the tributaries, *mitayos* and wage workers, were taken to be the main agents of colonial economic relations.”¹⁷⁶ This, Graubart notes, led rural women to “produce cloth and other market commodities for a rising class of Spanish middlemen and -women” while rural men were sent “to mining regions, large agricultural enterprises, and urban centers.”¹⁷⁷ With this, the “gendered complementarity of labor in the prehispanic Andes” in which men and women worked side-by-side in agriculture and commodity production was disarmed.

While women are most often depicted weaving in the colonial visual record, the *obrajes* had the effect of incorporating some men back into weaving production, often as waged workers. There was a technical difference in their production, as women tended to use the backstrap loom (such as in the illustrations by Guaman Poma and, in the eighteenth century, those appearing in the manuscript of Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, bishop of the intendency of Trujillo) and men more often used standing looms.¹⁷⁸ Colonial weaving soon became gendered as female as early generations of Spaniards contracted or, as Guaman Poma denounces,¹⁷⁹

nueva corónica y buen gobierno, vol. II, 132, [707/721]. On these tensions, also see Franklin Pease, “Prólogo,” in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1980), xxxviii.

¹⁷⁶ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 31.

¹⁷⁷ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 31.

¹⁷⁸ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 37. On the images in Guaman Poma, see Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 22-24. On Martínez Compañón’s nine-volume manuscript of illustrations contemporarily titled *Trujillo del Perú*, see Lisa Trever and Joanne Pillsbury, “Martínez Compañón and His Illustrated “Museum” in *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, eds. Daniela Bleichmar and Peter Mancall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 236-253.

¹⁷⁹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 151 [217/219] and vol. II, 92 [661/675].

indentured women to produce cloth and textiles and other women set out to produce garments to offset the tribute obligations that their community's men were charged with.¹⁸⁰ As encomenderos and enterprising Spaniards realized that women under their charge were capable weavers, "female labor came to be perceived by entrepreneurs as an underexploited commodity," claiming that "busying Indian women with weaving for market, above and beyond their community's tributary obligations" combated "female "laziness" and "immorality"."¹⁸¹ In spite of Spanish moralizing of weaving labor, what the textiles industry makes most clear is that women contributed greatly to their communities and generated great wealth for the encomenderos and *obraje* owners who employed them. Their work though, depended upon the sourcing of Andean fibers and the Spanish-imported merino wool, provided through the agricultural supply chain.¹⁸²

Cultivating Commodities: Colonial Agriculture

Like mining and textiles production, agriculture was an essential part of the pre-Columbian economy in the Andes. In the Tahuantinsuyu, mita tribute labor most often contributed to the production of agricultural staples for distribution around the empire. As Graubart notes, men and women both worked in agriculture, often in the very same capacity without a strict gendering of many roles. As in the case of the above industries, agricultural tribute structure designed for communities to temporarily contribute laborers to politically organized production systems would be largely replaced with Spanish demands for tribute in kind, "the redistribution of commodities produced by indigenous communities, now for the profit of ... colonists."¹⁸³ In spite of Spanish demands for market- and table-ready crops, *encomienda* laborers were often obligated to participate in specific agricultural activities, such as planting or harvesting, regardless of whether tribute demands had already been met for a particular year. As in mining and textiles, after tribute demands were met, communities worked in agriculture for sustenance and to sell the spoils of their crops and herds to an ever-increasing number of middlemen and -women of various ethnicities who sought to broker the distribution of goods across regions and the viceroyalty.¹⁸⁴

Colonial agriculture was distinct from mining and weaving in that its labor was sourced not only from the indigenous populations but also from the most significant population of slaves imported to Peru from Africa.¹⁸⁵ As such, the promise of compensation was not even necessarily used to entice, or rather, coerce, workers into the fields or the herds. *Encomienda* tribute obligations forced indigenous communities to cultivate staple and cash crops to pay their tribute *tasas* in crops and the condition of slaves, as property, obligated them to work at whatever their owners saw fit. Because African slavery proved an ineffective means of staffing the mines, leading to royal decrees against placing Africans in the highland extractive economy, many

¹⁸⁰ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 31-38.

¹⁸¹ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 38.

¹⁸² Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 26.

¹⁸³ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 29.

¹⁸⁴ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 29-33.

¹⁸⁵ Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974).

Africans ended up on the coast, where the first censuses show that “around 1570, blacks had overtaken Spaniards, and may have already done so by 1560.”¹⁸⁶

At that time, slave participation in coastal agriculture would have been an emerging trend, as most slaves and free blacks worked in a few industries, women as servants and domestic hands and men as artisans, muleteers, deckhands, and dockhands. There is early evidence of cash crops, such as sugar cane and the associated milling infrastructure, taking hold on diverse parts of the coast, with at least some using unskilled slave labor.¹⁸⁷ On smaller plots than the massive chacaras entrusted to the most powerful encomenderos located in the highlands, small-scale coastal agricultural work was also a primary venue where black slaves worked. Parcels distributed to encomenderos were smaller on the coast, but significant irrigation infrastructure established through the mid-sixteenth century made the coast bloom, and nearly every coastal chacara saw black slaves working alongside Indians.¹⁸⁸

In addition to these plots encomenderos often staked claims to granjerías, “ancillary enterprises generally but not always agricultural in nature” that used slave labor and tribute labor from encomienda Indians to raise agricultural staples of all persuasions.¹⁸⁹ Indigenous yanaconas and mingados, who worked as employees without paying tribute, worked alongside tribute laborers and slaves, their presence documented in the cultivation of corn, wheat, barley, and livestock.¹⁹⁰ On the large haciendas, encomenderos often had significant Spanish staff, stewards ranking alternately as majordomos who were paid wages to manage each arm of production on the lands entrusted to an encomendero, including agriculture, mining, textiles production, and even fishing.¹⁹¹ Below the generally respected majordomos were estancieros, the lowest Spanish class charged with agricultural management of specific plots or herds.¹⁹² Often relegated to isolated areas, these poorly paid overseers were treated as a scourge of peripheral immigrants and miscreants with hierarchical superiority only over slaves and tribute Indians. Some estancieros were themselves Africans.¹⁹³ While socially looked down upon by their superiors, estancieros often knew the trades of tending crops and livestock better than their superiors. Those located near cities regularly abandoned the encomenderos’ large agricultural enterprises as soon as they could buy and work land and permanent labor in the form of slaves, particularly around Lima, Arequipa, and Trujillo.¹⁹⁴ At times, the clergy charged with administering the sacraments for the encomienda Indian populations also established for-profit enterprises, most often in small-scale agriculture but also in weaving, moneylending, and brokering and selling provisions in outlying areas where such services were hard to come by.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁶ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 203-204. Lockhart explores several instances where African slaves were used at early mining sites while generally suggesting that African mining was far less common than indigenous mining (208-210).

¹⁸⁷ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 208-209.

¹⁸⁸ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 209-210.

¹⁸⁹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 24.

¹⁹⁰ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 34-35.

¹⁹¹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 34-35.

¹⁹² Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 26-27.

¹⁹³ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 210-211.

¹⁹⁴ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 26-27, 58-59.

¹⁹⁵ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 61-64.

All of these actors swirled about, attempting to turn whatever agricultural products local lands yielded into profit through their sale or processing into other products (llama and vicuña wool into yarn and textiles, for example). Though highly variable by region, the most common agricultural commodities were corn, wheat, barley, sugar cane on the coast, and coca in the highlands. In terms of livestock, sheep, goats, and native Andean camelids were the most common, with specialized breeding of horses, cows, mules, and oxen. Nearly all of these were exchanged between producers and brokers (Spanish and indigenous) in addition to being sold for distribution and consumption. Indigenous workers often worked as merchants, selling their community's goods after meeting annual tribute demands and their commerce often supplemented whatever wages were earned by the entire wage-earning class across ethnic groups.

Labor, Commodities, and Primitive Alienation

As this brief summary of Peru's primary industries through the early seventeenth century underscores, "a host of agricultural, grazing, and manufacturing enterprises" in the viceroyalty's provinces and across Spanish South America accompanied the primary economic engines of mining in Lower and Upper Peru and "the transatlantic trade network centered in Lima."¹⁹⁶ Fernand Braudel would remind us that a dominant capitalist city always lies at the center of world economies and, similarly, Lima was situated at the center of the Peruvian and early South American constellation of the world economy (Braudel would also state that "there have always been world economies").¹⁹⁷ Lima could only gain a central position thanks to the "output from the key silver lodes at Castrovirreyna, Cailoma, Chachapoyas, Bombón, Pasco, San Antonio de Esquilache, Carangas, Laicocota, Oruro, and of course, Potosí," as well as secondary gold mines.¹⁹⁸ Through the mid-seventeenth century, these mines were highly productive, worked by yanaconas, mitayos, wage laborers, and occasionally slaves, the primary labor designations, as well as Spanish wage labor, across the economy. With abundant bullion in circulation, encomenderos with mines on their lands supported the ranks of builders, tradesmen, weavers, merchants, and farmers, each industry enabling its dominant figures to profit. While encomenderos were often the primary beneficiaries across all industries (as Lockhart and his school of social history suggests), other histories of the Peruvian economy suggest that Andeans engaged and navigated market logic for their benefit.¹⁹⁹ Taking into account every station between encomendero and slave, a more complex picture of the Peruvian colonial economy emerges, one that indicates that many groups and individuals garnered market share by monetizing the goods they produced, even before monetary currency abounded or when there were shortages of it.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Andrien, *Crisis and Decline*, 13.

¹⁹⁷ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol III: The Perspective of the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 24-27.

¹⁹⁸ Andrien, *Crisis and Decline*, 13.

¹⁹⁹ See Steve Stern, *Peru's Indigenous Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

²⁰⁰ For examples of how coca served as currency among Indians and Spanish tradesmen and their patrons, see Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance*, 210. For allegations that "preconquest forms of barter" replaced "incipient capitalist forms of trading" during crises of

Although Toledo's reforms had forced massive numbers of Amerindian laborers into the mines through the early seventeenth century, mine administrators found it harder and harder to retain forced laborers, many of whom paid their way out of their labor tribute in precious metals after taking up production and commerce of the specialty wares of their particular communities. In the trades, black slaves were able to negotiate privileges and even freedom by partnering and profit sharing, even if their ability to use slaves and *yanacona* labor was regulated, the former prohibited in 1589.²⁰¹ While agriculture was more limiting, Spanish *estancieros* and indigenous *curacas* tied to large *encomiendas* worked lands and herds parallel to and beyond their obligations to their superiors.²⁰² To varying degrees, every colonial form of labor was characterized by coercion, each generation receiving less and less of the reciprocity built into pre-Columbian labor tribute; yet colonial labor, defined by Spanish appropriation of indigenous labor structures, was also open to a certain degree of manipulation and strategic maneuvering by workers to gain autonomy or diminish their obligations to Spanish overlords. The landscape of economic histories of colonial Peru collectively conspire to project a chaotic image of economic aspirants of every ethnicity scrambling constantly to work independently of others and to possess the avatars of colonial luxury (a large plot of land, slaves, and numerous indigenous laborers), including Africans and Indians, seeking to challenge *encomenderos* and rival groups. A fundamental alienation of workers from their lands and their wares, their communities, and pre-Columbian organizations of work within larger society is present in colonial labor.

In this chaotic and competitive colonial economy, which would lay the foundation for subsequent phases of global capitalism, alienation can result from a practice familiar to the far majority of readers of this study: wage labor. Certainly, wage labor alone does not indicate capitalism; it is merely one economic relationship among many that alludes to the onset of developed capitalism. Yet wage labor is one of the fundamental indexes of abstract labor, the process so essential to the generation of exchange value (as opposed to the opposing circuit of the commodity, concrete labor's yield of use value) and the labor theory of value. Wage labor indicates the conversion of time—in colonial Peru, time spent engaged in unskilled labor in the mines, fields, or *obrajes*—into labor-time. As Marx himself states,

This abstraction, human labour in general, exists in the form of average labour which, in a given society, the average person can perform, productive expenditure of a certain amount of human muscles, nerves, brain, etc. It is simple [unskilled] labour which any average individual can be trained to do and which in one way or another he has to

silver production in Potosí, see Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 35-36. Also see Mangan's example of the highland Lupaqas and Carangas peoples who "made a business trading coca, foodstuffs, and llamas" (*Trading Roles*, 5).

²⁰¹ On Africans as slaveowners and Africans as slaves to indigenous communities, Graubart, *With Our Labor and Our Sweat*, 87-94. On Toledo's 1589 prohibition of *negros* and *mulatos* employing *yanaconas* or hiring other indigenous laborers, see Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 42 and 207n114.

²⁰² Mangan writes that "[k]urakas made trade agreements with European merchants and then drew on Andean modes of production to supply them with goods" (*Trading Roles*, 33; also 199n33).

perform. The characteristics of this average labour are different in different countries and different historical epochs, but in any particular society it appears as something given.²⁰³

Marx would later add, “*Simple average labour*, it is true, varies in character in different countries and cultural epochs, but in any particular society it is given.”²⁰⁴ And while subsequent debates about the validity of the labor theory of value serve to complicate this picture, it suffices to say that wage labor during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicates systemic movement towards the abstraction of labor.

Alienation, not *entfremdung* but a more general sense of anxiety and discomfort with the entire economic (market) logic of the colonies, can also result from the overwhelming burden of competition in the midst of the acceleration of this abstraction. This chapter has gone to lengths to define labor and compensation structures in the colonial economy, necessarily focusing primarily on the experiences of the indigenous and African workers whose work existed across a spectrum ranging from chattel slavery to servitude and serfdom to paid wage labor. As these groups and the work that they performed sustained the colonial economy and were responsible for the large-scale growth and maintenance of veritably every industry, this emphasis is merited. It is necessary, though to conclude this chapter by revisiting the experiences of those Spaniards outside of the official colonial bureaucratic apparatuses and landowning class who had to find a means of self-sustenance. As Kris Lane points out, “[r]ecords suggest that European-born *labradores* and artisans struggled, like would-be conquistadores, to find their niche” in colonial Spanish America.²⁰⁵ This assertion is reflected in generations of literary texts, most notably satire, that repeatedly take critical aim at the types of work ascribed to Spaniards and the ascent of other castes to vocations previously uncommon to—and allegedly unbecoming of—non-Europeans on the other side of the Atlantic. And so the relationship of Spaniards in colonial Peru to work and the economy more generally is also productive for understanding anxieties about the economic practices taking hold in the early modern world, as well as Spanish attitudes about perceived exclusions and injustices resulting from this logic.²⁰⁶

Such Spanish identity politics were facilitated by the colonial enterprise’s introduction of ethnic- and caste-based vocabularies prone to homogenization. As such, my use of general ethnic categories in the above historical sketch is somewhat misleading. Out of semantic necessity, I have used the rote, if imprecise, demographic categories of past social historians to refer to the peoples of different origins in colonial Peru. These categories—Indians, Africans, and Spaniards, among others—always merit disambiguation, when possible. Though there are commonalities in the shared experiences of the diverse peoples generally included in each of these groups, the experiences of individuals within these groups were not all the same. As Jeremy Mumford points out to his readers, “[t]he native-born people of the Americas had many identities—based on age,

²⁰³ Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, part 1, Chapter 1, “The Commodity” (Marxists Internet Archive, 2009 [1859]), www.marxists.org.

²⁰⁴ Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, (Marxists Internet Archive, 2010 [1867]), 32. www.marxists.org

²⁰⁵ Lane, “Labor,” 184.

²⁰⁶ See Vilches, *New World Gold* on the anxieties emerging surrounding money, credit, and the abstraction of value. My suggestion throughout this dissertation is that in the Andes such anxieties also extended to one’s ability to ‘compete’ or materially and socially get ahead in colonial society.

sex, ethnicity, property, status—but it was colonialism that stamped on them the label “Indian.” This identity was never fixed or impermeable and at first it was a mere name whose meaning remained undetermined.²⁰⁷ Similarly, Africans were of diverse origins and only became *negros* through the colonial project.²⁰⁸ Even those peoples considered Spaniards by modern colonial scholars evidenced diverse geographic, cultural, and linguistic origins and many Mediterranean and Iberian peoples who would not have been considered Spaniards per se by Habsburg subjects have come to be included in the catch-all category of *españoles*.²⁰⁹ As highlighted above, there were different classes of Spaniard in the colonies, and their experiences diverged from those of the apex *encomendero*.

The work of ignoble Europeans in colonial Peru was intimately linked to (and dependent upon) the spectrum of labor performed by the indigenous and African majorities. While some Spaniards returned to Europe, Lane follows Lockhart and others in pointing out that the majority of working Spaniards who forged lives in colonial Latin America “discovered ... that it was easier to apprentice free Indians, mestizos, mulattos, and even enslaved Africans than fellow Spaniards or other Europeans.”²¹⁰ This led to an inability to enact guild systems beneficial to European artisans and workers in many industries (such as mining, which was supported by guilds in many parts of Europe), especially in the agricultural realm, where “[m]estizo and mulatto *majordomos* soon ran most farms and ranches, with Europeans of the middling social ranks working more often as mine administrators or consignment merchants.”²¹¹ As artisans became “overwhelmingly men of indigenous or African descent,” earlier “[r]acial barriers restricting access to guild membership eroded steadily into the late seventeenth century, such that many “nonwhite” men achieved independence from Spanish masters and commanded social respect and high prices for their work.”²¹² Working Spaniards chose instead to take up commercial professions directly related to trade, preferring the roles of provisioning, brokering, and selling goods while leaving their sourcing and production to other castes.

A side effect of this was that Spanish artisans’ enlistment of indigenous and African labor as apprentices would lead to greatly reduced European participation in the trades. While Lockhart highlights the diverse trades and itinerant vocational trajectories of Spaniards through 1560, Lane suggests that over a few generations Spanish labor would be concentrated among “merchants, silver refiners, and mine owners” in the specific fields of commerce and mining administration.²¹³ Spaniards constituted a minority in the general labor force of mid-colonial Peru and all of Spanish America, as “[i]ndigenous peoples did most of the work ... followed by Africans and their descendants, most enslaved but increasingly free” and “[p]eople of mixed

²⁰⁷ Jeremy Ravi Mumford, “Aristocracy on the Auction Block: Race, Lords, and the Perpetuity Controversy of Sixteenth-Century Peru” in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Matthew Fisher and Matthew O’Hara (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 55.

²⁰⁸ On the geographic and cultural origins of different black populations in Peru, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 193-224 and Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*.

²⁰⁹ For an exploration of the geographic origins of foreigners and marginalized Iberian peoples in Peru, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 129-168.

²¹⁰ Lane, “Labor,” 184.

²¹¹ Lane, “Labor,” 184.

²¹² Lane, “Labor,” 184.

²¹³ Lane, “Labor,” 184.

background came third.”²¹⁴ By the seventeenth century, Spaniards performing manual labor were few and far between, their labor distributed between the administration of production and the brokering and commerce of raw materials and goods. And while not every Spaniard was noble, nearly all nobles were Spaniards, as the number of encomienda grants from the early sixteenth century remained constant into the next century. This meant that “[w]hatever their status or caste, all workers in the colonies tended to be dependent on some “Spanish” patron. To be Spanish did not always mean to be white, but it increasingly meant to be engaged solely in the work of government, education, household management, religious devotion, or defense.”²¹⁵

The suggestion that Spaniards actually worked very little outside of the exclusive vocations of the lettered city and its related industries of defense and religion, still reserved for nobles back in Spain, lends itself to all kinds of potentially negative reactions by mid-colonial Spaniards who continued arriving to the viceroyalty after the mid-sixteenth century. These are precisely the responses that emerge in the satires of Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, whose poetic subject expresses a profound anxiety in the face of an ever more limited landscape of economic opportunity in mid-colonial society.

²¹⁴ Lane, “Labor,” 184.

²¹⁵ Lane, “Labor,” 184.

Chapter 2

Defining Alienation and Reading Affect in the Colonial Andes

The complete title of Cieza de León's *Crónica del Perú*—"Parte primera de la crónica del Perú que trata de la demarcación de sus provincias: la descripción de ellas. Las fundaciones de las nuevas ciudades. Los ritos y costumbres de los indios. Y otras cosas extrañas dignas de ser sabidas. Hecha por Pedro de Cieza de León, vecino de Sevilla"¹—is in many ways representative of the entire paradigm of conquest texts written by conquistadors about their travels in America. First, it expresses the Spanish chronicler's desire, the need, to plot and map the territories that they traipse ("la demarcación de sus provincias"). Of course, they must be described and made familiar to the Spanish reader, a process facilitated by the symbolic naming and construction of cities in the image (or within the imaginary of) the Renaissance European city.² Only once the territory has been claimed and renamed as Spanish do the peoples residing therein merit mention for the Spanish chronicler, often as ornamental accompaniments to the places where they reside. This necessary exploration of the indigenous subject—the people that the Spaniard finds on 'his' map and around 'his' cities—is then rendered in terms of descriptions of "los ritos y costumbres de los indios."³ Of course, these places and the customs of their residents, even once (re)named, (re)built and (re)populated under the model of Spanish *urbs civitas*,⁴ yield not normalcy but oddity of such proportions that it merits elaboration so as to be known by the European reader: "cosas extrañas dignas de ser sabidas."⁵

"Cosas extrañas" are not, however, strange for the conquistador such as Cieza de León, and nor were they strange—that is uncommon—for his predecessors in Mexico and the Andes, that land that Francisco de Xérez similarly referred to as "la gran tierra estraña nueva."⁶ "[C]osas extrañas" were the 'new normal' for the Spanish conqueror or settler in the "tierra estraña nueva," for as much as one may have aspired to reside in a Nueva España, Nueva Castilla, or Nueva Granada, America was not Spain and it could not be made Spain in a matter of centuries, much less decades. The abundance of sixteenth-century textual comparisons of America to Spain and its landscapes, fauna, and customs are not an indication of comfortable familiarity, but of distance, of difference, and of Spaniards' uncertainty in their surroundings.⁷ Let us take for example Cieza's description of the Río Santa Marta (present day Colombia): "todas las aguas, arroyos, y lagunas de entrambas cordilleras vienen a parar a él, de manera que cuando llega a la ciudad de Cali, va tan grande y poderoso, que a mi ver llevara tanta agua como Guadalquivir por

¹ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú*, ed. Franklin G.Y. Pease (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), 5.

² See Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 9-26.

³ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 5.

⁴ Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*, 9-26.

⁵ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 5.

⁶ Francisco de Xérez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, (Sevilla: Bartholome Perez, 1534), 37.

⁷ Such comparisons of America to Spain abound in Cieza and his predecessors in Mexico. See Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 90, 277-278, etc.

Sevilla.”⁸ Here, the Río Santa Marta is made intelligible not as a unique fluvial landscape of its own, but phrased in terms of its comparability to Spanish rivers as an image of the Guadalquivir in Cieza’s native Seville. Likewise, the mountains of Peru are considered not as autonomous places, but assessed in terms of their potential to become like the Spanish landscape through agricultural cultivation and mineral productivity. Cieza’s chapter CXIII claims that “la tierra es aparejada para criarse olivos y otras frutas de España,” signaling the author’s interest in cultivating Peruvian soils in the image of Spain: “[n]aranjales, granados, y otras frutas, todas las hay de las que han traído de España, como las de la tierra ... Paréceme a mi, que si traen injertos de ellos para poner en estos llanos y en las vegas de los ríos de las sierras, que se harán tan grandes montañas de ellos como en el Axarafe de Sevilla, y otros grandes olivares que hay en España.”⁹ By repeatedly expressing a desire for Peru to become a recognizable Spanish topography (and agricultural economy), Cieza aspires to see the viceregal landscape take on the image of Spain.

Yet in such visions of Peru as possessing the potential to become Spain (or its replica), he also fundamentally recognizes that the place that he describes is not Spain. As Spanish subject, he is outside of the realm of the familiar and the cosmivision to which he ascribes. Such outsidership serves to posit transatlantic comparisons and articulate a longing for the familiar in the foreign: “[p]ues viñas no hay pocas en los términos de San Miguel, Trujillo y Los Reyes [Lima] y en las ciudades del Cuzco y Guamanga, y en otras de la serranía ya a las haber, y *se tiene por grande esperanza de hacer buenos vinos.*”¹⁰ His head and heart (and appetite) are in Spain, while he is physically and culturally far from home, as his references to grapes and salt indicate, neither of which the Indians appropriately exploit for their gastronomic or economic value, even though its “hermosas salinas ... podrían proveer de sal todos los reinos de España, Italia, Francia y otras mayores partes.”¹¹

But what is the relationship of the individual to “cosas extrañas,” much less the relationship of a Christian Spaniard to a strange society or a strange land that, due to its inherent unfamiliarity, must be made to fit European and Christian conceptualizations of the world? As Cieza’s descriptions indicate, the Spaniard in America is by definition far from the familiar places and customs of comfort found in early modern Iberia, especially during the first half-century of Spanish conquest of the Americas. In America, he can pertain to Spanish society and proscribe to a Christian worldview, in fact, his sense of belonging to Spanish society and his identity as a Christian appear to be heightened by his presence in America, evidenced by multitudinous references to Christians in the first person plural, *nosotros*.¹² Belonging to the Iberian kingdoms of Christendom becomes the point of the conquistador’s differentiation from

⁸ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 90.

⁹ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 277-278.

¹⁰ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 278 (my emphasis). On the relationship of the conquistador to food as a means of understanding difference in America, see Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race, and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), particularly 49-50, 85-86, and 170. On Cieza’s relationship to food, see Earle, *Body of the Conquistador*, 76-77, 123-125. On the Spanish relationship to wine, see Earle, *Body of the Conquistador*, 56-61.

¹¹ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 277.

¹² These are recurrent throughout the genres of *historia*, *crónica*, and *diario*. For examples in the Andes, see Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 67, 350, etc.

the American reality where, in spite of the steady establishment of the Spanish colonial order, the Spaniard cannot fully be at home in a culture that is beyond him. And so, as a Christian among foreign lands and peoples, his sense of Spanish identity becomes heightened. Yet he is still outside of his natural surroundings in spite of existing within the American lived environment, a sentiment betrayed repeatedly in conquest chronicles and histories.

In his attempt to overcome his own outsidership (as he cannot overcome the foreignness of America), Cieza must move beyond mere comparisons to the recognizable to embrace familiar symbols of faith in opposition to those faiths and customs that he finds so strange, beyond comprehension, beyond his sense of self. Cieza posits his sense of Spanish, Christian belonging in terms of opposition of the familiar symbol of the cross to other strange idols and their adherents: “y derribados los lugares que para su culto [de los indios] estaban hechos tantos tiempos había, *ahora están puestas cruces insignias de nuestras salvación*, y los ídolos y simulacros quebrados y los demonios con temor huidos y atemorizados.”¹³ Cieza repeatedly returns to this point, that the indigenous temples have been destroyed (and, so he concludes, their cults) and the cross placed everywhere, even where the Gospel has never been heard: “y en estos lugares se hacían sacrificios vanos y gentílicos, por donde yo creo que hasta nuestros tiempos la palabra del sacro Evangelio no fue vista ni oída, en los cuales vemos ya del todo profanados sus templos y por todas partes la Cruz gloriosa puesta.”¹⁴ Yet the need to repeatedly identify local peoples and their leaders as Christians betrays the reality that while crosses, like salt and grapes, are everywhere in the viceroyalty, Peru is not a recognizable Christian, European place.¹⁵ In spite of the relative familiarity of the things around him and the desire to see local objects yield European products—salt for seasonings, grapes for wine, and crosses for Christians—Cieza doesn’t quite feel at home. He is, indeed, *in* Peru, but he is also, almost more tangibly, *outside* of Europe.

In light of Jerónimo Arellano’s recent history of the emotions in Latin America, which focuses on curiosity and wonder, Cieza’s response to the installation of Christian symbols (and, thus, he assumes, Christianity) might be seen as an expression of “[w]onder . . . legitimized by Augustine as a passionate response elicited by the reverential contemplation of the presence of the divine that is manifest in nature,” this in opposition to its lesser, materialist companion of

¹³ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 14 (my emphasis). The cited passage is preceded by Cieza’s suggestion that Spaniards should be grateful and impressed with the fact that “en todas partes hay templos y casas de oración donde el todopoderoso Dios es alabado y servido, y el demonio alanzado y vituperado y abatido” (13-14). On crosses and their placement and function during Spanish, Portuguese, British, and Dutch colonialism, see Patricia Seed, “Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 49.2 (1992), 183-209. For discussion of the cross in the context of Spanish colonization of the Maya, see Inga Clendinnen, “Landscape and World View: The Survival of Yucatec Maya Culture under Spanish Conquest,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22.3 (1980), 374-393.

¹⁴ Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 307.

¹⁵ Cieza, like his predecessors in Mexico, repeatedly identifies local peoples and their leaders within the dichotomy of Christian/barbarian and *amigo/enemigo*. In the above passage on crosses, Cieza continues to describe “los naturales de Cacha, siendo su cacique o señor un indio de buena persona y razón llamado don Juan, ya cristiano” (*Crónica del Perú*, 307).

curiosity.¹⁶ Above, Cieza admittedly marvels at the rapid installation of crosses and Christian altars in Peru, as well as the raw material potential to cultivate Spanish lifestyles (and thus ideologies) in the Andes. But Cieza's words also betray other affective responses beyond the wonder-curiosity dichotomy: that of feeling outside of the familiar, that of discomfort, that of distance from the decidedly Christian landscape that lends reassurance, even if its coming-to-be is wondrous. For if one is absolutely comfortable with the Christian condition of America, there ought be no wonder, nary even curiosity, in the face of Christianity's hold in the New World, as there are in abundance for Cieza.

Arellano has also suggested that, "[r]ecurrently, the chronicles of the exploration and colonization of the New World would set out to portray wonders that are astonishing yet part of daily life, rare and unique yet available to empirical observation and material collection," what he calls, "a first iteration of the *marvelous ordinary* in the New World" where "both the subjective responses and the material objects associated with the marvelous experience significant transformations."¹⁷ But within the colonial texts where Arellano reads "the marvelous ordinary," other affective responses are also legible.¹⁸ In fact, the very suggestion of a marvelous ordinary must be situated within the oppositional poles from which Arellano's concept emerges.¹⁹ "The marvelous ordinary" necessitates the existence of the truly awe-inspiringly marvelous and the mundanely ordinary, both of which can seat deep affective responses from subjects in their own rite. One can feel discomfort from either or both as they do not bleed together, so much as highlight their opposite: one who feels no wonder is estranged from the marvelous experience (should they not marvel more or less, as others perhaps do?) or reversion to the monotony of the mundane, which reveals one's true place relative to others in the realm of quotidian affairs. A vast range of subjective, experiential responses to America and one's existence there is possible.

This variety of existential experiences must be considered within an understanding of early colonial writing as an agglomeration of genres that seek to impose order and to organize America within recognizable, intelligible European frameworks.²⁰ In particular, the *probanza de mérito* genres of *crónica*, *historia*, and *relación* reject outright the possibility of America existing as a territory outside of biblical tradition or ancient modes of knowledge, repeatedly seeking to

¹⁶ Jerónimo Arellano, *Magical Realism and the History of the Emotions in Latin America* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2015), 6. Arellano reminds his readers that, "For Augustine, Lorraine Daston notes, curiosity is tied to the concupiscence of the eyes, which attempt to take fleeting possession and imperfect knowledge of carnal and pecuniary objects" this in opposition to the more existential, religious, mystical experience of wonder (*Magical Realism*, 6).

¹⁷ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 6 (my emphasis). On the marvelous ordinary in colonial texts, also see 43, 52, 54, 56n15, 62, 81, 86.

¹⁸ Arellano focuses on Christopher Columbus's *Diario de a bordo* and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. See Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 67-77.

¹⁹ Arellano coins the term in building on Stephen Greenblatt's conceptualization of the marvelous in *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

²⁰ On colonial writing and particularly *probanzas de mérito*, see Margarita Zamora, *Reading Columbus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

explain and explore the history of America within Judeo-Christian historical and geographic frameworks.²¹ Colonial writing's obsession with the imposition of European, Christian meaning on America (an obsession necessary for the colonial project's success) can then be seen as an attempt to avoid meaninglessness, as a struggle against the dislocation of Europeans in America and America in European visions of the known world. This struggle against meaninglessness would anticipate and filter the individual struggle against alienation articulated by individual chroniclers in terms of outsider sentiment.

Cieza's process of naming, description, and comparison, like those writing before and after him in Peru, highlights how Spanish existence in America ultimately yields outsider sentiments that cannot be fully or exclusively understood within the limits of wonder, either as marvel or curiosity. In fact, these sentiments are fundamentally embedded in the language of the conquest genres of *crónica*, *relación*, and *historia*, which necessitate differentiation of the outsider explorer from the peoples and lands under his siege. And in this differentiation, the chronicler also alludes to "the language of alienation" demonstrating "critical or even polemical intent" so prevalent in later centuries.²² The much-commented emphasis on the marvelous in conquest literature explores but one affective mode of expression that seeks to make the New World intelligible and impressive for European audiences (even if primarily in affective, not scientific or theological, terms).²³ And while not overtly emotional in tone, the comparative register deployed by Cieza and his contemporaries signals not wonder, but the desire to exorcise that wonder predicated on cultural difference by installing the familiar as expeditiously as possible to eliminate Spanish positioning as outsiders surrounded by "cosas extrañas."

This extended opening via Cieza serves as a fundamental point of departure for exploring a variety of conquest texts that evidence diverse forms of alienation, from the earliest Peruvian colonial texts through the turn of the seventeenth century that this story focuses on. In demonstrating how Spanish and indigenous chroniclers articulate alienation, my objective is not to provide a new theory of alienation, nor to provide a new history of much-commented early colonial Andean literatures. Rather, I seek to tell a story of alienation through colonial Peru as it evolves in literatures emergent from the specific economic and political contexts of the viceroyalty. This process requires a location of alienation in colonial Peru several centuries before the modern concept is used in theoretical parlance. I propose, then, a critical reframing of the story of alienation with the colonial process and period at its center. My objective is both to situate the question of alienation in a deeper, broader historical framework than considered in much modern alienation critique and also to reflect on ways in which centuries of thinking about Andean and American colonization have engaged the tensions of the colonial contact zone while overlooking the modernity of the experience of alienation in the face of colonialism. The grounds for such an analysis through the remainder of this work will become clear at chapter's end, as will colonial forms of alienation and their contributions to later theory.

In what follows, I begin by framing the above ideas found in Cieza's text and other early colonial writing in terms of a linguistic history of alienation emerging from Latin during the

²¹ Prominent examples include Columbus's wagers that the mouth of the Amazon basin constituted a biblical river on his third voyage and José de Acosta's suggestion that the Peruvian Indians were descended from the tribes of Abraham.

²² Schacht, "Alienation," 203-204.

²³ For a lineage of interlocutors and commenters responding to Greenblatt's seminal work, see Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 38-41.

Roman Empire and through Covarrubias' 1611 Spanish dictionary. Through engagement with a broad corpus of colonial authors, I plot the outsider sentiment identified in Cieza's chronicle onto the Peruvian viceroyalty more generally, a response articulated by Spanish, Andean, and Afro-Peruvian narratives. These authors serve to illustrate precisely how early modern Spanish and Quechua concepts of outsidership and separation give way to the possibility of an experience akin to modern alienation. I then plot a genealogy of the major theoretical coordinates of alienation in the centuries that follow, earmarking major contributions to the concept's evolution through the twentieth century. Along the way, I highlight how theorists from Rousseau to Lukács either engage or overlook America and the colonial history that enabled modern capitalism (which lies at the heart of alienation critique and critical theory's aims) to emerge and flourish. The chapter then concludes by spelling out precisely my approach to reading and theorizing alienation in the colonial period, arguing for an intersection of alienation critique with affect theory that seeks to uphold the political potential of affect alongside close readings of how colonial writers express their disillusion with colonialism's failings around the centenary of Spanish arrival to the Andes. Before undertaking this journey though, I would like to briefly reflect on the above reading of Cieza's accounts to reiterate why this journey through the colonial period via alienation critique is worth taking at all.

Cieza as Window into the Conceptual Usefulness of Alienation in the Colonial Andes

“Alienation is now one of the most difficult words in the language,” – Raymond Williams, *Keywords*²⁴

The above discussion of Cieza's outsider sentiment alludes to how we might begin to understand and conceptualize alienation in the colonial Andes: as a negative, affective, subjective, and, at times, nostalgic, response to a perceived existence in an America that is geographically, culturally, and ideologically incongruous with previous, 'normative,' pre-colonial societies (Spain and the indigenous Andes) where a subject felt at home or at least, in hindsight, might have seemed to feel at home (this goes for indigenous subjects, as well). Cieza's comparative register, then, suggests a form of Spanish social alienation.²⁵ Cieza's rendering of the Peruvian landscape serves to clarify that this form of alienation and others encountered in the colonial world “are defined subjectively or experientially, in terms of attitudes and feelings of human subjects,” this in opposition to “objectively or constitutionally” defined alienations phrased “in terms of the manner of their existence.”²⁶ As such, colonial alienation begins to emerge as “a relational concept, involving a human subject” and that subject's relations to the world, as well as “a contrasting concept” that posits the subject in contrast with his surroundings and his sense of those surroundings as his own.²⁷

²⁴ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, 2nd ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 33.

²⁵ Ignace Feuerlicht notes, “[w]hen the term *alienation* is used without any modification, it often denotes alienation from society, especially in America, while in Europe it often means alienation from others, one's fellow man” (*Alienation*, 76).

²⁶ Schacht, “Alienation,” 204.

²⁷ Schacht, “Alienation,” 204.

By suggesting that the language employed by Cieza—and the Spanish explorer more broadly—evidences sentiments aligned with an alienated subject, it becomes clear that my conception of alienation, “fundamentally a descriptive concept” albeit one that “is also normatively loaded,”²⁸ in the colonies regards the condition of alienation as inherently negative or problematic. As such, I echo R. Félix Geyer and David Schweitzer in acknowledging that,

[b]ecause of its essentialist underpinnings, writers from Hegel and Marx to Fromm and Marcuse have construed alienation as a judgemental, as well as descriptive concept. Thus alienation not only describes the effects that social relations and institutions have upon individuals, but it also becomes a *judgemental instrument* for criticizing the existing state of affairs.²⁹

Such a conception of alienation as negative and judgmental is rooted in the presumption that “un-alienation is presumed to be inherently preferable to alienation.”³⁰ My reversion to this position, which stands in opposition to Hegel and in differentiation from Marx for whom “some alienations may be necessary for the overcoming of others,”³¹ results from the conquistador’s pejorative framing of colonial Peru through the language of conquest and colonization (and, as we will see, the prevalence of this pejorative register throughout other Spanish and indigenous literary responses to colonial society). For Cieza, America is a deficient, barren place until it is fully Christian and fully realized in the image of Spanish economy and customs, this in spite of its economic potential and the abundant raw materials that hold the potential to become wealth within Spanish mercantile epistemologies. Don’t Cieza’s utterances betray that he wants to be on familiar terrain, to materially exist in Peru as he does in Spain, where salt is seasoning and grapes are wine, and each mineral or crop is extracted and produced, abstracted and commoditized, traded and consumed by Christian merchants?

Cieza’s alienation is built upon his negative sense of being alien to and existing outside of the American context where he resides. As will be seen in the next two chapters, this is a sentiment that is subsequently reiterated and overlaid across mid-colonial society in an explicitly economic context in the poetry of Mateo Rosas de Oquendo and the reformist chronicle of Guaman Poma, both of whom also feel that they exist uncomfortably outside of and excluded from the colonial project. Yet a characterization of colonial alienation as an outsider identity might be pushed further. Richard Schacht has recently written that,

²⁸ Schacht, “Alienation,” 203.

²⁹ R. Felix Geyer and David R. Schweitzer, “Introduction,” in *Theories of Alienation*, edited by Geyer and Schweitzer, (Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1976), xix (original emphasis).

³⁰ Schacht, “Alienation,” 203.

³¹ Schacht, “Alienation,” 203. Schacht elaborates that “[a]lthough Marx and Heidegger did not use the language of alienation to say so, Marx sought to awaken, intensify, and radicalize alienation from the social, cultural, and economic “substance” of capitalist society in order to achieve the overcoming of the lamentable forms of alienation (and the self-alienation) he took it to engender); and Heidegger considered alienation from “inauthentic immersion in the anonymous conventionality of one’s society that he calls *das Man* (“the ‘They’”) – and from the kind of selfhood associated with it – to be a prerequisite of the overcoming of the alienation from the possibility of “authentic” selfhood” (“Alienation,” 203-204).

... expressions like “self-alienation,” “social alienation,” and work alienation” (or “alienated labor”) remain mere concepts devoid of significant content until they are fleshed out into more meaningful specific conceptions of the sorts of self and self-relation, social context and relations, or work and work-relation that are at issue.³²

Schacht’s words serve as a reminder that we must meaningfully situate theoretical conceptions of alienation—the genealogy of the concept central to this chapter—within the specific context of Spanish colonization of the Andes.

Such contextualization is actually quite organic if we consider that colonization yielded an abundance of writing demonstrating an emotional, often polemical character. Peoples, places, and customs were rarely, if ever, explored in an explicitly descriptive mode, even (and especially) by authors who purported an alleged objectivity in the face of post-conquest American realities. In qualifying the conditions of America and affectively responding to those conditions as Cieza and subsequent authors do, the dichotomy of belonging and exclusion—the subject belonging to or being excluded from a land, its civil society, and the component parts of that society—takes on unprecedented importance for Spaniards and Indians alike, both of whom were made to live in a world that was neither pre-conquest Spain nor pre-conquest America. The fundamental category of making existence in America intelligible was not one of absolute assimilation but one of rendering legible the marked cultural tensions between the new reality and old realities and the opposition of self and other. And here, in the common privileging of such dichotomies in colonial literatures and the language of alienation that evolves in colonial writing, is where alienation becomes a productive category for reading colonial literatures. In fact, modern alienation critique has sought to resolve these very questions of self and other that emerged most vociferously in colonial cultural production.

The contexts of economic growth and evangelization in colonial Peru (and America more broadly) were also fundamental in determining who felt inside and outside of the new, hybrid colonial society. Within colonial society, the rise of private property and wage labor, outlined explicitly and forcefully in Rosas de Oquendo’s *Sátira* (Chapter 3) and Guaman Poma’s *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Chapter 4), held the potential to become what Marx would later call alienated labor. While the colonial economies of plunder, extraction, and production explored in the previous chapter lacked the level of specialization characteristic of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism, labor relations in the mines, the workshops, and the fields began to take on a specialized character, relegating individuals and whole groups to uncomfortable roles in colonial society that abstracted time and value. Simultaneously, such specialization signaled a rupture with earlier modes of production and consumption that had imbued work with relationships to land, civil society, and the greater universe.

Likewise, earlier Spanish and indigenous means of economic organization, often directly related to religious dogma and centuries-old political hierarchies, came into crisis in the New World. This was, in part, because of the way that religion, represented metonymically by Cieza’s crosses, constituted the general foundation and practical justification (even if expressly condemned by jurists and disputed by indigenous critics) for the appropriation of lands and laborers and colonial expansion at large, immediately incorporating—at least symbolically—infinite new souls into the Christian spiritual economy. Such recognitions of the empty, symbolic nature of evangelization and man’s distance from Christian rectitude and service to God resonate

³² Schacht, “Alienation,” 205.

throughout Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma's writings. As counterpoint, the hagiographers of San Martín de Porres' write with a desire to demonstrate how a realignment of work with religious service can become a means of spiritual self-realization. Colonization was, to a large extent, a process of alienation from economic and religious institutions to be decried or overcome, the phenomenon of existing outside of or in tension with normative societal institutions and structures a common denominator between negative, aversionary affect in colonial literatures and the difficult incorporation of colonial subjects into the economic and religious institutions of Spanish colonization. Prominent in this chapter, this outsidersness (*ser ajeno*, or *enajenación* in early modern Spanish) now merits further definition in terms of its linguistic relationship to the concept of alienation, as it evolves out of Latin and into early modern Spanish and English. I turn now to a discussion of the "language of alienation" as it circulated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Defining *Enajenación*, Outsideness, and Alienation in the Early Modern Iberian World

This extended discussion of outsider sentiment, especially in terms of being *ajeno* becomes important for beginning to conceptualize alienation in the Spanish colonies, precisely because Covarrubias's entry for "*ageno*" and its related parts of speech ("*enagenar*," "*enagenación*," "*enagenado*") are the terms that most closely express modern conceptions of alienation.³³ Although the words "alienation" in English and "*alienación*" in Spanish claim the Latin root *alienare* (from which *ajeno* is also derived),³⁴ these terms did not fully gain their modern critical and conceptual resonances until the German *entfremdung* (alienation) and *entäußern/entäußerung* (externalize/externalization) were used by Fichte and Hegel, respectively, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁵ These terms, which serve to orient (and confuse) much modern use of the term alienation/*alienación*, were not lexically mature referents during the "century of wonder" that ensued after Columbus's voyages."³⁶

The closest Spanish term of the period was, instead, *ajeno* (spelled as *ageno* in medieval and early modern Spanish), found beginning in the twelfth century,³⁷ most prominently to

³³ Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco, "Ageno," in *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611), 19v.

³⁴ Covarrubias, "Ageno," *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 19v.

³⁵ For their respective uses of these terms, see Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Attempt at a Critique of All Revelation* (1792) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind*, trans. J.B. Baillie (London: Blackmask, 2001 [1807]). Hegel employs both terms (somewhat interchangeably) while Fichte only uses *entfremdung*. For discussions of the rise of the term "alienation" across European languages after *entfremdung* and *entäußerung*, see Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 25-26 and 213-216. For a conceptual and linguistic history of *entfremdung*, see Richard Schacht, *Alienation* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1971), 5-7. For discussion of the confusion of *entfremdung* (as *entfremden*) and *entäußerung* in English deployment of alienation, see Williams, *Keywords*, 35.

³⁶ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 41.

³⁷ "Ageno" and the Latin "alieno/a" are both found in their respective Castilian and Latin editions of *El poema de Mio Cid* (1140) and the thirteenth-century statutes titled the *Fueros de Madrid* (1202) conceded by Alfonso VIII of Castile. See "ajeno" in the *Corpus del Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español* v. 3.1

indicate foreign lands (“tierras ajenas”) in the *Poema de Mio Cid*. This form coexisted alongside the earlier Latin verb *alienare* (*alieno*, *alienare*, *alienū*, *alienus*). The Latin form held three potential meanings: “to make one person or thing another”; “in the Roman language of business, to make something the property of another, to alienate, to transfer by sale” or to “transf. to mental objects, and with esp. reference to that from which any person or thing is separated or removed, *to cast off, to alienate, estrange, set at variance, render averse, make enemies*.”³⁸ This latter definition also held resonances of mental insanity, as one being alienated from—outside of—one’s own thoughts. As *ajeno* and its variants retained resonances of the Latin *alienare*, the Spanish verb form *alienar* predominantly came to reference the sale or transfer of property or rights, especially between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁹ This latter category, the alienation of one’s rights or “sovereign authority” to another person—the sovereign (king) or the state—would become the basis of the contract theory of Hugo Grotius, who took rights over oneself to function as property rights: “[a]s other things may be alienated, so may sovereign authority.”⁴⁰

Emerging from these three Latin meanings—“the transfer of rights or property; ... the act or result of turning away from friends (estrangement); and ... insanity”⁴¹—, Covarrubias’s *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* accordingly defines “AGENO” as “Latine, alienus a.m. lo que es de otro, y no nuestro, lo que no es dado ni conuiene a vna persona, dezimos que le

(<http://web.frl.es/CNDHE/org/publico/pages/consulta/entradaCompleja.view>). Also see Agustín Millares Carlo, et al. *El fuero de Madrid* [s. XIII] (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Archivo de Villa, 1963). In Peru, the earliest uses of *ajeno* are found in a series of *ordenanzas* from 1575, used to describe property pertaining to another. Multiple general uses of *ajeno* as “outside” or “exterior to” are found in Inca Garcilaso de la Vega’s *La Florida del Inca* (1605), as well as Guaman Poma’s *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615) and Martín de Murúa’s *Historia general del Perú* (1613). See “ajeno” in *Real Academia Española*, Banco de datos (CORDE) [en línea]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://www.rae.es>> [20 february 2017].

³⁸ For all definitions of the term, see *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dalieno>). The adjective *alienus* is defined as “that belongs to another person, place, object, etc. not one’s own, another’s, of another, foreign, alien” or “In reference to relationship or friendship, *not belonging to one, alien from, not related or allied, not friendly, inimical, strange*” while its verb form means simply “a stranger” or “one not belonging to one’s house, family, or country.” See “alienus” in *A Latin Dictionary*, (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aalphabet+ic+letter%3DA%3Aentry+group%3D37%3Aentry%3Dalienus>).

³⁹ In the *Real Academia Española*’s *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE), there are thirty-three documented occurrences of Spanish forms of *alienar* (not including Latin variants) between 1237 and 1700. Without exception, every use of the term in the infinitive refers to the transfer of property or title (often in *cesiones*, *concesiones*, *fueros*, *donaciones*, and *testamentos*). See “alienar” in *Real Academia Española*, Banco de datos (CORDE) [en línea]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://www.rae.es>> [20 february 2017].

⁴⁰ Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (London: John W. Parker, 1853), vol. I, 342.

⁴¹ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 4. For further discussion of the Latin resonances of *alienare* and its evolution into European vernacular forms, see Williams, *Keywords*, 35 and Schacht, “Alienation,” 198.

es ageno. Enagenar, dar a otro lo que es propio suyo. Enagenacion, la tal obra de enagenar, o dandola, o vendiendola, o trocandola. Enagenado, el que está fuera de sentido.”⁴² These early modern Spanish definitions of *ageno* (alternately written in its modern form, *ajeno*, throughout the seventeenth century), then, coincide with the primary definitions of the Latin root allusive to other early modern usage of the term: belonging to another and not to oneself, being transferred to another,⁴³ or, being outside of one’s senses (simply, insanity).

The greatest early modern example of alienation—relinquishment—of rights and property was not, though, on the pages of Covarrubias’s dictionary but in the American colonies. In terms of the alienation of property and rights, the natural law theories of Francisco de Vitoria conceded the Spanish right to wage war on the Indians on the grounds of vindicating previous offenses committed by indigenous societies, such as violations of natural law, namely impeding commerce and evangelization.⁴⁴ As “Aquinas and Vitoria had argued . . . , grace could not confer dominion” and “[n]o assumptions of tutelage, or even appeals to Aristotelian conceptions of natural servitude, could therefore be employed to dispossess” barbarian societies of their lands.⁴⁵ However, if “some injury proceeded from them before,”⁴⁶ then war was deemed just, allowing Spanish dominion over indigenous territories and sovereignty.⁴⁷ While Grotius, arguing for Dutch mercantilist aspirations and against Portuguese claims to monopoly in the Indian Ocean,

⁴² Covarrubias, “Ageno,” *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 19v.

⁴³ A century and a half after Covarrubias’s 1611 Spanish dictionary, Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* (1776) would use “alienation” primarily in terms of the sale or transfer of a source of revenue (“If he [a borrower of stock] uses it [the borrowed stock] as a capital, he employs it in the maintenance of productive labourers, who reproduce the value, with a profit. He can, in this case, both restore the capital, and pay the interest, without alienating or encroaching upon any other source of revenue”) and transfer of land through sale (“broke into small parcels by alienation” and “the grantee of an extensive tract of land generally finds it for his interest to alienate . . . the greater part of it, reserving only a small quit-rent”) (Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Jim Manis (Hazleton, PA: PSU Electronic Classics, 2005), 286, 312-313, 448, 462). The concept of alienation-as-separation also appears in Smith’s usage when he states that the English “dismemberment” of garrisons in the Mediterranean from Spain “never served any other real purpose than to alienate from England her natural ally the king of Spain, and to unite the two principal branches of the house of Bourbon” (*Wealth of Nations*, 605-606). Here, alienation is political separation of two sovereigns, the result of military action realized in the service of protecting or consolidating trade routes.

⁴⁴ Francisco de Vitoria, *Relecciones sobre los indios y el derecho de la guerra*, 3rd edition (Madrid: Espesa-Calpe/Colección Austral, 1975), 43-48. On impeding commerce as a reason for just war, see 90-92.

⁴⁵ David Armitage, “Introduction,” in Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea or A Disputation Concerning the Right Which the Hollanders Ought to Have to the Indian Merchandise for Trading*, trans. Richard Hakluyt, ed. David Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004 [1609]) xvi.

⁴⁶ Francisco de Vitoria, *Relectio de potestate civil*, in *Vitoria: Political Writings*, ed. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 6.

⁴⁷ Francisco de Vitoria, *Relecciones sobre los indios y el derecho de guerra* (Madrid: Colección Austral 1975), 265.

claimed that the sea's "alienation is prohibited" and that the Holy Roman Emperor "could not convert or alien at his pleasure the provinces of the empire to his own uses,"⁴⁸ this did not preclude earthly dominion. Thus, on the grounds of aggrieving the Spanish of trade and Christian evangelism, indigenous societies became the target of just war, which bestowed the just belligerent—the Spanish—with the right to claim the material spoils of victory.⁴⁹ The losers of just war, indigenous societies, "alienated" their rights and lands to the Spanish, even if the concepts of property alienation and sovereign authority were themselves outside—*ajeno*—of indigenous understandings of war, property, and rights in pre-Columbian America.⁵⁰

Although the indigenous subject would occupy the position of the earliest and most absolutely alienated colonial subject (again, in terms of the relinquishment of rights and property as ceded to another authority), the consolidation of the definition of *enajenación* accompanied comparative expressions of Spanish and American difference emerging from a variety of European sources during the conquest of the Andes.⁵¹ As such, the subjectivity of the Spaniard in Peru became constituted as an outside existence: physically outside of Spain due to his existence within the geographic confines of the viceroyalty, yet culturally (and spiritually) outside and separate from Peru, where he found himself. In the century after the onset of the conquest of Peru in 1532, this sentiment would take on different forms among Spanish and indigenous subjects, often revolving around the concept of what it meant to feel or be outside—*ajeno a*—one's immediate American surroundings and to experience discomfort in the newly indigenous-turned-colonial environs.

Pizarro's secretary Francisco de Xérez, goes to great lengths to suggest that the "infieles" of "Nueva Castilla"—he insists on rendering Peru as a *New Castile* throughout—have been incorporated into Spanish Christendom: "ayudados con su divina mano [los españoles] han vencido, y traído a nuestra santa fe católica tanta multitud de gentilidad."⁵² For Xérez, the Indians and their lands have been incorporated *into* civilization through their submission to Christian armed forces, maintaining Spain as the center of the world in which he operates and suggesting that outside societies need brought into and under Spanish rule to overcome indigenous outsideness to that central Christian, Spanish society. Yet he also acknowledges the means by which Spanish conquest depended on the individual soldier or explorer taking up existence outside of Spanish societal and cultural norms, uncomfortable with his surroundings in the New World: "*manteniéndose con los mantenimientos bestiales de aquellos que no tenían noticias de pan ni vino; sufriendose con yerbas y raíces y frutas*, han conquistado lo que ya todo

⁴⁸ Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea or A Disputation Concerning the Right Which the Hollanders Ought to Have to the Indian Merchandise for Trading*, trans. Richard Hakluyt, ed. David Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004 [1609]) 39, 38.

⁴⁹ Vitoria, *Relecciones*, 223-228, 264-265.

⁵⁰ For a comprehensive and convincing exploration of the differences between indigenous and Spanish understandings of combat and war, see Inga Clendinnen, "Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty: Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico," *Representations* 33 (1991), 65-100.

⁵¹ I am referring here to the early works on and about Peru written by Francisco de Xérez, Cristobal de Mena, Pedro Sánchez de la Hoz, Miguel de Estete, Cristobal de Molina, Juan de Betanzos, and Pedro Cieza de León.

⁵² Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 3. For intelligibility, I have modernized orthography in my citations of Xérez's original text.

el mundo sabe.”⁵³ Participation in conquest is an alienating experience in the sense that one must forego staples of Spanish society, which for Xérez, like Cieza, signal an existence outside of Christian Europe and an *enajenación* from Spanish life. Likewise, this existence outside of Spanish norms is pernicious to the Spaniard, who “peleando y trabajando / no durmiendo mas velando / con mal comer y beber”⁵⁴ suffers a diet of herbs, roots, and fruits, unaccustomed to such “mantenimientos bestiales.”

Additionally, under Xérez’s characterization of the conquest as an uncomfortable endeavor that highlights Spaniards’ sense of existing in a foreign land, he conceptualizes Spanish *enajenación* in geographic terms when he dedicates his work to Carlos I in octosyllabic verse (the same form later adopted by Rosas de Oquendo in his *Sátira*). He writes: “[t]an sabia gente y tan buena / tan de esfuerzo y virtud llena / que cuando os sucede guerra / os defienden vuestra tierra / y os *sujuzgan el ajena*.”⁵⁵ Here, the term “ajena” is used to designate a foreign, alien land, in opposition to “vuestra,” the plural of the possessive pronoun “your,” that is, the lands of the Spanish kings with whom he identifies as subject and Christian. In this verse dedication concluding his work, Xérez joins his conquest contemporaries in understanding subjectivity in terms of such inside-outside oppositions. In these verses though, he also demonstrates a reification or naturalization of conquest. The justification of conquest as divinely ordained—“quiso Dios no sin razón / daros tales naturales / que ponen admiración”—⁵⁶ is part of a reification of colonization as an enterprise that is outside of individual control, taken as a fact of how the individual soldier, the king, and, in turn, the Spanish empire’s fates are realized by God without individual agency. While the individual conquistador such as Xérez “... ha venido / sin tener cargo cargado” and “[h]a veynte años que está allá / los diez y nueve en pobreza / y en uno quanta riqueza / ha ganado y trae acá / ganó con gran fortaleza,”⁵⁷ the conquest becomes “something made [that] turns into something given and outside one’s command; the agent’s own actions (or their results) confront her [here, him] as an alien power.”⁵⁸ A product of “la fortuna,”⁵⁹ individual actions and fates such as that of Xérez, who “... ganó en esta jornada / traer la pierna quebrada / con lo demás que traía / sin otra mercadería / sino su persona armada”⁶⁰ become alienating through each individual subject’s lack of control and agency in the face of the divinely achieved conquest of America where the Spaniard undergoes hardship for traipsing territories outside of his own.

While he does not explicitly rely on the term *ageno/ajeno*, Juan de Sámano at first depicts this inside/outside dichotomy in terms of the Spanish relationship to their ship in the *Relación Sámano-Xérez*: the Spaniard is at risk and at danger on land but within his own element on the ship, evidenced by numerous references to returning to the ship for refuge from the inhospitable peoples they encountered: “y los capitanes por curar los enfermos, tornaronse al navío.”⁶¹

⁵³ Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 3 (my emphasis).

⁵⁴ Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 38.

⁵⁵ Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 37 (my emphasis).

⁵⁶ Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 37.

⁵⁷ Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 38.

⁵⁸ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 57.

⁵⁹ Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 3.

⁶⁰ Xérez, *Verdadera relación*, 38.

⁶¹ Juan de Sámano, “Relación Sámano,” in Francisco de Xérez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, ed Concepción Bravo, 169-184 (Madrid: Biblioteca Americana, 1992), 175.

Sámano later writes, “[e] viendo los capitanes la mucha multitud de indios que abia, porque era pueblo de mill e quinientas casas y estaban otros pueblos junto, de que se recogían mas gente, y ellos no eran de ochenta hombres arriba, syn los de los navios, para poder pelear, pareçioles de retirarse.”⁶² The Spanish-designed and built ship then serves as both a symbolic and material place of refuge for the Spanish, who can avert further hardship by returning aboard the vessel, an artifact of Spanish engineering, thought, and mobility. The fragments of the expedition that Sámano narrates posit the ship as interior to the Spanish condition, and also as the only place outfitted with provisions familiar to him and capable of preventing Spanish suffering. The land, on the other hand is the hostile, barren exterior. The Spaniard is only himself—although still subject to “anbre o otro peligro”⁶³—when on the ship.

In his brief text, Sámano also articulates Spanish-Indian difference in terms that render indigenous culture as Arabic culture, the strongest index of Spanish existence in foreign environs: they wear purportedly Moorish garments (“[t]rayan muchas mantas de lana y algodón y camisas y aljulas [*aljubas*] y alcceres [*alquiceles*] y alaremes [*alharemes* o *alfaremes*], y otras muchas ropas”)⁶⁴ and the indigenous language of the North Coast sounds like Arabic (“tienen una abla como aravigo”).⁶⁵ In search of the familiar against this arabesque landscape, Sámano later describes an indigenous temple as a Christian chapel in the image of a “tienda de campo.”⁶⁶ Here, we see that Sámano demonstrates such a desire to find the familiar in the foreign that he takes solace in pagan sacrifice of llamas as a form of worship to the virgin. Also, common to Sámano and Xérez is the need to constantly emphasize the small number of Spaniards relative to the indigenous population.⁶⁷ They may be the standard bearers of Christianity, but their verbal declarations of successfully installing Christianity and civilization are betrayed by their understanding of themselves as an absolute minority. Collectively, these references are not only comparative mechanisms, but an admission of the Spaniard’s presence outside of—*ageno* to—his environs and a desire to find himself within the Christian cosmivision.

The uses of the term “ageno” in Juan de Betanzos’s historical narrative of the Incas, *Suma y narración de los Incas* (1551), serve to further elucidate the early modern Spanish usage

⁶² Sámano, “Relación Sámano,” 175.

⁶³ Sámano, “Relación Sámano,” 176.

⁶⁴ Sámano, “Relación Sámano,” 175. Sámano here describes indigenous dress as the turbans, caps, and sashes worn in the Arab world.

⁶⁵ Sámano, “Relación Sámano,” 176. The full passage reads: “Ay una ysla en la mar, junto a los pueblos, donde tienen una casa de oración hecha a manera de tienda de campo, toldada de muy ricas mantas labradas, a do tienen una ymagen de una muger con un niño en los braços, que tiene por nombre Maria Mexia; quando alguno tiene alguna enfermedad en algún miembro, hacelr un miembro de plata o de oro y ofreçesela, e le sacrefican delante de la ymagen çiertas obejas en cierto tiempo” (7).

⁶⁶ Sámano, “Relación Sámano,” 176.

⁶⁷ Here I point again to Sámano’s description of “la mucha multitud de indios que abia, porque era pueblo de mill e quinientas casas . . . y ellos [los españoles] no eran de ochenta hombres arriba” (“Relación Sámano,” 6) and Xérez’s expressions of how few Spaniards there were in the face of the indigenous masses (*Verdadera relación*, 3). A trope of the *probanza de mérito*, I read this not only as an expression of Spanish military might, but as an admission and recognition of a Spanish understanding of their existence in South America as outside of familiar coordinates, this sentiment exacerbated by their small numbers.

of the word in regard to both Indians and Spaniards. Betanzos first uses the term to list the riches and possessions bestowed upon Inca Urco, the favorite son of Inca Viracocha during the waning years of the Hanan Capac Inca dynasty, stating that “de todo lo cual era muy ageno a [Pachacutec] Inca Yupanqui.”⁶⁸ He further expresses the idea of feeling inside/outside in terms of indigenous interpretations of Spaniards as alien: “como los españoles viniesen á esta tierra y ellos [los Incas] viesen gente [española] muy agena de su sér, ... [los indígenas] llamaronlos á todos y á cada uno por si, *Viracocha*.”⁶⁹ The linguistic resonance of *ageno* here constructs ethnic and cultural difference as existential alienation, similarly to those forms of Spanish *enajenación* in the face of the indigenous world stated less directly by Cieza and Xérez. Betanzos later references a series of maps and drawings undertaken for the Inca as “ageno del entender” of Spanish captains.⁷⁰ In his writing of Inca history, Betanzos differs from Xérez, Sámano, and Cieza in that he frames *enajenación* in terms of indigenous perceptions of what is alien, both regarding material possessions (those of Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui) and the Spanish-Inca cultural-ideological relationship.

As Betanzos uses the term *ageno* in interpreting Inca history, the indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala uses the term similarly in the early-seventeenth century (his manuscript elaborated around 1615) to discuss colonial society. Guaman Poma first uses “*enajenar*” in terms of the Roman and Spanish tradition of property transfer to argue against the coerced indigenous sale of their lands to Spaniards:

Es muy justo que se vuelvan y restituyen las dichas tierras y corrales y pastos que [los indios] se vendieron en nombre de Su Magestad porque debajo de conciencia no se le puede quitársele a los naturales legítimos propietarios de las dichas tierras, porque una hanegada de tierra se vendió por diez pesos ensayados, algunos por veinte, como fue rematado, aunque lo vendiesen por ciento y así el dicho comprador sea pagado con el fruto y ganado mucho más; y así deben volvérselo las dichas tierras, corrales y pastos, y sementeras los dichos españoles a los dichos indios. Después que se les vuelva a los dichos indios le valdrá muy mucho a Su Magestad, porque el indio o la india, cuya fuere, o común sementera o pasto de los dichos pueblos de quien fuere con justo título ... se lo entregue, y lo arriende y se lo alquile a los españoles, mestizos, mulatos, negros, cholos, zambaigos, a todos los que tiraren a otra casta y generación, y a los indios, que no fueren herederos, se le arriende y paguen un tanto al dicho dueño ... Y así no puedan venderlo a los dichos españoles sino fuere entre ellos *se venda y enajene* y así no quedarán agraviados los indios ni los españoles, y será servido Dios y Su Magestad.⁷¹

At the end of this passage, Guaman Poma’s linguistic usage of the verb “*enajenar*” conforms to the vocabulary of *enajenación* defined and used by Spanish authors through the seventeenth century. Anticipating this usage, he first observes that the Peruvian Indians are materially alienated, having been dispossessed of their lands by coerced sale at diminished prices. From this

⁶⁸ Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1880 [1551]), 34.

⁶⁹ Betanzos, *Suma y narración*, 114.

⁷⁰ Betanzos, *Suma y narración*, 117.

⁷¹ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 2 vol. (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1980) vol. I, 402 (my emphasis).

observation, he argues that Indians should have their lands returned (“que se vuelvan y restituyen las dichas tierras y corrales y pastos que [los indios] se vendieron en nombre de Su Magestad”) because they are the natural, legitimate owners (“los naturales legítimos propietarios de las dichas tierras”) and the alienation of their property has yielded a lesser sum than such lands yield in agricultural production over time. As his manuscript repeatedly argues, this alienation of indigenous property then results in the existence of the Indian on the margins of colonial society, as wage laborers or slaves for Spanish *hacendados*.⁷² The Indian then becomes alienated from Spanish-dominated colonial economy under which Indian society and inter-indigenous relations lose meaning under their chaotic dismantling through primitive accumulation: indigenous dispossession yields wage labor and, as such, nascent forms of *entfremdung*.⁷³ Under such property alienation, Indian society has collapsed, yielding the spiritual and psychological impoverishment of Indians, who cannot seek out a meaningful existence under the tremendous weight of Spanish colonization.

While based in the language of property alienation, this positing of the dichotomy of inside/outside differs from the Spanish longing for a familiar cultural existence. Instead, Guaman Poma uses these terms to frame his larger project advocating for an indigenous return to pre-colonial Indian property rights, paradoxically within a Christian framework. Though this is the subject of chapter four, it merits stating here that Guaman Poma feels himself and other Indians to exist on the margins, outside of Spanish colonial society in spite of his adherence to a Christian worldview. His voluminous manuscript can, at many levels, be understood as an expression and rejection of indigenous alterity and outsideness under Spanish colonization’s reconfiguration of Andean property relations. As will be seen in Chapter four, Guaman Poma’s framing of alienation in terms of property relations both complicates and anticipates Marx’s later theorizations of *entfremdung*, locating the pre-history of alienation within the very history of primitive accumulation and fusing the origins of alienation not only in labor, but in the imposition and redistribution of private property in the Andes.

This discussion of Poma’s usage of the term *ageno/ajeno* merits engagement with how concepts akin to alienation register linguistically in the colonial Andes and express indigenous understandings of alienation or parallel concepts. While this discussion is explored in greater depth in chapter four, it is necessary to briefly gloss the terms related to outsideness in Quechua and differentiate them from early modern Spanish terminology. The earliest linguistic evidence of a concept akin to alienation in Quechua, which constituted an indigenous majority language in colonial Peru, is found in Jesuit Friar Diego González Holguín’s *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru, llamada lengua Qquichua o del Inca* (Lima: Imprenta de Francisco del Canto, 1608). Betraying the fact that his dictionary renders Quechua terms and concepts within Spanish epistemological frameworks, Holguín translates the Spanish terms that Covarrubias identifies as evolved from the Latin *alienare*. Primary among them are two Quechua root words,

⁷² Guaman Poma details how indigenous subjects’ forced labor and tribute have collapsed indigenous society and lead to new social relations characterized by indigenous vice and mestizo and criollo moral vacuity (*Nueva corónica*, 12-13). Such instances are so numerous that I refer my reader to the passages discussed subsequently in chapter four.

⁷³ This form of indigenous *entfremdung*, especially yields alienation from the indigenous self and fellow indigenous workers, although also from the agricultural products of their labors and their relationship to their lands, where agriculture previously held political and ritual meaning.

huk and *wak*.⁷⁴ *Huk*, which Holguín renders as “Huc,” is defined as “uno o otro,” or “el otro, o otro es” (“huctac, huc”), while many of the compound forms that Holguín identifies yield concepts of otherness.⁷⁵ Chief among them are the terms “*hucpa yman*” or “*hucpahayccam*,” which Holguín defines as “[l]a cosa agena, o lo de otro.”⁷⁶ This definition includes both material things and human qualities, such as the property of others or the temperament of others. While the material valences of this definition highlight the material-self-other relationship of Roman-inspired early modern property alienation, it remains qualitatively neutral.

In comparison, other related definitions emphasize the negative potential for relations between self and other/outside. The verb form “*huchallicuni*” is defined as “[h]azer daños en lo ageno” while “*huchallicusca*” is defined as “[l]os daños de lo ageno.”⁷⁷ The *ageno* is here related directly to the potential either to do or suffer harm, situating the materially *ageno* as something always at risk of being taken (although it can be returned or given back), a sensibility that emphasizes wrongfulness over rightful appropriation. The relationship between these two elements, harm and property, to outsidersness are combined within a series of additional definitions, many of which claim other linguistic roots beyond “*huk*” and “*wak*.” Among these terms is “*lluqqiylluqqiylla pacapacalla apani*” defined as “[a] escondidas lleuar hurtado o lluqqiycupuni. Coger lo ageno.”⁷⁸ Several other verbs suggest theft or wrongful appropriation of “*lo ageno*,” including “*quiquiypachacuni*,” meaning “vsurpar y apropiarse lo ageno, o lo comun para ssi, ocupar lo ageno.”⁷⁹ Likewise, “*ytipayani apapayani*” means “lleuarse lo ageno contra la voluntad de su dueño” while “*ytipayuni*” means to “[r]etener lo ageno o tomar a escondidas.”⁸⁰ The primary distinction between these Quechua concepts of the *ageno* and early modern Spanish definitions is the recurrent association of wrongful appropriation through theft, trickery, or force: the actions taken upon the *ageno* generally imply depriving a rightful owner of their property, as opposed to willful transference, as highlighted in Vitoria, Grotius, Smith, and the Peruvian chroniclers. While Holguín’s dictionaries constitute Spanish interpretations of Quechua concepts, there is an unmistakable emphasis on the material world, whose potential to build outsidersness through wrongful appropriation are remarkably strong.

There is then, in these early modern usages of *ageno/ajeno* and the corresponding early modern coordinates of alienation, a conceptual relationship between alienation and the material world and, in particular, what one possesses or takes, lacks or relinquishes. As Xérez’s sovereign’s lands are “*tierras ajenas*” from a military enemy, Betanzos’s Pachacutec Inca

⁷⁴ Both terms translate as diverse forms of “*ajeno*” in modern Quechua translations. For varied renderings of “*ajeno*” in Quechua referring to *huk*- and *wak*-, see Julio Calvo Pérez, *Nuevo diccionario español-quecha, quechua-español*, 5 vols. (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2009), I: 41. For *huk*- and its variations, see Calvo, *Nuevo diccionario*, IV: 1652-1654. For *wak*- and its variations, Calvo, *Nuevo diccionario*, IV: 2390-2392.

⁷⁵ Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru llamada lengua Qquichua, o del Inca* (Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1608), 191; 191-198. Similar definitions of *huc* are also found in Diego González Holguín, *Arte de la lengua general del Peru llamada Quichua* (Sevilla: Clemente Hidalgo, 1603), 161.

⁷⁶ Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 191.

⁷⁷ Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 195.

⁷⁸ Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 215.

⁷⁹ Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 309.

⁸⁰ Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 373.

Yupanqui is “*ageno*” from the material spoils of his brother Inca Urco, and Guaman Poma’s repeated usage of alienation in terms of its Roman legal definition to refer to selling off property (most often as a tract of land), I would like to suggest that the very process of colonization can be regarded as a process of alienation—transfer—of capital from one individual or society to another. Of course, this alienation was hypothetically unilateral: property alienated by Indians and repossessed by Spaniards, a process in which “there are subsidiary minor early senses of [transfer of ownership] where the transfer is contrived by the beneficiary (*stealth*) or where the transfer is seen as diversion from a proper owner or purpose,”⁸¹ resulting in both material and existential alienation of indigenous communities from their lands and their rights. And while the legality of such material alienation—where the Spanish subject and not the indigenous subject held agency in the process of transferring indigenous property (no “[se] aliena” his land or rights but rather “[se] aliena la tierra y los derechos del otro”)—was consolidated by jurists such as Vitoria, it becomes apparent that these early modern terms of alienation held different material consequences for Spanish and indigenous communities. On the one hand, land and rights are materially alienated from the Indians in the framework of Roman property transfer, even if by stealth away from their rightful owner. This is further reflected in the Quechua vocabulary compiled by Holguín, where the *ageno* is repeatedly understood as outside property vulnerable to wrongful appropriation. On the other, the indigenous subject, alienated from his home and his rights, can be seen to undertake a primitive form of existential alienation, a consequence of his material alienation from his lands and rights in the face of a new economic, ideological, and political order.

Indigenous society as a whole might be seen as alienated (transferred into Spanish possession), this material alienation resulting in the existential crisis of the Indian subject—indigenous self- and group-alienation from colonial society—outlined by Guaman Poma. The suggestion here is absolutely not that pre-conquest indigenous societies constitute Rousseau’s “natural man,” from whom alienated man becomes estranged. Rather, the suggestion is that sovereign indigenous societies held jurisdiction over their own political and economic structures, as well as material existence within markedly different ideological frameworks. Colonization drastically changed that. By thrusting Native Americans into a new civilization under colonialism, this loss of sovereignty then resulted in a process of alienation of ethnically indigenous subjects from indigenous society—as well as from European and colonial society—that took place on a massive scale after the conquest. And as this process of indigenous alienation would last centuries, arguably into the present, generalized forms of existential alienation in the face of colonial civilization would become protagonists in philosophical inquiry.

Towards an Archaeology of Primitive Alienation: Revisiting Modern Alienation Critique

The Latin, vernacular Spanish, and Quechua linguistic coordinates of material alienation’s evolution are essential to thinking through alienation in the colonial Andes. Illustrative of the profoundly material forms of alienation common to the colonial enterprise—the Andean relinquishment or divestment of land, property, and rights to colonial authorities—these relations are at the center of the texts that follow. *Enajenación* is at the center of Rosas de Oquendo’s unrealized expectations of material remunerations through repurposed indigenous land. It is also a fundamental condition of Andean birth into mid-colonial Peru, as Guaman

⁸¹ Williams, *Keywords*, 35.

Poma's manuscript will show. Relinquishing all things material is even, as the hagiography of Martín de Porres paradoxically suggests, a means of overcoming material alienation by grounding work in spiritual compensation that allegedly renders man whole. Yet these early definitions can only take a discussion of the concept in the colonial period so far.

This is, because one can only fully explore alienation in all of its conceptual complexity by taking up the term's critical orientation from the late-eighteenth century into subsequent centuries. These forms of alienation—which one scholar has summarized as consisting of self-alienation, social alienation, and group alienation⁸²—are contingent upon their contextualization within specific historic, economic, and social structures and an explicit statement of the relational coordinates of alienation. Who is alienated from what? Why are they alienated and what are the sources of this alienation? How is the ideal, non-alienated subjectivity that signals the lessening or elimination of alienation created, defined, and understood by each generation that took up the term? More importantly, what elements of the genealogy of the concept are important, even essential to reading and understanding a pre-history of the modern phenomenon born during that primitive accumulation which preceded such terminological and conceptual discussions?

These questions caution that modern conceptions of alienation cannot be uncritically or transhistorically transposed onto the early modern or colonial period. Though modern alienation critique does not plot directly onto the colonies, the above early modern linguistic coordinates of alienation—and the experiences of colonial subjects contemporary to them—do conceptually overlap with subsequent philosophies of alienation. Such an overlap suggests that the relationships present in early modern thought around the individual, inclusion/exclusion, and possession/dispossession anticipate modern theories of alienation and the concepts around which they are built. This necessitates an interrogation of the modern evolution of the concept of alienation here in order to discern where and how those earlier valences of feeling outside, awry, and separate manifest in the texts of the seventeenth-century Andes can shed light on contemporary alienation critique.

1. Rousseau's American Indians and Civilized Man, Kant's Categorical Imperative, and Schiller's State

As early modern definitions framed alienation in relation to property, rights, and madness, it was more frequently contested as a juridical category than an epistemological category through the eighteenth century. As eighteenth-century philosophers began to explore the modern individual though, alienation became a key concept. In this emergence, alienation's historical origins were found not only in the Spanish colonies (by Rousseau and Marx), but in ancient and biblical times. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's thoughts on the condition of civilized man would initiate such grounding of the term in the distant past, "as soon as man separated from his "natural" condition."⁸³ Following Rousseau, some later definitions of alienation consider that "it is as old as man or almost as old," beginning with the "tedium and ennui" that "are as old as

⁸² Feuerlicht, *Alienation*. Feuerlicht's synthesis of alienation critique through the mid-1970s risks oversimplification in its use of these categories and I cite it here only to indicate where categorizations of the term emerged in trying to exorcise the term of its imprecisions.

⁸³ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 19.

Adam.”⁸⁴ This has led some modern commentators such as Walter Weiskopff to claim that, “no society, culture, historical period nor any human person can be free of alienation.”⁸⁵ Likewise, in the aftermath of World War II, Erich Kahler conjectured that “the history of man could very well be written as a history of the alienation of man.”⁸⁶

In seeking more precise temporal coordinates (although not at the exclusion of understandings of alienation as a timeless phenomenon), I side with contemporary scholars of the term to concede that theorizations of “what we vaguely feel and describe as modern alienation apparently began in the middle of the eighteenth century.”⁸⁷ This starting point in alienation’s theoretical genealogy is made possible, I argue, with the emergence of base coordinates found in colonial thought. These base coordinates have early modern antecedents in Europe, beginning with the Renaissance conception of man:

[alienation] ... presupposes the Renaissance or humanist idea or ideal of man: an autonomous, active, universal individual with an urge and a right to live fully and express creatively his many potentialities. Each individual represents all of humanity, is an end in himself, and is entitled to a life of freedom and dignity. Reason and science are lighting the path to a bright future for mankind.⁸⁸

This Renaissance vision of man, applied only to Europeans, would cross the Atlantic and settle in America with mixed reception. In particular, this ideal was challenged in Spanish debates surrounding the nature and rights of the indigenous population and the appropriate means of Spanish settlement and evangelization. By questioning whether indigenous societies could realize the Renaissance ideal of man, such debates ultimately departed from an initial location of Indians outside of this ideal, separate from humanist-scientific man. Shortly thereafter, the potential of European Renaissance man would also be called into question, with Americans serving as examples of natural man opposite the ideal, existentially inalienable for their simplicity and inability to achieve reason, which served as dual justification for European appropriation of their property and territory.

Beginning with Rousseau, the inability to realize the ideal of man under societal and economic pressures would result in claims of man’s instrumentalization and separation from his natural, ideal condition:

... ideal man was natural, good, sensitive, and sincere. Civilization, society, the State, cold reason, private property, and specialization were seen as preventing the free and

⁸⁴ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 19. For a list of theorists who posit alienation as a timeless concept beginning with man, see Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 18-21.

⁸⁵ Walter A. Weiskopff, *Alienation and Economics* (New York: Dutton, 1971), 19, 22, 35 in Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 19 and 220n14.

⁸⁶ Erich Kahler, *The Tower and the Abyss: An Inquiry into the Transformation of the Individual* (New York: G. Braziller, 1957), 43 in Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 20 and 221n33.

⁸⁷ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 21-22. Rahel Jaeggi, Richard Schacht, Raymond Williams, Walter Kaufman, and numerous others plot alienation’s earliest theoretical coordinates in Rousseau. While I agree with this assertion, I argue that many of these coordinates are articulated much earlier, particularly in the literatures of the conquest and colonization of Spanish America.

⁸⁸ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 22.

natural development of the individual, as fragmenting him by changing him into a mere social function and by suppressing many of his potentialities and desires. The “civilized” man was not the true man. He did not live up to the humanist ideal; he was estranged from his true being and true calling. His creativity was not a joyful self-expression and fulfillment but a dreary means of making a living or playing a social role.⁸⁹

Between Rousseau’s *Discourse on the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality of Mankind* (1761) and *The Social Contract* (1762), the fundamental coordinates of modern alienation theory appear. For Rousseau, man’s alienation by society is even alluded to from the outset of *The Social Contract*: “[m]an is born free, and everywhere he is in chains.”⁹⁰ Rousseau then goes on to posit “natural man” and the “original condition” of man, for him the fundamental position from which civilized man becomes estranged under societal pressures and institutions, most notably through private property.⁹¹ The end result is that Rousseau’s “social human being is artificial and disfigured” as a result of his fracture under the faculty of self-improvement and “the deformation of human beings by society.”⁹²

Rousseau, unlike most of his nineteenth-century inheritors (barring Marx, who foregrounded America in his conceptualization of primitive accumulation), found America to be central to defining natural and civilized man, repeatedly employing Native Americans as his default natural man. In his *Discourse on Inequality*, American man is the counterpoint to civilized man, repeatedly figuring as an example of the uncivilized being, the native who exists in an animal-like condition. For Rousseau’s savage, who is “solitary, indolent, and perpetually accompanied by danger,” self-preservation is “his chief and almost sole concern.”⁹³ For this primitive man, “those organs which are perfected only by softness and sensuality will remain in a gross and imperfect state, incompatible with any sort of delicacy; so that, his senses being divided on this head, his touch and taste will be extremely coarse, his sight, hearing and smell exceedingly fine and subtle.”⁹⁴ Rousseau suggests that these observations are not merely his own. They are, he says the conclusions that Europeans have repeatedly reached overseas: “[s]uch in general is the animal condition, and such, according to the narratives of travellers, is that of most savage nations.”⁹⁵ Taking the European explorer as the primary authority on savage man, Rousseau cannot help but use America as an example:

It is no matter for surprise ... that the savages of America should trace the Spaniards, by their smell, as well as the best dogs could have done; or that these barbarous peoples feel

⁸⁹ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 22.

⁹⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, ed. Jonathan Bennett (Vancouver: Early Modern Texts, 2010 [1762]), 1.

⁹¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality of Mankind*, trans. G.D.H. Cole (N.P.: BN Publishing, 2007), 6-7. For Rousseau’s definition of private property, see *The Social Contract*, 9-10. Also see Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 23-24.

⁹² Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 7.

⁹³ Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 13.

⁹⁴ Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 13.

⁹⁵ Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 13.

no pain in going naked, or that they use large quantities of pimienta with their food, and drink the strongest European liquors like water.⁹⁶

America becomes a central coordinate for identifying the savage-civilized dichotomy in support of Rousseau's ultimate conclusion that society has corrupted the latter man and rendered him outside of the potential of the full, ideal Renaissance body.

Moving from physical man to metaphysical man, Rousseau suggests that civilized man's faculty of self-improvement makes "him both a tyrant over himself and over nature;" civilized man "alone is liable to grow into a dotard ... because he returns to his primitive state; ... the brute has acquired nothing and has therefore nothing to lose," later suggesting that the "Oroonoko [Orinoco] Indians ... use of the boards they apply to the temples of their children ... secure to them some part at least of their imbecility and original happiness."⁹⁷ Civilized man can fall, fractured by societal and economic pressures, whereas natural man can only advance out of his animal condition, a condition that, Rousseau alleges, the Indians knowingly try to preserve through body modification. Rousseau later measures civilization in terms of the mechanical arts:

Metallurgy and agriculture were the two arts which produced the great revolution. The poets tell us it was gold and silver, but, for the philosophers, it was iron and corn, which first civilized men, and ruined humanity. Thus both were unknown to the savages of America, who for that reason are still savage.⁹⁸

Although Rousseau overlooks corn's American provenance, he forges ahead with a vision of the Indian as savage, lacking critical and logical faculties and thus the ability for scientific innovation or self-improvement. Embodied by the American Indian, natural man remains inalienable so long as his labors consist of "what a single person could accomplish," enabling "free, healthy, honest and happy lives, so long as their nature allowed, and as they continued to enjoy the pleasures of mutual and independent intercourse."⁹⁹ Civilized man becomes alienated from this felicitous existence under human industriousness, the tendency born of the faculty of self-improvement that would yield private property and the division and specialization of labor (which Marx would later make the central categories of *entfremdung*).

Though self-alienation (or what might be regarded as such) is central to Rousseau's thought, he only uses the French *aliénation* to refer to the transfer of property or rights, per usage in Latinate Rome and early modern Europe.¹⁰⁰ But in his insistence on the "goodness and happiness of natural man" and "the corrupting influence of private property, society, and civilization," Rousseau constructs the opposition of natural man and civilized man that subsequent accounts of alienation would take as their starting point.¹⁰¹ Alternately, Rahel Jaeggi

⁹⁶ Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 13.

⁹⁷ Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 14.

⁹⁸ Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 27.

⁹⁹ Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 27.

¹⁰⁰ Rousseau, *Social Contract*, 7, 11, 16, 29 and *Discourse on Inequality*, 33. Also, see Feuerlicht's comments on this use, *Alienation*, 23-24. Rahel Jaeggi also highlights that "the term [alienation] itself is absent [from] Rousseau's works" (*Alienation*, 6).

¹⁰¹ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 23-24. On private property, see Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 23 and Rousseau, *Social Contract*, 10. In the latter, Rousseau also alludes to South American

understands Rousseau's primary contribution as the related "ideal of *authenticity* as an undisturbed agreement with oneself and one's own nature," understanding natural man to construct the philosophic coordinates of authenticity, and "the idea of *social freedom*," which exist in tension: "the gap between authentic selfhood and society that Rousseau ... articulated gives rise ... to an aporia that can be resolved only by establishing a condition in which individuals live within social institutions that they can experience as their own."¹⁰² As modern man cannot return to his original condition (because his faculties of self-improvement exclude reverting to natural man), this can be overcome not "in dissolving social bonds but only in transforming them" through reorganizing social relations "in which each individual alienates all her rights to society and thereby becomes 'as free as before.'"¹⁰³ Jaeggi suggests that in this formulation, Rousseau "... represents the continually recurring form of alienation critique that turns away from the "universal" and, embracing an ideal of unfalsified nature or primitive self-sufficiency, regards sociality and social institutions as inherently alienated" serving as "the inspiration not only for the Kantian idea of autonomy but also for Hegel's conception of the social character of freedom."¹⁰⁴

Rousseau's contributions resonate across earlier colonial literatures of alienation. When Mateo Rosas de Oquendo (Ch. 3) decries primitive accumulation's inaccessibility for mid-colonial settlers and private property's reorganization of social hierarchies as unrecognizable and uninviting to the Spanish colonist, his lamentations see colonial economy as inherently alienating. He "regards sociality and social institutions as inherently alienated," although in his own particular context of 1590s Peru. Guaman Poma (Ch. 4), too, provides a glimpse of these coordinates, visible when he seeks to establish a colonial order and universe "in which individuals live within social institutions that they can experience as their own." In seeking to render Spanish colonial structures less oppressive and destructive of Indian community and identity in the *Buen gobierno*, Guaman Poma advocates for a reconfiguration of land rights and work under the colonial order so that Indians might retain their dignity, a step towards establishing authentic selfhood and rebuilding Andean communities. He similarly disagrees with native Andeans' return to pre-colonial life in the image of the *incanato*, seeing a return to pagan 'natural man' as an untenable form of freedom given its necessary ruptures with the tenet of self-improvement in terms of spiritual improvement through Christianity and Spanish vassalage. Writers of the cult of Martín de Porres (Ch. 5) also seek to render institutions—labor, slavery, and the church—meaningful spaces wherein Afroperuvians alienate their rights to colonial society as a means of achieving freedom.

As one of Rousseau's primary inheritors of these concepts, Kant would reconfigure man's condition in terms of the categorical imperative and its autonomy of reason. Within, Kant's conception of moral law was particularly derived from pure reason, even moreso than human emotions such as empathy or love.¹⁰⁵ By placing reason—largely synonymous with moral consciousness and moral law—at the center of his science of metaphysics, Kant emphasized that

Indians and Balboa's taking of possession of indigenous lands for the Spanish as a fundamental moment in the evolution of private property.

¹⁰² Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 7 (original emphasis).

¹⁰³ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 452-456. Also, see Feuerlicht's brief discussion of Kant (*Alienation*, 22-23).

things could only be known as they are through experience, itself subjective.¹⁰⁶ Yet “most people do not identify moral law with pure reason but rather with society,” and so Kant’s philosophy can be “seen as another way for civilization and society to break the unity, harmony, and totality of the individual and to stifle his emotions.”¹⁰⁷ Kant’s work then held the potential to divide individual man, causing no shortage of objectors (one commentator lists “Schiller, Herder, Hölderlin, Hegel, and the Romantics”¹⁰⁸) at the turn of the nineteenth century to regard Kant’s conclusions as disruptive of unified, whole man. As all of the writers examined in the chapters that follow (as well as those above) purport that what they know is the product of personal experience and their own moral consciousness, colonial authors identify and traipse Kantian tensions between pure reason and society as the appropriate means of articulating moral law.

If not nearly as prominent as his contemporaries, Friedrich Schiller’s thoughts on civilization and modern man also merit brief mention. Building on classical ideals of “human wholeness and harmony, as allegedly displayed in ancient Greek art and life,” the Renaissance vision of ideal man, and “Rousseau’s writings on the deleterious effects of the arts and sciences and of society,”¹⁰⁹ Schiller’s *Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1796) bridged Kant’s work to romanticism and, more importantly, to Hegel and Marx’s subsequent thoughts on alienation. Schiller is worth quoting at length to expressly demonstrate his affinity with these later thinkers. Explaining how man came to lose his unity since the ancients, he writes:

It was culture itself that gave these wounds to modern humanity. The inner union of human nature was broken and a destructive contest divided its harmonious forces directly; on the one hand, an enlarged experience and a more distinct thinking necessitated a sharper separation of the sciences, while on the other hand, the more complicated machinery of state necessitated a stricter sundering of ranks and occupation.¹¹⁰

For Schiller, specialization in philosophical and scientific ventures was accompanied by the rise of the state and the division of labor. These elements might be seen in the rise of bureaucratic infrastructure in colonial governance that anticipated the rise of the state and the colonial division of labor so central in colonial literatures of alienation. While not thinking of the colonial Andes, Schiller sees the state and specialized labor as further abstracting man from his unified condition: “[t]his subversion, commenced by art and learning in the inner man, was carried out to fullness and finished by the spirit of innovation in government.”¹¹¹ This is because in the organization of modern republics,

... there was a rupture between the state and the church, between laws and customs; enjoyment was separated from labour, the means from the end, the effort from the

¹⁰⁶ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, eds. Charles George Herbermann et al (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), vol. 10, 232.

¹⁰⁷ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 22.

¹⁰⁸ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 22-23.

¹⁰⁹ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 25.

¹¹⁰ J.C. Friedrich von Schiller, “Letter VI,” *Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man* (N.P.: Blackmask, 2011 [1796]), 8.

¹¹¹ Schiller, “Letter VI,” 8.

reward. Man himself eternally chained down to a little fragment of the whole, only forms a kind of fragment; having nothing in his ears but the monotonous sound of the perpetually revolving wheel, he never develops the harmony of his being; and instead of imprinting the seal of humanity on his being, he ends by being nothing more than the living impress of the craft to which he devotes himself, of the science that he cultivates.¹¹²

While Schiller's letters seek to embody the Kantian ideal by proposing an aesthetic state under which individuals harmoniously and organically exist in a social whole (and so overcoming alienation through art and its ability to felicitously organize individuals in a society), the variety of self-alienation that he seeks to combat is directly related to the specialization of labor and its ability to alienate the individual, who becomes a "fragment of the whole" whose "free intelligence ... is chained down."¹¹³ Throughout his discussion, Schiller is one of the earliest to use the vocabulary of materialist alienation taken up by Hegel and Marx, which first appears in his assertion that the pre-aesthetic state "remains forever a stranger [*fremd* from *entfremdung*] to its citizens, because feeling does not discover it anywhere. The governing authorities find themselves compelled to classify, and thereby simplify, the multiplicity of citizens, and only to know humanity in a representative form and at second hand."¹¹⁴ We find in Schiller then, an early articulation of the ideas that Marx would return to in revising Hegel's conception of man's essence via Feuerbach's materialism. We also find therein that Schiller's emphasis on that moment when "enjoyment was separated from labour, the means from the end, the effort from the reward" proves illustrative of the labor relations introduced and propagated across the colonial Andes, Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma almost singularly focused on the consequences of this very separation two centuries earlier.

2. From Kant's Categorical Imperative to Hegelian Alienation

Bronislaw Baczko has argued that the post-Kantian (Hegelian-Marxian) conception of alienation "corresponds precisely to the condition for which Rousseau has no name but which he constantly describes."¹¹⁵ While sidestepping Kant, Hegel reformulates Rousseau's vision of civilization—and thus modernity—as inherently alienating in that "alienation (or internal division) is a *deficiency in social life* ... , the 'loss of ethical universality in social life.'¹¹⁶ Building on Rousseau but in marked distinction, Hegel understands "freedom as ethical social life and ethical social life *as* freedom" wherein "we become free in and through the social institutions that first make it possible to realize ourselves as individuals."¹¹⁷ Hegel also incorporates Kant's idea of autonomy in seeking to express how man can find himself anew in social institutions.¹¹⁸ For this, the concept of *Bildung* is essential, as it "gives an account of the

¹¹² Schiller, "Letter VI," 8.

¹¹³ Schiller, "Letter VI," 8.

¹¹⁴ Schiller, "Letter VI," 9.

¹¹⁵ Bronislaw Baczko, *Rousseau: Einsamkeit und Gemeinschaft* (Vienna: Europa, 1970), 27 in Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 222n10.

¹¹⁶ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 8 (original emphasis).

¹¹⁷ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 8 (original emphasis).

¹¹⁸ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 8-9.

process through which individuals work their way out of the relations of dependence they initially find themselves in and then make their social relations—the conditions of “themselves”—*their own*.”¹¹⁹ This can be seen to an extent in Rosas and Poma’s writing against their lack of autonomy in social relations, the satirical poetic subject floating uncontrollably among foreign social relations and the material word that shapes them and the Andean chronicler seeking to diminish Andean dependence on these colonial social relations.

Hegel also helps illustrate how the colonial authors’ dilemma of autonomy and alienation can then be suggestive of their modernity and the modernity of the early modern Andean world. Hegel’s dealings with alienation as a problem of modernity (“contemporary society” for Jaeggi) are consistent with, if distinct from, his philosophical dealings with alienation in the *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807).¹²⁰ There, alienation (*entfremdung*) is “the self-alienation of Spirit [*Geist*] that is unable to recognize its own products as such.”¹²¹ In overcoming this self-alienation, spiritual development implies the process of objectification of human experience “in ways and forms that may come to be experienced as alien (that is, not one’s own), but the apparent “otherness” of which can be overcome by way of a consciousness-raising making possible an enlightened identification yielding an enriched higher-order identity.”¹²² Self-alienation—separating elements of one’s conception of self that keep one at odds with realizing one’s *Geist*—then, is a requisite part of overcoming one’s own spiritual alienation through the realization of *Geist*. As Hegel puts it, “self-consciousness is only something definite, it only has real existence so far as it alienates itself from itself.”¹²³

Here, Hegel makes use of *entfremdung* “to refer to and characterize some instances of the stage of experienced alienness or separation . . . notably in the instance of the relation between an individual and the “substance” or content of the individual’s social and cultural world.”¹²⁴ *Entfremdung* then comes to be understood as the separation of individual from the makeup of the individual’s lived sociocultural reality. *Entfremdung* also becomes self-alienation, that aforementioned separation of the individual from something (erroneously) considered essential to the individual’s self that impedes spiritual realization. Hegel also uses *entäußerung* and *entfremdung* in the Latin and early modern sense of the transfer of ownership, this in referring to one giving up those attachments to one’s conception of self that impede spiritual self-realization in consonance with the spiritual reality that one has grown alien to.¹²⁵

Spiritual self-realization then necessitates overcoming the “disparity between the character of the existence of *Geist* in specific human-historical circumstances and its true essential nature.”¹²⁶ The external conditions that result in such disparities must also be overcome and can be understood as alienating in their own right, as embodied by the “unhappy consciousness,” man’s longing for a complete consciousness that is not attainable because of the

¹¹⁹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 9 (original emphasis).

¹²⁰ While Hegel’s *Phänomenologie des Geistes* has been translated as both the *Phenomenology of Mind* and the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, I adhere to the former title translation consistent with the edition of Hegel’s text employed here.

¹²¹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 223n15.

¹²² Schacht, “Alienation,” 199.

¹²³ Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, 178.

¹²⁴ Schacht, “Alienation,” 199.

¹²⁵ Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, 200-201.

¹²⁶ Schacht, “Alienation,” 200.

contradictions of theological attempts to connect man's intellectual insecurity to his immutable reality.¹²⁷ Only by claiming "for itself a still higher level of conscious life" through necessary processes of self-alienation from those parts of his being that impede realization of *Geist* can universal man overcome his alienation from the social world.¹²⁸

In framing alienation as such, Hegel sets into motion a primary tenet of subsequent alienation critique: the need for some form of self-alienation (as individual separation or distancing of oneself from those elements of the self that cause or enable the primary form of alienation) to take place in order to overcome the primary form of alienation. As the Renaissance humanist ideal of man would prevail from Rousseau through Schiller and Kant, Hegel's suggestion of obligatory self-alienation in the service of overcoming other prevailing forms of alienation would endure through accompanying theorists of alienation in both existentialist and economic contexts. Yet this idea of willing or intentional self-alienation so as to overcome other forms of alienation also can be found earlier, in indigenous and African negotiations of Spanish colonial institutions: it is central in understanding Guaman Poma and the scores of Andeans and Afroperuvians who participate in Spanish rhetorical and legal frameworks. While not an elevation to a higher state of consciousness, Poma and other Andeans attempt to overcome disparities by relinquishing indigenous traditions of knowledge production and embracing Spanish modes of expression and institutions so as to mitigate other material structures that impede spiritual realization. In such indigenous self-alienation-to-overcome-alienation, a sort of "unhappy consciousness" might be discerned, a longing for complete consciousness, ever elusive.

3. Feuerbach and Marx: Materialist Approaches to Alienation

Between Hegel and Marx and, like the latter author, in similarly stark contraposition to Kierkegaard's distinctly Protestant, ontological conception of alienation, Ludwig Feuerbach rendered Hegel's alienating history of spiritual development "a naturalistic, secular-humanistic philosophy of 'man.'"¹²⁹ As in Hegel and Marx, for Feuerbach alienation was in the objectification of man's essential humanity. This was found

... in the form of the religious idea of "God" and what he took to be its Hegelian cousin, "Absolute *Geist*" – and the corresponding disparagement of "man as man." That "God"-idea is our own (human) product; but we have invested it with all that is most admirable about our human reality and possibility, separated it from ourselves by turning it into an alien pseudo-reality, and given it the power to oppress and denigrate us.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, 69-70.

¹²⁸ Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, 191.

¹²⁹ Schacht, "Alienation," 200. Also see Ludwig Feuerbach, *Essence of Christianity*, trans. George Eliot (London: John Chapman, 1854 [1841]) and Ludwig Feuerbach, *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*, trans. Zavar Hanfi (Marxists Internet Archive, 2009 [1843]). While "the two post-Hegelian strands of the theory of alienation meet in Kierkegaard and Marx" (Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 9), here I intentionally overlook Kierkegaard's contributions to alienation theory for their distance from the material conditions inherent in early modern *enajenación*. On Kierkegaard, see Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 9-10.

¹³⁰ Schacht, "Alienation," 200.

Feuerbach details this alienation of human self-consciousness through the reification of the God-image in *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), a process visible in the concluding remark that “in religion man sacrifices some duty towards man . . . sacrifices his relation to man to his relation to God.”¹³¹ As Raymond Williams puts it in synthesizing the 1841 treatise, “Feuerbach described God as an alienation—in the sense of projection or transfer—of the highest human powers.”¹³² The alienation that Feuerbach outlines is overcome, as well, by appropriation: “appropriating the content of that [God] idea for ourselves as the idea of our attainable true humanity, and making its attainment through the transformation of the human world our goal.”¹³³ Likewise, this resonates in Feuerbach’s conclusion, including his mandate to “[l]et friendship be sacred to thee, property sacred, marriage sacred, - sacred the well-being of every man; but let them be sacred *in and by themselves*” instead of in the idea and image of a divine being.¹³⁴ Human achievement of the moral and social imperatives grounded in organized religion (he refers almost exclusively to Judeo-Christian traditions) must be separated from the image of God and man must willingly and consciously alienate himself from God in order for humanity to realize its moral, social, and existential potential.

Feuerbach’s legacy is most solidly found in Karl Marx’s approach to alienation in *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, published posthumously in 1932. For Marx, like Hegel, man is alienated from the social world. This is opposed to Kierkegaard’s existentialism, which sees man’s immersion in a public world and his subsequent loss of authenticity in the face of that public world as a source of man’s self- and spiritual alienation. In differentiation from Rousseau, Marx, like Hegel, doesn’t suggest that there is a natural condition of man, but that human nature is created by objectification (in Hegel, of the spiritual world, and in Marx, of the labor-driven and economic world), a process that is inherently and necessarily alienating. For Hegel, this process is world-historical spiritual development, articulated through a dialectical relation of subject and object in which alienation is overcome by transcendent unity, “a still higher level of conscious life.”¹³⁵ For Marx, this process is the history of labor through which man creates himself and creates his world. Therein, class-society—private property and his participation in the capitalist mode of production under specialized labor—alienates man. This takes on four distinct resonances, as alienation from one’s work, from the product of one’s work, from one’s fellow worker, and from oneself (Feuerbach’s species-essence or species-being, Hegel’s *Geist*). Marx’s approach to appropriation, necessary for overcoming alienation, involves taking control of the means of production to reestablish meaningful relationships between work, world, and self. As will be seen in Chapter four, such appropriation of the means of production as a means of overcoming alienation already appears in colonial texts, as well as in the recurrent Andean uprisings against Spanish colonizers.

The relationship between appropriation (as overcoming alienation) and alienation highlights two important elements of alienated existence: “the loss of meaning, the impoverishment and meaninglessness of the world” and the individual’s “impotence, or

¹³¹ Feuerbach, *Essence of Christianity*, 27.

¹³² Williams, *Keywords*, 35.

¹³³ Schacht, “Alienation,” 200.

¹³⁴ Feuerbach, *Essence of Christianity*, (original emphasis).

¹³⁵ Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, 101.

powerlessness in relation to the world.”¹³⁶ The most disturbing and powerful resonances of these losses are that they take place through “something the self [man] has made. It is our *own* activities and products—social institutions and relations that we *ourselves* have produced—that have turned into an *alien power*.”¹³⁷ Jaeggi masterfully synthesizes each of the four components of Marxian *entfremdung* before returning to highlight the centrality of the relationship between wage labor and meaninglessness in Marx’s thought: “[w]hat is alienating about alienated labor is that it has no intrinsic purpose, that it is not (at least also) performed for its own sake. Activities performed in an alienated way are understood by those who carry them out not as ends but only as means.”¹³⁸ This culminates in the fact that

... one does not *identify* with what one does. Instrumentalization, in turn, intensifies into utter *meaninglessness*. When Marx says that under conditions of alienation life itself becomes a means ... he is describing a completely meaningless event, or, as one could say, the structure of meaninglessness itself. ... the infinite regress of ends *is* meaninglessness.¹³⁹

Overcoming alienation, then, can only be achieved by “taking possession of, gaining power over, and finding meaning in something,” yielding self-realization through finding a relationship between oneself and one’s world.¹⁴⁰

Fundamental to this understanding of alienation, which expands upon Feuerbach’s materialism (which necessitates a human alienation from the divine and reinvestment in human potential itself) and Hegel’s *Geist*, is “Marx’s philosophical concept of labor ... [as] the paradigmatic relation to the world ... in which labor is conceived as the externalization and objectification of essential human powers.”¹⁴¹ Human capacities—emotional, spiritual, physical—“are made material ... by being externalized in the world through labor. The capacity for labor, conceived as a process of metabolic exchange with nature, simultaneously transforms both the world and the human being.”¹⁴² Man must redefine the nature of work and his relationship to (capitalist) wage labor and private property in order to overcome such alienation. Central to my propositions here is that this relationship between alienation and labor can be forcefully identified in the literatures of colonial Latin America, which coincide with and respond to the rise of private property, wage labor, and modern (if still pre-capitalist) relationships to work.

4. Lukács and Reification

While the late nineteenth century saw diminished theorizations of alienation “Georg Lukács extended Marx’s analysis of commodity fetishism into a theory of alienation, or reification, in his well-known essay “Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat””

¹³⁶ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 12.

¹³⁷ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 12.

¹³⁸ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 13.

¹³⁹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 13-14.

¹⁴⁰ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 14.

¹⁴¹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 14.

¹⁴² Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 14.

(1923).¹⁴³ Taking up Marx's discussion of commodities in *Capital*, Lukács views "the "universality of the commodity form" as the distinctive feature of modern society," under which "the theory of reification became a theory of modern capitalist society in all its manifestations."¹⁴⁴ For Lukács view of modern men, "the objectification of their labour-power into something opposed to their total personality (a process already accomplished with the sale of that labour-power as a commodity) is now made into the permanent ineluctable reality of their daily life."¹⁴⁵ This yields not only the labor relations outlined by Marx, but also the location of both man and object as commodities: "[c]onsumer articles no longer appear as the products of an organic process within a community (as for example in a village community). They now appear ... as abstract members of a species identical by definition with its other members and ... as isolated objects the possession or non-possession of which depends on rational calculations."¹⁴⁶

As Jaeggi observes, "the intersection of Marxist and existentialist themes was a distinctive characteristic of Lukács's thought" that would inform later scholarship on alienation, as well as modern critical theory more generally.¹⁴⁷ Lukács combination of Marx's conceptualization of labor as the defining relationship in constituting human relations (to self, world, objects, and others) with existentialist thought would provide an opening for Martin Heidegger to return to an existentialist theory of alienation. Writing shortly after Lukács, Heidegger would distance alienation critique from Marx by returning to an existentialist conceptualization of the world and thus, of alienation, in *Being and Time* (1927). For him, "alienating reification can be understood as an *objectifying relation* to the world or ... as a failure to apprehend what is "ready-to-hand" as "present-at-hand," along with a failure to apprehend the world as the totality of what is given rather than as a practical context."¹⁴⁸ Jaeggi summarizes Heidegger's take on human-world relations by stating that "the world is not given to us as something that exists prior to our relating to it ... in knowledge or action."¹⁴⁹ Humans live and act in the world, thus navigating the world and the human-world relationship cannot be constituted before these interactions, as a given, pre-existing relationships between things: "[t]he world for existential ontology is a context that emerges in our practical dealings with it, in our practical "creations" of the world."¹⁵⁰ The opposition of the "ready-to-hand" and "present-at-hand" are central to Heidegger's concept of alienation. The ready-to-hand has a purpose and a use, for example the hammer is used for hammering.¹⁵¹ The present-at-hand is an object removed

¹⁴³ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 10.

¹⁴⁴ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 10.

¹⁴⁵ Georg Lukács, "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat," in *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), 90 [83-222].

¹⁴⁶ Lukács, "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat" in *History and Class Consciousness*, 91.

¹⁴⁷ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 10.

¹⁴⁸ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 16 (original emphasis).

¹⁴⁹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 16.

¹⁵⁰ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 16.

¹⁵¹ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time: A Translation of Sein und Zeit*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996 [1927]), 69-70, 83-84, 154-157, 360-361.

from its practical context, the object decontextualized without purpose. Objects become present-at-hand through a perception of “the world as a whole as something separate from us.”¹⁵²

Through this opposition of the present-at-hand vs. the ready-to-hand, “Heidegger espouses the ... pragmatist thesis that things are not simply objects; they are not simply “there” in the sense of being purely present-at-hand. They are ready-to-hand in the activities of life; they acquire significance through their use and in the context of a world.”¹⁵³ Reification is then the (mis)understanding of “something ready-to-hand as something present-at-hand and ... the world as a collection of the present-at-hand.”¹⁵⁴ Such “objectifying misapprehension” of things and the world conceals “the *practical character* of the world.”¹⁵⁵ This causes human “*entanglement*” in the world to go unnoticed or misunderstood: we cannot “act outside the practical context that constitutes the world” or exist as “naked subjects.”¹⁵⁶ To do so is to separate subject and object: “[t]he separation of the two sides—ontologically considered—is alienation, the separation of what belongs together.”¹⁵⁷ The claim then is not only “that the subject creates or constitutes the world” but that “we understand ourselves on the basis of a world that at the same time is not simply there or given” but shaped by our action.¹⁵⁸

Alienation then takes on a second valence in Heidegger’s project: “[a]lienation as inauthenticity” or alienation of “the self’s relation to itself ... its own existence.”¹⁵⁹ Built upon the differentiation of being-in-the-world (*Dasein*) from existence (*existenz*), humans and objects have different relational existences. This is made manifest in the suggestion that being-in-the-world can apply both to beings and their being-in-the-world:

The world of *Da-sein* thus frees beings which are not only completely different from tools and things, but which themselves in accordance with their kind of being as *Da-sein* are themselves “in” the world as being-in-the-world in which they are the same time encountered. These beings are neither objectively present nor at hand, but they *are like* the very *Da-sein* which frees them—*they are there, too, and there with it*. So, if one wanted to identify the world in general with innerworldly beings, one would have to say the “world” is also *Da-sein*.¹⁶⁰

The human being cannot relate to itself existentially (as present-at-hand), but must enter into relations with its own human activity: “[w]e relate to ourselves in our life activities—that is, in what we will and do.”¹⁶¹

Within the framework of inauthenticity then, self-alienation “means both making oneself into a thing and adapting oneself to others in what one does. In the one case someone fails to

¹⁵² Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 17.

¹⁵³ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 17.

¹⁵⁴ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 17.

¹⁵⁵ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 17-18.

¹⁵⁶ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 18 (original emphasis).

¹⁵⁷ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 18.

¹⁵⁸ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 225n20.

¹⁵⁹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 18.

¹⁶⁰ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 111.

¹⁶¹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 19.

apprehend that she *leads* her life, in the other, that she *herself* has to lead it.”¹⁶² For the first case, inauthenticity—self-alienation—then “refers to a failure to apprehend the fact that one has one’s own life to lead and that one is unavoidably always already leading it.”¹⁶³ In the second case, “[s]elf-alienation . . . refers to a failure to apprehend not only that one leads one’s own life but also that one leads it oneself or that one is called on to live it oneself.”¹⁶⁴ Born into the world, “one necessarily understands one’s own existence from within the world, and in the present context this means in relation to a public interpretation of the world.”¹⁶⁵ But this “social world is the cause of inauthenticity and self-alienation,”¹⁶⁶ characterized by its domination of the individual, which further leads to alienation. Jaeggi identifies one’s domination by others through self-formation in a social world “characterized by . . . conformity and anonymity”: the individual’s “decisions and evaluations are not made explicitly but as if it were simply self-evident how one should decide and evaluate.”¹⁶⁷ This self-evident character is informed by others and not by the individual. But self-domination also alternates with “domination by others,” leading to a familiar trope in earlier alienation critique, if articulated here in existentialist terms: “what we ourselves have created turns back on us and affects us as something alien.”¹⁶⁸

In spite of his distance from materialist thought, I include Heidegger here as the primary emissary of existentialist conceptions of alienation. His thought also holds relevance for the next chapter where the tensions between material and existential themes are central to the satirical form. Therein Heidegger’s thought resonates, as Rosas de Oquendo’s reactionary posture understands Spanish colonialism as something that he has helped to create that has circled back to turn on him. Similarly, his poetic subject demonstrates an “alienating reification [that] can be understood as an *objectifying relation*,” understanding the world to impact him without admitting his own role as an actor in that world. And in this self-objectification, another quality of early modern alienation becomes apparent and complicates its later theorizations: the affective character of expressions and denunciations of alienation although such alienation is undeniably born of concrete material realities.

Taking up Alienation Theory in the Colonial Andes: Reading *Enajenación* as Affect

This admittedly partial review of how alienation has been understood over the last three centuries previews how early valences of modern definitions of alienation reappear in the chapters that follow. While colonial literatures reveal antecedents of modern definitions of alienation, these texts allude to experiences that are sensed, even felt, often more powerfully and fully than they are textually theorized. Colonial literatures rife with feelings of outsidership in the face of colonialism and separation from and disunity from its economic, social, and political institutions serve to announce the concepts and key coordinates highlighted in later alienation theory. The alienations that can be sensed in colonial literatures, as found in the chapters that follow, return to the notion of being alienated from two institutions in constant intersection and

¹⁶² Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 19 (original emphasis).

¹⁶³ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 19.

¹⁶⁴ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 20.

¹⁶⁵ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 20.

¹⁶⁶ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 20.

¹⁶⁷ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 20.

¹⁶⁸ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 20.

with profound implications for the existence of the individual: the Catholic ideology behind Spanish colonialism and the rapidly intensifying mercantile (proto-capitalist) economy and the self-evident market logic that it welcomed in. These two valences also inform the evolution of alienation theory through its contentious materialist-economic and existentialist veins. Colonial subjects—Spanish, indigenous, or African—existing within an ideologically Catholic sphere that furthered the “labor pains of capitalism”¹⁶⁹ hold the potential to be alienated in both material and spiritual contexts.

As early modern linguistic and modern theoretical definitions indicate, alienation implies a process of separation. But beyond just the process of “becoming alienated” it might also be understood as a gradual eroding of the senses: the sense of belonging to a people, place(s), institution(s), self, and/or God are diminished by economic, social, and cultural shift, as the introduction to this chapter suggests. These eroded senses of belonging then yield the inability of the individual to feel a kinship with self, other, and specific societies under shifting relationships with each across time and space as culture and economy, created through the colonizing process, come to be alien entities. Alienation is, in many of its conceptualizations, a process-driven confrontation of the individual with a matrix of people, processes, and institutions as well as with the individual’s very being, wherein alienation is characterized by one’s feelings of difference and separation—often unwilling and perhaps unwitting—from that matrix and from self-being.

The key here is *feeling*: alienation is not merely a process nor a phenomenon but a milieu of *feelings* that impact the individual as a result of material relationships and consequences. As the above discussion demonstrates, this is something that has come and gone from scholarly usage of the term over the last three centuries, as alienation has come to be understood more in the sense of the former usage of the term as a relational process or phenomenon in the face of varying conceptions of the world and self-world relationship. This is a byproduct of the Marxian legacy of understanding alienation as objective, the consequence of the economic (and thus social and cultural) world under commodity fetishism. Twentieth-century social scientists embraced the term as well, but instead opted to envision alienation as subjective, internal, individual, and personal (a turn leading to alienation critique’s demise).¹⁷⁰ But if colonial alienation is a process of feeling, it is a process of feeling negatively, of feeling disconnected and estranged from one’s surroundings as well as the people and processes that govern those surroundings, tying feeling to the concept of separation that anchors linguistic definitions of *enajenación*. Likewise, if we are to understand alienation as a phenomenon, as it is often defined in both lexical and philosophical terms, then we must emphasize that it is not necessarily a phenomenon of being physically or geographically disconnected, estranged, or outside (although it can be), but one of subjectively feeling as such regardless of one’s location. First and foremost, alienation is material, but it is also deeply affective. And as affect, it is often internal and personal, although it evokes vocal articulations and broad expressions against structures that impact not individuals, but whole sectors of the population. Taking up alienation in turn-of-the-seventeenth-century Peru is an exploration of precisely these expressions.

Now, in my working through the massive, loaded term, alienation, and its connection to the colonial world, I have introduced another term of equal magnitude and complexity, affect. Affect, in turn, calls to mind its companion concept, emotion. While much more fashionable in scholarly circles since the recent “affective turn” in humanities scholarship (which continued a

¹⁶⁹ Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life*, 9.

¹⁷⁰ “Introduction,” *Theories of Alienation*, xiv-xxv.

decades-long abandonment of considerations of alienation and the political approach to literature that alienation implies),¹⁷¹ these terms prove equally dense, especially given their entanglements and disputed terms of differentiation. The distinction between affect and emotion is frequently drawn on biological-physiological and social lines that adhere to disciplinary categories, the former the domain of the sciences and the latter of the humanities and humanistic social sciences. Jordana Greenblatt writes that within this dichotomy, “distinctions between affect and emotion ... often hinge on differentiating feeling’s biological and social components.”¹⁷² To understand alienation as expressive of feeling though, the rigidity of such a definitional dichotomy is unnecessary.

This suggestion emerges with an awareness that more than one scholar has cautioned against an “undifferentiated lumping together of emotion and affect.”¹⁷³ However, I sustain that such rigid differentiation is not wholly necessary, especially in returning to colonial texts that cannot easily be interrogated in terms of the biological or cognitive contexts of individual or collective feeling. My insistence on collapsing the two terms comes in the wake of Sianne Ngai’s destabilization of the rigidity of the affect-emotion dichotomy to productive ends.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, Ann Cvetkovich refers to “affect in a generic sense ... as a category that encompasses affect, emotion, and feeling, and that includes impulses, desires, and feelings that get historically constructed in a range of ways ... spanning the distinctions between emotion and affect central to some theories.”¹⁷⁵ As Greenblatt has argued, “since social constructions of emotional norms—ones that apply differentially to different social groups—produce differences in both emotional expression and affective experiences of the world, the two phenomena are involved in a complex, continuous feedback loop that makes strict differentiation extraneous” to much textual work rooted in the humanities. Like Greenblatt’s approach to affect and emotion in a much

¹⁷¹ On affect theory and Latin America, see *El lenguaje de las emociones: afecto y cultura en América Latina*, ed. Mabel Moraña and Ignacio Sánchez-Prado (Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2012). On the affective turn more generally, see Patricia Clough, “The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedicine, and Bodies,” in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Anu Koivunen, “An Affective Turn? Reimagining the Subject of Feminist Theory,” in *Working with Affects in Feminist Readings: Disturbing Differences*, ed. Marianne Liljeström and Susanna Paasonen (New York: Routledge, 2010); and Carolyn Pedwell and Anne Whitehead, “Affecting Feminism: Questions of Feeling in Feminist Theory,” *Feminist Theory* 13.2 (2012): 115-129. Brigitte Bargetz suggest that “This turn is shaped by a desire to shift paradigms as, for instance, the lively debate about affect, poststructuralism, and/or psychoanalysis indicates, as well as by a desire to rethink the material and the bodily in terms of the political” (“The Distribution of Emotions: Affective Politics of Emancipation,” *Hypatia* 30.3 (2015), 581 [580-596]).

¹⁷² Jordana Greenblatt, “More Human Than Human”: “Flattening of Affect,” *Synthetic Humans, and the Social Construction of Maleness* *ESC* 42.1-2 (March-June 2016): 44 [41-63].

¹⁷³ Elspeth Probyn, *Blush: Faces of Shame* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 11.

¹⁷⁴ Sianne Ngai, *Ugly Feelings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 25-29. Also, see Arellano, *Magical Realism*, xxi and 43-44.

¹⁷⁵ Ann Cvetkovich, *Depression: A Public Feeling* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 4 in Arellano, *Magical Realism*, xxi.

different context than my own, “I strategically reject clearly distinguishing affect and emotion and use the terms relatively interchangeably.”¹⁷⁶

In taking such an approach, I step back from the ever more voluminous literatures of affect theory to align myself with Jerónimo Arellano’s parallel deployment of affect theory and the history of the emotions in his recent work on colonial wonder, a project which is much closer to my own in disciplinary (and geographic and temporal) terms. While Arellano’s generalized approach to the affect-emotion dichotomy seeks to productively excavate “the gray area *between* affect and emotion,” Arellano does admittedly “rely at certain points on the important distinction between affect and emotion derived from Gilles Deleuze’s reading of Spinoza,”¹⁷⁷ a distinction that is also relevant for my purposes here given the temporal proximity of Spinoza’s original writings to both the colonial period and the earliest theories of affect (and resonances of alienation) found in early modern Europe. In his approach to the affect-emotion-feeling triad, Arellano’s work is born of the assertion “that the interface between affect theory and the history of the emotions holds ... potential for a new understanding ... [and] reevaluation—a new close reading—of seemingly overread texts.”¹⁷⁸ Whereas his work focuses on wonder, awe, marvel, and (to a lesser extent) fear, the present work takes up alienation as a coordinate articulated in spite of and against such sentiments, as an affective response to the material conditions of dispossession. These expressions of alienation seek to flatten wonder, opposing the awe that inspired utopian visions of America and later exoticisms. And while Arellano’s project yields promising conclusions in understanding wonder and marvel from the colonial period into the twentieth century, such is the same promise for taking up alienation as an affectively oriented response to material disenfranchisement capable of resisting wonder and destabilizing the Spanish colonial order in colonial texts saddling the turn of the seventeenth century.

In Arellano’s return to a general consideration of affect in colonial literatures,¹⁷⁹ he suggests coordinates for understanding fear that prove useful in my present consideration of alienation. Building on his analysis of emotions in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés’s *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Arellano understands “the writing of fear ... not only as an emotion with specific attachments but also as a free-floating apprehension at the prospect of an uncontrollable affective turmoil that unsettles the very fabric of the colonial subject.”¹⁸⁰ Fear, he says, constitutes “the nervous wreckage of empire” and “what we know as colonial discourse is an ensemble of strategies designed to contain it, manage it, and reformulate it.”¹⁸¹ Instead of just limiting this designation to fear, I would suggest that the emotional end of the spectrum that leads to expressions of alienation might also be seen as “free-floating apprehension[s]” yielding “uncontrollable affective turmoil that unsettles ... the colonial subject.”¹⁸² However, instead of trying to contain or manage this affective turmoil, the alienated colonial subject breaks with that dominant colonial discourse seeking to contain fear—and, in this case, to mask alienation—to shout alienation from the rooftops, as “the apprehension of alterity”¹⁸³ proves overwhelming,

¹⁷⁶ Greenblatt, “More Human than Human,” 45.

¹⁷⁷ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, xxi.

¹⁷⁸ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, xxiii.

¹⁷⁹ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, xxi, 86.

¹⁸⁰ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 86.

¹⁸¹ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 86.

¹⁸² Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 86.

¹⁸³ Arellano, *Magical Realism*, 86.

isolating, and reaffirming of an alterity so grave that it cannot be overcome individually. Though colonial literatures express alienation in affective terms, it can only be overcome through significant reforms to the material universe, for Rosas de Oquendo, a diminishment of the reification of objects and commodity fetishism, and for Guaman Poma, a redistribution of land.

This might also be alternately conceived through Gilles Deleuze's comments on affect in Spinoza's *Ethics Demonstrated in Geometrical Order* (1677). Affect is, for Deleuze "every mode of thought insofar as it is non-representational."¹⁸⁴ This definition encompasses a wide range of phenomena including "what anybody would call affect or feeling, a hope for example, a pain, a love" as well as other non-representational feelings that might have an idea of the object that such sentiment is directed towards while the sentiment, "hope as such or love as such, represents nothing, strictly nothing."¹⁸⁵ This is doubly so in the case of feeling alienation, which has been understood as "meaninglessness, indifference to the world, the inability to identify with one's own desires and actions, bifurcation of the self."¹⁸⁶ Under the Deleuzian edict, alienation as affective response is not representational in that it represents nothing but is directed outward towards the bodies—in this case, colonial society and its component social, economic, cultural, and political parts—that have impacted the individual. Furthermore, as an emotion, alienation is itself a condition and expression of nothingness, the absence of meaning in the face of the institutional conditions that surround the individual. Alienation can then only be expressed as affect, yet not overcome through it.

And so through Deleuze's readings of Spinoza, the colonial subject's emotions can be understood as the product of encounters between subject and another body in which the former is affected by the latter (modified body and modifying body, in Deleuze's terms).¹⁸⁷ These first level reactions or responses to these encounters constitute a Spinozan "affection," or the "state of a body insofar as it is subject to the action of another body," and alienation through the colonial process might be seen similarly as "an effect, or the action that one body produces on another" that "always implies a contact, and is even a mixture of bodies."¹⁸⁸ Such a mixture of bodies, with the formal colonial apparatus exercising its influence over—affecting—subjects, is apparent in the texts that anchor the second half of this work, as such affectio motivates responses expressive of alienated subjectivities. Mateo Rosas de Oquendo's poetic subject purports to have been frustrated by the disparity between Spanish colonial ideologies, the lived reality of the Peruvian viceroyalty, and the expectations of compensation and social prominence that the Spanish colonist expected only decades prior. The poetic subject's outlook is acted upon first by official colonial rhetoric and ideology, and then by the colonial reality, this latter body resulting in the alienation of the subject. In return, Rosas de Oquendo contributes to the stark outlook on the failings of the colonial project as embodied by baroque literature and thought. Guaman Poma's *Nueva Corónica* evidences how colonial structures (most notably Christianity) have acted upon the indigenous scribe and translator, exercising lasting effects on his thoughts and attitudes toward the Spanish presence in the Andes. In seeking to denounce Spanish and Creole corruption and identify a productive means of rendering the indigenous population a meaningful

¹⁸⁴ Gilles Deleuze, "Lecture Transcripts on Spinoza's Concept of *Affect*," Cours Vincennes (24 January 1978), WebDeleuze.com/php/sommaire.html [Accessed 27 February 2017], 1.

¹⁸⁵ Deleuze, "Lecture Transcripts on Spinoza's Concept of *Affect*," 1.

¹⁸⁶ Neuhouser, "Translator's Introduction," in Jaeggi, *Alienation*, xi.

¹⁸⁷ Deleuze, "Lecture Transcripts," 5.

¹⁸⁸ Deleuze, "Lecture Transcripts," 4.

part of colonial society (if not sovereign as before the conquest), Guaman Poma demonstrates how he too, has been acted upon by the colonial body, self-alienating indigenous means of knowledge production in order to participate in colonial political negotiations. Born to a noble Spaniard working in the official colonial administration and a freed Afro-Panamanian mother, San Martín de Porres is acted upon by the church—or the holy spirit—this affect leading him to a life in the church, where his own body would act upon others as a laboring emissary of God to further the colonial enterprise's Christianizing mission.

Under Deleuze's approach to Spinozan affectio, these instances would indicate a one-way acting of modifying body upon modified body in which "an affectio indicates the nature of the modified body rather than the nature of the modifying body" that "envelopes the nature of the modifying body."¹⁸⁹ Within these modified bodies, there is however more than just the modified body's movement towards the "nature of the modifying body." Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma, unlike their chronicler predecessors or their sanctified contemporary, Martín de Porres, are not moved towards official colonial rhetoric but instead emerge affected against official rhetoric and contradicting realities, opposing the nature of the colonial modifying body. Porres, as a body moved towards Christian exemplarity not by the colonial enterprise but by mysticism (as a personalized form of divine intervention), takes on a saintly nature, escaping the affective alienation impressed upon the other two authors by entering the spiritual economy under which only one, supreme modifying body can move him (he has achieved faith as the organizing mode of his existence, no longer alienated by the social world). However, in the case of all three protagonists of this study, the affective response of the modified body expresses a modification of colonial ideology, evidence of a mixing of bodies transcendent of the unilateral mixing outlined in Deleuze's comments on Spinozan bodies. This is because the felt, affective response to the colonial context that causes Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma to write emerges in opposition to the colonial enterprise. Likewise, those witnesses who come forth to construct the *procesos* of the life of Martín de Porres also serve to act upon colonial ideology by revering an Afroperuvian, shifting the model of sanctity towards colonial Peruvian social demographics.

Towards Primitive Alienations in the Andes: Sin and Spiritual Economy, Labor and Loss

The above discussion of alienation as affect—that is, as an affective, emotional, personal, and subjective response to one's condition in society, the body of the social world acting on the body of the individual—might be understood as the reliance of such feeling on the Spanish concept of being outside (*ageno*). In the readings that follow, I point post-Enlightenment concepts of alienation back towards that lone Spanish lexeme, "*enajenación*," in order to discuss just what outsideness refers to in the turn-of-the-seventeenth-century Andean world where the existential and the material cannot yet be wholly divorced, although the latter category begins to assert its centrality for the modern subject.

While the modern back-and-forth of existentialist and economic (and religious and secular) conceptions of alienation have left indelible imprints on the concept, the following engagements with colonial literatures evidence the interaction and intersection of the two paradigms in colonial Peru and the early modern world more generally. While the two generalized modern theoretical approaches to alienation have drawn lines of opposition, these

¹⁸⁹ Deleuze, "Lecture Transcripts," 5.

lines are blurred in the colonial period, under which literatures of alienation simultaneously engage *enajenación* as related to both the spiritual economy and the colonial market economy.

Erich Fromm's suggestion that "[t]he concept of alienation is, in nontheistic language, the equivalent of what in theistic language would be called 'sin'"¹⁹⁰ guides the readings that follow, as each author demonstrates an internalization of Catholic dogma and an understanding of moral rectitude in religious terms. Thus sin, when sensed by the authors at hand, serves as a first means of disenfranchisement and individual distancing from colonial society, a reminder that "Satan was called *alienus* in the Middle Ages," an association that endured through the early modern period, further identifiable in Milton's belief that Satan was "the alienate from God."¹⁹¹ Recognizing that "Judaean-Christian sin is sometimes thought to be akin to alienation"¹⁹² in religious thought, it is sin—committed in the service of the colonial economies of plunder, extraction, and administration—which alienated voices often highlight first. From this identification made in both satire, history, and hagiography, under which alienation-as-sin is as old as Judeo-Christian man's very fall from God's grace,¹⁹³ these voices then take up alienation from colonial society in terms of discontent in the face of the economic activities that they deem to diminish or contradict spiritual values.

This reappraisal of colonial alienation as both existential (religious) and economic demonstrates how the pre-history of alienation departs from the factional modern accounts of alienation while also anticipating their primary valences. This poses a conceptual challenge, as well, as such a suggestion is difficult to identify within indigenous Andean society where Christianity continued to coexist alongside and in contact with Andean religious practices. This challenge might be confronted by seeking to gauge to what extent the Christian worldview or Europeanized/evangelized indigenous worldview intersects with indigenous sentiments of outsidership. What would it mean to conceptualize alienation outside of the Christian existentialist realm and can such an alienation exist in the hypothetically Christian colonial world? What are the consequences of assuming such a relationship between indigenous expressions of alterity and accompanying sentiments of alienation? What is the significance of the spiritual in indigenous alienation if one doesn't concede Christian influence on such literary sentiments and expressions?

An exploration of these and related questions suggests that alienation among the colonized Indian and African must take on a decidedly material character, well before the industrial coordinates that Feuerbach, Marx, and Lukács refer to. In this unique context, one then necessarily begins to read indigenous voices and their discontent, first sensed as affect, as economic commentaries that place Spanish colonialism and its reorganizations of land, work, property, and social and political relationships at the heart of individual and collective expressions of outsidership. The following readings are an attempt to suggest precisely such an economic character of colonial alienations, even in spite of constant religious references among

¹⁹⁰ Erich Fromm, "Marx's Concept of Man," (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), 46.

¹⁹¹ Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 21.

¹⁹² Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 21.

¹⁹³ "Thus, according to critics, theologians, scientists, and philosophers, alienation seems to be as old as man or at least as old as a primeval Fall, whether this Fall is seen from a religious point of view as a fall from innocence and divine grace or from a psychological and sociological point of view as a leap (or crawl) into life as a thinking and social being" (Feuerlicht, *Alienation*, 21).

European(ized) voices. However, if such readings are to suggest an economic character of alienation even at a moment when spiritual and mercantile conceptual currency overlap and inform one another, it is necessary to keep in mind the economic coordinates plotted in the previous chapter. Remembering that the economic coordinates and ideologies of the Peruvian viceroyalty are inseparable expressions of alienation, I turn now to Peruvian literatures of alienation, beginning with Mateo Rosas de Oquendo's *Sátira hecha de las cosas que pasan en el Pirú, año de 1598*.

Chapter 3

“Pues ya me desencanté”:

Mateo Rosas de Oquendo and the Poetics of Primitive Alienation

In moving from questions of the economic structures in place in the colonial Andes and the nascent processes of abstraction—of time, of value, and of human identity—that would engender affective expressions of alienation, broadly understood, let us briefly pause to reflect on an exemplary life demonstrating the inseparability of subjectivity from the colonial economy and its alienating potential in the early modern Iberian world.

Born in mid-sixteenth century Spain, perhaps in 1559 in Sevilla,¹ a young boy seeks to navigate the rigid social hierarchies of the Iberian Peninsula, finding that his low, disputably *converso*² background in caste-crazed Iberia has stifled his formal education, all but eliminating the possibility of entering into courtly circles. With the cunning of the *pícaro* whose story simultaneously traversed Spain in clandestine manuscripts and unauthorized tomes, our child protagonist navigates a series of masters as servant, apprentice, and soldier, fortuitously learning to read and write with a better-than-rudimentary humanistic education.³ A series of elaborate itineraries around Spain and the Mediterranean, including a military tour through Italy,⁴ enable our adolescent *pícaro* to eke out a living and mute his ancestry in the official sphere, assuming a variety of bureaucratic and military posts affording subsistence, if never celebrity or social ascent.

¹ Antonio Paz y Melia, Julie Greer Johnson and Pedro Lasarte highlight that Rosas de Oquendo’s poetic subject, assumed to afford a somewhat reliable autobiography of the author, states that “tengo por mi desdicha / treinta y nueve nauidades” (vv. 1003-1004) in 1598. See Paz y Melia, “Cartapacio de diferentes versos á diversos asuntos, compuestos ó recogidos por Mateo Rosas de Oquendo,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 8.2 (1906), 154-185; Julie Greer Johnson, *Satire in Colonial Spanish America: Turning the New World Upside Down* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993); and Pedro Lasarte “*Sátira* and “Mateo Rosas de Oquendo y la escritura autobiográfica,” *MLN* 105.2 (1990), 373-384. Rubinstein and Dabah Mustri assert Sevilla as Rosas de Oquendo’s birthplace, although their claim lacks archival substantiation. See Becky Rubinstein and Herlinda Dabbah Mustri, “Mateo Rosas de Oquendo,” in *Autores judeoconversos en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, D.F.: Palabras y Plumas Editores, 2015), 65-71. Greer Johnson and Lasarte admit that he was Spanish, preferring to avoid speculative attempts at further geographic specificity. For other biographic speculation, often based in the *Sátira*’s verses, see Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Rosas de Oquendo y otros* (Lima: Tipografía peruana, 1955) and Alfonso Reyes, “Sobre Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, poeta del siglo XVI” en *Capítulos de literatura española* (México, D.F.: La Casa de España), 21-71.

² On Mateo Rosas de Oquendo’s alleged *converso* background, see Rubinstein and Dabbah Mustri, “Mateo Rosas de Oquendo”, 65.

³ Taking the pseudonym Juan Sanchez, Rosas de Oquendo’s poetic subject claims low birth: “Sólo yo soi un pobrete / sin don i con mil azares, / con vn nasimiento humilde / y vn título de Juan Sánchez” (vv. 1549-1552).

⁴ Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 32.

Sometime in the 1580s, our protagonist finds himself at a juncture: continue onward in a life of limited possibility on the Iberian Peninsula or embark for the New World, so central to the day's news and happenings. Yet circumstances align and our character, in the right place at the right time, sets sail for Peru under the charge of Juan Ramírez de Velasco, named governor of the province of Tucumán in 1584.⁵ After disembarking in Peru, likely in El Callao, he crosses the Andes to participate in the conquest of Córdoba del Tucumán (Río de la Plata), founding the city of La Rioja alongside Velasco in 1591, subsequently serving as the city's treasurer.⁶ There he puts his literary training to good use in drafting an extensive epic poem celebrating the conquest of Río de la Plata. Perhaps another *Araucana* or *Historia de la Nueva México*, the narrative is unfortunately lost upon Ramírez de Velasco's death in 1597 as the senior official, entrusted with publishing the manuscript, failed to see it to print in Lima or México.⁷ Returning to the viceregal capital of Lima, the conquistador serves as secretary to the Viceroy of Peru, García Hurtado de Mendoza.⁸ There, he pens another long manuscript, this time a satire that criticizes every sector of the population, tellingly voicing frustrations with the lack of social mobility and lack of productivity to be found in America at the centenary of Spanish colonialism, opposing Peru to Thomas More's *Utopia*. Embittered by the staggering impediments to social mobility encountered at every juncture and perhaps motivated by his own amorous misfortunes,⁹ he leaves for Mexico, where he continues to write short satires poking fun at the people and places of New Spain. After circulating these folios during the first decade of the seventeenth century, the lowborn author-explorer goes quiet, perhaps residing in the frontier territories of the Province of Santa Fe of New Mexico until his death—never officially registered—circa 1612. Having found neither fame nor fortune in four distinct regions of the Spanish colonies (Peru, Río de la Plata, New Spain, New Mexico), our protagonist serves as an avatar of disillusionment and disappointment across the colonial world, his legacy found only in his seething, if jocose, accounts of Peru and Mexico.

The above is not an expansion of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* storyline complete with an alternate ending, nor a speculative continuation of Quevedo's *El Buscón* in which we follow the *culteranista*'s protagonist, Pablos, on his next, unwritten, journey to America. Rather, it is a rough piecing together of the speculative, hybrid biography of Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, the Spanish-born satirist best known for his satirical manuscript, the *Sátira hecha a las cosas que*

⁵ Glen Kolb claims that Rosas left Spain in 1583. See Kolb, "Some Satirical Poets of the Spanish American Colonial Period," (PhD diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1953), 29. Lasarte highlights that these conjectures have not been corroborated and originate in Alfonso Reyes and Kolb's readings of the *romance* titled "Felisio tu carta vide" found in Rosas de Oquendo's "Respuesta de una carta que un amigo escribió a otro escribió" (folios 42-45). In any case, Velasco served as Governor of Tucumán between July 1586 and July 1593 before assuming the role of Governor of Río de la Plata (1594) and Paraguay (December 1595 to December 1596).

⁶ Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 32; Lasarte, *Sátira*, viii-xiv; Lasarte "Apuntes bio-bibliográficos: Mateo Rosas de Oquendo," *Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana* 14.28 (1988), 85-99.

⁷ Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 32; Baltazar Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España*, ed. Ernesto de la Torre Villar (Mexico D.F.: Porrúa, 1987), 150 and 18-23.

⁸ Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 32.

⁹ Taking his "Romance" as autobiographical, Greer Johnson reads amorous misfortune as a possible reason for Rosas's departure. Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 32n20, 170.

pasan en el Pirú, año de 1598.¹⁰ Of what can be substantiated of Rosas de Oquendo's life, he traveled to Peru in the 1580s, partaking in the conquest of Tucumán and the foundation of La Rioja before returning to Lima circa 1598 and venturing onward to Mexico and, speculatively, to points north or back to Spain.¹¹ I frame the above biographical sketch of Rosas de Oquendo in loose narrative form not only to allude to the parallels between literary protagonists and their itineraries—from the picaresque to Cervantine exemplary novels—but also to highlight the fact that more than a century of scholarship on Rosas de Oquendo has intermingled what little archivally substantiated biography can be conjured up with the satirical voice's verse proclamations of the autobiographic veracity of his poetic production under the pseudonym—always found within his verses, never on the masthead—Juan Sánchez.¹² In this sense, Rosas' work is not a satirical “construcción de la figura del poeta,”¹³ and should not be considered as such. Rather, past scholarly intertwining of the author's life and his poetic subject's proclamations (which yield infinitely more speculation than the limited archive documenting

¹⁰ Rosas de Oquendo's *Sátira* survives in three manuscripts: UPenn mss. 193 (fol. 13v-40r) at the University of Pennsylvania Rare Book and Manuscript Library; mss. 19387 (fol. 1r-24v) at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, likely an early copy from around the turn of the seventeenth century; and mss. 18469 (fol. 94r-122r) at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, a much amended and abbreviated later copy, perhaps from the XVIII century as indicated by the hand, which has penned other verses in the manuscript dating to the eighteenth century. This last manuscript features only 1385 of the 2120 verses of the original satire, its copyist overlooking entire passages and taking great liberties in ordering and structuring the verses. The UPenn manuscript and BNE mss. 19387 are *cancioneros* featuring a variety of poems by Rosas de Oquendo and other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poems by canonical authors. BNE mss. 18469 is also a *cancionero*, featuring poems dating from the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, each in hands contemporary to the late-seventeenth, eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries. Also see Pedro Lasarte's critical introduction and paleographic transcription, Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, *Sátira hecha a las cosas que pasan en el Pirú, año de 1598*, ed. Pedro Lasarte, (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990).

¹¹ For additional biography of Rosas, see Greer Johnson, *Satire* 32-35 and Lasarte, “Apuntes.” Lasarte highlights the precarious collapsing of the biographic author and his poetic subject into a singular figure through the readings of Rosas's verses as reliable autobiography. Lasarte especially reevaluates the information found in Alfonso Reyes, “Rosas de Oquendo en América,” in *Obras completas*, vol. 6, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016) 25-53; Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Los poetas de la colonia y la revolución* (Lima, 1921); Pablo Cabrera, *Misceláneas*, vol. 1 (Córdoba: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciería, 1931); José M. Vélez-Picasso, “Un satirico olvidado: Mateo Rosas de Oquendo,” *Tres* 4.1 (1940), 5-15; C. Flores Franco, “Andanzas de Mateo Rosas de Oquendo,” *Sustancia* 2.5 (1940), 90-93; Fernando Cabrices, “Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, poeta y escritor satírico de la conquista,” *Revista Nacional de Cultura* 5.40 (1943), 10-16; and Emilio Carilla, “Rosas de Oquendo y el Tucumán,” in *Estudios de literatura argentina (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1968), 81-113. Margarita Peña also brings this up in “El “Cartapacio poético de Rosas de Oquendo: una muestra de poesía satírica colonial,” *Revista de la Universidad de México* 444 (1988), 10-16.

¹² Reyes, Kolb, and Cabrices read the satire as autobiographical.

¹³ Lasarte, “Mateo Rosas de Oquendo y la escritura autobiográfica,” 373-374.

Rosas' life offers information) constitute "a writing of a hybrid (colonial) self"¹⁴ that merges history, fiction, and poetic self-construction to erect a figure that is both Rosas de Oquendo and his poetic subject, Sánchez, to express overwhelming discontent with the colonial world at the turn of the seventeenth century. Although one body is biographic and the other literary (and, as such, unreliable for historicizing the author's life), such confluences of Rosas de Oquendo's life are, as I will point out, important primarily for thinking about satirical abstraction of the self and of the lived, material world. In relating this abstraction to the satirical form, the text and its poetic subject become protagonists for interrogating the *Sátira*'s consistent, multifaceted expressions of disenchantment—an affective companion of alienation—in the face of the colonial process.

Pedro Lasarte and Julie Greer Johnson have gone to great lengths to separate Rosas de Oquendo's life from his pseudonymous poetic subject's proclamations.¹⁵ However, there remains, more speculation about the author's life than verifiable information. This is, in part, because Rosas de Oquendo remains a marginal character in Spanish American colonial letters, in spite of increasing scholarly attention to his work and his guest appearance in a significant body of critical works focused not only on Peru, but also on Mexico, colonial poetics, and viceregal scholarly circuits.¹⁶ Others have cast attention on Rosas de Oquendo to plot his writings' intertextual resonances in late-sixteenth-century Transatlantic poetics, the reach of his poetry throughout Spanish American literary circles, his contributions to constructions of colonial femininity, his attitudes towards the sin and vice thought to lead to Lima's disastrous, millenarian demise, and the author's alleged movements in New Spain.¹⁷ Recognizing these

¹⁴ Robert Folger, *Writing as Poaching: Interpellation and Self-Fashioning in Colonial Relaciones de méritos y servicios* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 79.

¹⁵ The present study owes a significant intellectual debt to the work done by Lasarte over the last three decades. For a comprehensive bibliography of Lasarte's work and his predecessors, see Lasarte, *Lima satirizada* (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2006) and Lasarte, "Una confrontación satírica: Ataques y defensas hacia Mateo Rosas de Oquendo," in *Estudios de la sátira hispanoamericana colonial & estudios da sátira Brasil-colônia: de "estranhos casos, que jamais pintaram" a "despoblados extensos,"* eds. Dexter Zavalza Hough-Snee and Eduardo Viana da Silva (Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2015), 17-29. My intention is not to simplify nor dispute Lasarte's diverse body of contributions, but rather to reframe the *Sátira* as a text that contributes to theorizing early modern forms of alienation.

¹⁶ See Stephanie Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 133-136. Merrim brings Rosas de Oquendo into her discussion of Mexico to demonstrate how Bernardo de Balbuena was criticized and parodied for his poetic celebration of Mexico City. Also, see Rubinstein and Mustri, *Autores judeoconversos*, 65-71 for a discussion of Rosas de Oquendo as a *converso* author.

¹⁷ On scholarly misattribution of anonymous manuscript verses in songbooks to Rosas, see Carla Almanza, "Beltraneja y Francisco Pacheco: nuevo apógrafo de un cuestionado poema satírico," *Lexis* 33.2 (2009), 287-322. On the circulation of his work in Mexico, see Lasarte, "Una confrontación satírica," 17-29. On Rosas de Oquendo's text as marker of gender and space, see Kate Alicia McCarthy-Gilmore, "Subversive Frontiers: Space, Gender and Literature in Colonial Latin America" (PhD diss. Washington University in St. Louis, 2009), 45-83. On Rosas de Oquendo as a *converso* author in New Spain, see Rubinstein and Mustri, *Autores*

contributions to the scholarship of Rosas de Oquendo, I read the *Sátira* beyond the philological, biographic, and bibliographic confines in which the *Sátira* most often circulates. And in doing so, the uncertain location of autobiography and fiction within the narrative(s) of Rosas de Oquendo's life do not impede thinking of the *Sátira* as a textual expression of early modern forms of alienation engendered by the colonial enterprise and, as such, a text that simultaneously, if haphazardly, served to advance Spanish colonial agendas.

Rosas de Oquendo, Juan Sánchez, and Pseudonymous Alienation

Sidestepping questions of whether Sánchez truly speaks for Rosas de Oquendo or if Rosas de Oquendo faithfully reconstructs his life through Sánchez, of significantly greater import here is the *Sátira*'s construction of colonial discontent and its expression through the *Sátira*'s poetic subject. This discontent is, I suggest, more programmatic than it first seems, and it can be read as both a reactionary posture and a productive/destructive and descriptive/prescriptive possibility of satirical theory—the longstanding notions of what verse satire is and consists of—and satirical practice, or the affective resonances of satire and how they inform practical attitudes and action. Verse satire therefore shares a rhetorical trope with later theory, indeed anticipating later expressive modes in that it “is—in a single dividing movement—observation and directive.”¹⁸ The *Sátira* begins by characterizing the text as a “carta / de declaraciones graues / y descargos de consciencia” (vv. 1-3), subsequently categorized as a mandate, a directive to the reader: “¡Dexen todos sus ofisios / y bengan luego a escucharme!” (vv. 23-24). The poetic subject then calls upon the many peoples in Lima (vv. 25-42) and proclaims his own misfortune in Peru over the last nine years (vv. 75-90) before imploring the public—reader and companions in Lima—to take heed of his observations as “un esperto nabegante ... / del mundo” (vv. 60-61): “¡O de cosas que e bisto, / si todas an de contarse, / en este mar de miserias / a do pretendo arroxarme!” (vv. 107-110). In this framing of the work as both observation and directive (and thus critique), the poetic subject recognizes that it would behoove him to maintain silence, “...el callar estas cosas / es el oro que más bale” (vv. 89-90), alluding to his material poverty and social isolation: “dexóme sin bien ni bienes / ni amigos a quien quejarme” (vv. 77-78).

Here the poverty and isolation of the individual—working towards a proclamation of the subject's alienation from economic means and society—serves as the origin, the starting point of the text's critique, as likewise found across colonial satirical texts and the Roman parent genre.¹⁹ As such, a comprehensive archival biography of Rosas de Oquendo is unimportant for my purposes here: the expressions of alienation found in Rosas de Oquendo's oeuvre are not

judeoconversos en la Ciudad de México, 65-71. On colonial subjectivity, see Inma Cívico Lyons, “El sujeto colonial en la *Sátira* de Mateo Rosas de Oquendo,” *Espéculo* 38 (2008), n.p.

¹⁸ See Alain Badiou and Alberto Toscano, “An Essential Philosophical Thesis: “It is Right to Rebel Against the Reactionaries,” *Positions* 13.3 (2005), 670. Badiou and Toscano's original statement refers to Marxist theory: “every Marxist statement is—in a single dividing movement—observation and directive” (670).

¹⁹ Rahel Jaeggi's historicization of the concept of alienation suggests that alienation is, itself, the starting point of critique, an assertion that proves particularly useful in reading satirical texts, many of which respond to changing economic and political circumstances. See Jaeggi, *Alienation*, xix-xx, 10.

dependent on the fidelity of his poetic persona to his life. In fact, the separation of author and poetic voice (if not a pseudonym in the traditional sense, for Rosas de Oquendo claims that he was Juan Sánchez—“Mateo Rosas de Oquendo / que otro tienpo fue Juan Sánchez” (vv. 5-6)—and all three extant manuscripts of the *Sátira* circulated with Rosas de Oquendo’s name in its title)²⁰ contributes to understanding the text as a harbinger of primitive alienation and its evolution at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Rosas de Oquendo’s use of a poetic subject is essential for theorizing the concept of alienation and its place in the *Sátira*. As seen in the previous chapter, one of the primary understandings of alienation emerging from the Latin usage of *alienare* in the early modern period is that of being apart or detached from—*ageno* or *ajeno*, outside of—oneself. And what is Rosas de Oquendo’s admission of dual identity if not the intentional and conscious separation of author and poetic subject, of self and life from literary persona and accompanying voice? In the early modern period, which has been suggested to mark the onset of modern, self-conscious authorship under which an author’s name could be as much of a commodity (or perhaps even currency) as an author’s tomes circulating in the book trade,²¹ the very division of author from poetic subject inherent in the *Sátira* alludes to how the voice advancing a text might be seen to manifest a voice necessarily outside of or beyond the authorial self. Of course, while the use of pseudonym and anonymous authorship are tropes of Renaissance and early modern satirical literatures, they enable the expression of one’s true self, subverting the filters imposed by monarchical, monastic, and colonial powers and their official censors, simultaneously asserting and collapsing understandings of alienation as not being or feeling as one’s true self.²²

However, the aspiring commercial author of the period sought to build an identity around the self as author (as vocation and as intellectual), paradoxically engendering an alienated self—the authorial self in opposition to the essential, true, authentic, and original self. The pseudonymous or dual voice (as Rosas/Sánchez), on the other hand, might be seen to be an expression of the true self, that self who must exist outside of or beyond one’s official, public authorial self. While the commercial author is an alienated subject in that the authorial persona becomes separate from the essential self, the pseudonymous voice taken by the satirical author

²⁰ The title page to BNE mss. 19387 reveals Rosas de Oquendo’s full name: “Sátira hecha / por mateo rrosas de oq~ / endo a las / cosas que pa- / san en el / pirú / año de / 1598. The *Sátira* found in BNE mss. 18469 touts the abbreviated title, “Sátiras de Oquendo” (fol. 94r), also giving away the author’s identity. UPenn mss. 193 titles the satire as “Del engaño de Mateo de Oquendo acerca / de lo que pasa en el mundo” (fol. 13v), both revealing the author’s identity and removing the geographic specificity of the satire through its invocation of the text as a document of the world at large, and not the viceroyalty of Peru. Thus any real pseudonymous identity is betrayed at the onset of each manuscript.

²¹ On the emergence of commercial literature and writers’ responses to the early modern literary market, see Donald Gilbert-Santamaría, *Writers on the Market: Consuming Literature in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005); and Roger Chartier, “The Press and Fonts: Don Quixote in the Print Shop,” in *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 28-44.

²² On anonymity and pseudonym in Renaissance England, see Marcy North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

becomes an expression of the true self because the embodied self cannot voice such critique of the world in which they live for either personal or political reasons. The true self's alienation within and from society through the need to embody an authorial self—a vocational self—yields alienation from one's very essence. Yet this outsider sentiment cannot be expressed without embodying another voice, by taking another name and creating another self (that of Sánchez). As the pseudonym is literally a being outside of the true self, the pen name both results from the operations of becoming and being alienated that fundamentally impact the real author's essential self and serves to express this alienation from an alternate, disembodied place of locution.

By no means am I suggesting that we should read apodictic alienation into every author at the turn of the seventeenth century. We should though, understand the operation of taking a pseudonym and separating selves—Rosas de Oquendo, Sánchez, and, beyond either, the poetic voice—as a both literal and figurative separation of 'selves' indicative of the satirical author's disjointed existence between autobiographic identity and poetic voice, a literary gesture indicative of a process of alienation from society under colonialism and the accompanying early modern book trade on both sides of the Atlantic.²³ When Rosas de Oquendo names himself Juan Sánchez, he expresses not only a desire to maintain a relative (never absolute) and speculative anonymity, but also patently manifests a separation of selves—alienation—implicit in the very origins of his critique.

On Satire, Empire, and Alienation: Satirical Literature over the Ages

Within this disjointed authorial mode, Rosas de Oquendo deploys verse satire as a means of social, cultural, and economic critique, harkening back to the Roman satirical tradition originating with Horace, Persius, and particularly, Juvenal, a tradition that has long been recognized for its fluid, unstable separation of author and poetic subject.²⁴ It is in these classical antecedents, revived through the Renaissance humanism contemporary to Rosas de Oquendo, that his colonial satire garners its critical bent: satire is necessary because the colonial period, as in the transition from the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire, saw a population gain access to unprecedented wealth without any identifiable social or political justification, destabilizing earlier social structures. And in using invective to take on this shift, the colonial satirical text is noteworthy not only for what it says but *how* it says it. The very adoption and adaptation of verse satirical form invokes two millennia of satirical antecedents, their targets, and their critical orientation as it evolved over the genre's evolution. Formal verse satire prevailed for nearly 2000 years, alongside a slew of burlesque, jocose, parodic, and humorous literary, visual, and social acts meant to defame and deride the culture and practices of specific individuals and whole

²³ Lope de Vega is the most prominent Golden Age Spanish author to repeatedly embrace pseudonym, generating abundant literature on the use of pseudonym in the period. See Rafael Osuna, "Un nuevo seudónimo de Lope y explicación de otro," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 24.1 (1972), 2-4; E. Río Parra, "González es mi nombre": Poemas desconocidos de Lope de Vega en un certamen poético (1614)," *Revista de Filología Española* 79.3-4 (1999), 329-344; and A. Pérez-Boluda, "Lope y Tomé de Burguillos: Biografismo y transgression del petrarquismo poético," *Alba de América: Revista Literaria* 29.55-56 (2010), 407-427.

²⁴ See Peter Green, "Introduction," in Juvenal, *Sixteen Satires*, ed. Peter Green, (New York: Penguin, 2011), xii-lxvii, on Juvenal's construction of authorial voice and separation from autobiography.

populations alike. Ruben Quintero reminds us that beginning in second century BCE Rome with the (now-lost) works of Gaius Ennius Lucilius (168?-102? BCE),

[f]ormal verse satire, our name for a discernible tradition of poetical refinement that evolved in the genre-conscious Roman period, was more precisely called *satura*, which suggests a medley or a hodgepodge. In this tradition, the satirical poet provides a virtuoso offering of a theme, fable, tone, parody, and figurative expression, something like a platter or a bowl displaying mixed fruits or food dishes (*lanx satura*) in a variegated but artful composition. For the highly influential first-century Roman rhetorician Quintilian, *satura* was a generic creation totally Roman (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.93) in that it was a relatively newer kind of poetry, becoming metrically disciplined into hexameters and stylistically purified into an identifiable verse genre by the Roman poets Lucilius, Horace, and Persius (as well as Juvenal...).²⁵

Born of Republican Rome and coming of age during the Roman Empire, formal verse satire²⁶ finds its earliest Spanish American manifestation in Rosas's *Sátira*, which structurally evidences a conscious continuation of Roman formal verse satire in Spanish America.²⁷ Yet beyond the resurgence of Renaissance humanism, how and why does satire—and specifically Lucilian verse satire—retain its strength, cultural value, and relative form into the turn of the seventeenth century?²⁸ Why are the genre and its associated formal structures retained, recontextualized, and deployed for critical discourse well beyond the expiration date of other classical literary genres

²⁵ Ruben Quintero, "Introduction: Understanding Satire," in *A Companion to Satire, Ancient and Modern*, ed. Ruben Quintero, 1-11 (Oxford, UK and Malden, MA: Wiley, 2011), 6-7.

²⁶ Formal verse satire, or Lucilian satire, can be considered in counterposition to Menippean satire, which includes both verse and prose forms, often alternating between the two. On Menippean satire, see Howard Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) and W. Scott Blanchard, *Scholar's Bedlam: Menippean Satire in the Renaissance* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995).

²⁷ Greer Johnson claims that Rosas de Oquendo is "recognized as being Spanish America's first known writer of genuine [formal verse] satires" (*Satire*, 32).

²⁸ Satire in Spanish America prevailed well beyond Rosas's lifetime and into the nineteenth century. Arguably, Terralla y Landa's *Lima por dentro y fuera* (1797) was the most circulated Spanish American formal verse satire, reprinted fifteen times through the centenary of Peru's independence in 1924. Likewise, verse satire retained prominence in nineteenth-century Peruvian letters, especially among Peru's warring political and intellectual factions, who repeatedly denigrated their opposition through satirical poems. In Peru, the most prominent example of nineteenth-century political verse satire is the vitriolic poetic exchange between Peruvian *costumbristas* Felipe Pardo y Aliaga (1806-1868) and Manuel Ascencio Segura (1805-1871). See Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, *Poesías de don Felipe Pardo y Aliaga* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) and Manuel Ascencio Segura, *Obras Completas: Manuel Ascencio Segura*. (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2005).

deflated by the novel and the advent of commercial literature?²⁹ Just what is it that enabled not only satirical thematics and tones, but also satirical verse form to retain relevance, force, and popularity through recurrent ideological and formal revolutions in literature and the arts?

At first, these questions may appear concerned primarily with literary genre and form over time, collectively conspiring to inquire about the Renaissance afterlife of classical literatures and their Spanish American exponents. However, beneath the surface of verse satirical form and its longevity lay concrete, material realities. Consequently, this line of inquiry constitutes an exploration of how material conditions influence satirical production and how satirical production's construction as a "medley" or "hodgepodge"³⁰ in colonial Peru might interact with the constant cultural, ideological, and commercial exchanges that Spanish colonization (and the Romans before them) and subsequent processes of commercial consolidation and transculturation indicate. Emerging from these material realities that accompany Spanish colonialism is the simple claim that the satirical form—repeatedly visualized in scholarship on the genre as a medley, a hodgepodge, or a platter of mixed fruit—metonymically comes to stand in for the marketplace: the fruit seller's stand, the galleon brimming with assorted cargo, the marketplace populated by products of all sorts, or the city where countless populations all live, work, and spend money and time in mixed company.

And in the years when Rosas de Oquendo's satire was taking form, so too was the genre of still-life painting, referred to alternately as *bodegones* (market scenes, with people) or *naturaleza muerta* (depicting exclusively the offerings of the table). A genre thematically corresponding to the notions of *lanx satura*, "[s]till-life painting was virtually nonexistent in European art before the 1590s,"³¹ a moment when the objects of the table would take center stage, accompanying, if never challenging, the hegemony of religious imagery and portraiture.³²

²⁹ Here, I understand Cervantes's *Don Quixote* to constitute the birth of the modern novel in Golden Age Spain. Again, on the dawn of commercial literature in early modern Spain, see Gilbert-Santamaría, *Writers on the Market*.

³⁰ Quintero, "Introduction," *A Companion to Satire*, 6. As Matthew Hodgart identifies in his foundational work on the genre, the term satire "comes ... from the root *satur*, meaning 'full' (as in 'saturated' and connected with *satis*, 'enough'). A *satura lanx* was a full dish, and in particular, a dish filled with the first fruits of the harvest and offered to Ceres and Bacchus; a kind of cornucopia, it came to mean a medley, farrago or hotch-potch. The Romans believed their earliest satires to have been dramatic medleys in rude 'fescennine' verse, full of coarse raillery and ridicule" (*Satire: Origins and Principles* (London: McGraw Hill, 1969), 133).

³¹ San Diego Museum of Art Catalog, "Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber" Juan Sánchez Cotán, 1602. See, Don Bacigalupi and D. Scott Atkinson, *San Diego Museum of Art: Selected Works* (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art, 2003), 111-112.

³² On the hierarchy of genre in Spanish Golden Age painting, see Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura* (Sevilla: Simon Faxardo, 1649), 305. Pacheco, referring to the Greek painter Pireico to contextualize the painting of the previous century, writes: "[q]ue era como los que en este tiempo pintan pescaderias, bodegones, animales, frutas, i países; que aunque sean grandes pintores en aquella parte, no aspiran a cosas mayores, con el gusto i facilidad que hallan en aquella acomodada imitación; i assi las republicas, i reyes no se valen dellos en las cosas mas onrosas, i de mayr magestad, i estudios, i no les haze mucha falta la hermosura i suavidad, aunque el relieve si: mas a los que estan obligados a pintar Angeles, Virgines, i Santos, i sobre todo a

These paintings—*naturaleza muerta* lacking human protagonists and *bodegones* placing tension between merchants, vendors, and agricultural commodities—served to reify the fruit seller’s stand, the marketplace populated by products of all sort, and the kitchens and tables of both elites and common people, replete with goods of diverse provenances reflective of global trade. Visually stocked with such a hodgepodge of produce, fowl, and game, the still-life genre evinces a similarity with satire: its ability to evade precise coordinates or absolute definition. Francisco Pacheco signals in *Arte de la pintura* (1649) that, “no se puede dar reglas a esta pintura mas de que se use de finos colores y puntual imitacion.”³³

Thus, *naturaleza muerta* such as Juan Sánchez Cotán’s (1560-1627) *Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber* (1602, San Diego Museum of Art) and *Still Life with Game Fowl* (1600/1603, Chicago Art Institute) evoke the marketplace through their representations of the full table. *Bodegones* such as Juan Esteban de Ubeda’s *Puesto de caza, fruta y verduras* (1606, Museo de Bellas Artes de Granada) take the viewer directly to the market, forging the connection between comestibles and commerce for the viewer. Beyond their representations of the market, the diversity of these images reflects Pacheco’s suggestion that *bodegones* create a precise imitation of that seen before the eye, ungoverned by additional compositional rules. In recalling these images and these maxims of the genre, the still-life genre emerges in closer parentage to the satirical genre than one might expect. No rules, just a full plate of diverse goods captured at a specific moment in time. However, unlike the still life, which often depicts fruits and game at the height of ripeness for the table, satire seeks to engage these objects—and their vendors, preparers, and consumers—in their spoiled, rotten condition.

Unlike the ripe offerings of the still-life produce cart, cargo hold, market stall, or kitchen, the *Sátira* does not render as idyllic the diverse peoples of urban Lima or the commercial diversity of the colonial marketplace. Colonial satire might be understood metaphorically as the still-life of Sánchez Cotán seen a day too late, with the melon’s skin bruised and moldy, the cucumber soft, the quince fallen from its stem, still tied to the string, and the cabbage wilted on the floor. Or likewise, the *Sátira* suggests that Juan Esteban’s child is not gazing up, but darting off through the alley with stolen goods, the seller’s wry smile and his right hand on a melon mask his unseen left hand, which fixes his scales to dupe his clients. Worse yet, Rosas de Oquendo suggests that this dishonest merchant might one day become a priest: “quántos mercaderes ricos, / usurpando calidades, / por haserse caualleros / se boluieron sacristanes!” (vv. 221-224). Yet in making these suggestions, the satirist is not governed by rules or balanced by any motive other than a purported desire to represent his world, in this case the colonial world, as faithful to reality.

And in this reality, characterized by conditions of material disparity and exclusion, the *Sátira*’s poetic subject finds himself the victim of a perceived inequality as what he views to be a rotten world conspires against him: “no me socorre nadie” (vv. 677). This satirical discourse sees opportunity and profitability as elusive and disparately distributed in the colonies, and the satirical subject finds himself turned out from material advancement, which takes on a life of its own, an artificial objectivity, beyond his control: “Desengaños prouechosos / de vn esperto nabegante / que a las barrancas del mundo / quiso el sielo que llegase, / moxada el alma y el cuerpo / de las duras tenpestades, / donde estubieron los dos / bien a pique de anegarse” (vv. 59-

Christo nuestro Señor, i a su Santissima Madre, i todas las Sagradas Istorias, bien se ve la suavidad, belleza, decoro, i todo lo demás que pertenece a los tales Artifices” (305).

³³ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, (Sevilla: Simon Faxardo, 1649), 422.

66). Here, the satirical subject sees his fall from grace as a divine desire for his failure (“quiso el sielo”), later rephrased as “castigos del sielo” (vv. 231). This sentiment of divine will is then repeated: “Derribóme el propio sielo, / que el mundo no fue bastante” (vv. 71-72), followed by an explanation of fortune’s intervention (or, more precisely, “la diosa [Fortuna], hija de Júpiter y hermana del Hado”)³⁴: “Dióme Fortuna su cumbre, / y al tienpo del derribarme / dexóme sin bien ni bienes / ni amigos a quien quejarme. / Pasé por siglo de oro / al golfo de adbersydades: / ayer cortezano y lustre / oy vn pobre caminante” (vv. 75-82). As the nautical language (“nabegante,” “barrancas del mundo,” “golfo de adbersydades”) introduced begins to construct the life of the “esperto nabegante” (vv. 60) as a maritime journey, the verb “derribar” is repeated (vv. 71, 76), invoking not only ruin, but involuntarily crashing into or being thrown to the ground, both from heavenly grace and from his figurative ship.³⁵

These allegedly involuntary and uncontrollable failures to attain fortune—with titles and goods—then figure as motivating factors for writing satire. Such phrasings offer the poetic subject’s failures as “objective, “given” conditions ... that appears ... merely as “my lot in life” ... that has taken on, for the subject who is in fact responsible for it, an independent, “thinglike” existence.”³⁶ The poetic subject’s approach to his condition, then, gives his life and his fate “an independent existence,” which Jaeggi posits within constructions of *verselbständigung*, in direct connection with the concept of reification (*verdinglichung*).³⁷ And as negative outcomes are *suffered* or *endured* (and not self-created), they resonate as outside of the poetic subject’s control, instead in the hands of unbenevolent gods (the ancient Fortuna and Christian heaven). The “independent existence” of his failings then moves towards objectification, and it is this very object that the poetic subject becomes alienated from, this alienation not material and *entfremdung*-esque, but ethical and existential, situated at the very root of feeling and affect.³⁸

Therein, the limitations to advancement in the colonies emerge as central experiences for the satirical poetic subjects who express anxiety and discontent with colonial society in their verse. In her authoritative study, Greer Johnson states that, for satirists writing from the colonies, “[a]n allegedly utopian society was destined to fail, and it often precipitated the presentation of life as devoid of idealism, characterized by disunity and disorder, and based upon corruption and

³⁴ Lasarte, *Sátira*, 57n33.

³⁵ “Derribar,” – “Tirar contra la tierra, hacer dar en el suelo a alguien o algo” or “Tirarse a tierra, echarse al suelo por impulso propio o por accidente involuntario,” *Diccionario de la lengua española*, (Real Academia Española, online). The poetic subject emphasizes the latter element of this definition by highlighting the inevitability of his fall, seeing his failings to be involuntary instead of his own doing as subject (“por impulso propio”).

³⁶ Neuhouser, “Translator’s introduction,” in Jaeggi, *Alienation*, xvii.

³⁷ Neuhouser, “Translator’s introduction,” in Jaeggi, *Alienation*, xvii. Neuhouser also highlights the centrality of reification in Continental philosophy. On reification (*verdinglichung*), see Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 16-21; 60; 223n20, 225n16.

³⁸ My example is from Rosas de Oquendo, although similar constructions are present in Roman satire, and particularly Juvenal, who also laments his own personal condition (through third-person invocations of “the satirist”) instead of societal conditions at large. See Todd M. Compton, *Victim of the Muses: Poet as Scapegoat, Warrior and Hero in Greco-Roman and Indo-European Myth and History* (Washington, DC and Cambridge, MA: Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University Press, 2006), 298-302.

vice.”³⁹ And this purportedly failed American utopia, so fatalistically portrayed in colonial satire, was a society constructed upon territorial expansion and the unavoidable economic, political, and cultural shifts that took place in the contact zone,⁴⁰ what early modern Spanish intellectuals and political commentators fluidly referred to as “empire” (“*imperio*”).⁴¹

Though Spanish empire may have constituted more of an agglomeration of territories in *ultramar* than a neat early modern example of “the Latin concept [of] *imperium*, the Roman term that signifies the state’s executive authority to rule over the subjects of its native metropolis as well as to extend control to outlying provinces (i.e. sovereignty),”⁴² it was the conditions of Spanish political and economic expansion, as well as the idealism of Thomas More or Vasco de Quiroga (whose utopian attitudes were in actuality contingent upon broad social inequality),⁴³ that summoned satire to the literary fore during the early modern period. Although the particular political and economic mechanisms of Spanish American and ancient Roman Empire demonstrate significant differences, both were accompanied by highly standardized, official forms of recording and broadcasting history and constructing and consolidating a political identity, most notably epic, chronicle, and history. And in the wake of these official discursive forms, satire soon followed, born in imperial Rome and reincarnated in colonial Spanish America with assistance from Renaissance Europe.

One element of satire that has received little attention is the genre’s emergence as an accompaniment to empire. Satire, from its earliest historic foundations in the Roman Empire, is a genre emergent in the context of imperial expansion and the social, cultural, and economic changes that take place under the intense circulation of people and goods that accompany outward territorial expansion and the consolidation of a central metropolis.⁴⁴ The ability of the

³⁹ Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 7.

⁴⁰ See where Mary Louise Pratt defines the contact zone as “the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict. ... A “contact” perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and “travelees” not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power” (*Imperial Eyes*, 6-7).

⁴¹ On the fluidity of “empire” as concept and term in early modern Europe, see Chad Gasta, *Imperial Stagings: Empire and Ideology in Transatlantic Theater of Early Modern Spain and the New World* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2013), 38-58; and James Muldoon, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800-1800* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 20-37.

⁴² Gasta, *Empire and Ideology*, 40.

⁴³ See Robin Blackburn’s reading of More’s passages on slavery, in which he highlights how the Utopia is predicated upon exceptional inequality: Robin Blackburn, “The Old World Background to European Colonial Slavery,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54.1 (1997), 85-88 [65-102]. For a summary of the literature on More’s inspiration for *Utopia* in the discovery of America, see Alfred Cave, “Thomas More and the New World,” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 23.2 (1991), 209-229.

⁴⁴ On the importance of the Roman Empire for colonial Spanish American epic, see Celia López-Chávez, *Epics of Empire and Frontier: Alonso de Ercilla and Gaspar de Villagrà as Spanish Colonial Chroniclers* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016). For the

trappings of empire—commerce and population shift—to restructure and shift existing social hierarchies signals a rupture with standing hierarchies and thus attracts the attention of reactionary elements which comment upon the new imperial paradigm through verse satire as critical mode. From Lucilius (2nd century BCE) to Esteban Terralla y Landa (who penned *Lima por dentro y fuera* in 1797) the genre both accompanies and critiques empire, its ideologies, avatars, and material practices.

Satire though does not exist in an imperial vacuum. It constantly takes as its own the other literary genres that are in circulation before and alongside it.⁴⁵ In colonial Spanish America, that meant *historia*, *épica*, *crónica* and *relación*. I would like to reflect briefly on the relationship of this last genre, *relación* or relation, to satire, at the service of conceptualizing the satirical genre as an expression of alienation. Rahel Jaeggi, whose thoughts on alienation and subjectivity are so fundamental to this work, opens her tome, “[a]lienation is a relation of *relationlessness*.”⁴⁶ While she places emphasis on the *relationlessness*—the deficiency of the relation that constitutes alienation—I would like to transpose this “relation” (as relationship) onto my thinking of the genre of *relación* (as colonial text relating a series of events and observations). *Relación* is one of the foundational genres of conquest taken up and adapted—even imploded—by colonial satire, wherein the *relación*’s grand events of conquest in the name of God and crown are diminished to the point of absurdity, thus destabilizing the very model upon which satire is built. But how can we understand satirized *relación*, if it is not a series of events like the original form? Relying on the dual-definition of “relation” (and admitting that the pun is intended), I would like to suggest that satire then, as what I hold to be a genre of alienation, constitutes a “relation of relationlessness.” This relationlessness of satire’s *relación* has to do with the fact that satire (and specifically, the *Sátira*) does not relate a series of events, but a series of affective responses that can at times appear as seemingly unrelated.

In tracing the possibility of understanding the satirical genre as an expression of alienation, it is useful to briefly examine some of the fundamental characteristics of satire as an accompaniment of empire, from Rome to Lima. There are four fundamental elements that precede formal verse satire’s construction as a genre of alienation in terms of self and society, each departing from satire’s aforementioned relationship to change (broadly understood) in and through imperial structures. First, central in its concerns about changing imperial society is satire’s preoccupation with money and its damaging effects, particularly its ability to lead people down all manner of morally wayward path and, consequently, to shift cultural values which the satirical subject feels alien to. Given this concern, satire might be read as a discourse fundamentally concerned with fiduciary, if not economic (in the modern sense of the word) themes, often focused on the circulation of people, goods, and customs, each shifting and taking on novel forms under the hegemony of money and material possessions.

Since its inception during Rome’s transition from republic to empire, satire has railed against greed and the overvaluation of money. Indictments of both are first seen in the satires of Horace and Persius. Book I of Horace’s *Satires* opens with considerations of wealth, the desire to accrue riches, and money’s ability to change human behavior, including charges against

Roman legacy in Spanish American letters, see David Lupher, *Romans in the New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

⁴⁵ Quintero, “Introduction: Understanding Satire,” 9.

⁴⁶ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 1 (original emphasis).

materialism, avarice, and the desire for riches.⁴⁷ In each case, the privileging of money or material things over wisdom and rational behavior results in misery.⁴⁸ As primary targets for Horatian moralizing critique, greed and excess reappear in Book II, directly related to the excessive valorization of money in Book I.⁴⁹ Likewise, greed corrupts wisdom and morality through non-economic structures that redistribute wealth, such as inheritances.⁵⁰ As such, Horace's indictment of greed, wealth, and materialism are not critiques of economic activity directly resulting from empire, but critiques of morally pernicious behavior that demonstrates a logic shifting away from what the Horatian poetic voice sees as a particularly Roman brand of prescriptive moral decency and good conduct. And while resulting from the imperial context, such cultural shift towards the privileging of money and material possessions holds only a tenuous relationship to empire: the substitution of moral concerns with material interests is an incidental, collateral side-effect of empire, which has driven large, outside populations to the metropolis in search of social mobility and material wealth. Such a shift in the movements of people—and the goods that they proffer and demand, thus creating new markets—enables Horace to make the opposition of the entrepreneurial, ever-hustling city-dweller concerned with social position and upward mobility to the caricatured simple-living country gentleman, content with friendships and bucolic life.⁵¹

A few decades later in Persius' Satire V, commerce becomes a more fully developed category for critique than in Horace's text. Here, trade exists in plain sight, not as greed or ambition, but as commerce itself and it evidences just another morally vacuous lifestyle equally as frivolous as many others:

There are a thousand human types and their experience varies; / Each have their own wishes, and no one desire rules every life. / *One man trades wrinkled pepper pods and pale cumin seeds / For Italian goods under an eastern sun*, another prefers to grow Fat,

⁴⁷ See Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, ed. A.S. Kline (2005), Book I, Satire I (vv. 1-121), 11-16. On money and greed in Satire I, 1, see William Anderson, *Essays on Satire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 123.

⁴⁸ Anderson, *Essays on Satire*, 46.

⁴⁹ On credit as a means of material excess and avarice more generally, see Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, Book II, Satire II (vv. 70-111) and Book II, Satire III (vv. 64-110).

⁵⁰ For example, see Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, Book II, Satire V (vv. 1-110).

⁵¹ Scholars have long deemed Horace and Juvenal's referencing of an idyllic rural setting to be a rhetorical construction divorced from concrete social realities. On the rural-cum-pastoral idyll, see Horace, *Satires and Epistles*. On Juvenal see Green, "Introduction" in Juvenal, *Sixteen Satires*. Northrop Frye also famously stated that satirists across the ages "were also intellectually detached from the conventions they lived with, and were capable of seeing their anomalies and absurdities as well as their stabilizing conservatism" (*Anatomy of Criticism. Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 232). As such, the satirist can often be understood as a "pastoral figure, and like the pastoral, a form congenial to satire, he contrasts a set of simple standards with the complex rationalizations of society" (232). While this is not the only operation at play in Horace, Juvenal, or subsequent colonial satirists, it suffices to explain their tone and ideological positioning, which loosely advocate a return to a past ideal.

sated with refreshing sleep; one heads for the sports ground, / While another man,
gambling ruins, or licentiousness corrupts.⁵²

This commercial impulse is strongly indicted later on, comparing the merchant to the very slave who he coerces to turn a profit with his trade:

‘I am free.’ Why assume that; subject to so many things? / Is the only master you
recognize one who waves a rod? / ‘Be off, boy, take Crispinus’s back-scrapers to the
baths.’ / Or who scolds? ‘Still hanging about, you idler?’ No bitter / Slavery impels you,
nothing external enters you and sets / Your muscles working; but if what masters you is
born / of diseased passions, how shall you emerge as freer than / That slave, sent with the
back-scrapers, / fearing the whip? / At dawn, you’re snoring deeply. ‘Arise!’ cries
Avarice, / ‘Arise, now!’ You won’t. She’s firm. ‘Arise!’ she cries. / ‘I can’t.’ ‘Arise!’
‘But why?’ ‘You ask!’ ‘Go, trade in / Black Sea sprats, beavers’ castor extract, hemp,
ebony, / Incense, slippery Coan silks. Be the first to unload fresh / Peppercorns from
some thirsty camel. Barter something; / Swear a deal.’⁵³

Here, the critique levied against commerce is its ability to make man a slave to profit, subject to work by “nothing external” but the “diseased passions” of avarice and indulgence. It is not trade for trade’s sake that is wrong, but the ability of trade to push men to “[b]arter something; [and] / [s]wear a deal” without coercion by the slavemaster or the lambasts against the idler. Greed, born of trade, has the ability to move men—that is, merchants, sailors, and brokers—to extreme discomfort, even misery. Economic life stands in opposition to natural life and to the human comforts of rest.

After succumbing to Avarice, Persius’s merchant is then subjected to the interrogations of Indulgence, who inquires of the merchant why he endures the difficulties of the sea for profit, encouraging him to return home to lavish in his spoils:

Where are you rushing / off to then, you lunatic? What’s your aim? Even a jug / Of
hemlock couldn’t quench the raging madness swelling / In your fevered breast. / You,
leaping the waves? You, in / The thwarts, eating, sprawled on a coil of rope, quaffing / A
beaker reeking of red Veientan marred by rotten pitch? / Why? Just so the money you’ve
nurtured here at a modest / Five per cent can proceed to sweat you a usurious eleven?⁵⁴

Persius’ poetic subject explains that the merchant is enslaved by his “two masters” of Avarice and Indulgence, rendered incapable of abandoning them due to “the raging madness” for profit. Persius, then, registers a similar critique of commerce to that of Horace, urging man to accept and occupy his place in society instead of being driven to madness by the desire for profit, wealth, and its accompanying material spoils. Carrying Horace’s topicality, Persius similarly does not connect commerce to the imperial context of his lifetime, although such commercial activity became possible only through Roman military might across the Mediterranean world.

⁵² Persius, “Satire V,” in *The Satires*, ed. A.S. Kline (n.p.: Kline, 2011), 18 (my emphasis).

⁵³ Persius, “Satire V,” 20.

⁵⁴ Persius, “Satire V,” 20.

Persius's merchant is, like the urban resident in Horace, placed in opposition to his contented counterpart in the countryside.

Yet the indictment of money and greed, for their centrality under emergent logics resulting from evolving commercial technologies (born of Roman imperial expansion) takes on its strongest and most direct connection to a critique of empire in the verses of Juvenal. Here, money and greed are critiqued as central elements of the urban chaos and dysfunction resulting from the destruction of Roman traditions under the movement of new peoples and products in Rome. In Juvenal, commerce trumps longstanding Roman social hierarchies and a simple tavern owner is able to gain better social standing than the political elite:

Yet my five taverns / Bring in four hundred thousand, what more can the purple [color of the cloth of the Roman royalty, a designator of status] / Provide? While some Corvinus herds his leased sheep / There, in Laurentine fields, I possess more than Pallas, / More than Licinus? Well, let the tribunes wait, then, / Let cash be the conqueror; let the slave just arrived here, / With chalk-whitened feet, not yield to high office; / After all, among us, the greatness of riches is sacred.⁵⁵

The former slave from the provinces is capable of greater social standing than ever before as the metropolis is turned upside down, garnering social mobility via money and the increased value placed on money in Roman society. Here, money and greed move beyond moral categories to become economic topics. It is the *economic* workings of money and its logic that impels people to pursue wealth through usury and commerce that Juvenal finds so offensive, not merely the corruption of pastoral simplicity, as in Horace, and the unnatural appeal of wealth over comfort, as in Persius.

Rosas de Oquendo, then, inherits the satirical topics of money, materialism, and greed from a long line of foundational Roman satirists. Satire then is a fitting mode of critique for the dispossessed colonist: the genre's accompaniment of empire and its concern first with money and then with the logic behind earning and growing wealth—economics—make the genre practically inseparable from topics of wealth and its companions, materialism and ostentatiousness (previously framed within the passion of avarice). While satire long precedes the modern thinking about value that would emerge under the age of transatlantic empire, the three classical satirists—Horace, Persius, and Juvenal—and their colonial inheritors, beginning with Rosas de Oquendo, use satirical literature to establish that money casts a certain distorting power against society, becoming capable of inverting hierarchy and, as Greer Johnson puts it, turning the colonial world upside-down.⁵⁶ Such satirical commentaries eerily embody much later critiques of money:

Money, then, appears as this distorting power both against the individual and against the bonds of society, etc., which claim to be entities in themselves. It transforms fidelity into infidelity, love into hate, hate into love, virtue into vice, vice into virtue, servant into

⁵⁵ Juvenal, "Satire 1," *The Satires* (n.p.: Kline, 2011), 9, vv. 105-115. Alternately, see the translation in Juvenal, "Satire I," in *The Sixteen Satires*, ed. Peter Green (London: Penguin, 2004), 6, vv. 105-114.

⁵⁶ Greer Johnson sees Rosas's satire as "an introduction of a city turned upside down" (*Satire*, 33). Indeed, the very title of her work alludes to "turning the world upside down."

master, master into servant, idiocy into intelligence, and intelligence into idiocy. Since money, as the existing and active concept of value, confounds and confuses all things, it is the general confounding and confusing of all things—the world upside-down—the confounding and confusing of all natural and human qualities.⁵⁷

Furthermore, as numerous classical thinkers (Xenophon, Pliny, Horace) provided “commentary on chrematistics,” writing on the topic of money and its destabilizing effects register in Marx’s critique of political economy,⁵⁸ satire demonstrates a parallel relationship, reflecting and participating in the philosophy of money and wealth centuries and millennia before Marx’s writings on the topic. Similar to how numerous medieval and early modern Spanish texts took money as a trope in a “well-established literary *topos*,”⁵⁹ classical and colonial satire foreground money, the logic and behavior that accompany its reification, and their collective power to shift and invert human relations in anticipation of modern monetary critique.

Second, satirical concerns with money are embedded in another connection to the economic nature of satirical discourse in Rome and in Lima: the formal property of abstraction. Beyond merely targeting practices indicative of incipient abstractions of value (usury, extractive colonialism, commerce, capital investment, labor exploitation, etc.) during Roman and Iberian imperial expansion,⁶⁰ I would like to highlight that the very satirical genre can be considered a form of abstraction, metonymically accompanying the forms of abstraction emergent under imperial expansion and its logics of circulation and accumulation. This begins with the genre’s aforementioned tendency to collapse the author and satirical voice by abstracting biography into literary personage under pseudonymous or fictional poetic subjects. More substantially, though, satire also abstracts human beings and their follies in the lived world into an affective experience (intended to elicit reversion and sympathy with the satirical voice), a process less prominent in other classical and early modern literary genres. In his canonical work on satire, Matthew Hodgart writes:

...true satire demands a high degree of both commitment to and involvement with the painful problems of the world, and simultaneously *a high degree of abstraction from the world*. The *criticism of the world is abstracted from its ordinary setting*, the setting of, say, political oratory and journalism, and transformed into a high form of ‘play’, which gives us both the recognition of our responsibilities and the irresponsible joy of the make-believe... *One recognizes true satire by this quality of ‘abstraction’*; wit and other technical devices ... are the means by which the painful issues of real life are transmuted.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (New York: Prometheus, 1988), 140.

⁵⁸ Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: A Critique of Political Economy* (Washington, DC: Regency Publishing, 1996). Also see, Michael Iarocci, *Properties of Modernity: Romantic Spain, Modern Europe, and the Legacies of Empire* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006), 81.

⁵⁹ Iarocci, *Properties of Modernity*, 81.

⁶⁰ On usury in ancient Rome, see Charles Geisst, *Beggar thy Neighbor: A History of Usury and Debt* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 16-20.

⁶¹ Hodgart, *Satire*, 11-12 (my emphasis).

Certainly, criticism of the world is abstracted in Roman and early modern verse satire in a way that it is not in, say, the early modern genres of sermon and oratory or epic, each heavily theorized through the Renaissance, or accompanying moral treatises on good customs or conduct. However, Hodgart's assertion might be taken further than admitting that satire's topical dealings with moral decay in the face of changing forms of exchange, work, and consumption (each contributing to the fundamental restructuring of longstanding hierarchical structures) reflect "the painful problems of the world."⁶² Rather, satire's "high degree of abstraction from the world"⁶³ exists in the abstraction of moral *values*—cultural, social, and economic—that are not stated explicitly but instead exemplified by the negative coordinate in the genealogy of social acts, actors, and mores depicted in satire.

For example, the oft-satirized blindly avaricious merchant, materialistic false friend, or gift-driven lover constitute abstractions of personages found in the real world, becoming character types that abstract the positive value of contentment with one's material and social position in society by embodying the negative value. Persius's avaricious merchant, seen above, serves as the negative coordinate meant to identify ideal behavior—contentment and adherence to longstanding Roman social hierarchy—by opposing it. Moral values are abstracted into their negative counterpart—moral shortcomings and vices—and exemplified through character types whose repeated depictions constitute generic embodiments of figures lacking moral values. And as these moral values often reflect or even double as economic attitudes, satire constitutes an abstraction of moral values into economic attitudes about value itself.

Hodgart's thoughts on classical satire also serve to illustrate the means by which the satirical genre can be conceived of in terms of its instability, its volatility, and its creativity in realizing its many objectives, ranging from ridicule and moral reform to laughter and scorn. Simply put, in its exercises of abstraction of author/poetic subject and moral values through character types and negative coordinates, early modern satire fails to assume a totalizing character as its companion genres do:

[t]he traditional genres such as epic, tragedy, and comedy, were long considered to be self-contained and clearly defined. Each grew out of a particular stage of social development: epic out of the 'heroic' society of warrior aristocracy, tragedy out of the religious and moral preoccupations of the Greek city-states. Each was at a larger stage established by convention, and codified by literary critics and imitated by generations of writers so that norms of epic and tragedy were set up and lasted for centuries. *No such stabilizing process ever affected satire, with the partial exception of Roman formal satire (the loose monologue in verse on a variety of moral topics).* This was much imitated . . . by classicizing poets of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, but even in these convention-bound centuries, writers who wanted to make satirical comments on the world's absurdities felt free to use a variety of other forms.⁶⁴

In light of Hodgart's comments, satire's protean character and volatility might be seen as further metonymically representative of the material and economic culture that the genre accompanies from the Roman Empire to the Spanish colonies. The formulaic instability and volatility of satire

⁶² Hodgart, *Satire*, 11.

⁶³ Hodgart, *Satire*, 11.

⁶⁴ Hodgart, *Satire*, 12.

that Hodgart identifies mirrors the instability of moral values as perceived by satirical poetic subjects. As moral topics are related to the rise of material culture and aspirations to wealth resulting from intensified commercial activity accompanying imperial expansion, they are ultimately economic in nature. For example, when Rosas de Oquendo critiques false friends in the tradition of his Roman predecessors (vv. 1877-1938), beginning with the extreme declaration “Que ya el padre engaña al hijo, / y el hixo vende a su padre” (vv. 1877-78), longstanding social relations (the paternal duty of the father or filial loyalties of the son; that of friendship for friendship’s sake) have been displaced by the desire to derive material and financial benefit from human interaction. Indicative of the displacement of moral and social norms by the desire for personal gain, Rosas de Oquendo concludes “que no ay negocio durable / ni bínculo de Amistad / que el tiempo no lo desate” (vv. 1940-1943). Here, time and, with the passing of historical time, an increased importance allotted to material things results in the instability and volatility of longstanding moral and social categories. Rosas de Oquendo’s text then repeatedly puts these categories in crisis, much like the colonial economy in which upright moral and social life had been hoped to exist and thrive. Satire, through its own formulaic volatility, metonymically embodies the instability and the volatility of the market and the colonial economy that refocuses moral categories on material outcomes.

Third, one of the consistent postures encountered in satire from Rome to Lima is that of social competition, a practice that satire itself comes to embody as a playing field. As Matthew Roller has demonstrated, the absence of direct political attacks on individuals and institutions (such as those of Lucilius) in imperial Roman verse satire (under Persius and Juvenal) does not render these texts apolitical. Rather, Roller reframes definitions of the political within the work of Pierre Bourdieu in order to demonstrate how symbolic capital and its potential to yield income, prestige, and capital proper anchor satirical production.⁶⁵ As Roller also states,

...their [Persius and Juvenal’s] poetry does nothing if not portray and perform competitions for status and power. The satirist draws lines, demarcated in moral and aesthetic terms, between himself (along with other right-thinking people) and his targets. He seeks to tear down, stigmatize, and marginalize the individuals and groups he targets – to exclude them from what he presents as respectable society, and reduce them in status relative to himself and those for whom he speaks.⁶⁶

Produced under the classical impulses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, colonial verse satire, too, is anchored by a tremendous display of social competition and, like Roman predecessors, “all political possibilities turn on his [the satirist’s] ability to execute successful verbal attacks.”⁶⁷

Lastly, in addition to satire’s ability 1) to foreground money in imperial society and its ability to shape social life and moral as well as economic attitudes; 2) to abstract (both author through poetic voice and real world situations and persons through character types and social conducts phrased in the negative), and; 3) reckon with and embody competition, satire might be considered 4) to confront many of the same questions that later conceptions of alienation (and its

⁶⁵ Matthew Roller, “Politics and Invective in Persius and Juvenal,” in *A Companion to Satire*, ed. Ruben Quintero (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), 283-311.

⁶⁶ Roller, “Politics and Invective,” 287.

⁶⁷ Roller, “Politics and Invective,” 287.

critique) do. Given the destructive, disarming, and abstracting mode that it deploys, verse satire shares “its “negativistic” approach” with alienation critique, and like this later critical mode, shows “what prevents us from living well” because of its entanglement “with the question of how we want to live.”⁶⁸ Satire does not provide solutions, although it often alludes to them through suggesting some kind of return to an idyllic golden age or utopian possibility of a best-case scenario working of traditional moral codes. In this sense, satire always answers the question of how we want to live by referencing the past and its moral codes, celebrated to the point of such overstatement and exaggeration that these moral ideals are an idealized abstraction of the social realities that they purportedly—but unfaithfully—reference. Satire also answers this question by stating that, although we want to (and should) live according to earlier modes, we do not and should not live as we are living under the hegemonic logic of material possessions, where wealth is derived from compulsive commerce and the social world and social relations are understood as a means of gaining wealth, both at the expense of societal norms.

As accompaniment to empire from Ancient Rome to Imperial Spain, satire demonstrates an enduring concern with the workings of money and the economy’s ability to change social life. In so doing, it manifests economic thought, privileges abstraction, performs competition, and takes on the negative coordinates common to the experience (and critique of) alienation, both in its rhetorical composition and ideological import. This extended theorization of satire is more than a backdrop to explain why Rosas de Oquendo took up satirical production in lieu of another genre of the period: it begins to allude to the reasons why the *Sátira* is a text representative of primitive alienation and how it depends upon the recurrent concerns with money-turned-economics-turned-political-economy in its parent genre. With this in mind, I now turn to the *Sátira hecha a las cosas que pasan en el Pirú* in order to understand how this lengthy verse text and its respondents might be seen to express a form of primitive alienation, responding to primitive accumulation and its exclusions, as well as the way in which colonial extraction and allotment of material and human capital (land and laborers) reorganized Spanish moral and social categories in the Americas.

Primitive Accumulation, the Pre-History of Capital, and the Inevitability of Primitive Alienation

—“The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the indigenous population of that continent, the beginnings of the conquest and plunder of India, and the conversion of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of blackskins, are all things which characterize the dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation” – Karl Marx (*Capital*, volume I, 527).

—“Dad al diablo estos paseos, / esténse en caza y trauajen!” – Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, *Sátira hecha a las cosas que pasan en el Pirú, año de 1598*, vv. 847-8.

The above epigraph from Marx’s *Capital* serves as a damning retrospective indictment of the material spoils garnered by European imperial enterprise, including the establishment of the Spanish colonies, whose administrative network spanned the Americas by the 1530s. With the

⁶⁸ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, xxii.

emergence of permanent settlements and ports, economic activity flourished and by the mid-sixteenth century Spanish administrators, like the conquistadors before them, looked forward to the commercial potential of the recently appropriated territories. Whereas Marx's classic (and disputed)⁶⁹ remark posits colonialism as a foundational, past-tense historical moment exercising tremendous violence over the affected populations, for the ranks of colonial chroniclers, jurists, and *arbitristas* writing from both sides of the Atlantic the "dawn of the era of capitalist production" signaled by "discovery," "extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines," "conquest and plunder," and "conversion," was a contemporary reality signaling seemingly limitless future economic possibilities. Somewhere between the utopian coordinates of Thomas More and his Spanish readers—most notably Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and José de Acosta⁷⁰—Latin America was configured and reconfigured as a land of possibility and promise throughout the sixteenth century. As such, Spanish American colonial texts recognize the "idyllic proceedings [...] of primitive accumulation" and subsequent economic development—and the recurring crises that characterized the colonial economy⁷¹—not merely as historical moments or as the "pre-history of capital,"⁷² but as a series of contemporary events worthy of celebration, lamentation, and philosophical inquiry in the early modern present tense.⁷³

⁶⁹ Nichols, "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation," 18. Nichols neatly summarizes the many theoretical revisions of primitive accumulation and the primary coordinates that these theories rely on, primarily whether primitive accumulation constitutes a structure or a stage and whether or not there is a "silent compulsion" or a "continual injection of 'extra-economic' violence" (22). His solution is "a *disaggregation* of the component elements of primitive accumulation ["violence of dispossession, proletarianization, market formation, and the separation of agriculture and industry" (22)] in favour of an analysis that contemplates alternative possible relations between these elements" so as to "allow for the possibility of relating exploitation and dispossession in a variety of ways, rather than assuming they hang together in ... Marx's 'classic form'" (22).

⁷⁰ On Oviedo's friendship with More, see Karl Butzer, "From Columbus to Acosta: Science, Geography, and the New World" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82.3 (1992), 549n10.

⁷¹ We need look only so far as the decline of Andean silver production between 1600 and 1700 and the corresponding commercial stagnation in the Lima merchant sector. On this and other economic failings in Spanish Peru, see Andrien, *Crisis and Decline*; John Fisher, *Economic Aspects of Spanish Imperialism, 1492-1810* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998). Likewise, the failures of the Spanish colonial administration (Andrien, *Crisis and Decline*, 79-102) and *arbitrismo* (see Andrien, *Crisis and Decline*, 133-164) Focused on the eighteenth century, see Charles Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and its Long Aftermath* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁷² Nichols, "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation," 18.

⁷³ Again, my intention here is not to take up whether or not primitive accumulation constitutes a pre-history of capital or an ongoing process. Rather, I hope to move attention to how early modern colonial subjects perceived primitive accumulation and articulated responses to its effects through literature, constituting expressions of varying forms of primitive alienation.

As the central practice of the colonial “economy of plunder”⁷⁴ and subsequent extractive, productive, and mercantile economies consolidated in the mid-sixteenth century, what, then, were the subsequent affective responses to the violence and exclusion of primitive accumulation, as paradigm, as practice, as concept, and as determinant of social reality? Marx saw several key phenomena to accompany primitive accumulation’s end result of mature, industrial capitalism: the “violence of dispossession, proletarianization, market formation, and the separation of agriculture and industry.”⁷⁵ Yet beyond Marx (and his critics), in colonial Spanish America and everywhere that colonialism reconfigured, there are other, extra-economic, indeed affective responses to primitive accumulation. My concern here is not with unpacking primitive accumulation and its revisions, but with understanding the forms of negative affective response to the economy of plunder and the “extractive economy” engendered in those living under and during its reign.⁷⁶ If, we cannot yet speak of *entfremdung* and its component parts—alienation of the industrial worker from self (species-essence), from fellow worker, from one’s work and the product of her labor (a labor designed by capitalist class, not by laborer nor consumer), and from work and production (value of own labor through wages, abstraction of labor)—, then how did actors in colonial society respond to the economic conditions and the “terror, and not hegemony”⁷⁷ that long accompanied them?

Predicated upon the implementation of wage labor and its abstraction of labor under which laborers toil at the service of industrialists, Marx’s concept of *entfremdung* corresponds to a specific time and place, that of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism. As we have seen, well prior to industrial capitalism per se in the colonial world, wage labor was identifiable in industries from the textiles workshop to the mines. Although the extractive economy and its agricultural and artisan suppliers do not figure as mature capitalism, they do indeed advance the dominion of wage labor (in the best-case scenario of coercion; at worst, terror-induced exploitation and servitude, as Guaman Poma highlights in the next chapter). And wage labor, or perhaps labor in any context (free or coerced) engenders affective responses to the condition of service (or servitude). If this response is not *entfremdung* pure of the nineteenth century, there is, indeed a viscerally negative reaction against working for another and, perhaps, work itself. Work, in its many colonial manifestations of laboring on behalf of another, embodies some form of alienation, disenfranchisement, or embitterment.

However, before any nascent form of primitive alienation impacting Spaniards could result from the pressures of work, it would emerge from the conquistador’s expectation of remunerations from the crown. Immediately following the strategic foundation of Spanish cities in proximity to bays and rivermouths, sites of agricultural production, and zones of mineral extraction, Spanish-American primitive accumulation—the allotment of *encomiendas* and, after

⁷⁴ Karen Spalding, in Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 52n2. Others, including Steve Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest*, 20; and Arthur Scarritt, *Racial Spoils from Native Soils: How Neoliberalism Steals Indigenous Lands* (London: Lexington Books, 2015), 20.

⁷⁵ Nichols, “Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation,” 22.

⁷⁶ On extractive economy in another context, see Daniel Nemser, “(Re)producing Empire: Góngora’s *Soledades*, Productive Space, and the Reversal of Spanish Decline,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 85 (2008), 641.

⁷⁷ Alberto Moreiras, “Ten Notes on Primitive Accumulation,” *Interventions* 2.3 (2000), 343.

the New Laws of 1542, *repartimientos*—yielded drastically disparate economic experiences among Spaniards across the Americas and Spain, and thus, vastly different attitudes towards colonialism and its reaches in America and Spain. These disparities, coupled with structural and institutional failings of the colonial Spanish economy resulted in wide-reaching ideological and economic apprehensions. Elvira Vilches seamlessly frames Spain’s economic paradox and the writing and reflection that it generated:

[d]uring the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was an explosion of economic writing in Spain. The proliferation of treatises, tracts, and memorials on usury, commerce, and political economy was marked by two major events: the price revolution, which began in the first decades of the sixteenth century; and the fiscal crisis that lingered as the series of royal bankruptcies expanded from 1557 to 1653. Theologians pondered the sudden escalation of prices, which they linked to the development of a sophisticated financial credit system, and the shower of American gold. Mercantile authors discussed measures to save the national economy and debated why the imports of American bullion had brought ruin instead of fortune.⁷⁸

Primitive accumulation and the ore that it put into circulation had cultivated anxiety, equally as abundant as wealth. As texts produced and circulated approximately halfway through this century of monetary crisis, Bernardo de Balbuena’s *Grandeza mexicana* (1604) and Mateo Rosas de Oquendo’s *Sátira hecha a las cosas que pasan en el Pirú, año de 1598* address this abundance of tension, uncertainty, and flux surrounding primitive accumulation. However, when read fundamentally as texts about the economic effects of Spanish colonialism, each foregrounding the social aspects of economic life, these two poems occupy opposing spaces within the corpus of Spanish responses to primitive accumulation and its effects on the Spanish population.⁷⁹ Whereas Balbuena celebrates the grandeur of primitive accumulation, global colonial economy, and its marketplaces (and market leanings), Rosas de Oquendo foregrounds an unavoidable human side effect of the redistribution of American capital and the division of labor that accompany early modern primitive accumulation: *primitive alienation*.

I read the *Sátira* as a Spanish affective response to primitive accumulation, taking as its point of departure a series of prominent readings⁸⁰ of Balbuena’s *Grandeza mexicana* that identify a “lenguaje comercial de contabilidad” and a “poética de acumulación”⁸¹ in the latter

⁷⁸ Vilches, *New World Gold*, 1.

⁷⁹ Bartolomé de Las Casas’ *Brevísima relación* also constitutes a pole opposite Balbuena, focused on the violence and terror behind primitive accumulation. However, Las Casas is not concerned with how Spaniards are impacted, but how the indigenous population suffers under conquest appropriation of lands, peoples, and goods. For this chapter’s purposes of exploring a particularly Spanish form of primitive alienation, I postpone further mention of the *Brevísima* until the next chapter on Andean alienations.

⁸⁰ My reading of *Grandeza mexicana* is largely congruent with recent studies of Balbuena’s poem realized by Ivonne del Valle (2012 & 2013), Stephanie Merrim (2010), Barbara Fuchs and Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel (2009), Osvaldo Pardo (2001), José Pascual Buxó (1993), and Ángel Rama (1983).

⁸¹ Barbara Fuchs and Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, “La grandeza mexicana de Balbuena y el imaginario de una ‘metrópolis colonial’,” *Revista Iberoamericana* 75.228 (2009), 679.

text. I adopt the critical vocabulary of these studies, which analyze “la febril actividad de un abigarrado conjunto social unido, sobre su radical disparidad, por una misma razón económica”⁸² present in Balbuena’s poem, to suggest that such commercial logic also binds Rosas de Oquendo’s satire. In essence, I argue that the *Sátira*, like *Grandeza mexicana* and the diverse textual corpus analyzed by Vilches, is the product of economic anxieties in late sixteenth-century Peru and the Iberian world at large, a text reflective of the broader obsession with economy and its social and moral implications in the transatlantic Iberian world.

First exploring how the satire focuses on human experience in terms of vocations instead of the disembodied commodity, I then explore how its poetic subject qualitatively comments on time use, betraying an advocacy of productivity demonstrating the foundations of a logic of capital. This discussion of the poetic subject’s time-driven critique serves to expand my above discussion of verse satire as a genre expressive of alienation resulting from social change in imperial cultures. Examining the *Sátira* in light of the economic analytic focus put into circulation by commenters of Balbuena, I strive to categorize the forms of primitive alienation that Rosas de Oquendo’s poetic subject expresses and how he articulates the experience of existing between institutional structures of the colonial economy and, as a result, outside of viceregal social life. His alienation stands in for that of a potentially larger cross-section of the Spanish American population: that of the white, low-born, landless Spaniard in America, those without *encomiendas* (*repartimientos*, post-1542), those who might have been what Teofilo Ruiz categorizes as peasants in late medieval and early modern Spain.⁸³

From a Poetics of Accumulation Towards a Poetics of Primitive Alienation

Balbuena’s *Grandeza mexicana* celebrates the mineral, material, and pecuniary wealth present in New Spain, enumerating an extensive list of commodities that circulate in the city via the viceroyalty’s expansive network of ships, ports, and markets. Suggesting the grandeur of a burgeoning global economy, Balbuena celebrates the commodity in all of its early modern glory, abstracting material goods from a colonial production process contingent upon indigenous subjugation and forced labor under a reign of terror.⁸⁴ Spanish imperial identity is constructed upon imagery of an uninhabited, disembodied economy poised to transform the world under colonial structures. As Ivonne Del Valle has argued, “the poem is about a *new history*

⁸² José Pascual Buxó, “Bernardo de Balbuena: el arte como artificio,” in *Homenaje a José Durand*, ed. Luis Cortes (Madrid: Verbum, 1993), 193.

⁸³ Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600*, 39-52. I limit my conception of peasants to the early modern Iberian world, cognizant that “[s]trictly speaking, Indians are not peasants” (José Rabasa, *Without History Subaltern Studies, the Zapatista Insurgency, and the Specter of History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 139) and, conversely, Spaniards are not necessarily economic elites, either during early modern colonialism nor in later periods. I locate my use of the term ‘peasant’ in the historiography of early modern Spain, well aware of Ranjit Guha’s cautions “about the poverty of historiography” (Rabasa, *Without History*, 305n7). Likewise, I, like Rabasa, acknowledge the “long-lasting prejudice against peasants that one can trace from Marx’s *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* to Hardt and Negri’s *Multitude*” (*Without History*, 305n7) while also recognizing the tremendous difference in theorizations of indigenous and European peasants.

⁸⁴ Moreiras, “Ten Notes on Primitive Accumulation.”

determined not by factors readily recognizable as “historical” (wars, heroes, major events) but by the apparent naturalness of an economic system that seemed to function of its own accord, without identifiable origins or principles.”⁸⁵ For Balbuena, Spanish identity is tied to the formative global economic relationships that would come to define colonialism, structures that render unwilling and unproductive Indians (and, I would argue, other demographics) as “illegible elements that could not be assimilated into commercial and capitalist economic rationality.”⁸⁶

Stephanie Merrim pushes Balbuena’s work a step further, seeing *Grandeza mexicana* as “a paean to mercantile capitalism” in which:

Balbuena’s poem traffics specifically in the luxury items endemic in the mercantile environment of seventeenth-century Mexico City. While unequivocally and self-righteously objects per se, Balbuena’s fetishized commodities inaugurate the optic and texture of particularity and the overpowering demands of local realities that in his works and those of subsequent authors will shatter the Ordered City, constitute the Spectacular City, and derail the hegemonic Spanish Baroque. Objects, in short, emerge as the agents of the real that complicate the ideal.⁸⁷

Focusing her reading on how *Grandeza* “subverts the imperial project without subverting” by displacing Spain and placing Mexico at the center of the imperial universe in a form of “self-exoticizing,” Merrim further identifies how such rhetorical excesses have the effect of constructing “creole structures of feeling.”⁸⁸ In discussing Balbuena’s location of New Spain and México at the center of the imperial map through his foregrounding of “the disruptive particularity and the economically and ideologically driven literary protocols of the marketplace,”⁸⁹ Merrim argues for an “exorbitant performativity” and “exorbitant exoticizing” and “inflate praise” that construct visceral “creole structures of feeling” that would take hold over subsequent decades.⁹⁰ One can understand these structures of feeling as manifest in opposition to alienation, serving to enable and affirm localist creole identities constitutive of the creole community in opposition to the indigenous population.⁹¹ And as such, they serve to create a cohesive group identity for creoles within the New Spanish city at the expense of indigenous populations, who are relegated to the periphery.

In Merrim’s reading of Balbuena’s poem, Mateo Rosas de Oquendo makes a brief guest appearance, serving as a worthy informant to highlight how the spectacular city’s hyperbole engendered derision and even animosity from other corners of the Spanish Empire. Setting up what was perhaps the most deeply seated historical rivalry in colonial Spanish America between Mexico and Peru, Merrim explores how Rosas de Oquendo’s “Romance a México” and the

⁸⁵ Del Valle, “*Grandeza mexicana* and the Lakes of Mexico City,” 39.

⁸⁶ Del Valle, “*Grandeza mexicana* and the Lakes of Mexico City,” 39.

⁸⁷ Merrim, *The Spectacular City*, 92; see 91-146 for the foregrounding of Balbuena’s text in the rise of the spectacular city and its resistance to the Renaissance ordered city.

⁸⁸ Merrim, *The Spectacular City*, 132-133.

⁸⁹ Merrim, *The Spectacular City*, 93.

⁹⁰ Merrim, *The Spectacular City*, 133.

⁹¹ Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, “New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650,” *The American Historical Review* 104.1 (1999), 64-65.

“*Sátira que hizo un galán a una dama criolla que le alababa mucho a México*” resist Balbuena’s proclamations, parodying some of Balbuena’s verses, jocosely denying others, and imploring Spain as the rightful seat of economic and cultural activity in the empire.⁹²

In using these two lesser-studied short works by Rosas de Oquendo to highlight the pomp of Balbuena’s construction of the spectacular city, Merrim uses satirical works as a counterpoint, an illustrative detail and an example of “reader response ... supplying pungent evidence that his [Balbuena’s] contemporaries perceived Balbuena to have crossed an unwritten line in his exorbitant praise of Mexico.”⁹³ Like Merrim, this chapter uses Balbuena as a counterpoint to Rosas de Oquendo. However, my focus here is on the latter author’s *Sátira* to explore how the seeds of alienation registered prior to Balbuena’s *Grandeza*—an insider text complicit in Spanish governance and the colonial economy—reflect literary responses to social and economic life around the turn of the seventeenth century. Seeking to invert the dichotomy that Merrim establishes with Rosas de Oquendo as a respondent to Balbuena, I would like to now place Rosas de Oquendo’s *Sátira* at the fore to understand how the same processes of labor, production, circulation, and consumption that incite celebration in *Grandeza* yield lamentation, tying moral critique to economic activity and enabling the satirical form to express alienation in the *Sátira*.

If Balbuena’s text demonstrates a triumphant fascination with the proliferation of commodities circulating under primitive accumulation, then Rosas de Oquendo’s *Sátira* best reflects primitive alienation. An invective that indicts every sector of Lima’s colonial population with special disdain for women, Rosas de Oquendo’s *Sátira* posits lists of colonial subjects and their vocations, each criticized for their contribution to the moral corruption of the city and ultimately, the estrangement of the narrator from his own expectation of wealth and social mobility in the viceroyalty. While outside of the system of royal remunerations, Rosas de Oquendo’s narrator conceptualizes Peruvian colonial identity in terms of a widespread failure to acclimatize to “capitalist economic rationality,” its Spaniards wasting their time on frivolous and immoral amorous pursuits, intensified by an economy of exchanging sex for material benefits.⁹⁴

The satire reveals an infelicitous coexistence of aristocracy and patronage alongside an under-regulated market economy that surprisingly allows non-European castes to participate. As this economy breeds the reification of material objects and wealth, the poetic subject sees the economy to render Lima a site of moral vacuity and structural decay in spite of the material productivity of Peru’s provinces. If nascent capitalism is naturally occurring in Balbuena’s Mexico, then it governs the *Sátira*’s Lima as a desirable, unrealized structure (albeit with damaging social and moral consequences), its unrealized potential for Spaniards and accessibility for other castes a constant source of frustration for the satire’s poetic subject.

The satire highlights the fundamental ideological tensions highlighted in the work of Jacques Le Goff and Elvira Vilches, among others: the opposition of moral economy to material wealth and religion to economics. Within this opposition, the perversion of moral codes coexists alongside a heightened concern with the acquisition of material and pecuniary wealth and capital and, ultimately, a concern with time and its properly productive uses for such accumulative practice. And so Rosas de Oquendo’s deployment of an economic language in arming extended commercial metaphors for deviant erotic activities and rampant moral corruption suggests an

⁹² Merrim, *The Spectacular City*, 133-134

⁹³ Merrim, *The Spectacular City*, 134.

⁹⁴ Del Valle, “*Grandeza mexicana* and the Lakes of Mexico City,” 39.

understanding of the interconnectedness of the two realms and the chaotic, carnivalesque inversion of colonial Peruvian society that results.⁹⁵

Yet in order to examine the *Sátira*'s economic foundations and subsequent expressions of primitive alienation, I must take as a starting point several recent interpretations of *Grandeza mexicana*. Let us begin with the *Argumento* of Balbuena's poem:

De la famosa México el asiento,
 origen y grandeza de edificios,
 caballos, calles, trato, cumplimiento
 letras, virtudes, variedad de oficios,
 regalos, ocasiones de contento,
 primavera inmortal y sus indicios,
 gobierno ilustre, religión y Estado,
 todo en este discurso está cifrado ("Argumento")

As Barbara Fuchs and Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel have demonstrated, the polysemy of the phrase "todo en este discurso está cifrado" evokes the dual-valences of the verb "cifrar," meaning to calculate and to encode, in turn suggesting a commercial language of accounting, as well as a coding of the poem within the economic realm.⁹⁶ Many critics have identified "una poética de la acumulación" in *Grandeza mexicana* and commerce is understood as *the* defining characteristic of the city, unifying studies from Angel Rama's foundational work on the text through the recent studies by Fuchs and Martínez-San Miguel and Del Valle.⁹⁷ Such poetics of accumulation⁹⁸ are evident at a glance:

Es la ciudad más rica y opulenta,
 de más contratación y más tesoro,
 que el norte enfría, ni que el sol calienta.

La plata del Pirú, de Chile el oro
 viene a parar aquí y de Terrenate
 clavo fino y canela de Tidoro

De Cambray telas, de Quinsay rescate,
 de Sicilia coral, de Siria nardo,
 de Arabia encienso, y de Ormuz granate;

⁹⁵ Regarding the carnivalesque, see Lasarte, *Lima* 49-68, 80-86; *Sátira* xii, xxxii-xxxiv; and "El carnaval y la transgresión" 251-265). Also see Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 32-39 for her analysis of the *Sátira* in the context of viceroyal satirical letters and Rosas' oeuvre.

⁹⁶ Fuchs and Martínez-San Miguel, "La *Grandeza mexicana* de Balbuena," 679.

⁹⁷ Fuchs and Martínez-San Miguel, "La *Grandeza mexicana* de Balbuena," 679.

⁹⁸ I attribute the term to Fuchs and Martínez-San Miguel's usage of "poética de la acumulación" (679) cognizant of Richard Halpern's earlier coinage in his title *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1991).

diamantes de la India, y del gallardo
 Scita balajes y esmeraldas finas,
 de Goa marfil, de Siam ébano pardo. (Ch. 3, tercetos 36-39)

Manifest in this passage's citation of commodities from around the globe (including from outside the Spanish empire), the commercial language of accounting and the poetics of accumulation evident in Balbuena's text anchor my approach to reading Rosas de Oquendo's satire. Likewise, the hyperbole that Merrim also identifies in Balbuena cannot be overlooked—"la ciudad más rica y opulenta / de más contratación y más tesoro" (terceto 36)—as this tone of absolutes is essential to the satirical worldview, which seeks to challenge and invert such celebratory embellishment.

Unlike Balbuena's celebration of Mexico as the center of a global market economy driven by Spanish empire, the *Sátira* laments the socioeconomic and moral conditions of Lima, the seat of a viceroyalty that, for Balbuena, is merely a single production site ("la plata del Pirú") among the many that supply commodities to Mexico and the Spanish crown. Balbuena resigns Peru, although not specifically Lima, to a production site, one of many marginal zones of the colonial world and the global economy, secondary to Mexico, which he defines as an imperial center of embarkation, consumption, and circulation. A text written from and about Peru, Rosas de Oquendo's satire similarly understands the City of Kings as peripheral to Mexico's political and economic prominence in the Iberian colonial world. Recognizing Lima and the viceroyalty of Peru as a production site, Rosas de Oquendo employs those poetic structures prominent in Balbuena's text. This includes a heavy reliance on lists—the *de facto* poetic mode coinciding with chronicler's lists of people, places, and things, ship's logs,⁹⁹ inventories, and personnel files common to mercantile expansion—and a similarly economic language, a poetics of accumulation, if you will.¹⁰⁰

However, true to an understanding of Peru as a colonial labor site, Rosas de Oquendo does not articulate lists of commodities, but of laborers and their activities, productive and otherwise. The lengthy *invocatio* calls the community to attention, naming residents by their vocations and the tools of their trades:

¡Dexen todos sus ofisios
 y vengan luego a escucharme,
 los casados, sus muxeres, [25]
 las muxeres, sus axuares,
 los poetas, sus consetos,
 los músicos, sus conpases,
 los yndios, sus sementerías,

⁹⁹ For examples of ship's logs contemporary to the writings of Rosas, see the ship's logs held in the Biblioteca y Archivo del Museo Naval de España (AMN).

¹⁰⁰ See Cieza de León's descriptions of the ports of Peru during the mid-sixteenth century and the listing function within: Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), Ch. 3, 4, 5, and 54. These descriptions were of such importance to the Spanish Armada, that these passages were copied into separate documents for naval recordkeeping and commercial reference. See AMN 0116 / Ms. 0126 / Doc. 007 / Fol. 166-175, a hand-copied version of Cieza's accounts of the ports made in the latter half of the sixteenth century (the archive dates these to 1554).

sus libros, los colesiales, [30]
 las damas, sus exersisios,
 sus paseos, los galanes,
 sus silletas, las comunes,
 y sus estrados, las graues!
 ¡Dexen el gato las negras, [35]
 los negros, sus atabales,
 los pulperos, sus medidas,
 las pulperas, sus dedales,
 la justicia, sus corchetes,
 los corchetes, sus maldades, [40]
 los alguaziles, su rronda,
 y la rronda, sus disfrazes!
 ¡Venga todo el pueblo junto,
 no dexede oírme nadie,
 que no abrá vno entre todos [45]
 a quien no le alcance parte [...]. (vv. 23-46)

Rosas de Oquendo's deployment of the listing mechanism focuses, then, on human experience, mandating that Lima pause the working day in order to hear his observations. With such a listing of people instead of goods, the *Sátira* is immediately distanced from Balbuena's disembodied extraction of resources and production of commodities for consumption in the imperial seat. The poetic subject then announces his own infelicitous human experience in Peru (vv. 75-82) resulting from prevailing tensions between moral and economic conditions and the insufficiency of either merchant economy or moral economy to adequately govern the Viceroyalty.

Time and Work: Rosas de Oquendo's Economic Consciousness

Introducing a cast of Lima's primary characters through their respective vocations, the above passage fundamentally concerns the use of time for productive human activity. As Gerhard Dohrn van-Rossum demonstrates, the seeds of the modern temporal order were not sown in the feudal system nor agrarian life, but rather the monastery of the Mediterranean late middle ages, an institution responsible for first implementing a strict accounting for each minute, hour, and day.¹⁰¹ By convening in the mode of a sermon that seeks to pause the working day, the *Sátira* parallels such systematization of time use, taking up the same function of pausing labor rhythms that the ringing of the church bells perform. Reflecting an internalization of such organizations of time, Rosas de Oquendo's poetic subject halts working time, evolved from the regimentation of the cloisters of the monastery, to argue that Lima's residents would best benefit from taking the time to listen to his instructive rhetoric without interruption or objection (vv. 43-106).

Beginning with time use, the narrative voice occupies a moralizing position throughout the text, advocating social and behavioral reform of the customs of the diverse subjects present in the viceroyalty: time should be spent working. Foremost in the poetic voice's sanctimonious

¹⁰¹ See Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour. Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1-15.

rhetoric is an appraisal of time and how it is spent, a critique directed at each of the subjects named in the *invocatio* and the fourteen distinct satirical passages that follow.¹⁰² Six of the satirical passages focus on activities deemed both morally corrupt and economically unproductive: the *sátira de paseos fingidos y maridos infelices* (vv. 833-872), the *sátira de mujeres or procesión de figuras* (vv. 923-1082), the *sátira del juego* (vv. 1137-1178), the *sátira de paseos* (vv. 1179-1194), the *sátira de bailes* (vv. 1195-1308), and the *sátira de falsas pretensiones* (vv. 1409-1734).¹⁰³ Advocating a formative “ley del cronómetro,”¹⁰⁴ the poetic subject forcefully denounces these activities, culminating in the edict “[d]ad al diablo estos paseos, / esténse en caza y trauajen!” (vv. 847-848). This abstract reference to working constitutes a desire to convert colonial subjects—notably, married women—into “workers,” an abstract name that doesn’t designate any single specific vocation or task. As such, the invocation to stay home and work, although not a mandate to the mines or the fields, suggests that one should take up a commitment to any type of productive activity, serving as an invocation of work itself as counter to the unproductive strolls (“paseos”) and other activities (gambling, dancing, socialization, etc.) observed across the viceregal landscape.

The passage where this verse is situated further indicts Lima’s residents for their hyperactive social lives and the constant courtship and infidelities that supersede labor and contradict good Christian living. Returning to the passage in full, it becomes clear that those who purport to live productively use their business obligations as a means to clandestinely engage in sexual exploits:

¡O maridos infelises,
 los que la lesión errastes,
 qué tienen vuestras muxeres [835]
 que hazer en los Amancayes,
 qué rrentas coxen en Surco,
 qué cuentas tienen en Late,
 qué barcas desde el Callao
 despachan para los balles, [840]
 qué barras les traen de Arica,
 o qué pasas de los Majes;
 y si ay missa en sus perroquias,
 de qué les sirue alejarse

¹⁰² See Lasarte, *Sátira*, xxviii-xxxii. Lasarte identifies the following specific satirical passages directed at different subjects and customs: *sátira de doncellas* (193-318), *sátira de casadas* (319-606), *sátira de enfermas fingidas* (607-748), *sátira de vírgenes fingidas* (749-832), *sátira de paseos fingidos y maridos infelices* (833-872), *Sátira de comerciantes marítimos y de sus mujeres* (873-922), *sátira de mujeres: procesión de figuras* (923-1082), *sátira de viejas* (1083-1098), *sátira de viejos* (1099-1136), *sátira del juego* (1137-1178), *sátira de paseos* (1179-1194), *sátira de bailes* (1195-1308), *sátira de los negros* (1309-1408), *sátira de falsas pretensiones* (1409-1734), *sátira de soldados pobres* (1735-1876), *sátira de la amistad fingida* (1877-1938). While these categories are not absolute, they provide valuable reference points for navigating Rosas de Oquendo’s text.

¹⁰³ On the identification of distinct satires, see Lasarte, *Sátira*, xxviii-xxxii.

¹⁰⁴ Benjamin Coriat, *El taller y el cronometro*, 13th ed. (México: Siglo XXI, 2003), 4.

visitando monesterios [845]
 y viendo paternidades!
 ¡Dad al diablo estos paseos
 esténse en caza y traújen!
 Y vosotras bellaconas,
 las que haséis estos viajes, [850]
 si os pesa de mis consejos
 escuchad y perdonadme,
 que el ser cristiano me obliga
 a que publique y declare
 los paseos dónde caen [855]
 porque el prójimo se guarde. (vv. 833-856)

While the above excerpt pertains specifically to what Lasarte designates the “sátira de paseos fingidos y maridos infelices” (vv. 607-748), the satires of additional demographics are founded upon similar critiques of the way time is spent. Recurrent in the *Sátira*, the narrator positions economic productivity as a metaphor for sexual relations as in the above passage: “qué tienen vuestras muxeres / que hazer [negocios] en los Amancayes / qué rrentas coxen en Surco, / qué cuentas tienen en Late, / qué barcas desde el Callao / despachan para los balles, / qué barras les traen de Arica, / o qué passas de los Majes” (vv. 835-842). The corruption of the moral economy is intimately connected to the alleged pursuit of business interests and commercial activity entangled with adultery and promiscuity: time reserved for work is perverted by lascivious acts. The narrator understands social interactions as decadent activities—courtship, dancing, strolls—that fail to participate in work, seemingly domestic in nature. But the very pretexts for adultery *are* economic activity, suggesting that these activities are not actually being realized, instead being postponed or ignored for sexual encounters that legitimate work and trade conceal. The spouses’ true actions are then incompatible with commercial activity and, at some level, demonstrate an unacceptable inattentiveness to the development and administration of the economy born of primitive accumulation. Likewise, the poetic subject ties his revelations of economic activity as pretexts for promiscuity to good Christian economy, his conscience and God obliging him to announce that they are not doing the work that they purport to be doing, but cuckolding their husbands. On some level, these strolls then signal wasted time as the guilty betray prescriptive expectations to uphold and advance both moral and commercial economy.

In fact, time appears from the earliest verses of the *invocatio* above, as the narrator calls the city to stop what they are doing, to halt their labors, and listen to his pronouncements: “¡Dexen todos sus ofisios / y vengan luego a escucharme” (vv. 23-24). Characterized by references to time “well-spent” in various vocations—“ofisios” (23) such as poets, musicians, indigenous laborers, *pulperos* and *pulperas*, judges, wardens, and officials—the author commands the city to take heed of his text. We also read here the first references to idleness, or wasted time: the “exersisios”¹⁰⁵ of the women, the strolls of the gentlemen (32), the chairs where

¹⁰⁵ Lasarte cites Covarrubias’s *Tesoro de la lengua castella o española* (1614), defining “exersisio” as “salir a passear al campo, y andar para conservar la salud y despedir los males humores” (Covarrubias 274r; Lasarte 54). I read this lexeme as a contrary reference to Ignacio de Loyola’s *Ejercicios espirituales* (1548) and the Jesuit order active in Peru, suggestive that women pass their time idly instead of engaged in spiritual growth or productive activity.

the commoner is seated merely passing the time (33), the parlor-sitting of the worst noble offenders (“las graues”) (34), the drums of the Afroperuvian (36), and the criminals’ “maldades” (40).

Read within the context of Balbuena’s “poetics of accumulation” and the “commercial language of accounting,”¹⁰⁶ the *Sátira*’s preoccupation with time-use is not exclusively a moralizing critique of Lima’s purportedly profane social and moral condition. These moralizing attitudes also advocate taking up the real work that people purport to do, betraying anxiety over the unproductivity of the viceroyalty and the poetic subject’s own internalization of these processes of trade and exchange as proper, if not ideal, behavior. Thinking in terms of Le Goff and Vilches’s studies of the apprehension about changing conceptions of moral and economic values, Rosas de Oquendo’s poem is a manifestation of these anxieties, doubly concerned with moral decay and emerging conceptions of ‘good’ labor practice that must accompany colonial economic development after primitive accumulation has slowed (at least in 1598 Lima). This double anxiety with moral and colonial economies can be read in the poetic subject’s marginalized condition in spite of his above adherence to a logic championing work and trade:

Dióme Fortuna su cunbre, [75]
 y al tienpo del derribarme
 dexóme sin bien ni bienes
 ni amigos a quien quejarme.
 Pasé por siglo de oro
 al golfo de adbersjdades: [80]
 ayer cortezano ylustre,
 oy un pobre caminante.
 Pasando por la memoria
 aquel rriguroso tranze
 me olvidó de compasión, [85]
 dio boses a la otra parte.
 Nuebe años e callado,
 tienpo será de que hable. (vv. 75-88)

Having lost everything, the narrator reacts against the circumstances that have led to his ignoble condition, and specifically his lack of wellness (“bien”) and material wealth, referred to as “bienes” (78). The satire, then, originates in the material marginalization of the narrator, a loss characterized by anxiety about the perplexing moral and economic paradigms capable of rendering a “cortezano ylustre” (81) a “pobre caminante” (82), and allowing the poetic subject to betray a sense of self-identification as an alienated subject.

The poetic subject also expresses discontent with his material condition in terms of time, thrown from the peak of fortune into a time of decline. The narrator’s phrasing “[e]l tienpo del derribarme” (76), posits his decline not as an event, but as a temporality, following the even earlier reference to “[e]l tienpo del marearme” (20). His personal misfortune is not a singular moment, but rather an entire temporality—an age of personal decline, if you will—that corresponds to the consolidation of resources in viceroyal Peru during the supposed Golden Age of Spanish empire. This time is signaled as a moment of absolute material and social failure:

¹⁰⁶ Fuchs and Marínez-San Miguel, “La grandeza mexicana,” 379. Translation mine.

“pasé por siglo de oro / al golfo de adbersjdades: / ayer cortezano ylustre, oy un pobre caminante” (79-82). This Bakhtinian chronotope of decline is also a time to speak openly of such failures: “[n]uebe años e callado, / tienpo será de que hable” (87-88).

The narrator will speak openly, without self-censorship because compassion itself has forgotten him: “me olvidó de compasión, / dio bofes a la otra parte” (vv. 85-6).¹⁰⁷ Compassion’s location in “otra parte” (86) can be read as more than just compassion’s evasion of the narrator: it might also refer to compassion’s absence in the Peruvian territory, the reputed colonial production site that he inhabits. While this “otra parte” is ambiguous, read alongside Balbuena’s *Grandeza mexicana* and other textual celebrations of Mexico, the narrator posits Peru, earlier referenced as “Pirú soberbio, / tan rrico como ynorante” (vv. 68-69) as an inhospitable environ subjugate to Mexico (and ultimately the Spanish metropolis to which he claims to return at the poem’s conclusion).

But where does the poetic subject’s sensitivity to time-use originate? His forceful advocacy of good labor practice deemed beneficial to the abstractly termed viceroyalty (coded to refer not to Indians and slaves, but to a colonial elite) is often concealed as an agenda for society’s moral improvement and the salvation of the laboring subject. This accompanied broader early modern framing of work in terms of its moral benefits for society, similar edicts a prominent in Iberian discourse on the colonial economy:

[In the mid-1500s] the Cortes [of Castilla] proposed that the Indies should begin producing wool and fabrics on their own. Such measures would cause the settlers to abandon their idle and prodigal lifestyles and embrace hard work. The colonists, the petition continued, had so much wealth and such an appetite for spending that they were drawing the business of Castilian merchants away from Castile itself.¹⁰⁸

This description of the Cortes de Castilla’s *Petición 214* references the moral benefits of hard work: colonial production ought not propagate work for work’s sake, simply to end idleness, but rather to “cause the settlers to abandon their idle and prodigal lifestyles and embrace hard work.” Their motivation should not be—and for the Cortes de Castilla, is not—only economic profit (it is hardly mentioned in the petition) but an embrace of hard work as a means of correcting moral ills (“idle and prodigal lifestyles”) found in the colonies. The poetic subject’s attentiveness to productive time is derived from his realization that his labors as a dispossessed conquistador-turned-wanderer have yielded no benefit, spiritual, moral, or economic. His economic marginalization, forgotten by compassion, is irreconcilable with his past labors for the crown, resulting in sentiments of alienation—an existence outside of the “economy of plunder”¹⁰⁹ punctuated by the remunerations of titles, land, and laborers—that contradict his advocacy of real work. His heightened sensitivity to the uses of time seen in Peru then anticipate and reflect his own Spanish settler primitive alienation, which I now turn to.

The Facets of Primitive Alienation: Patronage and the Market

¹⁰⁷ Lasarte gives us the clarifying footnote: “dar voces a otra parte: favorecer a otro” (58).

¹⁰⁸ Vilches, *New World Gold*, 146; referring to petition 214 found in Larraz López, *La época del mercantilismo en Castilla (1500-1700)*, 48-54.

¹⁰⁹ Spalding, in Larson, *Cochabamba 1550-1900*, 52n2.

In essence, primitive alienation represents “the earliest stages, the beginnings”¹¹⁰ of the later concept of estrangement (*entfremdung*) enunciated in Marx’s *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.¹¹¹ Yet the Spanish settler reacts not only to labor, but the very conditions which require him to work while others before him were handily compensated by the crown for their royal service and military feats, real and alleged. The sentiments expressed by Rosas de Oquendo—“[p]ues ya me desencanté / quiero seguir mi viaxe” (vv. 2049-2050)—convey disillusion with the failings of prevalent early colonial patronage structures and nascent market systems to reward and privilege individuals such as the poetic subject after the mid-sixteenth century. This remark late in the *Sátira* might then be seen to reflect frustrations with the shifting forms of distributing wealth in the colonial world (distinct from simultaneous feudal-merchant structural shifts in early modern Europe)¹¹² under which colonial subjects’ identities are forged upon their relationship to land (to have or to have not) and work (to have to work or not have to work). In Peru, Spain, and around the Iberian world, a new paradigm of “haves and have-nots” emerges independent of the socially binding concepts that governed feudal Spain, such as race, bloodlines, and nobility.

But in order to understand Spanish primitive alienation in the Andes, we must return to that primitive accumulation so characteristic of Balbuena’s poem. Balbuena’s celebration of global commerce, centered in Mexico, serves to punctuate “the necessary cruelty of the beginning of the state”¹¹³ (if not the resulting discontent and dispossession across all demographics) documented in the previous century of colonial chronicles detailing harmonious marketplaces, felicitous indigenous labor, and abundant lands and raw materials. Accompanying this century of primitive accumulation and the consolidation of the economy were widespread, if varied, forms of primitive alienation. The term should be understood here in its most pedestrian sense, as an existence outside of the process of accumulating and distributing wealth (the spoils of primitive accumulation amassed by violence and terror) and the benefactors of the institutionalization of the colonial Andean economy.

Alienation took place first at the level of individuals posturing and jockeying for access to land and labor through the *encomienda* and post-1542 *repartimiento* systems. The repeated sixteenth-century Spanish civil wars for control of the Andes are evidence of the specter of primitive alienation even before primitive accumulation. These intense competitions and conflicts among Spaniards seeking to take and retain control of their own individual domains, to stake their claim to lands and labor that would serve as the foundations of extractive and

¹¹⁰ “Primitive,” Oxford English Dictionary Online, oed.com

¹¹¹ Similar to Marx’s industrial workers, the sixteenth-century colonial subject dispossessed of material remunerations or patronage is forced to labor. Working on behalf of *encomenderos*, mine owners, *obraje* owners, or merchants operating in the informal economy outside of official economic systems of tribute, the Spanish settler then becomes isolated from the products of her or his labor, from the act of working, from self as producer, and from the masses of other workers laboring under the transitional conditions of the colonial economy. Although less regimented, such primitive alienation is resonant with that originating in the conditions explored by Marx.

¹¹² On such transitions in early modern Spain, see Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600*, 41-53 and 70-76.

¹¹³ Louis Althusser, *Machiavelli and Us*, ed. François Matheron, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 1999), 124. Also, Moreiras “Ten Notes on Primitive Accumulation,” 344.

production economies, indicate a deep fear (different from the fear of the indigenous in the face of conquest violence) of becoming alienated from the landed class. Of course, the clearest companion to primitive accumulation is the alienation of those outside of or in the way of such appropriation, experienced forcefully and immediately by native Andeans and African peoples dispossessed of their lands and their liberties, forced to live and labor under Spanish governance, defined by varying degrees of labor exploitation and violence. And while I do not mean to understate the alienation of indigenous peoples residing in colonial Peru under conquest-era systems of distributing wealth—that is indeed the focus of the next chapter—, those Spaniards who were not a part of the leadership of early conquest expeditions also became alienated from the vestigial feudal distribution of the *encomienda*.

Discontent in the face of exclusion from *encomienda* and *repartimiento*, as well as from royal titles, is the first component of what I term Spanish settler primitive alienation.¹¹⁴ Such an operation, first evident in inter-Spanish civil conflicts of the Andes—can be seen by the constant writing and rewriting of histories of conquest, seen in Mexico with Hernán de Cortés (*Cartas de relación*, 1522), Francisco López de Gómara (*Historia general de las Indias*, 1553), and Bernal Díaz del Castillo (*Verdadera historia de la conquista de la Nueva España*, written 1575, printed 1632). Similar attempts to plot history took place in Peru with the writings of Francisco de Xeréz (*Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú y provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*, 1531), Juan de Sámano (*Relación Sámano-Xeréz*, written 1528, printed 1534), Miguel de Estete (*Noticia del Perú*, 1535), Pedro Cieza de León (*Crónica del Perú*, 1548-1550), Juan de Betanzos (*Suma y narración de los Incas*, 1551), and Cristóbal de Molina (*Relación de muchas cosas acaescidas en el Perú, en suma para atender a la letra la manera que se tuvo la conquista y poblacion destes reinos*, 1552) each penning their own versions of the same events, largely with their own material interests in mind.¹¹⁵ With each new history recounting the conquest of Peru, we see a new iteration of fear, not of violence, but of exclusion. And therein we can sense the foundations of a Spanish settler primitive alienation, latent in an awareness of diminished future possibilities for remunerations and the accompanying possibility of exclusion from the dominant official systems of administering land and labor grants.

The Spanish individuals who became increasingly marginalized from monarchic distributions of lands were further alienated by “unprecedented encounters of people, languages, bodies of knowledge, and technologies taking place due to colonization” outside of “institutions,

¹¹⁴ Here, the term “settler” alludes directly to settler colonialism. While the Spanish Empire was officially concerned with ore and resources, a form of extractive colonialism, the very systems (again, *encomienda* and *repartimiento*) of compensating conquistadors also involved allotting vast tracts of land to Spaniards for, and under the conditions of, Spanish settlement. Likewise, much conquest held the objective of establishing cities (even if sparsely populated), as seen in Cieza de León’s *Crónica del Perú*. Franklin Pease highlights that Cieza even referred to “el primer volumen ... como “libro de las fundaciones”, debido al temario que consideraba el mismo” (“Estudio preliminar,” in Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), xviii).

¹¹⁵ Betanzos, for example, accompanied Pizarro as a Quechua interpreter before supporting Pedro de la Gasca against the Pizarro rebellion in 1546, earning an *encomienda* ceded by Carlos I. Ironically, Gasca’s distribution of approximately 1.300.000 pesos during the Reparto de Guaynarima on August 16, 1548 was disputed by the roughly 1600 soldiers in his company, leading to the propagation of further discontent among Spanish conquerors and settlers.

... incipient states, the Church” that destabilized the pre-colonial racial and social hierarchies that they were accustomed to.¹¹⁶ In other words, the operation of merchants and commercial actors within the boundaries of colonial governance and mercantilism or independently and outside of the formal Spanish colonial apparatus (including contraband and piracy) introduced elements of market logic that caused dispossessed Spaniards in America to feel not only geographically isolated, as Cieza, but isolated from the very institutions that they hoped to benefit from. As the *Sátira* claims, those Spaniards failing to gain remunerations in the wake of their combat achievements (real or purported) were forced to find another means of supporting themselves: work for compensation, or wage labor, as the poetic subject alleges that his generation of Spaniards in the Andes must take up: “Baian muy en ora mala, / búsqenlo por otra parte, / y trabaxen en las Yndias / como en Castilla sus padres” (vv.1623-1626).

And here stands the second tenet of Spanish settler primitive alienation: a reversion to labor as the objective fate of the poetic subject and its abstraction, seen as incapable of advancing social status and as an alienating, sickening phenomenon for he who labors. While many colonists sought out new conquests and new means of garnering a *repartimiento* in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries (attacked by Rosas de Oquendo in his satire of false lineages and conquests, vv. 1543-1720), Spaniards, too, entered into mundane, non-military vocations that imply the alienation of the laboring subject. The poetic subject discusses work after indicting the dishonesty of merchants and low quality of their wares: “¡Quántos gusanos de seda / hilan cortados los traxes; / cuántos mercaderes rricos, / usurpando calidades, / por haserse caualleros / se boluieron sacristanes! / El cauallero lo sea / y el trabaxador trabaje / y el que busca oficio axeno / rrazón será que lo pague: / que el lacayo le acuchille / y que el caballo le arrastre, / que son castigos del sielo / porque dexan sus lugares, / y pues toman los ajenos / es justo que los estrañen” (vv. 219-234). In this passage, Rosas de Oquendo reflects what José Antonio Maravall terms the “conservaduría” hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII,¹¹⁷ invoking man to adhere to his social position in early modern society. The worker should work while the noble should be a noble, and the worker’s pursuit of nobility will be, rightfully it seems, punished by divine “...castigos del sielo” (vv. 231) beyond his control.

Beyond this advocacy of social hierarchy, the poetic subject does not clarify who should work beyond “el trabaxador” and he does not specify what type of work is taken up. However, as the poetic subject has repeatedly lamented his own lack of title and nobility (vv. 81-82, etc.), his own binary (worker vs. noble) suggests that he finds himself at or in need of work, seeking out and engaging in an “ofisio,” or some sort of labor.¹¹⁸ This work is repulsive, harmful to one’s health, as “melancolías / trabajos y enfermedades / echan vnos a la guerra, / otros en los ospitales, / donde toman el camino / para el tribunal más graue, / siguro asiento de pobres / pues en la tierra no caben” (vv. 1869-1876). This later passage equates work to emotional

¹¹⁶ Jody D. Blanco and Ivonne del Valle, “Reorienting Schmitt’s *Nomos*: Political Theology and Colonial (and Other) Exceptions in the Creation of Modern and Global Worlds,” *Política Común* 5 (2014), n.p.

¹¹⁷ José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del barroco* (Barcelona, Editorial Ariel, 1975), 277. Also see Lasarte, 63n88.

¹¹⁸ “Ofisio” is equated to “trabajo manual” (Lasarte, *Sátira*, 86n292; 110n554). Lasarte also adds that between campaigns, soldiers such as the poetic subject depended on others for support, “their main resource being the hospitality of wealthy encomenderos who were very willing to take in and entertain guests” (Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 141 in Lasarte, *Sátira*, 115n630)

(“melancolías”) and physical illness (“enfermedades”), destined to subject the worker to poverty and unhappiness among a colonial world crowded with the poor (using the early colonial vision of a utopian America to riff on the Christian trope of heaven as the domain of the poor). Another long description of a noble unseated by fate (vv. 1445-1520) explains how the poetic subject found “vn hombre de muy buen tallo” (vv. 1446) in rags “yendo a trabaxar” (vv. 1503). Even beyond the fact that labor (and wage labor at that) is the undesired fate outlined here, these general references to work see labor as an objective, self-evident fate outside of the poetic subject’s (or other fallen Spanish noble’s) control, this fate becoming thinglike, reified, and thus existentially alienating from fully realized subjectivity. Through its reification as an object (an uncontrolled destiny), the nature of the work is unimportant for alienation to be realized. Compounded with the desired system of compensation—wages—and the abstraction of labor that wages mandate (selling one’s time), these passages fundamentally indicate a shift towards early forms of alienation.

Spanish settler primitive alienation then places in opposition three possibilities of Spanish existence in the colonial economy. First, is the landowner—the *encomendero* and later *hacendado* of the *repartimiento*—who is awarded land and provided cyclical labor in the form of the *mita*. These, with productive Indian labor, would support a second class of merchants with the goods that their lands yield. And third, if neither a landowner nor a merchant, is the wage laborer. Yet for colonial merchants, participation in markets was not exclusive to Spaniards, as indigenous and African men and women also proved themselves not only capable, but adept at navigating and participating in colonial market structures, retaining some degree of autonomy within or from the formal economy and accruing a surprising degree of wealth through trade.¹¹⁹ Such dynamics endow Spanish settler primitive alienation with a specifically racial (racist) and reactionary character as the satirical subject pines for a moment when “capitalism ... constitutes its *withouts*,” those “*life forms* [and its inheritors and adherents] *that are constituted as backward, hence condemned to disappear*.”¹²⁰ As the Spaniard forced to labor for survival feels excluded from the new market hierarchy, as indigenous and African subjects successfully embrace commerce and accrue wealth, enabling them a social mobility unthinkable for Spaniards raised in the shadow of the expulsion of Jewish and Moorish residents from the Iberian Peninsula. Although such indigenous participation in early modern capital erodes Andean life forms—“millennial practices with deep roots in Meso-american [here, Andean] antiquity”¹²¹—, within Derrida’s globalatinization,¹²² it marks a simultaneous participation in market economy by peoples that the *Sátira*’s poetic subject sees as unrightfully accruing not just capital proper, but cultural capital. The emergence of market systems and a new social stratification in colonial Peru is a product both of the official economy under the *encomienda* system and an informal economy that, according to Karen Graubart, “involved production outside the legal *encomienda*

¹¹⁹ See Karen Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*. Also see Mangan, *Trading Roles*; and Mangan, “A Market of Identities: Women, Trade and Ethnic Labels in Colonial Potosí,” in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Andrew Fisher and Matthew O’Hara (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 21-60.

¹²⁰ Rabasa, *Without History*, 145.

¹²¹ Rabasa, *Without History*, 8.

¹²² Jacques Derrida, “Faith and Knowledge: The Two Sources of ‘Religion’ at the Limits of Reason Alone,” in *Acts of Religion*, ed. Gil Anidjar, trans. Samuel Weber (New York: Routledge, 2002), 67.

system, and ... formed part of the burgeoning colonial economy not directly answerable to the law."¹²³ Examination of the archive behind Graubart's work demonstrates that this informal economy looked a lot like capitalism. And therein, indigenous subjects and particularly women recognized the dominance of the new, if changing, colonial economy and readily incorporated themselves into urban markets. Such realities then push the alienated Spaniard to advocate for a return to earlier feudal structures where, at the very least, his racial and religious standing ensured a position in Spanish society.

Under my reading of Balbuena and Rosas de Oquendo, capital—as commodity and as (unrealized) labor—is king in the colonial world, beginning with primitive accumulation. As such, alienation from the relationships of capital is not only possible, but unavoidable, as well as an alienation from expectations of the continued hegemony of the previous aristocratic-patronage system. This is predicated upon confusion and discontent with both systems (and the moral economy), causing the narrator to lament, “¡O tierra de *confusión*, / fuego del sielo te abraze; / ante Dios te pediré / dies años me usurpaste / y desta joia perdida, / tengo por paga bastante / el *bien* del conosimiento / y la gloria de dexarte” (vv. 2057-64; my emphasis). Poor in material wealth, he has been compensated only in “el bien del conosimiento” of the difficult realities of colonial life. His primitive alienation demonstrates not only the alienation of labor under formative capital and the relegation of subjects and life forms to wage (and therefore, abstract) labor, but also disenfranchisement with the inability to capitalize on colonial primitive accumulation. Additionally, the residual displacement of the earlier aristocratic organization of society—including patronage and the diminishment of race-based entitlements to social status and economic security—serves to further isolate Rosas de Oquendo's narrator. The perceived democratization of the colonial economy to include and enable diverse racial demographics to compete for pecuniary resources provides an additional source of frustration for the jilted colonist. I now turn to the text's expressions of these two uniquely colonial sources of primitive alienation.

Facet One: The Tightening of Patronage

The satirical narrator's above cited disillusionment (vv. 75-88) results from exclusion from an institution of medieval economy that continued in the early colonial period: royal patronage. The narrator's forced participation in the nascent market economy and the very potential of Spanish alienated labor results from the inaccessibility of capital previously distributed on the grounds of royal privilege, purity of bloodlines, or military service to the crown. That is, the exclusion of the Spanish subject from the disbursement of lands and patronage doled out by the colonial elite in earlier phases of conquest, settlement, and exploitation obligates him to seek out a living through other means, such as those trades detailed by Lockhart. As contract labor, a hired mine manager, or agricultural overseer, the Spanish subject's vocational fate implies a participation in wage labor, either in the service of the *encomienda* system or in the markets that Graubart cites.¹²⁴

¹²³ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 51. Also see Mangan, *Trading Roles* and Mangan, “A Market of Identities.”

¹²⁴ On Spanish roles as wage laborers in the colonial Andes, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 109-128 and 254-257.

For the poetic subject excluded from royal remunerations, patronage in the form of *repartimientos* for military service are the bane of the Peruvian economy, wrought with fraud and a source of the unseating of once-justified Iberian notions of noble privilege. The poetic subject derides former military men in Peru who overstate their service and await royal compensation instead of laboring productively:

Los que fueron al inglés¹²⁵ [635]
 cuentan marauillas grandes,
 los otros de la Nauual,
 los otros de Ytalia y Flandes;
 y todos estos señores
 fueron allá xenerales, [640]
 y con el señor don Juan [de Austria]
 tubieron negocios graues.
 El otro tiene vna carta
 de su amigo el Condestable
 que le abissa cómo el Rrey [645]
 ba a una xornada inportante,
 donde ba por mariscal
 vn hermano de su padre;
 y si él en esta ocasión
 se hallara en aquellas partes [650]
 sin duda fuera proueído
 por xeneral o almirante.
 El vno muestra vn soneto
 que escriuió a doña Violante,
 el otro saca vn villete [655]
 rrauiando por enseñarle;
 al otro miró el virrey
 y le dixo que esperaze,
 y el otro salió proueído
 el sáuado por la tarde; [660]
 no puede desirse adónde,
 que ynporta el no publicarse,
 y es el casso tan secreto
 que aun el *Marqués* no lo sabe.
 El otro tiene por sierto [665]
 que le darán los Pacaxes [indígenas de Alto Peru cerca de Puno]
 y el otro ba a Potossí
 a un caso muy ynportante;
 y todos para la buelta

¹²⁵ Lasarte clarifies that “inglés” is a common reference to a pirate, in this case potentially referring to Richard Hawkins, active in South America between 1585-1594, when he was captured in El Callao by Beltrán Hurtado de Mendoza, arrested by the Inquisition in Lima and sent to Spain for trial in 1597. See Lasarte, *Lima satirizada*, 77.

prometen de señalarse. [670]
 El otro tiene vna dama,
 muxer de vn personaxe,
 que le enbió quatro camisas
 con tanta punta y encaxe;
 rrepárale su persona [675]
 y dale plata que gaste.
 Yo debo de ser capado
 pues no me socorre nadie [...] (vv. 635-678)

Dually satirizing the absurdity of depending upon patronage and embellished connections to top political figures (Juan de Austria (641), the king (645), doña Violante (654), etc.), this passage further demonstrates the poetics of accumulation embedded in the *Sátira*. Each subject in the passage is introduced in terms of how he schemes in order to ensure material compensation or a chance at an opportunity that might ensure such compensation. Some cite their military service and embellish their positions (vv. 635-642). Others cite the lineage and royal company of family members in order to assert their social position and manufacture opportunity or social favor (vv. 643-652). Countless others claim personal relations with Iberian nobles (vv. 653-658) and allege inclusion in secret operations of the colonial elite (vv. 659-664). Another is certain he will be granted tribute laborers (vv. 665-666) and yet another departs for Potosí to tend to some important business or hearing (vv. 667-668). The common trait of all of these Spanish colonists is their promise to announce themselves to the poetic subject upon their return (vv. 669-670). And while the primary implication of the passage is that all of his fellow colonists embellish and exaggerate their connections, achievements in attempts to further their material condition and prospects, the references to “vn villete” (655), “camisas / con tanta punta y encaxe” (673-674), and “plata que gaste” (676) foreground the conspicuous circulation of the spoils of primitive accumulation. Yet among this landscape of colonists seeking to secure fortune and its trappings, the poetic subject suggests that the limited territory and official positions still available to Spaniards are out of his reach: “yo debo de ser capado / pues no me socorre nadie” (vv. 677-678).

As Julie Greer Johnson points out, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Europeans of all social classes held high hopes for both utopian societies and accruing individual wealth in the Americas.¹²⁶ Certainly, for the initial wave of conquistadors and settlers, remunerations abounded, and it is this expectation, unfounded for the narrator, that is satirized above. Indeed, by the mid-sixteenth century, common Spaniards found a bleak material reality in which most American capital, largely in the form of human labor and property, had already been appropriated by the Crown and earlier waves of soldier-settlers.¹²⁷ Excluded from patronage and merit-based remunerations distributed decades earlier, the European arriving in the Americas after the mid-sixteenth century finds himself—like the narrator, “no me socorre nadie” (678)—

¹²⁶ Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 12-13.

¹²⁷ Lockhart highlights how few encomenderos existed in mid-colonial Peru, the number of new encomiendas granted greatly contracted by 1537. See Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 20, 11-37 and 43-54.

arriving late to the raucous party of unregulated primitive accumulation.¹²⁸ It is precisely the tendency of former military men to await *encomiendas* and official titles to land—officially administered primitive accumulation of capital—for their service instead of working that Rosas de Oquendo’s narrator attacks in the above passage.¹²⁹

He is thus obligated to work on behalf of others, to labor like the generations of peasant laborers before him in Spain and the contemporary indigenous life forms interrupted or consumed by wage labor (as *mita*, under the best circumstances, was) in the colonies. Yet things in the colonies are different: the person dispossessed of capital is not lorded over and simultaneously protected by feudal benefaction. The victim of primitive material alienation is at the mercy of the labor market, his productive time to be compensated by coined currency as dictated by those enjoying the spoils of primitive accumulation. Estranged from the once-hegemonic systems of patronage characteristic of the Iberian Peninsula, the satirical narrator gives voice to expressions of alienation as his military service fails to attract patronage:¹³⁰

Yo aconpañé su esquadron con la ynsinia tremolante, descubrí nuevos caminos, espuné lo inexpunable, allané fuertes castillos, gané siguras ciudades, con balas de blanda zera	[1990]
rronpí muros de diamantes, batí en mi rreyno moneda, hallé quien me la tomase, entablesí nuevas leyes,	[1995]

¹²⁸ Vilches discussion of Spaniards in the colonies (*New World Gold*, 294-317) is surprisingly diffuse, mentioning only a few archival instances of *peninsulares* writing about their success in America. We must keep in mind that these celebrated individuals are only the victors of primitive accumulation during a finite period of colonization from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The merchants, mariners, and traders who were agents of Seville-based trade houses and partook in Lima’s *consulado* upon its formation in 1613 reflect a minority population who would come to constitute the nascent *criollo* elite a generation later. Countless others—often less prominent figures in the archival record—experienced significantly less success than those elite *peruleros* laboring on behalf of merchant and royal institutions that dominated the nascent transatlantic and global economies.

¹²⁹ The poetic subject also feels that such claims of entitlement to patronage serve to further confusion about money and value, as evidenced in the exclamation, “¡Qué confuso quedaría / si alguno le declarase / que en canpos de Arabiana / murieron los siete Infante / y que su yegua zerrera / llebaua los atabales / quando el otro de La Gasca / fue sobre Francisco Hernandes!” (vv. 781-788). Verses 783-784 refer to the Spanish folk romance of *El Rodrigo*. The reference to La Gasca and Hernandes refers to popular Peruvian romances about the 1554 Pucará rebellion led by Hernandes and La Gasca’s pacification of the region. See Lasarte, *Sátira*, 81-82.

¹³⁰ See John Beverley, *Aspects of Góngora’s “Soledades”* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1980), 66-78 and its discussion of nostalgia as a useful framing of the interaction of patronage with a poetics of disillusion and nostalgia for aristocratic governance of society and economy.

senbré costumbres y traxes [2000]
nueuos modos de biuir,
nueuo contrato y lenguaje,
enmudesí los discretos,
y di lengua a los saluaxes,
formé nubes en la tierra, [2005]
y edefisios en el ayre;
con amigos hise treguas,
y con enemigos pazes.
Cursé la escuela de Vlises,
acredité la de Marte, [2010]
fui con franceses francés,
alemán con alemanes,
consideré las estrellas,
desentrañé minerales,
pregoné guerras injustas [2015]
acrecenté enemistades,
deste arte biuí, si es vida
la que tan mal se rreparte,
con más dioses que vn exiçio
y más sin Dios que vn alarue. (vv. 1989-2020)

The poetic subject lists his productive activities as a soldier-conqueror laboring on behalf of the Spanish crown, discovering new paths, storming the unstormable, flattening castles, and winning cities, among other military achievements.

Beyond achievement, he communicates metaphors of circulation and exchange value in the verses “desentrañé minerales” (vv. 2014) and “rronpí muros de diamantes, / batí en mi rreyno moneda, / hallé quien me la tomase” (vv. 1996-1998). Metaphorically or literally earning diamonds and forging coins, the latter a still untrusted and somewhat suspect, abstract means of exchange in the sixteenth century, such passages allude to the narrator’s consciousness of shifting schema of exchange and value in Peru’s colonial environs. Yet alienation comes from the lamentable instability of assigning abstract value to minted coins and the ease with which a fortune can disappear without royal protections. In spite of accumulating such wealth, the narrator laments, “hallé quien me la [moneda] tomase” (vv. 1998), punctuating the satires of opportunistic residents of the viceroyalty directly preceding this passage.

In addition to positing his misfortune in the context of the minting and circulation of coined currency, the narrator also introduces the global nature of colonial enterprise, stating that “con amigos hise treguas / y con enemigos pazes” (vv. 2007-2008) and “fui con franceses francés, / alemán con alemanes” (vv. 2011-2012). A reference to working as a conquistador-colonist alongside members of other European imperial powers, the poetic subject emphasizes the global nature of conquest and economy between references to minerals, diamonds, and coins.¹³¹ A reference to mercenary labor in the colonial world, this passage additionally

¹³¹ Additional passages refer to Spanish nobles that travel to Europe and return with luxury items purchased from France and Madrid. In order to limit the length of this already-overstated essay, see vv. 1345-1374.

highlights individual loyalty not to a single monarch or colonial political entity, but to the promise of money itself. Corroborated by the conflict-ridden political history of sixteenth-century Peru documented by Agustín de Zárate in 1555,¹³² the poetic subject suggests that wealth—primitive accumulation—is the primary motor behind conquest, usurping monarchic or proto-national loyalties.

The narrator's past military activities and his alienation from the expected compensation demonstrate the "commercial, capitalist economic rationality"¹³³ that cause him to denounce idleness, explored below. Yet disillusionment with the economic realm accompanies cynicism about the moral economy. There is a clear disenchantment with Lima's moral condition in the utterance that life in Peru is "con más dioses que vn exiçio / mas sin Dios que vn alarue" (vv. 2019-2020), comparing life in the Andean region to the alleged godlessness of the Islamic world.¹³⁴ Discontent is not strictly moral: rather, embittered by the absence of the compensation that he anticipates/expects, excluded from patronage, and having lost what monetary remunerations gained by productive bellicose activities, the narrator highlights how the corruption of the new economic systems is accompanied by the absence of God, upsetting the previously reliable social governance of moral institutions (the church). Alienated from economic life, the former conqueror might have sought refuge in God, but alas, he is unable to even seek salvation in the spiritual economy.

Given the revelation of the true motives behind individual participation in conquest, the claim that "senbré costumbres y traxes / nuevos modos de biuir, / nuevo contrato y lenguaje" (vv. 2000-2002) might be understood as a reference to the broad establishment of new life-ways, new customs, contracts and language in the *economic* as well as politico-military realm. And given its poor remunerations—"deste arte biuí, si es vida / la que tan mal se rreparte" (vv. 2017-2018)—this new economic paradigm is a source of grave alienation for the poet-conquistador, especially given the moral vacuity and lack of charity that he encounters under the economic structures that force him to labor.

Denied patronage, laboring on behalf of others proves a hostile affair, and the precariousness of business and professional relationships (mentioned in the same breath as "amistad") is likened to violent storms with dangerous winds:

Yo alcanço por espireñcia
que no ay negocio durable¹³⁵ [1940]
ni bínculo de amistad

¹³² Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, (Antwerp: Martin Nutius, 1555) chronicles the conflicts between factions of the Pizarro brothers and Diego Almagro until Viceroy Pedro de la Gasca put down the final rebellion by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548.

¹³³ Del Valle, "Grandeza mexicana and the Lakes of Mexico City," 39.

¹³⁴ Lasarte's footnotes clarify: "Exiçio: egipcio: "gitano"" and "Alarbe: "Hombre bárbaro, rudo, áspero, bestial, ò sumamente ignorante. Dícese por comparación à...los árabes"" (*Sátira*, 118).

¹³⁵ Covarrubias defines 'negocio' as "la ocupación de cosa particular, que obligue al hombre a poner en ella alguna solicitud, latine negotium. Dize vn Brocardico negocium, quis negat ocium. Negociar, negociante, negociacion, salen de la palabra negocio" (*Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 562). The early modern term then holds its contemporary commercial resonances.

que el tiempo no lo desate,
que el pecho de más asiento
se muere por novedades, [1945]
porque son sus mouimientos
humores asidentales,
arreatadas tormentas, [1948]
peligrosos vendavales[.] (vv. 1939-1951)

Preceding the passage elaborating his conquest activities, this passage highlights frustration with the volatility of the labor market and its dearth of enduring loyalties. Time undoes business relationships, which become fleeting and temporary, as is friendship, which is elsewhere likened to a transactional relationship in the colonies.¹³⁶ Once again, there is an emphasis on the ability of the new economy to displace persons previously favored because of their social stature and racial lineage: “el pecho de más asiento / se muere por novedades, / porque son sus mouimientos / humores asidentales” (vv. 1946-1949). The noble is subject to these “novedades”—the new economic and political paradigms that usurp the formerly hegemonic moral economy—whose movements are “humores asidentales,”¹³⁷ detrimental to the formerly privileged life form.

Additional passages highlight the treacherous dealings with people in the colony and the difficulty of finding material support from anyone in the viceroyalty. The narrator describes his physiognomy (vv. 813-20), concluding that he is

...vna liebre en rretirarme [820]
 y sé que es lo más seguro
 bailar al son que me hazen,
 que si el son es de mentiras,
 cómo bailaré berdades,
 que el que está entre caldereros [825]
 a de aprender su languaxe.
 Bien sé que entre ellos ni ellas
 no tengo de quien fiarme,
 que estoy adonde conbiene
 pedir a Dios que me guarde, [830]
 que donde todos es traysión,
 no ay medio humano que baste. (vv. 820-832)

A hare among cooks (“liebre ... entre caldereros”) is the metaphor for the former conquistador seeking to eek out a living in Peru, the propertyless former soldier forced to “bailar al son que me hazen” without “de quien fiarme,” a paradigm under which prayer is his only possibility for protection. Primitive alienation incarnate, a laboring hare among cooks wielding the ingredients of primitive accumulation.

¹³⁶ See the poetic subject’s claim that “...el que su amistad me ofreze, / para algo quiere enlazarme,” (Rosas de Oquendo, *Sátira*, vv. 1879-1880; also see vv. 403-406, 457-464, and 1877-1944.

¹³⁷ “Humores asidentales” are defined by Lasarte as “el exceso de una flema o humor, que causaría un trastorno en el comportamiento” (116).

Facet Two: Wage Labor and the Democratization of (Unofficial) Markets

Highlighted in the above passages, the tightening of the patronage system at the beginning of the sixteenth century is offset by a second, seemingly beneficial economic development in Lima: the expansion of the urban economy to allow non-nobles and non-Europeans to work as merchants. As Margarita Suárez, Guillermo Lohman Villena, John T.S. Melzer, and James Lockhart have demonstrated, Spain's *indianos*—merchants, traders, and conquistadors who set off for America and returned home significantly wealthier—were not all of noble blood nor of lineages traditionally befitting patronage-era definitions of the Spanish aristocratic economic elite.¹³⁸ Similarly, as Graubart convincingly demonstrates, in certain contexts indigenous merchants and women benefitted greatly from the 'democratization' of the official *encomienda* system and the parallel, unregulated economy. Ethnically diverse groups were capable of benefitting from the market-leanings of colonial economy and some of its greatest beneficiaries were not Europeans or local colonial elites.¹³⁹ As Rosas's narrator constantly reminds his reader with his expressions of disapproval, women of all racial categories born in the Indies worked, often fruitfully, to further the material conditions of their lives.

Providing a list of productive economic activities common to urban women, the poetic subject cites the varied occupations of female subjects in colonial Lima, each corresponding to professions identified by economic and cultural historians:

Luego buscan mil ofisios
 para poder sustentarse:
 unas hilan plata y oro,
 otras ay que adoban guantes, [360]
 otras biven de costura,
 otras de puntas y encaxes,
 otras de pegar botones,
 otras de hazer oxales;
 otras ay que hacen pastillas, [365]
 pebetillos y ziriales,
 otras ensalman criaturas,
 otras curan mal de madre,
 otras ay que toman puntos,

¹³⁸ See Margarita Suárez *Comercio y fraude en el Perú colonial: las estrategias mercantiles de un banquero* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1995); Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Plata del Perú, riqueza de Europa: los mercaderes peruanos y el comercio con la metrópoli en el siglo XVII* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004); and John Melzer, *Bastion of Commerce in the City of Kings: The Consulado de Comercio de Lima, 1593-1887* (Lima: Editorial Concytec, 1991). Also see Lockhart's discussion of merchants (*Spanish Peru*, 87-108).

¹³⁹ Graubart's discussion of the 1653 case of Francisca Ramírez (*With our Labor and Sweat*, 1-4) and the 1643 case of Magdalena Mallao (181-5) illustrate the larger pattern of indigenous women merchants who accumulated capital through commercial activities in the informal economy outside of the *encomienda* system.

otras labran solimanes, [370]
 otras ay que hacen turrón
 para bender por las calles;
 otras ay que hasen vainillas,
 otras pespuntes e hilvanes,
 otras hacen cadeneta, [375]
 puntos llanos y rreales;
 otras tienen amasijos,
 hacen molletes y oxaldres;
 otras ay que hacen rrosquillas,
 conserbas y mazapanes; [380]
 otras componen copetes,
 otras hasen almirantes,
 otras hazen arandelas
 de pita, plata y alambre;
 otras hasen clauellinas, [385]
 espigas de oro y plumaxes;
 otras hazen gargantillas,
 arillexos y pinxantes;
 otras ay que hazen lexías,
 otras mil aguas süaues, [390]
 otras chicha de maíz,
 otras que venden tamales,
 otras poluos para dientes,
 otras que ponen lunares,
 otras que surzan costuras [395]
 descosidas por mil partes. (vv. 357-396)

However, these economic activities are immediately discarded as mere façades for “fealdades” (402) such as prostitution and seducing more socially and economically prominent men into relationships predicated on material or financial support:

¡Poder de Dios! ¡Qué de enbustes,
 qué de burlas i maldades,
 pues todos estos ofisios
 no les ynporta dos rreales, [400]
 sino que son antepuertas
 para encubrir sus fealdades! (vv. 397-402)

Even through his negation of legitimate female labor, the poetic subject’s extensive list admits that women do take part in productive economic activities, registering many a commercial activity commonly documented in colonial Lima. His reticence to admit the legitimacy of female commercial activity serves then as an expression of personal disenfranchisement with female participation in the commercial economy (through “estos ofisios”) and the ability to compete in urban markets. The narrator then reverts to denouncing economically productive persons that he perceives as socially inferior—women of color—in the sphere of the moral economy (“enbustes,

[...] burlas i maldades [...] fealdades”) in order to assert his own position of social supremacy as a peninsular male. While such a passage demonstrates the interconnectedness of moral and commercial economies and the manipulation of the two systems by the poetic voice to assert his own social position, it also reveals the anxiety that results from the proximity and contradictions of the two competing systems governing social experience in colonial Lima. Like the men whose business interests are intertwined with extramarital affairs around Lima, these women’s labors are tainted, interrupted by erotic exploits.

As Graubart’s work and even Rosas de Oquendo’s poetic subject admits, female entrepreneurs’ collective actions resist aristocratic, race-based notions of privilege by asserting a commercial preeminence—in official and unofficial economies—transcendent of a nostalgia for the strict racial limitations of early modern Iberia. In Lima, Trujillo, and Piura the emerging urban market economy enabled Afroperuvians, indigenous communities, and the proliferation of mestizo identities to commercially compete directly with those Europeans excluded from the vestiges of patronage and dispossessed from capital in the large scale official *encomienda* economy. This competition for capital results from the reduction of real labor to abstract labor in agricultural and urban economies. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has read Marx,

Marx places the question of subjectivity right at the heart of his category “capital” when he posits the conflict between “real labour” and “abstract labour” as one of its central contradictions. [...] [exchange value] is what makes labour measurable and makes possible the generalized exchange of commodities. It expresses itself [...] in capitalist discipline, which has the sole objective of making every individual’s concrete labor—by nature heterogeneous—“uniform and homogeneous” through supervision and technology employed in the labor process [...]. Politically, [...] the concept of “abstract labour” is an extension of the bourgeois notion of the “equal rights” of “abstract individuals,” whose political life is reflected in the ideals and practice of “citizenship.” The politics of “equal rights” is thus precisely the “politics” one can read into the category “capital.”¹⁴⁰

Keeping in mind that the *Sátira* takes place three centuries before the Bengali textile industry that Chakrabarty analyzes, for those dispossessed of the spoils of primitive accumulation, participation in colonial economy—and society, as Georg Simmel conjectures¹⁴¹—exacts a transformation of the individual into a state akin to abstract labor. Although I recognize the incompatibility of applying the term “citizenship” to late-sixteenth century Peru, the principle is similar in primitive alienation. As a homogenizing force, abstract labor materially levels ignoble Spaniards and other castes in colonial Lima. Claiming a relative (and overstated) transcendence of race, the poetic subject suggests that for those individuals lacking large tracts of land or control over the labor of others, *limeño* society becomes stratified: those endowed with land and laborers under primitive accumulation (benefitting from patronage) and the dispossessed who must compete for resources as abstract wage labor and small-scale entrepreneurs.

Rosas de Oquendo’s poetic subject is simultaneously alienated from the institutions of royal patronage and *encomienda* capital while his social positioning, previously dependent on

¹⁴⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal, 1890-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 225-226.

¹⁴¹ Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, ed. David Frisby, trans. Tom Bottomore and David Frisby, 3rd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

race and gender, is diminished by the (highly relative) racial democratization of the unofficial market economy. Sheer access to capital and accumulation of wealth begin to overshadow restrictive, previously definitive racial categories, which slowly became less-limiting for the diverse groups relegated to labor in the colonies without formal protections.¹⁴²

Primitive Alienation Against Literary Readings of the *Sátira*

In this economic reading of Rosas de Oquendo's *Sátira* I have read the text beyond the interpretive confines of satire as an expression of the ugliness, backwardness, or carnivalesque environment of the colonial city, an interpretation that understands the satirical text to be constructed on the backs of its targets, a text fundamentally about others.¹⁴³ The critiques that the *Sátira*'s poetic subject levies are not demonstrations of interpersonal animosity, but rather, indicators of deep disenfranchisement with colonial economic structures and an unprecedented redistribution of wealth almost as overwhelming as the lavish scenes of Balbuena's *Grandeza mexicana*. The following passage, previously—and repeatedly—interpreted as a manifestation of the Bakhtinian carnivalesque, illustrates my desire to build upon past commentary:

¡O qué de cosas e bisto, [107]
si todas an de contarse,
en este mar de miserias

¹⁴² Here I do not wish to broadly suggest that Andeans and Spaniards present in late-sixteenth century (or much more contemporary) Peru were guaranteed equal access to small-scale capital or participation in the market economy. There are significant limitations to such expansion of the access to capital and the cases found in the archives by Graubart, Mangan, and Suárez represent only a small sampling of colonial Peru's urban population. However, I sense that Rosas de Oquendo's narrator is surprised, even angered, by the successful participation of women and men from all castes of society in the burgeoning market economy. The satire's narrator is critical and skeptical of this participation in the economy, arguing throughout that the professions that women practice must be fronts for prostitution.

¹⁴³ Regarding the carnivalesque, see Pedro Lasarte, *Lima*, 49-68, 80-86; *Sátira* xii, xxxii-xxxiv; and "El carnaval y la transgresión," 251-265. Also see Greer Johnson, *Satire*, 32-39 for her analysis of the *Sátira* in the context of viceregal satirical letters and Rosas de Oquendo's *oeuvre*. This is not to say that my reading is wholly dissonant with Lasarte's poignant interpretations of Rosas de Oquendo's work. Rather, departing from his close reading of the text's "anfibología sexual" (Lasarte, *Sátira* and "Mateo Rosas de Oquendo y la escritura autobiográfica"), I choose to emphasize that the metaphoric language of economy employed to construct sexual innuendo is not merely ironic coincidence. Rather, given the proliferation of economic language, I would like to suggest that the use of economic metaphors for references to the reproductive act and its associated social behaviors (courtship, prostitution, marriage, etc.) not only posits sex as transactional (through prostitution, female pursuit of material wealth through sexual favors, etc.), but actually posits market economic exchange as a fundamentally reproductive act, the life's blood of the colonial city. Whereas Lasarte uncovers the infidelities and sexual industriousness criticized in the text masked in layers of metaphor, I would suggest that the biological unproductiveness of coitus in the poem—the lack of offspring produced by such relationships—emphasizes the economic productiveness of social transaction and exchange.

a do pretendo arroxarme! [110]
 ¡Qué de cassas ya serradas
 y sus dueños en la calle;
 cuántos dispiertos, dormidos,
 cuántos duermen sin echarse;
 cuántos sanos en unsiones, [115]
 cuántos gafos, sin curarse;
 cuántos pobres bisten seda,
 cuántos rricos, cordellate;
 cuántos rricos comen queso
 cuántos pobres senan aves; [120]
 cuántos pobres se almidonan,
 cuántos rricos, sin lavarse;
 cuántos pies, sin escarpines,
 y cuántas manos, con guantes! (vv. 107-124)

This passage has been widely interpreted as a satirical inversion of the normative social structures that the visitor to Lima might expect to encounter.¹⁴⁴ Admitting such a reading as a point of departure for my own analysis of the text, I have read the satire as an expression of the (structural and institutional) economic conditions responsible for the poetic subject's disenfranchisement in Lima. The above metaphors of satirical inversion employ a strong, commodity-driven, economic language focused on the material and economic conditions of Lima's residents, each harkening back to the *bodegonas* and *naturalezas muertas* discussed earlier in this chapter: "si todas an de *contarse*, [...] *cassas ya serradas*, [...] sus *dueños en la calle*" (vv. 108-112), "*pobres bisten seda*, [...] *rricos*, [visten] *cordellate*, [...] *rricos comen queso*, [...] *pobres senan aves*; [...] *pobres se almidonan*, [...] *rricos, sin lavarse*" (vv. 117-122). The individual subjects of the satire, the rich and the poor, property owners and the possessionless, signal that the satire not only reflects but seeks to reinforce a social order, that of stratification of the haves and the have-nots.

Such language reappears throughout the lengthy *invocatio*, further referencing the interconnected notions of patronage and the emerging market economy:

¡O cuántos baxos encunbran [175]
 y cuántas cumbres abaten;
 cuántos créditos perdidos,
 cuántas deudas sin pagarze;
 cuántos ynfames, ylustres,
 cuántos ylustres, ynfames; [180]
 cuántas desdichas son dichas,
 y cuántas dichas, pezares! (vv. 175-182)

Here the narrator addresses credit and debt, two of the primary sources of uncertainty about the early modern economy. Rosas de Oquendo's narrator expresses alarm and concern with unpaid debts and lost credit, two of the many sources of the social reorganization of colonial society

¹⁴⁴ See Lasarte's interpretation of this passage: Lasarte, *Sátira*, xxiii-xxiv.

against traditional hierarchies of nobility determined by birthright, lineage, and race. The failure of the credit system is likened to the conflation of distinguished and ignoble figures in the Viceroyalty in a reference to the low behavior of nobles in Peru (“quántos ynfames, ylustres, / quántos ylustres, ynfames” (vv. 179-180). And in this listing, we are forewarned not of usury, but of credit and debt, reminding us that though the usurer was for millennia blamed for accelerating the decline of the moral economy and its subjugation to material and economic concerns,¹⁴⁵ a vocabulary of modern finance, of credit and debt, was already in circulation in Peruvian letters circa 1598.

Evidenced by this concern with making money without working, primitive alienation in the *Sátira* demonstrates the broader social and economic debates of sixteenth century Spain comprehensively explored in recent scholarship. However, somewhat paradoxically, the narrator occupies both positions in the debate, lamenting the corruption of traditional Spanish values through New World primitive accumulation and indicting the idleness that is perceived to result from the increasingly prominent credit economy. As Vilches clearly outlines “[c]onservatives worried about the corruption of time-honored valor and merit” while “[p]olitical economists focused on the harmful ramifications of the credit economy....[and] censured idle money and idle men for destroying national wealth.”¹⁴⁶ Rosas de Oquendo’s narrator voices the concerns of both the conservative and the political economist, simultaneously lashing out against a perceived corruption of moral values and idleness.

The satire’s appraisal of Lima largely focuses on the habits of the peninsular population and the perceived misuse of their time. This is not dissimilar to contemporary concerns about the behaviors of noble Spaniards in the metropolis and the effects of their “lifestyles” in Seville and Madrid. Discussing Bartolomé Leonardo Argensola’s 1634(?) poem “A Nuño de Mendoza,” Vilches writes:

The fear that life in Madrid [after the arrival of mineral and pecuniary wealth from the New World] will soften and corrupt the aristocrats who should be leading the nation ... reveals an anxiety that arises from the construction of the empire as a gendered enterprise that affirms its own masculinity by proclaiming the effeminacy of the colonized. ... [I]n the metropole it is American wealth that has inclined the nobility to luxury, idleness, and self-indulgence. ... [T]he wealth of the Indies seduces the brave Spaniards before entrapping and engulfing them. As a site of conquest, the Indies are represented as a reservoir of valor, prowess, and treasures; as a site of indulgence and a source of wealth, they are held as a perverting influence capable of turning a nation of soldiers into a nation of sissies.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ See Vilches, *New World Gold*; David Landreth, *The Face of Mammon: The Matter of Money in English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life*; Geisst, *Beggar thy Neighbor*; and Dwight Cochrane, *Raving at Usurers: Anti-Finance and the Ethics of Uncertainty in England, 1690-1750* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016). Also see Regina Harrison, *Sin and Confession in Colonial Peru, Spanish-Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560-1650* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 4, 9-10, 156.

¹⁴⁶ Vilches, *New World Gold*, 17.

¹⁴⁷ Vilches, *New World Gold*, 293.

The *Sátira* anticipates such seventeenth-century discourse in the metropolis through its critique of idleness and time wasted on unproductive diversion, as well as previously cited passages (vv. 1345-1374) criticizing Spanish *encomenderos*' consumption of fashions and commodities from France, Seville, and Madrid. The satirical narrator echoes the humanists and theologians who "denounced the rising power of money, which they viewed as being part and parcel of a host of new trends in fashion, entertainment, and leisure."¹⁴⁸

As E.P. Thompson points out, British moralists (whose stature as moral writers was indiscernible from their position as industrialists, capitalists, and political authorities) wrote from the "top-down," aiming their moralizing and prescriptive doctrines for the disciplined management of time (in order to foment heightened efficiency and stimulate greater production) at the lower, working classes.¹⁴⁹ Yet for Rosas de Oquendo's narrator, the target is not merely the New World's working classes and indigenous masses, nor the new and established Spanish nobles residing in Peru who have benefitted from primitive accumulation: it is primitive accumulation itself, both for his exclusion and its degradation of the moral economy, as well as for the inclusion of others in the new markets that it nurtures.

Local Alienation, Global Machinations

The enunciations of alienation outlined above, conversant with the effects of both patronage and the market, examine the local socioeconomic conditions present in the urban center of Lima. But in recalling Balbuena's *Grandeza mexicana* and Rosas de Oquendo's invocations of Mexico, we are reminded of the undeniably international economic sphere of the early modern Iberian world. Likewise, we must recall that while local contexts of alienation are revealed through close reading of literary texts from Rosas de Oquendo to Góngora, these contexts result from the location of the local within the larger global sphere of a mercantilism endowed with the logic of the market as early as the fifteenth century. As Margarita Suárez has documented, *limeño* mercantile and financial elites consolidated their power locally through their international relationships with the mercantile networks found overseas and throughout the colonies.¹⁵⁰ It is precisely this consolidation of political and economic power resulting from early modern capital that yields the alienation of the narrator of the *Sátira*.

Just as "[t]he new sophisticated credit system had a disorienting effect" in early modern Spain and its colonies,¹⁵¹ the constriction of access to capital for Spaniards and the [forced] relegation of many subjects—indigenous, African, Creole, and Spanish—to wage labor had an alienating effect on the laboring population in the colonies. Beyond formative variants of *entfremdung*, the alienated subjects of the *Sátira* are also alienated from patronage through their exclusion from the royal privilege system. Additionally, the Spaniard accustomed to such practices is further estranged from material advances by the democratization of the economy and the emergence of urban markets that enable indigenous and Afroperuvian life forms to compete for capital in the colonial urban center.

¹⁴⁸ Vilches, *New World Gold*, 147.

¹⁴⁹ EP Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" and Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964).

¹⁵⁰ Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*.

¹⁵¹ Vilches, *New World Gold*, 6.

Rosas de Oquendo's text suspiciously occupies both poles of the economic debates of the Hispanic world of his day. The narrator is at once disenchanted by the failure of the formerly hegemonic Hispanic moral economy to govern *limeño* society through aristocratic structures (the conservative position) and angered by the idleness that he observes around him, a tendency widely associated with the rise of the credit system and evolving concepts of value (moral and financial). He is also awash in confusion, his discourse metonymically standing in for the colonial economy and not the spectacular city, but the chaotic city. Like the "[p]eople that felt disoriented by an array of contrasting experiences: the sudden prosperity of the merchants coincided with cries of frustration from consumers, local traders, and officials,"¹⁵² the poetic voice constantly reiterates his confusion at the structural changes going on around him, economic, political, racial, and otherwise.

The *Sátira* is also a text that anticipates the staunch articulations of the two opposing ideological positions about economy—privileging the former moral economy or advocating for the credit economy—that would appear during the seventeenth century. Contradictorily articulating both views prior to their best-known formal enunciations in Spain demonstrates the reactionary nature of the *Sátira*. Neither moral economy nor commercial economy are capable of lending order to the colonial city, a sentiment that culminates in the edict that the commercial economy has corrupted the moral economy's staunchest defender, the church:

Yo del rretablo del mundo
 adoré *la falssa ymaxen*, [el dinero]
 y aunque le di la rrodilla
 y le ofresí vasallaje, [1970]
 ya con las aguas del sielo
 boy xaunando su almagre.
 De su rrespectado tenplo
 beneraba los altares,
 doblaua sus hornamentos, [1975]
 y madrugaua a insenzalle;
mas ya el ydólatra gusto
dexó los rritos bestiales,
echó sus aras por tierra,
y profanó los altares. (vv. 1967-1980; my emphasis)

Nearing the end of the *Sátira*, the poetic subject suggests that the "ydólatra gusto"—money and material belongings—have profaned the altars (1977-1980). The narrator has adored the false image (1969) of commercial economy and even offered it vassalage (1970) on bended knee, yet he has failed to gain its favor. As this commercial "ydólatra gusto / dexó los rritos bestiales" (1977-1978) of bad living, the poetic subject elects to leave Peru once and for all. With neither dominant ideological paradigm governing Peru—the religious or the economic—capable of integrating the poetic subject, he finally boards a departing ship, a journey which merits further discussion in the latter half of this chapter.

In his enunciations, Rosas de Oquendo's poetic subject nearly embodies a crucial coordinate for Rahel Jaeggi's conceptualization of unalienated selfhood: that of "obstinacy"

¹⁵² Vilches, *New World Gold*, 145.

(*eigensinn*).¹⁵³ While the term is synonymous with “stubbornness,”—paradoxically “not normally regarded as a positive attribute, let alone a central feature of successfully achieved subjectivity”—for Jaeggi the combination of *eigen* (“one’s own”) and *sinn* (“meaning”) “suggests that the obstinate person gives her own meaning to things, . . . interprets them independently, rather than merely taking over customary, socially accepted interpretations of the world.”¹⁵⁴ And so obstinacy retains a “dual potential,” as the positive, unalienated condition of creating “one’s own meaning” and as pedestrian stubbornness.¹⁵⁵ The latter, destructive stubbornness that can accompany alienation is achieved “when an individual simply rejects, for no good reason, or is completely impervious to, the meanings other individuals give to the elements of their shared world.”¹⁵⁶

The relationship of Rosas de Oquendo’s text to this principle is a tenuous one. While, on the one hand, the satirical poetic subject certainly projects his own meaning onto the situation of colonial Peru (derived from personal experience), the independence of his interpretation is limited by his adherence to the verse satirical model and its tropes, modified and modernized for the viceregal context. Yet in contrast with the eager utopianism of his contemporaries (ranging from moral philosophers to explorers seeking the idyllic potential of the new world in additional exploration), Rosas de Oquendo’s cynicism, indeed pessimism, in the face of America demonstrates an independence of interpretive mode. Upon closer reflection on Hegel’s concept of *eigensinn*, a potentially “appropriate balance between individual self-assertiveness and immersion in society”¹⁵⁷ characteristic of unalienated life is conspicuously absent from the satire’s poetic expressions, who asserts himself at the expense of society in a form of stubborn contrarianism. The poetic subject does not enjoy that “form of obstinacy that does honor to the human subject” which Hegel celebrates, “subjective freedom—the claim to be bound by no principles other than those one has rational insight into.”¹⁵⁸

But what principles bind the poetic subject? A nostalgic desire for a return to early conquest or feudal distributions of wealth, on one hand, and a recognition of the principles that govern Lima (materialism, greed, promiscuity, etc.), on the other. He is bound by these principles of moral decay, as well as the economic logic that causes others to act as (for him, repulsively) as they do.

¹⁵³ On obstinacy (*eigensinn*), see Jaeggi, *Alienation*, xvi-xvii; xiv; 94-95; 182-183; 189; 221n3; 236n51.

¹⁵⁴ Frederick Neuhouer, “Translator’s introduction,” in Jaeggi, *Alienation*, xiv.

¹⁵⁵ Neuhouer, “Translator’s introduction,” xiv.

¹⁵⁶ Neuhouer, “Translator’s introduction,” xiv.

¹⁵⁷ Neuhouer, “Translator’s introduction,” xiv-xv.

¹⁵⁸ Neuhouer, “Translator’s introduction,” xv. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, 2 in Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 221n3.

Chapter 4

Alienation in the Andes:
Andino Dignity and Disenfranchisement

A newborn child cries somewhere near present-day Ayacucho, circa 1535. Across the Andes, longstanding communities and urban centers are in ruins. The indigenous population is a shadow of its former self. Some 200,000 Indians having recently succumbed to an outbreak of smallpox or measles that took hold in the mid-1520s after the first Pizarro expedition, when pathogens unwittingly began the Spanish conquest along the northern Pacific coast of what would become the viceroyalty of Peru.¹ The lands that Andean populations had occupied and worked lay barren, the joint product of the epidemic and the unexpected arrival of the Spanish to the coast around Quito in 1527. Even before permanent Spanish settlement, an internal civil conflict over Inca succession has caused unprecedented relocations of entire indigenous populations, no longer unified under the expansive Inca state.² Having lost its last leader, Huayna Capac, to the epidemic,³ the Inca polity is without a consensus of who its leader is and where its capital lies, as warring half-brothers Atahualpa and Huascar divided the former empire along geographic and ethnic lines. The culmination of these events has brought any sense of pre-Columbian Andean normalcy to a screeching halt, only to have the Inca conflict of succession turn into back-to-back-to-back-to-back conflicts that further weakened indigenous political rule and fractured normative social relations.

The first of these four conflicts was a Tahuantinsuyo-wide⁴ civil war over Inca imperial succession between Atahualpa, who fled to Quito, and his younger half-brother, Huascar, who had consolidated power in Cuzco, nearly a decade earlier upon the death of their father Huayna

¹ For a narrative description of the epidemic and estimates of its scope, see Cieza, *Crónica*, parte II, ch. LXIX, 448-450 (1985 [1553]). The total indigenous population of Peru is estimated at 2,738,843 in N. David Cook, "Estimaciones sobre la población del Perú en el momento de la conquista," *Histórica* 1.1 (1977), 42. As John Rowe highlights, this epidemic was responsible for taking the lives of Huayna Capac as well as his named successor and the two interim governors that he had appointed in Cuzco. See John H. Rowe, "The Inca Civil War and the Establishment of Spanish Power in Peru," *Journal of Andean Archaeology* 28 (2006): 2.

² I use the term "Inca state" for ease of reference, in full recognition of the complexities of defining Inca political structures in terms of European governance.

³ Estimated dates of Huayna Capac's death vary. Pedro Cieza de León sees his death to coincide with Pizarro's arrival to the coast during the second expedition, between 1526 and 1527, without mentioning a year (Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 448). Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa places the date at 1530, when the leader would have been 63 years old (*Historia de los Incas*, ed. Angel Rosenblatt (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editorial, 1942). Inca Garcilaso de la Vega uses earlier colonial sources to attribute his death to "aquella enfermedad" around 1528 (*Comentarios reales*, vol. 2, 238-240).

⁴ The Tahuantinsuyo refers to the nearly 4-million square kilometers of territory governed by the Inca state reaching from its northernmost boundary at the Ancasmayo River in present-day Colombia down to its southern limit at the Maule River in present-day Chile, from the Pacific coast into present-day Bolivia and the Peruvian *ceja de selva*.

Capac in the epidemic. This conflict had, it seemed, reached a resolution upon Atahualpa's victory over his brother in 1532. The peace was short-lived though, as Francisco Pizarro's troops arrived to Cajamarca that same year, capturing the elder brother in November 1532. Upon Huascar's declared allegiance to the Spanish from Cuzco, Atahualpa was promptly ransomed and executed, ending Inca rule for good. In continuing the dispute with his brother, Huascar had unwittingly subjected the remaining Inca polity to Spanish rule, a reality that set in when Pizarro's forces occupied Cuzco in late 1533.

Predictably, Huascar's submission and subsequent defeat to the Spaniards (and even his legitimacy as the last Inca ruler) were not well received in the Andes, and the second conflict was a two-and-a-half-year Inca rebellion against the Spanish. Coinciding with the Spanish foundation of Lima on the banks of the Rímac river and Trujillo and Guayaquil to the north, the 1535 onset of the indigenous resistance war further displaced Andeans from their millennial homes, as Cuzco and neighboring territories lay under Spanish siege for more than a year during 1536-1537.⁵ Centuries-old Andean social and political hierarchies were interrupted as fragmented social and ethnic groups sought political consensus and military unity to unseat occupying Spanish forces, an effort that would fail definitively in 1537 with Neo-Incan state ruler Manco Inca's defeat at Cuzco.⁶

That same year, the Guerra de las Salinas would mark the onset of the third conflict, a civil war between warring factions among the Spanish conquistadors who had unseated Inca rule and regained Spanish military control over the region. As Diego de Almagro laid stake to Cuzco against Francisco Pizarro, Governor and Adelantado of Peru (title held from 1532-1541) and his former conquest partner, Pizarro and his brothers would wage a series of wars ending in the death of both Almagro in April 1538 and Pizarro in June 1541 at the hands of Almagro's vengeful son, Diego de Almagro II. Like the Inca war of succession, the Spanish conflict impacted communities across the Andes for its insistence that indigenous communities declare loyalties to one of the bands of warring conquistadors. Political turmoil reigned supreme, characterized by extreme violence and unchecked Spanish abuses against the Indians, while the Spanish crown rushed to halt the conquistadors' insubordination and destruction of the indigenous population through its own military interventions and the 1542 New Laws ending *encomienda* in favor of *repartimiento*.

Such infighting would mark subsequent rebellions against the Spanish crown by the junior Almagro (who was defeated in the 1541-1542 Guerra de Chupas and promptly executed for treason) and the unification of the forces of Gonzalo Pizarro (Francisco Pizarro's half-brother) and Francisco de Carvajal between 1544 and 1548, who were angered by the checks on individual power put in place with the 1544 New Laws. While really a series of wars between the first generations of conquistadors and forces loyal to the Spanish Crown, this fourth conflict consisted of more than a decade of Spanish settler rebellion against royal authority. While "[t]hese wars, not readily reduced to comprehensibility, were at first very largely personal and factional feuds ... they were also conflicts between the rich and the poor, the well-established

⁵ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 3.

⁶ On the Vilcabamba rebellion, see Ralph Bauer, "Writing as 'Khipu': Titu Cusi Yupanqui's Account of the Conquest of Peru," in *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 325-356.

and the newly arrived,”⁷ and such dynamics were continued in the rebellions of Sebastián de Castilla (1553) and Francisco Hernández Girón (1553-1554). Not until the conclusion of Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza’s term as viceroy (1556-1560) would there be relative peace in the viceroyalty. But yet again, as one conflict ended, another began: the emergence of the *Taki Onqoy* resistance movement (1564-1572) in Huamanga, Ayacucho, would ideologically spread to most highland Andean cities where the indigenous front took up arms and challenged Spanish rule into Francisco de Toledo’s leadership (1569-1582).⁸

The above rehearsal of the remarkably violent and tumultuous first decades of the Viceroyalty of Peru is exhausting to read. It must have been exponentially more exhausting to live through. With that thought in mind, let us return to that newborn child crying in Ayacucho in 1535, birthed into those interminable conflicts between all comers that shaped early colonial Peru (and, as Mariátegui suggested, its modern evolution). His tears have nearly gone forgotten, as his cries are only a footnote in the recurrent displacement of indigenous peoples throughout the nearly half-century tale of the desolation of Andean peoples and the demise of Inca rule and indigenous culture in the face of Spanish conquest, reconquest, and governance. As we will see, the child’s cries are drowned out not only by war, but also, as at least one historian has suggested, by the installation of the Spanish colonial civil order and its accompanying economy, premised on the very alienation of indigenous populations in nearly every conceptual sense of the word.⁹

The child is Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who claims his birthplace to be the town of San Cristobal de Suntunto in the present-day district of Cabana in the department of Ayacucho.¹⁰ Born between the two simultaneously infighting and warring Andean and Spanish worlds, Guaman Poma was born into alienation. That is, at least as far as alienation was used in Roman and early modern parlance to refer to the alienation or divestment of property and rights. The first decade of Guaman Poma’s life would be characterized by the redistribution of indigenous lands under the *encomienda* system, as well as the challenges to that system brought on by the civil conflicts between the contentious factions of the Pizarro family, the Almagros, and the Spanish crown. The rest of his life would be spent living under *repartimiento* obligations and the

⁷ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 5.

⁸ On the *Taki Onqoy* millennial movement and the Andean ideological origins behind this anti-European resistance, see Jeffrey Quilter, “The Moche Revolt of the Objects,” *Latin American Antiquity* 1.1 (1990), 61. Also see Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, 52-54.

⁹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 6-10.

¹⁰ Guaman Poma’s date and place of birth are, to this day, sources of some debate. Instead of engaging in overstated efforts to ascertain his biography, I invoke Franklin Pease’s suggestion that “[c]asi no importa la fecha de su nacimiento que, a falta de registros parroquiales adecuados, queda librada casi necesariamente a las especulaciones que parten de las fechas, las edades y las múltiples referencias que escribe a lo largo de una obra que, por el hecho de haber sido trabajada durante un largo tiempo (calculado entre veinte y cuarenta años por los comentaristas) o por la dificultad de su autor para manejarse libremente en un determinado contexto calendárico retrospectivo, no utiliza las mismas cifras para el mismo hecho” (Franklin Pease, “Prólogo,” in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1980), 4). In any case, I also side with Pease’s assertion that Guaman Poma was born a few years after the Spanish invasion of Peru, likely around 1535, even if others place his birthday between 1535 and 1545 (Pease, “Prólogo,” xi).

equally oppressive reforms introduced by Toledo after 1569.¹¹ Indeed, Guaman Poma would find himself alienated from lands which he and his kinship laid claim to outside Huamanga in the 1590s.¹² Regardless of which faction was responsible for appropriating indigenous territory throughout his lifetime, Guaman Poma pertained to a community that was forced, in widespread fashion, to alienate the lands, community institutions (and forms of knowledge production) that once organized people and resources in the Andes.¹³ As Tamar Herzog puts it, “native dispossession was a dominant feature of colonial life.”¹⁴

As early modern peoples could alienate their property, they could also alienate their rights, as Vitoria and later contract theorists (Grotius, Smith, etc.) remind us.¹⁵ However, Vitoria forges a distinction between the rights of ‘rational’ Europeans and ‘irrational’ indigenous peoples, as the former is capable of giving up (alienating) their rights in return for something (protections, remunerations, etc.), the latter is incapable of even fundamentally asserting rights. This is because, for Vitoria, the indigenous peoples are savage, irrational beings meriting subjugation to rational (European) man. In this sense, Guaman Poma is born alienated from the basic rights afforded Europeans. Vitoria, whose work so informed and justified Spanish conquest and governance, argues precisely for this inherent *enajenación* (a term that he uses throughout his treatise) of indigenous rights, beginning with the right of dominion:

Porque el dominio es un derecho, como reconoce el mismo Conrado, y como *las criaturas irracionales no pueden tener derechos*, no pueden, en consecuencia, poseer el de dominio. Se prueba la menor, porque no pueden padecer injuria, luego carecen de derechos. ... Además, las fieras ni siquiera tienen dominio sobre ellas mismas; mucho menos han de poseerlo sobre las otras cosas. Y esto se prueba, porque es lícito matarlas,

¹¹ On Toledo’s impact on Andean life and Guaman Poma, Pease writes that “sufrió como los demás hombres andinos de su tiempo las consecuencias de las reformas del virrey Francisco de Toledo (1569-1580) que incluyeron el tributo, la mita y otras cosas, al lado de las reducciones; coexistió finalmente con las composiciones de tierras iniciadas en los años finales del siglo XVI ... y con la crisis demográfica que asoló los Andes desde los años del gobierno toledano” (“Prólogo,” xi-xii).

¹² See Rolena Adorno, “Introduction to the Second Edition,” *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), xii-xiii, xxii-xxxvi, xlv, xlvi. Also, for archival documents and accompanying analysis, see Juan Zorrilla, “La posesión de Chiara por los indios Chachapoyas,” *Wari* 1 (1977): 49-64 and Elías Prado Tello and Alfredo Prado Prado, eds. *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Y no ay [sic] rremedio* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica, 1991).

¹³ On the dispossession of indigenous subjects, see Anthony Pagden, “Dispossessing the Barbarian: The Language of Spanish Thomism and the Debate over the Property Rights of American Indians,” in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, Anthony Pagden, ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 79-98; Tamar Herzog, “Colonial Law and “Native Customs”: Indigenous Land Rights in Colonial Spanish America,” *The Americas* 69.3 (2013), 303-321; and Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Herzog, “Colonial Law and “Native Customs,”” 303.

¹⁵ Grotius, took rights over oneself to function as property rights: “[a]s other things may be alienated, so may sovereign authority” (Grotius, *De Jure Belli*, vol. I, 342).

aun por diversión; por lo que el Filósofo (I. *Política*) dice que la caza de las fieras es justa y natural. Además, las fieras y *todos los irracionales están bajo la potestad del hombre* mucho más que los siervos; luego *si los siervos nada pueden tener como suyo, mucho menos han de poderlo los irracionales*.¹⁶

By rendering the savage irrational, and using Saint Thomas to corroborate his proposition, Vitoria concludes that “los brutos, como no se gobiernan a sí mismos, sino que son movidos, ... no tienen, por eso, dominio.”¹⁷ Under such imperial logic, embraced by conquest leaders unconcerned with such legal and ethical justifications of their actions, Guaman Poma and his fellow Indians are born into the Spanish expectation—demand—of the unquestionable *enajenación* of their property and rights, including the fundamental right to domain.

Drafted in 1615, revised in 1616, and often cited as completed in 1617,¹⁸ some eighty years after being born into material, legal, and ideological conditions that necessitated indigenous dislocation, Guaman Poma’s 1190-folio *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* serves as a recognition of material alienation as the fundamental precondition of indigenous existence in colonial Spain.¹⁹ Beyond recognizing these conditions, his manuscript also objects to them. These claims anchor the present chapter, which explores how Guaman Poma willingly relinquishes his own indigeness to tell and illustrate a story critical of indigenous dislocation across the Andes. More than just a fruitless expression of disenfranchisement addressed to the Habsburg King Phillip III, the *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* can also be read as a proposal of an alternate order based on Andean recovery of land, labor, and community against Spanish excess. While this order is a colonial order which must, for Guaman Poma, be Christian,²⁰ it suggests the possibility of an indigenous universe that seeks to overcome those

¹⁶ Vitoria, *Relecciones sobre los indios y el derecho de guerra*, 48 (my emphasis).

¹⁷ Vitoria, *Relecciones sobre los indios y el derecho de guerra*, 49.

¹⁸ Until recently, the text was cited as being completed in 1615. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, who cites the manuscript as being from 1617, writes that “Guaman Poma apparently revised his chronicle in 1616” (“Cruel Criollos en Guaman Poma de Ayala’s First New Chronicle and Good Government,” in *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*, ed. Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 119 [118-134]). For detailed discussion on these revisions, see Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, *New Studies of the Autograph Manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s “Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno”* (Copenhagen, 2003).

¹⁹ The manuscript has two parts: the *Nueva corónica*, a history of the pre-colonial Andes, and the *Buen gobierno*, a history of the Spanish conquest and the ills and abuses of colonialism that is characterized by Guaman Poma’s frequent suggestions for the installation of just governance of the viceroyalty. I refer to each section by its respective name, using “*Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*” in reference to the entire manuscript. Such a practice for referring to the text and its component parts follows other commentators of the text, such as rhetoricians Christa Olson and Rubén Casas, “Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* and the Practice of Rhetorical Theory in Colonial Peru,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101.3 (2015): 459-484. While an abundance of studies place the manuscript at 1189 pages, Raquel Chang-Rodríguez computes the manuscript as 1190 pages (“Cruel Criollos,” 118).

²⁰ This is stated explicitly in Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, “La universalidad de lo ch’ixi: miradas de Waman Puma,” *Emisférica* 7.1 (2010), 1-16. Viewing Guaman Poma’s Christian

material alienations, both personal and collective, that affect indigenous relationships to self and Spanish society. As forms of indigenous dispossession under Spanish colonialism have brought forth utter meaninglessness for the majority of the indigenous population under the fragmentation of Indian society, there is no alternative but an indigenous return to their lands, which were necessary for organizing their communities and relationships. Thus his text seeks an authentic, whole, and meaningful indigenous existence. The manuscript then can be read as an attempt to overcome indigenous alienation, the text taking on the character of what Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has termed “una crítica mucho más severa y profunda a la explotación laboral, que se definiría ya no como extracción de plus trabajo sino como afrenta moral y un atentado contra la dignidad humana.”²¹ As we will see, Guaman Poma’s desire to reinstate indigenous dignity overlaps with the desire to achieve practical forms of autonomy (allusive to authenticity of the modern subject), both for himself as a transculturated individual excluded from royal favor, and for those Indians at the furthest margins of viceregal society.

I propose that Guaman Poma’s manuscript, and particularly the latter *Buen gobierno*, can be understood as an account of indigenous alienations that seeks to express and contest precisely the means by which Indians were divested of their property, rights, and traditions, these forms of material alienation (in early modern parlance of *enajenación*) resulting in social isolation of Indians from dominant Spanish society and Andean society as it previously existed. On the one hand, these can be read affectively in the author’s deep-seated anger at the colonial attack on indigenous dignity²² and subsequent resignation in the face of stark colonial realities, repeated throughout his text in the utterance “no hay remedio que ha hecho teñir de lamentos sus palabras.”²³ Guaman Poma’s “angry polemical reaction”²⁴ emotionally denounces Spanish abuses across the viceroyalty, which have ensured indigenous existence outside of an indigenous society and at the margins of that Spanish colonialism established as the dominant new political and ideological order. This resignation also serves as a rhetorical strategy that seeks to gain royal support for restoring indigenous land ownership (and through this, rebuild community) within a colonial framework by foregrounding Andeans’ hopelessness and need for official reform.

On the other, this alienation assumes a staunchly economic focus, repeatedly highlighting how labor—wage labor and forced labor under false promises of remuneration—and precarious working conditions drove indigenous populations to the geographic and social fringes of colonial society.²⁵ In this latter case, Guaman Poma’s accounts of Indian experiences of labor allude quite forcefully to a colonial predecessor of *entfremdung* that is intensified and complicated by the fact that widespread abuses against Indian workers, largely committed by clerics, hold consequences of spiritual alienation that result in indigenous lives that seem to be lived out without coherent

ideals as the internalization of colonial values, she writes, “[m]ás que las penas físicas, es el despojo de la dignidad y la internalización de los valores de los opresores lo que, al igual que en Frantz Fanon, hace de Waman un teórico de la condición colonial” (“La universalidad de lo ch’ixi, 12).

²¹ Rivera Cusicanqui, “La universalidad de lo ch’ixi,” 11.

²² Rivera Cusicanqui, “La universalidad de lo ch’ixi,” 11-12.

²³ Pease, “Prólogo,” xvii.

²⁴ Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 57.

²⁵ On wage labor and forced labor, see Kris Lane, “Labor” in *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation*, ed. Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 183-185.

meaning. Guaman Poma's own Catholicism obliges him to see the exploitation of Indians not just as forms of self and social alienation resulting from labor and servitude, but also as spiritual alienation resulting from the loss of indigenous religious systems and the failure to adequately provide Christianity in their absence. Labor and flight from servitude lead to the death of the Indians' potentially Christian spirit, which has no means of forging faith if the sacraments are never properly administered. Given the author's ardent advocacy of Catholicism, labor also has the effect of existential and spiritual alienation, as the Indian at work is denied the sacraments and a relationship with the God that Guaman Poma so fervently claims to worship as a Catholic vassal of Phillip III.

While this chapter takes up readings of labor and religion as key elements of those indigenous alienations that Guaman Poma seeks to resolve, my aim more generally in taking up this much-commented canonical text within the framework of alienation critique is to emphasize the fundamental role of alienation in the very process of colonialism. These alienations are both material—from land and property—and existential, as attempts to make sense of colonialism are “generated out of intolerance, out of the need to distinguish and come to terms with unacceptable, conditionally acceptable, or uneasy mixes,” necessitating “the creation of what belongs and what doesn't belong, usually with the implicit devaluation of the latter.”²⁶ A secondary aim is to interrogate in what terms we can understand these alienations, drawing from the abundant commentary on the manuscript, modern alienation critique, and, of course, a close reading of the text and its multiple, parallel and overlapping registers and commentaries. I do not, as such, propose a reading dissonant with previous generations of scholarship on the manuscript, nor do I discard the central coordinates of longstanding studies which serve as a necessary starting point for any subsequent reading of the manuscript.²⁷ Rather, I recontextualize Guaman Poma's comments as an expression of collective disenfranchisement in the face of primitive accumulation leading to several distinct but interrelated indigenous alienations.

Guaman Poma's text is particularly important for the pre-history of alienation that this work seeks to unearth. This is, in large part, due to the collective characterization of Indians throughout the author's manuscript. Referring to Indians as a collective ethnic and social class, as well as using “bad or good behavior” to “underscore the need to separate the different groups that form colonial society,”²⁸ the *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* highlights the role of private property and labor in engendering widespread alienation across an entire ethnic stratum. Guaman Poma renders Indians, complicated and characterized by other traits, as a population fundamentally organized and identified by their participation in labor. They are further rendered

²⁶ Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, “Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 12.1 (2003), 7.

²⁷ I refer here to studies such as Rolena Adorno's *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (1986) or Raquel Chang-Rodríguez's *La palabra y la pluma en la «Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno»* (2005). In her now canonical work, Adorno dissects Guaman Poma's manuscript to situate the author as an Andean narrator-historian navigating and adapting diverse rhetorical norms found across sixteenth-century Spanish historiography, literature, and Christian theology. Chang-Rodríguez's work, a collection of her essays on diverse themes related to the manuscript and its author, engages the *indio ladino* across the textual, iconographic, and cartographic coordinates anchoring the work. See Chang-Rodríguez, *La palabra y la pluma en la «Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno»* (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2005).

²⁸ Chang-Rodríguez, “Cruel Criollos,” 120.

powerless in the colonial organization and administration of the means of production. As the mere concept—much less implementation—of the colonial means of production results from the dislocation of Indians from their lands, this powerlessness is made most visible in the act of indigenous flight from their lands as they take on the character of colonial sites of extraction (mines) and production (*obrajes* and commodity agricultural lands).

As Nichols points out, in an understanding of primitive accumulation as the theft of land, “‘land’ ... is not another ordinary object of dispossession ... as a good” but “the condition of possibility for the *production* of goods and, ultimately, for the reproduction of social life itself.”²⁹ Whereas theft is an act that transpires between individuals, a metaphoric understanding of colonial redistribution of land as theft fails to sufficiently consider the formation of social classes that takes place through this systematic dispossession.³⁰ As land is not an object to be possessed, but the very condition of the possibility of production (of goods), its redistribution yields not the absence of a thing, but the absence of the possibility of things, which, in the materialist milieu emergent in the early modern world, might be understood to suggest the absence of possibility, or even the hope of possibilities, for those without land. In common theft, an object (good or commodity) changes location while the actors involved do not change location (“the people remain static, while the objects themselves circulate”). Primitive accumulation as ‘theft’ of land doesn’t sufficiently take into account a “basic relationship to the earth”: “if I ‘steal’ your land I don’t literally move it from your home to mine. Rather, I move *you*.”³¹ Guaman Poma’s manuscript is a reflection on the chaos—and difficulty of extracting meaning from this chaos for native Andeans—associated with the forced movement of people from places essential to community identity and meaning-making structures.

It is in this distinction—of the relocation of objects in stealing versus the relocation of people, their forced abandonment of the possibility of production in colonial redistribution of lands—that Guaman Poma’s understanding of indigenous dispossession becomes something more than coerced indigenous *enajenación* of their property or land. As Nichols further explains, “land can clearly be commodified in certain respects (bought, sold, traded, rented, stolen, etc.), it nevertheless must be grasped in its distinctiveness if we are to understand the nature of dispossession.” Losing one’s land implies exile from that land, not just a giving up of land, but a forced exile and relocation. And herein the relationship between person and land explored in Latin and Spanish definitions of alienation must be inverted: one does not separate one’s lands from self, but rather one becomes separated from his lands. Whereas European subjects are willing to uproot and relocate to the colonial Andes only to be excluded from European consolidation and redistribution of the means of production, Indians and Africans are forced to uproot, to relocate. Primitive accumulation “necessarily entails the forced movement of people, it implies dislocation.”³² And this dislocation, the forced physical abandonment of lands, contributes to both functionalist (intentional) and explanatory (unwitting) accounts of the creation of a new social class in the Andes: the dispossessed Indian who would become Marx’s proletariat and Mariátegui’s *campesinos*.

While Rosas de Oquendo’s poetic subject, a Spaniard, expresses alienation in the face of the shifting context of settler remunerations in the late sixteenth century, his experience is one of

²⁹ Nichols, “Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation,” 23.

³⁰ Nichols, “Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation,” 23-25.

³¹ Nichols, “Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation,” 23.

³² Nichols, “Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation,” 24.

an individual, unconcerned even with the similar experiences of others like him.³³ In fact, the disregard and animosity for others broadcast by (and implicit in) his preferred verse satirical mode show how alienation is deeply personal for the Spanish conqueror. This is, perhaps, also present in those factional conflicts between Spaniards in early colonial Peru seen firsthand by the indigenous chronicler. Yet while Guaman Poma's approach to writing and his motivations for doing so first resonate as lamentations of personal disenfranchisement or a campaign for individual social ascent, the *Buen gobierno* quickly reorients itself toward addressing the decline of the entire Indian population and its reconstruction as a social class characterized by landlessness (and, necessarily, work on the private property of others for these new landowners' further acquisition of capital). And, as we shall see, Guaman Poma's framing of the conditions of Spanish governance in the Andes tells us a great deal about the fundamental alienations anchoring indigenous experience in colonial Peru and the ability of work, broadly understood, to determine the coordinates of indigenous life. Beyond that though, the *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* can be read as an attempt to endow Andean experience with meaning under Spanish colonization.

Historiography Against Alienation: Self-Representation and Self-Separation

It is necessary to briefly revisit the *Primer corónica y buen gobierno* in terms of its manifestation as an expression of the author's perceived relinquishment of his own property and rights within larger indigenous dispossession and community disintegration. As the opening to this chapter suggests, such dispossession is a context that Guaman Poma is born into, like the vast majority of Andeans living under a Spanish colonialism that sought out any possible means of appropriating property and resources to further European empire. It is also a context that the author's self-positioning in the manuscript seeks to argue against, in hopes of overcoming his own social marginalization, resulting from a personal loss of claims to property, and reforming the wider disintegration of indigenous society. As most commenters of the text acknowledge, Guaman Poma constructs himself as a loyal, noble servant of the crown in order to garner an audience with Phillip III and have his history and petitions heard.³⁴ Certainly, within the norms of Renaissance *ars rhetorica*, such modes of *invocatio* were obligatory component parts of writing in official spheres and Guaman Poma proves quite adept at navigating such rhetorical norms to make a case for his legitimacy as author and an aristocratic member of colonial society.³⁵

Such self-aware participation in Spanish letters (as a means of access to social power) might also be seen as an acknowledgment that he, as Indian, must participate in Spanish society in order to reposition himself within Spanish social hierarchies, implying a partial, willing evasion of indigenous forms of knowledge production (and a self-differentiation from other indigenous subjects that have not adopted Spanish attitudes and customs) so as to intervene in

³³ Keep in mind Rosas de Oquendo's ridicule of other Spaniards' embellished and falsified *probanzas de mérito*, which seek to secure compensation like his poetic subject alleges to have also done. See Rosas de Oquendo, *Sátira*, vv. 1959-2020.

³⁴ On the author's attempt to invoke the reader's emotions, see Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 62-64. On Phillip III as the addressee, see Adorno, *Writing and Resistance*, xii, xvi, xlix, 86-88, 122-123, 131 and 139.

³⁵ On this, see Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 62-72.

broader material alienations by becoming an “indio ladino.”³⁶ As a symbolic and legally grounded means of achieving this, the Andean author presents himself (and is repeatedly identified in archival documents) with the honorific title of “*don*.”³⁷ This honorific is, according to the author, the only official title that authorizes him to write the history of the Incas, and he recognizes that his authority as a member of indigenous society can only come from his noble Andean lineage and the Spanish recognition of this lineage in the honorific of *don*. He states that he long possessed an

antiguo deseo que fue siempre buscar en *la rudeza de mi ingenio y ciegos ojos y poco ver y poco saber y no ser letrado ni doctor ni licenciado ni latino* como el primero de este reino con alguna ocasión con qué por servir a Vuestra Majestad, me determiné de escribir la historia y descendencia y los famosos hechos de los primeros reyes y señores y capitanes, nuestros abuelos, y de sus principales y vida de indios y sus generaciones y descendencia desde el primero indio llamado Uari/uiracocha runa, uari runa, que descendió de Noé del diluvio.³⁸

Guaman Poma’s introduction to his project demonstrates an awareness of the rights that he lacks simply by being ethnically Andean in the colonies, one of them being the very right to write and to address the king in authoritative fashion given his purported intellectual shortcomings (“*la rudeza de mi ingenio y ciegos ojos y poco ver y poco saber*”) and lack of accompanying title or ethnic background (“*ni doctor, ni licenciado, ni latino*”). As such, his emphasis on the ascent of the Incas from Noah and the biblical metatext of history, as well as his ascent from Inca nobility, as indicated by his title of “*don*” (“*nuestros abuelos*”) seeks to recover this right to address the crown within a Spanish rhetorical framework.

Under this awareness, his text emerges as a testament to his sense of his own existence outside of or beneath his appropriate place in Spanish society, a peripheral recognition of indigenous marginalization in colonial society. His attempts to position himself as an aristocrat due to his “matrilineal descent from Inca nobility” and “paternal Yarovilca Allauca Huanoco lineage, which predated the “usurper” Incas of more recent times,”³⁹ resonate to highlight his perceived denial of rights in the face of Spanish colonization. By rendering himself not Indian but noble through a simultaneous expression of humility and recognition of his position as a royal vassal, Guaman Poma grounds his authority to write in his lineage and his willingness to take up Spanish colonial norms of written communication and pictorial forms originating in the European illuminated manuscript traditions of previous centuries.⁴⁰ Beyond the repeated

³⁶ Chang-Rodríguez, “Cruel Criollos,” 118.

³⁷ The first reference to himself as “don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala” occurs in the text’s opening lines (Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 4 [1]). For his recognition under this title across the archive, see Adorno, “Introduction to the Second Edition,” *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, xii. Throughout, my citations of Guaman Poma’s manuscript indicate both the print page number from Pease’s authoritative edition of the text, as well as the original manuscript folio number in brackets.

³⁸ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 8 [8] (my emphasis).

³⁹ Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 5.

⁴⁰ On Guaman Poma and the relationship of his manuscript illustrations to illuminated manuscripts, see Valerie Fraser, “The Artistry of Guaman Poma,” *RES: Anthropology and*

reminders of his noble Andean lineage, this campaign against exclusion from the colonial infrastructure by adopting Spanish modes of self-identification can also be seen to begin with his proud usage of the appellative “de Ayala.” This honorific remuneration was given to Guaman Poma’s father, Don Martín Guaman Mallqui de Ayala, for his alleged intervention in saving the life of Spanish loyalist Luis Avalos de Ayala during the 1547 Battle of Huarina against Gonzalo Pizarro’s troops.⁴¹ This addition to his name invokes his father’s Spanish protector and further emphasizes his family’s Hispanicization and longstanding allegiances to the crown. Guaman Poma sets the title of “don” and his inherited honorific, both supplements to the family lineage that he traces to an Inca purportedly descended from Noah and the book of Genesis (6:9-9:17), to work in the service of arguing as to why he has the authority to write both Andean history in the *Primer nueva corónica* and petition for reform in the *Buen gobierno*. Taken a step further, this can also be seen as a subtle argument as to why he and his kinship shouldn’t be marginalized under Spanish colonial society. Hispanicized, Christian, and noble, Guaman Poma’s self-construction firmly suggests that he is culturally Spanish even if ethnically indigenous.

Such rhetorical maneuvering, anchored by his admission of his lack of studies, admits that fundamental supposition of Guaman Poma’s understanding of his existence that he so ardently opposes: he is forced to give up his dignity under Spanish colonization and such “alienation hinders a life of freedom.”⁴² He is not entitled to sufficient rights within the Spanish colonial framework (as in Vitoria above, “los siervos nada pueden tener como suyo”), even though his ethnic parentage rendered him noble in pre-Columbian Andean society.⁴³ True, such a lineage in indigenous society and his Hispanicized upbringing enabled Guaman Poma to work alongside *visitadores* and *oidores*, leading to a “larga actividad al lado de los nuevos dominadores de los Andes en el siglo XVI,”⁴⁴ a fate preferable to many of those without ties to

Aesthetics, 29/30 (1996), 269-289. On the relationship of the manuscript to early modern books and early American books, see Birgit Brander Rasmussen, “The Manuscript, the *Quipu*, and the Early American Book: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*,” in *Colonial Mediascapes*, ed. Matt Cohen and Jeffrey Glover (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 141-165. For related discussions of form and lineage, see Tom Cummins, “The Uncomfortable Image: Pictures and Words in the *Nueva Corónica* I *Buen Gobierno*,” in Rolena Adorno, et al (eds.), *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author* (1992), 46–59. For a push to move beyond this conversation, see pages relevant to Guaman Poma in Tom Cummins, Emily Engel, Barbara Anderson, and Juan Ossio, *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014). Also see John Charles, “Trained by Jesuits: Indigenous Letrados in Seventeenth-Century Peru,” in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, eds. Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 60-78.

⁴¹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 15 [16]. Also see, Pease, “Prólogo,” xiv.

⁴² Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 199.

⁴³ On the questions and doubts surrounding Guaman Poma’s ethnic lineage (found in the letters from his father, Don Martín Guaman Mallqui de Ayala, and the author (*Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 6-9; [5-10]), see Pease, “Prólogo,” xv.

⁴⁴ Pease, “Prólogo,” xii.

the Spanish administration.⁴⁵ But that fate as a scribe and interpreter within Spanish colonialism is devoid of self-determination and “the possibility of reflectively determining oneself *as something*, of relating to something in an affective and identificatory way, and of being able to appropriate that something.”⁴⁶ And so Guaman Poma feels that he has been deprived of his proper, noble standing in the Andes and the corresponding rights, privileges, and freedoms denied by the very foundations and legal framework of direct Spanish governance, furthermore alienated from indigenous society by his necessary collusion therein.

Under such perceived negations of his appropriate place in society, Guaman Poma’s labors alongside Spanish functionaries, writings to Spanish officials, and legal appeals for recognition⁴⁷ might be seen not just as an attempt to reclaim his social standing in Spanish Peru but as an attempt to forge a self-determined existence as an Indian in colonial society that he ardently hopes to reform. These attempts, too, necessitate a self-alienation from indigenous means of constructing knowledge (kipu, oral legend, song, etc.) that contradict his arguments for indigenous autonomy, as they necessarily take up Spanish modes of communication that *indios ladinos* cannot return from. While impressive for his ability to take up Spanish historiographic modes and adopt “the Renaissance norm of historical truth, the *res gestae* to which the *Crónicas de Indias* claimed to subscribe,”⁴⁸ much scholarship on Guaman Poma celebrates his scholarly versatility at the expense of a fundamental recognition: the need to employ European writing, historiography, and Renaissance rhetoric frameworks is indicative of Guaman Poma’s alienation from the indigenous society wherein his nobility originates and a tactical separation of the indigenous world from Spanish colonial society, the former subjugated to the latter in spite of pleas for reforms that would reinstate indigenous dignity in the viceroyalty. Though efficient for negotiating with European vicars, Guaman Poma’s very mode of “cross-cultural communication”⁴⁹ indicates a forceful alienation, not just from property and rights, but in terms of a denial of “self-realization . . . conceived of as a capacity that can be realized only in relation to the social and material worlds.”⁵⁰

As in post-Hegelian theories of alienation, Poma’s seeks to overcome property alienation by intentionally shedding those elements of the individual responsible for such alienation from self and society. Partially shedding his indigenous identity in favor of a Hispanicized subjectivity constructed upon the title “Don” and the inherited appellative “de Ayala,” Guaman Poma distances himself from Andean modes of expression—kipu, oral history, song—to use history writing to position himself as a member of Spanish colonial society. Like the hordes of lesser

⁴⁵ Guaman Poma is said to have served as a translator, interpreter, and guide for *oidores* Alberto de Acuña, Pedro Arteaga Mendiola (circa 1588 during his tour of the mines of Huancavelica), and Juan Pérez de Gamboa (circa 1587). He also worked with *visitadores* Cristobal de Albornoz in the early 1590s, Gabriel Solano de Figueroa in 1594, and Andrés de Vilela in 1595, among others found in archival records. For original sources and their commenters, see Pease, “Prólogo,” xi-xii and Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, xi-xiii.

⁴⁶ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 200.

⁴⁷ Guaman Poma purportedly sent several letters to the King. On his letter sent from Huamanga, see Pease, “Prólogo,” xiii.

⁴⁸ Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 4.

⁴⁹ Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 57.

⁵⁰ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 200.

conquistadors who also penned *probanzas de mérito* seeking royal compensation (these conquistador-authors also satirized by Rosas de Oquendo), Poma takes to revisionist history. These others, who often wrote to no avail like the indigenous chronicler, express alienation from colonial society, resulting from their dissatisfaction with the diminishing mid-colonial allotment of *repartimientos*. This willing suppression of indigenusness becomes part and parcel of a written attempt at self-realization under colonial rule. And in this process, Poma himself chooses to view the history of the *incanato* and Spanish colonization in both Andean and Spanish terms. In Andean terms, the conquest resonates as a *pachacuti*, the renewal of the world through its ruin. Sarah Castro-Klarén suggests that “[i]f we assume that the Andean peoples interpreted the Spanish Conquest of the Inca empire as a *Pachacuti*—a cyclical destruction and restoration of the world—we can view the Andean cosmos as a place of articulation, revision, and response to the challenge of Colonial rule.”⁵¹ Yet his vision of the post-colonial Andean universe as a place of meaning-making is complicated by his understanding of the Spanish Andes as a place of Christian miracles and divine punishment for indigenous idolatry.⁵² While embracing some elements of Andean epistemology, he willingly strips away others. This dual identity, which might be considered a form of self-alienation from indigeneity, is further apparent in Guaman Poma’s alignment against Titu Cusi Yupanqui’s *Taqui Onqoy* rebellion in Vilcabamba, whose primary extirpator, the *visitador* Cristobal de Albornoz, he textually praises and depicts in his line drawings.⁵³

Under this framework, Guaman Poma’s birth into Spanish Peru goes beyond merely reflecting indigenous relinquishment of property and rights under colonialism. This claim takes on several resonances. First, Guaman Poma’s manuscript is motivated by his own dislocation from colonial society, which can be sensed in affective terms in his constant expressions of frustration and hopelessness at situations of colonial abuse and injustice for which “no hay remedio.”⁵⁴ Second, the manuscript’s form demonstrates the author’s willing and necessary subjugation of his own indigenusness to his position as vassal. He can ask for reforms but, after entering into Spanish modes of legal negotiation, he cannot ask for an indigenous universe, as he has, himself legitimated colonial rule through his embrace of its primary communicative forms.⁵⁵ This is not, though, merely a self-serving gesture meant to justify an appeal for compensation, and this self-separation necessarily functions in the service of arguing for policies that might serve to overcome the broader, structural alienation of native Andeans—the confiscation of their property, abdication of their rights, exploitation under labor, and marginalization within the

⁵¹ Sara Castro-Klarén, “Dancing and the Sacred in the Andes: From the Taqui-Oncoy to Rasu-Ñiti,” in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 159.

⁵² Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 68-71 [94-97].

⁵³ On Guaman Poma’s possible collaboration in extirpating the *Taqui Onqoy* movement, see Pease, “Prólogo,” xi-xii, lxiv. For Guaman Poma’s favorable comments about Albornoz, see *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 199-201 [284-287] and vol. II, 104 [690]. For his drawing of Albornoz, vol. II, 103 [687].

⁵⁴ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 704 [718].

⁵⁵ The alternative to this willing embrace of Spanish modes of communication is all-out war against the colonizer. Whereas Guaman Poma chooses to write, this alternative is seen in the recurrent armed rebellions emerging during the Spanish colonial presence in the Andes, from Taki Onqoy to Tupac Amará II.

colonial society in which they live. Self-alienation, Guaman Poma's willing suppression of his own indigenusness, is meant to argue for indigenous self-realization under self-rule as a sovereign kingdom.

“Se ausentan los indios en este reino”: Alienation of Property, Work, and Indigenous Exile

As an “*indio ladino* (Hispanized Indian)”⁵⁶ writing for a Spanish audience, Guaman Poma does not visibly rely on Quechua concepts akin to alienation such as those identifiable in Fray Diego González Holguín's Quechua grammars and dictionaries.⁵⁷ While numerous Quechua terms intersect with resonances of Spanish *enajenación*, Guaman Poma instead retains a proximity to early modern European definitions of the term, perhaps in a bid for the intelligibility and familiarity of his text for its intended recipients. For example, the Quechua adjectives “hucpa” (hukpa) and “huacpa” (wakpa) both translate loosely to “de otro” or “ajeno” though they never appear in the manuscript. Similarly, the nouns “hucpayman” (“cosa agena”), “ñak'arichiq” (“autor de padecimientos ajenos”) and “uywaqi” (“persona que mantiene, cria y educa a un hijo ajeno”) are absent, each terms which might serve to illuminate Spanish-indigenous relations as described by Guaman Poma.⁵⁸ Instead, writing in Spanish, he utilizes *enajenación* and related concepts in accordance with his European contemporaries, primarily referring to the separation of people from property. For example, in his arguments against indigenous relinquishment of land, the Andean chronicler writes, “[y] así no puedan venderlo a los dichos españoles sino fuere entre ellos *se venda y enajene* y así no quedarán agraviados los indios ni los españoles, y será servido Dios y Su Magestad.”⁵⁹ This passage and others like it demonstrate Guaman Poma's Iberian understanding of property alienation. Even if he is against Indians giving up their lands by sale or by force, he understands the transaction of giving up land in Spanish terms.

This is because of the fundamental context that Guaman Poma recognizes, alluded to in the narrative of his birth above: in colonial society, Indians must give up their lands and their right to dominion, contributing to the Spanish institutionalization of private property in a manner foreign to pre-Columbian governance. The official, textual and pictorial recognition of European primitive accumulation at the expense of Indian lands and its deleterious effects on indigenous society then becomes a primary motive behind his manuscript, which claims to suggest useful correctives,

para enmienda de vida para los cristianos e infieles, y para confesarse los dichos indios, y enmienda de sus vidas y herronía idólatras, y para saber confesarlos a los dichos indios los dichos sacerdotes y para la enmienda de los dichos encomenderos de indios y corregidores y padres y curas de las dichas doctrinas y de los dichos mineros y de los

⁵⁶ Chang-Rodríguez, “Cruel Criollos,” 118.

⁵⁷ See Holguín, *Arte de la lengua general del Perú, llamada quichua* and Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua qquichua, o del Inca*.

⁵⁸ See Holguín *Arte de la lengua* and *Vocabulario de la lengua*.

⁵⁹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 402 [527/541] (my emphasis).

dichos caciques principales, y demás indios mandoncillos, indios comunes, y de otros españoles y personas.⁶⁰

Guaman Poma promises that his manuscript is useful for reforming these diverse colonial actors toward Christian rectitude as well as “para saber otras cosas.”⁶¹ Admitting that Guaman Poma claims that his chief objective for writing is the realization of a good, just Catholic society in the Spanish Andes,⁶² I argue that primary among these “otras cosas” to be known is the reality of indigenous property loss (as early modern *enajenación*), an ongoing and evolving process realized by multiple means throughout the seventy-plus years of colonialism that the author lived.

Dislocation of Andeans from their communal lands cannot be understated, regardless of the means by which it takes place (marriage, force, or deceit, each explored below). This is because

[a] *chacara*, for Andeans, was a group of fields with a name, a history, and a host of associations. ... Land was owned collectively by ayllus, but individuals might have deep ties to specific fields. For those being resettled, exchanging a field for a new and unknown one might be like trading one’s own child for someone else’s. Guaman Poma described families torn from their *querencia*, an evocative Spanish word meaning the home to which one longs to return.⁶³

In highlighting the tremendous historical and identitarian importance of communal lands, Mumford refers to Poma’s description of Toledo’s relocation of Indians around the viceroyalty. The passage describes how after arriving to Lima, Toledo “salió hacia ... Guamanaga, al Cuzco, adonde hizo reducir y poblar a los indios, algunos en buena parte, algunos en mala parte, como la suerte cayó; y por ello *se desbarataron los indios de su querencia por tener las sementeras muy lejos*.”⁶⁴ Poma’s use of the verb *desbaratar*, which carries resonances of undoing, ruination, impediment, disorder, or havoc and confusion, and means to “deshacer o arruinar algo” or “cortar, impedir, estorbar algo inmaterial,”⁶⁵ signals the profound consequences of fracturing the relationship between Andeans and their lands. It is not only dispossession of the means of

⁶⁰ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 4 [1].

⁶¹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 4 [1].

⁶² Taken in their entirety, Guaman Poma’s stated intentions are decidedly Christian. Not dissimilar to satirical writers who state objectives of moral reform in more agnostic tones, such as Rosas de Oquendo or his eighteenth-century inheritor Esteban Terralla y Landa, whose *Lima por dentro y fuera* is framed as “una obra que se ha hecho ... para dar consejos económicos, saludables, políticos y morales, no puede menos de ser útil y apreciable” (Terralla y Landa, *Lima por dentro y fuera* (Lima: 1797). Guaman Poma similarly states that “la dicha crónica es muy útil y provechosa, y es buena para enmienda de vida para los cristianos e infieles” (*Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 4 [1]).

⁶³ Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 145.

⁶⁴ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. 1, 329 [445/447] (my emphasis).

⁶⁵ *Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española*, “desbaratar,” accessed October 21, 2017, <http://dle.rae.es/srv/search?m=30&w=desbaratar>.

production, but dispossession of identity, of community, of history, and of meaning itself as organized around these three elements. To separate Andean peoples from lands through resettlement or other means is to plunge the Andean world into chaos, to interrupt or fracture something immaterial. That something is an Andean order rooted in communal lands, collective determination of work (and a relationship to that work and its physical location), and community relationships.

By taking up the diverse processes by which communal lands are taken from Indians, explored below, the manuscript suggests that the removal and relocation of Indians from their property is fundamental in setting into motion a chain of property relations that furthers indigenous alienation from community, lands, work, and history, a fracture so complete that it is inevitably punctuated by physical Indian abandonment of Spanish-possessed, formerly indigenous lands. This abandonment is not a homogeneous process, although Guaman Poma uses the same terminology (“se ausentan”) to refer both to those indigenous persons who leave their millenary lands for urban resettlement, where he alleges that Indian culture, already fractured, is further lost to transculturation and racial and cultural mixing,⁶⁶ and those Indians who abandon Spanish colonial society altogether for the distant highlands and geographic margins. Regardless of the end destination of absent Indians, whether the rural periphery or the urban milieu, both flee under the pressures of labor and personal abuses committed by clergy and overseers in the name of religion and productivity, each justified as a purported means of protecting Indians from themselves though ultimately yielding the material alienation of indigenous property.

It is worth repeating, though, that such flight is not only loss or a redefinition of the coordinates and relationships of labor, but also the end of meaning in and for a forever-changed Andean society. Among such means of separating indigenous subjects from their property that set this fracture into motion, Guaman Poma alleges that the marriage of Indian women to other castes figures as a legal, if transparent, means of taking land from the Indians:

Por qué causa se casan algunos españoles o algunos mestizos o mulatos con indias, hijas de los caciques principales o indio pobre, en los dichos corregimientos con color de a fin de amolestar y quitar toda cuanta hacienda, y meterse en sus tierras y casas, y tener ruido, escándalo, y revolver toda la tierra, y [el esposo] se sirve de los indios sin pagarle, y [los indios] recresen muy muy [sic] gran daño y revuelta de entre los pobres de este reino, algunos [de los casados] ganan provisión de los señores visorreyes, con esto no hay

⁶⁶ Pease writes that:

[c]onsecuente con un régimen social rígido, Guaman Poma abomina de los mecanismos de movilidad social, específicamente del mestizaje, aunque también repudia la imagen del hombre andino o africano “acriollado”, es decir, amoldado a la manera de vivir occidental ... Esta crítica es paralela a la exaltación de una pureza racial y cultural ... [que] regirá por igual para la población andina. (“Prólogo” xxxviii)

For specific passages, see Guaman Poma’s many references to the ills of mestizos and mestizo culture, such as those found in the *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 12 [564/578-565/579]; 15 [568/582], etc.

remedio, y así a sus mujeres indias lo lleven a las ciudades, y los hijos mestizos o mestizas, los destierre [a los indios] el dicho corregidor en este reino.⁶⁷

By intermarrying self-interested, property-hungry Spaniards and other castes with the daughters of indigenous leaders of all classes who manage communal lands, he alleges that Indian lands are lost and communities destroyed, as these marriages serve to “revolver toda la tierra” by reorganizing social relations, characterized by the consequential relocation of Andeans “entre los pobres de este reino.”⁶⁸ Under resettlement through marriage, the Indians residing on their former lands, which are now in effect private property, are forced to work for the new landowning class without pay (each new landowner “se sirve de los indios sin pagarle”), even though the viceroy already compensates some of these new proprietors. The urban relocation of the married Indian women and their children, born of interclass marriages, then furthers the mestizo class that Guaman Poma so despises, while creating a leadership vacuum amongst the remaining Indians and allowing Spanish officials to further exact unpaid—forced—labor that results in indigenous poverty and dependence upon the new landed class.

While Spanish-Indian marriages prove a tactical means of alienating Indians from community lands over time, Guaman Poma alleges that other Spaniards simply confiscate property by sheer force:

Cómo los hermanos y parientes y deudos del corregidor y del padre y del encomendero enriquecen presto, con el favor y ayuda de ellos hacen fieros a los pobres indios y les quitan toda su hacienda y ganados, y comidas y ropa, y fornican a sus doncellas, y de su parte castigan y amolestan y le hacen trabajar, y así [los españoles] son ricos y [los indios] no tienen residencia, y no hay remedio en este reino.⁶⁹

Under Spanish aggression (“ellos hacen fieros a los pobres indios”), whole haciendas are taken by Spaniards with support from colonial officials and clergy. This network of colonial elites, nepotistic and directly tied to the highest local authorities (“los hermanos y parientes y deudos

⁶⁷ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 379 [510/514].

⁶⁸ In addition to suggesting that these marriages are often forced, Guaman Poma also decries forced marriages between Indians, which serve abusive clerics who facilitate and conceal illicit relations with indigenous women (*Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 20 [574/588]) and deny the sacrament of marriage to the Indians (vol. II, 59 [618/632] and 263 [868/882]). These practices, he argues, deny Indians autonomy over their personal lives and estrange Indians from the sacrament of marriage, which Guaman Poma deems most essential for advancing indigenous Christianity and providing Indian subjects to the crown. Likewise, the interruption of marriages by clerics who marry their mistresses to their *yanaconas* (vol. II, 20 [574/588]) or slaveowners who separate husband and wife by sale or labor relocation (vol. II, 129, [704/718]) is condemned for impeding married couples from providing “servicio de Dios y de Su magestad” (vol. II, 129, [704/718]). Guaman Poma frames all of these interruptions of marriage in terms of service to God: marriage is essential for fully transitioning the castes into Christianity to serve God. However, the repeated references to marriage as an imposed practice and category can also be read as a denial of Indian personal freedoms, an alienation of Indians from the sacrament of marriage and thus from God and intermediary institutions such as the church and the crown.

⁶⁹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 381, [512/516].

del corregidor y del padre y del encomendero”), seeks to deprive Indians of veritably all material belongings. As Mumford sustains, “Spanish farmers everywhere saw the General Resettlement [under Toledo] as an opportunity to expand their landholding at Andeans’ expense,” an outlook which took on diverse practices.⁷⁰ But beyond losing their land and belongings (“les quitan toda su hacienda y ganados, y comidas y ropa”), the Indians are terrorized, raped, and forced to work (“fornican a sus doncellas, y de su parte castigan y amolestan y le hacen trabajar”), their landlessness simultaneously consolidating and becoming a source of further exploitation.

The indigenous condition of landlessness, violation, and servitude then comes to transform indigenous identity, as Poma suggests that human beings are relegated “fieros”: wild, untamed, and animalesque, taking on a cruel, desperate character that ironically surpasses the cruelty of the colonial agents responsible for their dehumanization. While the passage suggests that these Indians remain in the vicinity of the communal lands that they have lost, they have no home (“no tienen residencia”), rendered instead a roving, feral mass. And it is under these dire conditions that Andean social relations are immediately transformed. As landless Indians are left without a means of sustenance other than working under the appalling conditions of forced labor (if it even provided sustenance, a benefit that Guaman Poma’s description does not suggest), the elements from which Andeans once derived meaning and identity prove wholly absent: land, community, and the work that mediated relationships to each.

While the above passages highlight two means of alienating Indians from their lands (intermarriage and confiscation by force) and the consequences of such displacements, they do not directly employ the early modern vocabulary of *enajenación*. The verb *enajenar* does appear though in that telling passage (previously cited in chapter two) where Guaman Poma argues for the restitution of indigenous lands forcibly sold to the Spanish at nominal, undervalued prices:

Es muy justo que [los españoles] se vuelvan y restituyen las dichas tierras y corrales y pastos que [los indios] se vendieron en nombre de Su Magestad porque debajo de conciencia no se le puede quitársele a los naturales legítimos propietarios de las dichas tierras, porque una hanegada de tierra se vendió por diez pesos ensayados, algunos por veinte, como fue rematado, aunque lo vendiesen por ciento y así el dicho comprador sea pagado con el fruto y ganado mucho más; y así deben volvérselo las dichas tierras, corrales y pastos, y sementeras los dichos españoles a los dichos indios. Después que se les vuelva a los dichos indios le valdrá muy mucho a Su Magestad, porque el indio o la india, cuya fuere, o común sementera o pasto de los dichos pueblos de quien fuere con justo título ... se lo entregue, y lo arriende y se lo alquile a los españoles, mestizos, mulatos, negros, cholos, zambaigos, a todos los que tiraren a otra casta y generación, y a los indios, que no fueren herederos, se le arriende y paguen un tanto al dicho dueño ... Y así no puedan venderlo a los dichos españoles sino fuere entre ellos *se venda y enajene* y así no quedarán agraviados los indios ni los españoles, y será servido Dios y Su Magestad.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 145. Mumford also highlights that “[t]he cabildos of Spanish towns had the right to grant empty land to individuals, so Spaniards would identify an Andean community’s field that was temporarily lying fallow and claim that it was virgin soil that had never been farmed” (*Vertical Empire*, 145).

⁷¹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. I, 402 [527/541] (my emphasis).

Guaman Poma begins by demanding restitution for the dispossession of Indian lands by coerced sale at diminished prices.⁷² Following the general coordinates plotted by Bartolomé de Las Casas in his *Brevisima relación*, this restitution, Poma suggests, is the only just outcome, as the Indians are the natural and legitimate owners of these lands.⁷³ Their sale, he alleges was coerced, unwilling, and unnatural, as sale or profitable, permanent divestment of *ayllu* lands (and the related paradigms of private land and private property) was foreign to Andean social life. In doing so, Guaman Poma suggests a resonance of early modern property alienation that includes the possibility of being deprived of one's belongings by trickery, force or injustice, a resonance also found in Diego González Holguín's definitions of the Quechua concepts of *huk* and *wak*.⁷⁴ Indian lands have not been sold in mutual agreement, but under terms that benefit only one party (the buyer), conditions that violate the very concept of property alienation (sale, divestment) as defined from Roman times into the seventeenth century.⁷⁵

From this observation, he argues that Indians should have their lands returned: "que se vuelvan y restituyen las dichas tierras y corrales y pastos que [los indios] se vendieron en nombre de Su Magestad." Such restitution is owed to native Andeans because they are the natural, legitimate owners ("los naturales legítimos propietarios de las dichas tierras") and the forced sale of their property has yielded a lesser benefit than such lands would yield in agricultural production or if rented to Spaniards and other castes, including landless Indians, to be worked over time. This justification has the effect of mediating between pre-Columbian land relations and Spanish understandings of private property. First, the suggestion that Spaniards rent the returned lands from Andean communities is more akin to Andean notions of tribute, under which lands could be temporarily turned over to the Inca or other ethnic groups under the Inca's charge to be worked for the needs of the state. Second, Poma embraces the Spanish imperial language of

⁷² For discussion of this passage and Spanish restitution of Indian property in terms of the theological origins and evolutions of such an argument, see Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 60-62, 78-79, and 158n8.

⁷³ Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996 [1552]), 8-9. Guaman Poma particularly seems to echo Las Casas's recognition that

ansia temeraria e irracional de los que tienen por nada indebidamente derramar tan inmensa copia de humana sangre y despoblar de sus naturales moradores y poseedores (matando mil cuentos de gentes) aquellas tierras grandísimas y robar incomparables tesoros, [que] crece cada día, importunando por diversas vías y varios fingidos colores que se les concedan o permitan las dichas conquistas (las cuales no se les podrían conceder sin violación de la ley natural y divina, y por consiguiente gravísimos pecados mortales, dignos de terribles y eternos suplicios). (*Brevisima relación*, 8-9)

Like the Dominican jurist, Guaman Poma sees irrational indigenous fear as the product of irrational Spanish cruelty, both of which subvert the natural order that is suggested to previously have organized Andean society.

⁷⁴ Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 191 and Holguín, *Arte de la lengua general*, 161.

⁷⁵ See definitions of "alieno," in *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879) [<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dalieno>].

legitimate ownership found in Vitoria's work ("no se le puede quitársele a los naturales legítimos propietarios de las dichas tierras," he says),⁷⁶ conveniently overlooking the sacred or ritual value of indigenous land ownership before the conquest. Instead, the indigenous chronicler renders the value of collective property in terms intelligible to the Spanish: the productivity of the land for raising crops for sustenance, offering agricultural commodities for sale in the emergent money economy, or as paying tribute to the Spanish as ethnic groups paid tribute to the Inca.

Such restitution is due on the grounds that foreigners cannot, Guaman Poma alleges in a denunciation aimed specifically at Spanish clergy, legitimately own property:

Que los dichos padres doctrinantes extranjeros, que en la lengua de los indios se llama mitimac, de Castilla, todos no se pueden llamarse propietario aunque sea hijo de español como no sea hijo de indio, y así de ninguna manera es propietario los padres de las doctrinas de este reino todos son ínterin porque *sólo los indios son propietarios legítimos que Dios plantó en este reino*; y si acaso fuera a España un indio fuera extranjero mitima en España. Y así por de Dios y de la justicia no hay propietario español en este reino aunque sea nacido en este reino, hijo de extranjero, mitmacpa churin, mitimacpa hauaynin, pero sólo el rey es propietario y legítimo Inga rey [...]. Y después los conquistadores de su golosina y de gente baja quiso ser rey y se alzó y de todos éstos se defendió y trabajó y ganó la tierra, y así es propietario legítimo Inga rey, y así no hay otro propietario en todo el reino sino los príncipes y principales indios. Aunque por parte de su madre es propietario el mestizo y mulato, ha de saberse de qué parcialidad y aylo, y estos han de asistir en las ciudades.⁷⁷

Here Guaman Poma stages a counterargument against Vitoria's claims to the European right to dominion in America, disputing the legitimacy of colonial property ownership and the very foundations upon which it rests. Guaman Poma grounds this argument in the Quechua concept of the *mitimac* (*mitmaq*), or foreigner, who was unable to own (or, rather, claim *ayllu* rights to) property during the Incanato.⁷⁸ Alleging that "los padres de las doctrinas de este reino todos son ínterin" property holders, Poma equates Spanish clergy to *mitimac* whose presence was deemed temporary and foreign for the duration of their stay on the lands of other ethnicities. This comparative understanding of Spanish colonists in an Andean framework anticipates his statement that only noble Indians ascendant from the legitimate Inca (for Guaman Poma, this is Huascar, not Atahualpa) can own property outright. As *mitimac* lacking noble authority, Poma's understanding of the clergy's societal position rejects the possibility of legitimate Spanish land ownership, much less any form of legitimate appropriation of property by marriage or forceful seizure. For Guaman Poma, the only people who should constitute the landed class are Indians, a proposition that inverts the reality of Spanish land ownership and the consequences of indigenous landlessness that accompany it.

This has the effect of advocating for a completely alternate order within and under Spanish colonialism through which Indians retain control of lands (and thus, the means of

⁷⁶ Vitoria, *Relecciones sobre los indios y el derecho de guerra*, 53-54, 77-79, 87-88.

⁷⁷ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 89 [659/673] (my emphasis).

⁷⁸ On *mitimac*, see Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, 27-39 and 257; and Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance*, 214-218.

production). While he does not suggest the return or banishment of the colonial order—his text seems to begrudgingly accept its permanence and his rhetorical position must necessarily admit the continuation of Spanish colonialism in the Andes if he is to gain a royal audience—, he suggests that the native descendants of Andean nobility should retain control of lands based on their parentage. As only “los príncipes y principales indios” are legitimate owners, Spaniards and even criollos (he who is “nacido en este reino, hijo de extranjero”) are foreigners in Andean social structures and they have no claim to land rights. Therein, the lexicon deployed by Guaman Poma seems to suggest an internalization of the concept of private property introduced and normalized in the Andes under Spanish colonialism, as he refers to indigenous leaders as “propietarios.” Yet this designation of the Indians and the “legítimo Inga rey” as “propietarios” also carries a connotation of social class: land ownership is contingent upon a local, noble lineage traceable back to the leadership of a landed group historically associated with specific plots of land.

The ultimate effect of Poma’s words here is to suggest that the viceroyalty of Peru constitute a form of indigenous, Andean kingdom within the Spanish kingdom, not a Spanish colony, but a “reino noble” whose landholding class is ascendant from Inca nobility. As the potential of this order is far from the practical reality of the Spanish Andes, Guaman Poma recognizes the actual state of the viceroyalty as a tragic breakdown of societal norms: indigenous nobles who are the historically legitimate administrators of lands by blood and birth have been cast from their lands by low Spaniards, displaced to roam the sierra and eke out a means of survival through dependence on others, most notably the enterprising clergy who Poma specifically targets as sham landholders. Worsening the situation, previously ignoble Andeans have staked claims to property, corrupting longstanding Andean social organization around ethnic groups and their lands.

Forcefully grounding this argument is a recognition that the alienation of indigenous land and property from its rightful owners results in the creation of a landless class of Indian on the margins of colonial society. With nowhere to reside and no means to sustain themselves—a product of losing control of their lands and, as such, the means of production—Indians are forced to seek out alternate arrangements for survival as servants or wage laborers for Spanish clergy and *hacendados*. Yet constant abuses take place against the Indians laboring under the Spaniards, causing them to flee to the highlands to live beyond Spanish rule. To avoid indigenous flight at two levels, from their hereditary lands and from Spanish governance in urban environments or the *reducciones* designed to concentrate rural Indians for labor and political control, Guaman Poma maintains that the Indians should instead be able to rent their lands to Spaniards, or any other class of resident in the colonies (“con justo título . . . se lo entregue, y lo arriende y se lo alquile a los españoles, mestizos, mulatos, negros, cholos, zambaigos, a todos los que tiraren a otra casta y generación”), so as to benefit from their legitimate ownership while remaining a part of Christian society.

The indigenous chronicler details other forms of Spanish primitive accumulation in the *Buen gobierno* that similarly set this chain of events—deprivation of indigenous lands and property that results in the alienation of Indians from colonial society in other contexts, beginning with their geographic flight from Spanish administrators and clergy and ending with their isolation outside of Christian society—into motion. Primary among these modes is the lack of Indian titles to their lands, which restrict their ability to transfer (*enajenar*) their lands to other Indians at their own discretion through sale or inheritance via wills and testaments. Citing the dispossession-relocation-labor/servitude/abuse-flight sequence that fractures indigenous

communities and, he argues, diminishes the colonies' value to God and the crown, the author suggests that Indians should receive official documents recognizing their lands so that their tracts are not lost to scheming Spaniards:

Que los dichos indios de estos reinos tengan provisiones y decretos de Su Majestad o testimonios de los dichos corregidores y jueces de sus haciendas, propietarios, heredades, legitimados de chacaras que ellos les llama comunchacra, sapsi chacara, tasachacara, hatunchacara, lucrichacara, salcamoya, quichiu moya, salcanchaqui, chiuacancha, larca, cocha, mayo, malqui, chicta, sayua, como son de mojones y pastos y corrales y sementeras de maíz y de papas, y acequias, puentes, ríos de agua, de todo lo demás lo *tengan para dejarlo en su testamento y heredades, puedan vender, ajenaar cada indio o india en este reino entre ellos, sin que le entre español* como se le ha entrado a las tierras de Chinchay y de Cañete, y de Ica, de La Nasca, y de otras partes, y lo destruye a los indios; y *ansí se ausentan por no tener tierra de adonde sustentarse, y ansí ha de acabarse de despoblar los indios.*⁷⁹

Indians, he alleges, cannot transfer their property—which constitutes the means of production (“mojones y pastos y corrales y sementeras de maíz y de papas, y acequias, puentes, ríos de agua, de todo lo demás”)—among one another because they lack the necessary official legal documentation for such a transaction. This inability to transfer their property to other Andeans in turn enables Spaniards to deprive Indians of their lands through unilaterally imposed purchases or the drafting of deeds, leaving the latter without “tierra de adonde sustentarse.” Instead of a strong, unified indigenous population with autonomy over productive lands and the potential to self-govern as a holding of the Catholic monarchy, the colonial reality contributes to Indian depopulation of community lands, as Indians choose incorporation into urban Spanish society or withdrawal into the highlands. This cycle of deprivation and flight then feeds landless Indians back into problematic, exploitative colonial labor systems. In response, Guaman Poma's proposition of providing deeds and sales rights to the Indians seeks to alleviate the problem of Indian depopulation for which “no hay remedio”⁸⁰ by maintaining a landed indigenous class.

Retaining indigenous lands is not, then, meant to enrich the Indian population, but to maintain strong indigenous communities with autonomy to cultivate or rent the land in the service of God and King (“será servido Dios y Su Magestad”) without royal interference from illegitimate (and intermediate) Spanish administrators. By retaining such autonomy within an Andean-held Spanish territory, indigenous flight to the cities or from the viceroyalty altogether would be prevented, a fundamental step in establishing the type of order that the manuscript envisions, an Andean kingdom under Spanish holding in which Indians determine their own labor and use of their lands. Though framed as a means of retaining the strongest population base for the crown, such arrangements would also prevent further disintegration of indigenous society

⁷⁹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 260 [865/879] (my emphasis).

⁸⁰ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576], 13 [565/579].

and the erroneous continuation of a colonial situation in which “está el mundo al revés.”⁸¹ The wager is not merely that the indigenous community should receive restitution and profit from their lands, though this is perhaps the argument that is most intelligible—and potentially incendiary—to a Spanish administration convinced of Europeans’ natural right to commerce and concerned with the productivity and profitability of the Andes for the crown.⁸² Far beyond that, Guaman Poma argues against the many means of property alienation—intermarriage, forceful confiscation, coerced sale, and legal trickery—that have led to the material and spiritual alienation of the Indians from the whole of colonial society by reshaping the viceroyalty so that Indians retain their dignity by retaining their lands and their means of self-sustenance.

The suggestion is that if the Indians are not forced to cede their lands outside of the indigenous community, they will retain a place to live as well as some degree of control over the means of production upon which they depend to support themselves. With such autonomy, Indians would not be landless, forced to work for the newly and wrongly landed Spaniards, ceding not only their time (which they sell as labor), but any sense of control over their reality. The poverty of the living and working conditions in the mid-colonial viceroyalty, contingent upon minimal Spanish protection and favor, coupled with the condition of complete indignity often leads to indigenous flight to the geographic periphery of the viceroyalty, a chain of events that figures prominently in the long list of grievances enumerated in the *Buen gobierno*. Such seeking out independence from Spanish overlords by relocating to urban Lima—an urban setting which he also categorizes as “el mundo al revés”⁸³—or the distant highlands constitutes a complete physical self-removal from colonial society.

In such environs, Guaman Poma insists, all hope is lost for the Indians’ productive participation in the Spanish Andes. Citing how Andean hierarchies are inverted and Indian identity lost in the urban milieu of Lima, he alleges that:

la dicha ciudad de los Reyes de Lima vido atestado de indios ausentes y cimarrones hechos yanaconas, oficiales, siendo mitayos, indios bajos, y tributarios se ponían cuello y se vestía como español, y se ponía espada, y otros se trasquilaban por no pagar tributo, ni servir en las minas; *veis aquí el mundo al revés* y así como ven estos indios ausentes se salen otros indios de sus pueblos y no hay quien pague el tributo, ni hay quien sirva en las dichas minas; y asimismo vido el dicho autor muy muchas indias putas, cargadas de mesticillos y de mulatos, todos con faldelines y botines, escofietas, aunque son casadas andan con españoles y negros, y ansí otras no se quieren casarse con indio ni quiere salir de la dicha ciudad por no dejar la putería; y están llenos de indios en las dichas rancherías

⁸¹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 172 [762/776]. Also, see framing of the “mundo al revés” later in the *Buen gobierno* (vol. II, 446 [1126/1136] and 447 [1128/1138]).

⁸² Vitoria ascertains that commerce is a natural right: “Es lícito a los españoles negociar en tierras de los bárbaros indios, sin perjuicio de la patria de los mismos, importando los productos de que aquellos carecen, etc., y extrayendo de allí oro, plata y otras cosas que abundan, sin que aquellos príncipes puedan impedir a sus súbditos ejercer el comercio con los españoles, etc.” (87). Denial of such “títulos legítimos por los cuales pudieron venir los bárbaros al dominio de los españoles” (87) then constitute grounds for just war. Also, see Vitoria, *Relecciones*, 90-91.

⁸³ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 447 [1128/1138].

de la dicha ciudad, y no hay remedio, y hacen ofensa en el servicio de Dios y Nuestro Señor y de Su Majestad, y así no multiplican los dichos indios en este reino.⁸⁴

Interestingly, the world is turned upside down for the narrator not just because Indians have lost their lands, but because they work—or don't—in urban environments outside of the tribute system common to Inca and Spanish rule: Indians labor and socialize outside of their 'proper' environment on their ancestral lands, their work performed in the service of self or a self-interested overseer instead of God and the crown. A class of impostors emerge, who stake a claim of privilege in colonial society by taking up Spanish dress and customs ("indios bajos, y tributarios se ponían cuello y se vestía como español, y se ponía espada, y otros se trasquilaban por no pagar tributo, ni servir en las minas") while fields lay fallow and the mines unmanned, denied a sort of proper productivity that Guaman Poma advocates which might sustain indigenous identity in spite of such tribute being earmarked for the crown. Indian women have interracial children with no stable ethnic identity, he suggests, resulting in a generation even further divorced from indigenous tradition and invested in Spanish means of conceptualizing work, land, human relationships, and social order. His claim that "así no multiplican los dichos indios en este reino" does not allege that indigenous ethnicity has disappeared, but that indigenous identity has been displaced, in part because of relocation and in part because of a newfound, urban aversion to work itself. And of course, without a sense of collective indigenous identity, there is no means of forging a return to the type of indigenous community that he hopes might again exist in the Spanish Andes. The premise behind all that Guaman Poma decries is that this never would have happened under Incan governance and that a return to such governance—even if rigidly conservative in its own right—is the only means of properly serving "Dios y Nuestro Señor y ... Su Majestad" and imbuing indigenous society with meaningful relationships between man, land, and labor.

As these concerns with urban transculturation express, indigenous flight from their former lands is not merely a matter of losing their property. Having lost their lands, the alienated Indian is forced to take up labor for survival, not unlike the Spanish conquistador who is denied a land grant, per Rosas de Oquendo's poetic subject in the previous chapter.⁸⁵ The conditions of this labor become a central coordinate for Guaman Poma, especially as the logic expressed above continues to guide his comments on indigenous labor and flight in the *Buen gobierno*. With their lands redistributed to Spaniards and organized under differing levels of royal and clerical

⁸⁴ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 447 [1128/1138].

⁸⁵ Guaman Poma is sympathetic to the condition of the poor Spaniards present in Peru and their exploitation, forced and willing, in the colonial economy. For example, Guaman Poma cites the "pobre soldado español" who greedy priests prohibit from working as merchants by force, as the clergy "no le deja vender ni rescatar al pobre soldado español" and "alza una espada para el español como para los caciques principales" (*Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 44 [601/615]). He also argues that *padres*, *corregidores*, and *encomenderos* should not serve as merchants of the products generated in Indian communities, leaving that task instead to "los indios y mercachifles, español pobre" (vol. II, 204 [801/815]). He also includes the "pobre español" in his list of castes that live at the mercy of the Spanish clergy and governing class (vol. II, 328 [946/960]).

administration, Indians come to labor in a variety of contexts.⁸⁶ A prominently discussed context of indigenous labor is that of working under the clergy charged with Christian conversion and the administration of the sacraments. The arrangement is one central to later theorizations of alienation: wage labor. Guaman Poma states this very clearly: “los dichos padres de las doctrinas tratan y contratan con sus personas y por otra persona, haciendo muchos agravios, y no les pagan, y con color de la paga le ocupa muy muchos indios; y no hay remedio en todo el reino.”⁸⁷ Indians, many Indians, are contracted to work for pay, seeing this arrangement as preferable to unpaid agricultural or domestic work back on the lands where they used to reside before arranged marriages, coerced sale, legal trickery, and forceful occupation displaced them. Yet from this allegation at the beginning of the *Buen gobierno*, labor takes on a character beyond wage labor, instead becoming forced labor under the false promise of compensation: servitude.⁸⁸

Beyond placing a burden on the indigenous population and forcing them to provide goods at their expense, Poma charges that such servitude is not work in the spirit of the salvation and Christianization of the Indians, but the indigenous production of goods for Spanish distribution and sale. Primary among these goods are textiles, as Spanish clergy and *obraje* (textile workshop) owners and overseers take advantage of longstanding Andean weaving traditions and technologies (including a regimented specialization and division of labor) to source and sell clothing, domestic wares, and other articles of utility to the colonial enterprise.⁸⁹ Guaman Poma writes that “[c]ómo los dichos padres y curas entienden en hacer ropa de cumbe y de auasca para mujeres, y chumbes para vender, diciendo que son para los preladados le [de] manda, y comisarios, le hace hacer ropa y ocupa a los pobres indios y no se les paga cosa ninguna en todo el reino.”⁹⁰ While such production carries the pretext of outfitting the religious order, it becomes clear that profit is the primary motive behind such arrangements. And profit there is, as no compensation is rendered to the Indian laborers, a practice alleged throughout the text.⁹¹

Another passage—one of many—reiterates that Indians are coerced to work producing a variety of textiles, emphasizing the demands and burdens placed on indigenous leaders to source

⁸⁶ For a brief introduction to the various forms of indigenous labor, including *repartimiento* and *mita*, free wage labor, indigenous slavery, *yanacónaje*, and the *repartimiento de bienes*, see Mark Burkholder and Lyman Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 6th edition (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 140-144.

⁸⁷ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576]).

⁸⁸ The examples of indigenous work for Spaniards that goes unpaid are numerous in the manuscript. On work, generally understood, that goes unpaid, see Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576]; 41 [598/612]; 44 [601/615]; 54 [612/626]; 91 [662/676]; 174 [764/778]. On domestic labor that goes unpaid, see *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 23 [577/591] and on Indians complicit in recruiting and exploiting Indians for domestic labor, see vol. II, 29 [584-598]. On agricultural work and coca cultivation that goes unpaid, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 283 [892/906]. On mining work that goes unpaid, see *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 393 [1046/1054].

⁸⁹ These articles are, he alleges, also coveted by clergy, who demonstrate a “codicia de la plata y ropa y cosas del mundo” (*Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576]).

⁹⁰ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576].

⁹¹ See vol. II: 10 [562/576]; 10 [563/577]; the illustration titled “Padre / que hace tejer ropa por la fuerza a las indias, diciendo y amenazando que está amancebada y le da de palos y no le paga” (11 [564]); 12 [563/577]; 12 [565/579], etc.

weavers. Here, it becomes apparent that indigenous time and work are the foundations of the Spanish production economy:

Como los dichos padres y curas de las dichas doctrinas ocupan en hacer tejer ropa de auasca, costales y pabellones, sobrecamas y sobremesas, y chumbis, y uinchas, y cinogiles, y sogas, y otras cosas para vender y granjeriar sin pagarle, y para ello castiga a los principales y a los alcaldes y fiscales de tanto trabajo se ausentan de todo el reino.⁹²

In naming the diverse commodities for sale that unpaid Indians manufacture, the evangelical work that clergy are responsible for has been replaced with the administration of a supply chain yielding diverse commodities. This passage also highlights a second form of leave that indigenous peoples and their community leaders take from the Spanish, the ultimate consequence of such systems of unpaid labor. While departures from the Spanish population centers result from “tanto trabajo” without pay, they also result from mistreatment by the clerics who organize and administer textile manufacture: “los dichos padres y curas de las doctrinas son muy coléricos y señores absolutos y soberbiosos, y tienen muy mucha gravedad, que con el miedo se huyen los dichos indios.”⁹³ Thus the conditions of colonial production conspire against the Indian who—mistreated, unpaid, and fearful—flees those “señores absolutos y soberbiosos” who monopolize indigenous time, impose work obligations, fail to pay promised wages, and commit egregious abuses in their workshops.

Two additional examples of textile production and its relationship to Andean movements to the urban and highland peripheries of the colonies can be found in the section of the *Buen gobierno* that indicts specific classes of colonist for their misdeeds. The first are the allegations against the Dominican friars who he claims are among the most abusive clergy, prone to indenturing indigenous women in weaving workshops:

Padre fraile Dominico; los dichos reverendos frailes son tan bravos y soberbiosos de poco temor de Dios y de la justicia, ... todo su oficio es ajuntar las doncellas y solteras y viudas para hilar y tejer ropa de auasca, cumbe, y costales, pabellones, sobrecamas, nanacas y otros muchos daños en las dichas doctrinas de Jauja, de los Yauyos, de Guamanga, Parinacocha, y así de tanto daño se ausentan los indios y las indias de sus pueblos y así quedan despoblados sus pueblos y ya no multiplica porque le detiene todas las solteras con color de la doctrina y no hay remedio;⁹⁴

The passage highlights how the labor conditions are so oppressive for indigenous residents that Indian women flee their villages to escape forced incorporation into the Dominican weaving industry. Emphasizing how friars use evangelization as a pretext to stop and detain Indian women, the passage claims that whole villages have been abandoned and young women no longer have families because of their forced labor.

⁹² Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [563/577].

⁹³ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576].

⁹⁴ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 80 [646/660]. The accompanying illustration is on the preceding folio (79 [645/659]).

Yet the story of forced weaving does not stop there, as the Mercedarian order is also indicted for obliging Indians to produce textiles for sale. Guaman Poma refers particularly to the abuses of a certain friar “Morúa” who uses legal means to penalize Indians for avoiding work:

Padre fraile mercenario; este dicho Morúa fue comendador del pueblo de Yanaca de la provincia de los Aymaraes el cual destruyó grandemente a los indios con el mal y daño y trabajos de ajuntar las solteras, hilar y tejer y hacer cumbi y de auasca, pabellón y sobrecama, uascas, y frezadas, y costales, y de teñir lana, amasijos de chicha y penas que les pone a los indios de los pueblos y a los forasteros y al común de los indios, indias solteras, muchachos y muchachas, levantándole testimonio le robaba, y decía que al prelado le servía con ello y que no le había de quitar de la doctrina, y que había de matar de azotes, y así de tanto trabajo y castigo se ausentaron los indios y se despoblaron los pueblos; y así debía los indios al encomendero diez mil pesos de rezago de la tasa y este dicho fraile era juez de comisión del corregidor, quitaba mujeres casadas y a las hijas y hermanas de los indios, y decía que aunque le echasen de la doctrina que había de ir al convento a comer y a dormir.⁹⁵

Like the Dominicans, the Mercedarian “Morúa” similarly rounds up a large Indian workforce to produce an even larger corpus of objects. As in the other cases of textile production cited in the manuscript, such working conditions have caused Indians to flee under the very specter of terror and violence used to maintain, if that is the word, the weaving workforce. However, even in absentia, the Indians are taxed upon fleeing, an official account of ten thousand pesos issued against the former residents of Yanaca.⁹⁶ In the absence of unwed women for laborers, the friar has taken to obliging married women to work in the convent, further fracturing Indian families and social relations (and weakening the sacrament of marriage that Guaman Poma holds as central to Christianizing efforts and the continuation of Andean identity and community), and divorcing work from meaning under the all-consuming convent textile industry.

A cycle of alienation then takes hold, beginning with early modern property alienation and culminating in abstract, alienated labor: without lands upon which to sustain themselves, indigenous participation in textile manufacturing serves as a means of literally ‘making’ a living through a colonial form of wage labor or, more often, coerced labor under the unkept promise of wages. As this entire industry is dependent upon preexisting Andean weaving technologies used

⁹⁵ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 82 [648/662]. The accompanying illustration is on the preceding folio (81 [647/661]).

⁹⁶ The strategic imposition of debt on Indian laborers was found throughout Spanish America and common in the Andes. Mark Burkholder and Lyman Johnson write that “officials made available on credit a variety of animals and consumer goods—mules and textiles were the most common in the Andes—at elevated prices that again reflected built-in high rates of interest and profit. The *corregidores*’ judicial authority to collect debts gave them the security to sell on credit, although their abuse of this power provoked resistance that, in its extreme form, became rebellion. The ultimate effect of the *repartimiento de bienes* system was to create a permanent trade imbalance in the Indian communities that only native wage labor could make up” (Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 140). For further introduction to the topic, see Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 140-144. For a brief discussion of legal navigations of such demands, see Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 143-144.

to produce various grades of cloth whose production, distribution, and consumption were meaning-making activities in pre-conquest indigenous society, textiles that formerly contributed to the organization of Andean political, social, and religious life become commodities for trade under colonial production.⁹⁷ In this weaving economy that embodies wage labor, servitude, and colonial production systems more generally, there is the potential for a form of proto-*entfremdung* to take place under the division of labor as both work and the commodity produced by such work shed earlier meanings in mercantile, commodity fetishistic conceptions of weaving. This experience, which we might call “indigenous *entfremdung*” is also collective, subsumed under Guaman Poma’s generalized assertions that all Indians—an entire ethnic class of people in colonial society—confront such negative labor conditions that they must flee. Even those who remain in the *obrajes*, the “indios yanaconas o chinaconas” who Poma alleges to willingly collaborate with the Spaniards and tolerate domestic and sexual abuses in return for sustenance and a limited degree of autonomy, lose everything: first their time, their work, and the products of their work, and then their dignity, their autonomy, and the very possibility of existing outside of colonial production.⁹⁸ They have lost their lives, devoid of meaning or self-determination at even the most basic levels, while remaining alive.

But what of the human relationships to the very objects-turned-commodities that are produced in the colonial textile economy? As Elena Phipps has demonstrated, weaving in the production-oriented Spanish *obrajes* was not the same as it was under highly specialized Inca weaving infrastructure and the garments produced in each environment greatly differed in terms of style and quality, not to mention religious, political, and social meaning.⁹⁹ Among Inca and Andean cultures, weaving itself was considered to be inherited from the Gods: “[a]ccording to these [indigenous Andean] legends, the Andean people learned how to dress, spin, weave, and

⁹⁷ Gabriela Ramos states that “Los tejidos fueron el principal medio en el que los habitantes de los Andes plasmaron y comunicaron sus ideas, y a través del cual formalizaron una amplia gama de relaciones sociales, políticas y con el ámbito de lo sagrado,” adding that “los textiles ofrecen pistas sobre la forma cómo las poblaciones andinas conceptualizaron el universo y organizaron los elementos que lo componen (“Los tejidos y la sociedad colonial andina,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 19.1 (2010): 115). On the importance of textiles to the colonial Andes in the late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth centuries, see Ramos, “Los tejidos y la sociedad colonial andina,” 115-149. Also see, Verónica Cereceda, “The semiology of Andean textiles: The talegas of Isluga,” in *Anthropological History of Andean Politics*, eds. J.V. Murra, N. Wachtel and J. Revel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Neus Escandell Tur, *Producción y comercio de tejidos coloniales: los obrajes y Chorrillos del Cuzco, 1570-1820* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1997).

⁹⁸ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576].

⁹⁹ Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, eds. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York and New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press), 27 [16-40]. On Inca organization of weaving production, see Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 19-25. On additional depictions of weaving and discussions of textile productions in the Andes, see Elena Phipps, “Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murúa” in *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru*, 65-84.

make clothing form Mama Ocllo, the first Inca queen.”¹⁰⁰ Thus the production of cloth and garments constituted a form of divine inheritance, directly tied to the foundations of Inca society, as illustrated and narrated in Guaman Poma’s manuscript.¹⁰¹ As Phipps explains, “the salient idea recorded in these legends—that weaving and clothing began with the Inca—is a fundamental expression of the Inca’s equation of dress with culture,”¹⁰² endowing the sourcing, design, production, consumption, and distribution of textiles with a historical connection to Inca religious and political life.

With such tremendous importance in Inca society, Inca textiles achieved an exceptionally high quality in comparison to other global weaving cultures, including those of Iberia.¹⁰³ Pre-Columbian Inca garments were “composed of complete webs of cloth taken uncut from the loom” and “no further modifications were made to the woven shape. These cloth units were made with all four selvages—the woven edges of the cloth—intact” compared to “most other cultures around the world [where] cloth is cut from the loom.”¹⁰⁴ Under such a singular production process, “Andean weavers, therefore, had to conceptualize every aspect of a garment—from size, shape, and proportion, to design, composition, and layout—before they began to weave, and they made each garment specifically for a predetermined function.”¹⁰⁵ Beyond such compositional and procedural considerations in Inca weaving, the patterns incorporated into textiles reflected a broad spectrum of meanings:

The design and layout of Andean textiles, the horizontal and vertical registers of stripes and bands, aspects of order, symmetry, and color—followed traditional formats that were, in effect, recognizable systems of meaning within Andean culture. Every aspect reflected broader Andean concepts of beauty and aesthetics. For example, a primary objective of the weaver was to make a beautiful object; conversely, an object was considered beautiful (*wairuru*) when it was well made. At the same time, garments incorporated attributes of individual identity and cultural origins.¹⁰⁶

As Phipps summarizes, “tapestry garments embodied the Inca aesthetic as a political and cultural force.”¹⁰⁷ Likewise, these documents revealed “quite specific information about a garment’s owner, including gender, marital status, region, and even clan (*ayllu*).”¹⁰⁸ In addition to distinguishing Inca-governed peoples from other Andean cultures and being related to the production of ritual garments used “to clothe sacred objects and shrines (*huacas*) as well as the mummy bundles of former Inca kings (*mallquis*),”¹⁰⁹ pre-conquest Inca textile production, especially of the revered *cumbi* cloth, organized a vast population of privileged and deeply

¹⁰⁰ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 18.

¹⁰¹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 38 [48]. Also see Ramos, “Los tejidos y la sociedad colonial andina,” 137-140.

¹⁰² Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 18.

¹⁰³ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 23-26.

¹⁰⁴ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 18.

¹⁰⁵ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 18-19.

¹⁰⁶ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 19.

¹⁰⁷ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 17.

¹⁰⁸ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 19.

¹⁰⁹ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 33.

respected artisans from around the Inca polity who traded textiles for political loyalty in state-community reciprocity.¹¹⁰ Inca garments were not *just* garments, but also a means of identifying social groups and connecting them to other groups dispersed throughout Inca territories.

Under Spanish *obrajes* such as those that Guaman Poma decries, the social and political fabric of weaving shifted immensely. Like the production process, garments, too, took on—or lost—meanings absent in Inca weaving traditions.¹¹¹ As Phipps identifies, colonial fabric quality declined greatly, as the production of double-sided and seamless garments declined, modified by Spanish weaving processes and technologies introduced from Europe (“looms with treadles and reeds” and “sheep’s wool”). In particular, *cumbi*—which figured as “the Inca term for the finest weaving,” and produced garments considered by colonial authorities and contemporary scholars to be “some of the highest achievements in colonial Andean culture”¹¹²—became supplanted by cloths with mixed European and indigenous design elements, materials, and production processes. These new colonial garments, of decidedly lesser quality than their predecessors produced as tribute in the *incanato*, depended heavily on European-informed techniques, the latter taught to colonial Andean weavers by Spanish artisans.¹¹³ “Modifications to both technical and design elements” rendered the garments of the *obrajes* something else altogether, and the meaning-making and information-expressing capacities of Andean textiles were wholly reconfigured within new frameworks vastly different from previous Inca weaving.

However, this shift was taking place precisely during an “época [que] se caracteriza no solo por una grave desintegración política y social y la desarticulación de la economía, sino también por los esfuerzos de adaptación cultural en que se enfrascaron las poblaciones andinas, que trataron de redefinir los vínculos individuales y colectivos que daban sentido a sus vidas y a las nuevas circunstancias.”¹¹⁴ While textiles became commodities, their producers clung to weaving as a symbol of identity and community. And it is in this search for meaning in weaving that Guaman Poma’s vision of an indigenous order under Spanish colonialism retains a glimmer of hope. Beyond the literal meaninglessness of these garments as commodities, colonial *cumbi* production emerged at a moment when indigenous communities were undertaking intensive searches to imbue Andean practices with existential and ontological meaning. Though largely redefined as abstract labor in the *obrajes*, weaving still held symbolic importance capable of organizing indigenous peoples and allowing them to broadcast elements of pre-colonial Andean society under colonial labor. Though “the cloth made in the *obrajes* was low quality, intended primarily for garments given in lieu of payment to tributary and forced laborers” in other industries,¹¹⁵ weaving prevailed as an industry that never fully surrendered its potential to regain its earlier importance for Andean society. It is the subjugation of this powerful potential to the colonial workshop environment that exacerbates Guaman Poma’s frustrations.

As weaving processes and garments themselves took on a distinct character while remaining important under Spanish colonialism, textiles lost their prior meanings—ritual,

¹¹⁰ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 22-23.

¹¹¹ On the specialized production process of *cumbi* cloth, see Phipps “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 23-26 and Gabriela Ramos’s analysis of pre-columbian and colonial *cumbi*, “Los tejidos y la sociedad colonial andina,” 117-129.

¹¹² Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 17.

¹¹³ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 26.

¹¹⁴ Ramos, “Los tejidos y la sociedad colonial andina,” 116.

¹¹⁵ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 26.

political, social, and religious—in Inca society and their production became, for all intents and purposes, an extension of European weaving workshop techniques and organizations. *Cumbi* in particular, repeatedly mentioned in the passages by Guaman Poma cited above, was replaced with imitative garments and economical sheep’s wool textiles produced by a class of weaver working in a mix of European and Andean loom technologies. However, *cumbi* garments and cloths, sought out by Viceroy Toledo,¹¹⁶ became an in-demand luxury commodity among the Spanish, numerous accounts in the *Buen gobierno* documenting attempts at Spanish production of *cumbi* cloth and decrying Spanish confiscation of the fine textiles from Indians.¹¹⁷

And so the Spanish weaving industry that is fueled by the dislocation of Andean peoples and the obligation to labor to survive succeeds in divorcing both a process with over four millennia¹¹⁸ of specialized technical knowledge at the heart of political and religious society and its final products from the forms of meaning assigned to them across the Inca empire and the Andean world. Guaman Poma’s above mentions of weaving suggest that the ranks of specialized weavers—male *cumbicamayos* and female *acclacuna*, and the Inca class of “*llano paucar camayo* (officials who make first-quality cloth) or *tanti camayo* (Indians who make colors from plants, or dyers)”¹¹⁹—declined under colonization, replaced by any Indian who could be coerced into the *obrajes*, rendering artisans bare laborers dependent upon early modern divisions of workshop labor. Guaman Poma’s words also suggest that the production of “yarns and cloth for religious use, such as for offerings to particular *huacas* ... or to the Sun cult”¹²⁰ has declined, as garments under Spanish weaving become goods “para vender.”¹²¹

This particular positioning in the *Buen gobierno* is uncomfortably situated between decrying both Spanish and indigenous societies. On the one hand, Guaman Poma critiques Spanish sourcing of labor and raw materials, production, and distribution, processes that oblige Indians to take up alienated forms of labor and undergo a form of indigenous *entfremdung* in the colonial Andes. On the other, the chronicler denounces the idolatrous applications of Inca weaving, such as producing fabrics to clothe *huacas* and pay tribute to Andean divinities.¹²² Guaman Poma himself, then, decries one labor-driven form of alienation—indigenous *entfremdung*—while advocating for another: the alienation of weaving from Andean religion, and the insertion of weaving into some other intermediary form of production economy, neither wholly organized to enrich the crown through the sale of textiles nor to serve pagan religious

¹¹⁶ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 25.

¹¹⁷ Guaman Poma mentions *cumbi* on several occasions, first to allude to his own taste for luxury objects—“porque solía andar todo de seda y de cumbes” (vol. II, 428)—and then later to refer to the confiscation of the fine weaves (“el dicho padre les quitó todas las galanterías ... y ropa de cumbe y de auasca” (vol. II, 428); “con color de decirle que son idólatras, les ha quitado mucha cantidad de oro y plata, y vestidos, y plumajes y otras galanterías, vestidos de cumbe, auasca, topos, camisetas, porongos...” (vol. II, 444)).

¹¹⁸ Phipps claims that Andean weaving began as early as 4500 B.C.E. (“Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 18.)

¹¹⁹ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 24.

¹²⁰ Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 24.

¹²¹ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 10 [562/576].

¹²² Related to this latter position, for an in-depth exploration of Guaman Poma’s representation and conceptualization of *huacas*, see Lisa Trever, “Idols, Mountains, and Metaphysics in Guaman Poma’s Pictures of Huacas, *RES* 59/60 (2011): 39-59.

purposes. Here Guaman Poma ambivalently seeks to conceptualize productive activities, such as weaving, with meaning beyond the mere abstraction of value that they participate in through the *obrajes*. And given his self-positioning as Christian and loyal Spanish vassal, there is only one possible meaning that weaving and other trades can acceptably take up: “servicio de Dios y de la Santa Iglesia,”¹²³ as the caption to an image of artisans elaborates in the *Buen gobierno*. Colonial textiles then become a symbol of the very type of Andean colonial order that Poma advocates: an Andean universe within a Christian, colonial society that diverges from the actual brand of Spanish colonialism to return meaning, identity, and community to the Andean world by empowering laborers through Andean forms of work.

And this is precisely Guaman Poma’s problem with indigenous flight under Spanish labor structures (to say nothing of the ample commentaries on mining, domestic work, and other forms of labor in the *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*): fleeing labor because of its exploitative conditions mutes the possibility of participating in productive activity on behalf of the Crown. Such labor is ultimately in the service of God and, important for the type of colonial order that Poma envisions, potentially capable of rebuilding Indian communities around and through meaningful work that lends itself to connections with pre-colonial identity and community. Abandonment of traditional lands to the impenetrable sierra or the cities yields the dispersion of common indigenous ideals susceptible to extinction from the periphery. This is punctuated by an absolute lack of productivity embodied by the willing dispossession of even the most basic staples of Andean life—also integral to Andean conceptions of work and sustenance—for fear of confiscation or forced labor in the service of Spaniards:

Los dichos indios en este reino por ausentarse no quieren tener sementera ni ganado, ni criar en su casa gallinas ni conejos, ni quiere tener en su casa barriles ni cántaros, ni ollas, vajilla de pobre, sino a fuerza de castigo; y así se ausentan. Como no le duele nada se van de sus pueblos, y nunca más vuelven a sus tierras y reducciones, ni hay remedio y se meten dentro de los españoles los indios y las indias, y se meten a las señoras adonde se hacen más bellacas y bellacos en este reino los indios, indias, aquellos.¹²⁴

Giving up on their cattle and lacking basic domestic utensils out of fear of Spanish repercussions, Indians resolve to exist away from their ancestral lands. While they seek to exist outside of the Spanish economy as it reorganizes the means of production on previously indigenous lands, their incorporation into urban Spanish society (and therein, the colonial economy) seeks to avoid having their property confiscated or being forced to live a life of servitude. In fleeing their *reducciones* and lands, Indians leave everything behind, abandoning the means of production and the very possibility of production, even if staying would prove to be in the interests of their own sustenance.

This is, at one level, a critique that relates to the moralizing intent of Guaman Poma’s work: as Indians leave their lands, they replace their previous productivity, embedded in pre-Columbian organization of life around work (agriculture and weaving) with vice and idleness, complemented by trickery that subverts or reallots resources and wealth intended for the Spanish

¹²³ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 102 [673].

¹²⁴ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 266 [872/886].

economy. This is a product of their interaction with “malos cristianos españoles”¹²⁵ where they learn

vicios de mestizos, mulatos, negros, que españoles le enseñó y así se hacen yanaconas fugitivos, y viven en pueblo en pueblo ajeno, sin conocer al Criador, ... dejando de pagar sus tributos y servicios personales y minas, plaza, que sólo dan a beber y emborracharse y comer coca y comida, y dormir adonde andan, no tienen casas ni chácaras, andan como animales y salvajes y andan ociosos y holgazanes, perezosos, vagamundos, los indios y las indias, españoles en este reino.¹²⁶

Guaman Poma's concern with indigenous absence then takes up a moral critique concerned first with social disintegration in the face of utter social chaos and then with aversion to the colonial Christian God who he sees as integral to indigenous society under Spanish rule. First, in spite of the abuses that he outlines elsewhere, he decries how Indians abandon life in the *reducciones* where their productivity is dedicated to sustenance or tribute in a controlled environment. These 'absent Indians' are, then, in second place, unable to “conocer al Criador” because of their geographic distance from those church officials and *hacendados* charged with their salvation. Indigenous absence then compounds spiritual alienation, which takes hold under the abusive and hypocritical clergy who fail to administer the sacraments or live righteous lives and reaches its full realization with the Indians' complete abandonment of the church. This is further exacerbated through interactions with “malos cristianos” of all castes, which cause the Indians to then adopt the deleterious habits rampant throughout the viceroy, contributing to chaos and inhibiting evangelization. This, he suggests, leads to an Indian culture that is fundamentally characterized by instability, unproductivity, idleness, vice, and hedonism, each furthered by the Indians' newfound lifestyles opposed to work and physically distant from Christian leadership back on their *reducciones*.

While Guaman Poma is quite clear in his denunciation of the idleness and vice that result from indigenous absence (which implies either indigenous isolation or, in the above case, interracial cohabitation), I would like to suggest that the phenomenon of self-imposed absence can be understood beyond a mere moral critique reminiscent of that of Rosas de Oquendo's verses. Flight from Spanish overlords to cities or the highlands can be understood as indigenous attempts to retain autonomy over their lives and, in the case of flight from the colonial economy through geographic isolation, attempts to assert indigenous autonomy in the face of a colonial enterprise that has rendered Indians abstract labor in a chain of exploitative social relations. However, Guaman Poma views geographic flight from the *reducciones* as a form of indigenous social alienation with deep spiritual consequences: at best a meaningless existence without God (who, he alleges, should be at the center of labor, production, and veritably all social relations), at worst an idolatrous return to worshipping the *huacas* and engaging in pagan ritual, reorganizing indigenous society around the 'wrong' elements of Andean culture. In both cases, Guaman Poma decries the loss of indigenous lands and the forced incorporation of Indians into abusive labor practices that interrupt the sacraments necessary for proper Christian.

Within this framework, he does not argue against labor itself, nor even wholly against tribute labor under the Spaniards. Instead, he argues for fairer labor arrangements in the Spanish

¹²⁵ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 266 [872/886].

¹²⁶ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 266 [872/886].

economy: the ability of Indians to choose how they work for the crown, to work without coercion and violence, to be paid promised wages, to receive the sacraments, and for indigenous women and families to be respected.¹²⁷ Under such propositions, Guaman Poma is inconsistent in his dealings with indigenous alienation in the colonies. He is sometimes radical, albeit only fleetingly, as seen in his desire for restitution of unfairly alienated indigenous lands in the *Buen gobierno* and the potential reconstruction of an indigenous world under Spanish rule. This thread continues in his suggestion that the Indians should retain the autonomy necessary to control the means of production to at least the minimal degree that they can sustain themselves among the Spaniards without being forced to work on the behalf of colonists who do not embody the Christian ideals that they rhetorically espouse. Through these lamentations of how the Indians “se ausentan” across the viceroyalty, he seems to argue against indigenous flight and its impediments to Andean reorganization, which would constitute the natural means of garnering political autonomy and a necessary precursor to the ideological and political movements that sought to overthrow Spanish colonialism.¹²⁸ Instead, he sees Indian flight and absence from the textile workshops, the mines, and other sites of agricultural, domestic, and artisanal work as problematic because these labor sites hold the potential for a new group identity to emerge, capable of recuperating dignity in and through such activities, if only realized with that end in mind. A contradiction emerges as well though, as flight from labor is unproductive and thus unable to generate the tribute necessary for any political order, Andean or Spanish, to thrive. And so Guaman Poma registers the violent, exploitative nature of colonial labor and its avoidance as lamentable on two fronts: it destroys the potential for an indigenous universe and permits Indians

¹²⁷ This logic is also extended to black slaves:

Como se hacen malos negros y negras y se enseñan famosos ladrones y salteadores y malos cristianos; unos por que no son dados lo que ha menester, y otros porque no son castigados y doctrinados, y otros porque lo causa sus amos que les maltratan sin razón y les castiga cruelmente, y no les da alimento y pide mucha plata, y les hace trabajar sin comer desde por la mañana, a las doce llama almorzar y le da de comer y cenar, y no le dan algún regalo ni carne; también son ellos de carne y hueso y cristianos que desean comer, aptits y regalos. Y así es causa de que se huyan y hurten, y se debe castigarse a sus amos de ello por la justicia de los pobres. (*Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 132, [707/721]).

Here, as in the case of indigenous labor, the argument is not against labor under the Spaniards, nor against African slavery, but for justice for the poor at work. This is framed in terms of the recommendation that Christians merit basic considerations (food, water, rest, Christian doctrine) deemed just. The underlying assumption is that work itself—in this case forced work, slavery—is not problematic, but rather that the conditions of administering such work needs brought in line with Christian dogma.

¹²⁸ It must be remembered that Guaman Poma may have helped to put down the Taki Onqoy rebellion, a truly radical, militarized response to Spanish colonialism. See Trever, “Idols, Mountains, and Metaphysics in Guaman Poma’s Pictures of Huacas,” 43, 47; Luis Millones (ed.), *El retorno de las huacas: Estudios y documentos sobre el Taki Onqoy, Siglo XVI* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1990); and Jeremy Mumford, “The Taki Onqoy and the Andean Nation: Sources and Interpretations,” *Latin American Research Review* 33.1 (1998): 150-165.

to fall into lives of sin and idleness. Labor is necessary for an Andean cosmovision to be rebuilt. It is also necessary for the Christian empire to thrive and for the King and God, still central to the new Andean cosmovision that Poma envisions, to be served.

And so a legible pattern of alienation critique emerges. The alienation of indigenous property is unacceptable, as through it the Indians are wrongfully deprived of their lands, denied a means of sustaining themselves. With no other outlet for survival on the *reducciones*, the Indians are forced into wage labor-cum-servitude, under which they become alienated by the conditions of specialized labor within the means of production through nascent forms of indigenous *entfremdung*. Here, they also become spiritually alienated, both from the Andean religious practices (often related to work in the pre-Columbian context) that they are forced to abandon and from Christianity, which is poorly administered by hypocritical and abusive clergy complicit in the exploitation—and abstraction—of labor. Fleeing the abuses that accompany labor under the Spanish and seeking out autonomy and authenticity away from their lands, Guaman Poma worries that Indians become further spiritually impoverished under the influence of morally corrupt residents of the viceroyalty. Coming full circle to resolve such spiritual alienation, Guaman Poma then upholds work as a means of serving God and overcoming spiritual alienation. Alienations, in one form or another, become unavoidable. And at the very root of all alienations is property alienation through Spanish primitive accumulation, which has caused Indian society to collapse, yielding indigenous absence and, with it, the decline of Indian civilization, and the viceroyalty's productivity.

The Meaninglessness of History

As examined throughout this chapter, the *Buen gobierno* does not present “episodes in a larger story, but simply a string of examples that make up the body of ... [a] sermon; they serve to illustrate the need for the recommendations for reform that become the chief points in Guaman Poma's political and social program.”¹²⁹ Certainly, the disjointed examples that make up his compilation of complaints against the ills of Spanish colonialism fail to spin a coherent literary narrative, (much like the satirical writings of his Spanish contemporary, Mateo Rosas de Oquendo). Yet one must remember that the *Buen gobierno* follows and supplements the *Primer nueva corónica*, a history of the Incas and Spanish conquest that follows all the norms of early modern historiography and rhetoric. And as such, beyond being seen merely as a sermon consisting of powerful, illustrative examples meant to move the reader to enact reform, we might also see the *Buen gobierno* to suggest the meaninglessness of indigenous life after the chaos brought on by Spanish colonization: life under geographic displacement and material dispossession, life under wage labor, life under forced labor, and life under flight from unjust governance, each of which serve to destroy social relations, which come to be characterized by the “revuelta de [los indios] entre los pobres de este reino.” As the *Buen gobierno* renders things, life in colonial Peru is characterized not only by indigenous *enajenación* of property and rights, but also by an accompanying and unavoidable meaninglessness resulting from the breakdown of community, absence of community lands, and repurposing of work in the Spanish economy.

Rolena Adorno sees this meaninglessness to emerge as a byproduct of the author's inability to construct ordered historical meaning in the second half of his work, reverting to sermon in order to allow for greater rhetorical flexibility:

¹²⁹ Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 78.

[a]lthough his book is, from cover to cover, a rhetorical enterprise devoted to persuading the Spanish king to institute radical colonial reforms, this charge apparently overwhelms the author as he goes about the task of describing colonial affairs. His desire to persuade his reader of the veracity of his version of Andean history [in the *Primer nueva corónica*] was handled by letting the story tell itself, by creating the illusion of the narratorless narration. But his passion and the stakes are too high when he discusses the present [in the *Buen gobierno*]. His need to persuade becomes acute and thus the story gives way to the sermon.¹³⁰

Overwhelmed by the dire realities of the Peruvian viceroyalty, this reorganization of the second text as a compendium of loosely organized examples of ongoing colonial abuses breaks with the deliberate construction of historical meaning found in the first. The sermon, though, does not successfully reconstitute historical meaning. In fact, Adorno suggests that such a foray into sermon over history is intentional, signaling the author's inability to glean larger rhetorical meaning from the world that he observes:

... the swelling of the sermon in the *Buen gobierno* constitutes Guaman Poma's recognition of his failure to make sense of Andean experience, given what has happened since the Spaniards' arrival. He simply cannot contain catastrophic and unheard of events in an orderly pattern that can give place and meaning to all that has happened in the Andes. In its own right, the sermon is fragmentary; it is incomplete because its resolution or terminating motif—the reform of behavior, salvation, or whatever—lies beyond its reach. It is a discourse that can be completed only outside itself, and thus its pattern reflects the author's own, incomplete discourse, his own truncated search for the meaning of history.¹³¹

And so, Guaman Poma's manuscript, Adorno suggests, is an expression of a search for meaning where none readily exists or can be easily articulated through language and established rhetorical modes. In terms of the relationship between the text's two component parts, she argues that:

He sets up history, that is, a historical narration, only in order to deny its meaning. His reliance on language stands in front of his failure to believe in its power to communicate; his use of the language of persuasion stands sentinel over his lack of belief in its power. Whereas Guaman Poma seems to employ language naïvely as though it could grasp the nature of things in figurative terms, he in fact questions the very effort to capture adequately the truth of things in language.¹³²

Adorno's conclusions seem to suggest that the arrival at such meaninglessness is intentional, a premeditated interrogation of the sufficiency of language and a belief in the failures of "its power to communicate" in the colonial context.

¹³⁰ Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 78.

¹³¹ Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 78.

¹³² Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 79.

This may very well be true, although one might take Adorno's conclusion a step further: Guaman Poma not only fails to believe in language, he fails to believe in the efficacy of any rhetorical means of petition taken up by Andeans and directed to the Spanish authorities, including history itself. As the *Buen gobierno* asserts the alienation of indigenous property through primitive accumulation as the foundational, defining characteristic of Spanish colonialism—a feature that results in other forms of alienation that reinforce “a meaningless world ... that is not experienced ... as a meaningful whole”¹³³—, meaning moves beyond the grasp of indigenous experience under Spanish rule. After all, “alienation is tied to the problem of a *loss of meaning*; an alienated life is one that has become impoverished or meaningless, but it is intertwined with *powerlessness* and impotence.”¹³⁴ While Adorno acknowledges that the efficacy of language and meaning of history are lost in the progression between the manuscript's namesake components, there is an insufficient recognition of the text's expressions of the impotence of native Andeans in the face of Spanish colonialism, so embodied by the examples themselves and the mantra “y no hay remedio.”¹³⁵

Similarly, the assertion that Guaman Poma “sets up history ... only in order to deny its meaning” must be tempered. In focusing the *Buen gobierno* on the material forms of alienation impacting the whole of indigenous society and the centrality of labor in post-conquest indigenous survival, a search for meaning is not merely paradoxically irresolute. In fact, its resolution is also impossible, as meaning is washed away by successive waves of indigenous dispossession. First, the redistribution of communal lands fractures communities, as groups are left without a means of sustenance or access to the means of production. Left with the painful option of vacating their lands or working for colonial overseers, Indians either abandon the lands that historically anchored Andean communities and identities (to be forced from one's lands is to be forced to relinquish one's identity) or stay to become wage laborers under the division and abstraction of colonial labor, additionally deprived of their dignity and their lives. Intensely aware of the relationship between land, community, and work in the colonial breakdown of Andean society, Guaman Poma seeks to reconstruct meaning by suggesting the return of indigenous lands, and the reattachment of work to community identity and structure (instead of surplus value). Such a return is the only means of reinstating indigenous dignity under Spanish colonialism, wherein Poma envisions a materially empowered Andean polity with control of the means of production in the service of God and the Crown.

But this reform project faces stark limitations. Like generations before him who “have sought to make meaning of the world in which they live and of the often-troubling historical events that serve as the context for their individual and collective lives,”¹³⁶ he cannot overcome the “terror of history” or the inability of the tremendous violence at the root of the Spanish colonial order to offer up intelligibility. His inability to discern meaning from the abuses decried in the *Buen gobierno* is because Andean life itself, and not just language or history, have been reduced to meaninglessness under colonialism through its constant counterpart, terror. This is to say nothing of colonial organization of labor, which functions to fracture communities and traditions in the service of abstract labor and the reification of goods and surplus value inherent in the colonial means of production. In understanding the *Primer nueva corónica y buen*

¹³³ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 23.

¹³⁴ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 22.

¹³⁵ Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. II, 447 [1128/1138].

¹³⁶ Teófilo Ruiz, *The Terror of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 3.

gobierno to be a text of alienation—grounded in the historical processes of material alienation of native Andeans from their lands and forced incorporation of the dispossessed into contexts of wage labor and the reification of material things—the manuscript’s culmination in meaninglessness is the only possible outcome, an embodiment of the material contexts that render “el mundo al revés.”

Chapter 5

Withdrawing from the World:
Heavenly Labor in the Hagiography of San Martín de Porres

The preceding chapters have collectively demonstrated how literary and cultural materials suggest that nascent forms of alienation anchor life in colonial Peru, an unavoidable consequence of ever intensifying market exchanges that accompanied the extraction of resources and production of goods in the colonial world. As the previous two chapters have shown, authors writing around the turn of the seventeenth century understood the material practices of Spanish colonialism and the attitudes that they engendered as impediments to the colonial subject's felicity and ability to realize their fullest individual (Rosas) and collective (Guaman Poma) potential in mid-colonial Peru, generating what might be termed a colonial literature of alienation. Primary among the impediments decried in these texts are the imposition of labor and the reification of material wealth which came to determine the conditions of human existence in spite of Catholic dogma's claims to a contrary, transcendent spiritual order. As the colonial economy took form, so too did the processes of abstraction of labor and value that brought with them, among other consequences, the perceived intensification of the subjugation of the spiritual world to the material. Complaints against this resonate in Rosas de Oquendo's critiques of rampant materialism among the residents of Peru, the moral failings of its residents clearly prioritizing the material over the spiritual. Similarly, Guaman Poma's recurrent lamentations of the poor administration of the sacraments in the viceroyalty underlie frustrations with ecclesiastical participation in production and extraction economies instead of bringing its residents closer to God. Reconfiguring labor and value, accompanied by the reification of the material realm, the first century of Spanish colonization of the Andes held the potential to blanket meaninglessness over a whole chain of viceregal social, cultural, and spiritual relations.

But within this exploration of texts demarcating a prehistory of alienation, a vital question remains: who, if anyone, could avoid the specter of meaninglessness under the mercantile culture of turn-of-the-seventeenth-century Peru? How could one live a life of meaning unimpeded by early modern colonial relations that progressively placed greater and greater emphasis on the abstraction of labor, value, and time at the expense of individual autonomy and self-realization outside of the material sphere? Was such an existence even possible in the colonial world given the centrality of labor in organizing and reorganizing colonial society?

To respond to this line of questioning is to further emphasize the shifting relationships between the early modern economic world and that spiritual economy which colonialism also sought to grow through the expansion of the Catholic church. Francisco de Toledo's leadership of the viceroyalty (1569-1582) sought to first pacify and then Christianize the Andes, rendering the colonial economy more efficient and profitable for the Spanish crown through reforms to extractive and productive activity. Specifically, his economic policies accompanied "two distinct clerical efforts to guide Christian behavior: the systematic inspection tours aimed at uprooting idolatry among the Indians of the Archdiocese of Lima (frequently called the "Extirpation") and the initiatives to promote the beatification of saintly Limeños."¹ Emergent from the Concilios

¹ Celia Cussen, "The Search for Idols and Saints in Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85.3 (2005): 417.

Limenses, taking place between the first council in 1553 and the third council in 1581, these efforts “also expressed the baroque notion that the material world was a battleground where God’s allies were pitted against agents of the devil.”² It is within these ideological tensions between the material and the spiritual worlds that the cult of the Afroperuvian Dominican *donado* (volunteer lay brother) Martín de Porres (1579-1639) would emerge, his life overlapping with Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma’s indictments of the colonial economy’s ability to move people to lives of meaninglessness.³ Though rhetorically opposed throughout the early modern period and in constant flux in mid-colonial Peru, interactions between the material and the spiritual realms furthered one another, proving to be two means to achieving the same ends of installing and maintaining a dispossessed colonial underclass, a sentiment palpable in the texts examined in the previous chapters. With this in mind, a primary wager of this chapter is that San Martín de Porres’s hagiographic representation as a saintly domestic and healing laborer stands in opposition to those alienations founded and furthered by colonial distribution of land and labor. As will be seen, Porres escapes alienated labor by taking up spiritual labor outside of the colonial economy. However, this escape through embrace of the cloisters and the infirmary at the same time serves to accentuate the very conditions of alienated labor that hagiographers seem to suggest that Porres bypasses.

The present chapter examines the seventeenth-century hagiography of San Martín de Porres as a collective textual discourse that constructs saintliness and notions of the sacred through domestic and caring labor and the expression of humility, subservience, and charity across mid-colonial Lima. More specifically therein, I argue that narratives of the life of Lima’s Afroperuvian saint construct colonial self-realization as a category that can only be achieved by abandoning the material world—and the economy as defined by productive activity—and embracing the spiritual economy, in particular by aiding others embedded in the material world. In forging such an argument, this chapter seeks to understand how San Martín de Porres’s constant, interminable labors came to be rendered sacred in the narratives of his life, thus short-circuiting the meaninglessness that Poma associates with indigenous labor in the *obrajes* and the mines of the viceroyalty. The narrative of Porres’s life and work further serves as a counterpoint to the absolute material alienation implicit in the enslavement of Africans in the Andes, the intense, violent negations of civil status and exclusion from civil life through forced domestic and agricultural work in the Andes. Of particular interest are the accounts of Martín’s untiring work in the infirmary, in addition to his ubiquitous image clutching a broom, a symbol of his humility and devotion to serving God through even the most menial of tasks. Hagiographic accounts reveal a deeper material meaning behind Porres’s manual labors as spiritual work: while a free Afroperuvian, he is a voluntary slave to time and to God for the betterment of the poor and the community of black and mixed-race slaves. By examining the narratives and

² Cussen, “The Search for Idols and Saints in Colonial Peru,” 417. On the Lima councils, see Rubén Vargas Ugarte, ed., *Concilios limenses (1551-1772)*, (Lima: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1951) and Francesco Leonardo Lisi, *El tercer Concilio Limense y la Aculturación de los Indígenas Sudamericanos: Estudio crítico con edición, traducción y comentario de las actas del concilio provincial celebrado en Lima entre 1582 y 1583*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1990).

³ The lives of each of the five Peruvian saints—Porres (1569-1639), Rosa de Lima (1586-1617), Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538-1606), Juan Masías (1585-1645), and Francisco Solano (1549-1610)—coincide with Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma’s time in Peru.

depictions of Martin of Porres's deeply mendicant lifestyle, commitment to domestic chores, and provisioning of care for the infirm and poor, the present chapter argues that accounts of the Dominican lay brother's saintly life use work to contest the meaninglessness that Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma saw to characterize the lives and social relations of disinherited residents of mid-colonial Peru.

Such an approach to Porres's life and iconography uncomfortably interacts with the traditional casting of the saint as an exemplary figure whose model Christian virtues—humility, work ethic, and charity—were promoted for subsequent generations of Peruvians. Most writing about Porres, including Celia Cussen's scholarly monograph on the saint, registers more as historiographic paean to the saint than critical exploration of how his cult interacted with broader institutions and social realities in seventeenth-century Peru.⁴ Cussen, for example, argues that Porres was unequivocally embraced by colonial limeños as a symbol of Christian universality, celebrated because of his mixed-race origins.⁵ The fact that no likeness of Porres was ever produced during his lifetime and only sparse book illustrations and prints produced in Italy appeared in the decades following his death seems to contest his unconditional embrace.⁶ A conceptualization of Porres as a colonial subject who resists material alienations cannot avoid challenging the foundations of reverence behind such works.

This is not to say that Cussen's work does not provide useful coordinates from which to depart, and I necessarily rely on a central premise of her text. Essential to the analysis at hand is Cussen's claim that in taking up the historiography of a saint and her or his cult, "the question becomes one of understanding the means and signs by which a community recognizes a saint's special aptitude to link the divine and the human," a "process [that] can be ... quite dynamic, especially during the early years of a cult of a holy man or woman, when the meanings and representations of the hero of virtue are being crafted individually and collectively."⁷ Two tropes of San Martín de Porres's narrative representation become important to understanding how seemingly mundane actions by the *donado*-turned-friar are rendered sacred: 1.) his participation

⁴ See Celia Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁵ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 3.

⁶ Corroborated by visual archives, this is recognized by Cussen (*Black Saint of the Americas*, 14). Several of the earliest identifiable prints of Porres appear not in Peru, but in Europe such as Juan de Laureano, "Fray Martín de Porres," printed in Seville in 1676 (held at the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile). Also see the 1682 print by Bernard Balliu which accompanies the late-seventeenth-century hagiography of Porres, Juan Macías, and Santa Rosa de Lima, "Saint Rose of Lima, Juan Macías, and Martín de Porres," in Juan Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias* (Rome: Nicolás Ángel Tinassio, 1682). Another 1690s image of Porres alongside Navarre-born apostle of Charcas and the Bolivian altiplano, Dominican friar Vicente Bernedo, and limeño saint Juan Macías appears in Alonso Manrique, *Retrato de perfeccion christiana, portentos de la gracia, y maravillas de la caridad en las vidas de los venerables Padre Fray Vicente Bernedo, Fr. Juan Macias, religioso converso, y Fr. Martin de Porres del Orden de Santo Domingo, e hijos de la observantissima provincia de San Juan Bautista en el nuevo Reyno del Perú* (Venice: Francisco Gropo, 1696). A similar image featuring Masias and Porres titled "Venerabiles servi dei Fr. Joannes Masias, Fr. Martinus Porres, Ord. Predic." appeared in Rome in 1768.

⁷ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 6.

in acts of domestic and healing labor at all hours of the day and night and 2.) the accompanying discourse surrounding his rigorous administration of time. Taken in the context of their opposition to other forms of productive (and abstracted) labor common after Toledo's reforms, these two mainstays in the saint's representation embed unproductive work and rigid time use within common understandings of the sacred to suggest that Porres's saintly authenticity is a byproduct of his constant domestic and healing labors, the former to connect with God through contemplation and the latter to act as an extension of God's hand through active caring labor.⁸ The first of these tropes organizes the chapter that follows into two sections, one about his domestic labor, the other about his healing labors. Throughout, these sections focus on how his hagiographers see unproductive labor forms of the mendicant friar to become sacred acts, wherein time and time use become central coordinates for rendering Porres exceptional and constructing sanctity in his *vitae*. In order to understand how accounts of Martín de Porres's religious life came to not only transcend economic life but also to reconfigure domestic work, healing tasks, and rigid time use as sacred practices, it is necessary to examine the Dominican friar's early years, which I turn to now.

The Early Life of San Martín de Porres

Martín de Porres is just as unlikely an exemplar of the unalienated subject in colonial Lima as he was a "radical nominee for sainthood by the standards of the time."⁹ Porres was born on December 9, 1579, the son of Juan de Porras, a noble Spaniard, alleged by some to be a knight of the Burgos-based Order of Alcántara,¹⁰ and Ana Velázquez, a former slave of African descent who had emigrated to Lima from Panama. As a *mulato* "que tuviera el color Moreno de la madre,"¹¹ Martín de Porres pertained to one of the most disparaged castes of colonial Peru, this evidenced by the scorn for Afroperuvians of all blood quantum by colonial Spanish and

⁸ Here I use Heidegger's term to refer to the manner in which Porres's life can be seen to become his own against the pressures of social life, his spiritual development overcoming the overwhelming colonial social limitations placed on Afroperuvian men. Porres's labor and suffering, which reinforce the idea that "They itself prescribes that way of interpreting the world that lies closest" (Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 167) by placing the Afroperuvian at work and in pain, become the expected conditions of his relation to the world. While this falling The true self of the saint is his construction of his own narrative through his own actions, both consonant with colonial social expectations and transcendent of them due to the intensity of his religious experience.

⁹ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 2.

¹⁰ Martín's father contributed the surname "Porras" to Martín and his sister Juana at birth. While "Porras" was used throughout those seventeenth-century documents authored in Peru, the emendation to "Porres" results from a transcription error taking place in the Vatican. On the Vatican misspelling of his surname, see Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 20. I use "Porres" throughout, the surname under which Martín was beatified and canonized, although citations often reflect "Porras." While the elder Porras is reputed to have been knighted in the Order of Alcántara and later named the governor of Panama, "there is no evidence of this in the archives" (Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 27).

¹¹ Manrique, *Retrato de perfección christiana*, 191.

indigenous authors alike.¹² As Cussen puts it, “Martín was what some might uncharitably call doubly cursed: the descendant of African slaves and the illegitimate son, or *hijo natural*, of unmarried parents.”¹³ While the circumstances of Porras and Velázquez’s relationship are unclear, birth and baptism records indicate that the elder Porras did not legally recognize his son at birth and Martín’s illegitimacy and mixed racial origins seemed to destine him to a life of poverty under the charge of his mother, who likely worked as a domestic servant.¹⁴ Yet beyond these records, there is little documentation of Porras’s early life. As one late-seventeenth-century account puts it, “[n]o se sauen muchas cosas de su infancia, no por que el cielo deo de mostrar, segun acostumbra, con manifiestas señales la santidad que en el auia de resplandecer, sino por que criándose a los pechos de vna muger tam baja, como se ha dicho, no se tuuo gran cuidado; solo de la falta, que en su pobreza conocía la madre.”¹⁵ In spite of his early reticence to take responsibility for his son, hagiographers suggest that his father was moved by divine compassion (and also “excitado tal vez del amor paterno, del honor y la conciencia”), later recognizing Martín and his younger sister, Juana, and taking them with him to Guayaquil, where he openly declared the two children to be his own, first to an uncle serving as a military official in Panama and then the public.¹⁶ Shortly thereafter, don Juan returned to Lima with Martín, leaving Juana under the charge of his uncle in Panama. There, he continued educating Martín under the charge of a hired tutor and his mother in Lima, where their son would take up the vocation of barber and surgeon.¹⁷ Throughout, Martín was reputed as a selfless child, concerned with alleviating the

¹² José Manuel Valdéz, *Vida admirable del bienaventurado Fray Martín de Porres* (Lima: Huerta y compañía impresores-editores, 1863), 16. For literary examples, one need look only as far as Guaman Poma and Rosas de Oquendo, each of whom speak poorly of Afroperuvians of different blood quantum. See the comments on Afroperuvians in Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. 2, 128-135 [703/717-711/725]. Rosas de Oquendo’s *invocatio* categorizes Afroperuvians according to their vocations (*Sátira*, vv. 35-36), whereas other mentions of black residents serve to ridicule their alleged libidinous (vv. 1071-1082); vv. 1331-1344), and reference black residents as domestic servants—“y vna negra que me labe” (vv. 514)—and street merchants—“vna negra cargada con vn tabaque” (vv. 1311-1312)—within a larger framework of lust and greed.

¹³ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 20.

¹⁴ Manrique, *Retrato de perfección christiana*, 190-191. Valdéz, *Vida admirable del bienaventurado Fray Martín de Porres*, 16; Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 19-21.

¹⁵ Manrique, *Retrato de perfección christiana*, 190.

¹⁶ Valdéz, *Vida admirable del bienaventurado Fray Martín de Porres*, 16. Also see Bernardo de Medina, *Vida prodigiosa del venerable siervo de Dios, fray Martín de Porras, natural de Lima, de la Tercera Orden de N.P. Santo Domingo* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1675). Medina claims that “[c]onoció, y tuvo por hijo al siervo de Dios, Don Juan de Porras; cosa irregular en Cavalleros, que por no descubrir su misma afrenta, no conocen por tales a sus hijos” (*Vida prodigiosa*, 6r). Also see Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 20 and 229n5. Cussen also discusses Porras’s time in Guayaquil with his children (*Black Saint of the Americas*, 28-29).

¹⁷ The profession of “barber” included numerous protomedical and medical practices during the early modern period. On barbers, race, and mid-colonial medicine in Lima, see José Ramón Jouve Martín, “Ciencia, casta y santidad en Lima: José Manuel Valdés (1767-1840) y la vida prodigiosa de fray Martín de Porres (1579-1639),” *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* 33.1 (2008), 231-250; Leo Garofalo, “Conjuring with Coca and the Inca: The Andeanization of

suffering of others in spite of his own relative poverty.¹⁸ At the age of fifteen, Porres would don the habit of the Dominicans after being accepted into the convent of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Lima as a volunteer lay brother.

Beginning with these anecdotes, Martín de Porres's life already proves exceptional in colonial South America. Across the viceroyalty, no shortage of other black and *mulato* residents lived out their lives as human chattel, embodying the extreme coordinates of alienated existence in the colonial world as both living, human private property and a source of labor.¹⁹ Publicly recognized and at least perhaps financially supported by his father, Porres was able to avoid such a fate in spite of his physiognomic similarities to his mother.²⁰ As Cussen puts it, "while it is true that in the stratified world of colonial Peru, an illegitimate mulatto faced a reduced number of life opportunities, it is equally true that he could circulate among the local religious and lay elite and eventually win their sponsorship, deep esteem, and posthumously, their devotion."²¹ Porres not only avoided forced labor through his father's status and patronage (as well as his status as a *mulato*, which garnered him favor over fully African residents in colonial Lima), he also allegedly garnered popularity and status in colonial Lima through his faith, humility, and charitable actions.²² Such renown starkly contrasted with the common experience of other black

Lima's Afro-Peruvian Ritual Specialists, 1580-1690," *The Americas* 63.1 (2006), 53-80; Uriel García Cáceres, *Juan del Valle y Caviedes, cronista de la medicina: historia de la medicina en el Perú en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1999); and Juan Lastres, *Historia de la medicina peruana*, 3 vols. (Lima: Santa María, 1951).

¹⁸ As a child, he was reputed to stray from errands for his mother, spending her money to feed and clothe the poor that he encountered in the streets: "[en] sus tiernos años fue tan caritativo, que embiandole la madre a comprar lo necesario para el sustento, no haciendo el caso, o de las amenazas, y castigos de la desdeñada madre, o de la falta que en si mismo experimentaua despues, lo repartia a los pobres muchachos, que encontraua por la calle" (Manrique, *Retrato de perfección christiana*, 191).

¹⁹ Cussen comments that "[i]n the nomenclature of colonial Peru, Martín was a *mulato*, a term rarely used today but one that was commonly spoken in Lima, even by Martín and others who shared his mixed origins" (*Black Saint of the Americas*, 3). She further states that "although his African heritage and illegitimacy narrowed some of his life options, being a mulatto was no barrier to his saintly career" (*Black Saint of the Americas*, 2-3).

²⁰ Across the hagiographic literature on Martín, it is claimed that the saint was decidedly African in appearance, taking after his mother's likeness. See Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 4r; Manrique, *Retrato de perfección christiana*, 191; Fumet, *Life of St. Martín de Porres*, 11; Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 19-21. Authors contradict each other regarding Porres's childhood poverty. Valdéz suggests that the elder Porres financially supported his children (*Vida admirable*, 16-17) while Fumet's modern account supports Medina and Manrique's seventeenth-century claims that Martín lived "in the company of a poverty-stricken mother" (*Life of St. Martín de Porres*, 11).

²¹ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 10.

²² Cussen explores the census data that counts mixed-race blacks among a significant minority of the Afroperuvian population, citing that of Lima's "more than 25,000 souls, 44 percent ... were of African descent. Only 744 individuals were classified by the census-takers as mulattoes, a number that establishes that these mixed-race residents comprised only a small portion of the black population and perhaps explains why they enjoyed a more elevated position

residents of Lima, as the vast majority of Afroperuvians in the colonial capital would be identified by and for their participation in manual labor, either as slaves, domestic servants, or caste-specific tradesmen, such as the iconic *aguador*, or water-seller.²³ As Cussen puts it, “the vast monastery complex ... provided stability and shelter from the often precarious working conditions of Lima.”²⁴ And so from his adolescent entry into the Dominican convent, Porres can be seen to take refuge in the mendicant order and his church life. Yet Porres’s role in the church would not be understood in the same terms by each generation of hagiographer to write his life. I now examine how Porres’s life served starkly different rhetorical ends after his death.

Reading Porres’s Life in the Seventeenth Century and Beyond: Sanctity as Violence

The above examination of Porres’s life quickly and necessarily becomes an exercise in the mediation of sources dating from well after his death in 1639. The friar’s archival presence is frustratingly scant, especially in documents produced during his lifetime, and there are no known writings of his own in spite of numerous accounts of his formal education.²⁵ It would seem that as the mendicant Porres declined participation in colonial political and economic life in favor of the cloisters, he also withdrew from the scribal economy characteristic of the convent, producing no scholastic or liturgical works of his own. This is purportedly because his “intense desire to avoid any action belying even a hint of vanity” kept him from even sharing his ideas with those around him—“[m]ostro aun su valor en reprimir la lengua, guardando perpetuo silencio, y no hablando sino de Dios, ò de cosas que mirauan al mismo ... ò necesidad lo pedia, y esto con tanta humildad, y prudencia, que dexaua edificados a los mismos”—, much less formally putting them into writing, even though he learned to read and write at his father’s insistence.²⁶ His unlikely and exceptional entry into the convent—as non-Spaniards were prohibited from joining the colonial church—might have contributed to his lack of textual production, as well as his inscription into the laity of the Dominican Order. As a layperson of color, he would have been doubly prevented from giving mass, administering the sacraments, or contributing theological and ecclesiastical texts as his Dominican predecessors and contemporaries in the colonies did

among Afroperuvians” (*Black Saint of the Americas*, 22). Also see Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru 1524-1650* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1974), which provides many of the figures cited by Cussen.

²³ Rosas de Oquendo mentions *aguadores* in his account of the “Memoria de las cosas notables de memoria que an sucedido en esta ciudad de México de la Nueva España, desde el año 1611 asta oy, sinco del mes de mayo de 1612,” in Alfonso Reyes “Sobre Mateo Rosas de Oquendo: Poeta del siglo XVI,” *Revista de filología española* 4.4 (1917): 368. Rosas de Oquendo’s text can also be found, with an elaborate introduction, in Alfonso Reyes, “Sobre Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, poeta del siglo XVI,” *Capítulos de la literatura española* (Mexico City: La Casa de España en México, 1939), 21-71.

²⁴ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 30.

²⁵ Among the few extant archival documents mentioning Porres are his birth, baptism, and confirmation records, as well as announcements of his death. On his lack of writings, see Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 3.

²⁶ Manrique, *Retrato de perfeccion christiana*, 233. On his education, see Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 3-4. Supplementing Cussen’s remarks about Porres’s humility and introversion is Valdéz, *Vida admirable del bienaventurado Fray Martín de Porres*, 15-21.

(most notably Bartolomé de Las Casas).²⁷ Such a lack of scholastic writings by Porres's hand and the accompanying lack of primary source material contemporaneous with the years that the saint lived and worked in Lima has led scholars of the friar's life to necessarily overlook the distinction between scholastic and devotional literatures, often favoring the far more abundant corpus of devotional texts produced after his death.²⁸ Given the expansive posthumous devotional literature on the saint, a rigorous and authoritative recent study of Porres takes up his "life and afterlife," equally focusing on the legacy constructed from his beatification after Peruvian independence and through his canonization in the twentieth century.²⁹

Speaking to the literature on the saint after his lifetime, Cussen notes that from Martín de Porres's death until his twentieth-century canonization,

the stories of his life, death, and afterlife ... were told and retold by some of the city's elite, who worked very hard for many years to solidify his reputation and spread his fame, and to identify him as a saint But the sources are virtually all attributable to a relatively small circle of men and women who revered him and through him sought divine assistance for their problems.³⁰

These sources begin in 1658 with the diocesan processes of beatification (1660-1664, 1671) and subsequent Vatican beatification queries (1679-1685).³¹ Through the end of the seventeenth century, several prominent works detailing Porres's life and legacy circulated.³² Further accounts of Porres's life and activities were generated in the centuries after his death, constructing a narrative of the saint's life that is as much a product of the posthumous expansion of the cult of Martín de Porres in Peru and the Catholic world as it is a product of his renown during his lifetime. Upon his beatification in 1837, several significant biographies were published in Peru that glowingly celebrate the saint's life, often glossing his illegitimate birth and childhood

²⁷ The other Dominican lay saints of colonial Peru, Santa Rosa de Lima and San Juan Macías, also failed to leave behind any writings.

²⁸ Robert Davis, *The Weight of Love: Affect, Ecstasy, and Union in the Theology of Bonaventure* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 5. In his examination of the early Dominican Order, Davis has suggested that one need not place "much faith in the difference between "scholastic" and "devotional" literature" to "aspire to an argument with a more far-reaching application" in understanding the lives of saints. This tenet informs many scholars of Porres working across disciplines including history and theology.

²⁹ Although he developed a cult during his lifetime and certainly in the decades surrounding his 1664 disinterment in support of his beatification, Porres was only beatified in 1837 by Pope Gregorio XVI and canonized in 1962 by Pope Juan XXIII.

³⁰ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 3.

³¹ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 13.

³² The most widely circulated seventeenth-century print accounts of Porres's life are Medina's *Vida prodigiosa del venerable siervo de Dios, fray Martín de Porras, natural de Lima, de la Tercera Orden de N.P. Santo Domingo* (1675); the reproduction of Medina's biography found in Juan Mélenz, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias*, Volumen 3, libro 2 (Rome: Nicolás Ángel Tinassio, 1682); and the veneration of Porres's life alongside other Andean Dominicans in Manrique, *Retrato de perfeccion christiana* (1696).

poverty as an unfortunate byproduct of colonial Spanish American racial hierarchies.³³ Similarly, upon his 1962 canonization, modern literature on the Peruvian saint exploded, with dozens of texts produced across the Iberian world.³⁴ In many cases, the same sets of anecdotes originally found in the *procesos* and seventeenth-century texts are repurposed in vastly different historical and political contexts, albeit with the shared goal of canonizing the Afroperuvian lay brother.

Although nineteenth- and twentieth-century documents of his cult yield interesting insights and contradictions with the earliest sources, I seek to primarily engage those sources produced and circulated during the seventeenth century. These documents both retain temporal proximity to Porres and give voice to his contemporaries, many of whom interacted with the saint during his lifetime, even if their testimonies and rewritings of his life overtly further his cult of sanctity. These early *vitae* tend to construct Porres as an individual, recounting his personal traits and placing his unique identity within the mendicant orders and the urban milieu of Lima. Later *vitae* of Porres, like those of Dominic himself, would undergo drastic changes in the centuries after his death, lending themselves to a more generalized saintly image built on Dominican and mendicant *vitae* more generally.³⁵ Specifically, I am concerned with how these early commenters of Porres's life come to understand his labors and time use as forms of spiritual advancement, endowed with sacred meaning within the mendicant Dominican Order or mid-colonial Peru. Accounts from later centuries serve only as supplements to seventeenth-century accounts, to briefly elaborate on the means by which modern texts consolidate Porres's saintly image through additional discussions of his labor and time use.

With this methodological clarification made patent and in the wake of the above summarization of Porres's biography, another clarification becomes necessary. As in the case of many Catholic saints celebrated over more than two-millennia of Christendom, Porres's cult and canonization have invited interpretations of his legacy as a tool of ideological and political control, especially over colonial and later, modern, Latin American peoples of color. "The appearance of black saints in the era of transatlantic slavery was not a coincidence," writes

³³ For an example, see the benevolent discussion of Porres's father and the suggestion that he took responsibility for his son from a young age in Valdéz, *Vida admirable del bienaventurado Fray Martín de Porres*, 16. In contrast, narratives generated after the saint's canonization in 1962 tend to suggest that Porres's father abandoned his family in Lima to assume government posts in Ecuador and then Panama. For an example of the latter, claiming that "Don Juan [Porres] practically abandoned" Martín's mother, see Stanislas Fumet, *Life of St. Martín de Porres, Patron Saint of Interracial Justice* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1964), 9. I do not suggest that there is a clear pattern of either idealizing or vilifying the saint's upbringing in pre- or post-beatification or canonization literatures on Martín de Porres. Rather, my intention is to highlight the frequent contradictions found across four centuries of literature on the saint.

³⁴ For a detailed bibliography of the literature on San Martín de Porres, see Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 267-284.

³⁵ See Donna Trembiski, "Non Alter Christus": Early Dominican Lives of Saint Francis," *Franciscan Studies* 63 (2005): 69-105, specifically her discussion of the progression from *vitae* that narrate the unique identity of Dominic during the early years of the Dominican Order before giving way to "later lives ... [which] portrayed Dominic as a stereotypical saint with few individualizing characteristics" (70). She further comments that "Dominic's lives are not unique in this respect" in "that as the textual traditions of many saints developed, the saints themselves took on more generic "saintly" characteristics" (70). This, too is the case with the *vitae* of Porres.

historian Erin Kathleen Rowe, “but rather a deliberate move on the part of the Catholic clergy to help promote evangelization among enslaved populations throughout the latter half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.”³⁶ In explaining the emergence of black saints in the early modern Iberian world, Rowe suggests that “[t]he presence of such saints in sacred images and sermons helped to disseminate a vision of spiritual equality available to everyone who converted to Christianity,” as a part of “the church’s . . . effort to construct a new discourse of universal Christendom in the wake of European global expansion.”³⁷

Others have taken a more forceful approach to interpreting the celebration of holy people of color. Katie Walker Grimes, for example, has made a compelling argument that “Porres’ sainthood has helped to promote, sanction, and excuse white mastership; it similarly has helped to portray black resistance to and fugitivity from white mastership as unholy, unwise, and harmful to society itself.”³⁸ Without question, the celebration and institutionalization of individual saints’ lives contributes to the Catholic Church’s larger project of exercising ideological and political control over diverse populations in specific locales of the Catholic world. With this in mind, one must put pressure on how and why Porres’s sainthood is predicated upon his humility and servility, qualities broadcast throughout the accounts of his domestic and caring labor. These are also qualities that, as Grimes points out, contribute to the idea of black subservience and construct Christian ideals consonant with the institution of black slavery. Emphasizing the symbolic interplay between the *mulato* Porres’s black exterior and white interior, Grimes writes that “[t]he same action performed by a white man . . . means something entirely different when enacted by a mulatto person such as Porres. According to [Porres’s first biographer] Bernardo [de Medina], when Porres whipped his own flesh, he modeled what blacks ought to endure and what whites ought to inflict.”³⁹ In addition to his *disciplinas* of self-flagellation, there is no denying that the saintly characteristics attributed to Porres—constant and willing work, obedience, humility, and disinterest in his own material condition and social advancement—coincide with the ideals of the slave master. As such, I agree with Grimes that “[r]ather than undermining racial hierarchy as many of Porres’ hagiographers have claimed, his universality in fact helps to uphold it.”⁴⁰ As Bernardo de Medina’s foundational hagiography of Porres seems to suggest, “[h]e [San Martín de Porres] appeared to sanctify the racialized master-slave relation in his own body,”⁴¹ a claim that cannot be denied when his devotees make overt

³⁶ Erin Kathleen Rowe, “After Death, Her Face Turned White: Blackness, Whiteness, and Sanctity in the Early Modern Hispanic World,” *American Historical Review* 121.3 (2016), 728.

³⁷ Rowe, “After Death, Her Face Turned White,” 728-729.

³⁸ Katie Walker Grimes, *Fugitive Saints: Catholicism and the Politics of Slavery* (Augsburg: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2017), 75. In particular, see Chapter 6, “The Racialized Humility of Saint Martín de Porres.”

³⁹ Walker Grimes, *Fugitive Saints*, 77. Grimes makes particular reference to how “Bernardo [de Medina] makes this racial connection explicit when he recalls that Porres “treated his body like a rebel slave or mortal enemy” and “lauds the way Porres would visit the black slaves held on the Dominican-owned *hacienda* called Limatambo and whip himself bloody in front of them” (*Fugitive Saints*, 77). The latter passage referenced appears in Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 22v.

⁴⁰ Walker Grimes, *Fugitive Saints*, 77.

⁴¹ Walker Grimes, *Fugitive Saints*, 77-78. Medina’s biography of Porres was allegedly first circulated in 1663 between meetings of the Archbishopric of Lima’s beatification councils. This text is, to my knowledge, no longer extant, though it is purportedly the source of a twentieth-

slave-master references to Porres's devotion: "lo exemplar se acomodó siempre a la humildad más profunda, mostrando de esta forma de andar cómo había de estar el verdadero esclavo delante de su señor."⁴²

Seeing Porres's life as representative of "the interspecies logic of colonial hagiography" and "its adaptability to shifting ethno-racial orders" in early and mid-colonial Lima, Chris Garces has examined how the narrative representation of Porres's confraternity with animals contributes to "the colonial logic of animalization" which "liken[s] the colonized to animals, incapable of governing their behavior."⁴³ In situating Porres's biography within a critique of biopolitical thought and recent interspecies criticism, Garces more generally admits "Catholic biographical projects to define the autonomy of the self at its points of articulation with other beings were principally cultivated across collective monastic experiments, rendering certain colonized beings more sacred, or worthy of emulation, than others."⁴⁴ Garces also establishes how this collective biography of Porres ought to be understood as a project engineered and revised by colonial powers for the furthering of racial hierarchies and idealization of religious traits complicit in exploitation and injustice. Pointing out how martyrdom was hard to come by in Spanish America and supernatural experiences attracted the attention of the Inquisition in mid-colonial Peru, he further suggests that Peruvian saints demonstrated an "incomparable poverty, chastity, or obedience turned into the procedure by which most of the religious athletes of mid-colonial Peru had to exercise their creative, self-abnegating semblance of Christ's passion."⁴⁵

This chapter's claims are cognizant of the means by which generations of devotees and hagiographers have manipulated the narratives of Porres's life for those political and ideological purposes critiqued by Grimes and Garces, among others. One cannot overlook the larger colonial ideological frameworks that Porres's hagiography has fit into over the last four centuries, including those encouraging white supremacy, black servility, and earthly contentment with poverty and marginalization in the service of exploitation. Those elements of Porres's representation central to this chapter—his domestic labor, healing, and the larger framework of rigid time use within which they take place—are essentially inseparable from discourses that seek to valorize work and instill time and work discipline in colonial subjects, especially non-Europeans. In recognizing this, one must acknowledge that Porres's exemplary, unalienated existence functions in the service of encouraging subjects' participation in diverse forms of labor. On the one hand, Porres can be said to avoid alienation because his activities exist outside of abstract labor and are endowed with deeply spiritual meaning through his existence as a conduit of God's work. On the other, those devotees to his cult outside of the convent who seek to emulate his sanctity inevitably participate in colonial economic life where the abstraction of

century edition: Bernardo de Medina, *San Martín de Porres: Biografía del Siglo XVII* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1964). Medina's biography was later published in Peru (Lima: Imprenta de Juan de Quevedo y Zárate, 1673) and Spain (Madrid: Domingo Garcia Morrás, Imprenta del estado eclesiastico de las coronas de Castilla y Leõ, 1675).

⁴² *Proceso de beatificación de fray Martín de Porres*, vol. I, años 1660, 1664, 1671 (Palencia: Secretariado Martín de Porres, 1960), 196.

⁴³ Chris Garces, "The Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru: San Martín de Porres's Animal Brotherhood," in *Sainthood and Race: Marked Flesh, Holy Flesh*, eds. Molly Bassett and Vincent Lloyd (New York: Routledge, 2014), 91.

⁴⁴ Garces, "The Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru," 91.

⁴⁵ Garces, "The Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru," 93.

labor is unavoidable, from the *obrajes* to the mines and into the service economy, not to mention the overwhelmingly alienating institutions of servitude and slavery. As such, the legacy that Porres inspires seeks to instill in colonial subjects those Christian traits compatible with the workings of the colonial economy and nascent forms of capitalism. When transposed onto the cross-section of Lima's diverse populations—among which the African Diaspora “by the 1640s constituted roughly 40 percent of the total population in coastal cities such as Lima and Trujillo”—⁴⁶, Porres's traits and saintly authenticity disguise their complicity with exploitation and inequality as spiritual ideals.

Saintly authenticity is, perhaps, the most fitting way to refer to Porres's escape from meaninglessness through labor. Any brand of authenticity that Porres displays—or that is constructed by his commenters and biographers in the seventeenth century—cannot be synonymous with post-Enlightenment authenticity, instead taking on resonances of sincerity that contribute to later definitions of authenticity. My argument that Porres's labor is rendered sacred as a means of suggesting his existential and spiritual authenticity—that he is at one with himself and represents his true self through his role as God's servant and God's hand—must be understood in conjunction with nascent abstract labor as an early modern category that serves to destroy the essence of the human subject and, paradoxically, “to define the autonomy of the self” in contact “with other beings.”⁴⁷ As will be seen, labor establishes and maintains colonial hierarchies and inequality while, paradoxically, becoming the fundamental category that Martín's hagiographers use to portray the friar as true to himself (and his God). Porres does not seek to violate expectations of his station in colonial life as Rosas de Oquendo's material aspirations and Guaman Poma's reformist aims do, and his comfort and sincerity in his work appears remarkably similar to what Hegel would deem “the heroism of dumb service” that anticipates, without achieving, “the noble consciousness, . . . the extreme which is the self.”⁴⁸ In Heideggerian terms, Porres is cast into an already made world not of his own making, his station determined by his commitment to circumstances outside of his control and constrained by his own past as Afroperuvian, a sort of everyday “falling (*verfallen*)” that cannot be overcome.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Rachel Sarah O'Toole, “To be Free and *Lucumí*: Ana de la Calle and Making African Diaspora Identities in Colonial Peru,” in Sherwin K. Bryant and Rachel Sarah O'Toole (eds.), *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 75-76.

⁴⁷ Garces, “The Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru,” 91.

⁴⁸ Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, 186. For Hegel “this reflection of service in express language constitutes the spiritual self-disintegrating mediating term, and reflects back into itself not only its own special extreme, but reflects the extreme of universal power back into this self, too, and makes that power, which is at first implicit, into an independent self-existence, and gives it the individualistic form of self-consciousness” (186). Porres would, for Hegel, embody the sincere person, uncritically reflective, wholly obedient, and subjugated to established societal norms and hierarchies. Of course, for Hegel this leads to the impossibility of individual consciousness and the stalled progress of *geist* towards new standards of autonomy, a position that Garces and Grimes seem to agree with in their readings of Porres's hagiography. However, I would suggest that early biographies of Porres position the friar as an ideal of saintly, pre-Enlightenment authenticity precisely through his ability to labor on his own terms without interrupting hierarchy.

⁴⁹ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 220.

Therein, Porres embraces a resolute commitment to labor and service to God, rendered authentic by endorsing and defending what he does as an actor-agent in the world, his wholeness activated by his “steadiness and steadfastness (*beständigen Standfestigkeit*)” in his religious commitment to labor.⁵⁰

This paradox is not lost on the arguments at hand here. In fact, the overarching suggestion behind this chapter is that Porres’s ability to overcome or avoid the alienating potential of the colonial economy depends on his ability to instead exist—or be said to exist—in the spiritual economy and stand behind such an existence in a restrictive social world. This is achieved by taking his own laboring body out of circulation in the realm of abstracted forms of labor, and instead commending his labors to the convent and to God, where they become sacred through their “break of continuity between them and the profane beings” where sacred beings “are outside the others.”⁵¹ This is not an option for the vast majority of his devotees in the colonial world or for those who would celebrate Martín’s life as exemplary in the centuries after his life, as such devotees remain pressured by the weight of material needs and cannot exist outside the colonial economy by becoming separate, wholly spiritual beings.

Lastly, I do my best to avoid eliding or oversimplifying the racial specificity of the historical and narrative contexts of Martín de Porres’s life. In the same way that Guaman Poma’s understanding of alienation is unique to the working conditions of the indigenous community, the narratives of Porres’s life must be related back to Peru’s African diaspora. As in the considerations of Guaman Poma’s understanding of alienation of Indians by colonial society, this must acknowledge that primitive accumulation cannot be seen as a simple land theft that implies the confiscation—*enajenación*—and relocation of land like any other physical object, being relocated and transferred between static bodies. On the contrary, the Afroperuvian, like the Indian, is forced to move while the land—the very possibility of the means of production for producing some good—remains static, occupied by the colonists and colonialist logics behind primitive accumulation.⁵² Therein, slavery constitutes a special form of abstract labor, under which the very human body is abstracted as a commodity, the slave not merely selling time, but being deprived of the very possibility of living according to any clock other than the time of the master. With these clarifications in mind, I return now to Porres’s conscription into the church, a commitment that provided him privileged access to Lima and its diverse social and racial sectors, while also constituting a figurative form of withdrawing from the world of land and labor.

Withdrawing from the World: Martín de Porres and Mendicant Life

The seventeenth-century literatures on Porres’s entrance into official religious life provide a telling description of his enrollment as a *donado* in the Orden de Santo Domingo de Guzmán. These accounts by Medina, Manrique, and the diocesan *Proceso de Beatificación* (beatification proceedings) witnesses frame the apprenticed fifteen-year-old’s 1594 entry into the Convento de Nuestra Señora del Rosario and formal 1603 profession of the vows of a *donado* not as an admission or a point of entry, but as a point of withdrawal and exit from the world. One author writes that as the young Porres entered Lima’s revered Dominican convent, he was

⁵⁰ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 322

⁵¹ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain, 2nd ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1976 [1915]), 296.

⁵² See Nichols, “Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation,” 25-26.

“[r]esuelto pues à dexar el mundo, por hallar mejor à Dios.”⁵³ A common trope of hagiographic literatures, such language of retreat from the world—absolute and without qualification—upholds the early modern opposition of earthly life and material concerns to spiritual life, also long championed by Dominican doctrine.⁵⁴ Such a narrative construction also aligns with the Dominican Order’s renunciation of property and vows of poverty. In framing Martín de Porres’s incorporation into the Dominican Order as such, the saintly figure (and Dominican theology more generally) opposes one of the primary concerns articulated by both Rosas de Oquendo and Guaman Poma: the alienation of the colonial subject from religious life *and* the divine realm based on a loosening of moral and ethical standards resulting from the reification of material wealth and its evolving avatars.⁵⁵ For Rosas de Oquendo, this is symptomatic of a widespread privileging of material and pecuniary wealth, causing social relations to depart from normative hierarchies and religious life to lose importance and meaning, subjugated to the materialist milieu. For Guaman Poma, this phenomenon is embodied by the Spaniards, creoles, and other castes that have occupied and appropriated Indian lands. The Indian community, then, becomes alienated from God as a result of their exploitation by those *castas* that have abandoned sincere religious principles in favor of the acquisition of wealth. It is unsurprising, then, that the saintly figure who has abandoned property to withdraw from the world stands in opposition to these archetypes, transcending the vice and base materialism that Rosas and Guaman Poma see to pervert colonial life and invert the preferred, normative hierarchies of each author. After all, the saintly figure is alleged not to live a life of moral rectitude within the earthly realm where the ports and *obrajes* exist, but rather to exist on an entirely different plane, in the world of the divine.

Yet while Porres is represented as such, leaving the world was not readily acceptable to his father, who had ensured that his son’s education and upbringing would enable him to avoid the brutal labor conditions and overcome the poverty associated with Lima’s African and mixed-race populations.⁵⁶ However, even in spite of his father’s disapproval, Martín felt obligated to uphold his withdrawal ‘from the world’:

mas como el sieruo de Dios, [Martín] v[e]ia las cosas con mas distinta luz, que su Padre (que en fin, *era todo mundo lo que miraua*) no quiso acetar la honra, que le hazian, estimando en mas vestir habito, con que pudieses humillarse, que traer Capilla, con que pudiese engreirse: *sintiendo, y muy bien, que auiendo vna vez, dexado el Mundo, nõ era bien boluerse à el, estando en la Religion.*⁵⁷

⁵³ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa del venerable siervo de Fray Martín de Porras*, 8v. Also see Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos de yndias*, vol. III, libro II, 207.

⁵⁴ On joining the mendicant orders as a form of leaving the world, see David Haseldine, “Early Dominican Hagiography,” *New Blackfriars* 75.885 (1994), 400-414; and Sebastian Sobocki, “Exemplary Intentions: Two English Dominican Hagiographers in the Thirteenth Century and the Preaching through *exempla*,” *New Blackfriars* 89.1022 (2008), 478-487.

⁵⁵ Idleness, leisure, and fashion were also framed as symptoms of declining seventeenth-century masculinity in the Iberian world. See the 1635 sermon of Spanish Dominican friar Francisco de León discussed in Elizabeth Leffeldt, “Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 61.2 (2008), 463.

⁵⁶ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 9r.

⁵⁷ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 9r (my emphasis).

In these passages and others like them, we see the commitment to religious life represented as a withdrawal not only from economic life in favor of church life, but from the material world itself. In this case, too, this withdrawal is framed as an opposition: that of the mixed-race son that “v[e]ia las cosas con mas distinta luz” to his Spanish father, for whom “era todo mundo [material] lo que miraua.”⁵⁸ There is also an opposition in the way that son and father envision his decision to apprentice in the convent: Porres saw his withdrawal from the world in favor of servitude to God (he gave “repetidas gracias de verse siervo de sus siervos en Su Casa”) and earthly humility as a permanent commitment, while his father’s suggestion that he leave the convent for a more lucrative profession implies that such a commitment is reversible.⁵⁹

At one level, Porres’s understanding of joining religious life as a permanent affair excludes any possibility of unintentional marginalization from economic, social or political contexts, as Porres’s mendicant vows render unity with God the sole focus of his existence. Such a commitment to God also necessitates, then, a rejection of worldly favor and appreciation:

[v]iendose pues el Venerable Hermano, visitado de Principes, consultado de superiores, buscado de Caualleros, acatado de nobles, aplaudido del mundo, venerado de todos, y de todos tenido por santo, por sus grandes virtudes; como estas estimaciones suelen ser fomento de altieuz, y en el mejor paño de virtud cae la mancha de soberuia quando mas lo leuantauan con loores hasta el Cielo, *se abatia humilde hasta la tierra, y sumergido en el abismo de la nada, nada se le daua de los honores del mundo, que tanto aprecian los mundanos*, no llegando al Cielo de su espiritu peregrinas impresiones de vanidad.⁶⁰

Instead of growing disillusioned with a lack of recognition or remunerations, Porres resolutely rejects the widespread praise that is showered upon him and the elevated social status of the high company that his devotion attracts within Lima’s ecclesiastical sphere. Instead, Porres casts himself down to the earthly realm—“*se abatia humilde hasta la tierra*”—which is likened to an abyss of nothingness—“*y sumergido en el abismo de la nada.*” This stopover in liminal nothingness is only temporary, however, a chance for Porres to discard those vestiges of vanity that might impede his spiritual cultivation and ascent to heaven.

In tandem with this wholesale rejection of worldly honors, Porres swore off material possessions to such an extreme that he came to renounce even the most basic necessities of daily life. Medina suggests that Porres’s observance of his mendicant vows was so serious that he literally owned nothing, not even the basic instruments of religious life:

[t]an verdaderamente fue pobre Fr. Martin, que *jamás tuvo cosa propia*, ni aun à vío lo que licitamente pudiera tener de los Prelados, ni libro, ni Imagen tuvo, solo vna Cruz de madera, y vn Rosario tenia con licencia del Superior. Los libros espirituales, en que leía, para andar sin tropieço el camino de la virtud, erã prestados, y con permiso del Prelado; y finalmente su ordinario sustento, su celda, y vestidura, estaban à vezes publicando su admirable pobreza, y que le salía muy de coraçon el padecerla, siguiendo los pasos del

⁵⁸ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 9r.

⁵⁹ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 9r-9v.

⁶⁰ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 16 (my emphasis). See also, Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos de Yndias*, vol. III, libro II, 212.

Salvador, que siendo rico, se hizo por nuestro respeto tan pobre, que quando los brutos tienen sus madrigueras, y las aves del Cielo nidos en que alvergarse, no tuvo en que reclinar la cabeça el hijo del hombre.⁶¹

Porres owned only a wooden cross and a rosary, borrowing books for worship and study from his convent superiors. This is further corroborated by his contemporaries, one of whom testified that in his mendicant vows Porres “guardó con toda puntualidad los tres votos esenciales de pobreza, obediencia y castidad, y el en que más excedió fue en los dos de pobreza y humildad, sin que jamás fuese dueño de cosa propia, ni de sus vestidos y alhajas, las cuales daba a los enfermos, quedándose sin camisa muchas veces.”⁶² His avoidance of the abysmal nothingness of the material world can only be completed by possessing practically nothing, to such an extreme that he doesn’t have a place to rest his head or a shirt to cover his back. This image of the shirtless saint “que llevó con grandísima paciencia y humildad . . . los demás trabajos que padeció en la Religión . . . [y] que nunca se le conocía cama en qué dormir” out of humility and poverty serves to suggest that the saint does not need such basic amenities, nor rest itself. Examined in depth below, as his poverty gives him wealth by following the steps of God, a central tenet of the saint’s domestic and healing labor is that his work provides him with rest. Extreme poverty then becomes acceptable, as there is no need for God’s most devout follower to have a place to rest or a shirt on his back, that because he rests in his work and finds warmth and shelter in God. And thus, his renunciation of belongings comes to connect his poverty to his labor, which provides him with wealth and rest, respectively, his material nothingness paradoxically enabling him to avert the chasm of the material world.

Such an absolute rejection of material possessions, grounded in Medina’s rhetorical construction of the earthly world as an abyss of nothingness, directly contests the intertwining of religion, commerce, and governance which forged the fundamental coordinates around which meaning was constructed in the colonial world. While the material realm becomes central to the official missions of colonial society to such a degree that a literature of alienation emerges in objection, that material realm indicates only abysmal nothingness in the *vitae* of the colonial saint. While this is consistent with mendicant *vitae* dating to the thirteenth century, such a rejection of earthly status stands in striking contrast to the material and political aspirations of many colonial residents, whose ambitions are not only denounced in satire and indigenous chronicle, but also register across the *probanza de mérito* genres and legal disputes over property, titles, and official remunerations. In aspiring to a relationship with God and a life in the image of Christ’s virtue instead of earthly accolades, Porres attracted and retained followers and devotees from across Lima’s social spectrum, as indicated by the numerous accounts of the distinguished pall bearers who laid his body to rest.⁶³ It must be remembered, though, that beyond his poverty and humility, Porres the barber and the surgeon was renowned for his labor as a healer, credited with saving dozens of lives by the witnesses testifying on his behalf in the archbishopric proceedings of his beatification, attributing miracles of healing to the saint during

⁶¹ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 40r-40v (my emphasis).

⁶² *Proceso*, 201 (my emphasis).

⁶³ Reported among Porres’s pall bearers were the Archbishop of Mexico, Don Feliciano de Vega, the Bishop of Cuzco, Don Pedro de Ortega Sotomayor, and Don Juan de Peñafiel, Oidor of the Real Audiencia, as well as another illustrious, unnamed nobleman. See *Proceso*, 92, 98, 106, 156, 188, 191, etc.

his life and in his afterlife.⁶⁴ And, of course, one cannot forget the domestic chore of sweeping the cloisters, that task which earned Porres the moniker of “Fray Escoba,” a legacy that has prevailed into the twenty-first century. I turn now to the domestic and healing forms of labor that Porres is most renowned for to examine how these tropes contribute to Porres’s image of sanctity and the construction of the sacred more generally in colonial Peru, precisely as a means of overcoming the meaninglessness that so frustrates other authors at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Working Beyond the World: Domestic Labor, Healing, and the Search for Sickness

Domestic Labor

While Porres withdrew from the world, renouncing private property in his “vows of obedience, humility, and poverty,”⁶⁵ his commitment to religious life did not entail an avoidance of bodily labor in all its forms. To the contrary, his life inside the convent consisted of “nonstop work and endless liturgical and devotional activities and images.”⁶⁶ There, Porres engaged in constant manual labor, taking up the most menial domestic chores of the convent such as cleaning common spaces and sweeping the cloisters. In the nine years before he took the vows of the *donado* in 1603 and throughout his later life, witnesses’ reports of Porres’s tremendous commitment to sweeping would serve to earn him the nickname “Fray Escoba” in posthumous devotional literatures dedicated to his veneration.⁶⁷ Thus, removed from the colonial economy and its emphasis on productive labor in favor of domestic chores in the convent, Porres’s withdrawal from the world takes place through his solitary work in the cloisters. In the many passages describing his commitment to sweeping, cleaning, and other menial household tasks, witnesses highlight the humble spirit of Porres’s labors and his ability to channel such labor into strengthening his relationship with God.⁶⁸ Such a focus on these qualities of his work contrasts his activities with productive labor, per se, as his work does not constitute an activity “for which

⁶⁴ Porres’s beatification trial proceedings are replete with cases of the friar healing the infirm and saving the terminally ill during his lifetime. Among these many examples, see his ability to cure the Archbishop of Mexico, Don Feliciano de Vega, of a terminal illness (*Proceso*, 90-91). For the ability of devotees to summon curative powers by invoking the saint after his death, see the example of doña María Beltrán (*Proceso*, 187-188). Beltrán and her unborn child were saved from dying of complications at childbirth in 1616 when Beltrán’s mother, Lupercia González de Mendoza, applied a piece of Porres’s habit, collected as a relic during the saint’s wake, to her daughter’s stomach during labor (187-188).

⁶⁵ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 30.

⁶⁶ Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 30.

⁶⁷ Among the many texts casting Porres as “Fray Escoba,” see Jaime Herranz, *Fray escoba* (Palencia: Secretariado Martín de Porres, 1962) and Ignacio Marqués, *San Martín de Porres, “Fray Escoba”* (Barcelona: Centre de Pastoral Litúrgica, 2008). Though this trope appears in texts dating from the seventeenth century (Medina and the *Proceso*, etc.) its use in the titling and subtitling of works appears to have intensified after Porres’s 1962 canonization.

⁶⁸ The testimony of Pedro de Valladolid is representative of the vast accounts of Porres’s humility in his domestic labor: “... llevó con grandísima paciencia y humildad ... los demás trabajos que padeció” (*Proceso*, 271).

people were paid a wage or those that created goods or services for exchange.”⁶⁹ Instead, his sweeping is a voluntary household activity that produces nothing while enacting humility and doubling as a solitary, meditative exercise that enables the friar to forge a connection with God.

In his 1660 beatification proceedings, Porres’s labor is described and included among other acts seen as indicative of his humility. Witness Fray Cristobal de San Juan frames Porres’s commitment to common chores, often referred to as work in the most general sense (“trabajo”) within a matrix of other habits illustrative of his mendicant commitment to simplicity and renunciation of material life:

[l]o cual vió y oyó este testigo como dicho tiene, lo cual fue público y notorio, y no menos la perfección que el dicho hermano fray Martín de Porras tuvo en el cumplimiento de las obligaciones de su profesión de donado, siendo abstigente, y nunca le vió este testigo comer carne, sino coles y sopas, y *cuando acababa de comer se iba a trabajar y limpiar a la puerta del convento con rara humildad y exemplo de toda la Comunidad, que loaban a Dios en ésta y en las demás acciones de su siervo* el dicho hermano fray Martín de Porras.⁷⁰

Alleged to eat only the simplest of foods and abstaining entirely from meat, Porres found sustenance in the most basic provisions so as to afford himself more time spent as a willing domestic servant in his community.⁷¹ While such a diet was common to the mendicant orders, Porres’s eating habits contribute to his exemplarity among the convent in that they not only demonstrate humility, but facilitate his immediate continuation of prolonged activity—work outside the productive milieu—that embodies a commitment to humility, and work for work’s sake as work for God’s sake, as transcendental experience.

As a manifestation of Porres’s humility, this work also dodges abstraction, completed as an act of praising God. Such is what might be understood as saintly authenticity: the individual saint’s willing, individual work for or on behalf of God or as a direct extension of God’s hand. Whereas it is difficult to read authenticity, the foil of alienated subjectivity and a post-Enlightenment concept only tangible late in the Spanish American colonies (if it is even wholly possible for the colonized to achieve authenticity in colonial societies) and across the early modern period, Porres can be seen to broadcast a vein of saintly authenticity in his willing, uncoerced work outside of abstract labor—indeed outside of any monetary compensation or

⁶⁹ Drucilla Barker and Susan Feiner, “Affect, Race, and Class: An Interpretive Reading of Caring Labor,” *A Journal of Women Studies* 30.1 (2009), 4. Also see David Brennan, “Defending the Indefensible? Culture’s Role in the Productive/Unproductive Dichotomy,” *Feminist Economics* 12.3 (2006), 403-425.

⁷⁰ *Proceso*, 101 (my emphasis).

⁷¹ Of Porres’s strict vegetarian diet on witness “nunca le vió este testigo ni supo que el dicho hermano fray Martín de Porras hubiese comido carne” (*Proceso*, 98). Another “nunca le vió este testigo comer carne” (101). Yet another states that “así mismo fue riguroso en la austeridad de su vida, en especial en los ayunos de su Orden, ayunando todas las cuaresmas a pan y agua por gran regalo comía unas yucas y camotes comía ... unas sopas y unas pocas de coles, sin comer carne” (130). Another asserts that Porres “ayunaba todo el año, sin comer carne, y su sustento era pan y agua y algunas yerbas cocidas y yucas anejas” (136). Also see *Proceso*, 182, 204, 220, 228, etc. for further insistence that the Saint dined largely on bread and cabbage.

material benefit. His labor instead serves to enact and activate his own Godlike image—of humility, poverty, and charity—while also serving as an example to the rest of the church community. Porres’s so-called saintly authenticity is enacted through mendicant work, wherein surplus value is excoriated from the very concept of work, which takes place for and towards an existential plane beyond and outside of material contexts. That is, only work performed in withdrawing from the material world can contribute to saintly authenticity, work that cultivates the individual not as modern individual, but as a singular figure with a deep personal relationship with God who performs exemplary work on God’s behalf. And though saintly authenticity does not interrupt existing hierarchies or normative early modern colonial social relations (indeed it fortifies them, as Porres’s life does posthumously), the allegedly absolute withdrawal of the individual from such hierarchies (even embodied in actions with negative worldly consequences, such as Martín’s indifference to mistreatment and verbal abuse) and dismissal of societal importance contributes to the advancement of the individual spirit, whose transcendence into the sacred realm through labor takes precedence over fulfillment of earthly obligations.

The diocesan beatification proceedings’ rendering of Porres also demonstrates how he embodies saintly authenticity by shunning worldly professional ambition in favor of his daily domestic chores symbolic of his withdrawal from the world. In a conversation with fray Juan Ochoa de Verástegui, the lay brother expresses the absolute, transcendent importance of his manual labor over ascent through the clerical ranks:

... este testigo, viendo una mañana al dicho venerable hermano fray Martín de Porras ocupado en limpiar unas secretas del convento, a lo cual se venía todas las mañanas, estando en casa del Señor Arzobispo de México Don Feliciano de Vega, que estaba en aquel tiempo en esta ciudad enfermo y había pedido por particular favor y consuelo le asistiese, este testigo [Verástegui] le dixo al dicho venerable hermano fray Martín de Porras: «Hermano fray Martín, ¿no es mejor estar en la casa del Señor Arzobispo de México, que en las secretas del convento?» A lo cual respondió el dicho siervo de Dios lo que decía el santo Rey David: *Elegi abjectus esse in domo Dei mei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum.* «Padre fray Juan, más estimo un rato de estos que paso en este ejercicio que muchos días de los que tengo en casa del Señor Arzobispo».⁷²

The Mexican Archbishop, who figures prominently in narratives of Porres’s late life and 1639 death and burial serves as a symbolic foil to the values that Porres most exudes. As a high-ranking official representative of the church’s worldly organization and one’s potential professional and political ambitions therein, Vega’s institutional pomp and renown are placed in opposition to the mundane daily task of cleaning the convent’s backrooms. To the surprise of his colleague, fray Martín upholds his commitment to his daily chores—of being “ocupado en limpiar unas secretas del convento, a lo cual se venía todas las mañanas”—, claiming to value one of the many, indeed countless, moments spent cleaning the convent over further facetime with a prominent church official from Spanish America’s primary colonial center. Though Porres would later pause his domestic chores to care for the Archbishop of New Spain and cure him of his ailments,⁷³ his valuation of his own manual labors places negligible physical tasks (if in the service of and utility to the Order and, as such, to God) and the meditative spirit that

⁷² *Proceso*, 116 (Latin original emphasis, my emphasis follows).

⁷³ See *Proceso*, 90-91, etc.

accompanies them ahead of potential advancement within the church. At a more rudimentary level, Porres's response places a higher value on time spent in generic, unproductive work which contributes to his individual relationship with God over time politically furthering his own position in colonial society. While not an assertion of routine labors of humility over productive work, this anecdote can be seen to reject earthly hierarchies of prestige and power and, in this case, the potential for ascent within the church system. This is further reiterated when Porres, greatly revered by Vega, purportedly declines to accompany the Archbishop back to Mexico after saving his life in 1639.⁷⁴ Professional ascent or close relationships with celebrated figures in the colonial world mean only as much to the friar as sweeping the floor or his many other tasks in the service of the less fortunate that ultimately constitute service to God. Much less is Porres able to be swayed in his thinking by those around him. As Ochoa de Verástegui's questions betray a reification of Church superiors and worldly hierarchy, Porres firmly asserts his preference for domestic labor, solitude, and the advancement of his personal relationship with God that accompanies them.⁷⁵

Beyond his commitment to maintaining the cloisters, an anecdote recurrent in narratives of Porres's life serves to further complicate the saint's relationship to domestic labor and abstract and alienated labor. According to numerous accounts, Porres was seen floating in the air late one night, brightly illuminated, perhaps in flame or emitting some other divine luminescence of saintliness. Elevated in the convent air, the radiant saint then took flight to intensely rebuke a certain fray Martín de Barragán for forcing the Indians of the *portería* to work sweeping the entrance to the parish in return for alms. In the proceedings of his beatification, witness fray Gaspar de Saldaña recounts being told of this miracle performed by Porres:

...tratando de la vida, virtudes y santidad del dicho hermano fray Martín de Porras con el P. fray Tristán de Silva, Predicador General de su santa Religión, dixo como el hermano fray Juan, que no se acuerda del sobrenombre, que era religioso virtuoso y de muy buena opinión, le había dicho cómo una noche, estando velando en el claustro principal, vió una luz grande. Y pareciéndole que ya era de día, miró qué era aquello y vió que pasaba volando el dicho fray Martín de Porras y entraba por el arco que está antes del dormitorio de los hermanos legos, a donde tenía su celda el hermano fray Martín de Barragán, de conocida virtud, y que entendió, que no se acuerda este testigo cómo le vino a entender, que iba a reprender de parte de Nuestra Señora o de Nuestro Señor, porque hacía barrer la portería a los indios pobres, y que le dixo el dicho fray Tristán que la luz que salía de dicho P. Fray Martín de Porras que es la que le despertó y que así se lo había contado al dicho fray Tristán el dicho hermano fray Juan lego, en lo cual este testigo admiró el suceso y dio muchas gracias a la divina Majestad por los favores con que honra a sus siervos.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ On the great admiration for Porres by the clerical elite, see *Proceso*, 156, 162, 188, 191, 208-210, 224-225, 250, 267, 271-272, 312, 328, etc. On Vega's desire to take Porres back to Mexico with him, see *Proceso*, 317; Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 35r; and Manrique, *Retrato*, 230.

⁷⁵ In Manrique's version of the account, Porres denies the veneration of his superiors. Martín proclaims "[m]as estimo barrer los lugares mas baxos del Conuento, que reciuir las burlas, que estima el hermano honras, que me hacen. Desta manera huia el varon de Dios los aplausos del mundo" (*Retrato*, 230).

⁷⁶ *Proceso*, 97-98.

There is much to unpack here. First, this miracle is reported back to the beatification council's authorities via a chain of hearsay between Saldaña, Silva, and a certain distinguished ("virtuoso y de muy buena opinión") fray Juan whose full identity is unknown. This is because Saldaña, who is the official witness to the beatification council, "no se acuerda del sobrenombre" of fray Juan. Saldaña has learned of Porres's miracle from Silva, who heard the account from the person who actually saw Porres, fray Juan, whose last name has been forgotten. While this chain serves to register the account in the trial proceedings, it also dictates that there were at least three degrees of separation between the witness (Saldaña) and the person who experienced Porres's luminous flight through the night (fray Juan).

Second, there is a narrative privileging of the miraculous spectacle performed by Porres over the reasoning behind his miraculous behavior. The passage begins by stating that Juan saw "una luz grande" that illuminated the midnight scene as if it were daytime. The light, it turns out, is Porres, who is not merely walking, but flying ("volando") into the dormitory of the lay brothers, where Barragán resides. Within these spectacular elements, at play (as it always is with the half-African saint) is the idea of the dark-skinned saint possessing a pure, white inner conscience and soul, which illuminates the dark night air, turning night into day in another symbolic show of his purity grounded in the black-white opposition often invoked in his symbolism. In a further show of biblical symbolism, his ascent into the air further places him nearer the heavenly ideals that he embodies and represents. This display of what Rudolf Otto terms "creature-consciousness or creature-feeling," or the "emotion of a creature, submerged and overwhelmed by its own nothingness in contrast to that which is supreme above all creatures," is enlisted in the defense of indigenous subjects whose work is contracted on the grounds of their material need.⁷⁷ The root of Porres's inexplicable behavior, creature-conscious-like in its inability to "be expressed verbally" and "suggested indirectly through the tone and content of a man's feeling-response" to God's power, ("an overpowering, absolute might of some kind"), however, is unclear to the observer—and the reader.⁷⁸ That is, until it is revealed that fray Juan came to miraculously (that is, inexplicably) know that the reason for Porres's divine flight was his opposition to Barragán's practice of trading alms for work. For this transaction is not a provisioning of fair pay for work, but a perversion of the concepts of almsgiving and charity, the rendering of willing, unilateral giving without stipulation as a transactional exchange.

By early modern standards of sanctity and miraculousness, the remarkable part of the scene is not that Porres was seen somehow illuminated or engulfed in flame, nor that he was seen flying through the midnight air. Rather, the unexpected element is, perhaps what has driven him to perform such feats: "iba a reprender [a fray Martín de Barragán] de parte de Nuestra Señora o de Nuestro Señor, porque hacía barrer la portería a los indios pobres." Porres's spectacular mobilization takes place not as a miraculous end itself, but as a means of transit to chastise Barragán for making the Indians sweep the entry to the church. Keeping in mind Guaman Poma's strong words of reprehension for "criollos negros" and other Afroperuvians commonly indicted for abuses against Andeans, Porres's defense of impoverished Indians forced to work for alms also forcefully contradicts the negative interactions between black and indigenous subjects

⁷⁷ Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy. An Inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational*, trans. John W. Harvey (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958[1917]), 10.

⁷⁸ Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 10.

of the colonies. As no additional explanation is offered for the glowing, levitating friar, it can only be discerned that his opposition to Barragán's labor arrangement was such that the miraculous means justified the practical end, calling attention to the situation through supernatural behavior so as to memorialize and put an end to Barragán's misuse of alms by placing them in an economy of exchange, of labor for compensation.

The symbolic value of the particular space where Barragán has attempted to abstract indigenous labor, the entry to the church, cannot be overlooked. Mircea Eliade understands the configuration of sacred space to depend heavily on the divisions and continuities between the two worlds on each side of the threshold:

[f]or a believer, the church shares in a different space from the street in which it stands. The door that opens on the interior of the church actually signifies a solution of continuity. The threshold that separates the two spaces also indicates the distance between two modes of being, the profane and the religious. The threshold is the limit, the boundary, the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds—and at the same time the paradoxical place where those worlds communicate, where passage from the profane to the sacred world becomes possible.⁷⁹

If one is to accept the importance of the threshold of the house of worship as a space of differentiation between and demarcation of the profane and the sacred, this is a particularly problematic place for Barragán to oblige Indians to labor. Porres seems to recognize this, and the imposition of labor in this symbolic space holds the potential to diminish the sacred force of the church interior by breaking the continuity of the threshold and debilitating the symbolic ability to pass from the profane world to the sacred by crossing the entryway. Eliade also notes that:

[n]umerous rites accompany passing the domestic threshold—a bow, a prostration, a pious touch of the hand and so on. . . . The threshold, the door *show* the solution of continuity in space immediately and concretely; hence their great religious importance, for they are symbols and at the same time vehicles of *passage* from the one space to the other. . . . Within the sacred precincts the profane world is transcended.⁸⁰

While sweeping itself is not an impediment to communication with God—Porres uses it as his primary mode of cultivating humility and interconnectedness with God, invoking his own humility and the experience of the numinous—the idea of exchanging alms for labor and the abstracting principle that it enacts amounts to a blasphemous rite of entry. By placing the obligation of work on one or both sides of the entryway (the passage doesn't specify), an insurmountable barrier to transcendence is erected, as the profane world and its tasks bleed into the church itself, diminishing the symbolic authority of a “sign . . . to indicate the sacredness of a place.”⁸¹ Barragán has not only abstracted labor; he has uprooted charity and, in the process, jeopardized the physical church's sacredness.

⁷⁹ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion*, trans. William Trask (New York: Harvest/Harcourt Brace, 1961), 25.

⁸⁰ Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 25.

⁸¹ Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 27.

This scene is also narrated by Bernardo de Medina's biography of Porres. Eliminating the speculative attribution of the beatification proceedings, Medina attributes the observation to an anonymous friar who was roused from his exhausted stupor by the flying, illuminated saint:

[v]elando vna noche en el Claustro principal de este Convento vn Religioso de notoria virtud, quizá para despertar à la Comunidad à media noche, para que fuesse à alabar à Dios en los Maytines, y aplacarle la ira, que con sus culpas le ocasionan aquellas horas los mundanos; quedándose por descuydo en vn profundo letargo sumergido, le dio vn golpe de luces en los ojos, y despertando con èl, juzgando que ya amanecia, sintió averse dormido en su obligaci6n; mas reparando en la luz, vio que clara, y distintamente passava cerca de si bolando por el ayre el siervo de Dios Fr. Martin de Porras, echando de su cuerpo, como si estuviesse ya glorificado, vna excesiva luz, y resplandor, y siguiendo al var6 de Dios assombrado, y absorto del prodigio, lo vio entrar bolando por vn arco que està antes de el dormitorio de los Religiosos Legos, *donde tenia su celda Fr. Martin de Barragã Converso, Varon de mucha virtud, y perfeccion, al qual de parte de nuestro se6or, como legado suyo, reprehendio, porque hazia trabajar à los Indios pobres, que venían à la portería del Convento à comer, con q6o parece les dava de caridad la limosna, sino que les vendia por su trabajo el sustento.*⁸²

The final sentence of this second account holds the key to understanding Porres's actions not only as an affirmation of Christian charity and the separation of sacred and secular space, but as a rebuttal of abstract labor and the alienation that it engenders. Medina converts Barragán's forced sweeping ("hazia trabajar à los Indios pobres, que venían à la portería del Convento à comer") into the very definition of abstract labor, claiming that Barragán "les vendia [a los indios] por su trabajo el sustento." Such an equation—work for food—is, for Porres and his biographer Medina, who has rephrased the account as such, an abuse of what should be given freely to the poor under the auspices of charity. Porres's condemnations are consonant with those complaints of clerics enlisting Indians to work for sustenance registered by Guaman Poma, challenging the intentional abstraction of labor (domestic or maintenance work sold for sustenance) within the spiritual economy where charity and almsgiving should hypothetically prevail with no exchange of labor by the receiving party. Understood as a transaction, Porres's miracle sustains that alms should not be exchanged for work, but rather that charity should register as an act of faith and devotion to Christian ideals, the only compensation for the charitable individual coming in the form of heavenly glory in the afterlife. Likewise, as Porres himself favored sweeping as humbling, meditative work used to enact one's relationship with God, his rebuke of Barragán, who has passed this task on to the hungry Indians, can be seen as a restatement of the saint's commitment to taking up even the most menial of tasks instead of delegating them to parishioners occupying less prominent positions in colonial society.

The oft-cited case of Porres's luminous flight is not the only time that the saint interrupts exchanges of work for compensation. Another example serves to further illustrate Porres's

⁸² Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 90r-90v (my emphasis). Medina also references this episode in describing the supernatural agility that Porres was endowed with: "Mostr6se fuera destas ocasiones en el siervo de Dios la agilidad que solia el Se6or comunicarle, como quando fue bolando por los ayres a la celda de Fr. Martin Barragan desde el claustro principal, despidiendo resplandores, y luces de su cuerpo" (97v).

opposition to transactional religious labor, also introducing the friar's miraculous abilities to navigate and manipulate time and space. Finding himself "[a]viendo de asistir por orden de la obediencia en la labor de la hazienda de Limatambo" where he both labored and cared for the Dominican's slaves, Porres was unable to sound the dawn bells from the convent campanile.⁸³ To take up the task in his absence, Porres "encargò a queste cuidado à vn religioso lego" who became ill and was unable to perform the symbolic task.⁸⁴ In order to ensure that the day's dawn was still marked from the bell tower, the substitute lay-friar did not beg assistance of another clergyman, but instead "le mandò à vn negro del convento fuesse à tocar al Alva, ofreciéndole en pago de su trabajo vn real *que no darà vn passo el hombre si no le lleva el interés.*"⁸⁵ In making this arrangement, the friar effectively converts voluntary domestic work into a form of wage labor, asking the black convent servant to sell him his time.

However, the process of abstraction is never completed due to another of Porres's miraculous movements:

[s]ubiendo, pues, vna mañana por las escalas de la torre el Negro, oyò que tocavan al Alva, y queriendo informarse del que con tanta puntualidad se avia anticipado al cuidado que èl tenia, viò al venerable Hermano Fr. Martin, que acudia à su ordinaria devoción, el qual le dixo con espíritu profetico, que cobrasse el real que por su diligencia le avian prometido, y no dixesse lo sucedido à nadie, de que quedó maravillado el Negro.⁸⁶

At a literal level, Martín can be seen to maintain his devotion to the task of sounding the dawn bell each day, refusing to allow another to take up the task for the colleague who has failed to assist him in his absence. In terms of the transactions taking place, though, Martín can also be seen to interrupt the abstraction of labor, himself completing the task that was to be compensated while instructing the contracted servant to charge the *real* that he was promised by the absent lay brother. Porres takes up the task of ringing the bell as a devout act of domestic labor that sets the convent clock and attunes the day to monastic time, while rendering the *real* to be paid the servant alms, the product of charity, instead of wages, the product of abstract labor.

To this point in the text, the miracle is that Porres has allowed a black convent servant to charge a *real* for his work without doing any real work, and, most importantly, that Porres does so without saying anything to anyone, "de que quedó maravillado el Negro." However, as the anecdote concludes, we are told that the convent community learns of the real miracle of Porres's presence in the bell tower: "[a]veriguose después, que al tiempo de tocar el Siervo de Dios al Alva en el Convento, lo avian visto asistir en la labor del campo, de que se ocasionò entre los religiosos mucho espanto infiriendo la agilidad con que el señor tanto ilustrava à su siervo."⁸⁷ Porres has not only reversed the abstraction of wages and time, but he has also established his ability to manipulate time and space by being in multiple places at the same moment in time through bilocation.⁸⁸ Both in the fields of Limatambo and in the campanile of the convent, Porres

⁸³ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 96r.

⁸⁴ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 96r-96v.

⁸⁵ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 96v.

⁸⁶ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 96v.

⁸⁷ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 96v

⁸⁸ Bilocation is perhaps the most impressive miracle attributed to Porres. On other accounts of bilocation, see Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 72-73 and Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos*, 280-281.

labors in unspecified tasks of the *hacienda* alongside slaves while simultaneously ringing the bells, the latter act marking the convent's hold on the colonial clock, bringing alms to another black servant, and leading his wayward lay brother to almsgiving instead of the abstraction of religious labor.

As these accounts of Porres's appreciation for domestic work and his ability to manipulate time and space demonstrate, the lay brother interrupts the use of wages in sacred labor, undercutting exchange-based activity to reassert work's potential service not to compensation, but to God. Among those other tasks that intermingle with his chores are several forms of healing and caring labor, in particular caring for the infirm by alleviating their pain and suffering, regardless of the severity or grotesqueness of their ailments. Given the commendation of all of Porres's actions to God, the interrelatedness of domestic work and healing the ill cannot be overlooked. *Proceso* witness Francisco Guerrero notes the coupling of domestic labor with caring labor, especially in the context of the convent's infirmary, where Porres "... venía a visitar los enfermos religiosos y hacerles las camas, barrerles las celdas y limpiarlos los servicios y otras cosas de que necesitaban."⁸⁹ And while the two types of labor often intersect, they demonstrate formal and functional distinctions worthy of further differentiation. I turn now to the means by which Porres's healing labor occupies a category of its own, seen as the divine work of God through the saint's hand, while also constituting an opposition to the abstraction of labor.

Healing Labor and the Laboring Body in Circulation

While Porres's iconography frequently depicts the saint with a broom in his hands, the friar's primary vocations were as "cirujano, barbero, enfermero, y ropero."⁹⁰ These trades that he learned as a youth and practiced as an adult in the convent and across Lima, his healing abilities, and religious vocation served to provide Porres access to all sectors of the city's population, in spite of the restrictions imposed upon marginalized *castas* in mid-colonial Lima.⁹¹ These professions further illuminate how his activities—and the access that they allowed him to the city—came to be rendered sacred in spite of the unproductive character of such tasks in the view of early modern and classical economists. As generations of economists active between Porres's death (1639), beatification (1837), and canonization (1962) associated productivity only with those activities that created value, "[t]he myriad of economically necessary activities that took place inside the household [or the convent] but outside monetary exchange were officially expunged from the realm of the economic."⁹² Under such definitions of productivity, much of Porres's saintly legacy is built upon his participation in 'unproductive' acts that stand as a foil to the productive activities that were quantified, regulated, and expanded under Viceroy Toledo's leadership in Peru and intensified throughout Porres's lifetime.

Unlike his domestic labor, which is recounted as a means of cultivating humility in the image of God and understood by hagiographers as meditative practice, Porres's healing labor

⁸⁹ *Proceso*, 275.

⁹⁰ Manrique, *Retrato de perfección cristiana*, 228.

⁹¹ On Porres's relative freedom to move as he pleased in the city, see Cussen, *Black Saint*, 22-29. On the nature of protomedical practice and medicine in mid-colonial Peru, see Cussen, *Black Saint*, 64-84.

⁹² Barker and Feiner, "Affect, Race, and Class: An Interpretive Reading of Caring Labor," 42.

was seen to directly channel divine intervention, enabling the friar to enact the curative powers of God himself. As one witness puts it, “Dios Nuestro Señor obraba por intercesión del dicho siervo de Dios fray Martín,” whereas the convent community was of the opinion that “del dicho hermano [Martín de Porres] ... Nuestro Señor había obrado y obraba por sus manos.”⁹³ Beyond the convent walls, “... toda la ciudad que le veneraba y tenía en fe de su virtud, viendo tan innumerables prodigios como su Divina Majestad obraba por su intercesión, de que este testigo y todos los religiosos de su casa estaban admirados, dando infinitas gracias a su Divina Majestad por los beneficios que obraba en aquél su siervo.”⁹⁴ Long a trope of saintly *vitae*, miracles of God’s healing taking place through devout human intermediaries abound in the canon of hagiographic narratives, including among Peru’s cast of colonial saints.

Never mind that Porres’s protomedical training might have afforded him a deeper technical and scientific understanding of medicine, thus enabling him to more effectively treat and cure the illnesses and injuries that he encountered, Porres’s work healing others is framed as divine intervention enacted by the saint, who is an extension of God. As *proceso* witness Juan de Barbazán put it:

... las experiencias [eran] de tan innumerables curas como se hizo en su convento de este testigo en religiosos, seculares, mulatos, negros, indios, hasta en animales brutos, los cuales no dexaban de merecer su piedad, el dicho venerable hermano fray Martin de Porras. Lo cual tenía convencido este testigo que el susodicho *era el instrumento vivo de las maravillas de Dios para la salud de los enfermos, como lo comprobaban tantos casos singulares que se confunden unos con otros.*⁹⁵

As “el instrumento vivo de las maravillas de Dios para la salud de los enfermos,” the narratives of Porres render him a sort of figurative production worker of God, this in two senses, even if the healing-caring labor performed is not productive even by early modern metrics. First, the friar is an earthly extension of God, whose miracles are realized through Porres’s body, which is the blood and flesh machinery performing God’s work on earth. As such, Porres’s healing work becomes inherently sacred, separate from the work of others through its channeling of the divine. Second, as Barbazán and numerous other witnesses highlight the tremendous volume of ailing and ill patients cared for by Porres, the saint appears responsible for a literal mass-production of healings across all sectors of Lima’s population. Such mass healing is never more clear than in Porres’s response to a measles outbreak among the parish community, during which he constantly tended to more than sixty patients night and day, the ill never overwhelming Porres: “ò que todos eran pocos para el, ò que èl se hazia muchos para todos.”⁹⁶ Through the *donado*’s direct interventions among the infirm and the invocation of his name and image by the ill or injured, Porres manages to heal such a large volume of people that the “casos singulares ... se confunden unos con otros.” Veritably indistinguishable, the many accounts of Porres’s healings at once compound all of his curative miracles into a stock narrative and then replicate that narrative across time and space, such narrative standardization contributing to a sense of procedural standardization of his healing labor.

⁹³ *Proceso*, 371; *Proceso*, 90.

⁹⁴ *Proceso*, 95.

⁹⁵ *Proceso*, 108 (my emphasis).

⁹⁶ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 51r. For the full account, see Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 51r-52r.

The emergence and reproduction of a stock narrative of healing that comes to enact the mass production of healing (and its expressions) is possible because in the accounts of Porres's life the volume of subjects who recover under his care is truly overwhelming. Yet the testimonies provided in the proceedings or narrated by seventeenth-century authors each follow a framework that renders caregiving a sacred act, in particular by channeling divine intercessions of healing through human intermediaries, performing God's work through the earthly intervention of the future saint. Within the prevailing narrative formula, such healing labor seems to provide Porres a break from his rigid temporal regime of devotion and domestic labor, depicting the saint not only as a servant or barber-surgeon, but as a devotee whose every second is dedicated to the service of God. This becomes expressly clear in the words of the witness Barbazán:

[c]omo a las tres y media de la mañana, un día, estando este testigo recogido en la suya, llamaron con recios golpes a ella, y sobresaltado este testigo del ruido y la hora, abrió la puerta y *habló con un negro* el cual le dixo a este testigo le llamaba el P. Fray Luis de Guadalupe, sacristán que era entonces, para que le confesase, porque estaba de muerte. Con lo cual este testigo, a toda prisa, como pedía el extremo, fue a la celda del dicho P. Fray Luis y se halló casi sin respiración, de un dolor de ijada, y tan defectible que se hizo forzoso la absolución al punto que halló materia para ella. Y a esta sazón entró en la dicha celda el dicho venerable hermano fray Martín de Porras con una escudilla de rescoldo en la mano, y *alabando al Señor como del ordinario lo hacía*, roció con vino el fuego, aplicando el calor a la vasija el paño. Como para señalarle el lugar del dolor, el dicho P. Sacristán le cogió la mano que tenía desembarazada al dicho venerable hermano fray Martín de Porras y se la puso en aquella parte dolorida, diciéndole con la voz tan desmayada como ya de casi difunto: ««Aquí»», y luego exclamó diciendo: «Bendito sea Dios, ya estoy bueno, ya se me quitó el dolor; no es menester ya rescoldo». Martín avergonzóse tanto, efecto propio del verdadero humilde, a lo que reconoció este testigo, que lleno de confusión y como sentido de él clavo los ojos en tierra el dicho venerable hermano fray Martín de Porras y prorrumpió diciendo: «Así se burla de un pobre mulato». *Y sin decir otra cosa se salió de la dicha celda y se fue a tocar el alba, que dio luego, en cuyo ejercicio fue tan vigilante ... que enmendaba el reloj, y tan perseverante nunca dexó de oírse esta salva a la Aurora ...*⁹⁷

While Barbazán describes Porres's healing of a gravely ill superior in the convent, his account also reveals several other elements common to narratives of Porres's healing labor. Primary is the attention to Porres's willingness to serve at all hours, the saint even heeding calls "a las tres y media de la mañana." In the wee hours of the morning, Barbazán is roused by a black servant—as seen in the aforementioned campanile scene, black and mixed-race subjects frequently appear in accounts of Porres's healing work—who brings the news of his colleague fray Luis de Guadalupe's failing health, the sleeping friar startled by the commotion at such an early hour ("sobresaltado este testigo de la hora y del ruido").⁹⁸ To the contrary, Porres is apparently calm

⁹⁷ *Proceso*, 108-109 (my emphasis).

⁹⁸ The clarification that Barbazán "habló con un negro" (*Proceso*, 108) further places Porres in dialogue with Lima's servant economy. Narratives of the saint's healing regularly juxtapose the lay friar with common black servants going about their duties, both emphasizing his unique and exceptional character and casting Porres as a transcendent ideal for other Afroperuvians to

and collected, entering the bedside scene to confidently administer dressings to relieve the friar's pain and return his breathing to normal. The healing—medical—techniques that the saint undertakes are detailed matter-of-factly, as simple procedures of preparing and applying dressings to the affected area of the body accompanied by incantations praising God. Like the treatments that he administers, such invocations are regular practices for the friar who “del ordinario lo hacía.” After establishing these conditions of the encounter, the passage recounts how Fray Guadalupe guides Porres's hand onto the site of his pain, is healed instantly, and proclaims his recovery complete on the spot. The humble Afroperuvian friar, however, becomes confused, his embarrassment causing him to think the case a cruel joke at his expense (“Martín avergonzóse tanto, efecto propio del verdadero humilde, ... que lleno de confusión y como sentido de él clavo los ojos en tierra el dicho venerable hermano fray Martín de Porras y prorrumpió diciendo: «Así se burla de un pobre mulato”). Porres then silently rushes out to sound the morning salvo of church bells to indicate the day's entry.

This passage reflects several tropes of Porres's healing labor, repeated throughout the prevailing accounts of his work.⁹⁹ However, what is perhaps most interesting in this passage is the way that extra-narrative details emphasize the temporal discipline of the saint. Within the narration of the miracle itself, the episode takes place in the middle of the night as the rest of the convent sleeps, including Barbazán, yet Porres enters without regard for the hour, unphased by undertaking such a task nocturnally. If we retake the above passage and read into its continuation, we learn that Porres's nonchalance over working and praying through the night is because he strictly “enmendaba el reloj” and devoted the whole of his time to serving God and others:

[y] sin decir otra cosa se salió de la dicha celda y se fue a tocar el alba [de las campanas], que dio luego, en cuyo ejercicio *fue tan vigilante ... que enmendaba el reloj, y tan perseverante* nunca dexó de oírse esta salva a la Aurora, mejor Santísima María, Señor[a] Nuestra, servida del dicho hermano fray Martín de Porras *con mucho fervor en tiempo* que sus años no eran pocos, ni sus cuidados de enfermero, barbero y cirujano, médico y padre de todos, que eran muchos, pudieran dispensarle las vigiliass o librarle de las trasnochadas, pues *cotejeando el tiempo de sus ocupaciones, santas penitencias y*

aspire to. For examples of other black residents of Lima leading Porres to the sick for healing, see his interaction with a “negro” in Lurigancho who leads him to “vna morena [que] estava padeciendo vn importuno fluxo de sangre” and another “negra” suffering from measles (Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 54v-55v). The latter scene highlights the miraculous character and temporal constancy of Porres work, stating that he “assistió à la enfermedad maravillosamente curandola, sirviendola, lavandole la ropa, y consolandola continuamente, hasta que en ella faltò con la enfermedad la vida, y en Fr. Martin el gusto de assistirla, y exercitar en tanto mal tanto bien como es la caridad” (55r).

⁹⁹ For two additional narratives of his healing that take into account working across night and day, the simultaneous invocation of God and the application of medicinal treatments, and his circulation alongside and among other black residents, see the account of the measles outbreak in the convent (Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 51r-52r) and the account of Porres's missions to the Dominican-owned *hacienda* of Limatambo to treat the slaves (Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 52r).

*oraciones frecuentes, no le quedaba hora de reposo, porque sólo en el trabajo reposaba.*¹⁰⁰

Read in this context, Porres's hurried withdrawal from the room is not only because of his embarrassment, but also in observance of his strict commitment to clock-specific tasks, such as ringing the church bells each day at dawn and holding vigil overnight. Such temporal discipline is unsurprising given the church's emphasis on 'good' time use in colonial Peru, emanating from contemporaries of Porres such as Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo, who famously spent his later years professing that "[n]uestro gran Tesoro es el momento presente. Tenemos que aprovecharlo para ganarnos con él la vida eterna. El Señor Dios nos tomará estricta cuenta del modo como hemos empleado nuestro tiempo."¹⁰¹ Consistent with this thinking, Porres was militant in devoting the whole of his time to the service of God and care of others as "enfermero, barbero y cirujano, médico y padre de todos," not to mention his daily domestic duties of sweeping and cleaning. In spite of his advanced age and abundance of patients, Porres continued his overnight vigils and meditations, taking up every moment of the day and night to perform tasks on God's behalf as his human emissary. Unsurprisingly, as "no le quedaba hora de reposo" due to the intensity and frequency of his activities that consumed every moment of his existence, "solo en el trabajo reposaba."

This claim has implications beyond the simple statement that Porres had no time to rest. At play here is the breakdown of the difference between work and rest, which become one in this last statement—"solo en el trabajo reposaba"—, reconstituting the work performed by the friar not only as the physical act of caring for others or maintaining the convent, but also as its opposite, rest. As all of the saint's time is consumed by domestic chores and healing work, to the point where "no le quedaba hora de reposo," it would seem that this process would, for most, constitute a radical form of self-alienation, in which one's individual existence becomes neglected in favor of work on behalf of others. After all, Porres's constant labor literally deprives him of the basic human necessity of rest, which can then only be realized by way of some metaphysical miracle in the act of work. Yet it is precisely this work—God's work, for Porres is an actor charged with God's power to heal—of caring for others and healing the human bodies of other Christian souls and easing their bodily pain that allows him to rest. And so, seen from this angle, Porres can be understood to be at rest when he is at work. This is, of course, at all hours, including when he is summoned to heal an ailing colleague in the dark of night or called to complete activities reinforcing the "clock time" of the early modern monastic temporal order (such as ringing the twilight salvo to alert the monastery of the day's entry and the onset of productive time for the city's residents).¹⁰²

I would like to double back on this concept of rest's collapse into work and work's reconstitution as a form of rest for the saintly figure. At least one theorist has suggested that "time . . . requires metaphor" to be intelligible, further suggesting "that it is virtually impossible to talk about time without invoking motion."¹⁰³ Here, Porres's strict temporal discipline is phrased in terms of a metaphor that blends the motion of work (and Porres's frequently

¹⁰⁰ *Proceso*, 109 (my emphasis).

¹⁰¹ P. Eliécer Sálesman, *Vidas de santos*, Tomo I (Quito: San Pablo Ecuador, 2007), 389.

¹⁰² See Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*.

¹⁰³ Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest & New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 3.

referenced movements throughout the city to heal and serve its many residents)¹⁰⁴ and the static nature of rest. And so, as Porres moves, walking tirelessly through the city and its surroundings to heal its many residents—“[s]aliase por los campos estimulado del ardor de su piedad à buscar necesidades que remediar, y enfermos à quien servir”—,¹⁰⁵ he is also at rest, in physical movement transiting the city’s streets while in a condition of saintly stasis, breaking down the distinction between the time of labor and the time of rest naturally coinciding with day and night, respectively. Porres’s spiritual application of every moment of time reflects Mogrovejo’s famous words, embodies his predecessor Saint Bernard’s edict that “Nothing is more precious than time” and vindicates the fourteenth-century Dominican Domenico Calva of Pisa’s development of a “spirituality of the calculated use of time.”¹⁰⁶ In doing so, such an absolute allocation of the whole of time itself has deeper consequences than reflecting the intertwining of monastic time with merchant time that began in the fourteenth century. Beyond amounting to an ideal of “the monastic manner of regulating the use of time,”¹⁰⁷ Porres’s dedication of every second to God’s work has the effect of making time itself appear to have stopped for the saint, diminishing the importance of time for him relative to others who cannot muster such ceaseless activity day and night. While beholden to the solar and monastic clock to perform convent tasks, the breakdown of work-rest in Porres’s life constructs a paradoxical and unlikely autonomy from the temporal regime that organizes the life of the worker, who is alienated from the control of time. For the colonial worker, time is relegated to the master of the labor rhythms of the *obrajes*, mines, and agrarian economy. Porres’s saintly authenticity then lies in his representation as an extension of God capable of dedicating the whole of his existence to work by seeking out charitable acts of healing around his other tasks. And so while the friar works endlessly—“[a] todas horas se ocupaua en obras de piedad, curando, aseando, sangrando, haziendo aun tiempo oficio de cirujano, barbero, enfermero; y ropero”—,¹⁰⁸ working time’s evolving opposition to “rest, diversion, and visiting, the leisure time and social life of [early modern] men of substance”¹⁰⁹ is muted, particularly in comparison with literary opponents of wasted time.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Porres notably walked throughout the city and traversed great distances to arrive to outlying areas in search of the infirm and destitute whom he could comfort and aid. Among these anecdotes are his providing of alms for poor Spanish soliders in the Callao (Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 45r); his regular trips to the Dominican *hacienda* of Limatambo to treat slaves and beasts of burden (Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 52r, 54v, 63v-64r, 107v); his trip to Lurigancho to heal Afroperuvians (Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 54v); and to feed his sister’s family half a league away from the city (Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 48v-49r).

¹⁰⁵ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 54v.

¹⁰⁶ Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 50.

¹⁰⁷ Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, 51.

¹⁰⁸ Manrique, *Retrato de perfección christiana*, 228.

¹⁰⁹ Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, 51.

¹¹⁰ Le Goff comments on Domenico Calva’s assertion that “The idler who wastes his time and does not measure it [is] like an animal and not worthy of being considered a man” (Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, 51), anticipating Rosas de Oquendo’s concern with time use in colonial Peru. Through thinkers such as Calva and his contemporaries, Le Goff concludes that “a humanism based on a nice computation of time was born” (51). This humanism would expand to Spanish America during the sixteenth century with the monastic class who, like

This is similarly seen in the account of the measles outbreak at the convent documented by Medina, where the mass-production of healing is contingent on caring for a significant population day and night:

[n]o sossegava el Varon de Dios de dia, y de noche acudiendo à los dolientes por instantes con defensivos, vnturas, y cordiales, y siendo tan crecido el numero, que eran los enfermos sesenta, tan puntualmente les asistia à todos, que parecía, ò que todos eran pocos para èl, ò que èl se hazia muchos para todos.¹¹¹

Here, it is implied that the large patient load—each of the sixty patients invoked generically as part of the infirmary population, their individual identity reduced to membership in the quarantined mass—was slight for the lone friar, who managed to care for all. The possibility that he also somehow physically multiplied to accommodate all of the patients emerges, occupying multiple bodies to tend to many of the ill: “que èl se hazia muchos para todos.” This accompanies accounts of Porres’s bilocation by presenting the reader with an image of Porres either slowing the advance of time to convene with each patient or simultaneously accompanying dozens of patients at a time by moving in multiple spaces outside of his single, earthly body. This suggestion further questions the ability of a temporal regime associated with productive colonial labor to organize Porres’s work, not only because of the previous collapse of work and rest into the same activity, but also the ability of the friar to manipulate time and space in order to enact mass healing beyond the confines of traditional temporal and spatial dimensions.

Beyond this passing suggestion of his ability to simultaneously occupy multiple geospatial coordinates, accounts of the measles outbreak also collapse the distinctions between night and day (“[n]o sossegava el Varon de Dios de dia, y de noche acudiendo à los dolientes por instantes”). As in earlier examples, Porres worked through the night to heal and comfort those afflicted by the outbreak, even entering the infirmary by miraculous means in the middle of the night:

[y] assi à la media noche, mientras duró la peste, estando las puertas del Noviciado cerradas, entrava y salia milagrosamente Fray Martin, visitava a vnos, curava à otros, à otros mudava las tunicas despues de aver sudado, y à otros traia con indecible amor à aquellas horas el alivio del agua con el dulce despues de aver declinado ya la calentura.¹¹²

Here we see the interminable work of Porres again, taking up various means of diminishing the symptoms of the ill through the night after inexplicably accessing the locked infirmary where the

the Dominican Calva’s *Disciplina degli Spirituali*, merged “traditional considerations of idleness” with “a merchant’s vocabulary” wherein “wasted time was . . . the lost talent of the Gospel—time was already money” (51). Narratives of Porres’s life are remarkable not for their intensification of this trope, but for their construction of Porres as a figure so utterly disinterested in anything other than performing God’s work that only one type of time exists: the time of service to God. This temporality, the only one that dictates Porres’s movements and activities, is not productive by the early modern or colonial merchant’s assessment, and so places Porres outside the reaches of the productive-unproductive dichotomy.

¹¹¹ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 51r.

¹¹² Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 51v.

ill were quarantined. For Porres, nightfall does not invoke rest in the traditional sense, but an opportunity to continue comforting and caring for the afflicted, an act in which work and rest remain conflated.

Such working through the night further reflects Porres's dedication of every waking moment to serving God through some means, and especially by seeking out opportunities to treat the ill. As the description of the measles outbreak continues, we find that the ill were able to call Porres to their side merely by silently wishing the saint present, thus guiding him to his patients:

[q]uando los enfermos se hallavan afligidos con sus males, y necessitavan de socorro, era cosa para assombrar; porque llamandole con el coraçon tan solamente, y deseando interiormente, que viniesse, aunque fuesse à deshoras de la noche, luego entrava alabando a Dios en las celdas de los enfermos, curavalos, regalavalos, y consolavalos, y después se bolvia a la oración de donde se avia apartado, dexando el exercicio suave de la Magdalena por el trabajoso afán de Marta.¹¹³

This passage further contributes to an understanding of Porres's rigid time-discipline for serving God through action and prayer. In this case, Porres does not have to seek out the ill as they are able to call him to their side, ostensibly through prayer and the invocation of his name. At a literal level, Porres's prayer appears again as the accompaniment of his medical cures, invocations preceding and concluding his healing labor as further support of his image as a being endlessly and tirelessly engaged in serving God at every passing moment.¹¹⁴ Immediately upon treating an ailing resident, Porres returns to his prayers, picking up his incantations where he left off before engaging the patient at hand.

At the conclusion of the passage, Porres is compared to both Marta and Magdalena, embodying both the sister who rests at the feet of Christ to listen to his word and the frustrated sister who instead of kneeling with Christ restlessly goes about completing those domestic chores that so animate her.¹¹⁵ This has the effect of reinforcing the rest-work collapse established above, as Porres embodies both the resting Magdalena and the (domestic) laboring Marta, alternating between the two positions while constantly remaining engaged in God's work. As Alonso Manrique describes this vacillation between the active work of healing and the contemplative work of prayer, Porres "[a]ndaua de celda en celda a uer que faltaua a los dolientes, y en concluir con lo necessario se retiraua a la oración, donde le llamaua el espiritu, passando de lo actiuo a lo contemplatiuo."¹¹⁶ This dichotomy further complicates the folding of

¹¹³ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 51v.

¹¹⁴ This trope cannot be overstated. Another of the many examples of Porres using his free time to pray comes from the description of witness Luis Gutiérrez, who states that "el dicho venerable hermano fray Martín de Porras, el cual acostumbraba por el dicho tiempo de recreaciones de pasarlas en penitencia y oración continua" (*Proceso*, 113).

¹¹⁵ The scene at the home of Martha and Mary of Bethany is found in Luke 10:38-42. Here, Medina deploys Magdalena instead of Maria (Mary), the two commonly conflated in medieval and early modern Catholicism. For a discussion of the confusion between Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene in visual art of the Martha and Mary passage, see Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. I, trans. Janet Seligman (London: Lund Humphries, 1971), 158-159. Coincidentally, the convent was also el Convento de La Magdalena.

¹¹⁶ Manrique, *Retrato de perfección christiana*, 228.

rest into work by suggesting a sort of back-and-forth between activities of differing intensities, making patent that while the saint was constantly at work, not all such work was of the exhausting physical variety.

Manrique's words also point out how Porres constantly sought out the ill, a practice further emphasized by Medina in his commentary on the measles outbreak:

[p]adecia lastimosamente otra Negra el contagioso mal, que llaman de San Laçaro, en su Hospital, y como siempre el Varon de Dios so[lo] *andava à caça de enfermidades, y miserias, y se encontró con tantas su cuidado, pareciole avia hallado vn gran tesoro, y quanto avia menester su caridad, no entibiò aquest a el horror terrible del achaque, ni el contagio asqueroso, que impossibilita el socorro de ordinario; antes si, se encendió tanto mas su piedad, quanto mas dispuesta estava la materia. Asistiò à la enfermedad maravillosamente curandola, sirviendola, lavandole la ropa, y consolandola continuamente, hasta que en ella faltò con la enfermedad la vida, y en Fr. Martin el gusto de assistirla, y exercitar en tanto mal, tanto bien como es la caridad.*¹¹⁷

In attending to the measles-stricken woman until her death, two material metaphors emerge to accompany the expression of time as movement: that of the search, the hunt (“caça”) for illness and the location of the ill Afroperuvian woman as a “gran tesoro.” This metaphor reflects the element of motion necessary to refer to Porres’s use of time: time does not pass uneventfully, as at all hours Porres actively hunts illness and misery, positing such suffering as a target for extirpation by the friar. Yet finding the ill is also like finding a great treasure (“pareciole avia hallado vn gran tesoro”). This metaphoric treasure, of course, is not the treasure sought out by the conquistador, nor that whose distribution is disputed by the satirist, nor coveted by the corrupt clergyman. Rather, it is the opportunity to further occupy his time in a state of active healing work between bouts of contemplation. Porres’s treasure is the very opportunity to work, to heal, and remain outside of the materialist milieu, in a state where one can rest in working and time literally collapses under the intensity of his all-consuming labors.

Alming out of Alienation, Furthering Alienation

The questions that open this chapter suggest that it is indeed possible to exist outside of the colonial economy and beyond its alienating effects by committing oneself to a life modeled upon saintly virtue. When the cleric or the devoted believer outside the cloisters follows “los pasos del Salvador,”¹¹⁸ his work becomes an extension of God’s own machinations, enabling the religious person to figuratively “dexar este mundo”¹¹⁹ and leave behind the material realm so celebrated and reified by the colonial enterprise. Instead of identifying with the economies of plunder, extraction, and production characteristic of mid-colonial Peru, the religious person can escape alienation to convene a relationship with God that is singly located in the spiritual economy, thus activating a form of saintly authenticity, of truth to self through God before the dawn of individualism. As one who has withdrawn from the world, opting for mendicant vows over the material milieu, the devout San Martín de Porres is more like God than he is the

¹¹⁷ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 55r (my emphasis).

¹¹⁸ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 40r.

¹¹⁹ Medina, *Vida prodigiosa*, 8v and Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos*, vol. III, libro II, 207.

institutional cleric. That is, Porres's construction as a figure of true devotion through his incessant work *and* poverty renders him unlike the clergy lambasted across literatures of alienation. Porres stands in opposition to the hypocritical friars derided by Guaman Poma, whose entanglements of the spiritual economy with abstract labor (as well as for-profit commodity production and mineral extraction, and the personal acquisition of material wealth) further indigenous alienation, both as *enajenación* of property per Covarrubias's definitions and as a form of early modern *entfremdung* under wage labor. The saintly figure of Martín de Porres instead avoids alienation of self and others by seeking other-worldly absolution through his interminable labors both for God—as his domestic servant doubly engaged in meditation and monastery maintenance—and as an embodied extension of God as “enfermero, barbero y cirujano, médico y padre de todos.”¹²⁰ He does not work for material gain nor does he work others for material gain, neither conflating service to God with service to the clergy nor labor as God's hand with labor for God's institutional emissaries. The unproductive nature of Porres's efforts—which produce no material good, eschew abstraction, and create no value—negate the very possibility of his alienation by the “labor pains of capitalism” intensifying in mid-colonial Peru.¹²¹

It would seem that if anyone escapes the economic conditions that so forcefully divest Indians, Africans, mixed castes, and poor Spaniards of their autonomy and ability for self-determination, it is the Afroperuvian saint, whose biography forges a connection between a noble Spaniard with material and political aspirations and a mother of African descent without recourse to poverty. The living product of the intimate union of representatives of these two diametrically opposed realms, the Spanish bureaucrat-merchant father and the destitute Afroperuvian mother cast into wage labor as a domestic servant, Martín does not seek to bridge the two worlds (perhaps because he cannot). Instead, he removes himself from them by entering the convent, where he negates the very possibility of alienation for the spiritual actor who works neither in the service of self-interest nor in the service of a master: Porres works *for* God in the cloisters and *as* God in the infirmary.

Martín's narrative, it would seem, short-circuits the various forms of alienation that impacted those workers, servants, and slaves sustaining the mid-colonial economy, including residents of all castes, from the idle Spaniard to the dispossessed Native American to the commodified Afroperuvian slave. But Martín's hagiography cannot be separated from his life narrative's service to the church and the colonial enterprise that the church served, legitimated, and justified. If Martín did not seek to bridge his father's world to his mother's, those who wrote the stories of his life sought to use this distance to sustain their differences, using the accounts of Porres's life and work to advocate for the subservience, humility, and obedience of the colonized. And in justifying and expanding the reaches of the logic of primitive accumulation, which has the consequence of alienating massive sectors of indigenous, Afroperuvian, and Spanish American society, Porres's hagiography reads as a parable of complicity in the exploitation of those later generations of devotees to his cult resident in Peru who might be compelled to imitate his example.

In this sense, Porres's lived experience of operating outside of the world of colonial alienation is vastly different than the impacts of his hagiography. In his life, it is Porres's withdrawal from the world by entering into the spiritual economy, where he participates in

¹²⁰ *Proceso*, 109.

¹²¹ Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life*, 9.

unproductive forms of labor—domestic chores and healing labor—and transcends those temporal categories of working time and resting time so prominent in colonial thought, that moves him beyond alienation. Disinterested in being on either side of abstract labor (either as a wage laborer, such as his mother, or as a merchant, such as his father, whose dealings with the supply chain would suggest the mobilization of a laboring class selling their time), his domestic labor's material contributions to the church are outweighed by the contemplative aspect of sweeping, which cultivates a relationship with God and serves to enact meditative prayer. Similarly, his healing and caring labor are direct extensions of God's work, divorcing his nursing and hospice care not only from abstract labor, but also from mortal labor. As such, the forms of labor undertaken by the friar in the narratives of his life figure outside of the productive facets of the colonial economy and the tenets that guide them. Through this positioning of unproductive labor outside of the colonial economy, Martín's hagiography contributes to a pre-history of alienation primarily by showing how the early modern subject can ostensibly avoid alienation through immersion in sacred forms of labor in the spiritual economy.

Yet this existence outside of productive labor has its limitations in light of the work that his life story performs. Chris Garces has argued that "Martín de Porres's charity stands out as a countercolonial example of "creaturely love" or a Creole fantasy scenario of projected interethnic harmony bringing white, black, and brown together."¹²² This fantasy, though, is untenable, as

the logic of mid-colonial agency (or *licencia*) is interwoven throughout relations of patronage and dependency, idealized in a hierarchical process by which, if one obeys the ultimate will of the superior, the subordinate might expect a certain discretionary latitude for contingent thought and action—enough "independence," one might say, to turn oneself from a *casta* subject into saintly candidate.¹²³

Here, Garces brings up a fundamental coordinate in conceptualizing alienation at any historical juncture: agency. As he highlights, early modern commentary on Porres's life reinforces that "mid-colonial agency" was determined by "patronage and dependency" under which the *castas* lived, a correlation which serves "to reveal, in the negative, some of the most fraught dilemmas of ethno-racialized subordination in seventeenth-century Peru."¹²⁴ As this chapter has shown, Porres's agency came not only from his perceived unity with God, but from the tremendous favor that he held with colonial elites, garnered by his ceaseless work and humility. While Medina, Manrique, and the proceedings witnesses' narratives construct sanctity around these two categories, we must acknowledge that "Spanish Catholic brotherhood was granted to the colonized across color lines ... on the exclusive condition that mixed-race subjects, whom Creole structures of colonial fantasy imagined as servile beings, accepted their ethno-racial status as subjects of labor unworthy of civil recognition."¹²⁵ While textual accounts of Porres's life enable a reading of the saint beyond alienation, the social conditions that enabled his cult to take hold—and limited him to the role of *donado*—betray the colonial project's fundamental denial of human dignity, much less "civil recognition," for the *castas*.

¹²² Garces, "Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru," 83.

¹²³ Garces, "Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru," 99.

¹²⁴ Garces, "Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru," 99.

¹²⁵ Garces, "Interspecies Logic of Race in Colonial Peru," 99.

Supplementing Garces, Katie Walker Grimes, focuses critique of Porres's hagiography—"Porres inhabits the church's memory only as a saintly story; we cannot retrieve a historical Porres that exists independently of that"¹²⁶—on the tenet of humility that accompanies both his domestic labor and his healing of superiors in the colonial order. Assignment of such narrative importance to humility, she argues, serves to reinforce the institution of slavery and the marked racial hierarchies of colonial Peru by advocating for behaviors and traits that seek to quell "black fugitivity and disobedience," instilling instead Porres's characteristic humility, cultivated through his thankless and willing domestic service in the convent, where he considered himself "un perro mulato" in spite of his unique ability to perform miracles of healing.¹²⁷ Grimes duly notes that "[w]hile slavery of course shares certain features with other forms of domination, it ultimately is distinct."¹²⁸ It is distinct in that slavery's deprivation of one's humanity and the obligation to live under the mandates of another's wishes and demands constitutes a pole representing the absolute alienation of the human being, the enslaved subject whose time is not abstracted as abstract labor, but whose very being is abstracted by commodification. In spite of this difference of magnitude, slavery and wage labor both share a penchant for abstraction in the service of domination of one subject over another. It is this domination that the narrative construction of Porres's humility enables, the idealization of humility in a racially organized society meant to facilitate the willing abstraction of the colonized subject under the guise of aspirations to saintliness, in hopes of achieving saintly authenticity.

In thinking of how Porres's hagiography collectively recounts a low-born descendant of African slavery's transcendence of economic exploitation, we must keep in mind Rosa Luxemburg's declaration that "[c]apitalism must therefore always and everywhere fight a battle of annihilation against every historical form of natural economy that it encounters."¹²⁹ By deploying the life of Martín de Porres to canonize traits and behaviors all too compatible with the replication of a social order of exploitation, abstraction, and alienation, that battle seeks to destroy not just the organic forms of natural economy predicated upon exchange, but also the colonial spiritual economy that Porres's life is posthumously used to advance.

¹²⁶ Walker Grimes, *Fugitive Saints*, 78-79.

¹²⁷ *Proceso*, 84, 193, 204, etc.

¹²⁸ Walker Grimes, *Fugitive Saints*, 87.

¹²⁹ Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 349.

Epilogue

Primitive Alienation and Colonial Modernity

...the concept of alienation attempts to identify the conditions under which one can understand oneself as a subject, as the master of one's own actions.

--Rahel Jaeggi, *Alienation*

The accounts of alienation assessed in the preceding chapters hold in common more than a collective anxiety over the economic and social conditions of the Viceroyalty of Peru and early modern Spanish Empire more generally. At the center of each account is the gnawing suspicion that the meaninglessness at the heart of the alienated condition will intensify, spiraling even further out of control if formal measures are not introduced to rectify the pernicious social, cultural, and economic practices left in the wake of primitive accumulation. The specter of meaninglessness for individuals, entire classes (first ethnically and racially determined), and the means by which colonial society is organized—labor and religion—is doubly troublesome under the ominous approach of secularization highlighted in satire and Poma's entanglement of work and religion in his vision of the "buen cristiano." This common anxiety about the powerlessness of the landless Indian, the poor Spaniard, and the free or enslaved African within colonial life further illustrates how alienation can be located at the intersection of powerlessness and meaninglessness, even at the onset of the seventeenth century in a moment said to embody the foundational moments behind the pre-history of capitalism. The many moving parts present in the colonial enterprise were capable of instilling a sense of powerlessness that ceded to meaninglessness for many who populated the viceroyalty, taking different forms and being articulated in different ways depending on the social, ethnic, and racial origins and public positioning of the colonial subject relative to the infrastructure being consolidated around the means of production.

While I have sought to provide a cross-section of the types of alienated subjectivities imagined, embodied, and commented upon in mid-colonial Peruvian culture, the fragmented history at hand is only, admittedly, a starting point. In this narrative, we begin to see how the poor Spaniard, such as Rosas de Oquendo's satirical poetic subject, might be seen to embody conservative European diagnoses and expressions of alienation. These "emphasize the loss of connection to a given meaningful order,"¹ the common Spaniard dismayed at the discontinuation of race- and caste-based feudal orders in favor of material wealth as a new, dominant organizing category in the early modern world. Rosas' take on alienation might be interpreted as a "conservative critique of alienation [that] conceives of (modern) freedom as the cause of alienation, whereas the emancipatory critique views alienation as a *form* of unfreedom."² A similarly conservative position can be sensed in Porres' hagiographers, who see social freedom as distracting from the spiritual order and thus alienating. This causes his cult to reassert the

¹ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 23.

² Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 23.

spiritual order that they deem ought to organize colonial society by divorcing work from productive labor and collapsing work into rest through Porres' embodied healing labor.

The critical pole occupied by Guaman Poma, that of the indigenous subject dispossessed of ancestral lands and seeking to construct meaning through the social and economic reorganization of indigenous society might be seen to embody a similarly conservative critique of alienation. Unlike the Spanish satirist, though, this conservative response is framed by a lamentation of the loss of the meaningful elements of indigenous Andean society compatible with the Christian order that Poma holds as fundamental to the advancement of indigenous peoples. Beholden to Christianity as the dominant paradigm of ordering Andean society, this response exhibits clear limits, still situated within a colonial framework, conservative not of an Andean order (a return to Inca rule), but of a Catholic colonial order. Given his critiques of pre-colonial Andean society (or at least the Inca empire who he feels wrongfully castigated his ancestors), Poma does not embrace “a nostalgic longing for premodern unalienated conditions”³ seen as viable by anti-colonial Andean revolutionary movements. The history outlined in the *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* sees oppression, economic tribute, and the possibility of alienated subjectivity even in the Incan and pre-Incan peoples. However, the unabated condition of dispossession which leads to meaninglessness emerges forcefully with the colonial severing of connections between Andean communities and the lands that they long inhabited.

It is in this uncomfortable conservatism found in Guaman Poma, ambivalent about which elements of Andean and Christian orders to preserve and to what degree to conserve them to emancipate Indians from their spiral into meaninglessness, where the possibility of an emancipatory critique of primitive alienations emerges. This is contingent upon his recognition that Spanish colonialism traffics in a marginalization of the masses characterized by countless “unfreedoms,” a reality recognizable only after admitting his own individual condition of marginalization. This recognition informs Poma's rejection of the return to an earlier indigenous order while simultaneously informing his advocacy of an indigenous restructuring of land and work in a Christian universe. In doing so, Poma sees emancipation not in “the expressive and creative power of individuals as acting beings”⁴ but in the potential of the indigenous collective to redefine work without oppressive oversight, to eliminate the restrictions of colonial labor. He eschews both the conservative return to the *incanato* and the installation of feudalistic colonial tribute structures that have proven oppressive to Indians (but that Spaniards such as Rosas de Oquendo cling to as a means of reintroducing meaning for dispossessed Europeans). Emancipation, then, becomes a question of the power of collective creativity and agency for native Andeans to combat their unfreedom.

While this narrative at times seems to read the colonial economy and alienation as cause and effect—the colonial economy leading to experiences of alienation that build a world vision around the isolating effects of labor—such a relationship between the two is not absolute. As debates of whether primitive accumulation constitutes a necessary, preliminary phase ending before capitalism or an ongoing process recurrent in later forms of capitalism, so too primitive alienations must be interrogated as being potentially ongoing, recurrent, and, to some extent, endless instead of just early or nascent forms of modern material alienation later made patent after industrialization. That is, primitive alienations may not be primitive per se, as the sentiments expressed by Rosas de Oquendo rear their head in contemporary conservative

³ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 23.

⁴ Jaeggi, *Alienation*, 23.

discourse, as indigenous peoples continue to be alienated from their lands and denied promised compensation, and the African diaspora is repeatedly implored to adhere to maxims of humility and obedience to economic and political overseers. Alienation can, then, be understood as an endless, ongoing response to economic inequality resulting from the inability to determine one's preferred mode and means of work, past, present, and future.

In the past realm of the early modern period, alienation can be seen in those expressions that anticipate the modern conceptual rise of the individual. As seen in the episodes examined here, alienation is partially a byproduct of an individual's sense of estrangement from the normative, previous organizing principles of the early modern world, whether European and feudal or Andean and tributary. Of course, these expressions inevitably reflect the collective character of material alienation. And yet that estrangement can be understood as an early modern ambivalence about what to do in the face of the breakdown of normative social relations and the imposition of colonialism's new restrictions (to adhere to a material order and logic, for example) that do not free the individual, but present a new series of restrictions beyond those of earlier social structures. While the modern individual does not fully emerge, this quandary suggests that the colonial individual, captivated by material gain and forever forbidden from a return to feudal or Andean tributary life was gaining an identity independent of dominant social hierarchies even in a deeply religious (Catholic) colonial society.

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