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Identity, Kinship, and Inheritance in Viceregal Peru During the Late 16th and Early 17th Century: The World of Francisco Guaman, A Cacique of Chota

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Abstract
Since Nathan Wachtel's pioneering *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570* (1977), culture change during Spanish rule in Peru has gained topicality. Thanks to Karoline Noack's (2001: 191-204) and Kerstin Nowack's most recent approach (2006: 51-77), anthropology-based historiography has veered towards the study of *testamentos de Indios*, the natives' last wills, which is also relevant to discussions of cultural change in Peru during colonial times. Thus, new areas of study, such as kinship-centered thematics, have come into prominence. Drawing upon these areas of study, I focus on the analysis of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century nuncupative testaments from Cajamarca's Archives, which provide a wealth of information on daily life and interaction between relatives and kin living in the *República de los Indios*. Consequently, I delineate the depth of cultural change in the very private group of kinship.

Keywords: *Testamentos de Indios*, kinship, 16th–17th-century Peru, Cajamarca, society and cultural change.

Resumen
IDENTIDAD, PARENTESCO Y HERENCIA EN EL VIRREINATO DEL PERU DE FINALES DEL SIGLO XVI Y PRINCIPIOS DEL XVII: EL MUNDO DE FRANCISCO GUAMAN, CACIQUE DE CHOTA

Desde la obra pionera de Nathan Wachtel, *Los vencidos*: *Los Indios del Perú frente a la conquista española* (*1530-1570*) (1977), el tema del cambio cultural durante la dominación española en Perú ha cobrado actualidad. Gracias al enfoque más reciente de Karoline Noack (2001: 191-204) y Kerstin Nowack (2006: 51-77), la historiografía basada en la antropología se ha orientado hacia el estudio de los *testamentos de Indios*, que expresan las últimas voluntades de testadores indígenas, lo cual también es relevante para las discusiones sobre el cambio cultural en Perú en la época colonial. Así, nuevas áreas de estudio, como las temáticas centradas en el parentesco, se han vuelto prominente. Basándome en estas áreas de estudio, me enfoco en el análisis de los testamentos nuncupativos de los siglos XVI y XVII, procedentes de los archivos de Cajamarca, que proporcionan una gran cantidad de información sobre la vida cotidiana y las interacciones entre los parientes y afines que convivían en la *República de los Indios*. Por lo tanto, caracterizo precisamente la profundidad del cambio cultural tal y como se manifestó dentro del ámbito muy privado del parentesco.

Palabras clave: *Testamentos de Indios*, parentesco, Perú siglos XVI-XVII, Cajamarca, sociedad y cambio cultural.

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Introduction

In early seventeenth-century Peru, identity, kinship and inheritance practices transformed themselves permanently under colonial rule. Testaments, such as Francisco Guaman's testament, usually tell a story of complex identities and shifting kinship structures set amidst two worlds that coexist ambiguously.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the viceroyalty of Peru went through significant social and cultural changes owing to both influences of the extirpation of idolatry campaigns (Lisi 2008) and Francisco de Toledo's reform policy (Marzal 1993).[1] As the third Council of Lima (1582–1583) emphasized and encouraged an all-encompassing evangelization of social conduct as well as a thorough interiorization of the new faith amongst the recently-converted flock, a string of political and administrative changes known as the Toledan Reforms were laid out. They were part of a broader scheme to regiment indigenous people's daily life in its every aspect; thus, Spanish culture's value-orientation patterns, along with Catholic norms (the teaching and practices of the Iberian Catholicism during colonial times) and principles, were intentionally instilled into a burgeoning colonial society.

New value systems and imported cultural models (Bel Bravo 2009: 105-124) affected indigenous populations as a whole in an enduring manner. Culture and society in the Andes were forever altered and turned upside down. Many works from a broad range of researchers have shed a light on acculturation and miscegenation in Spanish America. For instance, studies and research by Nathan Wachtel (1971), Serge Gruzinski (1999), Anath Ariel de Vidas (2008), and Jacques Poloni-Simard (2000) should be brought to our attention. Drawing upon their work and inspired by their thinking, I will endeavor to comprehend how a traditional indigenous society transitioned into a colonial society and what kind of consequences ensued.

The document[2] that lays out our approach,[3] dated April 21st, 1601, was written in Lima by Francisco Guaman, a cacique (Wachtel 1971: 361)[4] of Chota,[5] in the province of Cajamarca in Northern Peru, and pertains to what

1 He was Peru's fifth viceroy from 1569 to 1582. He wrote the *Ordenanzas* (1572–1575) about his conceptions regarding good governance, 'buen gobierno,' in Peru.

2 That document is held in the Archivo General de la Nación (Lima, Perú) under the following reference: Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), serie Escribanía siglo 16, García López, Protocolo 106, fol. 202–203v, años 1599–1601.

3 This is part of a wider study undertaken during the course of a history PhD degree at the University of Paris-X-Nanterre under the supervision of Pr. Pierre Ragon.

4 *Cacique* or *curaca*, depending on the use of terminology, is a traditional indigenous chief.

5 Chota or Todos los Santos de Chota is a Spanish *reducción* or *reducción de Indios,* part of the province of Cajamarca. In the second half of the 16th century, Chota was included in Doña Jordana de Mexía's *encomienda*.

is termed a nuncupative[6] testament (Kordic 2005; Remy and Rostworowski 1992). Actually, very little is known of Francisco Guaman, apart from the fact that he was a traditional dignitary from Northern Peru who resided in Lima and gave most of his estate to his wife and twin children (Borja Santa Cruz 2014: 229-241).

Don Francisco Guaman's testament, which is both informative as a legal document and as an expression of spirituality, will allow us to venture into the life of an early seventeenth-century indigenous member of Cajamarca's elite. Devotion, a declaration of faith, the testator's civil status, kinship, debt repayment, inheritance distribution, and the passing of worldly inheritance, amongst other things, are major and recurring themes. They are indeed tremendously evocative of the many facets of the testator's public and private life.

First of all, I will ponder this testament's personal names because they will give us considerable insight into complex identities, set amidst two worlds that coexist ambiguously; secondly, I will try to understand how kinship structures and rules of inheritance might have played out completely, albeit in a paradoxical fashion, thereby unraveling a process of adaptation to a mostly Hispanic and Christian-oriented model of society. At last, if identities shifted, how did traditional customs and practices, evocative of a lasting indigenous world, evolve and conform to Spanish norms (i. e. a collection of legal rules that reflected the will of society and the church more than that of the monarch as Tamar Herzog defined it (Herzog 2020: 105–127))?

The Testamentary Sources

When looking over the testamentary sources of the *corregimiento*[7] of Cajamarca at the turn of the 17th century, one may observe that many indigenous names suggest intricate, multilayered identities

Those names, in their very structure, reveal the complexities of indigenous identities under Spanish rule. Thus, names and naming proved to be reflective of the coexistence of two worlds, the indigenous one and the early colonial Spanish society in the vice-royalty of Peru.

With the title that is put forward in his will, Don Francisco Guaman introduces himself as a traditional chief and a member of the Hispanic indigenous elite of the northern Andes, or, more precisely, of the area called the Cajamarca province.

6 A nuncupative testament, or open testament, is a legal document written in the presence of witnesses and an *escribano*, or notary. It is different from a *testamento cerrado*, or closed testament, which is written in the absence of witnesses. Most *testamentos de indios*, or indigenous testaments, are nuncupative.

7 A *corregimiento* is a Spanish geographical jurisdiction.

> '[...] I Don Francisco Guaman chief Indian and cacique of the pueblo of Chota, Cajamarca, of Doña Jordana Mejia's *repartimiento* [...]'[8] (Lavallé 1993: 62).
>
> AGN, serie escribanía, siglo 16, García López, Protocolo 106, siglo 16, fol. 202 –203v[9].

Out of the five siblings mentioned by Francisco Guaman, only one shares the name of Guaman: Sebastian Guaman. Don Diego Puma Julca, Domingo Guainale, and the 'Indian Flores' are the other siblings. However, it cannot be affirmed that the latter are patronymics (Redondo 1987), and the diversity of names among those whom Don Guaman calls his siblings remains problematic.

In the *corregimiento* of Cajamarca at the beginning of the 17th century, individuals bore names evocative of a dual culture. Indeed, testator Don Francisco Guaman, in the very first lines of his will, affirms his legal status and claims his affiliation to the 'Republic of Indians' (A social category within Spanish colonial Peru). However, his proper name or personal name (Zonabend 1980: 7-23) appears to be ambivalent, the first highlighting his compliance to the Christian faith, the second recalling the prehispanic indigenous world. This dual identity reflects the transition from a traditional world to a new colonial society.

Seemingly, proper names declined into two distinct forms: an individual name and a surname. An individual name (a given name or *nombre de pila*) was granted at the time of baptism and was also known as a post-conversion name. Usually of Spanish origin, these names would refer to saints' names (Francisco, etc.), Christ's disciples (Juan, etc.), or would tap into an Iberian traditional onomastic pool of names (Alonso, Diego, etc.); of course, given names consolidated an individual's belonging to the New World's Christian community. The second name proved a thorny issue. Usually, it was affixed to a given name or post-conversion name, subsequently behaving as a mere patronymic, or surname, so that that particular combination would appear as a close reproduction of Spanish onomastic patterns (I will call this a binominal system). However, it is with great caution that we should bear in mind that over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish patronymics themselves were dual. The *limpieza de sangre* policy probably influenced the fact that people had to prove on both parental sides that they did not share any Jewish or Muslim heritage. Paying at-

8 A *repartimiento* or *encomienda* is a portion of territory entrusted to Spaniards to evangelize, instruct and protect Natives. Doña Jordana Mejía or Mexía and Doña Beatriz de Ysásaga were respectively widows of Commander Melchor Verdugo and Captain Garci Holguin. From 1566 to 1578 (1566, March 1568–27 March 1578), they battled in court over a number of *encomiendas*: Bambamarca, Pomamarca and Chondal, which were all part of the province of Cajamarca. The dispute records are held under the following references: Archivos de Indias, Sevilla, Jordana contra Beatriz de Ysásaga, ES.41091.AGI/16414.24.22//JUSTICIA, 415, N. 2, pieza 1. Jordana Mejía contra Beatriz de Ysásaga, ES.41091.AGI/16414.65.13//JUSTICIA, 1063. Beatriz de Isásaga contra Melchor Verdugo, ES.41091.AGI/23.24.17//JUSTICIA, 410, N. 2.

9 '[...] yo don francisco guaman yndio principal e cazique del pueblo de chota de Cajamarca del rrepartimiento de doña jordana mejia [...].'

Baptismal names and anthroponyms:

Name received at baptism or at the time of conversion	Anthroponym	Descriptive Kinship Terms (as per Guaman's will)
Francisco	Guaman	spouse
Polonia	Guaman	spouse
Juan	Quispi	son
Lorencia		daughter
Ana	Culpi chara; Culqui chara/ Colquichara	mother
Unspecified	Unspecified	father
Gabriel	Muñoz	brother
Juan	Guaman	son
Diego	Puma julca	brother
Domingo	Guainale	brother
Unspecified	Flores	brother
Sebastian	Guaman	brother
Cristobal	Aucachilon	Unspecified
Diego	Manzaia	Unspecified
Antonio	Garcia	Unspecified
Alonso	Ricardo	Unspecified
Francisco	Matamoros de	Unspecified

tention to people's patronymics helped determine whether or not they were Old Christians (Martínez 2008).

It is clear that the use of a second name or surname aimed to replicate the Hispanic and Catholic naming system. From a closer viewpoint, that second name was undoubtedly indigenous and consisted of a lexeme or the apparent association of two lexemes.

According to *Vocabulario de la lengua Qquichua* by Diego Holguín (Holguín 1608), *Guaman* or *huaman*, or *waman* depending on this lexeme's written form, hints at a Peruvian species of birds of prey, called *gavilán*, *a kind of falconidae*. Holguín's dictionary entry relating to the term *huaman* reads as follows: 'Huaman. Halcón. Paluy huaman. Gauilan, or ñeblí.'[10](Holguín 1608: 131).

Also, in a willingness to abide by Spanish norms, Polonia, Francisco Guaman's spouse, elected to bear Francisco's anthroponym as a patronymic. Given the traditional meaning of the name Guaman, which is evocative of old traditional Andean shamanic rites and practices, Polonia's choice clearly associated her with a powerful and prestigious *ayllu*.

10 *Halcón* means falcon, *Gauilan*, or *ñeblí* refer to a kind of peregrine falcon.

This particular lexeme, 'guaman', refers to a specific family of *Accipitridae* (Blake 1977; Early 2004).[11]

> 'Puma julca,' the name of one of Francisco Guaman's brothers, consists of two different lexemes, 'puma' and 'julca'; *puma* relates to the family of *Felidae*; more precisely, it points out to South America's *panthera onca*, most commonly called the jaguar (Eizirik et al. 2001: 65-79).

The faunistic realm has a significance of its own. In traditional beliefs, animals are often mythical doubles of a shaman, protective spirits (Kuss 2004), or the spirit guides of individuals or groups (Alves 2011). Jaguars, condors and hawks were central figures in Andean mythologies and were perceived as 'depositories of occult power' (Alves 2011:134). Abel Alves also describes at length the relationships that traditional healers would develop with the animal kingdom. 'Julca' or 'xulca' was used as a sole lexeme or compound lexeme and refers to typical cacical surnames and high-ranking individuals' names; it may also mean 'the younger.' That lexeme would be recurring amongst people from cacical families, such as Don Cristobal Xulca Condor (Cummins 2002; Spalding 1984). Authors such as William Mejías López (2002) inferred that, in some cases, *xulca* might indicate a hierarchical ranking or an *ayllu* of lower ranking (Mejías López 2002: 1723; Taylor 1987: 337-341).

Frank Solomon and Sue Grosboll (2011: 39-61) have a different and nuanced understanding of the matter. They believe that *xulca*, even though it would relate to an *ayllu*'s name, could possibly refer to the fourth-born male. Thus, they assert that birth ranking could be vindicated and identified through an onomastic lens.

This is the same kind of logic that can be found with the testator's mother's name: Ana Colqui Chara.

> 'Colqui' or [Culqui], according to Diego Holguín's dictionary (Holguín 1608: 387; Petersen 2020), denotes a native metal, silver.

Holguín's dictionary entry displays the following terms: 'Plata. Ccollqque'; 'Plata' being the Spanish term for silver, 'Ccollque' its equivalent Quechua word.

Silver definitely has a symbolic significance of its own; it is often found to be associated with the moon and the sun, which are recurring key elements of Andean cosmovision (Silberblatt 1995).

However, Teresa Valiente (1984) challenges that perception, instead emphasizing terms and expressions such as 'Cullquini, tocpini', which means 'farming tools' and 'Cullqui cullquilla tocpi tocpilla'. The latter expression has 'piscca' (Holguín 1608: 64), which means 'farming process'.

These terms denote agrarian rather than mining activities; they refer to forms of traditional subsistence horticulture developed through centuries in the

11 Many species may be found in Peru, such as the sparrowhawk, the sharp-shinned hawk and the bicoloured hawk (*Accipiter striatus*, *Accipiter bicolor*).

high-altitude Andean ecological zones, better known as vertical ecology. In a nutshell, Andean farming or horticulture (Valiente 1984: 341-350) terminology can sometimes be used in feminine names disclosing forms of *ayllu*-related division of labor based on gender.

Another example is the name 'Quispi ou Quispe.' Still in use, it is one of the most common and widespread surnames in current Peru. Quispi appears to be a simple lexeme. Through its analysis, we delve into a past indigenous world with a specific belief system and cosmogony. It seems that Quispi comes from an old prehispanic background and has transformed through time into a true patronymic.

> In Quechua, it means 'rock crystal,' according to Diego Holguín's *Vocabulario de la lengua Qquichua*.
>
> 'Quespi' is a glittering matter or stone.
>
> 'Pucca quespi vmina' refers to a ruby, and 'Komer quespi vmina' an emerald gem (Holguín 1608: 204).

As a personal and masculine name, 'Quispi' pertains to the mineral and mining world. It is no coincidence that the mineral world is reflected in the naming of male individuals. This hearkens back to the ancient beliefs of ancestors' lithomorphosis, as studied by Pierre Duviols (1978: 359-364).

Finally, two other designations, Guainale and Aucachilon, sound like indigenous names. Although we are unable to decipher them and break them down into meaningful linguistic units, it is likely that they also derive from the old traditional Andean onomastic.

With the Spanish rules and their Iberian model of society weaving its way into Andean cultures came a major shift and new narratives of identities. Ambiguous onomastics settled in while competing with a surging trend of all-Hispanicized forenames and surnames.

Who are Diego Manzaia and Francisco de Matamoros, who are quoted by name in Don Francisco Guaman's will (Gabriel Muñoz and Flores, according to our source material, appear to be Guaman's brothers)? Also, who are Antonio Garcia and Alonso Ricardo, whose names are mentioned at the very bottom of Guaman's testament? How can one be sure of the identity of those mentioned above; are they Indians, *mestizos*, or *castas*? Behind those names often lie indigenous individuals, as in the case of Gabriel Muñoz, one of Francisco Guaman's siblings. Numerous questions may arise: are Gabriel Muñoz and Francisco Guaman brothers of the same father and mother? Who are those Indians named after? Are they named after the priest who baptized them or after the family whose *encomienda* they live in? At times, it is quite challenging, yet thought-provoking, to comprehend a shifting traditional naming system constantly fluctuating in a context of intermediary names and full Spanish designation of individuals. The bearing of indigenous names (we may now call them anthroponyms) clearly shows how some individuals were rooted

in prehispanic culture and attached to the old ways, whereas some all-Hispanicized anthroponyms would have symbolized an individual's gradual integration—consciously or not—into Christian and Iberian colonial society. If your name was Gabriel Muñoz (if we do not consider the fact that you may or may not have been a member of the local cacical elite), how far would you have gone to be exempted from the tribute by adopting the habit of not mentioning your legal status as an Indian? Thus, Christian names or anthroponyms bring out hallmarks of individual circumstances and choices or efforts to extract oneself from an indigenous condition as well as adhere to transposed values and norms. In fact, names as a social construct illustrate the recombining features of a new society in the making.

Paradoxically, adopting a fully Hispanicized name (we will call this a mononominal system) would be all the more confusing in a society where miscegenation flourished at an incredible pace through unions of people of all heritages. As a consequence, a maelstrom of possibilities and identities were unleashed.

It is likely that, indigenous anthroponyms represent the degree to which individuals' binding relationship to their past, ancestors, and original culture (habits and beliefs) may still vividly thrive. In some cases, the use of an indigenous anthroponym may have indicated a willingness to perpetuate, if not nurture, past memories and intricate genealogies of an *ayllu*, mostly through oral knowledge. Nurturing enduring memories and genealogies through an anthroponymic system all-inclusive of indigenous elements was a tentative attempt at retaining traditional group structures, myths, and identities. It is a whole world in disguise surviving in a binominal system of designation.

The ambiguous coexistence of bi- and mono-nominal systems of designation clearly illustrates a time of change and transformation, a time of constant, mutual cross-exchange between two worlds. Also, through the lens of Francisco Guaman's will, a quite interesting trait of Cajamarca's early seventeenth-century Indian society emerges. Uncharacteristically, local onomastics seems void of any patronymic logic. Therefore, it is safe to say that in the light of a binominal system, as early as the first part of the 17th century, natives under Spanish rule in the province of Cajamarca still abided by traditional kinship patterns. Transitioning into a nominal system based on patronyms (a unique surname passed down to direct offspring) tells a different story, a tale of adaptation and molding to external and foreign kinship patterns.

While going through stacks of baptismal records (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, microfilms Bautismos 1612–1765 Vault INTL Film 1291792 Items 3–6/ Matrimonios 1670–1857, 1862–1879 Vault INTL Film 1291798 Items 2–5) of La Asunción *doctrina* near Cajamarca, we have singled out about 66 names of the members of a particular kinship, the 'Malcatenans,' who lived between AD 1613 and AD 1710/1. Only about 10% of those 66 individuals seem to have had a distinct surname from that of their fathers.

Father's Name	Mother's Name	Offspring's Name	Date of Baptism	Place
Christobal Malcatenan	Catalina Assep	Baltasar Cusma	30 August 1615	Asunción, Cajamarca
Christobal Malcatinan	Catalina Assey	Miguel Guamantamta	2 October 1613	Asunción, Cajamarca
Christobal Malcatinan	Catalina Assep	Juan Julca	15 December 1619	Asunción, Cajamarca
Christobal Julca	Magdalena Malcatenan	Lusia Lachos	3 June 1708	Asunción, Cajamarca
Christoval Malcatinan	Barbula Lachos	Dominga Xulca	7 November 1683	Asunción, Cajamarca
Joseph Lopes	Ysavel Malcatinan	Antonia Lopes	6 December 1707	Asunción, Cajamarca
Christobal Malcathenan	Elena Lobos	Manuel De Los Reyes	4 March 1710	Asunción, Cajamarca

Throughout the consulted archives of the Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca and microfilms from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Malcatenan proved to be a recurring name of either a probably potent *ayllu* or of an *ayllu* on the rise. (Indeed, this particular group might have thrived owing both to Spanish rule and to the disorganization of traditional society.)

Between AD 1613 and AD 1683, five offspring still bear traditional anthroponyms in lieu of surnames. These people were in a binominal system, void of patronyms; father, mother, and offspring did not share a common designation.

Between AD 1707 and AD 1710, two members of the Malcatenan group had a fully Hispanicized name, thereby falling into the category of a mono-nominal system. In the case of Antonia Lopes, born on December 6th, 1707, her surname may have been a true patronymic, given her father's name.

However, Manuel de los Reyes still differentiates himself from his father, Christobal Malcathenan, with a mono-nominal designation. What sort of explanation could help us understand a straight shift to a mono-nominal system from individuals apparently born to indigenous parents? Is there any particular incentive from indigenous parents to intentionally distance their offspring from a traditional nominal system? Did they think that their offspring would fare better in a colonial society if they had the disguise of full Spanish names?

Out of the remaining 59 members of the Malcatenan group in La Asunción, all of them from AD 1664 until AD 1711, fathers and offspring—mothers excluded—share the common name of Malcatenan, which has been consistently used as a patronymic since the second half of the 17th century.

We may surmise that sometime after 1650, in certain lineages or *ayllu*, the traditional naming system in the Cajamarca area shifted to adapt in increment to a Spanish naming pattern, potentially showing mutated kinship patterns over a long period.

Onomastics in the Andes at the beginning of the 17th century seems to mirror a widespread process of shifting and discordant identities. Also, the study of notarial documents unveils a string of narratives related to the deceased's domestic life, last will, and probate inventory of assets or goods, which is of paramount importance. Above all, we are allowed a rare glimpse of the rules of the early seventeenth-century indigenous inheritance system. Often, rules of inheritance and their inherent mechanism and cohort of protagonists bring to the surface considerable information about individuals and relationships or non-relationships within descent or kinship groups; kinship structures and relationships are reflected in rules of inheritance; they oppose the fundamentals of the consolidating Iberian colonial society albeit adjusting to it.

Thus, isolating kinship structures and organizations as delineated in Francisco Guaman's will through matters of inheritance casts a light on the many paradoxes within an indigenous society dealing with challenges of a new magnitude.

Defining Kinship

Indigenous testaments are always written in Spanish, which is why terms related to kinship are not entirely reliable. Father, mother, sister, son, and daughter are designations or descriptive terms commonly found in more than 500 testaments from native people that were collected at the regional Archives in Cajamarca and at the Archives of the Nation in Lima, Peru.[12]

In our analysis of Francisco Guaman's testament, we confine ourselves to the terms referenced in the above table of baptismal names and anthroponyms. They unequivocally belong to the Castilian family model and give us a false impression that the system is similar to the structures of early seventeenth-century Hispanic families. In actual fact, the way indigenous testaments were formulated is identical to the way contemporary Spanish testaments were produced in every aspect. We therefore assume that both worlds easily adjusted to each other and that the terminology used by either side was interchangeable.

However, this probably was not the case. In fact, we cannot be certain that the aforementioned descriptive designation does not conceal a type of classifica-

12 February and March 2014.

tory naming system (Laburthe-Tolra and Warnier 1993) where distinct relatives are named with an identical vocable.

Therefore, the questions the *escribano*, or notary, asked the testator with regard to his relatives were critical to the shaping of indigenous kinship representations during the colonial period. It also depends on how the indigenous testator perceived his own relatives and kinship, either consanguineous kin or affine. Since the end of the 19th century, and throughout the 20th century, anthropology showed the existence of kinship relationship structures (Morgan 1871) that defied the logic of western models (Lévi-Strauss 1967). In many traditional cultural systems, an individual called Ego, for instance, can respectively call both parents' parallel cousins,[13] 'mother and father' (Héritier 2006). For Ego, the children of parallel cousins are called 'brothers and sisters.'

In a more complex way, both parents' cross cousins[14] would be named in turn according to a principle of 'an oblique type of relationship terminology.'[15]

Also, we are introduced to a narrow vision of Guaman's kinship, as there is no mention of past generations related to both of his parents. As we lack data and are unable to reconstruct any age group, it is all the more difficult to clearly define genealogical levels or life expectancy of everyone listed in the will.

> Francisco Guaman presents 'Don Gabriel Muñoz my sibling[16] who lives in Cajamarca.'
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 202v.

Then he adds:

> '[...] First of all, it is my wish that Don Diego Puma Julca and Domingo Guainale Indian Flores and Don Sebastian Guaman my other siblings be executors in an equal manner and help my mother and my spouse [...]'[17]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 203.

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13 It refers to the mother's sister or the father's brother.

14 Either the father's sister or the mother's brother.

15 The mother's brother is called grandfather. As explained by Françoise Héritier in a conference held in Lyon in 2006, 'Ego considers the mother's brother's children as uncle and mother. Thus, that kinship relationship skews generational references upwards.' All maternal uncles will always beget maternal uncles and mothers to Ego. Besides, quoting Françoise Héritier, '[...] the women that I call mother [...], [whatever generational ranking to Ego,] will beget [Ego's] brothers and sisters.' Then, 'Ego's father's sister' is considered Ego's sister. The latter's children will then be Ego's 'nephews.'

16 'don gabriel muñoz mi hermano que esta en Cajamarca.'

17 '[...] Primero es mi boluntad que don diego puma julca e domingo guainale yndio flores e don sebastian guaman mis otros hermanos seaa nsi mismo albazeas aiuden a my madre y muger [...].'

Who are those *hermanos* or 'siblings'? One of the brothers only has a Spanish name without any affixation of a reverent 'don,' which was a sign of social status for high-ranking individuals. Usually, caciques and their sons would be exempted from paying tribute in contrast to non-noble Indians. Does being named in an unusual manner imply an illegitimate status at birth? Is Indian Flores born to an illicit and uncatholic union, and is he thereby inferior in status compared to his siblings in the eyes of the Church? It is true that only children of the legitimate spouse could inherit or 'claim the *cacicazgo*' (Ragon 1992: 56).

Vocables have blurry meanings. Besides, some terms might have been misunderstood because of the uncertainty of translation from indigenous languages into Spanish. So 'brother,' depending on the kinship system referred to, might, at times, denote different genealogical levels. If a pair of brothers are not siblings, we also lack information as to which patrilineal or matrilineal side they belong to. Mapping out kinship terms and nomenclature in a thorough fashion usually helps researchers to get a better grasp of a society's inner functioning.

Do siblings, if we are indeed dealing with true siblings, have a right of precedence when it comes to sharing the deceased's inheritance? And if this is the case, what sort of inheritance system are we debating about?

Should we not be dealing with a case involving brothers-german, a case in which *hermanos* refers to brothers born to the same father and mother? In that case, which degree of kinship are we really discussing? The content of the entire testament is not explicit about the possibility of distinct genealogical levels. In this testament, kinship in general is not very detailed but is rather merely summarized using simple Spanish terms.

As a result, all subtleties of kinship, an organization typical of traditional societies, are obliterated, hampering any attempt at isolating distinct generations and distinct genealogies from a paternal side (agnatic), maternal side (uterine), or both sides (cognatic).

Readers face many major pitfalls in terms of grasping the true meaning of these records. Entire sections of kinship organization elude us, partly owing to the fact that we are dealing with a dissimilar concordance between kinship terminology and the inevitable patterns of skewed genealogical levels often found in non-European traditional societies.

Although we feel that we have caught a slight glimpse of Francisco Guaman's kinship, this is only a partial understanding of it, since a vast array of his kinship system still continues to elude proper analysis.

Uneasy Patterns: Rights of Inheritance

A model of succession laws under the influence of the *Leyes de Toro* (1505) is delineated in Guaman's will. The *Leyes de Toro* were part of the Castilian normative system (Irigoyen López, Pérez Ortiz 2002) and included compiled and revised legal

documents and succession laws. However, even though the norms of the *Leyes de Toro* were transposed to the Spanish possessions of America through Francisco de Toledo's reforms, this transposition did not necessarily come out in an obvious way in indigenous testaments. Instead, indigenous people often managed to conceal old customs, habits, and traditional rights of inheritance from the scrutinizing gaze of the Spanish authorities. Old customs, indeed, were conflated with formatted elements of Spanish rules of inheritance, bringing about a false sense of law-abidingness.

Was the equal sharing of all assets of the deceased a common occurrence among indigenous people of the Cajamarca area? Did rules of inheritance follow a cognatic, uterine, or agnatic pattern? What happened in the case of immaterial cultural heritage?

According to the *Leyes de Toro* (Nowack 2006: 51-77; Fayard 1979: 351-377), inheritance rights would apply as follows:

	Heirs	Value of Estate Inherited	In the Absence of Heirs	Value of Estate Inherited
Legítima	Descendants (*herederos forzosos*): legitimate children, grandchildren	4/5th	Parents, forefathers, ancestors	The *legítima* is narrowed down to 2/3rd of all assets
Tercio de mejora or *mejora*	Any legal heir	1/3rd of 4/5th of the *legítima*		
Quinto de libre disposiciones	Other parents, or to pious foundations, etc.	1/5th		

Children and other descendants appear to be favored in the *Leyes de Toro*. In Francisco Guaman's testament, his minor children are mentioned as part of the inheritance process. Nevertheless, it is said that they will, like Guaman's wife, have usufruct rights over the lands and cattle owned by Francisco Guaman at the time of his death.

> '[...] I have four servants with my cattle and my *chacaras*, my [...] *haziendas* to my wife and sons by the end of the year they are to be paid what is owed to them.'[18]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 202v.

Whereas they should obtain their *legítima* portion, it is said that Guaman's legitimate children, Juan Quispi and Lorenzia, were only granted the remainder of his possessions.

18 '[...] tengo quatro criados que andan con el ganado y las chacaras mias que a mi [...] haziendas a mi muger e hijos al cabo del ano se los pague lo que se les deviere.'

> '[...] remainder of my property is intended to my universal heirs, the said Juan Quispi and Lorenzia my legitimate sons[...]'[19]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 203.

Although Francisco Guaman directly inherited lands from his father, he did not stipulate who should get those lands after his own passing. Logically, if we abide by the *Leyes de Toro*, his legitimate children should inherit it. Once again, this is not clearly stated. For instance, the rights of usufruct that the children were granted is not entirely mentioned as a right of ownership but a temporary right of use of the land.

However, let us not forget that the interpretation of this will by a Spanish notary will see in practice the granting of the deceased's children of their legal part. Finally, a right to use a property often led to the assertion of its full possession during the colonial period.

> 'I have in Cajamarca [...] *chacaras* named *suchapo* inherited from my father [...]'[20]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 202v.

In fact, those deviations from the *Leyes de Toro* patterns bring out distinct and traditional patterns of inheritance.

Guaman's wife, Polonia Guaman, about whom very little is known, is also from the *reducción* of Chota. It is unclear whether she was originally from the same *ayllu* as her husband. It is also difficult to infer whether or not their union was endogamous. Apart from the fact that they shared a similar anthroponym – perhaps a reminder of her high-ranking status – she was the one referred to as his legitimate wife. She is only alluded to when it comes to enumerating possessions she brought into matrimony and subsequently shared with her husband. She did not seem to play a significant role in her husband's succession, an instance which abides by the *Leyes de Toro*.

> '[...] I proclaim being married to Polonia Guaman [...] from the *pueblo* of Chota [...] and from the said spouse I own [...] fifty sheep of Castile and forty-five sheep of the land and three sow a horse [...]'[21]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 202.

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19 es remanente de mis bienes de es por mis herederos universales a los dichosJuan Quiespi y lorenzia mis hijos legitimos [...]'

20 'Tengo en Cajamarca [...] chacaras que se llama suchapo que herredo de mi padre [...]'

21 '[...] declaro q yo soy cassado con polonia guaman [...] que esta deste pueblo de chota de laqual tengo un hijo llamado Juan quispi y una hija lorencia que son mis hijos legitimos y de la dicha mi mujer tengo [...] cinquanta cabezas de ovejasde castilla y quarenta cinco cabezas de ovejas de la tierra y tres puercas un cavallo [...]'

Possessions brought in by Guaman's wife were also handled by him; it seems that they were a kind of dowry. Marriage rules in the Andean context may also require a transfer of possessions from the wife to the husband. Regarding spouses, the *Itinerario de parochos de Indios*, *en que se tratan las materias más particulares*, *tocantes a ellos para su buen administración* (1578) by Don Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, the bishop of Quito, says that the spouse would get *las arras*, advance money, her dowry, as well as half of all assets acquired in common during the course of the marriage. These were legal settings intended to regulate indigenous people's successions and mold them to Spanish norms.

Conversely, Francisco Guaman's succession seems to favor the mother–brother relationship rather than that of the husband and wife. Also, Francisco Guaman's intended inheritance, which was passed down to him from his living mother, may have included proceeds from commonly held possessions[22] between Doña Ana Culqui Chara and her late husband.

> '[...] and two oxen [...] which possessions are entrusted to Doña Ana Culpi Chara my mother [...] and which thus remained because of my father's demise entrusted to the said mother of mine the said possessions [...]'[23]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 202–202v.

In this particular case, at the death of Francisco Guaman's father, it appears that Guaman's mother held sole power over his father's assets. Guaman's will include a very brief mention of land heritage passed on through father to son, as mentioned above. Francisco Guaman's testament describes various rules of inheritance within a kin group at various times. Those rules derived from Spanish legislation do not apply systematically nor recurrently from one generation to another. However, Spanish rules of inheritance had already permeated indigenous traditions even though the application of those rules would not necessarily be devoid of discrepancies from one generation to another or of any influences from native traditions.

Another point relevant to the matter of the rules of inheritance and related to immaterial cultural heritage should be debated. Were rules of political succession linear, from father to son? Also, in the case of siblings, which one inherited political power?

> '[...] so Don Gabriel Muñoz my brother may be governor and may he govern my Indians, may he be of assistance in all necessary matters and my sons are put under his protection, may he help them out when it might be necessary my wife and

22 Marital property was usually established during the course of a union. It was a merger of immovable and movable properties.

23 '[...] y dos res [...] los qualues bienes estan poder de doña ana culpi chara my madre [...] y que quedaron por fin y muerte de mi padre e ansi en el cargo de la dicha mi madre los dichos bienes [...]'

> them, for their sustenance and that my mother [be] the beneficiary of my estate, houses and other things in the said [...]'[24]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 203.

In terms of transmission of *cacigazgos*, what was Gabriel Muñoz's ranking amongst his siblings and kinship, and what was his ability to retain political power over them? Gabriel Muñoz's case study, which encompasses a non-patrilineal pattern of *cacicazgo* transmission, allows us to glimpse snippets of traditional transmission of *cacicazgo*. It is most likely that upon being subjugated to Spanish authority and power, traditional patterns of political transmission within indigenous high-ranking nobility might have been altered permanently. If we put aside the uncertainties related to the true genealogical levels of kinship, and assume that Gabriel Muñoz is one of the siblings, we fall back into a traditional system whereby political power is passed down through siblings (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1977: 249-286). In *Genealogical Fictions*: *Limpieza de sangre*, *Religion*, *and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, María Elena Martínez (Martínez 2008) reminds us that, at that time, the Spaniards 'homogenized native forms of succession,'(Martínez 2008: 112) and 'simplified genealogies,' altering dynastic histories and the order of the native world by interfering with their choice of new caciques or heads of lineages.

Gabriel Muñoz is also referred to as a *gobernador* or *gobernador de Indios*. A governor of Indians from the Republic of Indians was 'a higher native authority appointed by a representative of the Spanish Crown,' according to Jacques Poloni-Simard (2000: 490). Native political structures soon morphed into imported political structures with the probable inclusion of dynastic shifts at times.

Ana Colqui Chara, Guaman's mother, became a keeper of his estate. Guaman's succession was divided into two distinct areas. Political power was taken over by one of his brothers, while his estate management was delegated to his mother. Tasks and responsibilities, be they symbolic or economic, were divided between a restricted group of kinship members. Kinship members of various genealogical levels played an active role in Francisco Guaman's succession, which showed how deeply traditional the related kinship organization still was. However, this remained within the boundaries of a first circle of kinship—if the vocable *hermano* truly refers to brothers-german (Le Jan 1995).

As for many indigenous people at that time, Francisco Guaman's kinship, as depicted in his will, is reduced to a few individuals, probably survivors of both

24 '[...] que don gabriel muñoz hermano sea gobernador e gobierne mis yndios e aida a las cosas necesarias y tengo debajo de su amparo a mis hijos y les ayuda con lo que ubieren menester my muger y ellos para su sustento e mi madre tienda el beneficio de mi azienda y las casas y los demas en el dicho [...]'

Peru's civil wars (1537–1554) and the pathogen-induced demographic collapse in the New World (Cook 2004). Undoubtedly, a plummeting population impacted traditional rules of succession because there were fewer indigenous people. As a result, indigenous behaviors and practices experienced an onslaught of transformations.

Colonial Society and Ancient Traditions

Although under Spanish administration, the vice-royalty of Peru remained a world of heterogeneous cultures throughout the seventeenth century. During that time, evangelization had already spread through the vice-royalty, at times with unexpected consequences.

From a historiographic viewpoint, that period has been defined as a time of unachieved evangelization and resurgent idolatries (Maldavsky 2012:17-25; Duviols 1971).

Those observations are also at the center of Juan Carlos Estenssoro's reflection (2015) as they all pose the problem of the obliteration of pre-existing beliefs, rituals and practices by a new faith. A cautious approach must be exerted when dissecting the many aspects of cultural changes in the context of Spanish domination and colonization.

On the one hand, it is excessive to depict vice-regal Peru as the political space where the indigenous populations would have entrenched themselves in strategies of resistance to Iberian Catholicism, despite of the evangelization.

On the other hand, it is interesting to take into account Estenssoro's approach, which has shown that often what was reproached to the indigenous as being idolatry was rather catholic practices, first integrated by them, and later denounced by the Church as unorthodox (Estenssoro 2001: 455-474).

We may consider all the subtle interactions of influences from the indigenous traditions and Catholicism. All those matters of constant interaction and borrowing between the two worlds create new manifestations of the Catholic faith practised by the natives.

As the 17th century went by, Spanish rules and cultural values continued to weave their way into the lives of indigenous people in the vice-royalty of Peru. Some behaviors and practices were still resonant with a not-so-far-away indigenous past. Relationships from one *cacique* to another, rules of economic exchange (Mumford 2012), and eschatological conceptions from prehispanic times ambiguously continued to stamp their imprint upon changing times.

Although Francisco Guaman's testament does not provide us with a complete representation of the indigenous society in Northern Peru in the 17th century, that document partially allows us to surmise the possible hierarchy and interpersonal relationships between the cacique and those he governed through economic interdependence linkages.

Traditional economic interdependence and rules of exchange and trade from the past endured, only to acquire new meanings, purposes, and significance during the early colonial period.

> '[...] Indians of my *repartimiento* owe me textiles and money and Chonta's *cacique* some textiles his name is Don Micochita and collection is carried out from them all.'[25]
>
> AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
> Testamento de Francisco Guaman, folio 202v.

The above paragraph actually alludes to the tribute paid to the Spanish authority by native people in general and not to a debt contracted from Francisco Guaman *per se*. A *repartimiento* is a political, legal, and economic division of the conquered land, including its native people. Francisco Guaman refers to it as if it were his, although territorial divisions established by the Spaniards were not necessarily the same as their prehispanic equivalents. New Spanish divisions of the land might have overlapped with prehispanic divisions. In that instance where the payment of tribute is expected, had the traditional division of the land survived as well, and if it had been overlaid with colonial administrative patterns, the prestige and power of local *caciques* might have been harder to subdue, making traditional practices harder to thwart.

In fact, in the will of Guaman, we witness the traditional chain of exchange (Peck 2003), which characterized the payment of tributes in the indigenous context, and we can see how this chain of exchange was transformed in Spanish-held areas.

Francisco Guaman's relationship with indigenous people of noble or non-noble ancestry—he held a sovereign power over them—was part of his traditional prerogatives as a *cacique*. With the advent of a colonial society, his past role as a political head and tax collector (Zuloaga Rada 2012) of the Inca monarch and for his own benefit shifted. All profits reverted to the *corregimiento* and, by extension, to the Spanish Crown.

Also, the paragraph about the tribute paid to the Spanish authority may indicate the preexistence of a historical relationship binding Guaman's cacical lineage to the indigenous people of the said *repartimiento* – unless this is a scenario where a new cacical lineage rose to power through the mediation of the Spaniards.

The cacique of Chota was truly at a crossroads of influences; he was an ambivalent intermediary between local communities of indigenous people and the colonial administration. Even the tribute mirrors the ambivalence of two colliding worlds; payment was made with in-kind commodities as well as metallic money, an indication of the ever-expanding monetized trade introduced by the Spaniards.

25 '[...] debenme los yndios de mi rrepartimiento rropa e plata y el cazique de chontapieza de rropa que se llama don micochita y a cobrose de todos ellos.'

Also noticeable is the relationship from one *cacique* to another, whose interaction indicates signs of subordinate status. The fact that the *cacique* of Chonta, Don Micochita, provided Francisco Guaman with some 'textiles or garments' allows us to draw the conclusion that both *caciques* were intrinsically linked by dependence and subordination. The only question is whether or not the relationship between both *caciques* predated colonial times.

'Don Cristoval Aucachilon owes me some textiles [...]'[26]

AGN, Protocolo 106, siglo 16,
Testamento de Francisco Guaman, fol. 202v.

A second *cacique* appears to be one of Francisco Guaman's debtors, although his gift gesture shows the continuation of deep-seated practices of the Andean past. His gift gesture might be interpreted as a sign of traditional political submission and respect towards a *cacique* of higher ranking.

While keeping an aura of tradition dating back to prehispanic times, past hierarchies mutated as new forms of interactions crept into an indigenous colonial society, which was ever more challenged in its organization. Owed debts paid in the form of garments, or more precisely, textiles, were indeed reminiscent of ancient tribute rules and past rules of trading. Those ancient rules and practices endured as a monetized system, the magnitude of which at the turn of the 17th century is still not properly understood, steadily settled in. They were the hallmarks of a lasting indigenous world in a completely different context.

Materialistic conceptions brought along from the Old World were unexpectedly compatible with centuries-old practices of textile tribute (Rostworowski 1977: 265-266).[27] Andean eschatology and cosmovision were no stranger to those mutations; under the veil of a new religion, they managed to thrive and endure, albeit always altered to some extent by the constant borrowing between Iberian Catholicism and indigenous beliefs and practices.

With the transferral of administrative and legal practices derived from the Iberic monarchies came along numerous cultural forms of worship and practices of Catholicism. The practices of Catholicism were never unified or monolithic in New Spain or Peru during the colonial period. In many occurrences, as debated by Burkhart and Jorge Klor de Alva, Iberian Catholicism had to adapt to the indigenous practices and beliefs. Therefore, the orthodox way taught by the clergy was often subjected to many adaptations (Burkhart 1989: 28, 40-42; Klor de Alva 1982: 351) in the daily practices of Catholicism.

26 'Don cristoval aucachilon me debe una pieza de rropa [...]'

27 The article about social stratification or 'La estratificación social y el hatun curaca en el mundo andino'by María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco provides a detailed explanation of the textile gift (*Obsequio de ropa*) in the Andean context.

Francisco Guaman's will allows us to glimpse some aspects of the becoming of his soul. The soul and other related conceptions became of paramount importance in the Christian liturgy (Le Goff 1991) with the 'birth of purgatory' at the end of the 12th century AD.

In the Cajamarca region, in the early 17th century, the deceased entrusts his soul to God in an orthodox fashion through his testament.

> 'First of all, I commend my soul to my god [...]'[28]
>
> AGN, Lima, Protocolo 106, fol. 202.

However, it is surprising that we are told that the same soul is specifically dedicated, as in Francisco Guaman's case, to a relative. Guaman dedicates his soul to his mother and his wife:

> '[...] my mother as it may fit her as she has been granted care of my soul, may she take good care of it[29]
>
> AGN, Lima, Protocolo 106, fol. 202v.

> '[...] may my wife take good care of my soul as this is the way it is requested from her with earnest address.'[30]
>
> AGN, Lima, Protocolo 106, fol. 202v.

A double interpretation may be derived from this fact.

Firstly, by the end of the 12th century, the doctrine of purgatory permeated Christian society and its beliefs, leading to new concepts and a new geography of the hereafter (Nautin 1985: 177-179). 'The birth of purgatory' in medieval times reveals changing Christian beliefs, which paved the way to a Christian liturgy solely dedicated to the salvation of the soul. Facing the challenge of Lutheranism,[31] the Roman Catholic Church, through the council of Trent, reasserted the idea of purgatory along with devotional practices related to the salvation of the soul. From AD 1547 to AD 1563, the council of Trent laid down the decree on justification (6th session, canon 30, January 13th, 1547) and on Purgatory (25th session, December 3rd, 1563) in separate sessions:

> **Council of Trent, 6th session, Decree on justification, canon 30, January 13th, 1547 (Waterworth 2015:47).**
> If any one saith, that, after the grace of Justification has been received, to every penitent sinner the guilt is remitted, and the debt of eternal punish-

28 'Primeramente comendo mi anima a dios mios [...]'
29 '[...] mi madre le pareziere porque a ella le encargo mi anima que haga bien por ella'
30 '[...] y mu muger haga bienpor mi anima porque ansi se lo pide encarezidamente.'
31 We should keep in mind that the 95 theses of Martin Luther (1483–1546), dated October 31st, 1517, initiated the Reformation across Europe by criticizing the practice of selling indulgences and by expressing Luther's own understanding and interpretation of the concept of purgatory.

> ment is blotted out in such wise, that there remains not any debt of temporal punishment to be discharged either in this world, or in the next in Purgatory, before the entrance to the kingdom of heaven can be opened (to him); let him be anathema. (Dumeige 1993: 359).
>
> **Council of Trent, 25th session, Decree on Purgatory, December 3rd, 1563 (Denzinger 1991: 479).**
>
> Whereas the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, has, from the sacred writings and the ancient tradition of the Fathers, taught, in sacred councils, and very recently in this ecumenical Synod, that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, but principally by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar; the holy Synod enjoins on bishops that they diligently endeavour that the sound doctrine concerning Purgatory, transmitted by the holy Fathers and sacred councils, be believed, maintained, taught, and everywhere proclaimed by the faithful of Christ.

Secondly, we should also take into account the following argument: commending one's soul to a relative can be construed as some leeway to circumvent potential influences and capture from the priests in charge of evangelization and instruction in *doctrinas*, *repartimientos* and *encomiendas* in Toledan and post-Toledan Peru.

In *Itinerario de parochos de Indios, en que se tratan las materias más particulares, tocantes a ellos para su buen administración* (Peña Montenegro 1578), it is said that

'When any Indian dies *ab intestat*, the priest will partake in the share of one fifth of the estate for his [the deceased's] soul's sake. (Peña Montenegro 1578: 27).[32]

A similar admonitory remark can be found in the following section, *Lib. I, Tract. XI, sess. IV*, in the same book (Peña Montenegro 1578: 256). The fact that some priests may interfere with indigenous estates appears to be a common practice that was commonly prone to abuse. Native people, who might have died without any testament or any precise legal provisions (Peña Montenegro 1578: 27) for parents and/or descendants, were at risk of losing their property to ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, the latter often could lay their hands on their estate under the guise of soul-related devotional practices. Consequently, 'commending one's soul,' as it is termed in many indigenous nuncupative testaments, or *testamentos de Indios*, is a clear way to deflect any attempt at undue influence from priests. Additionally, one may wonder whether the deceased's expression of piety and the continuation of forms of piety through devotions made by relatives conceal past indigenous rituals and beliefs. It is not unrealistic to imagine that remainders of the cult of the dead and of ancestors in Peru could

32 Si quando muere algun Indio abintestato, podra el Cura entrar en el quinto de los bienes para hazer bien por su alma.'

have blended into Catholicism. Unquestionably, natives' testaments reflect the provisions of the council of Trent. However, the term *anima,*[33] or soul, used in those documents could be hinting at prehispanic beliefs, practices, and creeds. Misinterpretation of habits and practices and false similarities can explain a misleading sense of shared concepts and understanding between both worlds.

What are the true resonances of the doctrine of Purgatory and its conception of the soul for the native populations?

Catechesis was taught in indigenous languages (Ricard 1986) in the possessions of Spanish America. Thus, we may wonder what local terminology was used in the catechetical process to describe the many aspects of the Christian creed. Put simply, how did the concept of soul translate into the Andean vocabulary?

In *Vocabulario de la lengua qquichua general del Perú*, *que comiença con el romance,* Diego Gonçalez Holguín (1608: 408) collected various concepts, such as *sonccoyoc*, *yuyak*, and *yuyayniyok*, a term that denotes a being that is capable of thoughts, as well as *anima racional*, the rational soul.

María del Carmen García Escudero (2010) furthers the idea that 'basic pre-Hispanic concepts' are related to the Andean cosmovision and to the future of the being in *hurin pacha*.[34] According to her, in the Andean cosmovision, it was believed that human beings were made of an *anímica*, (García Escudero 2011: 211-232) or soul-related entity. A tradition dating back to Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560) implies the concept of a tripartite soul. However, we must bear in mind that even the Dominican Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás's rendition of the indigenous concept of the soul may have been subjected to the influence of the Catholic faith and, therefore, such concept may have undergone changes and hybridation. Also, the concept of a tripartite soul is widespread throughout the Old World during the Middle Ages and early Modern period thanks to Thomas d'Aquino's reading of Aristotle's treaty *On the Soul* (Brenet 2016).

Thus, according to Domingo de Santo Tomás, *camac* is some sort of a 'life force, *songo* and *noyan*, aspects of the soul linked to the body' and, finally, the third soul-related entity, 'an expression of life force exiting the body through the mouth' (Escudero 2011: 213)[35]. García Escudero provides an inventory of seventeenth-century terms through Holguín's *Vocabulario* to describe a principle of life or soul, such as *Cauçachini*, *callpa* or *cai*, amongst others (Escudero 2011: 213). Peru was the land of a plurisecular cult to ancestors when the Spanish landed on its shores. *Mallqui* and *huauqui,*[36] (Klein and Quilter 2001: 166-168) as mentioned by chroniclers and espe-

33 Indigenous testaments can use two distinct terms, *alma* or *anima*. Those two vocables can be found simultaneously in the same document. Francisco Guaman's testament uses the term *anima*.

34 *Hurin pacha* refers to the underworld.

35 Aymara cultures have a similar concept of a tripartite soul related to an individual.

36 A *huauqui* is a living man's double and *mallqi*, the mummies of high-ranking individuals of a specific lineage.

cially by Juan Polo de Ondegardo,[37] (Bauer 1998: 16-19) played a focal role in rituals for the dead. These words, which mean mummy bundles and simulacra of the dead respectively, demonstrate the existence of soul-related conceptions (MacCormack 1993; Ramirez 2005; Mills 1997) and the belief in spirits that survive beyond death. As soul-related concepts predated the introduction of the Christian faith to Peru, it is reasonable to think that, owing to false resemblances and misinterpretation from one language to another, these concepts could have merged and been surreptitiously transposed into the new belief.

For instance, the Shuar and Achuar people from Ecuador and Peru share the concept of *wakán*, a life force born to an individual and intrinsically linked to them beyond death (Mader 1999: 462). As a consequence of an individual's death, a *wakán or wakán iwianch*' (this second term has a more nefarious connotation) is released; this is the closest entity resembling the concept of 'soul of the dead' (Mader 1999: 311). It is only in death that 'body and *wakán* separate to transform into a *wakán iwianch*', according to Elke Mader (Mader 1999: 312). We should also bear in mind that souls in the Andean context pertain to the realm of totemism and shamanistic practices. The departed soul is at times connected with figural hybrids or related to a transformation into an animal.

In Roman Catholicism, souls are commended to God and saints; within confraternities, prayers are dedicated to soul salvation and repose (Dompnier 2010: 79-91). Christian commendations are more likely to have meanings of punishment and judgment as it is the believer's conduct that is assessed in Purgatory. Indian testaments, even if in the tradition of that Christian practice, seem devoid of such intention. The intent of an assessment of conduct does not transpire at all. Through Christian testaments, a tradition predating the colonial society unveils: the surviving relatives and the first circle of kinship (this is something to be further investigated) will assume the role of intercessors on behalf of the departed, keeping good care of their soul. Echoes of past beliefs resonate through the Christian prayers of indigenous people in Peru. If the testator does not entrust his first circle of kinship with honoring his memory, then he asks them to pray for distant relatives. Testaments from the Pacajes[38] region during the 17th century (Morrone 2013) exhibit similar peculiarities.

'[…] may twenty masses be sung in this way, ten for my forefathers, grandparents, father, and mother's souls and ten others for my soul (Morrone 2013: 6).'[39]

Thus, through the commendation of the soul to a relative, narratives of genealogy and kinship endure. Indigenous peoples' awareness of past lineages hints at an attempt to retain native identities. Expressions of Christian devotion seem not

37 Juan Polo de Ondegardo (ca. 1510–1575), a Spanish official of the viceroyalty of Peru and High Peru in the 16th century.

38 Current Bolivia.

39 '[...] que me digan veinte misas cantadas en esta forma las diez por las almas de mis visabuelos, abuelos, padre y madre y las otras diez por mi alma.'

to have entirely superseded past rituals and practices, since these expressions were certainly engulfed by potent local traditions nurturing lasting forms of a cult of the dead. Devotions to ancestors and past beliefs and practices managed to survive under the guise of the Christian faith or in a more nuanced way redefined themselves through the very practice of the new faith. Catechesis, doctrine, and old beliefs were conflated at times into an unnoticed and discreet coexistence. Undoubtedly, soul-related concepts are complex constructs regardless of which society we refer to. In the Andean context, these do not merely draw upon a sense of individual salvation; they encompass far more in terms of understanding kinship and social organization.

The world of Francisco Guaman, a *cacique* of Chota's *reducción* in the province of Cajamarca at the beginning of the 17th century, is one of ambivalence, transformation, and pretense. Individuals' identities appear complex and multiple as the naming system of the individual shows signs of hesitation in the shift towards a colonial society, perhaps retaining past memories and genealogies. Understanding the structures and logic of kinship within the frame of the transmission of inheritance is a perilous exercise. Indeed, at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the indigenous world was still bearing the brunt of the demographic collapse resulting from the biological shock of diseases unknown to them. The inconsistencies that were detected during the study of these fragments of kinship often refer to ancient traditions—altered to some extent by contact with the Spanish world—or to the difficulties indigenous people faced adjusting to this new society. Without ever disappearing, indigenous identities, as well as indigenous systems of beliefs and representations, constantly evolved and redefined themselves within the colonial world.