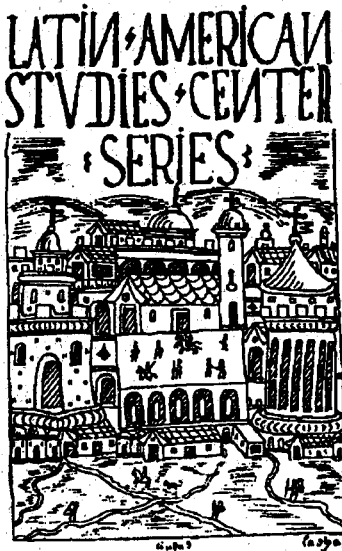


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Rockefeller Humanities Resident Fellow
1990-91*

*'True' Confessions:
Quechua and Spanish Cultural
Encounters in the Viceroyalty of Peru*



No. 5

University of Maryland at College Park

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Latin American Studies Center Series
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'True' Confessions: Quechua and Spanish Cultural Encounters in the Viceroyalty of Peru

The initial scenes of conquest record the intention of the Spanish to proclaim the legitimacy of the Christian God as sovereign, while at the same time asserting possession of the "discovered" lands and the people living there. These scenes are chronicled in official documents immediately dispatched to Spain, as well as in eye witness reports which were written many years after the fact. In the Andes, the primordial scene of conversion in 1532 well illustrates the importance of religion in the act of invasion. The Inca Atahualpa, seated on a royal litter, listened intently to the words pronounced by the friar Valverde. The Spanish message, interpreted by the native Felipillo, informed Atahualpa that the sun was not the Supreme Ruler, that more powerful rulers than himself presided in a far-off land called Spain, and that he must declare his allegiance to them. When Atahualpa demanded proof, he was handed a Christian book, which he altogether dismissed by throwing it to the ground.¹ Such initial resistance to Christianity was transformed, however, when the Incan ruler is in captivity; Atahualpa professed to be a Christian, was baptised, and received a Christian name, don Francisco. Despite his acceptance of the faith and his baptism, for political reasons, he was strangled to death by the Spanish. His body and clothes were singed by fire (Betanzos [1551] 1985: 285).

Atahualpa's conversion in captivity — his baptism and his acquisition of a Christian name — allowed him to prepare to enter the kingdom of heaven after his demise. The importance of this sacrament is highlighted in many colonial sermons. Baptism is the first Christian ceremony, a requisite to participate in additional rituals of the Catholic Church, such as marriage, confession, confirmation, and extreme unction: "Ilegays al Baptismo y ala Confession, y a los

¹ Mac Cormack (1988), Harrison (1989), and Seed (1991) provide more lengthy analysis of the symbolic importance of this scene.

CONQUISTA ^{ESTA EN LA}
 ATAGUALPA IN LA CIUDAD
 DE CAXAMARCA EN SVT RONOVSNO



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The scene of spiritual conquest: Atahualpa, Pizarro, Friar Vicente with the Book, and the translator, Felipe, in Cajamarca, 1532 (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 386).

Sacramentos del Altar, y a los demas Sacramentos" (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 461).

The rite of confession, not baptism, is a likely means for understanding the process of indigenous conversion and also resistance to Catholic teachings in the first century of Spanish occupation of the Andes. In the sacrament of confession a dialogue is enacted between priest and penitent which exemplifies cultural exchange between the Spanish and the Quechua-speaking natives of the Andes. A study of confession, both the indigenous ceremony and that introduced by the Hispanic clergy, reveals the similarities and differences between the two religious systems. Particularly, in the concept of sin, new cultural patterns were introduced by the Catholic church. However, these 'new' categories of sins were often talked about using traditional Quechua vocabulary.

To what extent was the Catholic confession accepted by the Quechua-speaking conquered peoples? A reading of the colonial sermons, dictionaries, and confession manuals allows us to trace shifts in the actual practices of confession, as Quechua-speakers incorporated Christian penance into their Andean systems of belief. The semantics of conversion — a study of certain Quechua verbs and nouns — reveals the potential for confusion on the part of the indigenous converts who were called upon to use traditional nomenclature to denote these new practices. These same colonial religious texts contain the ideologies of the Andean peoples who voice their resistance to Catholic doctrine; often these Spanish theologians recorded their very words of protest or misunderstanding. My reading of the colonial ecclesiastical texts negates the notion of a single hegemonic cultural 'encounter.' Embedded within the Catholic prose are indigenous texts which bear witness to the Quechua-speaking peoples' attempt at meaningful dialogue with their conquerors.

Confessing Sins: Catholic and Native American Models

Although the rite of confession was common to both religious systems, that of the Spanish Catholics and that of the Native Andeans, there were major theological differences between the two practices. The Christians arrived in the Andes with elaborately

codified (written) theology. Before confessing sins, the penitent must be taught Christian beliefs and a Christian way of life. Although some of the doctrine was simply a matter of faith, it was agreed that the Christian should well understand the purpose of the Ten Commandments and should be able to recite "The Lord's Prayer," the "Hail Mary," and the "Apostle's Creed." Only after this indoctrination in the faith, and in no sooner than a lapse of thirty days, could the convert be baptised:

ordenamos y mandamos que ningún sacerdote de aquí adelante baptice indio alguno adulto, de ocho años y dende arriba, sin que primero, a lo menos por espacio de treinta días, sea industriado en nuestra fée católica (*Constituciones* [1552] 1950: 20).

In the first text of an Andean confession translated from Spanish to Quechua and Aymara (1585), preliminary questions about doctrine ascertain the penitent's understanding of the articles of faith before confession can begin:

2. Christiano baptizascachu cangui?
4. Doctrina Christianacta yachanquichu?
5. Padre nuestrocta, Diostesaluecta, Credoctahuampas ñij?

- (2. Are you a baptised Christian?
4. Do you understand the Christian doctrine?
5. Say the "Lord's Prayer," the "Hail Mary," and also the "Apostle's Creed.") (*Confessionario* [1585] 1985: 203).

The conceptualization of the sacrament of Christian confession is well detailed in Henry Charles Lea's three volume study, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*. Lea states that the seven or eight capital vices figured prominently in the listing of sinful offenses to be confessed (II, 235). Later, however, many more components were added on so that a confession eventually encompassed the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the sins of the five senses, the twelve articles of faith, the seven sacraments, the seven works of temporal mercy and the seven

spiritual ones (*ibid.*: I, 371). Despite these precedents in Europe, an early (almost generic) confession included in a Quechua dictionary did not enumerate the categories of sins, sacraments, articles and works of mercy. The declaration was brief and not at all constructed on the basis of the Ten Commandments, as were all the later confessionals written in the Andes. In Quechua, and in Spanish, only a restricted number of offenses were mentioned in this text of 1560:

Nanac hochallicuicani, mana allicta yuyaspa, mana allicta rimaspa, cacimanta rimaspapas yallispa micuspa, yallispa upiaspapas, manallicta ruraspas, accispa, accipayaspa, yanga porispa, yanga pucllaspa allicta rurangaypac quccllactispa.

(he peccado mucho, en mal pensar, en mal hablar, hablando en vano, comiendo y beuiendo demasiado mal obrando, riyiendo y haziendo burla de otros, andando en balde, jugando, jurado, siendo negligente y perezoso en biẽ obrar) (Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 18).

Confession, not baptism, figures prominently in the 'civilizing' process of Christianity in the Andean region. Constitution 21 written by the First Lima Council, however, addresses a major obstacle to evangelization: the number of converts is large and the number of priests conversant in the native languages is small. Nevertheless, it was decreed that each town with a native population would be sent a priest so that Indians could confess once a year, from the Sunday of *Septuagésima* to the eighth day of *Corpus Christi* (*Constituciones* [1552] 1950: 34). If these newly converted Christians did not show up for confession, they would be punished, according to the Lima Council. The priest was ordered to lock up the *cacique* leader, or his wife, in his or her place of residence for three or four days, until confession was carried out (*ibid.*). Indians of lesser rank would receive fifty lashes or be shorn of their hair; they also would be required to confess. Each priest was required to keep a record (*padrón*) of those who had confessed, so that punishment was meted out. Indians confessing to a priest not assigned to their own parish would be required to obtain proof of their confession with a *cédula*, a written document (*ibid.*).

The act of confession was not an entirely new ceremony for the Andean natives. In fact, the rite of confession was practiced by the natives long before the arrival of the Spanish. Especially in times of drought, or when hail destroyed the crops, members of the community were suspected of having committed grievous sins and were brought before the religious shamans who heard confessions. The pages of an *Instrucion*, written by Polo de Ondegardo in 1561-71 and included with the *Confessionario* in 1585, warned the priests that the Andean natives, both in the Sierra and the coast, practiced a ceremony of confession in which they bathed in rivers or another source of water, believing that their sins were carried off in this manner (Polo de Ondegardo [1561-71] [1585] 1985: 260). It was also known that other Andeans burned the clothes in which they had committed the sins and thus they were cleansed by the fire (*ibid.*). This source, and others, attests to the variety of confessions practiced in many regions of the Andes.²

Polo de Ondegardo's *Instrucion* also provides much more detail regarding the formalities of penance among the Andean heathens. Confession was spoken ("confessauan vocalmente") to a male or female confessor (268). The practice was most common in the Collasuyo region, the countryside around Lake Titicaca, although confession was also a rite observed in the provinces. The confessor, called *ychuri* in Collasuyo, discovered all the sins of the penitent through the use of magic devices ("*suertes*") and examination of animal entrails. The penitents were encouraged to declare all their sins by the use of a certain stone which, rubbed on their backs, allowed for a complete confession. In the Cajatambo region, on the other hand, there was another ritual. The penitents were assembled in front of the burial caves (*machayes*). The confessor held out a bunch of straw and the person took a certain amount. An even number of straws was considered a bad confession and an occasion for repeating a rite until all the sins were brought forth (Duviols [1656] 1986: 53).

² Although it is often convenient to refer to all Andeans as Quechua-speakers, the reader is cautioned to note that many other languages abound in the Andean region. Nor is "Andean religion" synonymous with "Incan religion;" Salomon (1991) argues the importance of "village-based, particularistic ... Andean religious thinking" (4-5).

As in the Christian rites, the confessor respected the privacy of the confessional, “tenian obligacion al secreto” (Polo de Ondegardo [1561-71] [1585] 1985: 269), and administered penance for the acts of transgression, “algũas vezes asperas” (*ibid.*: 268). The Inca ruler was never obliged to confess to anyone other than the Sun God who, in turn, relayed the message to Viracocha (*ibid.*: 269).

The existence of confession in the Andes before the arrival of the Spanish was of great concern to the priests. José de Acosta was convinced that it was God’s plan to have the natives already familiar with the confessional ritual: “Y en parte ha sido providencia del Señor, permitir el uso [de la confesión pagana] para que la confesión [cristiana] no se les haga dificultosa;...” (Acosta [1590] 1962: 261). However, in other pages of the *Natural History*, Acosta acknowledges Satan’s part in teaching the natives a confession which is a mockery of the Christian sacraments:

Lo que más admira de la envidia y competencia de Satanás, es que no sólo en idolatrías y sacrificios, sino también en cierto modo de ceremonias, haya remedado nuestros sacramentos, que Jesucristo Nuestro Señor instituyó y usa en su santa iglesia,... (*ibid.*: 255).

Ultimately, by ascribing this travesty of confession to the machinations of Satan in the American continent, the clergy could condemn vehemently these pagan practices and then gloss over their similarities to the Catholic rites.

Although auricular confession and absolution may have seemed similar in their outward forms to the Spanish priests, it soon became apparent that the nature of sin differed in the two cultures. Numerous sources provide a listing of sins as described by the indigenous converts who informed the Spanish clergy about the native belief system. One of the most cited lists is found in the writings of Polo de Ondegardo:

Lo primero, matar vno a otro fuera dela guerra. Item tomar la muger ajena. Itē dar yeruas, o hechizos para hazer mal. Item hurtar. Y por muy notable peccado tenian el descuydo en la veneracion de sus guacas: y en el quebrāt̄ar sus fiestas:

y el dezir mal del Inga: y el no obedecerle. No se accusauan de peccados y actos interiores ([1561-71] [1585] 1985: 269).

The confessional records from the extirpation of idolatry carried out in seventeenth century Peru repeat many of the same sins and others, too:

lo que tenian por pecado era uoluer a las amigas que abian tenido y no haçer honras a sus malquis y si la muger con quien trataban no se hubiesse metido con otro hombre aunque tratasse con ella muchos años no era pecado sino quando se hubiesse mitido [sic] con otro hombre y boluiesse otra bez a ella entonses era pecado y asimesmo no lo era el tener pensamiento y desear otra qualquiera muger ni menos el desear matar otro hurtandole su hacienda ni todo genero de pensamiento malo ni tampoco tocar y tactos lascibos ni el tener con las amigas con sus parientes y mugeres y de hermanos era pecado lebantar testimonio no era pecado no jurar falso en nombre de Dios pero jurar a su antigualla que era coger un poco de tierra de su pueblo y decir *Caymi alpay Caymi marçay* beis aqui mi tierra beis aqui el pueblo besando la dha tierra fuesse mentira lo que decia era gravissimo pecado. Y lo era el perder el respecto a los padres y a sus mayores esconder dhos pecados susorreferidos a sus confessores es grauissimo pecado quando se confesaban (Duviols [1656] 1986: 54).

These two texts are useful for purposes of comparison of the two religious systems. There are similarities with the Christian Ten Commandments, especially in the commentary written by Polo, one should not steal (the seventh commandment), kill (fifth), seduce someone else's wife (ninth), or take the name of the Inca in vain (similar to the second). However, it is the second text, a transcript of an Indian testimony from the year 1656, which better illustrates the subtle differences from the Christian commandments. Even in the mid-seventeenth century, swearing using the name of one's ancestral birthplace to confirm a lie was considered a sin among Quechua speakers (commandments two and eight), as was not honoring one's parents (fourth commandment) and failure to honor the deities

(first). For the sins of fornication, the sixth commandment, the deviation between the two becomes more pronounced. The carnal offense consisted in resuming a sexual relationship with a woman who already had a mate (“[ella] se hubiese metido con otro hombre y boluiesse otra bez a ella entonses era pecado”). It was explicitly *not* a sin to have sexual relations with one woman for many years, nor to engage in erotic affection.

Aside from differences in sexuality (which we will return to later), the most prominent opposition to Catholic doctrine was declared against the category of dishonest *thoughts*: “no lo era [pecado] el tener pensamiento y desear otra qualquiera muger ni menos el desear matar otro hurtandole su hacienda ni todo genero de pensamiento malo.” In the Andes, confession with Catholic priests includes the obligatory admission of sins of thoughts and deeds. Generally, the priest would prod the sinner’s recollections in this manner: “has pensado bien tus pecados ... por obra o por palabra o por pensamiento” (*Confessionario* [1585] 1985: 206). A glance at the Quechua translation of this phrase reveals an inverted word order where sins of thought (“yuyay”) are listed first, followed by “speech” (“rimahuā”) and sins of actions (“rurayhuan”) (*ibid.*: 205). Since no ‘interior’ sins (those of thought) were confessed to the native shaman (*ychuris*), this category of wrong doing had to be stressed emphatically for the newly converted Andean peoples.

The Semantics of Sin: ‘Hucha’ and ‘Cama’

In order to diminish Satan’s influence among the indigenous converts, the Spanish theologians constantly attempted to differentiate ‘pagan’ confession from its Christian counterpart. Yet, their objective was not so easily attained when they insisted on naming Catholic confession using the very lexemes denoting the indigenous confession with curers. For instance, one of the early dictionaries glosses “confess” as *hichuni* (“confesar por voluntad,” Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 81). This verb is related to the noun *ichu*, the straw grass that was used to confess with the Incaic confessors. The Anonymous dictionary of 1586 also lists *yhucuni* as the Quechua equivalent of “confessar con los hechizeros con pajas” (91).

In the texts of the confessionals, we can trace a similar ambiguity as to how to express this Christian concept in the Quechua language. Santo Tomás' brief Quechua confession (1560) avoids the 'tainted' *hichuni* but selects a verb (*villani*) which commonly refers to 'pagan' communication between worshiper and oracle/priest. By 1585, the verb *villacuc* is restricted by the Spanish to allude to 'pagan' confessions, as seen in the *Confessionario*:

Huchayquita vmuman *villacucchu* canqui?
Haste *confessado* con algun hechizero? ([1585] 1985: 208).

The Christian ritual now is called *confessani*, as seen in "Pimanmi confessacurcanqui?" (with whom did you confess?, *ibid.*: 204). In a further effort to differentiate the two practices of confession, and to privilege the Spanish variant, the lexicographer González Holguín eliminated *ychuni* as an entry in his dictionary. He instead listed the hybrid variant *confessacuni* ([1608] 1952: 456).³

While the use of *confessacuni* clearly drew the line of difference between the two penitential practices, this lexeme was not the only troubling area of meaning equivalences. The content of the confession — the sin itself — had to be named. In this instance, no Spanish hybrid was invented, for the ecclesiastics encountered perfectly adequate designations in the Quechua words *hucha* and *cama*. These two referents are linked to the entry *pecar* in an early dictionary of 1586 (*huchallicuni camallicuni*, Anonymous [1586] 1951: 169). Furthermore, *hucha* is glossed as sin ("pecado") in González Holguín's seventeenth century dictionary ([1608] 1952: 199) as is *cama* ("pecado, culpa," *ibid.*: 47). Frequently, the two are paired as equivalents in other entries:

Camallicuni, huchallicuni. Pecar.
Camallicuk o huchallicuk. El Pecador.
Camaymi huchaymi chay. Yo tengo la culpa.
Camachani huchachani. Importunar, o impedir
importunamente (*ibid.*: 47).

³ However, it should be noted that *confessacuni* is only found in the Quechua-to-Spanish entries of this 1608 dictionary.

Hucha, o cama. Peccado o negocio o pleyto.
 Huchachani camachani... Pedir importunamente instar
 insistir demasiado (*ibid.*: 199).

Despite the similarities set forth in the semantic dimensions of sin (“pecado”) and solicitation (“pedir”), the two words, in other domains, exhibit singular semantic referentials. If we disregard the obvious Christian assimilation expressed in the definition, that is *sin* in the Catholic sense, a more basic difference is discerned in that *hucha* is associated with what is owed but has not materialized, a debt on a balance sheet to society. This is the meaning that would emerge from a translation of the functions of the most powerful recordkeepers: “Tawantin Suyu hucha *tasa* yma hayca uata quillatauan quipococ yupacoc,” which translated literally means “[the entire Inca territory] Twantinsuyo debt/obligation, for however many years or moon phases, the *quipu* specialist, the counting specialist” (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 187). Furthermore, as R.T. Zuidema, in describing *hucha*, suggests, it was a “sin” (*hucha*) to act against a lord or think badly of him, or to neglect one’s duties in the ritual calendar (1982, 1989). Gerald Taylor has noted that *hucha* involves a linking of sin, law, and transactions with an all-encompassing concern for morality. Principal among these was the carrying out of ritual responsibilities within the pre-Hispanic societies ([1608] 1987: 30). In the midst of these abstractions, we are offered a mental image of *hucha* in the form of a horse which eats the crops that have been sown: “huchaçapallana caballo es lo que come en los sembrados” (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 200).

Cama, in general, carries a more positive attribution, often linked with the source of an animating force originating from a regional deity or an ancestor (Taylor [1608] 1987: 24). As opposed to *hucha* (the absence, the lack of essence), *cama* denotes the presence of a force which transfers energy allowing something to come into existence. Both lexemes imply debt and obligation to community, for the originating force *cama* emanates from the deities and, as we know from studies of reciprocity in the Andes, these gods and ancestors required ceremonial functions and worship.

Although both *hucha* and *cama* are glossed as “sin” in many texts, the Andean indigenous concept differed from that of the Christians. Additional lexical study further clarifies the nature of this

“lack” (*hucha*) and this “power” (*cama*). In general, *hucha* implies a transgression or blunder on the part of the offender. Santo Tomás’ 1560 dictionary attributes entirely negative references to *hucha*: “*hochallicuni.gui* pecar o haz mal generalmente” (293). By 1608, González Holguín is informed of similar connotations for the verb, with the suffix *lli* added: “tener culpa hazer falta” and “hazer torpemente las cosas o tropeçar y dañarlo” (200). The sense of impediment to harmonious relations is intensified in the combination of *hucha* with another verb *hacllik* to mean “el que estorua impide ... el que no obra por el bien de todos sino por el suyo” (*ibid.*: 199). In this definition, it is emphasized that individual actions subvert the common good; one labors for one’s own benefit (“por el suyo”).

How does *cama* differ from *hucha*? In general, *cama* conveys the meaning of putting things in place as opposed to the breaking up of order as seen in *hucha*. The dictionary of 1586 emphasizes a sense of order in the glosses for *camani*: “caber algo en su lugar” (1951: 21) and the evening up of entities in *camarini*: “aparejar algo” (*ibid.*).⁴ Later, González Holguín’s entries maintain the definition of “caber algo” and “medir grano” and “mi obligacion” (*camay*) (*ibid.*: 47, 48).

In spite of the supposed synonymy of the semantic range, *hucha*, not *cama*, became the lexeme of choice to express sinning in the Catholic texts translated to Quechua. Perhaps the positive connotations of *cama* as “power” for regeneration and existence made the selection of the negatively inscribed *hucha* more satisfactory. A similar reductionism was seen with the word *supay* where the negative connotation was enforced by the priests and the more positive connotation was obliterated.⁵ Whatever the reasons, *hucha* became the common word used by the priests for “sin” and it was impressed upon the Andean converts by the dialogue of the confessional:

Cunan confessacuncayquipacri, *huchay*quita allilla
yuyacuspachu hamunqui? (In order to confess your sins at

⁴ *Camarini* is the verb form *camani* supplemented with the inceptive suffix, *ri*.

⁵ For additional sources as to the etymology of *supay*, see Taylor (1980) and Harrison (1989). A similar distortion occurs in the Quechua word *huatecani*, which is also “missionized” (Itier 1992).

this moment, do you come [here] having well thought [remembered] your sins?) (*Confessionario* [1585] 1985: 204).

Confessing the Sixth Commandment, and the Other Nine

While *hucha* was the most common noun to describe all kinds of sins, *huchallicuni*, with the additional suffix *lli*, was the preferred noun form for "to sin." The suffix *lli* compounds the notion of sinfulness, for it denotes that an individual takes on the characteristics indicated by the noun, a transformation brought about by the individual himself or herself (Cusihuamán 1976: 7.11.14, 196). Thus, through the suffixes, the individual's own responsibility for sin could be emphasized in the translation of the Catholic doctrine.

Increasingly, *huchallicuni* became a synonym for sexual transgression, although there were many other perfectly adequate verbs in Quechua. Often, *huchallicuni* is paired with the sexual object, female or male, to convey the idea:

huarmihuan huchallicuni fornicar el hombre
(literally, "with a woman I sin") (Anonymous [1586]
1951: 145).

González Holguín provides a listing of verbs for fornication in colonial Quechua: *yoccuni*, *puñuni*, *purini*, and *huchallicuni* ("yoccuni o puñuni, o huarmi huan puñuni, o huchallicuni,... karihuan purini," 527). The definitions of these verbs admit subtle differences in describing the act of fornication:

Yoccuni. Tener copula hombre o animal con hembra o
fornicar varon (369)
Puñuni. Dormir (296)
Purini. Andar caminar,... (297)
Huchallicuni. Pecar (200).

As is evident in the definitions printed above, there is no hint of moral censure implied in the first three verbs. *Huchallicuni*, on the other hand, condemns copulation in general as a sin. In myths which are transcribed in the Huarochiri manuscripts, this verb appears to

narrate a tale of copulation between Huaticuri and a noble's daughter, now seen as sinful under Christian influence: "huchallikurkan" ("They sinned, carnally") (Taylor [1608] 1987: ch. 5, line 62).

Although Santo Tomás' confession of 1560 notably omits fornication as one of the sins to disclose, a later confessional in 1585 certainly devotes itself to ferreting out un-Christian heterosexual conduct. Twenty-two questions delve into ways of violating the sixth commandment, "Thou shall not fornicate." Sexual practices and positions are very explicitly detailed in the interrogations which have been influenced from European Christian attitudes towards sex.⁶

Virginity was not held in high regard by the Andean peoples and this sexual practice was of great concern to the priests. In general, experienced women, with strong sexual appetites, were the most prized for marriage in the Andes, according to the Inca Garcilaso (Ellefson 1989: 301). Much attention is given to the custom of "trial marriage" as is seen in this colonial document:

Uno de los trabajos que los Padres tienen en aquella tierra es desarraigar la manera que estos tienen en casarse, que tenían una costumbre que hasta hoy no hay quién se la quite, que antes de se casen con su muger, la han de probar y tener consigo, que llaman ellos hacer pantanaco (Agostinos [1555] 1918: 42).

Often this practice was called *sirvinakuy*, *tincunacuspa*, or *pantanasco* in the documents.⁷ Trial marriage was highlighted as an impediment to approved Christian conduct. The confessional of 1585 zeroes in on the offense with this question:

Antes de casarte que tanto tiempo estuuieste con tu muger?
(Before you got married, how long were you [living] with your wife?) ([1585] 1985: 218).

⁶ See Harrison (in press) for a complete bibliography which situates Andean sexuality with reference to European conceptualizations in the work of Foucault, Bossy, Payer, Silverblatt.

⁷ For a more tolerant viewpoint regarding the enactment of "trial marriage" in the twentieth century, see Marzal (1988).

This same phrase in Quechua requires more extended syntax, because none of the acceptable Quechua nouns for trial marriage are written up. Instead, an indirect means is used, which avoids the actual mention of copulation, but stresses the act of living together:

huarmijhuan manarac casaracuspa, hayca quillam hayca huatam caranacurcāqui? huy huanacurcanqui? (*ibid.*).

The translation of this Quechua phrase shows just how far the authors of the confessional deviated from the issue of trial marriage in their interrogations: “Before you married your wife, how many months, how many years, did you feed her? [How long] did you raise her?”

In Oré’s *Confessional* of 1598, concubinage takes a priority position. We find it first in the list of questions comprising the sixth commandment. To eliminate confusion, perhaps, a Spanish verb root *mancebani* serves to specify the offense of trial marriage:

Mācebascahu cāqui? hayca quillam, hayca huata, mācebasca cāq? (Have you lived in concubinage? how many months, years, have you co-habited?) (187).

The question is omitted from Torres Rubio’s confessional inquiries of 1619, and it does not appear in Prado’s of 1650. However, this line of questioning is fully present in the more explicit confessional of 1631:

21. Haica vnai pacham caranacurcanqui, chaihatallicaiqui huarmihuan? (For how long have you been feeding, forcefully maintaining your wife?) (233)
33. Haica mitta ñatac, chai caranacuscāqui huarmihuan, quillampi, semanampi, punchaupi, tutapihuāpas, huchallicurcāqui? (How many times, when you were feeding [living with] your wife, did you sin [fornicate]? in a year? per month? in a week? in the day time? in the night time too?) (*ibid.*)
48. paihuan caranacuscāqui pachamanta, haica mittam, huatampi, quillampi, semanampi, puchauñincunapi, tutampihuampas huchallicurcanqui? (in the time that

you were feeding [living with] your woman [concubine], how many times in a year, in a month, in a week, in the daytime, let's say, and the night time, too, did you sin [fornicate]? (235)

188. [a question for women] Hainayoc, sallayocchu canqui? (Are you paired up with a young man [are you the possessor of a young man]?, are you a paired-up person?, 253)
(Perez Bocanegra [1631]: sixth commandment).

However, well into the seventeenth century, there were complaints voiced by the clerics against this practice, as written by a bishop in 1668:

Tambien es abuso comun entre los Indios, y se debe atajar, que las mugeres no estiman la virginidad *ante nuptias*, que en todas las Naciones del mundo se respeta, y honra;... y asi las doncellas antes de casarse, llamaban al primero que topaban, para que las corrompiese: costumbre infernal, que parece la aprendieron de los Asirios, Lidios, cuyas virgines no se casaba, sino que otro primero las violase (Peña Montenegro [1668] [1771] 1985: I X, viii, 118).

With the privileging of the sacrament of marriage performed within the confines of the Church, and only after baptism was performed, the nuclear family can displace the central importance of the *ayllu*, a network of extended kin. The political and religious role of the *ayllu* is further curtailed in the sanctions against polygamy; the church advocates, instead, the model of one spouse bound in perpetual wedlock.⁸

The prohibition against adultery may have been easier for the church to enforce. As we have noted, Incaic custom forbade the "taking of a woman belonging to another," according to the "Instrucion" written by Polo de Ondegardo ([1561-71] [1585] 1985:

⁸ For comparative purposes, consult the studies on colonial Mexico published by Gruzinski (1982, 1989), Lavrin (1989), Burkhart (1989), and Klor de Alva (1989).

269). One sermon of 1585 praises the Incas for punishing cases of adultery:

... vuestro Inga castigaba con muerte al que tomaba la muger de su proximo y le hazia morir rabiando, pues Dios que es rey del cielo, no castigara mejor que vuestro Inga? Las leyes de la tierra mandan que los adulteros mueran (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 647).

Additionally, Guaman Poma's manuscript of 1615 also provides us with illustrations and prose accounts of the punishment of adultery within Incaic territory. In the case of two consenting adults, both were stoned to death in Guaman Poma's drawings ([1615] 1980: 281). If one member of the couple had forced the other into the relationship, the offender was executed and the partner was whipped and banished (*ibid.*).

The early Quechua dictionaries denote adultery with a specific verb, *guachoc* (Santo Tomás [1650] 1951: 282), *huachuc* (Anonymous [1586] 1951: 105), and *huachoc* (Torres Rubio [1603?] [1700] 1963: 161). Curiously, there is also a separate verb for the designation of a female adulterer in the dictionary of 1586:

adultera muger huachuc chirmayacuc (105)
chirmayacuni la muger que ha caydo en fornicio, o
quebrado algo (Anonymous [1586] 1951: 37).

This latter verb, however, rarely appears in the texts of sermons or confessionals because *huachuc* is the preferred designation. Sometimes it is combined with the verb for "sinning," as is seen in this sermon: "huachuc huchacta huchallicuscanta" (literally, "the adulterous sin did you sin?," *Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 471). In the manual of confession elaborated by the same committee of priest translators in 1585, however, only one verb is used to bring about a confession of adultery, *huchallicuni*:

2. Huaquin huarmicunahuāri, casarascahuāpas, solterahuāpas huchallicucchu cāqui? ("With some woman, a married one, an unmarried one, did you commit sin?" *Confessionario* [1585] 1985: 217).

From context, then, the confessant is indoctrinated to believe that both sexual relationships are sinful occasions, equal in their offensiveness to God.

There was another sin of sexuality, sodomy, which was of primary interest to the priests from the first sighting of the native peoples of America. The Native American populations were described as particularly fond of the "pecado nefando." The chroniclers Herrera, the Inca Garcilaso, and Pedro Martyr are often cited as sources for documentation of sodomy (Peña Montenegro [1668] [1771] 1985: 117). Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás' narrative, which was cited by Cieza de León, describes sodomy in religious ceremonies of the Sierra and of the coastal *yungas*:

... algunos moços dende su niñez estuviessen en los templos, para que a tiēpos y quādo se hiziessen los sacrificios y fiestas solemnes, los señores y otros principales usassen cō ellos el maldito peccado de la sodomia... el tal vicio era especie de sanctidad y religion, para tenerlos mas sujetos (Cieza de León 1553: Ch. XLIII).

The privileging of sodomy is seen in the twenty-fourth sermon of the *Tercero catecismo*, which also serves to define exactly what was meant by the term in the sixteenth century:

Sobre todos estos peccados es el peccado que llamamos nefando, y sodomia, que es peccar hombre con hombre, e con muger no por el lugar natural, y sobre todo esto es aun peccar con bestias, con ouejas y perras, o yeguas, que esta es grādissima abominacion (651).

The emphasis on sodomy — defined as bestiality, homosexuality, or unnatural heterosexual acts — reflects keen European interest in this vice which was fervently persecuted in the Old World. In Spain, for instance, Aragonese inquisitors processed more than two hundred and fifty cases of homosexual sodomy in the years 1570 to 1700 (Carrasco, as cited by Percey 1990: 158). In Madrid, some one hundred and fifty deaths resulted from this accusation; in Sevilla one hundred perished. Only in Aragon was the crime under jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The other Spanish sodomites were tried in secular

courts, according to the provisions of edicts published in 1497, 1569, and 1598 by the Spanish royalty (Monter 1990: 280). In contrast to the vehemence with which the priests combated sodomy among the Indians in the Americas, the Moors, on the other hand, underwent prosecution only when they were observed in the act by an “old” Christian, or they had chosen an “old” Christian as a partner. There was a lack of cooperation among the Moorish community to report this “unspeakable” crime to authorities; sodomy was a custom widely practiced by the Moors (*ibid.*: 293).

Bestiality was a sin equally abhorred in the Kingdom of Aragon. Frenchmen were often singled out for prosecution, as were shepherds (*ibid.*: 291). In Paris, the Parliament issued fifty-five death sentences for acts of bestiality in the years 1564-1640 (*ibid.*). In Sweden, the executions resulting from bestiality amounted to six hundred or seven hundred males (1630-1778), along with the hundreds of animals slaughtered because of their defilement in this sin (Liliequist 1991: 394).

Although statistics for the persecution of the sin of sodomy are not yet available for the Andean region, there is documentation of clerical interest in this act in the confession manuals of the colonial period. The *Confessionario* of 1585 specifically directs questions to ferret out practices of sodomy and bestiality, in the confines of the sixth commandment:

21. Has usado del peccado nefando con alguna persona?
22. Has usado de bestialidad con algun animal? (220).

The translation of this query into Quechua makes use of a specific verb, *huaçana*, whether the partner is of the same human sex or a beast:

21. Pihuāpas *huaçanacucchu* cāqui? (With anyone did you enter from the rear?)
22. Llamahuā, ymahuāpas, *huaçahuchacta* huchallicucchu cāqui? (With a llama, with anything [animal], did you sin using the rear?) (*ibid.*).

In its noun form, *huaça* (*huassa*) is defined as “las ancas de la bestia” (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 184), which is easily

expanded to include the reference to copulation from rear entry with an animal or human partner. The preferred animal in the Andes is, of course, the llama which is given primary status in the interrogation. Yet, on continuation, the questioning includes the use of any animal.

The Quechua nomenclature for sodomy and bestiality was not always consistent in the translations provided by the Spanish priests. A confession manual written by Hierónimo de Oré in 1598 uses the verb *pantani* to refer to male homosexuality: "Caripura pantanacchu canqui?" (with male companions do you have sex [lose yourself, err]?) (187). Oré's reference to bestiality also highlights the use of the llama, although other "four-footed beings" (the code word in Quechua for animal) are mentioned also.

Torres Rubio's confession manual written in 1603 presents a dilemma for the confessor to ponder. He warns against teaching innocent Indians sexual practices that they may never have practiced. He advises the confessor to assess the quality of the individual before embarking on questions of homosexual activity, male masturbation, and bestiality:

Con estas tres ultimas preguntas que son la 11. y la 12. y 13. Es mucho de advertir la qualidad del penitente a quien se ha de preguntar porq̄ no se le enseñe lo q̄ el no sabe. Mayormēte que este peccado es tal q̄ lo ha cometido lo dize sin ser preguntado ([1603] [1700] 1963: 186).

Torres Rubio is content to use the verb *huchallicuni*, not *huaçacuni*, allowing the context of male partner or beast define the act of sodomy if the penitent merits such interrogation.

Perez Bocanegra's *Ritual formulario* (1631) is much more specific in his reference to sodomy and bestiality. He outlines sexual possibilities with a whole barnyard full of animals in an effort to have a male penitent confess his sin:

Tahua chaqui yochuan, maican animal nisca cauçachuampas, huchallicurcanquichu? vujahuan? cabrahuā? china asnohuā? china atahuallpahuan? china allcohuan? mulahuan? misihuan? ñuñumahuan? china llamahuā? (With any four-footed thing, or with any living thing that is called an animal did you fornicate? sheep? goat? a female ass? a female

chicken? a female dog? with a mule? with a cat? with any animal that can nurse? with a female llama?) (Perez Bocanegra 1631: 244).

This manual of 1631 deviates from the common format of most confessionals. There are separate questions for women penitents and thus the listing of sinfulness is in accordance with the female sex:

Cairi mā? orco allcohuan? maican orco tahua chaquihuan? Ima orco cauçac, animal nischahuampas, huchacta ruracchu canqui? (Now this. with a male dog? with any four-footed thing? with any male non-human, what's called an animal, did you commit a sin?) (*ibid.*).

Pablo de Prado's *Directorio espiritual* of 1650 limits the categorization of the sixth commandment to a mere six questions. One of these is formulated to address the sins of sodomy and bestiality. *Millaihucha*, "the horrendous sin," is used to denote this act in the first segment, while the more familiar *huaçani* is found in the second part:

10. Cai millaihuchata runahuā llamahuan, tahua chaqui huihuacunahuan imahuampas ruracchu canqui? pihuampas huaçanacuchuā canqui? (Did you commit the horrendous sin with a person [man], a llama, a four-footed domestic animal? with whom did you engage in homosexual activity [entry in retro]?) (1650: 106v).

Given the use of the the Quechua adjective *millai*, it is evident that the Spanish clerics have designated sodomy and bestiality, not adultery or pre-marital sex, as the most offensive sin.

The emphasis on the sins of sexuality looms large in the colonial confession manuals. In every manual, the interrogations pertaining to the sixth commandment are the most numerous, with Perez Bocanegra's two hundred thirty-six questions as the most dedicated to this category of sin. However, the catechists also were determined to stamp out forms of idol worship. In fact, the *Confessionario* of 1585 particularly states that if the priest is short on time in the

confessional, repentance based on the first commandment alone is sufficient:

Bastā las preguntas que en general se ponen en el primer mandamiēto: y lo que mas en particular pidiere la confesiō de alguno de la instruccion lo podra sacar el confessor (*Confessionario* [1585] 1985: "Proemio," 201).

In this set of questions related to "Amaras a Dios sobre todas las cosas," the first commandment, a lot of regional vocabulary helped to elicit a more accurate examination of the penitent: have you worshipped sacred spaces [*huacas*]? have you offered *coca* leaves or *cuy* [guinea pigs] to the sacred beings or to your dead?" ([1585] 1985: 208-209). Superstitions were addressed; practices to be corrected include confessions to false priests, use of a curer to find lost items, and beliefs in omens and dreams.

Heavy reliance on the first commandment came about because the Christians believed that the Devil himself inspired this false worship. If this pagan worship ceased, in all of its manifestations, the Indians would be led to the true God:

el diablo se esta riendo y haziendo burla de vosotros, como a niños sin seso, os tiene engañados con tales niñerías y embustes? Quien pensays que invento todo esto? El diablo para que se condenen los hombres (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 561).

Without this belief in the Devil, these other practices which offend and anger the Christian God would not occur. Of course, it may have been more practical to center discussion on the Devil, for the Incaic deities were legion, as indicated in the eighteenth sermon of the *Tercero catecismo*:

Por este [primer] mandamiento se os manda que no adoreys al sol, ni ala luna, ni al luzero, ni a las cabrillas, ni a las estrellas, ni ala mañana, ni al trueno, o rayo, ni al arco del cielo, ni a los cerros ni montes, ni a las fuentes, ni a los rios, ni ala mar ni alas quebradas, ni a los arboles, ni alas piedras, ni alas sepulturas de vuestros antepassados, ni alas culebras,

ni a los leones, ni a los ossos, ni a otros animales, ni ala tierra fertil: ni tengays villcas, ni guacas, ni figura de hombre o ouejas hechas de piedra o Chaquira,... (*ibid.*: 554-555).

Another set of questions was directed against the sin of drunkenness; in this state the sinner was particularly susceptible to the machinations of the Devil. Interrogations regarding drunkenness were accomplished under the rubrick of the fifth commandment ("Thou shalt not kill"), for it was thought that excessive alcoholic intake killed off the good health of the body: "Yallintahuan micuspa, vpiaspa, oncocchu canqui?" (Eating a lot and drinking a lot, didn't you get sick?) (*Confessionario* [1585] 1985: 216). Drunkenness was a mortal sin, for God created drink to give strength for work and not for the purpose of destroying the body. The excessive drinking of corn *chicha* led to illness and the inability to engender children, it encouraged stubborn behavior on the part of the Indians in their dealings with the Spanish, increased family violence and sexual perversions, and led to devil worship in the traditional ceremonies (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 630-641).

The Incas were praised for their control of this vice, despite the errors of their religious system based on idolatry. In one sermon, drunkenness is linked to the excessive decline in population which occurred in the colonial period:

En tiempo del Inga no se emborrachauan sino muy pocas vezes, porque no lo consentian los Gouernadores del Inga [*yanacuna*], y assi estauaun en estatierra como enxãbres de auejas. Agora beben quantos quieren, y assi mueren,... (*ibid.*: 632).

Legislation, both secular and religious, was enacted to temper this vice among the Indians. Viceroy Toledo, in orders issued in 1572, forbade the selling of fermented manioc, with the punishment of a fine of two hundred *pesos* levied, or one hundred lashes (Lejarza 1941: 265). Toledo also observed the drunkenness caused by the consumption of *sora* (corn *chicha*) and prohibited the sale of ground corn in the city of Potosí (*ibid.*: 266). By mid-seventeenth century, the Franciscan Bernardino de Cárdenas had forbidden religious as well

as secular members of the colony from selling wine or *chicha* to the Indians, under penalty of excommunication (*ibid.*: 247).

Colonial Dialogue: Priest and Penitent

The indigenous reaction to the annual ritual of confession is documented overtly and obliquely in the ecclesiastical texts of the colonial period. In general, the prologues and explanatory paragraphs of the confessionals evidence little faith in the Indians' ability to understand the act of penance. The clergy often refer to Quechua and Aymara-speaking converts as "rudos" and "torpes." Often abbreviated versions of Christian doctrine were composed for the Indians, "catecismo breve para rudos y ocupados" (*Doctrina christiana* [1584] 1985: 45). Even the question and answer format of the confessional was a device to make Christian concepts more accessible for the Indian converts (see Castillo Arroyo 1966: 156).

For the linguist González Holguín, the impediments to conversion lay not with the Indians but with the priests, many of whom only learned rudimentary Quechua phrases to use in confession:

los curas no dependē lengua para predicar sino solo para cōfessar, o q engaño tã pernicioso y tã peligroso a sus cōciēcias.... Todos culpan a los yndios, que aun son ydolatras hechizeros que no tienen fee, que son incestuosos, y borrachos mas pocos les ayudan con la predicacion,... ([1607] 1975: "Dedicatoria," n.p.).

As late as 1668, Bishop Peña Montenegro reiterates the comment that the Indians do not "confess well," but he also reminds his readers that they are human beings, as Pope Paul III declared them to be:

En quanto al Sacramento de la Penitencia, no ha faltado quien los tenga por muy poco menos que bestias, juzgandolos por incapaces para confesarse como deben, por ser gente tan ruda, que no pueden tener las partes del

Sacramento con la disposicion necesaria para la gracia...
 ([1668] [1771] 1985: III, I, p. 269).

In addition to defining semantically and ideologically the Christian concept of sin, the priests were also required to explain an examination of conscience. Preliminary examination of one's sinful acts and thoughts was prescribed by the Council of Trent, but there was some laxity in its interpretation (Lea 1896: II, 413, note 1). The *Summa Diana*, in the seventeenth century, for instance, alleged that it would be impossible to recall all of the sins committed in an entire year. Thus, sinners should only be held accountable for those sins which could be remembered (*ibid.*: II, 283).

The indigenous soul-searching was to begin in the same manner as penitance for every Christian, with concentration on the mortal sins: fornication, false testimony, stealing, doing evil to others in word and deed, worshipping idols, and obeying false priests (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 471). After a recollection of all offenses, based on the Ten Commandments or "whatever other means," the sinner was ready to appear before the priest on his or her knees, to state these sins. The Andean theologians acknowledged that this memory work was difficult: "[Dios] no quiere echaros carga pesada" (*ibid.*: 477). Therefore, parishoners were encouraged to confess more than once a year, following the example of the *Viracochas* (the Spanish) and the many *indios ladinos* (*ibid.*).

Penitents were cautioned against relying on written memoranda to remember their sins. Confession could not be carried out by sending a written missive to the priests; the penitent had to come before the priest and orally render up accounts of his or her sins (Lea 1896: II, 283). In the Andes, the Indians were encouraged to remember their sins by use of the Incan knotted mnemonic device, the *quipu*:

hazer quipo dellos: como hazes quipo, quando eres
 tambocamayo [inn keeper], de lo q̄ das, y delo q̄ te deuen:
 assi haz quipo de lo que has hecho (*Tercero catecismo* [1685]
 1985: 482).

Some confession manuals advised the priests to extract a "good" confession from the natives by the use of many and prolonged

questions. The Indians, recent converts, could not be trusted to come up with their own list of wrong-doing:

escriuo este formulario, no cõ la breuedad que otros Confessionarios (que de molde, y de mano) e visto, sino muy ad longũ, declarando por muy menudo, todas las maneras comunes, y exquisitas, que tienen los Indios de pecar: y no remitirlas a la insipiencia y mal examinada conciencia del Indio, o India penitente, que jamas se confiessan bien, sino muy preguntados, y entonces ay duda, si dize todo lo que hizo mal y lo que tiene que confessar (Perez Bocanegra 1631: 105).

In an effort to have the Indian converts recall all of their sins, the Andean Indians were repeatedly warned that God would punish those who hid sins from him. By revealing all sins, the penitent avoided both earthly punishment and eternal damnation. Many sermons depict an angry, vengeful God:

confessando mal,... enojays terriblemente a Dios. Y aun por esso tambien padeceys enfermedades muchas vezes en el cuerpo y teneys trabajos temporales, y os succeden mal vuestras cosas:... (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 480-481).

Without the benefit of prompting from the priests, the indigenous converts experienced great difficulty in remembering the categories of Christian sins. Bishop Peña Montenegro's *Itinerario* gives examples of the misunderstandings expressed by the Indians:

Se acusan de haver pecado en tomar agua bendita, sin haverse lavado las manos, de que salieron de sus casas sin haverlas barrido primero, de que escupieron en la Iglesia, o que entraron ella, estando con su costumbre las mugeres; y otras veces no hacen escrupulo de pecados porque juzgan que no lo son, como es el mentir por socorrer al progimo necesitado, o por librarse de molestias:... ([1668] [1771] 1985: V, III, i, 514).

Nor are the Andean Indians at all clear in the distinction between a mortal and a venial sin (Perez Bocanegra 1631: 116), nor the circumstances of the sin (*ibid.*: 117). Often, the Indians' answer to "how many times have you sinned in this manner" is the rounded out "ten times:"

Ni tampoco declara el numero de los pecados (poco mas, ò menos) que a cometido, que es necesario para la integridad de la confession. Antes si dizejurò diez veces, otras diez se emborrachò, fornicò, hurtò: sin añadir, ni quitar en quantos pecados confiessan este numero (*ibid.*: 117).

One can imagine the difficulties inherent in the confession of the category of sins of thought. A sermon of 1585 attempts to clarify this issue:

si deseaste peccar con fulana, y la miraste para esso: si quisieras hurtar la manta, o el carnero del otro, y lo dexaste porque no te castigasse el Corregidor, si te enojaste con el Padre, o con el Curaca, no te atreviste a herille, pero en tu coraçon quisieras hazello (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 482-483).

Within the confessionals, this concept is also pragmatically expressed in all of the commandments. Perhaps it reaches extreme proportions in those questions of the sixth commandment. Women Quechua-speakers were asked about the thoughts running through their heads in the moment of a homosexual act:

226. Cai millaimana pēcaimana, huchacta ruraspā huarminyoc carictachu, huarminnactachu, Padre, frailectachu, runamaçijquictachu, huchallicoemacijquip runamacintachu, yuyac canqui? (In the midst of the horrendous sin [lesbian relations], did you think about sex with a married man? with a single man? with a priest, with a friar, with a male kinsman of yours or of your husband's?) (Perez Bocanegra 1631: 257).

Of course, the specificity is due to Catholic preoccupation with the levels of sin and the means for procuring absolution. If, in addition to engaging in lesbian sex, the sinner's thoughts were also engaged in fantasies of other prohibited male sexual partners, the sin was compounded. Another example of this doctrine comes also from the interrogations of the sixth commandment: "Allco huatanacocta, cauçaccuna palltanacocta rucuspa munainijquihuan ricocchu canqui?" (Did you get turned on [with desire] when you looked at animals copulating, piling up on top of each other?") (*ibid.*: 245). The admission of desire, the confession of this sin to the priest, would absolve the penitent.

Even if they mastered the complexities of Christian doctrine and the task of remembrance of sins, the indigenous converts in the Andes exhibited a reluctance to appear for confession in the prescribed time of the year. Passages in the *Confessionario* and the sermons mention the use of force in bringing the Indians before the priests: "no quieren venir a la cõfessiõ sino por fuerça, y que los trayga el alguazil" (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 478).⁹ Some theologians attributed this reluctance to confess as a fear of the priest's harsh words, or the sinner's shame in confessing certain heinous crimes against God, or the fear that these sins will be told to others. Repeatedly, Quechua-speakers were assured that the priest would accept whatever sins are told to them, without prejudice, and that the priest was sworn to secrecy in this matter, even if his life were threatened (*ibid.*: 487).

However, when one looks closely at the texts of the confessionals, it is apparent that this sacrament could be used as a powerful political instrument to gather knowledge of the actions and the thoughts of the indigenous members of the colonies. The introductory preface to the authorized confessional written in 1585 reveals the political aspirations of the Christian sacrament:

⁹ Consult MacCormack (1985) on the missionaries' increasing reliance on force with regard to indoctrination in the Andes. For an overview and a close textual study of conversion in the Andes, see Duviols (1977). Barnes (1992) provides the most inclusive study of catechisms and confessionals in the Andes, while Azoulai (1983) cites a useful bibliography for the many confessionals published in the Spanish American colonies.

El otro efecto para que se pone esta instruccion es para los confesores para que quando oyeren confesiones de Indios viejos o hechizeros o semejantes puedā preguntarles y entenderse conellos. Y aun para los visitadores y juezes de Indios ayudara en negocios que cada dia se offrescen para tener noticia de sus idolatrias y ritos y corregillas y quitallas (*Confessionario*, "Proemio,": 201).

One passage from the eighth commandment ("Thou shall not give false testimony"), illustrates the extent to which the Church required penitents to inform on non-Christian behavior in the community:

Umucta, huaca muchac runacta, ymahina huchallicuctapas, Padreman, Visitadorman, pipimampas huatacninca ñispa, chatacchu canqui? Ricuy churicunam mantaca, mana alli cauçac runap huchanta yachaspa, chatanquipuni huanancampac, mana chataspaca çupay huacimāmi rihuac (About the curer, those that worship idols, whoever sins, have you told the priest, the Church Visitor, or whomever can lock [tie up] up [the offender]? Look, my children, if you know about someone's sins, and you don't disclose it, you will go to hell with the devil) (*Confessionario* [1585] 1985: 223).

The question is particularly oriented as a means of uprooting those who still maintain non-Christian worship patterns. They should be denounced to the three supreme authorities of the colonial hierarchy: the priest, the appointed inspector (*Visitador*), and the jail keeper.

Resistance to confession became a political strategy in the mid-seventeenth century, as we learn from the testimonies of Andean leaders brought in for questioning. During the campaign to extirpate idolatry in the Viceroyalty of Peru begun in the seventeenth century, the indigenous shaman-confessors warned the faithful to not confess certain sins. They had become aware of the information gathering techniques of the confessional and they were determined to protect their deities and their sacred offerings to them. A testimony exacted under duress from residents of San Pedro de Hacas (near

Cajatambo) presents us with the strategies employed by the indigenous religious leaders:

los ministros de los ydolos que tienen dichos cuando se juntaban todos los del pueblo [a] haser sus ayunos y confesiones les mandaban y docmatisaban que quando se fuesen a comfesar por tiempo de Quaresma con sus curas no descubriesen ni comfiesen estas idolatrias porque no se supiesen y descubiertas las afrentasen ni tampoco confesasen aquellos pecados que confesaban con sus confesores magsas y echiceros a su modo jentilico que era no guardar sus ayunos el bolber a mugeres que les habian ofendido el no haser sus ofrendas y sachrificios a sus malquis el entrar en las yglesias cuando los hasian el jurar falso segun su rito antiguo dellos que era cojer la tierra en la mano y besarla y decir: *caimi alpai caimi marcai* porque si desian algun pecado destos a los sacerdotes y curas bernian en conosimiento de sus ydolatrias sino que tan solate comfessaban a sus curas que comian carne los dias de cuaresma o vijilias faltaban de missa y juraban por dios que estos no eran pecados para comfesarlos con los echiseros porque no los tenian por pecados y que los pecados de sensualidad y tratar con solteras los solteros tampoco era pecado entre ellos y estos podian comfesar al cura ni los pecados de pensamiento lo eran tampoco (Duviols [1656] 1986: 152).

This text is structured around the basic opposition of the “ministers of idolatry” and “the [Catholic] priests.” Even if we take into account that this is a text translated from the Quechua and may have undergone some distortion at the process of translation, the parameters of Christian versus indigenous beliefs are well drawn. The declaration is offered from an indigenous perspective, for the accused were asked to testify in their own behalf or against those non-Christians in their community. The opening explanations of the narration reveal that traditional Andean practices have persisted; the accused refers to fasting as practiced in Indian communities, as well as sacrifices to the ancestors (the *malquis*) and the swear using the name of one’s place of origin. These were grave offenses which

should be reported to the shaman-confessors. The penitents were cautioned by their "ministers" to omit the discussion of these practices. The Catholic priests often were not aware of these practices, and, if idol worship were disclosed, for example, the priests would persecute them.

On the other hand, it was permissible to tell the priests about Christian-type sins, such as eating meat during the Lenten period, using the name of the Lord in vain, or that they were absent from mass. These were not considered sins in the categories elaborated by the shaman-confessors and did not violate any indigenous beliefs.

Sexuality figures prominently in both systems is something to be confessed. But, as is evident from the narration, the nature of the sin differed in each religious configuration. For the 'indigenous' confession, it was necessary to admit to having returned to relations with a previous lover. This offense may refer to adultery, although it is not specified clearly. For the 'Christian' confession, on the other hand, adultery is not mentioned and the pre-marital sex of youths is the major sin. Thus, the high incidence of sexual sins in the interrogations of the confessional manuals may be prompted by this arbitrary demarcation of adultery as sinful in one belief and youthful promiscuity in the other. To correct these false notions, the Catholic priests may have lingered on these sins longer than others while attending to confession. As is stated above, sins of sensuality could be offered up as wrong-doing to the Christian priests as well as the sins of thought. They did not impinge on 'indigenous' confessions, yet it is quite clear that they are considered to be Catholic sins.

This testimony establishes that the 'cultural encounter' experienced by the Spanish and the conquered Andean peoples was not a wholesale adoption of Christian beliefs. Quechua speakers in many regions of the former Incaic territory continued to follow their traditional Andean practices, which included confession to their shamans and curers. At the same time, they did congregate for Catholic confession, as the narration of 1656 admits. However, these Indian converts were selecting exactly which sins they would confess as they lined up in the Catholic chapel in their parish. Their ability to screen what *to say* and what *not to say* to the Spanish clergy attests to the successfulness of the Catholic evangelism and indoctrination. However, more importantly, their silence in front of the priests, and their selective admissions to the priests, demonstrates an ability to

dominate the intricate Catholic theology. In their manipulation of the doctrines of the Catholic invaders, the Amerindians maintain their native faith, separate from the prying questions of the Father Confessors.

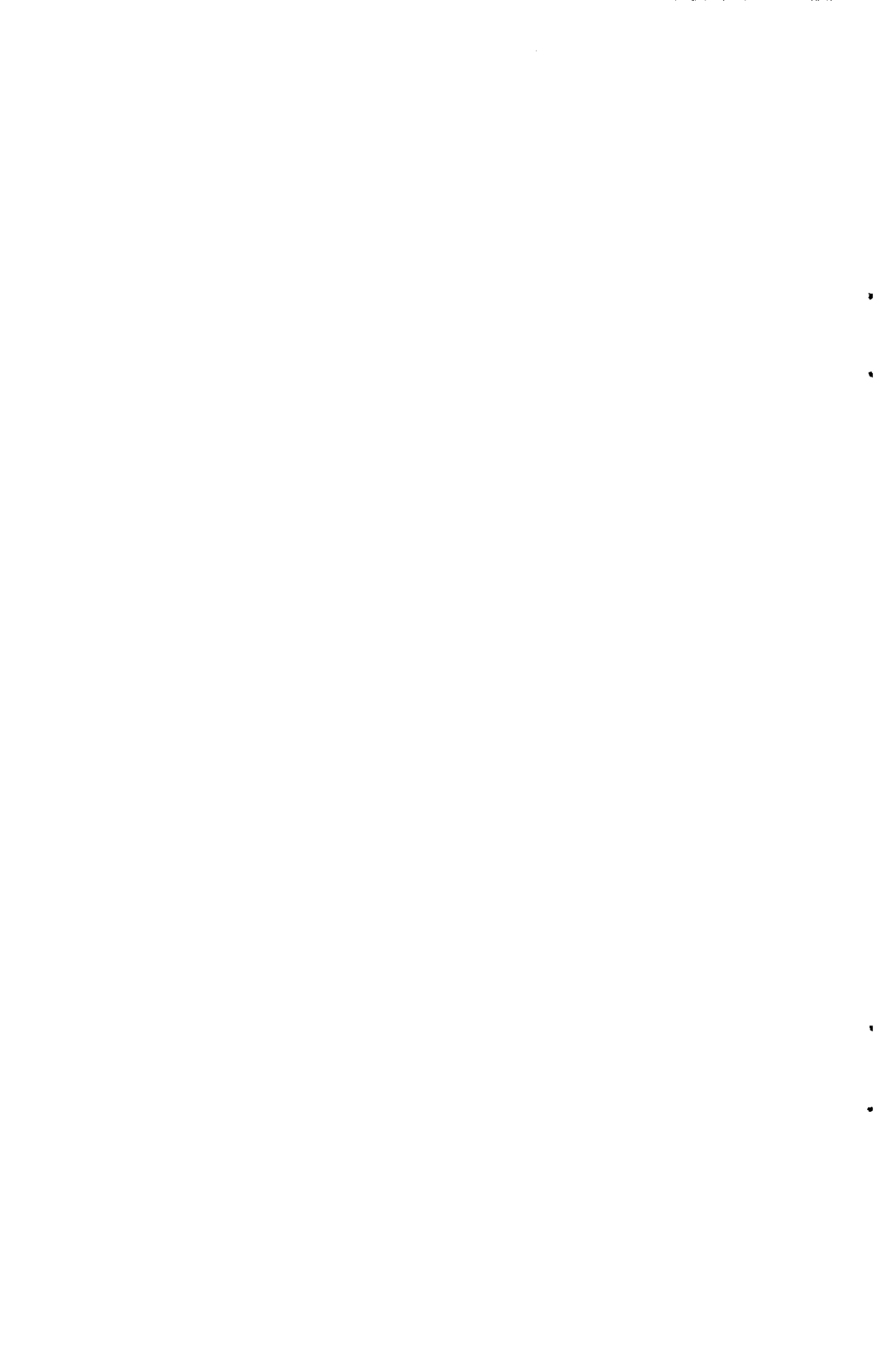
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the Rockefeller Foundation for awarding me a Residential Fellowship at the University of Maryland. The commentary I received from faculty members and students at the University enhanced my study of the ecclesiastical texts of the viceroyalty of Peru.

Among those scholars who made my stay in the Washington, D.C., area most enjoyable and charged with intellectual energy are Saúl Sosnowski and Danusia Mesón, José Rabasa, Graciela Palau de Nemes, Brett Williams, Martha Paley Francescato and Guido Francescato, Rochelle Kainor, Sara Castro-Klarén and Peter Klarén, Ineke Phaf, Tom Grooms, Ileana Rodríguez, Javier Sanjinés, Asunción Lavrin, Roberto Matos, and Phyllis Butler. I am very grateful for the access that the Hispanic Division provided me through the maze of stacks and levels at the Library of Congress. In particular, I thank Georgette Dorn, Dolores Moyano, Iêda Siqueira Wiarda, and Everette Larson.

“True’ Confessions” forms part of a larger project on Spanish and Quechua cultural encounters in the Andes that has received support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, and the American Republics Award of the Fulbright Commission.

A tantos, y por tanto, gracias.



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