

## PASTORAL VISITATIONS: *Spaces of Negotiation in Andean Indigenous Parishes*

In the Andes, the pastoral visitation of Indian parishes usually evokes the idea of a strongly oppositional relationship between the Church and local society. This vision, lacking in nuance, has been widely disseminated both within the academy and outside it. Although it derives from a serious academic interest in discovering and analyzing the common thread of the Church's evangelization policy in Peru, this stance, centered on the problem of the "extirpation of idolatry," has been progressively emptied of content and today tends to serve as the standard means of filling gaps in the understanding of the history of Andean peoples during the colonial period.<sup>1</sup>

The tendency to present the Church in a repressive role only and to limit Andeans to the role of passive objects or, at best, objects propelled by automatic mechanisms of resistance, has blinded us to understanding what the pastoral visitation (*visita pastoral*) in truth represented: a fundamental means by which the Church interacted with the clergy and their parishioners. Consequently, the important place of negotiation in the prolonged and complex bond that the Andean peoples maintained with different levels of the Catholic Church has been ignored. Moreover, this tendency has obscured the influence of this interaction on the formation of colonial political culture and its agents, the features of which we need to identify and understand.

This study is based on the examination of a significant portion of the records of ecclesiastical pastoral visitations in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, beginning with the first 70 years of the seventeenth century. These documents correspond to what was at the time an extensive diocese. Because new ecclesiastical

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for *The Americas* for their suggestions. Anne Pushkal translated this article from Spanish.

1. Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial. L'extirpation de l'idolatrie, 1532–1660* (Lima: Institut Français d'Études Andines, 1971); Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión. Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías. Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1986). See also Lorenzo Huertas, *La religión en una sociedad rural andina (siglo XVII)*, (Huamanga: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1981).

jurisdictions were created over time, the colonial archive no longer corresponds to the boundaries of the present-day diocese.

The pastoral visitations analyzed in this study were produced during the tenures of the archbishops Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (1607–1622), Hernando Arias de Ugarte (1630–1638), and Pedro de Villagómez (1640–1671). In the series of documents that I study, the brief incumbency of Archbishop Gonzalo de Ocampo (1623–1626) has left practically no trace. As other scholars have shown, each of these archbishops had his particular way of conceiving of the relationship between the Church and the indigenous majority of parishioners.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, the actions and policies of the archbishops exhibited marked contrasts. For example, Lobo Guerrero and Villagómez exercised their office with investigatory and repressive fervor, whereas Hernando Arias de Ugarte showed little interest in creating or exacerbating conflicts.

To show the degree to which the behavior of the Church in the Andes corresponded to the objectives and strategies established for the entire Catholic world, I will first address the significance of the pastoral visitation after the Council of Trent, and I will show the form in which this mechanism of surveillance and government was adapted to the Andean context. A comparison of the questionnaires and examinations that were employed in various *doctrinas* (Indian parishes) during the seventeenth century will serve to explore the similarities and differences between the visitations made in the Andes and those made in other parts. It will be shown that the practices of surveillance, correction, and repression were an integral part of visitations as those were constituted, rather than actions expressly created to deal with the specific cultural conditions of the Andean peoples. The application of these measures had a double effect: as much as the Church sought to uproot or correct practices that it judged erroneous or blameworthy, and to dismantle the foundations that sustained them, it also created procedures, relationships, and forms of understanding the world whose range, although wrapped in the veil of the religious, usually extended beyond it. Thus, I will also examine the context of the visitations—the atmosphere in which they took place, the reactions they produced among parishioners, and the effects they had on the formation of local political culture. I suggest that by means of their structure, pastoral visitations could have favored the opening of spaces and forms of negotiation between the communities and their priests, extending even to the highest levels of the Church. Finally, and to illustrate this last point, I will use case studies

2. Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

to demonstrate how pastoral visitations affected various processes of political conflict and accommodation, just as they affected the construction of authority in the Indian parishes.

## PASTORAL VISITATIONS, CATHOLIC REFORM, AND THE MISSIONS

As various students of the Catholic Reformation have noted, the pastoral visit was a foundation of the policies prompted by the Council of Trent. Its objectives were to oversee the correct teaching and practice of doctrine, reform customs, inspire or renew religious fervor, reaffirm the authority of the Church's ministers, and restore balance to the relationship between parish priest and parishioners.<sup>3</sup> These objectives are described clearly in the decrees of the Council of Trent in its Twenty-Fourth Session.<sup>4</sup> As a disciplinary method and vehicle by which the bishops exercised their authority, pastoral visitations did not represent an entirely new practice, even if before Trent one does not detect a similar concern on the part of the Church to carry them out in such a methodical and extensive way.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the Tridentine pastoral visitation encouraged uniformity within the Church as possibly never before in its history. The objectives of regularizing mechanisms of government, individual conduct, and doctrinal knowledge, and of overseeing the conduct and training of the clergy, were attempted at the same time in Europe and in the Americas. The intensity and reach of the visitations varied from diocese to diocese and depended on the will and means of the bishops, whose authority was considerably reinforced by them.

A crucial aspect of pastoral visitations, of which we historians of colonial Latin America have not taken sufficient note, is that this intervention by the Church represented an innovation not only in the Andes or in Mexico, but also in many European dioceses.<sup>6</sup> The decrees issued by the bishops who met at

3. Louis Châtellier, *La religion des pauvres. Les sources du christianisme moderne XVIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris: Auber, 1993), p. 30; Jorge Traslosheros, *Iglesia, justicia y sociedad en la Nueva España. La audiencia del arzobispado de México, 1528–1668* (Mexico: Porrúa, 2004), p. 27; Manuel Martín Riego, "La visita pastoral de las parroquias," in *Memoria Ecclesiae XIV. Las visitas pastorales en el ministerio del Obispo y archivos de la Iglesia* (Oviedo: Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia de España, 1999), p. 163.

4. Ignacio López de Ayala, *El sacrosanto y ecuménico Concilio de Trento* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1785); Robert Bireley, "Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, R. Po-Chia Hsia, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 145–161, esp. p. 150.

5. A useful synthesis of the precedents for pastoral visitations in canon law since the Middle Ages can be found in Bruno Léal, *La crosse et le bâton. Visites pastorales et recherche des pêcheurs publics dans la diocèse d'Algarve 1630–1750* (Paris: Centre Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004), p. 70.

6. The research on pastoral visitations in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French dioceses takes account of this situation. The majority of authors agree that the decrees of Trent were crucial to promoting reform, although some historians who specialize in the ecclesiastical history of France have proposed that this country initiated and

Trent sought to clarify doctrinal matters that had arisen in the controversy with the Protestants, to create ways of encouraging the religious education of parishioners, and to promote the appropriate training of clergy.<sup>7</sup> Without question, the Church had before it a task of massive proportions. And to identify places where in the Church's eyes it was urgent that visitations be held, there was no need to seek out remote locations. For example, in her study of pastoral visitations to the Diocese of Trent in the years after the council, Cecilia Nubola notes that within this very jurisdiction, there existed no tradition of regularly conducted pastoral visitations for which the diocesan ordinary was responsible.<sup>8</sup> The resistance of the local clergy to the bishops' inspections and the scant preparation and the frank ineptitude for the position that many parish priests displayed were evident even within the diocese that had hosted the sessions of the council.<sup>9</sup>

In a recent synthesis of the significance of the Tridentine decrees, Robert Bireley has noted that the expansion of missionary activity in Asia and the Americas did not receive serious attention from the council.<sup>10</sup> This omission could be interpreted as a lack of interest in regions and peoples that were so distant, but it is also possible to contend that, given the intention of the council to provide direction to the Catholic world in its entirety, it did not need to concern itself with any region in particular.<sup>11</sup> It was the task of the provincial and diocesan

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carried out its own Catholic Reformation, conforming to an internal process that preceded any response to the council that took place in Italy. For an indication of the scope and frequency of pastoral visitations in France, see Gabriel Le Bras et al., *Répertoire des visites pastorales de la France*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1977). Some examples of studies of specific visitations in the region of Italy include Cecilia Nubola, *Conoscere per governare: la diocesi di Trento nella visita pastorale di Ludovico Madruzzo (1579–1581)*, (Bologna: Mulino, 1993); and Diego Beggio, *La visita pastorale di Clementi VIII (1592–1600): aspetti di riforma post-tridentina a Roma* (Roma: Libreria Editrice della Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1978). For the Spanish case, see María Milagros Cárcel Ortí, *Las visitas pastorales de España (siglos XVI–XX): propuesta de inventario y bibliografía* (Oviedo: Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España, 2000). See also José Jesús García Hourcade and Antonio Irigoyen López, "Las visitas pastorales, una fuente fundamental para la historia de la Iglesia en la Edad Moderna," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 15 (2006), pp. 293–301. An impressive and useful study of Portugal by Bruno Léal is *La crosse et le bâton*, which is based on the examination not only of visitations but also of the decrees of the synods. Hayden and Greenshields maintain that the Catholic Reformation in France responded to internal circumstances that preceded the Council of Trent: J. Michael Hayden and Malcolm R. Greenshields, "Les réformations catholiques en France: le témoignage des statuts synodaux," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 48:1 (2001), pp. 5–29. For Mexico, see Magnus Lundberg, *Church Life Between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners, and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico* (Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2011), pp. 79–116.

7. Bireley, *Redefining Catholicism*, p. 148. Given that the Catholic Reformation drove the creation of seminaries, Hayden and Greenshields assert that this effort accorded with modernization, since the "professionalization" of the clergy was an objective. *Les réformations*, p. 6.

8. Nubola, *Conoscere per governare*, p. 47.

9. In Trent, the inspector found many priests "negligent and confused, accustomed to using old rituals and formulas indiscriminately . . . without having any precise idea of their meaning [my translation]." Nubola, *Conoscere per governare*, p. 316. See also pp. 324–329.

10. Bireley, *Redefining Catholicism*, p. 150.

11. With the creation of the *Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) in the seventeenth century, the Church could boast an institution dedicated to the evangelization of peoples outside of Europe. The experience in Spanish America, though, had long preceded this, and must surely have enriched it.

synods to adapt the decrees of Trent to local situations, and this is exactly what was done in Europe and in Spanish America.<sup>12</sup>

The correspondence to the decrees of Trent that was maintained in the decrees of the Lima councils, especially the Third (1581–1583), is not surprising. The work of the bishops and their advisors who met in Lima consisted precisely in adapting the decrees to local conditions, a task that was continued during the following years by the synods, which we will examine below. The implementation of the decrees went well beyond the ecclesiastical ambit— suffice it to recall that Philip II was one of the European monarchs who received them as laws of the state, just shortly after the Trent council sessions concluded.<sup>13</sup> The study and meticulous comparison of the conciliar decrees and, especially, of the doctrinal materials published by the Third Council with those produced by other dioceses can help us to better understand not only the universal dimension of the organization of the Church in the Andes, but also the work of adaptation that was effected.<sup>14</sup>

The examination of pastoral visitations allows the historian to inquire beyond formal texts and to analyze the application of their directives and their entwinement with concrete aspects of the life of the Indian parishes.<sup>15</sup> Although the information gathered by the visitors (*visitadores*) is often uneven, one can nonetheless infer from the inspection reports some aspects

12. Bireley, too, has made this observation with regard to Europe in *Redefining Catholicism*, p. 151.

13. Juan Guillermo Durán, *El catecismo del III Concilio Provincial de Lima y sus complementos pastorales (1584–1585)*, (Buenos Aires: El Derecho, 1982), pp. 67–68. In Portugal, the pious Sebastián I also granted the force of law to the decrees of Trent. He was then congratulated by Pope Pius V, who described him as “the first king in Christendom to give complete liberty to Church officials so that they can exercise the authority granted by the conciliar decrees.” Léal, *La crosse*, p. 73, my translation.

14. A pioneering study on the application of the decrees of the Council of Trent in America is that of Juan Villegas, *Aplicación del Concilio de Trento en Hispanoamérica 1564–1600. Provincia eclesiástica del Perú*. (Montevideo: Instituto Teológico del Uruguay, 1975). Villegas’s study refers mainly to normative aspects. Other subsequent studies that focus exclusively on the texts of the decrees, without necessarily incorporating the analysis of other documents or information from the archives, are Francesco Leonardo Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense y la aculturación de los indígenas sudamericanos* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1990); Juan Guillermo Durán, *Monumenta catechetica hispanoamericana (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina “Santa María de los Buenos Aires,” 1990); Primitivo Tineo, *Los concilios limenses en la evangelización latinoamericana* (Pamplona: Eunsa, 1990); and Constanza López Lamerain, “El III Concilio de Lima y la conformación de una normativa evangelizadora para la provincia eclesiástica del Perú,” *Intus-Legere Historia* 5:2 (2011), pp. 51–68.

15. In his introductory study of the work of Pablo Josef de Arriaga, Enrique Urbano underscores the importance of the institution of the pastoral visitation in ecclesiastical and secular spheres. Despite this broad consideration, its focus refers almost exclusively to the idolatry visitation: Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Pirí (1621)*, with preliminary study and notes by Enrique Urbano (Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1999), pp. 50–58. In his study of the audiencia of the archbishopric of Mexico, Jorge Traslosheros presents a perspective solidly based on knowledge of the legal tradition of which the pastoral visitation formed a part. Traslosheros, *Iglesia, justicia y sociedad*. An interesting examination of the legal activities of the Church is Ana de Zaballa’s study, “Del Viejo al Nuevo Mundo: novedades jurisdiccionales en los tribunales eclesiásticos en Nueva España,” in *Los indios ante los foros de justicia religiosa en la Hispanoamérica virreinal*, Jorge Traslosheros and Ana de Zaballa, coords. (Mexico: UNAM, 2010), pp. 17–46.

of local policy that were affected by this interaction with the activity of the Church's representatives. I have organized and compared the questionnaires from pastoral visitations to Indian parishes belonging to the Diocese of Lima that took place in 1619, 1642, 1648, and 1667.<sup>16</sup> To these I have added the documents sent out by the Third Council of Lima in 1583 to guide the pastoral visitations.<sup>17</sup> Checking the questions against the objectives proposed in the documents of the Council of Trent confirms the intimate dependency that the texts maintain among themselves. The adaptations to local conditions are slight, but important. These pertain especially to the knowledge of indigenous languages that parish priests were required to demonstrate.<sup>18</sup> The questionnaires reflect the concerns of the Catholic Church as a universal institution. One can deduce upon first examination that the Andean parishioners were not treated in any special way. The questions used during the pastoral visitation interviews were the same as those that would have been asked of, for example, a Spanish peasant, and likewise, they implied that Andeans were expected to fulfill the same precepts that were required of parishioners in any rural village of Catholic Europe.<sup>19</sup>

The topics covered by the questionnaires can be grouped as follows:

Priest	Parishioners
Correct administration of sacraments	Evidence of heresy, fortune-telling, or witchcraft. Presence of bonesetters or curers of the evil eye.
Regularity of preaching and knowledge of the common language	Presence of visionaries or others who claim a special relationship to the sacred.
Knowledge of the duties of his ministry	Cases of violence against the parish priest
Abuses on the part of the priest, whether priest charges excessive fees	Married persons not living a married life: cohabitation, incest.
Personal conduct	Negligence in the fulfillment of wills
Priest's administration of the parish	Failure to receive the sacraments, failure to attend Mass

Source: Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Visitas Pastorales, seventeenth century.

16. The questionnaires have been drawn from the documents in the Visitas Pastorales section of the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima.

17. "Edicto general que el III Concilio de Lima manda que se ha de leer al hacer la visita sobre la denuncia de los pecados y vicios públicos," Los Reyes, August 7, 1583, in *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, Vol. 3, n. 12, Emilio Lissón Chaves, ed. (Seville: Ed. Católica Española, 1944), pp. 230–236; "Instrucción para visitadores," Lissón, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, n. 13, pp. 258–266.

18. See Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero and Fernando Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima de 1613 y 1636*. Libro Primero, Título VII, De officio Vissitatoris (Madrid: CSIC, 1987), pp. 76–102.

19. See in this regard the comments by Ana Sánchez in her study *Amancebados, hechiceros y rebeldes* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1991), *Introducción*, pp. I–XLV.

The episcopal inspector's objective was to confirm that the priest was administering the sacraments correctly and, as much as possible, to everyone, and that he did not charge the parishioners for doing so. Also, the inspector sought to verify that the priest kept parish registers wherein baptisms, marriages, and burials were properly recorded. These were requirements that weighed as heavily in the context of conversion as did the Christian education of the parishioners and the construction and consolidation of episcopal jurisdiction. Sacraments like baptism or matrimony were indicators not only of the degree to which the people of the parish were incorporated into the bosom of the Church but also of how, in consequence, they conformed to the modifications to the organization of kinship that the Church was attempting to instill. These modifications had significant consequences for society. For example, to create and disseminate the concept of illegitimacy and to prohibit polygamy (thereby limiting the numbers of offspring, especially those of local authorities) was to create obstacles to, or modify, the mechanisms of succession and inheritance.<sup>20</sup>

One of the inspectors' constant demands was that the priests conduct censuses of *confesados*, or those who had made their confession. The creation of these registers was essential if the bishop or his representative were to accomplish the objective of overseeing the progress of evangelization. Confession was a powerful means not only of revealing errors of conduct and thought that had to be corrected and punished, but also of insuring that the population would submit to the authority of the priest, and through him, to the Church. The census of *confesados* helped to control the movements of the parishioners of the Indian parishes, albeit within certain limits.<sup>21</sup>

The bishop's envoy had to ascertain whether the parish priest preached to his congregation regularly—preferably in the indigenous language—and whether he said Mass and undertook the instruction of his parishioners on the appointed days. After the Council of Trent, the Church asked that parish priests be personally involved in preaching to the faithful, instead of delegating the work to itinerant or invited friars who, because of their superior theological and

20. I have discussed some of these topics in my study *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010). See esp. p. 160.

21. In his study of the Portuguese diocese of Algarve, Bruno Léal underscores the role of confession as one of three facets of the surveillance activity that the Church sought to exert upon society. The other two are the Inquisition and pastoral visitations. Léal, *La crosse et le bâton*, p. 79. For a classic study of confession, see Jean Delumeau, *L'aveu et le pardon. Les difficultés de la confession, XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1990). On the problem of the conceptualization and translation of the concept of sin into a non-Christian medium, see Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nabua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989). On confession in the context of evangelization in the Andes, see also Juan Carlos Estenssoro, *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2003), esp. pp. 206–228.

(often) linguistic training, customarily educated the population by means of the sermon.<sup>22</sup> This objective was not easy to attain; hence the concern with establishing seminaries for the preparation of the clergy, and in the New World, the demand that the pastors of Indian parishes know the language of their parishioners.

To the concern with compliance of the priest and parishioners was added the inspection of the state of the church building, its decoration, and its cemetery. It was also important to verify that the rituals of the Mass and the sacraments were being conducted correctly and that the priest periodically visited the annexes of the parish. The interest in the material aspect of the Indian parish bore an importance that went further than the increase in or deterioration of Church patrimony. The state of the church and its ornaments was an indication of the correctness, propriety, or “decency” of worship in general, and of the parish’s standing in particular, as we shall see further on.

Under the heading of “personal conduct” were grouped the inquiries into whether the priest received guests for extended periods, lived alone or with others, gambled, and (although not in every case) displayed a suitable personal appearance. Under the category of “*gobierno*” (administration) we note a single but interesting question asking whether the priest received the royal magistrate (*corregidor*) into the town—or allowed the parishioners to do so—with the ringing of the church bells. The question reflects, on a small scale, a concern that representatives of the Church take pains to demonstrate publicly what might seem like a disproportionate deference toward the representatives of temporal power, the subject of recurrent political debate and a frequent source of tension. Although asking the question was always required, it almost never appeared in the questionnaires, possibly because it dealt with a complicated topic that no one had any intention of resolving.

Regarding the priest’s scrutiny of the Indian parishioners, one notes important contrasts. In the first place, the two earliest available questionnaires, both dated 1619, include practically no questions about their conduct.<sup>23</sup> This omission

22. For the case of the diocese of Trent, see Nubola, *Conoscere per governare*, p. 323. The presence of itinerant preachers and missionaries belonging to religious orders must have been common in the Andes during the sixteenth century. As much is suggested by the convent chronicles such as those written by Fray Juan de Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias* (Rome: Nicolas Angel Tinasio, 1681), or Fray Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín* (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1974), about the Dominicans and the Augustinians, respectively. For example, in 1573, the caciques of the Pachacamac valley informed the inspector Rodrigo Cantos de Andrade of the presence of a hermit they called ‘*Paco Padre*’ (Father Alpaca) for his brown clothing, and of this or that friar who had spent short spells evangelizing them. María Rostworowski, *El señorío de Pachacamac: el informe de Rodrigo Cantos de Andrade de 1573* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1999), pp. 49–58.

23. Ynformacion fecha por via de visita a pedimiento de los caciques de la doctrina de Caujul de Andajes contra el padre fray Miguel Marques del horden de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes, May 16, 1619, Archivo Arzobispal de



corresponds to what we read in the synodal constitutions of 1613 and 1636. In the first of these, the majority of the sections pertaining to pastoral visitations prioritized examining the comportment of the priest; in contrast, the same constitutions, following the recommendations of previous texts, advised in general a friendly, persuasive, and paternal attitude toward parishioners. The use of force was advised only if these efforts had been tried and exhausted.<sup>24</sup> Only one of the sections addressed cohabitation, drunkenness, and *guacas* (sacred places or shrines); it called for the application of “great vigilance and punishment,” advising that the procedures drawn up in the Second Council of Lima (1567) be followed.<sup>25</sup>

The questionnaires corresponding to the term of Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez (1642) contained a series of questions that, although not completely unprecedented, left no stone unturned in their scrutiny of parishioners’ lives and conduct. In pursuing these questions, the inspector had to ascertain, for example, whether there were any Indians who had shown signs of heresy or had “sown errors”; any who had committed public sins and caused scandal; any who believed in omens including those taken from “*libros de suertes*” [books of fortune-telling or divination]; or any who had failed to receive the sacraments, neglected to baptize children, or failed to bury the dead in consecrated places.<sup>26</sup> It would appear from the level of detail that Villagómez with these questionnaires was introducing some new element to the inquiries to which the indigenous parishes would be submitted. However, what we see here is actually a reflection of a common practice of the Church: rather than innovate, return to the original source. Indeed, when we compare the questionnaire of 1642 to the General Edict of the Third Council (1583), we can observe that the questions are virtually the same.<sup>27</sup>

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Lima [hereafter AAL], Visitas Pastorales, leg. 11, exp. 1, and Visitas Pastorales, leg. 13, exp. II; Visita secreta de oficio contra el padre fray Juan Ramos Galban de la orden de predicadores cura de Allauca en los Yauyos, juez el licenciado Miguel Budi de Assorin, April 3, 1619, AAL, Visitas Pastorales, leg. 13, exp. 2.

24. These directives correspond to those set out, for example, in the Thirteenth Session of the Council of Trent, Decree on Reformation. Ignacio López de Ayala, *El sacrosanto y ecuménico concilio*, pp. 175–176.

25. Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos* [1613], p. 86. As for the Synod of 1636, it contains an additional article regarding the payments that the bishops’ envoys were required to make for the expenses incurred by their presence in the communities they visited.

26. AAL, Visitas Pastorales, leg. 7, exp. 20, Lima, February, 16, 1642.

27. One concern that Villagómez’s questionnaire did not draw from the Edict of the Third Council is this one: “whether any persons have had carnal relations with pagan women or if they have had them baptized for this purpose.” Edict in Lissón, *La Iglesia*, p. 233. This is a sign of how distant the era of the conquest was. For an interpretation of Villagómez’s stance with respect to the causes of and solution to idolatry among the Indians, see Juan Carlos García Cabrera, “¿Ídólatras congénitos o indios sin doctrina? Dos comprensiones divergentes sobre la idolatría andina en el siglo XVII,” in *Los indios ante los foros de justicia religiosa*, Traslósheros and Zaballa, coords., pp. 95–110, see esp. pp. 104–107.

A brief comparison of the investigations conducted during the pastoral visitations in the Diocese of Lima with those of pastoral visitations in Spain and other parts of Catholic Europe during the seventeenth century shows great similarity in both the questions asked and the procedures for administering the questionnaires.<sup>28</sup> Comparisons of the themes of questions from pastoral visitations in the Lima diocese to the themes investigated during the course of visitations in Seville, the Portuguese Algarve, Trent, and the diocese of Paris, suggests that the scope of the examinations conducted by the bishops or their representatives in the Andean parishes was very similar, if somewhat scaled down in its execution with regard to personnel and institutions. For example, whereas in Seville parishes the examinations included musicians, teachers, and chaplains (*capellanes*), these figures were not mentioned in the questionnaires administered in the Andean Indian parishes. The inquiries in the Andes revolved mainly around the figure of the parish priest.

Unlike European pastoral visitations, the ordinary visitations in the diocese of Lima make no mention of the presence of health specialists. Whereas the visitations to the dioceses of Seville and Paris included, for example, questions and observations about the performance of doctors and midwives, such concerns are barely discernible in the documents from Lima.<sup>29</sup> Questions on this subject do appear in the instructions to the bishops' envoys and in the examinations themselves, but questions regarding medical specialists and health, as well as what were considered religious errors, typically came to bear mainly in idolatry visitations, where a significant number of proceedings investigated persons who had been accused and prosecuted as sorcerers and *curanderos* (healers).<sup>30</sup>

28. José Jesús García Hourcade and Antonio Irigoyen López, "Notas sobre las visitas pastorales en la diócesis de Cartagena (Edad Moderna)," *Contrastes. Revista de Historia* 12 (2001-2003), pp. 263-284; Bruno Léal, *La crosse et le bâton*, especially the model edict written by the clergyman Lucas de Andrade in the seventeenth century, pp. 228-230; Jeanne Ferté, *La vie religieuse dans les campagnes parisiennes, 1622-1695* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1962), especially the appendix consisting of documents, pp. 375-396; Manuel Martín Riego, "La visita pastoral de las parroquias," in *Memoria Ecclesiae XIV*, pp. 168-170; María Milagros Cárcel Ortí, "Hacia un inventario de visitas pastorales en España de los siglos XVI-XX," in *Memoria Ecclesiae XIV*. The author also offers an extensive list of the documentation and historiography concerning this theme for other European countries.

29. Manuel Martín Riego, "La visita pastoral," p. 169. Midwives aroused the concern of the Church, with good reason. Not only the lives but also in many cases the spiritual well-being of newborns depended on them. In Europe midwives were expected to baptize children in cases of necessity. In France, the midwife had to swear an oath before the bishop and was examined for her spiritual competence. Many parishes lacked midwives and some of them refused to take the oath or did not appear before the bishop when he visited the parish. Ferté, *La vie religieuse*, pp. 29, 295-298. The pastoral visitations to the Lima dioceses do not contain information about health specialists and offer little or no information about hospitals in the Indian parishes. Regarding these last, see Gabriela Ramos, *Death and Conversion*, pp. 99-109; and Ramos, "Indian Hospitals and Government in the Colonial Andes," *Medical History* 57:2 (2013), pp. 186-205, doi:10.1017/mdh.2012.102.

30. Laura Gutiérrez Arbulú, *Catálogo de documentos de la serie de visitas de hechicerías e idolatrías del Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, in Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrías, siglos XVI-XVIII*, (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1992, pp. 105-136), Gabriela Ramos and Henríque Urbano, eds. See also Ana Sánchez, *Amancebados*, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii.

Thus far, we have given a general view of the nature of pastoral visitations. It can be said that both types of visitation—the regular visitations and those investigating idolatry—pursued the same end, though the emphasis varied significantly. An examination of the papers extant in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima catalogued under the heading of “*Visitas Pastorales*” suggests that the regular visitations focused on the examination of priests. They give the impression of having been proceedings through which the Church evaluated its own performance. In the idolatry visitations, the documents that most deserve greater attention from researchers place the weight of the investigations completely upon the parishioners.<sup>31</sup> We will see below how the inhabitants of the Indian parishes understood and handled the objectives of pastoral visitations.

### PASTORAL VISITATIONS AND THE AFFIRMATION OF CHURCH AUTHORITY

The bishop, or in his place his inspector (*visitador*), was charged with ensuring that the visitation was conducted “with love and much virtue and if not, by fear and the exemplary punishment of transgressors.”<sup>32</sup> This meant that the inspector had to make use of a variety of means to execute his task. The instructions were an invitation to steer clear of extremes, and in general the bishops’ envoys avoided any measures that could have destabilized the Indian parishes. More than a few visitors were genuinely interested in gaining an understanding of local circumstances but although they lent an ear to the complaints and denunciations brought by the indigenous parishioners, they affirmed the priests’ authority in the end, even when they detected slight irregularities or grave failings.

The pastoral visitations made ample and astute use of ritual. The occasion required an atmosphere that reaffirmed the legitimacy of the Christian faith and the authority of its symbols and ministers, thus encouraging in the participants an emotional response to the message conveyed by the bishop or his

31. In a study that compares the attitudes toward idolatry of two principal proponents of its uprooting in the seventeenth century, the Jesuit José de Arriaga and Archbishop of Lima Pedro de Villagómez, Juan Carlos García explains that Arriaga sought to bring about a reform of pastoral visitations within the Lima diocese. This would be achieved by means of combining ordinary visitations with the missions in the care of the Jesuit fathers. The latter would be entrusted with the instruction and confession of the Andean parishioners, while the diocesan representative would administer justice. The pastoral visitations, for their part, would be charged with overseeing the conduct of the priests of the Indian parishes so that the missions would bear fruit. García Cabrera, “¿Idólatras congénitos . . . ?,” pp. 95–110. On the Jesuit missions in Peru, see Aliocha Maldivsky, *Vocaciones inciertas. Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville, Lima: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, 2012).

32. Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, p. 76.

representative. For this reason, the arrival of the ecclesiastical envoy could not be unexpected. The envoy was well aware of what equipment he had to bring, and the attire suitable for the different phases of the visitation. He understood that procedural details had to be observed meticulously.<sup>33</sup> His instructions specified the hour at which he must make his entrance into the town, and the prayers, masses, songs, and gestures that he, along with his entourage, the priest, and the faithful, had to perform.

The inspector had to know that masterful timing was crucial throughout the visitation, and adjust his actions accordingly. The visitation included the inspection of the church building and its ornament and ritual equipment; the visit to the cemetery accompanied by prayers for the dead; the inspection of the baptismal font, the holy oils, and the tabernacle; and the review of the parish registers. In addition, there would be an examination of the priest regarding his preparation, credentials, readings, and sermons, and his command of his parishioners' language. During the visitation, the bishop's emissary and his retinue gathered information about everything that went on in the parish district, and, as various documents that have come down to us suggest, they adapted their questioning of the local authorities and other members of the parish in accordance with the findings of the assembled facts and testimonies.

It was in this climate that the Church affirmed its authority. Through their leaders and other persons called to testify, the parishioners presented their grievances and accusations and responded to the standard questionnaire. Thus appeared complaints along the lines of which we are already familiar, such as the violent behavior of parish priests, the business interests in which some of them were involved, the fees charged for the administration of the sacraments, and the arbitrary and excessive collection of alms.<sup>34</sup> It was no small thing for such matters to be aired, even if the responses to them were inconsistent. Through these exchanges, conflicts in the indigenous parish could be eased, or perhaps made more complicated; we at least have enough evidence to assume that the pastoral visitation opened a space in which a number of situations occurring during the process of evangelization could be contested. And in the course of these discussions, procedures and ideas about what was and was not just and correct were learned and disseminated. Did the parish priest preach on the days he was obligated to do so? Did he personally baptize children, or did he send others to perform this duty? Was he capable of confessing his parishioners

33. Ibid., p. 78. In his study of missions in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Châtellier presents an astute analysis of the ritual of these visitations. *La religion*, pp. 61–86.

34. Examples of situations that provoked parishioners' complaints are listed and described briefly in Melecio Tineo, *La fe y las costumbres. Catálogo de la sección documental de Capítulos (1600–1898)*. *Archivo Arzobispal de Lima* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1992).

in their own language? Where, in what form, and under what pretexts did he collect alms and offerings?

To a greater or lesser extent, the pastoral visitation played a significant part in the formation of Indian parishes as sociopolitical units. In other words, what the Church required from Indian parishes and Indian parishioners had a crucial effect in shaping their political culture. A theme little-studied in Andean historiography but more explored in the history of colonial Mexico is that of conflict among rural villages over the head towns (*cabeceras*) and annexes of the indigenous parishes.<sup>35</sup> The inhabitants of the parochial jurisdictions participated actively in this issue, in which the sphere of the sacred played a fundamental role. Contrary to the frequently suggested interpretation, this type of intervention on the part of the indigenous population was in no way a simple tool used to manage secondary interests. The inquiry into the correct administration of the sacraments opened a door through which the matter was debated in some indigenous parishes and through which those involved could form their arguments and have them heard. To analyze this subject I will make use of documents from the pastoral visitation of a parish in the highlands of the Diocese of Lima from the mid-seventeenth century.

### VISITATIONS, POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION, AND THE PLACE OF THE SACRED

In May 1648, during a pastoral visitation to the indigenous parish of San José del Chorrillo, the licentiate Francisco Calvo de la Cámara inspected the church's tabernacle and found it open and unlocked. He noted that there was inside it a silver monstrance, but that it was empty.<sup>36</sup> The licentiate Martín de Mena Godoy, pastor of the parish, gave as the immediate explanation that the tabernacle key had been lost. The disturbance this fact produced in the visitor, his retinue, and all those present must have been profound, given that a focal point of the ritual of the church visitation was the moment in which the envoy, having examined the tabernacle, would display the Blessed Sacrament to be adored by those assembled.<sup>37</sup> In the days that followed, Calvo de la Cámara investigated, among other things, whether the Eucharist was present in the churches of the ecclesiastical district. Eighteen people, all adult males, were

35. The subject has been studied by, for example, Yanna Yannakis in *The Art of Being in Between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008). See also Lori Boornazian Diel, *The Tira de Tepechpan: Negotiating Place under Aztec and Spanish Rule* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).

36. Visit to the church of San Joseph del Chorrillo, May 1648, AAL, Visitas Pastorales, leg. 9, exp. 16.

37. Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, pp. 78–79.

called to testify. As was customary, the group was predominantly made up of authorities, including *caciques*, governors, headmen, *camachicos*, and mayors.<sup>38</sup> The questionnaire drawn up by the inspector included an inquiry into the conduct of the Blessed Sacrament:

[W]hether they know that in no town of this benefice nor in this [town] of San Joseph del Chorrillo where said licentiate Martin de Mena Godoy is assigned has not had, nor has the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist for the consolation and edification and admirable protection of the Indians, and [whether] for this [purpose] it would be offered by night or by day at the time[s] when Mass could not be said nor hosts consecrated for giving the Viaticum and assisting with the needs of the sick, having as [they] have tabernacles and monstrance where it can be kept with great decency, [that] they say what they have seen and know.<sup>39</sup>

Mena Godoy must have known that questions about his performance as parish priest would be among the first asked, and that these questions would concern his administration of the sacraments. Thus it is imperative to ask why the licentiate had not, apparently, addressed a matter so critical to the fulfillment of his parochial responsibilities. The statements of the *caciques*, headmen, and other authorities of the parish make it evident that they were very well informed about the purpose and importance of the question. The issue of the absence of the Host was closely entwined with other aspects of life in their communities; the priest's explanation of such an alarming lack pointed to the complicated weave of the very fabric that united them.<sup>40</sup>

The town of San José del Chorrillo belonged to the district of Huarochirí, a rich province in the highlands of Lima that provided workers and foodstuffs to the capital of the viceroyalty and its surrounding areas. Because of its proximity to Lima, Huarochirí was often visited by civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Several Jesuit missions were periodically charged with the indoctrination of the population and, especially in the seventeenth century, more than a few of the inhabitants were reprimanded and even punished for their apparently scant adherence to orthodoxy.<sup>41</sup> In the years that followed the arrival of the Spanish,

38. "Camachic, camachicuc. Gouernador, o corregidor, o mandon, o el que manda, o el que rige." [Camachic, camachicuc. Governor, or magistrate, or boss, or he who orders] Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru llamada Lengua Qquichua o del Inca* (Lima: Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, 1989 [1608]), p. 47.

39. AAL, *Visitas Pastorales*, leg. 9, exp. 16, fols. 4v-5.

40. In his study of church legislation in sixteenth-century Peru, Valentín Trujillo Mena asserted that only parish churches were entitled to have the Eucharist on display. However, the example discussed in this article suggests that such exclusivity could be contested. Valentín Trujillo Mena, *La legislación eclesiástica en el virreinato del Perú durante el siglo XVI. Con especial dedicación a la jerarquía y a la organización diocesana*. (Lima: Lumen, 1981), pp. 244–245.

41. The deeds of their ancestral heroes are among the few put into writing that have come down to us. See Gerald Taylor, *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Banco Central de Reserva del

the population of the province underwent profound changes that affected the size of its population and the location of several of its principal settlements. In 1586, the corregidor of Huarochirí, Diego Dávila Briceño, asserted in the *Relación* he wrote about the province that he had, in the 13 years he had held the post, reduced a population previously dispersed across more than 200 hundred towns into just 39.<sup>42</sup> Even if the magistrate exaggerated the number of towns that existed before he was charged with creating the reductions, several indicators suggest that in Huarochirí they produced displacements significant enough to result in the relocation of coastal and highland populations that had not previously shared the same territory.<sup>43</sup>

Some of these changes were effected to facilitate the trade between Lima, the central highlands, and Cuzco. In San José, as in the neighboring town of Sisicaya, there had been *tambos* or places for the rest and provisioning of travelers.<sup>44</sup> The reorganization of territory that the magistrate carried out also had as its objective the separation of the local population from its traditional sacred places and the destruction of the resources that had been allocated for their cult.<sup>45</sup> We do not know if San José del Chorrillo had been founded upon an old pre-Hispanic settlement, as was the case for its neighbor Sisicaya, or whether its population was composed of groups from other places.<sup>46</sup> One possible indication that the changes Dávila Briceño claimed to have introduced would have been drastic is that this town, although it was assigned the rank of head town of the indigenous parish, did not have an indigenous name, unlike the majority of towns in Peru.<sup>47</sup> The ecclesiastical visitation of 1648 reveals

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Perú, Universidad Particular Ricardo Palma, 1999). The most complete study on Huarochirí under colonial rule is that of Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984).

42. Diego Dávila Briceño, "Descripción y relación de la provincia de los Yauyos toda, Anan Yauyos y Lorin Yauyos, hecha por . . . , corregidor de Huarochirí," in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 3, Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed. (Madrid: Atlas, 1965), pp. 155–165.

43. María Rostworowski, "Los yauyos coloniales y su nexa con el mito," in *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978), pp. 109–122. See also Frank Salomon, Jane Feltham, and Sue Grosboll, eds., *La revisita de Sisicaya, 1588. Veinte años antes de dioses y hombres* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2009). A detailed analysis of these matters can be found in Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012). On mixed populations, see p. 129.

44. Dávila Briceño, "Descripción y relación," p. 160; Jane Feltham, "La arqueología de Sisicaya," in *La revisita*, Salomon et al., pp. 57–101.

45. Dávila Briceño, "Descripción y relación," p. 161.

46. I have not consulted the *Retasa* (reassessment of population and headtax) of 1577, one of the documents that Rostworowski used to study the ethnohistory of the province of Huarochirí. Rostworowski, however, maintains that one cannot reach definitive conclusions about the manner in which the reductions were made. Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas*, p. 112. Citing the same document, Rostworowski asserts that the name of the principal Indian parish that concerns us was San José de Chorrillos de Aquipa, but apart from hers I have not found any similar reference. Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas*, p. 114.

47. This locality figures in the map of the province that accompanies the description. Real Academia de la Historia, Colección del Departamento de Cartografía y Artes Gráficas, Signatura: C-028-004. N°

that 60 years after Dávila Briceño wrote his *Relación*, the order that he had resolved to impose had changed. The changes and their consequences were manifested in divergent perceptions of the place of the sacred and of the state of the religious indoctrination of the population, as well as in the hierarchy of the towns of the Indian parish.

The statements gathered by the ecclesiastical inspector suggest that the Host was absent from the churches of at least seven of the eight towns of the parish. Some witnesses, like don García Llacsayauri, governor of Sisicaya, claimed that it was not present in any of the churches in the parish district.<sup>48</sup> Juan Bautista, from the town of Santiago de Conchauyca de Guamansica, and don Juan Chauca Guaman, headman and mayor of San Cristóbal de Chatacancha, said that in the churches of their respective towns there was not even a tabernacle.<sup>49</sup> Other witnesses, like Sebastián Fabián from the town of San Francisco de Callaguaya, asserted not only that they knew that the Sacrament was not in their town's church but that no one had ever seen it.<sup>50</sup> Don Juan Bautista Vilca Caxa, from the town of San José del Chorrillo, said that he had seen the Sacrament only during Corpus Christi and Easter processions.<sup>51</sup> Don Lorenzo Canchu Manco, mayor of San José del Chorrillo, affirmed that in spite of having collected donations for the wax and oil needed to light the sanctuary lamp, there was no Host.<sup>52</sup> Juan Quispi Yalli, *camachico* of the town of Sisicaya, said that he had gone into the church in the town of San José del Chorrillo to pray and was sure that he had been in its presence, but he was not able to confirm that he had seen it.<sup>53</sup> Everyone concurred in saying that there would be "great consolation and happiness" if the Blessed Sacrament were present in every church of the towns belonging to the parish district.

As he was questioned by the bishop's envoy, Mena Godoy revealed an important aspect of the then-current political conditions in the Indian parish under his care. He explained that in his parish district there were only two

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de registro: 01133. Signatura antigua: 09-04664, n° 6. Available at: <http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/dgbrah/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=15864>, accessed November 2, 2015.

48. AAL, Visitas Pastorales, leg. 9, exp. 16, fol. 5.

49. Statement of Juan Bautista, AAL, Visitas Pastorales, leg. 9, exp. 16, fol. 11. Statement of Don Juan Chauca Guaman, *ibid.*, fol. 30v.

50. *Ibid.*, fol. 25.

51. *Ibid.*, fol. 19v-20.

52. *Ibid.*, fol. 10. "He says that he has not seen in all the time that the said licentiate Martín de Mena has been pastor in this parish that the Most Holy Sacrament which is the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was [present] in any church in all the towns of [the parish]; and he is certain that the Indians of these towns would receive great consolation and edification if they were to have it [during] the time the said priest was attending [to his duties] in any of them and he knows that in this town and in that of Santo Domingo de los Ollereros alms are solicited with the insignia of the Most Holy for its wax, which all the Indians would give with good will if their said pastor were to have [the Sacrament] in the said tabernacle."

53. *Ibid.*, fol. 7v-8.



towns; one was the head town that had resulted from the *reducción* (San José del Chorrillo), but the origin of the other, Santo Domingo de los Olleros, he did not explain. The rest of the population groups were *ayllos* (kinship groups) that had formed towns from ranches (*estancias*) or from settlements created by people who had fled the *mitas* (forced labor) and other unfortunate or oppressive circumstances. They were small, poor villages whose residents had built makeshift churches where Mass could not comfortably be said. The two principal towns were in conflict with these newcomers, whose existence they tried not to recognize. In Mena Godoy's words, the principal towns wanted the parvenu towns to be reduced into themselves. The most powerful, it seems, had obtained government provisions in their favor, but the pastoral visitation's findings made it clear that they had not achieved their objective.<sup>54</sup>

The situation that the priest of San José del Chorrillo described shows the degree to which the reducciones, to which Dávila Briceño had proudly pointed at the end of the sixteenth century, had changed. This alteration was due to the actions of the local population, a portion of whom had returned to their old settlements or had formed others that would allow them to obtain their livelihoods more easily or at least to manage their resources more conveniently.<sup>55</sup> But it must be noted that these changes took place with the knowledge and consent of the Church, which, on the occasion of the pastoral visitation, endorsed them with its ritual activity. Santo Domingo de los Olleros, which Mena Godoy represented as one of the two head towns of his Indian parish, had figured neither in the *Relación* nor in Dávila Briceño's map. As other researchers have observed, this town could possibly have been founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>56</sup> According to the statements that the ecclesiastical visitor gathered, the feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated in the two towns by turns, one year in San José del Chorrillo and the other in Santo

54. Mena Godoy added: "Because their said town is not stable and they are poor they do not have the capacity to keep the Most Blessed Sacrament with the decency that it is due." [*porque no es estable la dicha población de ellos ser pobres no tienen comodidad para poder tener el Santísimo Sacramento con la decencia que se debe.*] *Ibid.*, fol. 46.

55. The same Dávila Briceño recognized after having left the post of corregidor that he had implemented the reductions with the understanding that although there was not enough land for all, the settlers would be permitted to return temporarily to their old towns. This was explained in the *juicio de residencia* (judicial review of office) given by his successor, Cristóbal Juárez de Angulo. The passage in which he explains this has been cited by Rostworowski, *Señoríos*, pp. 110–111. Regarding the problem of land access for the inhabitants of the reductions, see Mumford, *Vertical Empire*, pp. 144–145. The author maintains that the reductions were largely a failure.

56. Gabriel Ramón Joffré, "Producción alfarera en Santo Domingo de los Olleros (Huarochirí-Lima)," *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 28:2 (1999), pp. 215–248, esp. pp. 220–221. The author suggests that this could have been a Spanish town founded on an indigenous site. The data from the corresponding pastoral visitation does not support this hypothesis.

Domingo de los Olleros.<sup>57</sup> The witnesses who said they had seen the Blessed Sacrament were sure they had done so in the churches of those towns.<sup>58</sup>

Clearly, the presence of the Sacrament in its church could give legitimacy to a village's aspiration to have its own authorities, retain a significant margin of independence, and possess a church that would enjoy ritual privileges similar to those of its neighbors. Over the course of 60 years the inhabitants of one town in the province of Huarochirí had attained these successes by various means, not all of which are known to us; however, we can affirm that one of them was achieved by negotiating with parish priests and episcopal envoys whose intervention and recognition they sought, and succeeded in obtaining.

## CONCLUSION

The pastoral visitation opened a space in which to air matters crucial to the political formation of colonial Andean society. As the inspector investigated the parish priest's performance of his duties, examined the equipment and ornament of the churches, and probed the rootedness of the population in its settlements, he was taking the pulse of a time and place that was undergoing transformations whose dimensions demand historians' attention. This fact requires us to go beyond the terms that have until now predominated in the historiography, which have privileged the repressive aspects of exchanges between the Church and the Andean people that were typical of the idolatry visitation. This perspective has neglected to consider the consequences that pastoral visitations had in shaping the political culture of these same populations.

As we have tried to show here by means of a case study, the dispute over the location of the sacred in its highest Christian expression played a fundamental role when it came to defining the dominance of a village—or a kinship group, real or fictive—over others. The process of the ecclesiastical visitation and the handling of a conflict that troubled the inhabitants of an Indian parish represented an opportunity to affirm the authority of the Church as the dispenser of justice, even though no accord or definitive solution may have resulted. Along the way, the local social and political hierarchies that determined who spoke and what was said on behalf of the population were revealed and adapted. The inhabitants of the Andes encountered in the pastoral visitation

57. Testimony of Don Diego Canchu Ñaupa, from the town of San Pedro de Matara, cacique of the Lacacica ayllu, AAL, *Visitas Pastorales*, leg. 9, exp. 16, fol. 16v.

58. See for example the statement of Don Juan Asto Guaman, *ibid.*, fol. 23.

a space that did not exist strictly for the purpose of silencing their voices—through it they learned and accepted the forms and channels of authority that the Church offered. Perhaps more important still: within the context of the pastoral visitation, they did whatever was within their grasp to employ what they had learned to negotiate their own inclusion and visibility.

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