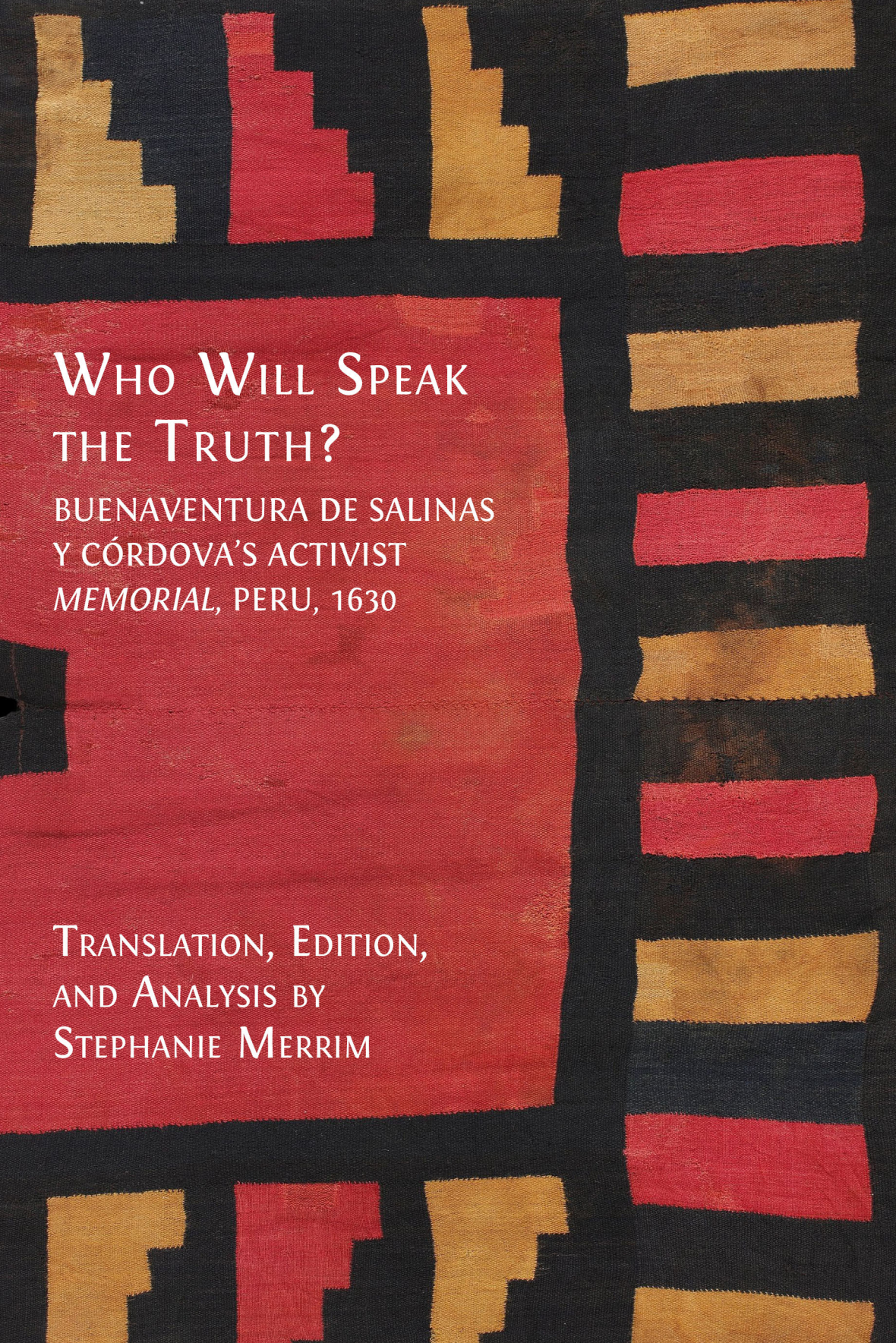


The background of the book cover is a black fabric. It is decorated with several strips of red and yellow fabric. On the left side, there are three large, stepped geometric shapes in yellow, red, and yellow from top to bottom. On the right side, there are several horizontal strips of yellow and red fabric, some of which are slightly irregular and frayed. The title is printed in white serif font on a large red rectangular area in the center-left.

WHO WILL SPEAK THE TRUTH?

BUENAVENTURA DE SALINAS
Y CÓRDOVA'S ACTIVIST
MEMORIAL, PERU, 1630

TRANSLATION, EDITION,
AND ANALYSIS BY
STEPHANIE MERRIM

WHO WILL SPEAK THE
TRUTH?

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Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova's
Activist Memorial, Peru, 1630

Translation, Edition, and Analysis
by Stephanie Merrim



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1. Introduction:

Who Will Speak the Truth?

“Who Will Speak the Truth about the Calamities of the Indians?” (282) asks Peruvian firebrand Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova in his 1630 *Memorial on the Histories of the New World, Peru*, whose key chapters on Andean Natives the present volume translates into English for the first time.¹ By “truth” Salinas means the colonial oppression of Peruvian Indigenous peoples: the grievous persecution, exploitation, plundering, enslaving, imprisonment, and slaughter such as the *Memorial*’s third and final discourse, entitled “What Peru Has Become,” passionately exposes. An exposé and a call to action, the *Memorial* invokes in its “Prologue” the opening of the Seventh Seal from the biblical Book of Revelation (*Memorial* 3). Here we have an apt emblem for Salinas’s third discourse, the earliest, most full-throated, and eloquent indictment by a seventeenth-century Peruvian creole—a person of Spanish ancestry born in Latin America—of colonial injustices to Andean Indigenous peoples.

Salinas thunderously identifies who *should not* be allowed to speak about the Andean Natives (*Memorial* 283–85). Do not suffer to speak, he fulminates, those who believe it right to ravage the Indians, who knowingly bear false witness or devise jaundiced policies against them. Or those who flay, cheat, or treat the Indigenous peoples as beasts of burden in the belief that “the Indians are brutes, incapable of performing human tasks, whereas, as others have said, they are perhaps more capable” (*Memorial* 285). Above all, anyone tainted by the greed and self-interest endemic in Peru that the Franciscan friar Salinas rails

1 *Memorial de las historias del Nuevo Mundo Pirú*. Page numbers for Salinas’s 1630 *Memorial* reference Valcárcel’s 1957 edition of the text. My translation comprises pp. 269–92 and pp. 328–31 of that edition. Salinas, it should be noted, almost always uses the word “Indians,” capitalized. I use the word “Indians” when citing or echoing Salinas but otherwise employ various more appropriate terms for the Native peoples.

against throughout the *Memorial* must be barred from having a say. "Instead of seeking the honor of God or the enhancement of their King and the preservation of his Realms, these multitudes come here only to amass wealth, and their avarice wreaks havoc on everything it touches," he writes, articulating his signature theme (*Memorial* 277). Spain's New World campaign may have begun as a mixture of religion and profit, but it has degenerated into unchecked greed, "the root of everything that harms the Indians" (*Memorial* 308, quoting Juan Ortiz de Cervantes).

Salinas does not fail to designate who *may* and *should* speak truthfully of the Andean Natives' plight. The voices of those clergy who have strived to convert and succor their new flocks must certainly be heard (*Memorial* 291). Salinas also incites his fellow creoles to speak out: "Who has silenced the tongues of so many creoles?" (*Memorial* 83). Arrestingly, the *Memorial* unfolds in prescriptive detail how in "order to learn the clear and plain truth" the Spanish Crown should query those who are "so tremendously wounded and aggrieved" (282) that is, the Andean Indigenous peoples, face to face. The proposed encounter resonates with *El primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno* [First New Chronicle and Good Government] by Andean Native Guaman Poma de Ayala. A dissident text that Salinas may well have read, Guaman Poma's exposé scripts an imaginary meeting between King Philip IV and Guaman Poma in Spain (see Figure 1).² Salinas similarly advises Philip IV to transport several of his new autochthonous subjects, each with a different background, to the Spanish court and to interview them about their past, present, and future (*Memorial* 282). The *Memorial* goes so far as to suggest that the Spanish king or a relative visit the colonies in person (313–14).

Because, one surmises, the dire situation cannot wait until his pleas bear fruit, Salinas takes the reins. Deploring at length the utter lack of champions for the Andean Natives (*Memorial* 290), he claims that in his book he will serve as their mouthpiece ("cuya voz toma el Autor" [282]) and swears that he tells "the supreme, complete, and potent

2 Guaman Poma completed his magnificent illustrated chronicle around 1615. Far into the text, in the "capítulo de la pregunta," or "chapter of the questions" (the long ch. 32 in the original; excerpted in Frye's English translation 336–46), the *Primer nueva crónica* narrates a fictional interview between author and king. For a comparative analysis of Guaman Poma and Salinas's works, see the "The Activist Archive of Colonial Peru and Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova's 1630 Memorial" in this volume.

truth" (281). Salinas thus anoints himself as the crusader who will fill the truth-telling void. And he will fill the void with brutal candor. Fond of animal imagery, the author characterizes himself as a valiant hound that seeks out its enemies, viciously attacks them, and thereby wins admiration (1646, Part 1, fols. 114v–15r).

I.

The venturesome life of Franciscan friar *Buenaventura* de Salinas y Córdova (1592–1653), for better and worse, did not always win him admiration. It did in any case afford the Peruvian mover and shaker a pungent opportunity to exercise the lifelong stance as a valiant hound that Salinas monumentalized in his 1646 de facto autobiography: at a personal crisis point, the fifty-four-year-old Salinas penned from Valencia this ferocious self-defense directed to King Philip IV of Spain and the Council of the Indies. Salinas's more than three-hundred-page retrospective *Memorial, Report, and Manifesto*, on which I draw in what follows, opens a window into its author's activist, vexed, transatlantic trajectory. His is at once a remarkable story in its own right and a story vital to the 1630 *Memorial of the Histories of the New World, Peru*.³

Originally named Sancho de Salinas y Córdova, our author was born and raised by creole parents in the Lima whose praises the 1630 *Memorial* sings. Salinas unequivocally states in 1646 that his two grandfathers came from noble Spanish families and helped conquer Peru for Spain (1646, Part 1, fol. 7r), which endows the author with the pedigree of the creole elite (the *beneméritos*) whom he so militantly defends in the *Memorial* and subsequent works. Here, truth-teller becomes a textual rogue. Though a bona fide creole, Salinas presents an entirely false—or at best highly deceptive—account of his glorious lineage (1646, Part 1, fols. 7r–10v) that purports to establish his credentials for membership in the privileged subset of the creole caste to which he did not legitimately belong (Lavallé 19). Miring the account in byways, detours, and circumlocutions, Salinas

3 *Memorial, Informe, y Manifiesto del P. F. Buenaventura de Salinas y Cordova* [sic] . . . , only a few copies of which were probably printed (Cook lxii). The 1646 text has two parts: 1. Salinas's narrative. 2. Documents that bear out claims Salinas makes in the preceding part, a total of fifty-two documents. Pagination begins anew in the second part. Throughout, as in the preceding paragraph, I reference the text as "1646," plus the part and folio number(s).

covers up the merchant, rather than aristocratic or military, background of both sides of his family as well as converso affiliations on his mother's side.⁴

Absent from the 1646 report but thrumming beneath Salinas's life is his prodigious father, a man of glorious achievements and roguish activity. Diego de Salinas (1558–95) fueled Peruvian creole pride by becoming the first member of that group to graduate as a Doctor of Law from the University of San Marcos in Lima (Holguín Callo 39). Yet his auspicious life underwent a dramatic turn for the worse when in 1589 he was subjected to torture for allegedly disrespecting Peruvian Viceroy Fernando Torres de Portugal y Mesía. The viceroy himself supervised the torture (and was ultimately punished for his actions [Lavallé 16]). The fact that Diego de Salinas only made a confession, a partial confession, under extreme duress amounts to a suggestive model for his son, the intrepid "valiant hound."

The young Sancho de Salinas y Córdova studied at a Jesuit school and then at his father's alma mater. Concurrently, when he was nine years old, the youth entered the court retinue as a page to Viceroy Luis de Velasco. While Salinas would go on to serve three subsequent viceroys, a pivotal advent marked his term during the regime of Viceroy Juan de Mendoza y Luna, the Marquis of Montesclaros, who ruled Peru between 1607 and 1615. To train the budding official for his hereditary family post as Secretary of the Government, the viceroy put him in charge of the official viceregal archive. Let us listen to the adult Salinas's (typically immodest and expansive) account of his tenure as archivist, which is a motor of his 1630 *Memorial*—an archive unto itself, thick with supporting texts by like-minded writers:⁵

4 Holguín Callo (ch. 1; 258), and after him, Gálvez Peña ("Writing History" 309–10) and Lavallé (14–15, 19) disclose the merchant background of Salinas's family and the Jewish background of Salinas's maternal grandmother, Mencía Gutiérrez. At least two possibilities *might* mitigate Salinas's apparent duplicity. First, his mother, Juana de Silva, could lay claim to a noble Spanish background. She had also joined the Peruvian elite through her previous marriage to Juan de Saavedra, a high-ranking viceregal official who left her widowed in 1580 and bequeathed her the hereditary post of Secretary of the Government that she later passed on to her second husband (Holguín Callo 45–58). Second, Diego de Salinas had officially represented himself as a noble Spanish hidalgo (Gálvez Peña, "Writing History" 310), and may have inculcated his son with this notion.

5 The *Memorial* incorporates pieces of published and unpublished works by Spaniards, Peruvians, ecclesiastics of various religious Orders, and assorted officials. The now most well known among them include the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Spanish official historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, and the Spanish jurist, Juan de Solórzano Pereira.

Before he returned to Spain, the Marquis wanted me to be versed in matters of state and prepared to exercise my Office. He therefore ordered me personally to organize the papers and books of the Government Archive, a task I accomplished with skill and distinction. I sorted out the realm's titles and grants of *encomiendas*, noting the value, annuities, and duration of each. I spelled out all the Indian Communities, enumerating the amount of Indians assigned to them and the labor required of each village's population in *corvée* contingents and tribute servitude as mine and mill workers, cattle herders, farm hands, transporters of goods, messengers, or mail carriers. I also detailed all the official inspections and reinspections of the Indian Communities, the rises, declines, and further declines of their populations, their Districts, the contributions of each to the Royal Treasury, and their administrations. Finally, I listed all of Don Francisco de Toledo's Ordinances and the Royal Decrees, Instructions, and Pragmatic Sanctions that Your Majesty and the Royal Council of the Indies have issued from the time of the Conquest onward, variously organizing them by name, date, and subject. (1646, Part 1, fol. 26v)

In sum, Salinas informs his readers, "it was my good fortune to complete this great undertaking so well that what had been a confused Labyrinth, an Archive in name only," ended up as an orderly, efficient system (1646, Part 1, fol. 26v).

Salinas having unsnarled the labyrinth, Mendoza y Luna installed him in the family post. Everything was set for the young man to become a creole aristocrat at the helm of viceregal administration. Nevertheless, after only a few months in his new capacity the twenty-four-year-old Salinas felt the call to a religious vocation. He professed as a Franciscan friar and entered the Order of Friars Minor in the Convento [Monastery] de Jesús in Lima. According to Salinas, God and the archive had inspired his transformation:

It was the will of God's Majesty that when I was arranging the Government Archive I began to read and ponder the Royal Decrees and Laws—all of them eminently solicitous, favorable, Godly, just, and assiduous—by means of which the glorious Kings of Castile and León have in so just, devout, and holy a fashion governed the entire Western world since the discovery of the Indies. (1646, Part 1, fol. 27v)⁶

The laws that Salinas read with tears in his eyes (1646, Part 1, fol. 28v) galvanized him, to the extent that the principled royal ordinances would

6 As we will see in section III below, despite its grandiloquence Salinas's characterization of Spanish laws was not mere propaganda.

constitute the backbone and sine qua non of the author's 1630 *Memorial*. An energized Salinas took the name in religion of *Buenaventura*, after the great medieval Franciscan reformer, St. Bonaventure.

The Peruvian Buenaventura had another luminous role model in his older brother, who had joined the Franciscans before him. Baptized Diego de Salinas y Córdova (1591–1654), Buenaventura's sibling took the name in religion of Diego de Córdova Salinas (to avoid confusion with the brothers' father, Diego de Salinas, I will call Salinas's sibling "Friar Diego"). Friar Diego spent his entire life in Lima, where he brought honor to his family and religious order. By 1620, he had already been appointed official chronicler of the Peruvian Franciscan provinces. Ten years later, Friar Diego launched his hagiographic biography of New World Franciscan missionary Francisco Solano (1549–1610), chosen as Lima's patron saint in 1629. Twenty years after the biography came out, Friar Diego delivered on his official title by completing a massive history of the Franciscan provinces of Peru and South America, published in Lima.⁷

Following in his sibling's footsteps, Buenaventura graced Lima with his own first book, the *Memorial* of 1630, the very same year that Friar Diego published the work on Solano. Indeed, Buenaventura closes the *Memorial*'s first printing in Lima with a letter to his brother (328–31; included in my translation) on the biography and on the *Memorial*'s crucial yet tangled relationship with the project of sponsoring Solano that engrossed both men.⁸ Obeying the official mandate that the letter spells out (*Memorial* 329), Buenaventura's *Memorial* occupies a different territory from his brother's, an encyclopedic, worldly territory. In 1646, Salinas overviews his text, boastfully but not entirely inaccurately describing it as "an admirable compendium of all the Ancient Indians and their Primitive Customs, and the Government of the Heathen Inca Kings; a lucid account of the Conquerors' deeds and the glory and nobility of their descendants; an astute portrait of the most grave

7 *Vida, virtudes y milagros del nuevo apóstol del Perú, el venerable P. Francisco Solano* (Lima 1630); *Crónica franciscana de las provincias del Perú* (Lima, 1651).

8 Formal variations in extant copies of the *Memorial* indicate that two versions of the text were printed in Lima; each version places the letter to his brother in a different position. The first version, published by its author (Cook xxix)—dated 1630—places the letter at the very end of the *Memorial*, as a de facto conclusion. The second version—dated 1631—places the letter with the prefatory material (Bronner 237). See "Note on the Translation" below. Appropriately basing his edition on the original (1630) version, Valcárcel places the letter at the end of the text, and my translation follows his lead.

matters of State, which . . . are necessary to preserve this New World of Peru" (1646, Part 1, fol. 36r).

The author divides his ambitious treatise into three discourses, of eight, six, and four chapters respectively (Cook xxxvii): 1. (untitled) The preconquest and illustrious conquest history of Peru; 2. "On the Merits and Excellences of the City of Lima"; 3. "What Has Become of Peru." Salinas had the text published in Lima by license of the viceroy and, in a second Lima printing, with approbations from notable ecclesiastics as well as from the University of San Marcos. Rather implausibly endorsed by officialdom, the brazenly truth-telling *Memorial* met with condemnation from the parties whose self-interest it indicted (1646, Part 1, fol. 36r). Salinas nonetheless persisted and hammered away at his message (1646, Part I, fol. 36v).

The breaking point came five years later. While traveling and preaching around Peru, Salinas delivered a sermon in Cusco's cathedral to an audience of secular and religious local dignitaries. The 1635 sermon recounted two horrific scenes that Salinas had beheld on his way to Cusco. During Lent he had seen some three hundred Andean Natives descend a mountain on foot, all bound together at the neck, unprotected from the sweltering heat, carrying back-breaking loads of grain, and whipped along by colonial overseers. Shortly after, in an incident that the *Memorial* also narrates in a slightly different form (284; included in my translation), Salinas asked the Indigenous guide leading a second group of similarly tormented men where they were coming from and what they were doing. The guide replied that they were transporting goods from one parish priest ("magistrate" in the *Memorial*) to another, for that is how the two men made large sums of money—at the cost of the Indians' "blood and sweat" (1646, Part 1, fol. 42v). Salinas's sermon boldly upbraided those responsible for the abuses, the viceregal magistrates and the priests whom the archbishop of Cusco oversaw (Gálvez Peña, "Writing History" 246). The culprits, Salinas adjudicated, had violated the Crown's just laws.

Backlash to the sermon arrived swiftly and intensely, ultimately rerouting Salinas's life. On the very day that Salinas spoke in Cusco, its archbishop, the Augustinian Fernando de Vera y Zúñiga (whose approbation the *Memorial* had proudly displayed), began to attack him. Vera skewed the gist of the sermon. He portrayed Salinas's entreaty for the Andean Natives as an assault on the king and an attack on the

colonial system that would destabilize the region (1646, Part 1, fol. 43v). The archbishop immediately sought out witnesses who would support his contentions; Vera eventually collected hundreds of testimonies that he sent to the viceroy and Crown. When these did not yield the retribution he believed Salinas merited, Vera denounced the Franciscan clergyman to the Spanish Council of the Indies in 1636 (Sato 91–92).

Multiple constituencies sprang into action to save the homegrown, creole Franciscan from peril. As Salinas contentedly puts it, “everyone honored me” (1646, Part 1, fol. 44v). The Archbishop of Lima named Salinas his nuncio to Rome. Lima’s municipal council commissioned him as their procurator in the papal court, charged with representing the city’s interests and promoting the canonization of Francisco Solano. The Peruvian Franciscans closed ranks and elected Salinas their definitor in Rome, again tasked with advancing Solano’s elevation. Moreover, at the Franciscans’ and Viceroy Count of Chinchón’s behest, Philip IV granted Salinas a transfer to Spain at least ostensibly so that the Peruvian author could publish his “important book” there, an enterprise for which Madrid possessed more abundant resources than Lima (1646, Part 2, fols. 6r–6v).⁹

1637 therefore found Salinas in Madrid, under a cloud that his installation as qualificador (judge) for the Holy Inquisition helped dispel. Salinas proceeded to Rome in 1639 and threw himself into furthering the concerns of the Crown, the Franciscans, and Peru. As Salinas relates in the last chapter of his 1646 opus, a two-pronged, contradictory scandal soon beset him. Presumably to garner support for the Franciscans, Salinas had affiliated himself with the influential faction of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the pope’s nephew, in the papal court. The alliance earned Salinas the enmity of Portuguese Franciscans, who branded him a spy in Rome *for Spain*.¹⁰ Sent back to Spain in 1644 by his Franciscan superiors, Salinas faced the opposite accusation. Enemies in the Spanish court denounced his association with Cardinal Barberini as a sign that Salinas was spying in Rome *for the pope* and against the king. Salinas mounted a fervent self-defense in court, wrote his 1646 *Memorial, Report,*

9 On the sermon and its aftermath, see Sato, Cook xliv–liii; Gálvez Peña, “Writing History” 246–48; and Lavallé 22–28. Lavallé demonstrates that Philip IV, suspicious of Salinas, had instructed the viceroy to send the Peruvian creole to Spain and to conceal the reason for the transfer (26–27).

10 Given that in 1640 Portugal had commenced its wars to separate from Spain, tensions in the Iberian Peninsula were running high at the time of Salinas’s imbroglio.

and *Manifesto*, and managed to regain the king's esteem.

Yet, as before when Salinas had been embroiled in conflicts, the Franciscans dispatched him to another continent—this time, to Mexico—as the order's General Commissioner for the viceroyalty. Salinas lived in Mexico for the rest of his life, from 1647 to 1653. There he toiled on behalf of the Franciscans to convert Indigenous peoples, build churches, and furnish parishes with suitable priests (Gálvez Peña, "Writing History" 284). Having established himself as Mexico's most powerful Franciscan missionary (Lavallé 34), Salinas died in Cuernavaca at the age of sixty-one. His Mexican disciple, Franciscan chronicler Agustín de Vetancurt, reports that Salinas died as Bishop-elect of Arequipa and thus possibly on the threshold of returning to Peru (Cook lxix).

II.

So outspoken as to have spent the bulk of his life in exile, the Salinas of 1646 ruefully observes how often he had been told to keep quiet, to desist from his zeal for reform. Still, the Peruvian maintains, he consistently refused, instead swearing always to champion the welfare of the Andean Natives (1646, Part I, fols. 5r–5v). Salinas's pro-Indigenous activism, at its most electric in the 1630 *Memorial*, makes common cause with a deeply ingrained Franciscan tradition. Indeed, Salinas reveals that his momentous contact with the Spanish laws housed in the Lima archive had particularly led him to the Franciscans (despite his Jesuit education). The "secret voice" that motivated his religious vocation, he says, exhorted him to follow the path of the Seraphic Father and devote his life to defending the Indians (1646, Part 1, fol. 32r). Where, if not with the Franciscans, to realize such a vocation? For, as was widely known, Saint Francis of Assisi had advocated a double-directed life, one of profound interior spirituality and maximum outward social engagement.¹¹

New World Franciscan missionaries lived up to their founder's ideal. Salinas would no doubt have engraved on his mind the shining example of engagement with Indigenous peoples that his Franciscan forebears had inaugurated in Mexico, or, as it was then also called, Nueva España

11 Fleming eloquently describes the "spiritual paradox of Franciscanism, at once an impulse of pure and withdrawn asceticism and a commitment to the fullest possible social engagement" (168).

[New Spain]. The first Christian denomination to put down roots in Mexico, the Franciscans dedicated themselves to preserving pre-Hispanic history and safeguarding Spain's new subjects. They paved the way for additional orders, like the Dominicans, to take up the gauntlet.

Specifically, Salinas could look back at a venerable chain of Franciscan activist-chroniclers in Mexico that started with Toribio de Benavente (known as Motolinía, "the poor one"). The most salient of the celebrated first Twelve Franciscans who arrived in 1524, Motolinía authored a watershed ethnography cum exposé, the *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (1541). The Franciscan College of Santiago de Tlatelolco for Indigenous youth, founded in 1536 and located on the outskirts of Mexico City, became a hub of scholarly activity. Working with Native informants at the Tlatelolco college in the 1570s, Franciscan missionary Bernardino de Sahagún produced his landmark Spanish-Nahuatl ethnography of the Aztecs. The school also engendered Motolinía's chief disciple, Jerónimo de Mendieta, who roiled Mexico and Spain by exposing in 1596 how harm of the Indigenous peoples was defeating the millenary New World mission.¹² Finally, Juan de Torquemada, guardian of Tlatelolco's monastery from 1603 to 1612, published his *Monarquía indiana* in 1615, just fifteen years before Salinas's *Memorial*. The vast and soon to be vastly influential *Monarquía indiana* was at once an ethno-historical apologia for Aztec culture, a critique of colonial malfeasance, and a tribute to his Franciscan brethren. It hardly comes as a surprise that Salinas would, and did, cite Torquemada at various points in the *Memorial*.

As a leading, paradigmatic wave of missionaries to Mexico, the Franciscans considered it their express obligation to gauge the moral pulse of the environments they inhabited and to broadcast the problems they unearthed.¹³ The Franciscans and kindred activists, like the now

12 Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*; Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, translated into English as *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*. Although both sixteenth-century works were first published only in the 1900s, they circulated widely before then. Brading's ch. 5 provides a valuable introduction in English to Mendieta and his ch. 13 to Sahagún.

13 Torquemada, for example, articulates the Franciscans' assumed duty when he quotes an unnamed Provincial of his order who writes that although the king will have received information from other quarters about a 1566 rebellion in Mexico City led by Martín Cortés, "the friars of this Order . . . being the first Chaplains of Your Majesty in this Land, and thus more obligated to Royal Service than others, are also obligated to declare our sentiments on matters of such import as unrest or calm in your Kingdoms" (633).

iconic Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566), hardly stood alone in these undertakings. Rather, they joined the ranks of peninsular Spanish *arbitristas* [arbiters; also translated as “projectors,” from “projects”]. Sometimes armchair revolutionaries, the arbiters capitalized upon the entrenched right of vassals to inform and advise their kings. Reformist arbiters, among them the Spanish Pedro Fernández Navarrete from whose work Salinas lifts several passages almost verbatim, especially exercised this prerogative in seventeenth-century Spain. Burdened with debt from foreign wars, experiencing inflation and bankruptcy, seventeenth-century Spain bred numerous harsh assessments of its crises by lucid critics (Elliott 281–96). These arbiters deployed the longstanding, related genres in which Salinas inscribes his text: the *memorial de agravios*, reports that enumerate wrongdoings and propose solutions to them, and the “Mirror for Princes” that recommend agendas to rulers. Salinas’s oeuvre may be short on solutions but, in keeping with both genres, it certainly drills down on the problems and does its utmost to awaken the uninformed “sleeping king” whom the third discourse challenges (*Memorial* 292, 297).

The fact that hallowed traditions of venting critiques and templates for framing them already existed enabled Salinas to style himself as a loyal, not treacherous, vassal of the king. By the same token, they authorized the Franciscan to depict the *Memorial*’s incendiary third discourse as a service to Church and State. Overall and importantly, nonetheless, the *Memorial* was ordained to inscribe itself in a far different genre, the impeccably orthodox menology, or record of saints. The title of the *Memorial* states that it aims “to move his Majesty,” Philip IV, “to request that the pope canonize Solano, the Patron of Lima.” Salinas refers to Francisco Solano (now known as St. Francis Solanus, beatified in 1675 and canonized only in 1726), a Franciscan missionary from Spain renowned for his decades of efforts to convert the Indigenous peoples throughout the frontier zones of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Solano spent his last years in Lima and bequeathed his relics to the city. As we have seen, Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova served as Lima and his order’s emissary to Rome for Solano’s elevation, and Diego de Córdova Salinas composed a hagiographic biography of Solano—all of which speaks to how heavily the city, creoles, and Franciscans alike were

invested in promoting Solano.¹⁴ By any lights, the *Memorial* should have fulfilled the mission its title announces.

It did not. The mere headings of the *Memorial*'s three discourses listed above, and more so, any scrutiny of the full text, bring home that it almost entirely defaults on the obligation to Solano. *Almost* entirely because the letter from Buenaventura to his brother tacked on to the *Memorial* hyperbolically commends Friar Diego's biography. The letter also goes to rapturous extremes at the outset in lauding Solano as "the exemplar of Poverty, Humility, Purity, Charity, Oration, and Penitence, the prophetic Spirit, the Lynx-eyed thinker, the most recent Surrogate for Saint Francis, the latter-day Thaumaturge, worker of miracles," and more (*Memorial* 328). Yet, however many superlatives Salinas lavishes on Solano at the outset and however hard he tries at the end to braid his epistle into the *Memorial*, the letter remains a hasty paean to a figure absent from the body of the text.¹⁵

The protective alliance that Salinas's letter strains to forge with Solano may not have shielded the controversial *Memorial* from tempests. To wit, Salinas refers to the suppression of his writings (*Memorial* 280), and it is suspicious that only three, slightly varying, print copies of the original Lima editions have reached our times. The scant extant copies suggest that the *Memorial*—whose first publication, Salinas himself underwrote (Cook xxix)—had small print runs in the viceregal capital. Luis E. Valcárcel, the distinguished Peruvian scholar to whom we owe the first modern publication of the *Memorial* (in 1957), believes that the inflammatory third discourse led to the text being seized or embargoed in Lima (xi, xxiv), which could explain why so few copies remain. In other words, despite its effusive gestures to hagiography as well as its official approbations, the

14 Ch. 4 of Gálvez Peña's "Writing History" details the creole, Franciscan, and Salinas Córdova family's investments in Solano. Particularly interesting are the roles that Salinas's two sisters, both married to influential officials, played in supporting Solano's cause ("Writing History" 221; "Carro de Ezequiel" 45). As Gálvez Peña also discusses, even before Friar Diego wrote about Solano, the Franciscans had published Peruvian creole Luis Gerónimo de Oré's partial biography of the great evangelizer, *Relación de la Vida y Milagros de San Francisco Solano* (1614), which motivated the pope to open a formal process for Solano's canonization in 1628 ("Writing History" 82).

15 Toward the end of the letter (*Memorial* 330–31), Salinas is at pains to affiliate his text's focus on Lima, rather than on Solano, with the shift in Saint John Chrysostom's Homily 32 on Romans 16 from the excellence of Rome back to the homily's principal subject, Saint Paul.

Memorial may have suffered a quite predictable fate.

Undaunted, Salinas concertedly kept the *Memorial* alive, vigorous, and reinvigorated. In 1639 in Madrid, he personally handed the king a document that included a partial version of the *Memorial* (1646, Part 1, fol. 46r). The 1639 document reproduces the *Memorial's* second discourse, on Lima, with some elisions.¹⁶ Ranging beyond the discourse on Lima, the 1639 document adds a striking new component to Salinas's platform, an escalation of the pride in his creole identity that the *Memorial* so prominently features. Namely, Salinas's Madrid treatise outlines a scheme for a colonial regime grounded in the *encomienda*, grants of Indigenous labor first awarded to the conquerors and then passed on to their creole heirs.¹⁷ Las Casas and the Crown had made strenuous attempts to limit the labor grants and curb the egregious excesses they had spawned. By contrast, New World creoles tended to regard the *encomienda* as a sacrosanct inheritance, and ensuring the perpetuity of the *encomienda* was for decades their principal quest.

Salinas caps off his own layered agenda in the 1646 *Memorial, Report, and Manifesto*. There he mingles self-defense with a resounding apologetics for creoles at large (1646, Part 1, chs. 10 and 12). In a white heat, Salinas reprises the voluminous rosters of eminent Peruvian creoles that engorge the *Memorial's* second discourse (chs. 5 and 7; 1646, Part 1, fols. 108r–09v). Moreover, he lambastes those who view Peru as the antipodes of the civilized world and the continent's creoles as less than human (1646, Part 1, fol. 107r).

Though ever more intent on showcasing creole concerns, Salinas does not walk away from the beleaguered Andean Natives. The 1646 narrative replays his history of advocacy for them, at myriad junctures either repeating or elaborating upon the 1630 *Memorial* and the volatile

16 Bronner itemizes the elisions (237). Did Salinas's full 1639 text, which has only come down to us as a long *excerpt* included a manuscript book that bears the title "Noticias de Madrid" (Bronner 235), contain more of the 1630 *Memorial*—perhaps even part of the third discourse? Insofar as the "Noticias de Madrid" excerpt begins *in medias res*, Bronner concludes that the full version of the 1639 text did contain more (239); Gálvez Peña suggests that it included at least part of the 1630 *Memorial's* third discourse ("Carro de Ezequiel" 47).

17 On Salinas's 1639 proposals for the *encomienda* and how they would benefit creoles, see Gálvez Peña, "Carro de Ezequiel" 49, 54–57. Along the same pro-creole lines, Gálvez Peña's article also examines a 1641 treatise by Salinas that opposes the *alternativa*, quotas for creole ecclesiastics to which the Franciscans and other orders subscribed (49).

Cusco sermon. Hence, an incensed Salinas protests, pleas, and warns that the “abuse, despoilment, and persecution” of the autochthonous peoples have not yet ceased (1646, Part 1, fol. 41v). The valiant hound whom pressing circumstances had driven to do battle for multiple causes has kept faith with the unabashed, ethical Franciscan project.¹⁸

III.

While the *Memorial*’s third discourse epitomizes Salinas’s pro-Indigenous activism and thus may have heightened interest now, it by no means constitutes the 1630 text’s only significant contribution to the pan-Hispanic and Peruvian archives. The vitriolic “What Has Become of Peru” both stands apart from and intersects with the *Memorial*’s other two discourses: the third discourse revisits and politicizes trigger points from the rest of the text, a hefty, more conventionally historical corpus that treats a legion of high-profile topics. As the “Table of Contents” of the *Memorial* that readers will find immediately after this “Introduction” illustrates, the work’s first discourse sweepingly surveys the Peruvian past. Notably and polemically, it pays homage to Inca achievements and to Francisco Pizarro’s deeds in the conquest of Peru (for the creole Salinas, an epic saga). The second discourse zeroes in on contemporary Lima and changes lens. Salinas’s granular expositions of everything from the capital’s layout, viceroys, archbishops, and religious and educational institutions to its demographics and economics have provided scholars with invaluable information on the seventeenth-century city (Cook xlii; Bronner 240).

The last entry in the “Table of Contents,” for chapter four of the third discourse, signals the *Memorial*’s de facto appendix (319–27), a powerful dimension of Salinas’s text. The appendix substantiates “How gloriously our very Catholic Kings of Castile have governed the Indies, as the Royal Decrees and Laws prove . . . despite what the Heretics claim” (*Memorial* 315) by transcribing ten Spanish decrees from the early sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries that aimed to protect the

18 Salinas may have written two further texts, now lost: an account of the attacks on Peruvian ports by the Dutch corsair Jacques l’Hermite that the *Memorial*’s second and third discourses render in vivid detail (e.g., 274–75; included in my translation) and a panegyric to a festival celebrating Saint Francis (Cook lxiii).

Indigenous peoples. In so doing, Salinas emulates his activist Franciscan predecessor Juan de Torquemada, whose *Monarquía indiana* boasts a similar roster (Book 17, chs. 19–20). Yet neither author grossly forces or falsifies the history of Spanish legislation (though both did cherry-pick it). Whatever one's perspective on Spanish colonization, the Crown had undeniably promulgated laws that endeavored to rectify abuses. The 1512 Laws of Burgos, 1542 New Laws, and 1601 royal reforms, among others, leave little doubt as to the Crown's good faith, assiduous legal efforts—ineffectual as they often turned out to be and as the *Memorial* declares them to have been in Peru. Over and over, Salinas berates the upstarts of his realm for flouting the laws. Only the Andean Natives, he implies, appropriately revere the Spanish legislation ("they read the Royal Decrees that defend the Indians and from faraway give the Crown their hearts" [*Memorial* 289]).

The *Memorial* casts an even wider net. Transatlantic in scope, the book gathers into its purview the deterioration of the Spanish empire and its adversarial relations with other European nations. Salinas, like countless vassals of the Crown, avidly pushes back at the "Black Legend" afire in Protestant Europe. Ignited by Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* [An Account, Much Abbreviated, of the Destruction of the Indies] (1552), the "Black Legend" circulated by those whom Salinas terms "Heretics" (*Memorial* 315) excoriated Spain's illegal and savage invasion of the New World (see Figure 2). As Salinas's emphasis on Metropolitan legislation indicates, the *Memorial* maintains in tension validation of the Spanish cause and condemnation of its enactment.

Colonial Peru being inherently enmeshed with Spain, Salinas attends to the transformative, radical program designed in no small part to boost the Spanish economy that viceroy of Peru Francisco Álvarez de Toledo instituted between 1569 and 1581. Toledo's initiatives, lucrative as they were for the Crown, had deleterious effects on Peru that rippled through to Salinas's day and beyond. With the potent aftershocks in mind, the first two discourses of the *Memorial* covertly negate Toledo's vilification of the Incas and overtly introduce such matters as Spanish greed, the extractivist rape of Peru (e.g., 262, 268), and the abysmal working conditions in mines that Toledo had fomented, all of which seed Salinas's third discourse.

Those who wish to take a deeper, more complex dive into the *Memorial's* context and dynamics may turn, for instance, to my essay herein, "5. The Activist Archive of Colonial Peru and Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova's 1630 Memorial" (everything in Spanish is translated). The essay demonstrates that however much Salinas positions himself as a lone truth-telling voice on behalf of the oppressed Indigenous peoples, his *Memorial* in fact joins and frequently dialogues with a vital corpus of activist texts written in or impacting the Peruvian milieu. "The Activist Archive" unpacks the agendas, polemics, and strategies of key works in this force field, works primarily written by Spaniards, such as Las Casas, and by Andean Natives, such as Guaman Poma.

Almost needless to say, nothing totally replaces contact with Salinas's text itself. Therefore, *Who Will Speak the Truth?* affords the following pieces of the *Memorial*:

- As mentioned above, a "Table of Contents" of the *Memorial*.
- Primarily, an annotated English translation of its third discourse's most incandescent activist chapters (1 and 2), as well as of the explanatory letter that Salinas wrote to his brother and included in the *Memorial*. Annotations clarify the historical context, terminology, and sources, thus enabling the translation to be read comprehensibly on its own.
- And to supplement the translation, a transcription into modern Spanish of the *Memorial's* chapters translated herein. The seventeenth-century language of the original can make the valuable work much less accessible to current readers. Therefore, the transcription gives those who know Spanish a more direct contact with Salinas's text than a scrupulous translation, yet one that strives to render the dense *Memorial* intelligible (see the "Note on the Translation" right below), can provide. Like my translation, the transcription charts a course between readability and fidelity to the text.

In essence, the full ensemble of *Who Will Speak the Truth?*, which concludes with a "Works Cited" for the whole volume, aspires to orchestrate and elucidate the *Memorial* robustly, as I believe the milestone Peruvian text well deserves.

Note on the Translation and Acknowledgments

Modern readers entering the original text of Salinas's *Memorial* find themselves in a verbal maelstrom, dense and resistant. Sentences awash with synonyms run on and on, growing non-linear, inchoate subclauses and taking off into lyrical flights. Distension can contract into elision so terse as to be cryptic. Sermonic and often idiomatic, Salinas's third discourse surges forth in oral, breathless, almost improvised pulsations. Punctuation marks aim to stitch the loose-jointed syntax into coherence. However, they generally deviate from the functions modern language assigns them and may be more of a roadblock than a roadmap for us today.

Little of this is unique to the *Memorial*, although Salinas has his special, impassioned way with it. Early modern Hispanic texts bear earmarks of the labored transition from the spoken to the written word. Notoriously long sentences abound, as the norm. Punctuation marks remain in flux. Largely unstandardized and unstable, they vary from text to text depending on the authors' voice, among other factors. Commas, semi-colons, colons, and periods can exchange roles and serve grammatical or rhetorical purposes.¹⁹ In the drift to print media, punctuation marks (and conjunctions) effectively impart a visual guide for reading aloud, a sort of musical notation.

Texts like Salinas's that embody these prevalent conventions would, one assumes, be quite readable and intelligible in the seventeenth century. Centuries later, they hardly are. What would have come through loud and clear threatens to descend into opacity. Further, English lacks the Latinate elasticity of Spanish, which can better accommodate the protracted sentences and complex syntax rife in the Baroque *Memorial*.

My translation endeavors to negotiate the space between centuries and languages while still conveying Salinas's vibrant, but labyrinthine, expression as vibrantly as possible. It preserves many of the *Memorial*'s long sentences by for the most part overriding Salinas's punctuation and devising a system—a different musical notation—that enables the text to operate as a “transcription of an oral performance” (Frye xviii) *without straining English to a breaking point*.²⁰ The translation for the same reason frequently resequences Salinas's clauses into streams compatible

19 On early modern Hispanic punctuation, see Valiente Roldán, as well as Díaz Peralta and Cáceres Lorenzo.

20 Frye here describes his translation of Guaman Poma's manuscript. To recreate this oral effect, my translation of Salinas's *Memorial* also adds some connectors, a few parentheses, and copious em dashes (which the author never uses).

with English syntax. At the same time, to capture the dramatic impact that the *Memorial* would likely have had on an original audience at home with thick blocks of text, the English version sometimes breaks sentences and paragraphs into shorter, more compelling units.

If, as I hope readers will agree, plausible ways emerged for the translation to naturalize the *Memorial's* language into a lucid yet somewhat “otherly” English, the Classical sources and quotes that stud the text proved to be conundrums I could not resolve entirely on my own. Wholehearted thanks go to Isabel Fariás Velasco for her help unraveling them and to Kenneth Haynes for generously and brilliantly tracking down the wellsprings of Salinas’s references.

I also gratefully acknowledge Laura Bass’s assistance with several translation and transcription issues, Carlos Mata Induráin’s kindness in making the Batihoja edition of the *Memorial* available to me, and two reviewers of my manuscript, who offered productive feedback. Alessandra Tosi, managing editor of Open Book Publishers, and the Open Book staff have not only been tremendously helpful and expert, they have also allowed me to fulfill the dream of bringing *Who Will Speak the Truth?* to the public as an open access text.

Finally, but fundamentally, let me note that I translate (and cite) from Valcárcel’s 1957 transcription of the *Memorial*, which is based on the first, clearly original, published version of the text. This first version, printed in Lima, dated 1630, and now held by the British Museum, was published by its author. A second Lima printing, dated 1631, and now held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España, contains several pages of approbations and licenses absent from the previous edition. Apart from that, and from the placement of Salinas’s letter to his brother at the end versus at the beginning of the text, variations between the 1630 and 1631 printings are negligible. An explanation of the discrepancies between the two versions can be found in the bibliographic entry that the Biblioteca Nacional de España provides for the 1631 text, which states that it is “probably an emission [*emisión*]” of the 1630 *Memorial*. In other words, the 1631 version would be a *republication* of the *Memorial* after all its licenses were obtained that merely updates formal elements like preliminaries, the cover, the date, and so on. Readers may consult the 1631 version of the *Memorial* online via BNE Digital (website of the Biblioteca Nacional de España).²¹

21 See <https://bnedigital.bne.es/bd/card?oid=0000092550&site=bdh>

2. Table of Contents:

Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova's *Memorial*

[Translation of the *Memorial*'s discourse and chapter titles. Although the *Memorial* itself has no Table of Contents, Luis E. Valcárcel's edition assembles the titles into a "General Index" in Spanish (355–58). I do the same in English, following Valcárcel's punctuation and, like him, maintaining Salinas's capitalization.]

THE AUTHOR'S DEDICATION OF HIS WORK TO PHILIP IV.

DISCOURSE I [UNTITLED]:

Chapter 1: Origin of the first Indians that inhabited Peru; succession of their Barbaric [i.e., heathen] regimes; how the Inca Kings governed their Monarchy.

Chapter 2: Majesty and power of the Inca Kings; their magnificent Palaces, Alcazars, and fortresses; the royal roads, waystations, and inns built at their command.

Chapter 3: The immense treasures and wealth of the Inca Kings of Peru.

Chapter 4: Thanks to the services a Franciscan friar rendered Columbus, the Indies were discovered and Spain favored with them. Who Pizarro was, and how he came to discover Peru.

Chapter 5: Pizarro shows his valor when the Governor of Panama tries to keep him from Peru; rescued by his friend Almagro, Pizarro arrives at the famous isle of Tumbes and goes ashore; the Indians receive the Spaniards in peace, and with respect and gifts.

Chapter 6: What happened while Pizarro was back in Spain, bringing the gold and silver he had taken from Tumbes: Huayna Capac Inca orders the two Spaniards remaining in Tumbes to be murdered as sacrifices; disconsolate that God had taken away his Kingdom, Huayna Capac has himself killed; upon his death, the whole country broils with the civil wars between his two sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, both of whom wanted to Rule.

Chapter 7: Returning from Spain, Pizarro enters Peru through Tumbes and Piura. In Cajamarca, he defeats Atahualpa and lays waste to his armies; fearing treachery, he has Atahualpa killed; Pizarro thus becomes the master of the new world, Peru.

Chapter 8: Reprimand and apologia challenging the intellects who comprise this Illustrious University of Lima to defend the immortal glories of their Homeland against the envious and to celebrate the feats of those who have toiled so mightily to discover, conquer, and settle it.

DISCOURSE II. ON THE MERITS AND EXCELLENCE OF THE CITY OF LIMA:

Chapter 1: The city of Lima lies in the fourth, and largest, part of the world; owing to its natural resources, of which the ancients were not aware, this fourth Region is more habitable than any other in the world.

Chapter 2: The beauty of the site and design of our city, Lima; the pleasures of the city's environs and of outings to the hills and mountains that surround it; the great benefit of Lima's proximity to the famous port of Callao and the Southern Sea [i.e., the Pacific Ocean].

Chapter 3: The nobility and splendor that the city of Lima has acquired through the Viceroy's of Peru, listed in chronological order, noting the most illustrious achievements of their administrations along with the silver and millions of pesos they sent to Spain on behalf of the Royal Treasury.

Chapter 4: Courts of the city of Lima: when they were founded, and the salaries of their Ministers and Officials.

Chapter 5: The Royal University and General Studies in San Marcos, Lima, Peru: its Founding, Ministers, Professorships, Professors, and the illustrious students it has produced.

Chapter 6: The nobility and renown that the city of Lima has acquired through the Archbishops of its Cathedral, listed in chronological order, noting their illustrious virtues. Also treating the City's Convents of Nuns, Parishes, and Hospitals.

Chapter 7: Monasteries of the various Religious Orders in Lima: when and how the monasteries were founded; the Illustrious Men, distinguished for their saintliness and knowledge, who flourished in them.

Chapter 8: The City of Lima: the number and nature of its citizens and inhabitants; the fertility of the land and the abundant products of it; costs of provisioning the city; the variety and number of vendors and markets in Lima.

Chapter 9: The great wealth of Peru: all the mines discovered in the last eighty years; the majesty and grandeur of the famous mountain of the Imperial City of Potosí; financial reckoning.

DISCOURSE III: WHAT HAS BECOME OF PERU:

Chapter 1: Clearly and plainly disclosing all the causes, and their effects, that have afflicted this Peruvian Kingdom and laid waste to it, the greatest misfortune being the wealth and treasures that Peru produces, to the destruction of its Indians.

Chapter 2: Who will speak the truth about the calamities of the Indians? Those blinded by self-interest and greed will not; let those who are so tremendously wounded and aggrieved speak: the Author serves as their mouthpiece, and in shouts and tears laments what has become of them.

Chapter 3: What the Indians offer Your Majesty to gain their freedom from the mercury mines. How the oppression they endure exceeds that of the Jews in Egypt. How the bad Magistrates afflict the Indians. The principal reason why the Indians do not embrace our Faith, and why so many millions of them have died. How greatly it would have benefited the Crown of Castile to have let them all live and to have treated them well.

Chapter 4: How gloriously our very Catholic Kings of Castile have governed the Indies, as their Royal Decrees and Laws prove; although the Indians have been abused and oppressed, the Crown has shown them nothing but mercy, despite what the Heretics claim.

3. Translation of Selected Chapters from Salinas's *Memorial*

[As the first English translation of any portion of Salinas's *Memorial*, this work aims to bring the text alive for a wide audience, from students to scholars. Deeply rooted in seventeenth-century circumstances and discourse, the important *Memorial* requires more than a translation to speak to us today. I therefore offer here a critical edition in English of the translated chapters, with notes that explicate the *Memorial*'s context and terminology. Robust enough to be of interest to specialists, yet as streamlined as possible to avoid overwhelming the text, the annotations keep secondary references to a minimum; the two essays included in *Who Will Speak the Truth?* provide substantial scholarly backup and analysis.

A characteristic Baroque intellectual, Salinas tends to anchor his arguments in Classical and biblical sources. To fully contextualize the author's thinking, I have tracked down the sources. Doing so revealed several aspects of Salinas's *modus operandi*: not unlike other writers of his time, he sometimes quotes or paraphrases his sources without attribution, or quotes sources loosely, or provides inaccurate references for his sources. I generally let the inaccuracies stand in the text and correct them in footnotes. However, given the importance of biblical citations for the *Memorial* and at large, I have incorporated accurate, full attributions of references to the Old and New Testaments into the body of the text, in square brackets. Translations of all biblical quotations derive from the King James version. The provenance of Salinas's Classical references proved especially elusive. Kenneth Haynes's expert, intrepid research conveyed in personal communications—credited as "Haynes" in the notes—succeeded in identifying several obscure sources.

Salinas also tends to quote Classical sources and the Bible in Latin. The translation renders them in English and in italics (the Spanish transcription of the original *Memorial* included in this volume presents the Latin). For enhanced clarity, the translation encloses all direct quotations in quotation marks and modernizes place names. On the other hand, the translation maintains its author's Baroque, attention-calling capitalization.

This translation is based on Luis E. Valcárcel's (unannotated) transcription of the original published version of Salinas's *Memorial*. Throughout, page numbers in brackets correspond to Valcárcel's edition and are hyperlinked to the Spanish transcription.]

[TITLE PAGE OF BOOK]

Memorial:

On the Histories of the New World

PERU:

Merits and Excellence of the City of

LIMA,

Seat of Peru's Rich and Vast Kingdom

And Their Present State.

IN ORDER TO MOVE HIS MAJESTY

*the very Catholic Monarch, Philip IV, Most Mighty King of Spain
and of the Indies,*

TO REQUEST THAT THE POPE

Canonize Solano,¹ the Patron of Lima.

BY FATHER FRIAR BUENAVENTURA DE SALINAS²

from the Order of Our Seraphic Father Saint Francis;
Magister of Theology in the Convento de JESÚS in Lima,
and Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition.

Published, by license, in Lima by Gerónimo de Contreras.

In the year of 1630.

1 Solano: Francisco Solano (1549–1610), or St. Francis Solanus, beatified in 1675 and canonized in 1726. A Franciscan missionary from Spain, Solano was revered for his long, illustrious career as an evangelist in the South American frontier zones. He was named patron saint of Lima in 1629.

2 Father; Friar; Qualificator: A Father (*Padre*) is an ordained Catholic priest; a friar (*Fray*, *Fraile*), a member of an itinerant Mendicant order like the Franciscans; a Qualificator (*Calificador*) a judge, tasked with preparing cases of heresy for the Holy Inquisition.

[TITLE PAGE OF DISCOURSE 3]

[269] DISCOURSE 3: WHAT HAS BECOME OF PERU

[271] Chapter 1:

CLEARLY AND PLAINLY disclosing all the causes, and their effects, that have afflicted this Peruvian Kingdom and laid waste to it, the greatest misfortune being the wealth and treasures that Peru produces, to the destruction of its Indians.

When the Emperor Conrad was determined to vanquish the Citizens of Weinsberg³ in Germany, he allowed the women to leave and take with them all they could carry. Setting their husbands on their backs, the women rushed to deliver them from the danger and oppression of the siege. Conrad so admired the women's actions that he generously pardoned everyone involved. Then again, when Troy was burning, the compassionate Aeneas⁴ set his father Anchises on his shoulders and carried him away. Celebrated in their own times, for centuries the compassion of the son and the valor of the women have endured as models.

Throughout the past and to this day, multitudes of men blinded by self-interest have risen up against the native Indians of this fourth and final part of the Western world, denying them all clemency. Claiming righteousness, men of many stripes have targeted these wretched peoples for years, wounding honor, lives, and souls without a qualm, and refusing to obey the laws and ordinances that the very Catholic Kings of Castile and León, as well as the Royal Council of the Indies, have

3 Salinas writes "Meñiaco," an unidentifiable place, but he clearly refers to the famous legend regarding the Siege of Weinsberg in 1140 by Conrad III, "The Loyal Wives of Weinsberg," which accords with the events Salinas describes. In his 2026 critical edition of the *Memorial*, Lavallé also identifies Salinas's allusion to the Siege of Weinsberg (361n1). Indeed, given that Lavallé and I were working simultaneously and independently to produce a first critical edition of the *Memorial* (Lavallé annotates the entire text), our source-sleuthing frequently turned up the same results. An important case-in-point is our mutual discovery of the extent to which parts of the *Memorial* rely on Pedro Fernández Navarrete's *Conservación de Monarquías* [Preservation of Monarchies]. The notes below credit new information I have gratefully reaped from Lavallé's edition rather than the areas in which our research has converged.

4 Aeneas; Anchises: In Book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

in all care and justice ordained. It will take the valor and compassion of the women of Weinsberg and the courage of Anchises's son, who then tried to rescue his Homeland from the fires consuming it, to save these men from their present state.

[272] I have put forth these two examples because I have been moved to set on my own weak shoulders the multitudes of innocent Indians—children of Adam all—and to deliver them from the places where they lie hiding, buried, and oppressed, awaiting some part of God's mercy, or at least some fulfillment of natural law.⁵ Thus, I assume the task of presenting the Indians to the gaze of the many Conrads who have come here from Spain and continue to do so, in the hope of moving their hardened hearts to redress the injustices and of saving them from the eternal extinction that their self-interest, ignorance, malice, or fear inevitably entail. A new Aeneas, I wish to rescue my Homeland from the flames.

Natural law and fealty lead Vassals to fight for the reputation, esteem, and good name of their Kings and Sovereigns no less than for their own lives, country, lands, and homes, especially when enemies of honor and conscience attack them in writing. It is also incumbent upon us to prove our loyalty wherever Heretics and foes of Spain's military glory are to be found. Thus, in service of my King and the Catholic Religion I take up this discourse to show the world the mercy and justice that Spain has exercised⁶ in governing its Indian Vassals, mercy and justice which neither have had nor presently have any role in the injustices, decimation, and oppression that the Indians have suffered because Spain has always resolutely placed its efforts and its laws on the path of mercy, justice, and clemency. Enemies of God and the glory of His Kings, all those who go against the Imperial will of Your Majesty and oppose the execution of your Royal Decrees and Laws will be condemned in God's tribunal; their works impugn the justice of Spain's government and the supreme sovereignty over the Western world that its kings enjoy.

Battling against the enemies, foreign and domestic, who will soon cause the destruction of Peru—some because they oppress so many

5 Natural law: The inherent moral compass, rights, and values of human beings, as distinct from human law and divine law.

6 The mercy and justice that Spain has exercised: Salinas may overstate the case, but from the 1512 Laws of Burgos on, Spain had undeniably made strenuous, if often futile, efforts to ensure better treatment of its New World subjects.

innocent people, others because they refrain from informing, as they should, Your Majesty and the Royal Council that their laws are not upheld and that the Indians are not protected—I will therefore disclose the present state and the dangers to which this, the largest and richest part of the entire universe, is exposed. Pen in hand, I will also support the glory and rewards granted the first Conquerors, maintaining that those who defend and preserve the lands deserve no less [273] than those who first won them. Cicero⁷ suggests as much in his “Pro Murena” when he praises the “urban warfare of giving legal opinions, drawing up documents, and taking precautions.” Better yet on the same subject, those wise Emperors, Leo and Anthemius, affirmed that doing battle is not the only way to serve the Crown: “Some men⁸ rely on swords, shields, and breastplates, but those who by the strength of their writings on public or private matters raise up the fallen and repair what is worn down serve humanity no less than if they saved their country and their kin by shields and wounds.”

Firmly continuing in the service of my King, I will then disclose the causes, and their effects, that have afflicted this Peruvian Kingdom and laid waste to it, the greatest misfortune being the wealth and treasures Peru produces, to the destruction of its Indians. Because (as Navarrete⁹ said in his *Preservation of Monarchies*) when provinces are famed for their wealth and, further, when it becomes known that they have few to defend and preserve it, they fall prey to envy and to invasion by other more populous, less well-endowed, Kingdoms. Foreigners in Spain see

7 Cicero: A loose translation to fit the context of Salinas's quite loose adaptation of Cicero's speech, “Pro Murena” [For Murena], ch. 19.

8 Some men: Salinas adapts the quote from the *Code of Justinian* 2.7.14. As Isabel Farías Velasco elucidated in personal communications, Salinas resequences the original passage and rewords it in less than impeccable Latin.

9 Navarrete: *Conservación de Monarquías* [Preservation of Monarchies] by the Spanish Pedro Fernández Navarrete (1564–1632), published in Madrid in 1626 and addressed to the Council of the Indies, is the principal source for the first chapter of the Salinas's third discourse. Navarrete was a leading *arbitrista*: a reformist who laid out Spain's problems and offered the king solutions to them. Thus, Navarrete's *Conservación* inveighs against the decline of Spain in the early seventeenth century, as does Salinas with regard to Spain and Peru. Navarrete's biting arguments on Spain's financial situation, depopulation, and despoilment by other European nations especially accord with Salinas's register and critiques—as we see in this sentence explicitly attributed to Navarrete, which corresponds to p. 70 of *Conservación*, verbatim. More often, as subsequent notes herein detail, Salinas borrows blocks of Navarrete's text silently, without attributions, reproducing them verbatim or lightly paraphrasing them, and sometimes adapting them to the Peruvian context.

the treasures brought from Peru and learn that Peru has few defenses: then all the world schemes to plunder the booty. After King Hezekiah of Judah¹⁰ displayed his treasures to the ambassadors sent by King Merodach-Baladan of Babylon, Isaiah prophesied, in ch. 33, that Judah would soon lose all these riches [Isa. 39.1–6]. So it was, too, that when King Antiochus, intending to intimidate the Gauls, showed them his array of gold, silver, and other wealth, he aroused their desire to take the treasure by force. As Pompeius Trogus elegantly observed in book 25: *“unaware that in flaunting the gold and silver, he incited to plunder those whom he thought to frighten.”*

Who could forget what took place almost yesterday in Madrid?¹¹ That is, the grandeur of Spain witnessed on the seventh of March, 1623 by Prince Charles of Wales—crowned King of Scotland and sole heir to King James, ruler of Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland—and by those who accompanied him: the presents of gold, silver, and jewels they received and the array of treasures laid out for them. The Court was Exultant, our King Magnanimous, and the Grandees of Castile Urbane. Just when all were sure that the regal welcome would inspire affection and respect, greed and the desire [274] to plunder Spain’s treasures secretly called out to the visitors. Thus enticed, foreign nations set their sights on the very root of the tree that produces such fruits, and resolutely crossing from sea to sea, arrive in Peru to cut that root. For when a Kingdom is reputed to be so splendid, it suffers a thousand onslaughts, as we see in this city of Lima and in the entire Realm of Peru, whose grandeur has subjected them to infinite tempests and tribulations. Worst of all, Spain never comes to their aid, and even if it did, help would arrive too late because of the enormous distance that separates Peru from its head, the King, and his eyes.

10 King Hezekiah of Judah: From here to the end of the paragraph, Salinas borrows almost verbatim from Navarrete 136–37. The quote by Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus derives from Book 25 of Justinian’s *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus’* Philippic Histories.

11 Almost yesterday in Madrid; Charles of Wales: Charles of Wales (who became the fallen Charles I of England) visited the court of Philip IV in Madrid from March to September of 1623 in the hope of firming up a strategic marriage to the Spanish monarch’s sister, the Infanta María. Charles was sumptuously received in the Spanish court, yet the marriage negotiations fell apart due to problems arising from the marriage of a Protestant king to a Catholic Infanta. The events around this so-called Spanish Match were celebrated in writing by numerous Spanish luminaries, such as Félix Lope de Vega and Francisco de Quevedo.

Aristotle¹² elegantly observed in Book 2 of *On the Soul*: “large men suffer from weakness due to the limitations of the vital spirits, which cannot travel swiftly enough and in full strength from the head, their source, to the most distant members of the body.” The same obtains for the mystical bodies of inordinately large Kingdoms: they experience a thousand tribulations because the succor they expect to receive from their heads necessarily arrives late or not at all, it being impossible for such realms to avoid infinite disasters that neither valor nor prudence suffice to forestall. Seeing the effects of this malady in our times, who can deny that they stem from the cause that the Philosopher attributes to them? For no Kingdom in the world is as great, or has so extensive a body, as that of Spain, and no Realm as distant from it as Peru. Fifteen years ago, proof appeared before our very eyes of just how ineffectual, weak, impotent, and bereft of succor Peru is: in Cañete,¹³ with only four ships and a frigate, the enemy demolished our Royal Armada, destroying its Flagship and snuffing out more than four hundred of our City's finest Creoles in the flower of their youth. The battle won, the enemy was able to enter our port more safely than they do their own.

Five years ago,¹⁴ our enemies returned, and taking us totally unawares, captured the port of Callao. They burned the ships harbored there; it was impossible to keep them from looting and stealing the vessels that, oblivious to the danger, kept arriving; they hanged many of our men, stringing them up on the rigging and sails of the attacking boats. And there we all were on the shore, watching our men die with tears in our eyes, unable to help them. Had God in His mercy not prevented it, they would have carried off ten or twelve million pesos in gold and silver, the product

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- 12 Aristotle; mystical body: Salinas derives the quote from Aristotle, the attribution of it to Aristotle's *On the Soul* (*De Anima*), and the discussion of the king's mystical body from Navarrete 87–88. However, the discussion of large men and the travel of vital spirits (blood) actually appears in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomics* 813b, not in *On the Soul* (Haynes). The mystical body of the king refers to the body politic, as versus the monarch's natural body.
 - 13 Cañete: In July of 1615, the Spanish Pacific Armada suffered a crushing defeat in Cañete, Peru at the hands of an expedition organized by the Dutch East India Company and captained by Joris van Speilbergen (Clayton).
 - 14 Five years ago: In 1624, the Dutch marauders returned and attempted to blockade the major Peruvian port of Callao. Violence and sacking followed, but the blockade ultimately failed. The foresight of the viceroy, the Marquis of Guadalcazar (Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Viceroy of Peru from 1622 to 1629), in dispatching the treasure ships before the Dutch arrived saved the Peruvian silver bound for Spain (Bradley).

of two years' labor, that had just left our port headed for Panama and [275] Spain. And were it not for our Viceroy and Captain General, the Marquis of Guadalcázar, our land and the city of Lima would now be controlled by enemies of the Catholic Faith. Marshaling Government troops, and aided by the tremendous efforts and wherewithal of Lima's scions and citizens, all sons of Peru, not only did he defend the port with great travail, safeguard the land, and thus Spain's reputation, he also saved Your Majesty's treasure ships by dispatching them to Spain three days before the attack. Moreover, he had always warned all the governors of Peru to secure their ports and shores and ordered them not to draw on the Royal Treasury—although to do both at once would take a miracle. For it is said that the war with Flanders¹⁵ has cost Your Majesty more than two hundred and eighty-four million pesos in gold and silver, and more than three hundred and fifty thousand men; I say, and all may well agree, that the gains have hardly been worth the expenditures of the past, not to mention those to come. So then, why is Peru—which has given its blood and riches, amounting to many millions, to its Kings—slighted? Why, when Peru is exhausted and besieged by enemies, when so many encroach on its Straits, is the Realm forgotten and does Spain never help root out the invaders, instead tying the purse strings of a Viceroy who would defend the interests of the Crown?

But let it not be thought that being abandoned and surrounded by enemies of the Faith who harass and threaten it on the seas is the worst affront this Kingdom faces. Far worse is the danger on the land, far greater the harm inflicted upon this City of Lima and on Huancavélica and Potosí by the foreigners who constantly descend on our lands to engage in commerce. Here they live with us, sucking up land like sponges, bleeding the Indians like leeches, and spiriting the silver away to their own Realms and Provinces as has happened in Spain, now so widely maligned as poor. Given that France,¹⁶ Italy, and the Netherlands all lack gold and silver mines, multitudes of men have employed the tactics of Trade, and other Arts, to carry off all of Spain's wealth; although (as stated in the previous chapter)

15 War with Flanders: Salinas says "Flanders," but would be referring more generally to the Eighty Years War between Spain and its territories in the Low Lands, or *Países Bajos* (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), which began c. 1568 and lasted until 1648. The wars eventually resulted in the separation of the Low Land territories from the Habsburg empire.

16 Given that France: From here to "maligned as sterile," Salinas paraphrases Navarrete 69.

Spain possesses the most fertile lands in Europe and has dominion over those of the Indies, as well as their silver, it is widely maligned as sterile. How can we not fear and deplore that this same malady and devastation will befall Peru, whose inhabitants and trade are just as duplicitous?

[276] It would appear that the Prophet Isaiah¹⁷ was speaking directly to us in ch. 2 when he said that before our eyes strangers are consuming our Country and Provinces: "*your land, strangers devour it in your presence*" [Isa. 1.7]. And Jeremiah said that God would bring a people to our land whose language we would not understand, and our wealth would pass to foreigners and our possessions to strangers: "*I will bring a nation upon you from afar, whose language thou knowest not*" [Jer. 5.15]. Jeremiah also said in ch. 5: "*Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens*" [Lam. 5.2]. May it please God that this ancient, broad warning not predict the ruin of Peru, and even of Spain. For strangers cart off everything that has been extracted from the mines of this Realm by the sweat and blood of the poor Indians. Surviving long, arduous journeys across the seas, the wealth and treasures of the Indies arrive in the lands of foreigners who leisurely and complacently use the fruits of the Indians' labor to construct the most sumptuous Palaces imaginable.

May it also please God that this Kingdom's fever not be of the hectic strain¹⁸ or lodged in its very marrow. For, if truth be told (with all humility), the majority of Peru's ills derive not only from foreign countries but also from Spain (as Navarrete said)¹⁹ because every year it allows so many penniless individuals to enter Peru, not to remain here but to return home loaded with treasures. Further, the best Districts,²⁰

17 It would appear that the Prophet Isaiah: This entire paragraph comes verbatim from Navarrete 129–30, except that Salinas adds "the fruits of the Indians' labor" to the Spaniard's exposition, thus adapting it to Peru.

18 Hectic strain: At the time, a hectic (*hética*) fever was understood as part of a consumptive disease characterized by a high temperature, night sweats, weakness, and digestive problems (*Diccionario de Autoridades*).

19 As Navarrete said: The sentence may be an unusually free version of a statement on Navarrete's p. 95, which discusses people who arrive *in Spain* poor and leave wealthy. Salinas perhaps cites Navarrete to authorize his own inflammatory claim about Spain.

20 Districts, Governorships, Incomes, and Encomiendas: Districts=*Corregimientos*, the administrative and judicial districts into which Spain divided Peru; Governorships=*Gobernaciones*; Income=*Rentas*. Encomiendas (from *encomendar*, entrust)=grants of Indigenous peoples' labor and tribute first distributed to the conquerors of the New World. The awarding of encomiendas to the creole descendants of the conquerors exploded into a highly contentious issue, still hotly disputed in Salinas's time.

Governorships, Incomes, and Encomiendas that the citizens and residents²¹ of this land are accorded, which by rights are owed to the sons and descendants of those who first conquered Peru—offspring who now defend it with their lives—go to foreigners, who will not take up arms against our Dutch enemies. Throughout the Provinces of Peru, Grandees and other Titled Noblemen of Spain establish mills²² replete with the jails, shackles, and stocks that kill the much-afflicted Indians; the Spaniards reap their wealth from the deaths of those whom it should be their first concern to protect and augment.

When God said through Isaiah²³ in ch. 1, “*See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down,*” He also said, “*to build, and to plant*” [Jer. 1.10]. Because if he who works the land only cares about the fruits to be gathered and does not tend the trees, his orchard is sure to become a wasteland in short order. Continuing the metaphor of the farmer, Emperor Alexander²⁴ said that he “abhorred men who tore plants out by their roots.” If, as God said through Ezekiel in ch. 37, “*And my servant David will be leader over them, and they will have one Shepherd*” [Ezek. 34.23], the Provincial Magistrates²⁵ and Encomenderos are the shepherds of God’s People [277], then surely they, who flay their flocks instead of nourishing them, are not fulfilling their duty. As Alexander also said:²⁶ “sheep were to be sheared for their own benefit and that of the king, but not flayed.” They must be pressed hard to work, but not so hard as

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- 21 Citizens and residents: Salinas says “*vecinos y moradores*,” legal terms that distinguished official citizens, a privileged status, from mere residents. “*Vecinos*” owned property or possessed encomiendas and were allowed to hold public office.
 - 22 Mills: Here and later, Salinas is referring to the *obrajes* in which Native workers were required to carry out various aspects of manufacturing woolen cloth.
 - 23 When God said through Isaiah: Salinas imports this entire paragraph, slightly abridged and modified, from Navarrete 149.
 - 24 Emperor Alexander: Navarrete provides no source for the obscure quote from Alexander the Great on tearing out plants by their roots; the *Monarquía*’s author may have derived it, among other sources, from Justus Lipsius’s 1589 *Politica* 472–73 (Haynes).
 - 25 Provincial Magistrates: *Corregidores*, the highest colonial provincial officials, who gradually took over the “administrative, judicial, and fiscal duties previously left to the encomenderos” (Cole 2).
 - 26 As Alexander also said: Navarrete attributes this second quote from Alexander, Tiberius’s widely circulated adage on shearing versus flaying sheep, to Plutarch, but it more likely derives from Suetonius’s *Life of Tiberius* 32.2 (Haynes).

to wring bitter blood, rather than sweet, pure milk, from them; as King Solomon said in Proverbs ch. 30: "*Surely the churning of milk bringeth forth butter, and the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood*" [Prov. 30.33].²⁷

Oh, the many Provinces and innumerable Indian villages that have been razed just to build a house and found an entail²⁸ back home in Spain! Oh, the many who have ascended to the throne of honor on steps stained with the sweat and blood of the wretched Indians! To think that on the basis of such vain, debased pretexts these peoples are now imprisoned in the mills, bound with chains and shackles! But they have cleaner consciences than those who order them to be seized and put in chains. Truly, when I write these words, my eyes filled with tears and turning toward an image of Christ on the Cross, His infinite blood gives me hope: anyone who walks the path of justice and probity toward the Indians will surely be welcomed into the merciful embrace of God, whose Supreme Righteousness redeemed humankind, and into the arms of his lieutenant, Philip the Fourth. Those who do not walk this path, and blind their eyes with the cloths of gold and silver that greed manufactures, abuse the scales of justice, tilting them toward their own interests rather than toward reparation for the innocent.

Instead of seeking the honor of God or the enhancement of their King and the preservation of his Realms, these multitudes come here only to amass wealth, and their greed wreaks havoc on everything it touches. Soon the day will come that witnesses the total collapse of Peru's Indians, taking us unawares and leaving our rich Provinces barren and devastated, with little more than an all but worthless *cornado*²⁹ to be gained here. Spain too was rich, but foreigners so drained the country that it was forced to issue alloyed, debased coins. Not long ago, Spain's poor received in alms a *cornado*, which is worth just 1/204

27 This is the standard English translation of Prov. 30.33. It captures the meaning, if not the exact wording, of the Latin, which Salinas cites accurately.

28 Entail: *mayorazgo*, an estate entailed to one's heirs.

29 *Cornado*; other coins: Salinas imports his discussion of *cornados* (alloyed coins with a predominance of copper), *reales* (a basic coin of several denominations minted in Spain and its colonies), and *maravedis* from Navarrete 94. Navarrete and Salinas both refer to the precipitous decline in the amount of gold and then silver in alloyed coins, which led to monetary inflation. As Vilches notes: "With the fiscal crisis of the 1590s, the crown flooded the country with worthless copper . . . As unsound money drove away wholesome coins, and copper's legal value increased, the ground of value became a matter of deep anxiety" (8).

of a silver real, and because it took many almsgivers to support the paupers, beggars died of hunger while foreigners left loaded with the pure silver and gold coins. In today's [278] unbalanced currency, the smallest common coin, the maravedi has risen to be worth 1/16th of a real, which is why the poor rightly consider themselves wealthy when they receive a single one. Worthy of pondering in this regard is what Friar Hernando Alberti³⁰ says of Umbria (one of Italy's nineteen provinces) in his *Description of All Italy*: certain Frenchmen were granted the right to settle a village in the Duchy of Spoleto called Cerreto and a license to ask for alms. As a result, the people of Cerreto had such a penchant for begging that not one of them bothered to work. Countless parents ensured the future of their children by hobbling them, maiming them, and putting out their eyes, thereby producing lame, one-armed, crippled, and blind beggars who could collect alms, have no need to work, and lead a life of ease.

At this, voices from the Provinces of Peru burst forth: cries from a Peru once populated by infinite powerful Indians, a Peru once rich, splendid, and laden with treasure (as we discussed in the second and third chapters of the First Discourse) and now so poor and devastated. At this, the valley of Jauja, the Provinces of Yauyos, and other populous regions weep tears of blood and wail because their peoples are being killed off by the oppression, tribulations, and agony to which they are forcibly and violently subjected, not so much in the mines as by the miners who trap them there. Seeing how little their children are paid and how immensely they suffer before death finally overtakes them, mothers maim their children at birth by twisting their spines, putting out their eyes, and cutting off their feet, all in the hope of making them beggars and freeing them from servitude to those who come here from Europe and elsewhere with the sole desire of getting rich. The famous Legislator Solon³¹ has willed us a solution: he never let foreigners

30 Alberti: Salinas's account of Alberti's 1550 work on Italy, *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, derives in a slightly abridged and modified form from Navarrete 95–96. Navarrete correctly states the first name of Alberti, an Italian Dominican historian, as Leandro, not "Hernando." Alberti, Navarrete, and Salinas all lament the profitability of begging and its dangerous consequences.

31 Solon: An Athenian politician and lawmaker of the seventh century BCE. Salinas adapts his discussion of Solon from Navarrete 132.

into his Republic, and only those who intended to put down roots, as the presence of their children and wives indicated, were permitted to move or emigrate from poor to wealthy Provinces. Solon obliged them to purchase lands and homes as proof of their fealty and as a guarantee that when the Republic was in danger they would defend it with the lands they had acquired. Yet this is not what happens in Peru, because most people come here only to wreak havoc on the country and return home loaded with the wealth they obtained at the cost of infinite Indians' lives [279] snuffed out by cruel treatment, all in the pursuit of vile profits.

In order for Your Majesty to better understand the situation, you may wish to inquire how many people the first Conquerors found in the Indies when they landed. The Island of Hispaniola³² alone (as the saintly Bishop of Chiapas writes) had more than twenty million souls; those of Cuba, Jamaica, San Juan, and the more than seventy islands of the Lucayos and the Isle of Giants were all filled and bursting with people—sons of Adam, as are we—and now completely barren and deserted. Then again, how many Realms and Provinces on the Mainland have been uprooted and devastated? What, in particular, of the extensive Kingdom of Peru, whose plains, mountains, cliffs, gorges, and all the rest were more brimming with more people than anywhere in Europe? When you ask these questions, Your Majesty will receive facts and figures attesting that from Mexico down to Peru the oppression, tribulations, and harrying they have suffered has killed or decimated thousands, indeed millions, of Indians, let alone all those whom they would have begotten. Because it is

32 The Island of Hispaniola, etc.; saintly Bishop of Chiapas: Hispaniola=the present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti; San Juan=Puerto Rico; Island of the Giants=Curaçao, then populated by tall Arawak peoples whom early Spanish chroniclers identified with the giants that according to the Old Testament (Gen. 6.4) first inhabited the earth. As Salinas states, he bases his statistics on those of "the saintly Bishop of Chiapas": Bartolomé de Las Casas, the fervent Spanish defender of the Indigenous peoples and Dominican priest whose activism influenced Salinas on several fronts, as my essay at the end of this volume (Chapter 5) analyzes. Salinas draws the statistics given here from Las Casas's introduction to his 1552 *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* [An Account, Much Abbreviated, of the Destruction of the Indies] (77). However, Salinas escalates the previous population of Hispaniola from Las Casas's "three million" to "twenty million."

certain³³ that nowhere in the entire world do men, and animals, multiply as prolifically as here, the lands of the Occidental Indies in the main being the most temperate and propitious for human, animal, and vegetable life (as we discussed in the first chapters of the Second Discourse).

Altogether, these great numbers of peoples, the teeming populations of the Kingdoms and Provinces, are decimated and dying. Your Majesty has lost these vassals and the Church its converts all because of those who come here to get rich by robbing the Indians, sucking their blood, imprisoning them in the mills, thrashing them at home in their Districts, and burying them alive deep in the mines and refusing to let them leave. And this despite what Your Majesty, your Councils, and their most Christian Ministers have so mercifully and justly decreed and ordered: laws, Royal Provisions,³⁴ and ordinances that (due to our great distance from Spain) are not obeyed. Instead, the Indians are treated like animals and hired out to carry heavy loads, grind ore, and mine mercury longer than they can endure. With no regard for the lives or the deaths of the wretched Indians [280], the miscreants decree and order whatever serves their burning desire to load themselves with treasures.

Here, the Magistrates and miners engorge, inflame, and satisfy all their hunger and thirst for wealth, not remembering that the Indians of Chile killed Valdivia³⁵ by pouring molten gold down his throat, ears, and eyes, saying: "There now, glut yourself with gold." They did the same to the two Lermas brothers³⁶ in the lands of Maquira. But what astonishes me

33 Because it is certain; Second Discourse: Salinas applies to human beings the ingrained characterization of Hispanic New World nature as prodigiously fertile. For example, the earliest published overall account in Latin of the first Spanish "discoveries," Pedro Martyr D'Anghera's *The Orbe Novo* (which he began publishing in 1511), at times associates the New World's "fertility" with its "populousness." Salinas's second discourse defends the supreme habitability of the New World that lies below the equator.

34 Royal Provisions: Edicts issued by the Crown, as distinct from regular laws.

35 Valdivia: Some sources, like Mariño de Lobera's 1593 chronicle of Chile (ch. 43), say that Pedro de Valdivia, the first Royal Governor of what is now Chile, was killed in this manner.

36 Lermas brothers; Maquira: While García de Lerma, governor of Santa Marta from 1529 to 1535, and his nephew, Pedro de Lerma, were notorious tyrants, they did not die in the manner that Salinas indicates (Lavallé's edition of the *Memorial* 370n29). However, Salinas likely has in mind García de Lerma's avidity for gold and efforts to subjugate fierce Tairona chiefdoms of Santa Marta such as Macinga—Maquira?—by burning their settlements and fields.

even more is that today greed is capable of slaughtering giants, defeating the wise and prudent, and almost destroying the reason of state: because any efforts to combat greed come from afar and arrive too late, it sails smoothly along, unchecked. For how could strong winds sink a boat ballasted by hordes so eager to embark and sail the seas on it?

Harsh and cruel is a battle fought by zealous people, their unbridled passions rabid and rampant, as in Samaria:³⁷ a great, blind pestilence; a confused, dangerous discord that roils the Nation; a lack of truth and justice that shocks and astonishes the world; a terrible din of crashing rivers, so turbid, swollen, and swift. Arduous is poverty, which robs one of health and friends. Far worse to be a slave, even more so the slave of a tyrant. Cursed is the prisoner who finds himself abandoned, with only his judge for company; diabolical are deceptions and betrayals by those bound to us in friendship; infernal is their cruel lack of gratitude. Yes, terrifying indeed is a storm in a roaring sea, weak the ship reeling atop a fearsome abyss, fierce the rushing waves, and worn down those who steer the vessel.

Such things are no doubt terrible and horrifying, but I will say—shouting out until the day of my death—that it is more cruel and terrible for an entire world to die and rot: for God to lose His rights and divine returns, for the Church to be deprived of its triumphs, as well as for the infinite Heathen souls converted to the Faith, and under Your Majesty's charge, to perish. So great is what will be lost that I can only express it by bursting into roars. It does not serve any form of reason, justice, benevolence, prudence, or valor to enable the deaths of infinite innocent people by remaining silent, nor for those whose interests are threatened to torment me—someone who only seeks to issue a warning—by suppressing my writings. In any case, God has already written what I say, much more that I omit, and all their sins in the eternal style of His divine memory. [281] The day will soon come when He lays bare the many, grievous offenses that have been committed and falsely trumpeted in public as good acts. Then, the Angels and all the world will behold those serpents,³⁸ basilisks, Hyrcan tigers, Getulian lions, and

37 Samaria: A reference to the sin of Samaria according to the Old Testament: the worship of idols, which had dire consequences.

38 Serpents, basilisks, Hyrcan tigers, etc.: Classical topoi for monstrous, fierce beasts, also found in Las Casas's *Brevísima* as characterizations of the colonizers.

Libyan bears who have given our jubilant enemies the fodder to blazon in their speeches and writings (calling their books *Mare Liberum*,³⁹ and assailing us in ports and shores) the shameless behavior of bad Christians towards so great a number of innocent people.

They say nothing about the many brave deeds of our men, their holy mercy, and the infinite fruits, in heaven and on earth, that Christianity has already reaped here, as it will until the end of time. They fail to acknowledge that those blinded by self-interest and greed are renegades, who have acted against orders. For no one can deny that the Indies have been and are graced with many excellent men from Spain or born here: Viceroy and Ministers, secular and Ecclesiastical, who strive with saintly zeal, as best they can, to ensure the glory and honor of God, Your Majesty, and their Homeland, and to succor the few native Indians who have survived, all of whom will soon die off. It is just as undeniable that all the Kings of Castile have spared no effort or expense to protect, support, and defend the Church everywhere in the Indies and are determined to spread our Faith throughout the world. Of these matters, our enemies say nothing; they only flaunt the obverse.

Most painful of all is that what we have said here and will say in what follows is the supreme, complete, and potent truth. And anyone who says otherwise to Your Majesty, or who in your Royal presence gives little weight to the tremendous crimes of oppressing and persecuting the Indians, will under the light of genuine truth and experience undoubtedly be found guilty of the *Crimen Lesae Majestatis*.⁴⁰ The same holds for those who have, or shall, take part in killing the Indians and robbing the Indies of their treasure, for it matters not to them that the greatest and richest Kingdoms any King or Sovereign in the whole world has ever possessed is going to ruin, or that they themselves have participated in destroying the path to heaven of so many souls that could have been saved.

39 *Mare Liberum*: A book entitled *Mare Liberum* [The Free Sea] by Dutch statesman, jurist, and philosopher Hugo Grotius. Published anonymously in Leiden in 1609 under the sponsorship of the Dutch East India Company, *Mare Liberum* argued against Spain and other countries' monopoly of the seas, which Grotius believed should be free to all.

40 *Crimen Lesae Majestatis*: Crimes against the sovereign.

[282] Chapter 2:

WHO WILL SPEAK THE TRUTH about the calamities of the Indians? Those blinded by self-interest and greed will not; let those who are so tremendously wounded and aggrieved speak: the Author serves as their mouthpiece, and in shouts and tears laments what has become of them.

In order to learn the clear and plain truth, Your Majesty should command that Indians be brought from Peru, Mexico, the Kingdom of New Granada,⁴¹ and the Governorate of Chile: those who have most benefited from schooling in doctrine and letters, others who represent the least fortunate and most oppressed, and some in between. They should all enter Your Majesty's presence in their traditional attire and be asked what efforts have been made to convert, educate, defend, and preserve them. Ask them about their past and present, and about their future—what they think it could, and should, be. Ask them about their lives and customs. Ask them about the miracles that have already taken place and continue to this day, about the martyrs and confessors in Peru whom the Church has canonized. Ask them about the Cities that have been built, surrounded by walls and towers, filled with noble, sumptuous buildings, and about the laws and orderly, just government that sustain the cities. Ask them about the authority⁴²—the titles, honors, and positions—they have been granted and about the freedoms and possessions, such as their houses and furnishings, they enjoy. Ask them about their pleasures: plays, gifts, fine clothing and footwear, servants, horses bedecked with splendid harnesses, games of cane,⁴³ and bullfights. Ask them about the tranquility, contentment, and

41 Kingdom of New Granada; Governorate of Chile: The Kingdom of New Granada basically corresponded to present-day Colombia; Chile remained part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but with its own governor and some autonomy, until 1798.

42 Ethnic chiefs did exercise local authority as intermediaries between the Andean peoples and the colonial government. However, to suit his argument, here and in the rest of the paragraph Salinas paints a rosy picture that is fundamentally at odds with the *Memorial's* general position on Indigenous life under Spanish rule.

43 Games of cane: Mock battles, public entertainments conducted on horseback with lances made of cane.

security that are theirs in matters large and small. Ask them about the useful skills they have been taught and the knowledge and expertise in crucial business dealings they have acquired, which has enabled them to support themselves and obtain the goods they need.

And do not suffer to speak those who say that having all the above, the Indians will rise up and cast us out of their lands. Nor those who say that it was right to slaughter the majority of them and to plunge the few who remained into their present misery. Rather, the perpetrators of such heinous deeds should be asked to account for them—and they should speak of the evil, damage, scandals, and temporal and eternal losses that their infinite grievous offenses have visited upon [283] God, Your Majesty, and the Indians. I have combed in vain through thousands of cases to find an equivalent for their actions. In this effort alone, my mind reels and founders; delving deeper, it sinks into an abyss. For it should be said to those who defend the indefensible that none of their weapons arm them against the horror they inspire, and no horror disarms⁴⁴ the truth that the Indians are not what they were and would not be what they are had we not been what we were. Altogether, had we not been so, God and Your Majesty would have been better served here, as they are elsewhere. Summing it all up, I say: it would seem to be far better for the Indians to be living Christians, and wealthy, than dead or so poor that they are reduced to their present bestial state. At the very least, congregating and resettling⁴⁵ the Indians, and thus preserving them, would be a step in the right direction. Consider that whereas Spain gains millions in gold and silver from employing the Indians to commercial benefit, destroying them, as has been done from the very first up to now, yields nothing.

And do not suffer to speak those who say whatever they wish in the reports they write and present to the courts, for it can be said that these false witnesses malign people who cannot speak for themselves: the deceased, the missing, the ignorant, the poor, and the

44 In this sentence and elsewhere, for dramatic effect Salinas engages in (rather labored) Baroque wordplay.

45 Congregating and resettling the Indians: I parse Salinas's term *reducirlos* into these two words because he is speaking of the *reducciones* that entailed both processes. Instrumentalizing an Inca system of management that had regrouped newly conquered tribes, colonial *reducciones* removed Andean peoples from their home villages and forcibly resettled and congregated disparate groups into larger, Spanish-style towns (which did retain some Indigenous organizational structures).

defenseless. They recount all the sins, venial as they are, of these poor people, condemning them to hell without taking into account that it is unenlightened Heathens or recently converted Christians who have committed the transgressions. At the same time, they suppress their own tremendous sins and sacrileges; more guilty and worthy of punishment are men who are blessed with full knowledge of righteousness and still commit sins.

And do not suffer to speak those who have relentlessly shorn and flayed these meek sheep, devouring the healthy ones but also consuming the weak. Nor those who seem to be claiming heaven for themselves, and when it comes to the earth, give bits of it—hills and rocky fields—to the Indians, all the while taking away so many acres of the defeated peoples' lands that they cannot even obtain water. Nor those who say that to get everything they request from the Indians, they must first beat them, as one batters a tree to shake down its fruits. The truth is that the Indians give generously of the little they have, and that the abuse many have suffered may be driving them to turn down the requests in return for the blows, lashings, threats, and terrors they have received, not the least of which is being dragged by their hair, and shorn, which is so great an affront to the Indians that they would give up their children to escape it.

And do not suffer to speak those officials who spend their time cooking up policies that harm the Indians, men whose wicked efforts produce new ways to [284] make money from them and who grant new contracts that will finally bleed these wretched peoples dry. Such officials have no fear of judicial reviews.⁴⁶ On the contrary, when it comes to these earthly judgments, people here in the Indies have been known to say: "It would suit me perfectly well for His Majesty to find out that he has been cheated of a million pesos, because I can pay whatever inspector he sends a mere fifty, hundred, or two hundred to acquit me of blame." In terms of divine judgments, they must be thinking that God's mercy is great, and the more, and more grievous, the sins they have committed, the more they will allow God's infinite goodness to shine when He forgives them. Little do they consider that, thus deluded and cocksure, many of their vast brotherhood have gone straight to hell, their souls irremediably condemned to eternal damnation.

46 Judicial reviews: Salinas says *residencias*: judicial audits, which took place in Latin America, of colonial officials at the end of their terms.

And do not suffer to speak those who load the Indians down like beasts of burden. As one small example, I met an Indian walking on burning sands with a large, wide basket, big enough to carry forty hens (a burden fit for a pack horse), on his back. The man was half-naked, and the sun beat down on him and drenched him in sweat. He had a few bits of corn for food, peppers to slake his thirst, and for company, a swarm of mosquitoes attacking him and goading him on. When I asked him where he was coming from and where he was going, he said he was traveling thirty leagues⁴⁷ to carry his cargo from one Magistrate to another, and thirty more to bring back the other's load, for that is how the two men boost their income under the table—at the cost of his sweat and that of many others. When I asked him his name, he said it was Don Martín, and I said: "A better name for you, and others of your sort, is Don Martyr, because you lead such miserable lives."

And do not suffer to speak those who say that because the Indians are fond of alcohol, they sell them vinegar instead of wine, as a hoax or fully intending to rob them blind. Nor those who try to wring the tribute payments of three hundred Indians from just thirty of them. Nor those who have twenty Indian women working in their kitchens; nor those others who make them spin and weave clothing and then quickly sell their work for four times what they paid the women. And certainly not those who disingenuously lend the Indians money, knowing that they will not be able to pay it back, and that officials will hand them over to the lenders to work it off, or that the debtors will offer their daughters as collateral. Loaded down with shackles and chains, these Indians are buried alive: set to producing bread and cloth in workshops where they labor in all wretchedness until they die. In the villages on a Sunday or a Holy Day, truly it is piteous to come upon them dragging their chains and clanking [285] their fetters at Mass; only God knows if those who herd cattle out on ranches or on cliffs ever hear Mass at all.

And do not suffer to speak those who say that the Indians are brutes, incapable of performing human tasks, whereas, as others have said, they are perhaps more capable. But one can hardly expect more

47 Leagues; boost their income: a league=approximately 3 miles. Salinas is sarcastically describing a "system of forced trading that was one of the most lucrative enterprises for many provincial Spanish colonial officials" (Frye 366).

from Indians entrusted, as they have been and still are, to powerful Spanish encomenderos, men driven by scorn for the Indians in general or by the furies of ambition and greed; Indians, moreover, deprived of the knowledge—or the vaguest notion—of what constitutes good and evil that would enable them to choose the former and reject the latter. Barefoot, stripped of their lands, their honor, and their freedom, they are ruthlessly goaded, trafficked, and required to make tribute payments to strangers in Europe. And those who cannot pay, legitimate as their reasons may be, must sell the little that is left to them, household goods rarely worth more than eight reales. This tribute is exacted from them implacably and violently, as if the Indians were paying for another Adam's sin, or at least as if they owed money for food, clothing, or gold or silver jewelry that they had been sold at a fair price, on credit with fixed terms set out in writing, having signed away their rights to legal recourse.

Now I will speak of the Mitayos,⁴⁸ which is to say the Indians who are forced to construct buildings from the foundations up to the roofs, to wield everything from the spade to the sickle, even to herd cattle in the harshest wastelands. Dragged into service from the day they are born to the day of their death, these Indians drive oxen and mules, card wool, and work in fulling and other textile mills and in the mines. In fact, there is not a single job that the Mitayos are not made to do, with many of them relieving mules and horses so that the animals can rest, fatten up, and be sold. Let us also consider the Indian women: their entire lives, they are made to breath noxious fumes in the kitchen, to perform the lowest and most vile household tasks, and in whatever time they have left, to spin, sew, and do other handiwork.

Now I will speak of the Yanaconas,⁴⁹ which is to say those brought to live as peons on the lands owned by Spaniards. I misspeak: the

48 Mitayos: Indigenous peoples whom the colonizers conscripted into *mita* service: forced corvée (tribute) labor.

49 Yanaconas: In Quechua, *yanakuna*. The category dates back to the Incas and under colonial rule encompassed various types of laborers on Spanish estates. Salinas here presents *yanaconas* as agricultural workers, but elsewhere in the *Memorial* he describes *yanaconas* as "those who perform household duties" (189). Both functions relate to the controversial practice of exempting Indigenous peoples from *mita* service so that they could work for private colonizers, which Francisco Álvarez de Toledo (Viceroy of Peru from 1569–81) had authorized—forbidding *yanaconas* to leave the estates (Zavala 34; Brading 134).

lands belong to the Indians, and always have, for it is they who have planted, maintained, improved, and reaped the benefits of them. This is an unimpeachable truth, because those who claim to own the lands and who enjoy their yield surely did not bring them over from Spain on carts. And now I must also [286] speak of those called *Indios de la Demora*,⁵⁰ that is, Indian men performing personal service. These suffer the greatest miseries of all, for they can rightfully call themselves slaves. Yet that is hardly what they are, because at least actual slaves have their needs met by masters who provide whatever is essential to their dependents' welfare and health.

Now I will speak of all the Indians, for all serve many masters: Viceroy, Judges, Governors, Encomenderos, Priests, Friars, Caciques, the multitudes of Ministers armed with scepters and pens, as well as their servants and slaves, and soldiers, and thousands of newcomers. In sum, it is the Indians' toil that produces everything that all the preceding, and many others, eat, wear, and spend. And when the Indians fall ill, they either recover on their own or die like animals: to avoid the nuisance of treating or burying the sick, masters send them back home to their villages. When those who have spent their lives mining the finest gold grow old, they are rewarded by being put out to pasture in the barren fields, slopes, and cliffs of hills. There they die—many of them not receiving the Sacraments, with just a simple cane cross in their hands—or are simply eaten by crows. When in good health, all of them, barring none, are condemned to perpetual labor. Nor are they allowed to obtain food by hunting the fields, fishing the rivers, or, if they live on the shore, trawling the seas. The blind are obliged to weed lands by touch and parents to carry their children when working in the fields: these are just two of the thousand measures that have been contrived to deny the Indians any respite.

Then there are the *Indias de la Demora*, Indian women who live in

50 *Indios de la Demora*; personal service: Two crucial terms for the labor the colonial state demanded from Indigenous peoples. The *Indios de la Demora* were Indigenous men obliged to work allegedly in payment for the services they received from the *encomiendas* and other viceregal institutions. To a great extent, this tributary payment entailed working in mines over ever-increasing intervals, the *demora*: the mandated period of time, or delay, that was often a virtual death sentence. Salinas uses the official, umbrella Spanish term of *servicio personal* for the tributary servitude to which both men and women were subjected.

poorly thatched huts barely protected from the elements, houses that have no doors—or some branches, or whatever might be at hand—for doors. Inside the huts one finds a mere four cooking pots, three hens, two guinea pigs,⁵¹ a dog, a goose, and little more. The women's diet would suit the Desert Fathers of Egypt: a few grains of corn, the most basic root vegetables, and some greens prepared without oil, vinegar, or even salt. They sleep outside in hammocks or on beds of leaves with plantain branches for mattresses or directly on the ground, continuous exposure to rain and cold wearing them away. Their chairs are rough-hewn tree trunks or rocks gathered from the fields. On such chairs the Indian women sit, surrounded by their little children still at the breast or wanting to be fed; in the midst of this, the women hurriedly spin cloth and twine cotton on their legs, all to meet their masters' monthly quota. If the women's yield falls short, unless they can come up with [287] something of sufficient value in payment, they must hand over their houses. If they do not, they get a whipping and extra work until their debt is paid off. In this manner and others, like silkworms they spin and die from spinning in order to clothe their masters, while the Indian women themselves are left as naked as Eve and their children are sacrificed like Abel.

Oh, what a heartbreaking, excruciating, horrific, deplorable state of affairs! Oh, the havoc, ruin, depopulation, and demise of innumerable villages, great Kingdoms, and rich and splendid Provinces it has visited upon a robust, massive new world that comprises some seven or eight thousand leagues, including the islands. From the time of its discovery and throughout what followed, and now and in centuries to come: the deaths of millions of men, the annihilation of the children, youth, and elders of entire bloodlines, and the sad fate of the babies waiting in their mothers' wombs to be born into this most unhappy, distraught world. Evil deeds have been committed by many men who neither fear God nor desire heaven, who fear neither hell nor earthly judges. These men stand unashamed before all those who witness their inhuman behavior, behavior so totally devoid of compassion and mercy that it is abhorrent to every generation. Evil deeds have been committed here, and are to this day (I do not recount them because they are too

51 Guinea pigs: The Peruvian *cuy*, then and now a foodstuff.

shameful), in the name of our Lord of heaven and earth, and in that of our most Catholic King—a strong, steadfast pillar that bears the brunt of upholding a Christian Nation, and the cornerstone of its reputation and credit—as well as in the name of what Your Majesty most honors and represents. Under the banner of Your Majesty, stalwart agent of justice (as we will see later)⁵² and defender of the good of all his subjects so bereft of goods, men only concerned with silver have, do, and will come to Peru and commit injustices against infinite innocent,⁵³ unsuspecting, naked, weak, unarmed, timid peoples, devoid of guile and wiles; the most humble, docile, tractable, simple, ingenuous, tranquil, obedient, loyal, grateful, and agreeable people the universe has ever known.

Injustices, I say, against the most ill-treated peoples, whose clothing, food, and beds are woefully poor, yet who give more generously of whatever they have than any other peoples or nations. Injustices against Spain, lord of lands endowed with the most gold, silver, pearls, and emeralds and the most felicitously situated of anywhere in the world [288], for they encompass the breadth of the Torrid Zone⁵⁴ and the best temperate zones of the two Poles. Injustices against open-minded peoples⁵⁵ so suited to all worthy edification and to receiving our holy Catholic Faith that they surpass any we have discovered. Well can it be said of them in general: If only they knew their Creator and Redeemer, they would certainly be the most fortunate and blessed of all creation, for they know not pride, ambition, greed, envy, or vanity. Lacking the suspicious nature that

52 As we will see later: The final chapter of Salina's third discourse is entitled in part "How gloriously our Catholic Kings of Castille have governed the Indies, as proved by their royal decrees and laws." The chapter reproduces an array of documents, including several by Spanish monarchs, that aimed to protect the Native peoples of the New World.

53 Infinite innocent, etc.: Salinas clearly uses here the language of Las Casas's inflamed *Brevísima*.

54 Torrid Zone: The region below the equator, including Peru. The ancients divided the Earth into five zones: the Torrid Zone around the equator and the northernmost and southernmost zones were deemed uninhabitable, due to their extreme heat and cold, respectively. The temperate zones that Salinas mentions girded the Torrid Zone. Ch. 1 of the *Memorial*'s second discourse not only vindicates the habitability of the Torrid Zone but also goes so far as to suggest that Earthly Paradise lies there, perhaps even in Peru.

55 Open-minded peoples: From here through "fortunate and blessed" Salinas excerpts from and lightly paraphrases Las Casas's *Brevísima* (76).

can block the path to good ends, they are all pleased to accept in good faith whatever is offered them.

These meek peoples robbed of their lands weep from the day they are born to the day of their death and find no consolation. They are peaceful peoples on whom war is waged relentlessly, peoples who have their own just laws and seek justice from us, to no avail. They go naked but clothe the well-dressed; are poor but enrich the wealthy; are hungry and thirsty but feed all their enemies without complaint and give shelter to the thousands who make the pilgrimage from distant lands yet are far from true Christian pilgrims. They are the sick, deprived of cures, treatment, or relief; the ignorant in need of good counsel, which is denied them; the guiltless punished by those who deserve terrible, tremendous punishments. They are peoples starved for charity but surfeited with patience; they are the living and the dead, abandoned in life and in death. All Mercy is extended to them—in the form of its opposite. It is they who, ever since greedy men arrived and took over their lands, have become the captives of these new lords and masters. Always sad, dejected, and utterly wretched, the Indians know nothing but affronts, outrages, persecution, toil, and infinite misery, including many false accusations. And that because lazy, idle, sluggards of men will do anything to make the Indians labor their whole lives, thus awarding their masters an income of ten or twenty thousand gold ducats.

Such men obtain their victories at the cost of the Indians' tears, wails, sobs, sighs, and perpetual anguish. Requiring the innocent to provide for the sinner is a terrible, unjust law: how can anyone forget the article of Faith that Christ will come to judge the living and the dead, providing each their due according to their good and bad works? [289] These men have committed boundless, innumerable atrocities; if the past and the impetus of the miscreants are any indication, there will be no end to their evil, for they consider whatever wealth comes to them mere drops in a bucket.

The wretched Indians are human beings, not wolves, bears, tigers, lions, or camels, dromedaries, elephants, or demons. Women of these realms⁵⁶ have married Spaniards and have borne long lineages of worthy

56 Women of these realms: Salinas says: "Mujeres hay de nuestra forma." It is not clear if he means the Indigenous and/or the creole (a person of Spanish ancestry born in the New World, as was Salinas) women of Peru. Both groups intermarried with Spaniards.

men, many of them excellent in learning and virtue. So said Solórzano,⁵⁷ praising them when he presented his opinion on the case of the Bishop of Huamanga and the Priesthood to the Royal Council of the Indies. In their form and actions, the Indians are human beings like us; all-powerful God created them and redeemed them with His blood, as He did the other part of the human race. They have a right to heaven and earth, though some would deprive them of both and send them to hell. In sum, the Indians are human beings, and thus according to our Faith born to know, love, and serve God in this life, and to see His face and enjoy His divine favor in the next. Indeed, they love the Kings of Castile and recognize them as their lords, fathers, and protectors, for they read the Royal Decrees that defend the Indians and from faraway give the Crown their hearts.

These peoples have a great Pontiff as their Shepherd, a great King as their defender, and a Supreme Council, and other Councils, that can ensure their well-being in all things. The Indians are surrounded by Viceroy, Judges, Governors, and countless Ecclesiastical and Royal ministers, all of whom they forcibly clothe, feed, and make rich by working lands that once were their own. If the new landowners claim otherwise, ask them how much money they brought over from Spain. Then, too, ask Spain how much of it remains there: have not and do not all breed of infidels enjoy, and cart off to their own countries, vast portions of what the Indians have produced? Such is also the plight of the Indians themselves, whose lands have been blessed with enormous riches only for others to benefit from them. Despite all their mighty protectors, the Indians have suffered, do suffer, and will suffer until they die, not having committed crimes in their own lands or in others: no law, natural or human, would rightfully sentence them to the pain

57 So said Solórzano: Juan de Solórzano Pereira, author of the 1629 *De Indiarum iure* [On the Laws of the Indies] that, as Lavallé has meticulously documented and analyzed, Salinas repeatedly references elsewhere in the *Memorial* (for Lavallé's analysis, see his "Estudio preliminar" 42–45). Solórzano Pereira was a distinguished Spanish jurist who spent almost two decades in Peru as a judge and as superintendent of the Huancavélica mines. When he returned to Spain in 1627, Solórzano Pereira served on the Council of the Indies. In 1628, he published the text Salinas refers to here: an opinion on a letter that the Bishop of Huamanga, Peru had written to the Council, which had asked if "mestizos" and other "illegitimates" should be ordained and serve in parishes. Solórzano Pereira replied in favor of ordaining mestizos and creoles, and he praised their learning and virtue (García Hernán 191).

beyond all pain and the harm beyond all harm that they have endured for so many years. The law of God and that of His Holy Gospel extends to them, because neither excludes the peoples of the Occidental Indies and of the New World, Peru, or ordains [290] that the Indians be treated, or allowed to be treated, with hatred and cruelty as they are, sentenced to corporeal and eternal death. So hapless are these peoples that not a single merciful, powerful, and courageous man has made it his crusade to take all of these innocent Indians under his wing and, burning with zeal, proclaim the truth about them in villages, Cities, Kingdoms, and Provinces; in Spain, Rome, and Madrid; in the streets, plazas, Councils, and every other place on earth where human beings live; and when nowhere else is left, proclaim it to the rocks, mountains, air, water, and fire. And if the crusader has the strength, let him raise his fists to the heavens and shout, roar, hiss, deride, investigate, probe, wail, cry, warn, show, teach, argue, beg, reprimand, persist, and reach out everywhere, determined with every step to punish all the arrogant, iniquitous destroyers and pillagers of a magnificent world and finally put an end to the wrongs. If not, may his efforts at least relieve the terrible burdens on these weak, worn-down peoples who, because their masters may be wanting or just want more, have suffered and are suffering the greatest injustices, violence, brutality and injuries to their lives, freedom, honor, and lands that any human being has wrought on another in the name of any law or religion. And this they do to peoples who have continuously reaped them profits; only Satan, being who he is, would be ungrateful for such a boon and so mercenary as not to pay his debt.

Let the crusader not rest until he has gone to extremes: gesticulating, imploring, and roaring to move his audience. If anyone refuses to listen, and if—as is their wont—the self-interested and the abusers of power attempt to hide the truth from King Philip IV, let the crusader command attention with trumpets and drums; if they fail, let him ring the carillons loudly or blast the cannons; when they fail, let him sound all of these at once. Let him join forces with judges, Academics, Clergymen, Friars and whoever else is learned and experienced, with anyone of good will, and, indeed, with all those who in some way, shape, or form can bring light, relief, and restitution to such a desperate situation. Let him join forces with everyone who honors God

and knows that His law must be followed, and have them beg Saint Peter to descend from heaven and acclaim throughout the world the great edifice of which he is the cornerstone. Let all those who dwell on earth unceasingly plead the Indians' cause to their two supreme ruling bodies⁵⁸ [291] and to their Priests, masters, fathers, elder brothers, and to all who are responsible for, and under obligation to protect, these innumerable sheep of Christ's flock.

Let us hear the voices of those who have sought out the flock and called, induced, invited, and attracted its members to the Holy Gospel, nourishing, guiding, safeguarding and defending the Indians against all those who, overtly or covertly, have done whatever they could to make trouble for them and who now harass, stir up, dislodge, and scare them off the path to heaven. In effect, their message to the Indians is: accept our Faith so that we can take your lands. I do not understand this formula: Why not do unto others as you would have them do unto you? For no laws countermand the law of God, which is equal for all and perfectly just; nor is there justice in condemning unquestionable innocence. Yet exactly the opposite has occurred in these ill-fated lands, where those who should be preserved have been abused and flayed, and are now being bled to death. Thus, countless Indians have died and those few who remain are exhausted and exploited. Despite the droves of Preachers we have here, innumerable Indians have not joined the flocks of Christ and, hiding in caves and mountains, they revert to their ancient forms of worship.

But truly, what astonishes me most is seeing that the iniquitous criminals who decimate these peoples and extinguish this world are honored and rewarded. They represent their sacrileges, which warrant a beating or slashing, as distinguished acts of service. To our day, they are commended as valiant soldiers and great servants of God and their King. They take confession and are absolved and receive Communion without paying back a single real or making the least restitution. Their offenses may fail to move all the statues in Rome, made of immutable marble, bronze, and alabaster as they are. But how can we human beings, with real eyes and hearts, not burn with the desire to renounce

58 Two supreme ruling bodies: Church and State.

and denounce what has happened and demand an end to the suffering of the few Indians who remain? How can we not bewail the dishonor of the Motherland, whence came these criminals, and, worst of all, the dishonor of God, who is the sum total of honor? All things considered, how can we not bewail the dearth of good and the surplus of evil that now beset Peru? I simply do not understand.

Meanwhile, I see the treatment of the Indians shatter all ten commandments as well as those of Your Majesty: Royal Decrees that time and again have ordained and mandated that the Indians be protected, defended, and allowed their freedom. Instead, they are unprotected, offended, enslaved, and imprisoned. Altogether, natural law, [292] human laws, reason, and justice fall by the wayside, and wrath is discharged upon these ill-fated peoples in all its fury. If the Indians had been taught the value of bearing a Cross and suffering martyrdom, then perhaps they would reap some good from the evil. Still, no suffering, however virtuous, justifies the silencing of these evils upon evils upon so many evils, nor do any words suffice to explain it. And seeing how far away the remedy for our woes lies adds more pain to great pain. In mourning, shrouded in black, we call out with sorrowful voices to anyone of good will, while the Kings who are so disposed have been rendered deaf by our opponents. For in truth it can be said of he whom fierce blows to the head have in the past failed to awaken: Tremendous and deep is his sleep, wreathed in celery and henbane.⁵⁹ If, however, he is awake, has ignored the warnings and the lessons of the past, and has not crowned his head with ashes, then one might say that he has seen the face of death—and, like the people of Ninevah,⁶⁰ has refused to run from it in a frenzy of fear.

59 Wreathed in celery and henbane: In ancient Greece, wild celery was used for funeral garlands and thus related to death. Henbane is a poisonous plant, sometimes associated with witchcraft, that induces deep sleep, stupor, and hallucinations. In ch. 3 of the third discourse (*Memorial* 297), Salinas zeroes in on the sleeping king. Paraphrasing ch. 10 of Francisco de Quevedo's 1626 *Política de Dios y gobierno de Cristo* [The Polity of God, Government of Christ], Salinas critiques the king who governs while dreaming and the ministers who promote the king's oblivion.

60 Ninevah: According to Jonah 3.4–10, the people of Ninevah did repent, and their king sat in ashes as a sign thereof. Salinas appears, perhaps on purpose, to be conflating Ninevah with the unrepentant and wicked biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

[328] LETTER⁶¹ BY FATHER FRIAR BUENAVENTURA DE SALINAS, MAGISTER OF THEOLOGY, QUALIFICATOR OF THE HOLY INQUISITION, TO HIS BROTHER, FATHER FRIAR DIEGO DE CÓRDOVA, AUTHOR OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHER FRIAR FRANCISCO SOLANO

Justice herself, being what she is, cannot help but acclaim your book: a glorious tribute to the exemplar of Poverty, Humility, Purity, Charity, Oration, and Penitence, the prophetic Spirit, the Lynx-eyed thinker, the most recent Surrogate for Saint Francis, the ultimate Thaumaturge, worker of miracles; he who is unquestionably not just the greatest but also the most engaging, mellifluous, agile preacher ever to have spread the Holy Gospel from the East to the ends of the Western world, reawakening the voices of the Apostles; he whose apostolic mission all celebrate and whom we now endorse as the most solicitous, fitting Patron of our Homeland. (No one who sees how Francisco Solano has given Lima new life, a life freed from the oppressive ignorance in which it was buried until [329] this Sun bathed us in his light and spirit, can deny his patronage of our city.) I, however, begged off as best I could writing a preface to the biography of Solano, fearful of breaking the signal law that cautions: *No one should be a judge in their own case*. Because no writer's partiality could be at odds with the truth, which emanates so strongly from the whole book that it precludes capricious opinions, I entrusted the judgment of this work—so Masterful on every level—to a fellow Franciscan.⁶² Its logic Unerring, its organization Judicious, its dispositio Harmonious, its style Pure, its words chosen with great Rigor, its proofs Robust, its convictions Just, and its expectations of a positive reception Felicitous, the biography of Solano would emerge unscathed from the most scrupulous censorship. As do reefs that have been battered by the sea for centuries yet remain fully intact, so would

61 Letter: Salinas writes this grandiloquent letter to his older brother, the Franciscan friar Diego de Córdova y Salinas. In 1630, Friar Diego, official chronicler of the Peruvian Franciscan province, published a nearly seven-hundred-page tome on Solano's life, virtues, and miracles.

62 Fellow Franciscan: Alonso de Mendieta, Commissary of the Franciscan Order and Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition in Lima.

the book dispel the censors' concerns and withstand their assaults.

One would think that my excuses for not contributing to the volume would have demonstrated my shortcomings and obedience, and sufficed to exempt me from further participation in the project. Yet I found myself pressed to undertake a larger task: a brief history of this new Western world and an account of the merits and excellence of my Homeland as well as of its present state, directed to His Majesty our King, Philip IV, with the intention of moving him to support our Holy Solano and request that his Holiness, the Pope (long may Almighty God let him prosper) Canonize the Patron of our city. Although the majestic nature of the material and the grave responsibility my task entailed could have deterred me, I did not lose heart. Rather, I accepted the assignment and confronted both obstacles with an honorable desperation, knowing that I could neither match the former nor live up to the latter. For any summary of the centuries-long history of my homeland, a history replete with sublime achievements, could be considered an affront—albeit one occasioned by the very grandeur of that history—and thus deemed inadequate. Even though no brief history would not have done justice to the truth, Your Reverence⁶³ and he who had you entrust the task to me will see here the inadequate fruits of my labors to carry out such a large project in so short a time and to acquire so much new knowledge. No doubt I have made mistakes, and many of them, due to haste and inexperience. This book being the first that I entrust to the seas of public scrutiny, let its mistakes be a lesson to those who navigate the waters after me. If all they cull from the text is a warning that deters them from manning the oars or following in my wake, at least the errors will remain mine, and I will remain a singular phoenix consumed by love of our homeland.

Plato⁶⁴ said that love of one's homeland takes primacy over [330] the love we owe to our Parents. Believing that Plato, though widely considered divine, did not go far enough, Hierocles⁶⁵ argued: "*Est enim velut alter Deus, et primus maximusq. parens.*" That is, the homeland is a second God (although there can be no such thing) and our first earthly

63 Your Reverence: Diego de Córdova y Salinas, Buenaventura's brother.

64 Plato: *Crito* 51b.

65 Hierocles: From the treatise by Hierocles the Stoic, "How Should One Behave toward One's Country?" (in Ramelli). Because here and in the rest of the letter Salinas himself immediately follows Latin quotes with a gloss or translation of them into Spanish, I include the original Latin in the text.

parent. Our homeland raises, teaches, and honors us; it attends to a thousand problems so that we need not; it punishes those who do evil so that we can live in peace; it rewards those who do good so that we might all follow their example and, aflame with inspiration, heroically walk the path of virtue. In so doing, our homeland compels us to love, honor, and serve it. Marco Antonio Sabelico⁶⁶ elegantly observed in the chapter of his Book 8 entitled “Charitate in Patriam”: “*Amat suos, et vult ipsa amari, tuetur suos, et non vult negligi, et ut breviter dicam, Patria á Civibus exigit officia, et quod cuiq; nostrum prestat, iure suo repetit.*” That is, the Homeland loves its people and wants them to love it as well; the Homeland defends its people, and in turn, wants them to defend it when necessary; on the strength of natural law, the Homeland asks that its people pay back in kind the services they have been rendered.

So tender and effective is love for the Homeland that one’s origins can never be forgotten. Is anywhere in the world better or more illustrious than Rome? Or more wretched and barbaric than Scythia?⁶⁷ Yet the barbaric Scythian feels oppressed in Rome and pines for his homeland. After the farmer who has come to Madrid, seat and Crown of Royalty, fulfills his obligations, he happily abandons the Court⁶⁸ in favor of his humble cottage and exults in the vitalizing breezes of his village. Ulysses, native of an Ithaca so unfortunate and small—situated like a bird’s nest on the slope of a tall, craggy cliff (as described by Cicero⁶⁹ in his *On the Orator*)—said that the smoke⁷⁰ of his Homeland was brighter than the fire of the most opulent and magnificent cities, Ithaca’s blackest coal a glowing ember.

Accordingly, I deem previous tributes to the illustrious city of Lima, genuine and truthful as they are, woefully inadequate. I owe my

66 Marco Antonio Sabelico: Salinas paraphrases a line from the beginning of Book 8, “Charitate Erga Patriam” [Love for One’s Country], of Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico’s *Exemplorum Libri Decem* [Ten Books of Examples] (1507).

67 Scythia: An empire in the Eurasian steppes that principally flourished in the seventh century BCE. It was founded by the Scythians, warrior peoples so fierce that Hellenistic writers considered them the height of barbarism; an echo of this appears in Colossians 3.11.

68 Happily abandons the Court: An obvious allusion to Franciscan Antonio de Guevara’s 1639 *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* [Scorn of Court Life and Praise of Village Life].

69 Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.44. (Haynes).

70 Smoke: This first part of the quotation attributed to Ulysses is likely a development from Lucian’s *My Native Land* 11, which resonates with the *Odyssey* (Haynes).

existence, upbringing, and education to Lima, my Homeland;⁷¹ to praise the city is to pay a natural debt. Who would not approve of a man who pays his debts, and pays them with gusto? All the more so given the task I was charged with and, above all, the inspiration I derive from biographies of Saints and Patron Saints: it is an established practice and a necessary part of their works to begin by discussing the Regions, Provinces, Kingdoms, and Cities in which their subjects preached the Holy Gospel and died for love of it, leaving their blessed bodies to the places where their mortal lives ended. Personally, I take as a guide Saint John Chrysostom's work in Greek on Saint Paul,⁷² which described the [331] excellence of Rome and the Romans' victories and then returned to its principal concern, saying: "*Sed his omnibus divissis, ego obid ilam beatam prædico, quod erga Romanos Paulus, dum viveret, adeo fuit benevolus, adeo illos amavit, ut coram disserverit, et postremo vitam apus illos finierit.*" That is, as Chrysostom states in full: "I started by praising Rome, its antiquity, greatness, beauty, buildings, teeming population, wealth, Empire, laws, accomplishments, victories, and Emperors. Its many glories notwithstanding, I deem Rome most fortunate and blessed because throughout his life the Apostle Saint Paul loved the Romans, favored them, was true and benevolent to them, wrote to them, and preached and died in Rome, where his blessed body remains." The great Doctor of the Church says all of this to indicate that the worldly homage and laurels accorded a city, however much that place rivals Rome, pale in comparison with the glory and supremacy a city obtains through its veneration of Saints, by honoring them during their lifetimes and by authorizing and preserving their mortal remains after they die.

Accordingly, the true Excellence of our city, Lima, would lie not in its beauty, setting, opulence, nobility, and brilliant earthly skies but in its divine glory and victories. For amongst all His stars, God's munificent hand has granted Lima a new Sun to shine upon it, another Paul; the very Image of the Christ in sackcloth whom I revere, Francis; a Solano⁷³ who with a seraphic impetus akin to the potent wind of the Holy Spirit

71 Homeland: Lima would be Salinas's "little homeland," or *patria chica*, the part of Peru to which he has the strongest personal ties.

72 Saint John Chrysostom's work in Greek on Saint Paul: In what follows, Salinas translates and adapts Chrysostom's "Homily 32 on Romans"; i.e., Chrysostom's commentary on verse 24 of St. Paul's first sermon.

73 Solano: East wind. Also a play on *sol*, sun.

breathes life into Heathens; an Enoch⁷⁴ carried off to paradise; a Sun that traversed the length of Peru spreading embers aflame with God's love and then settled in this city, which he loved tenderly and favored. Here he preached, worked many miracles, and in proof of his love, like Elijah⁷⁵ left us a glorious mantle, his body, when he ascended to heaven. Solano is the greatest glory of our Homeland: the sweetest wind that traverses and tempers this Torrid Zone, and the shining Sun whose orbit illuminates it. And as surely as his sublime rays will flood the whole world with light, so will your book, while I continue pondering the worldly merits of my Homeland.⁷⁶

74 Enoch: Biblical figure said to have been taken to heaven before he died.

75 Elijah: Like Enoch, said to been carried to heaven before his death. Elijah left his actual mantle to his pupil and successor, Elisha (2 Kgs. 2–14).

76 Continue pondering the worldly merits: i.e., Salinas will stay true to the task with which he was charged and thus to his homeland. As Lavallé indicates, the letter ends with Salinas tacitly separating his work, on the "worldly merits" of his homeland, from his brother's, on its spiritual merits (85).

4. Transcription in Modern Spanish of the Selected Chapters from Salinas's *Memorial*

[Offering direct contact with Salinas's *Memorial* and a readily available foundation for *Who Will Speak the Truth?*, below is a transcription of the original chapters that the volume translates. Readability conjugated with fidelity to the text are two of the criteria that have guided my translation of the *Memorial*. The same criteria guide the transcription of the *Memorial*. To fulfill them, this transcription combines methods that other editions have employed, as follows.

First, as distinct from the edition on which it is based, the present transcription renders Salinas's chapters in modern Spanish orthography and language. I gratefully base my transcription on the first modern edition of Salina's *Memorial*, published by distinguished scholar of Peruvian Indigenism Luis E. Valcárcel in 1957: page numbers herein, hyperlinked with my translation, refer to Valcárcel's watershed, standard edition. Valcárcel reproduces the *Memorial* in modern typography but maintains its original, now obscure, orthography. The transcription at hand modernizes Salinas's orthography in standard ways, replaces some archaic words with their modern forms, and explains a few words that had deceptively different meanings in the seventeenth century.

Bernard Lavallé's splendid transcription of the *Memorial* in his 2026 edition also modernizes Salinas's orthography; along with it, Lavallé somewhat modernizes Salinas's punctuation, sentence and paragraph length, and capitalization. The present transcription reproduces the seventeenth-century texture and cadence of the *Memorial*. It maintains Salinas's punctuation, capitalization, nomenclature for places (with accent marks added), and some easy to understand archaic forms, including the use of "quien" for "quienes," of "porque" followed by the subjunctive for "para que," and the future subjunctive: preterite stem+ "re" endings.

Finally, as Lavallé's edition also corrects, Valcárcel's transcription appears to have sporadic typos. The errors principally emerge when one compares his edition to the 1631 reprinting of the *Memorial*, a second publication of the text

after all its licenses were obtained that merely updates formal elements like the cover, date, preliminaries, and so on.¹ The transcription below therefore collates Valcárcel's version of the 1630 original with the 1631 second printing, silently enmending Valcárcel's apparent typos. It also makes a few small changes, derived from the original texts that Salinas references, to aspects of the quotes in Latin (which the author often replays loosely) that might jeopardize their comprehensibility.]

[El título del libro]

Memorial:

De las historias del Nuevo Mundo

PIRÚ:²

Méritos, y Excelencias de la Ciudad de

LIMA

Cabeza de sus ricos, y extendidos Reinos,

y el estado presente en que se hallan.

PARA INCLINAR A LA MAJESTAD

de su Católico Monarca Don Felipe IV. Rey poderoso

de España, y de las Indias,

A QUE PIDA A SU SANTIDAD LA

Canonización de su Patrón Solano.

1 A digital facsimile of the 1631 republication is available through the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica (thumbnails #135 to #145 constitute the portions of Salinas's Third Discourse translated in this volume, and thumbnails #10 to #12 reproduce Salinas's letter to his brother). See bndigital.bne.es/bd/card?oid=0000092550&site=bdh

2 "Pirú" is another spelling of "Perú." The two names coexisted in texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Salinas uses both, but he favors "Pirú."

POR EL PADRE F. BUENAVENTURA

de Salinas, de la Orden de nuestro Seráfico Padre san Francisco, Lector de Teología, en el Convento

de JESÚS de Lima, y Calificador del

santo Oficio.

Con licencia Impreso en Lima, Por Geronymo de Contreras,
Año de 1630.

[El título del tercer discurso]

[269] DISCURSO 3: DEL ESTADO A QUE HA LLEGADO
EL PIRÚ.

[271] Cap. I: DESCÚBRENSE CLARA, Y LISAMENTE todas las causas, y accidentes, que han afligido, y postran por el suelo esta Peruana Monarquía: siendo la desventura mayor la riqueza, y tesoros, que produce, donde se acaban sus Indios.

ESTANDO el Emperador Conrado con ánimo determinado de consumir a los Ciudadanos de Meñiaco en Alemania, dio licencia a las mujeres, que saliesen libres con todo lo que pudiesen sobre sí llevar: ellas tomaron luego a las espaldas a todos sus maridos, y a gran prisa los iban sacando del peligro, y la opresión, en que los había puesto su desgracia. Agradó tanto a Conrado el hecho, que a todos los perdonó propicio. Y cuando Troya se abrasaba, el piadoso Eneas, sacó sobre los hombros a su padre Anquises. Y en los unos, y otros siglos vive con el tiempo mismo el valor de aquellas, y la piedad de este.

Contra los Indios naturales de la cuarta, y postrera parte del mundo Occidental, se han levantado, y levantan tantos hombres, que ciegos de su interés, cierran las puertas a la clemencia a tantas miserables gentes, siendo tantos años los blancos donde apuntan, y tiran tantos, y tan diversos tiradores, y todos dicen, que aciertan, lastimando sin reparo la honra, las vidas, y las almas, sin querer cumplir las leyes, y ordenanzas,

con que amorosas y justamente los gobiernan los muy Católicos Reyes de Castilla, y de León, y el Supremo, y Real Consejo de las Indias: y es necesario, para sacar a cada uno de ellos del estado, en que se hallan, el valor, y la piedad de las mujeres de Meñiaco, y el coraje de aquel hijo de Anquises, que se arroje a liberar a su Patria de las llamas, que la abrasan.

[272] Con estos ejemplos represento las piadosas causas, porque fui movido a tomar sobre mis flacos hombros tantos Indios inocentes hijos de Adán, para sacarlos de los lugares, donde escondidos, sepultados, y oprimidos esperan alguna parte de las misericordias de Dios, y ejecución, siquiera del derecho natural; y así los tengo de representar a los ojos de tantos Conrados como han venido, y vienen de España, por ver si puedo mover sus duros corazones al perdón de las injurias, y la muerte del perpetuo olvido, a que los tiene condenados, o el interés, o la ignorancia, o la malicia, o la desconfianza: y sacar como otro Eneas a mi Madre la tierra de la Troya, en que se abrasa.

Y si es así, que el Derecho natural, y condición de Vasallos, se inclina a batallar, por la reputación, estimación, y buena fama de sus Reyes, y Monarcas, no menos, que por su propia vida, por sus patrias, por sus haciendas, y casas: y principalmente cuando son acometidos con escritos enemigos del honor, y la conciencia; debemos salir también como leales con los nuestros al encuentro de los Herejes, y adversarios de la gloria militar de España. Por tanto en servicio de mis Reyes, y la Religión Católica ocupo este discurso, descubriendo al mundo la piedad, y la justicia, con que gobiernan sus Vasallos Indios. Y cómo en los agravios, consumo, y opresión, que han recibido, y reciben, no han tenido parte, ni la tienen, pues con todo su conato, y leyes se han aderezado siempre, y encaminan a la piedad, a la justicia, y la clemencia: y así serán condenados en el tribunal de Dios, todos aquellos, que contra su Imperatoria dirección, se oponen a la ejecución de sus Reales Cédulas, y Leyes, y como enemigos de Dios, y de la gloria de sus Reyes, dan a entender con sus obras, que es injusto, y sospechoso el gobierno, y soberano señorío, que gozan en todo el Occidente.

Por lo cual descubriré el Estado, y el peligro, en que se halla la mayor y la más rica parte de todo el universo: y batallando contra enemigos extraños, y domésticos, que se llevan a su total asolamiento por la posta, unos, porque oprimen a tantos inocentes; otros porque debiendo hablar, no avisan a su Majestad, y Real Consejo, que no se guardan sus leyes, ni

se reparan sus Indios. Y con la pluma en la mano entraré a la parte de la gloria, y premio, que tuvieron los primeros Conquistadores; pues no se debe menos a [273] los que defienden, y conservan, que a los primeros, que ganan. Que por eso dijo Cicerón en la Oración pro Murena: *Hanc curam scribendi, respondendi, et præcavendi urbanam militiam compellendam fore*. Y mucho mejor al mismo intento, aquellos sabios Emperadores, León, y Antemio, afirmando, que no solo pelean en el servicio Real: *Qui gladiis. Clypeis, et toracibus nituntur: sed eos etiam, qui suæ defensionis viribus, et scriptis sæpe publicis in rebus, ac privatis lapsa erigunt, fatigata recuperant: et non minus humano generi provident; quam si clypeis, ac vulneribus patriam, parentesq; salvarent*.

Luego seguro voy en servicio de mi Rey, a descubrir las causas, y accidentes, que afligen, y postran por el suelo esta Peruana Monarquía: siendo la desventura mayor la riqueza, y tesoros, que produce. Porque cuando las provincias están en opinión de ricas (como dijo Navarrete en su conservación de Monarquías) y juntamente se sabe, que tienen falta de gente, que defienda, y conserve sus riquezas, están expuestos a la envidia, y a la invasión de otros Reinos, más numerosos, y menos opulentos. Ven en España las extranjeras naciones los tesoros, que llevan del Pirú, saben que hay poca gente, que los defienda; y ya se conjura el universo por saquearlos. Luego que el Rey Exequías descubrió sus tesoros a los Embajadores del Rey Menodac de Babilonia, al punto le profetizó Isaías, cap. 33. la pérdida de todos ellos. Lo mismo le sucedió al Rey Antioco, cuando mostró a los Galos gran cantidad de oro, y plata, y otras riquezas; a que se siguió, que pensando atemorizarlos con ellas, les despertó los deseos de conquistarlas. Y así con elegancia dijo Trogo Pompeo, en el libro 25. *Ignarus, quod quibus ostentatione virium auri, et argenti metum se inicere existimabat; eorum animos ad optimam prædam sollicitabat*.

Quién no se acuerda de lo que ayer sucedió en Madrid? Las grandezas, que vieron don Carlos Príncipe de Gales, jurado Rey de Escocia, hijo único, y heredero de los Reinos, y Dominios de Jacobo Rey de la gran Bretaña, Escocia, e Irlanda, y los que fueron con él, a siete de Marzo, año de 1623, los presentes que recibieron de oro, y plata, y piedras preciosas; los tesoros que contaron: Ufana estaba la Corte, Generoso nuestro Rey, Cortesanos los Grandes de Castilla; y cuando entendían todos, que aquello les causaría amor, y reverencia; secretamente les solicitó la codicia, y el deseo [274] de saquearlos: y acudiendo a la raíz

del árbol, que produce aquellos frutos, beben los vientos del uno, y otro piélagos, y pasan al Pirú, para cortarla. Porque llega una Monarquía a tanta grandeza, que ella misma padece mil tormentas; como vemos a los ojos las que padece esta ciudad de Lima, y Reinos del Pirú, a quien su misma grandeza pone infinitas borrascas, y trabajos; siendo el mayor que nunca la socorre España: y cuandoquiera, llegará tarde el remedio, por estar tan lejos de la cabeza, y ojos de su Rey.

Dijo con elegancia Aristóteles, en el lib. 2. de Anima: Que la razón de ser flojos los hombres grandes de cuerpo, es, porque siendo limitados los espíritus vitales, no pueden acudir con tanta presteza, y vigor a los miembros, que más remotos están de la cabeza, de quien reciben su espíritu, e influjo. Lo mismo sucede en los cuerpos místicos de las Monarquías, que tienen desproporcionada longitud; que padecen mil trabajos, por ser forzoso llegarles tarde, o nunca los socorros, que se esperan de su cabeza; siendo imposible, que dejen de padecer infinitos accidentes, a que ni el valor, ni la providencia pueden prevenir remedios suficientes. Quién no ve aplicada en nuestros tiempos, por el efecto la causa, que da el Filósofo a semejantes achaques? Porque como no hay Monarquía en el mundo tan grande, y larga de cuerpo, como la de España; ni Reino alguno de ella tan distante, como este del Pirú; se vio tan flaca su virtud, tan tenue, y tan inválida; y tan lejos el socorro, que a nuestros ojos, ahora quince años, con solo cuatro naos, y un patache, desbarató el enemigo sobre Cañete nuestra armada Real, echándonos a pique la Almiranta, y marchitando más de cuatrocientas flores Criollas, de lo mejor de esta Ciudad; entrando luego a nuestro puerto el enemigo con más seguridad, que pudo entrar en el suyo.

Y ahora cinco años volvieron otra vez, sin ser sentidos ni oídos: y nos tomaron la isla del Callao: nos quemaron los navíos en el mismo puerto: y los que venían entrando descuidados, sin prevención humana eran saqueados, y robados, y algunos de los nuestros ahorcados, y colgados de las jarcias, y entenas enemigas; estándolo mirando todos nosotros desde la marina, llenos los ojos de lágrimas sin poderlo remediar: y si la misericordia de Dios no lo estorbara, cogieran diez, o doce millones de oro, y plata, de dos años que acababan de salir de nuestro puerto, para Panamá, y Reinos [275] de España: y hoy estuviera la tierra, y la ciudad de Lima en poder de enemigos de la Fe Católica, a no tener por Virrey, y Capitán General al Marqués de Guadalcazar, que con tantos trabajos,

y fuerza de Gobierno defendió el puerto, aseguró la tierra, y reputación de España, con el sudor, y las haciendas de los hijos, y vecinos de la ciudad de Lima, y Reinos del Pirú, por haber enviado a España tres días antes, todos los millones de su Majestad: y mandar siempre de allá a todos los Virreyes del Pirú: se prevengan los puertos, y marinas, y no se hagan gastos de la Real hacienda; que es lo mismo que mandar: que se haga todo por milagro. Dicen que Flandes cuesta a su Majestad más de doscientos y ochenta y cuatro millones de oro, y plata: y más de trescientos, y cincuenta mil hombres: y yo digo, y todos lo dirán, que la parte no puede recompensar lo gastado, cuanto más lo que se va gastando. Pues qué mucho será, que habiendo dado el Pirú su sangre, y su sustancia, fundida en tantos millones a sus Reyes, lo menosprecien, y se olviden de él, cuando lo apuran, y combaten enemigos; y entrando tantos por su Estrecho, nunca los siga en su favor España: y siempre le aten las manos a un Virrey, para que no gaste en beneficio suyo?

Pero no se entienda, que este es el mayor ultraje de este Reino, verse solo, y cercado de enemigos de la Fe, que lo inquietan, y amenazan por la mar. Mayor peligro tiene en tierra, mayor daño recibe esta Ciudad de Lima, Guancavélica, Potosí con los forasteros, que pasan todos los años al comercio, y viven con nosotros chupando la tierra como esponjas; sacando la sangre de los Indios como sanguijuelas; traspasando la plata a sus Reinos, y Provincias; como sucede en España, que tan infamada está de pobre. Porque como ni en Francia, ni en Italia, ni en los demás Países bajos, no había minas de oro, y plata, y la multitud de gente llevaba a aquellas Provincias toda la riqueza de España por medio de la Contratación, y de las Artes: con ser aquellos Reinos de España los más fértiles de Europa (como ya dijimos en el capítulo pasado), y teniendo todo el dominio, y plata de las Indias, con todo esto están tan infamados de estériles. Pues quién no ha de temer, y lamentar el mismo achaque, y asolamiento en el Pirú, siendo la gente, y su comercio tan ambiguo?

[276] Parece, que el Profeta Isaías hablaba con nosotros en el cap. 2. cuando dijo: Que en nuestra presencia se engullirían los extraños nuestra Región, y Provincias: *Regionem vestram coram vobis alieni devorant*. Y lo que dijo Jeremías: Que traería Dios a nuestra tierra gente, cuya lengua no entendiésemos: y que nuestra riqueza se había de pasar a los ajenos; y nuestras posesiones a los extraños: *Adducam super vos gentem, cuius ignoravitis linguam*. Y en el mismo cap. 5. *Hæreditas nostra versa est ad alienos*,

et domus nostra ad extraneos. Pluguiera a Dios, que la causa de esta queja no fuera tan antigua, y general con tan grandes ruinas del Pirú, y aun de España. Pues todo cuanto se saca de las minas de este Reino, y se adquiere con tanto sudor, y sangre de los pobres Indios venciendo después tan largas, y prolijas navegaciones, se llevan extranjeros a sus Reinos, con descanso, y con regalo [i.e., complacencia], haciendo en sus Provincias suntuosísimos Palacios, con las riquezas, y tesoros de las Indias.

Y pluguiera a Dios, que esta calentura no fuera hética, y no la tuviera este Reino tan pegada a los huesos. Porque si se ha decir la verdad (con la modestia que se debe) la suma de todos los males no le proviene de solos los extranjeros, sino de España (como dijo Navarrete) porque deja pasar todos los años tanta gente pobre; no para quedarse acá, sino para volverse cargados de tesoros. Fuera de esto los mejores Corregimientos, las Gobernaciones, y las Rentas, y Encomiendas de los vecinos, y moradores de esta tierra tan bien debidas a los hijos, y descendientes de aquellos, que las conquistaron, y ahora con sus vidas la defienden; ya las gozan los extraños: y no han de tomar las armas para hacer rostro al enemigo Holandés. Fúndanse los obrajes en todas las Provincias del Pirú, para Grandes, y Títulos de España, con cárceles, argollas, y cepos, para matar a los afligidos Indios, y enriquecer con sus vidas, debiendo ser la conservación, y aumento de ellos su mayor cuidado. Cuando Dios dijo por Isaías cap. 1. *Ecce constitui te super gentes, et regna, ut evellas, et dissipēs.* Dijo también: *Ut ædifices, et plantes.* Porque si el labrador no cuida más, que de coger la fruta, y no de beneficiar los árboles, será forzoso, que en breves días se convierta la huerta en erial. Y en esta metáfora del hortelano, dijo el Emperador Alejandro: Que aborrecía a los que arrancaban de raíz las plantas. Y si los Corregidores, y Encomenderos son pastores del Pueblo de Dios, [277] como lo dijo por Ezequiel, cap. 37. *Servus meus David Dux super eos, et Pastor unus erit.* Claro está, que no harán bien sus oficios los que en lugar de repastar el ganado, lo vienen a desollar. Y así dijo el mismo Alejandro: Que se ha de esquilarse por beneficio común suyo, y de su Rey; pero no desollar. Y que no se han de apretar tanto las ovejas que en lugar de agradable, y cándida leche, les saquen la sangre desabrida. Así lo dijo el Sabio en sus Proverbios, cap. 30. *Qui autem fortiter premit ubera ad eliciendum lac exprimit butyrum; et qui vehementer emungit elicit sanguinem.* O, cuántas Provincias, y pueblos de Indios innumerables se habrán deshecho por

solo labrarse una casa, y fundarse un mayorazgo allá en España! O cuántos habrán llegado al trono de la honra por escalones salpicados del sudor, y sangre de los miserables Indios ! Y ahora para fines tan vanos, y bastardos están presos en cárceles de obrajes, y atados con cadenas, y prisiones! Pero su conciencia mayor libertad tiene, que aquellos, que los mandan prender, y encadenar. Lo cierto es, que cuando esto escribo, llenos los ojos de lágrimas, mirando a ratos a un Cristo crucificado, por su infinita sangre me alienta una esperanza: que si la justicia, y derecho de los Indios, fuere hollado de los pies de todos, hallará en la entereza Real de Dios que los redimió; y la Majestad sagrada de Felipe Cuarto, su lugarteniente, acogida en sus entrañas piadosas; cuando los demás se vendan los ojos con las fajas de oro, y plata, que les labra su codicia usando mal de su balanza, no para desagraviar al inocente, sino para su propia utilidad.

Esta es la que buscan, no la honra de Dios, no el aumento de su Rey, y la conservación de estos Reinos, todos los más, que quieren atesorar en las tierras del Pirú, trastornándolo todo su codicia. Y presto vendrá el tiempo con el total estrago, y repentina ruina de los Indios, con que tan ricas Provincias queden yermas, y assolados; y apenas se halle un cornado. Rica era España, y así la agotaron los extraños, que vino a acuñar monedas tan menudas de vellón, que no hace muchos años, que apenas se daba a un pobre de limosna un cornado, que es una parte de doscientas y cuatro, en que se dividía un real; y era forzoso, que los que mendigaban, hubiesen de tener el socorro de muchas personas, para poderse sustentar; y así perecían de hambre, cuando los extranjerios se llevan la plata, y los doblones: y ahora, como la mayor [278] moneda es de maravedís: una parte de las diez y siete, en que se divide un real: viene a ser la causa, de que los pobres tengan esta por tan gran riqueza, que es cosa digna de gran ponderación, lo que cuenta Fray Hernando Alberti, en la descripción de Italia, hablando de la Provincia de Umbría (que es una de las diez y nueve en que se divide Italia) que en el Ducado de Espoleto hay una villa, que se llama Cereto, cuya población se hizo de ciertos Franceses, a quienes se dio aquel sitio para poblarlo, y juntamente licencia para pedir limosna. Por lo cual quedaron tan inclinados a mendigar, que por ningún caso hay en aquel lugar, quien se aplique a ganar un real, sino que de él salen infinitos cojos, mancos, tullidos, y ciegos, a quien los padres dejan por herencia cegarlos, mancarlos, y

tullir sus hijos, para que así alcancen limosna, y se libren del trabajo, y vivan descansados.

Aquí dan voces las Provincias del Pirú, antiguamente pobladas de infinitas gentes de Indios poderosos, tan ricos, opulentas, y llenas de tesoros (como ya dijimos en los dos capítulos, segundo, y tercero del primer Discurso) y ahora tan pobres, y asoladas. Aquí lloran lágrimas de sangre, y se lamentan los valles de Xauxa, las Provincias de los Yauyos, y muy grandes poblaciones, porque se acaban sus Indios en la opresión, trabajos, y agonías, que pasan, forcibles, y violentos, no tanto en las minas, cuanto en la detención, que les hacen los mineros. Y viendo las madres cuán poco ganan sus hijos, y lo inmenso que padecen hasta llegar a la muerte, los mancan, cuando nacen, los hacen corcovados, les sacan los ojos, y les tronchan los pies, para que pidan limosna, y queden con esto libres de la servidumbre, en que los ponen los que pasan de Europa, y otros Reinos, puesta la mira solo en volverse ricos. Para esto nos había dejado un remedio aquel famoso Legislador Solon, el cual, nunca admitió en su República extranjeros; ni consintió, que pasasen, y transmigrasen de las Provincias pobres a las ricas, sino aquellos solos, que venían a pasar toda su vida en ellas, y traían sus hijos, y mujeres, haciéndoles comprar haciendas, y raíces, que fuesen prendas seguras de su fidelidad, y en los peligros defendiesen sus Repúblicas con la misma hacienda, que en ellas adquirieron. Pero no es así en el Pirú, porque los más pasan ahora para trastornar la tierra, y volverse con toda la riqueza, que ganaren, a [279] costa de infinitas vidas de Indios, que dejan muertos en sus tratos, y ganancias inhumanas.

Y para que mejor se vea, sea V. Majestad servido de preguntar, cuántas gentes hallaron aquellos primeros Conquistadores de las Indias, en la isla Española, donde solo había (como escribe el santo Obispo de Chiapa) más de veinte mil cuentos de ánimas: y en la de Cuba, y Xamaica: en la de san Juan, y en más de setenta islas de los Lucayos, y Gigantes, todas pobladísimas y cuajadas de hombres, descendientes de Adán como nosotros, y ahora totalmente yermas, y desiertas? En toda esa Tierra firme; cuántos Reinos, cuántas Provincias yacen extirpadas, y asoladas? Pues qué diremos de los extendidos Reinos del Pirú, que estaban más poblados, hirviendo en hombres por cualquiera parte, por los llanos, por los montes, riscos, y quebradas, mucho más, que ha podido estarlo Europa? Y darle han a V. Majestad por cuenta, y péndola,

que desde México al Pirú, se han muerto, y consumido por la opresión, trabajos, y molestias, que han pasado más de cientos, y millones de Indios; sin muchos más, que hubieran engendrado, y multiplicado aquellos. Porque es cosa cierta, que no hay en la redondez del mundo, donde los hombres, y las bestias multipliquen más, por ser las Indias de Occidente, tierras por la mayor parte, más que otras templadas, y más favorable el cielo a la generación humana, bruta, y vegetal a como ya dijimos en el segundo discurso, en los primeros capítulos.

Pues todos estos tan copiosos números de gentes, y espesas poblaciones de Reinos, y Provincias, se han consumido, y acabado: y V. Majestad ha perdido estos vasallos: y estos fieles la Iglesia por servirse de ellos los que pasan acá con deseo de enriquecer, robándolos, bebiéndoles la sangre, encarcelándolos en las obras, brumándolos en los Corregimientos, y sepultándolos vivos en los socavones de las minas, sin darles libertad para volver a salir, cuando, según, y como tan piadosa, y justamente V. Majestad, sus Consejos, y Cristianísimos Ministros suyos, lo disponen, y mandan; sin que (por la gran distancia que se opone) se ejecuten sus leyes, Reales provisiones, y ordenanzas: haciendo recuas de los Indios, alquilándolos como a bestias para llevar sus cargas, para moler metales, y sacar azogues más tiempo del que pueden llevar, y se dispone, y manda, sea con [280] muerte, sea con vida de los miserables Indios, con tanto, que ellos saquen provecho, y se llenen, como pretenden de tesoros.

Aquí se ceban, y encarnizan, y matan toda su hambre, y sed los Corregidores, y mineros; sin acordarse, que los Indios de Chile le mataron a Valdivia echándole oro derretido por la boca, por los oídos, y los ojos, diciéndole; Hártete de oro. Y lo mismo hicieron con los dos hermanos Lermas, en la tierra de Maquira. Pero a mí me asombra más ver, que la codicia, el día de hoy mata gigantes, vence sabios, y prudentes, y casi acaba la razón de estado: y cuando menos todo se le hace lejos, y tardo, y navega el viento a popa, y no amaina. Pues quién puede dudar, que tanta carga de viento hará zozobrar la nao, donde tantos se embarcan, y navegan?

Mucho es el rigor, y crueldad de una batalla trabada de mucha gente valiente: rabiosa el hambre apretada, y general, como en Samaria: ciega es una grande, y presta peste: muy confusa, y peligrosa la discordia en la República: pasma, y asombro del mundo la falta, y ruina de la verdad, y

la justicia: terribles son los ríos sonantes, turbios, crecidos, y rápidos: muy dura la pobreza, sin salud, y sin amigos: triste cosa el ser esclavo, y mucho más de un tirano: desdichada la prisión de aquel que es solo, y tiene a su juez por parte: diabólico el engaño, y la traición, que hace un bien obligado amigo: muy infernal la ingratitude sacudida: y muy espantable una tormenta en los ronquidos del mar, flaco el bajel, prisa en las olas, abierto al corazón de los abismos, y rendida la gente del manejo.

Terribles, y espantosas son estas cosas: pero yo diré gritando hasta que muera, que es más cruel, y más terrible, que un mundo entero se acabe, y se carcoma: que pierda Dios sus derechos, y provechos: que le quiten a la Iglesia sus triunfos: que perezcan infinitas almas de Gentiles convertidos a la Fe, del cargo de V. Majestad. Y es tanto lo que se pierde, que no sé cómo decirlo, sino a voces. No es razón, ni justicia, ni fineza, ni prudencia, ni valentía matar callando a infinitos inocentes: ni amargarme a mí, que trato de avisarlo, que esconderán lo que escribo los que pierden su interés; si esto, y mucho más que callo, y todos sus pecados los tiene Dios escritos con estilo eterno en su divina [281] memoria, y en ella se verá bien presto, cómo debajo de pregones públicos de grandes bienes, se ejecutaron tantos, y tan graves males: allí saldrán a luz delante de los Ángeles, y todas las naciones, estas víboras, y basiliscos, tigres Hircanos, leones de Getulia y osos de la Libia, que tanto motivo dieron a las lenguas, y plumas de los enemigos, para que con tanto gusto canten, y escriban (en los libros, que intitulan: *Mare liberum*, y arrojan a nuestros puertos, y orillas de la mar) las insolencias, que hicieron malos Cristianos a tanto número de gentes inocentes: y callan los hechos más valerosos, que se han visto, callan la piedad Cristiana, y los frutos de infinitos bienes, del cielo, y de la tierra, ya cogidos, y los que se han de coger en cuanto el mundo durare: y no dicen, que si aquellos ciegos de su interés, y codicia, hicieron mal sus oficios; es cosa cierta, que han pasado, y vienen de España, y también hay en las Indias muchos varones eminentes, Virreyes, y Ministros, seglares, y Eclesiásticos, que han procurado, y procuran con santo celo, cuanto les es posible, la gloria, y honra de Dios, la de V. Majestad, la de la Patria, y el remedio de estos pocos naturales Indios, que hoy viven, y presto se acabarán: y que todos los Reyes de Castilla, a grandes costas reparan, sustentan, y defienden la Iglesia en todas estas Indias, y la pretenden dilatar en lo restante del mundo. Callan esto, y dan en los ojos con aquello.

Pero el mayor dolor, es, que lo que vamos diciendo, y hemos de decir en lo restante, es enterísima, y potentísima verdad: y cualquiera, que lo contrario dijere a V. Majestad, o en su Real presencia aliviare tan grandes delitos, como se hacen en la opresión, y vejaciones de los Indios, con las fuerzas de la misma verdad, y la experiencia, que dará conocidamente por reo de *Crimen læsæ Majestatis*, y que habrá tenido parte en las muertes, y robos del tesoro de las Indias, o la espera tener, pues no le mueve ver, que se van a pique los más gruesos, y ricos Reinos, que ha tenido Rey ni Monarca en todo el mundo, y cooperar con la causa de la desesperación de tantas almas, que se pudieran salvar.

[282] Cap. II: LOS QUE HAN DE DECIR LA VERDAD en las calamidades de los Indios, no deben ser los que por su interés, y codicia las ocultan, sino los miserables lesos, y agraviados: cuya voz toma el Autor para exclamar, y llorar el lamentable estado a que han llegado.

PARA saber lisa, y clara la verdad, mande V. Majestad, que se traigan del Pirú, de México, del nuevo Reino de Granada, y de la Gobernación de Chile, algunos Indios; y sean de aquellos con quien más se alargaron en doctrinarlos, y enseñarlos, otros de los más tristes, y oprimidos; y otros que estén en medianía: y todos entren vestidos a la usanza de sus tierras, a la presencia de V. Majestad: y en ella les será preguntado por el cuidado que se tuvo en su conversión, en su enseñanza, defensa, y conservación. Digan cómo les fue, y les va, de pasado, y de presente, y esperan de futuro en todo lo que suyo es, pudo ser, y debe ser? Digan sus vidas, y costumbres, los milagros que han hecho, y hacen; qué número ha canonizado la Iglesia en el Pirú por mártires, y confesores? Digan, qué Ciudades han levantado, qué muros, y torres las cercan, qué edificios suntuosos las ilustran, y qué leyes, y gobierno ha concertado, y justo las mantienen? Digan, qué señorío es el suyo, qué títulos, honras, y oficios; la libertad, que gozan, y riquezas: qué casas, y adornos tienen? Digan, qué comedias, regalos, vestidos, calzados, criados, caballos, y jaeces: qué cañas, y toros juegan, y corren? Digan, qué descansos, y contentos, y qué seguridad poseen en lo más, y en lo menos? Digan, qué artes les enseñaron, de que poderse valer; y qué ciencia, y manejo de negocios graves, son los suyos para responder por sí, y procurar los bienes de que carecen?

Y no lo digan los que dicen, que al tener todo lo dicho, se alzarían con su tierra, y nos echarían de ella. Ni los que dicen, que convino haber muerto a los muchos; y a los pocos traerlos a las miserias que tienen: pudiéndoseles preguntar, por qué delitos tales maleficios? Y decir, que los males, daños, escándalos, y pérdidas temporales, y eternas con las infinitas ofensas grandes, que se [283] hicieron a Dios, a V. Majestad, y a estas gentes: no hallo con muchos millares, con qué hacer comparación en este caso. Y en esta consideración se pierde el tino, y la cuenta: y ahondando un poco más, se aniega en sus abismos; y se les puede decir, que no hay armas, que armen al temor, ni temor que desarme a la verdad, de que los Indios fueron otros, que no son, si fuéramos los que no fuimos para ellos: y en suma, que Dios, y V. Majestad hubieran sido acá también servido, como en otras partes: y por cifrarlo, digo: Cuánto mejor parecería, que estuvieran todos vivos Cristianos, y ricos, que no muertos, y pobres los vivos, y tan brutos como los hallamos, y que el reducirlos, y conservarlos fuera el haber hecho algo: pues cuando no fuera más, que por la vía de contrato valiera a España muchos millones de oro, y plata, que le vale por la vía del mal trato desde su principio, y su estada.

Ni lo digan aquellos, que como quieren hacen las informaciones, que traen, y presentan en los tribunales; pues se puede decir son hechas contra muertos, ausentes, ignorantes, inocentes, pobres, y desamparados, de quien dicen todos sus pecados, veniales, bajándolos por ellos hasta el infierno, no diciendo, que son hechos por Gentiles, o Cristianos nuevamente doctrinados, y callan sus propios grandes pecados, y sacrilegios; siendo más dignos de culpa, y de la pena, pues no pecan ignorando la obligación que tienen a la bondad de la vida, por la mejor disciplina.

Ni los que de continuo trasquilan, y desuellan a estas mansas ovejas; y que aunque se comen las gordas, no dejan de tragar las flacas. Ni aquellos que al parecer quieren para sí el cielo, y la tierra la dan a palmos a los Indios en cerros, y en cascajales, y se la quitan a leguas, hasta dejarlos sin agua. Ni los que dicen, que para que los Indios den lo que les piden, es necesario darles primero de palos como a encinos, siendo verdad, que dan muy liberales de lo muy poco, que tienen; y que el mal trato de muchos les pudiera haber obligado a negar lo que les piden, y renegar de los bofetones, azotes, amenazas, y temores, que les ponen; y el arrastrarlos por los cabellos, y trasquilarlos (que es para ellos

la mayor de las afrentas) les hace dar hasta los hijos.

Ni los que ponen su estudio buscando arbitrios contrarios al bien de los Indios, y piden por esta mala obra, que les hacen, una [284] buena renta en los mismos Indios, y un oficio de asiento, para acabarlos de pelar: sin tener temor de residencias; pues para la que es de la tierra, hay en las Indias quien diga: Holgaríame, que supiera su Majestad, que le había hurtado un millón, pues cuando fuese visitado, compraría por cincuenta, ciento, o doscientos, una sentencia, cual la quisiese pintar en mi favor. Y para la residencia del cielo deben de tener hecha la cuenta; que es grande la misericordia de Dios, y que cuantos más, y mayores fueren sus pecados, más resplandecerá la infinita bondad, cuando serán perdonados, sin acordarse, que muchos de esta gran cofradía, por confiados vanamente, se van derechos al infierno con almas, que no son de estopa, sino de eterna duración.

Ni los que cargan como a jumentos a los Indios (poco digo) yo encontré uno caminando por sedientos arenales, con un largo, y ancho canasto a los hombros, bastante para llevar cuarenta gallinas (carga, que pudiera serlo de un caballo de armas) caminaba el Indio en carnes, grande el sol, mucho el sudor, su provisión cuatro granos de maíz, y pimientos para beber, acometido, y apurado de cuatro castas de mosquitos, que le hacían compañía. Preguntéle, de dónde venía, y adónde iba; dijo: Que de treinta leguas a llevar aquella carga enviada de un Corregidor a otro, y a volver el retorno, y que de este modo hacían los dos sus provechos, a costa del sudor suyo, y de muchos. Su nombre le pregunté, y dijo ser don Martín: yo le dije: Mejor te cuadra a ti, y a los demás, el nombre de don Martirio por las vidas que pasáis.

Ni los que dicen, que los Indios se embriagan, y les venden vinagre, unas veces por maña, otras por fuerza por chuparles el dinero. Ni los que quieren con treinta tributarios ganancias de trescientos, ni los que tienen en las cocinas ocupadas veinte Indias. Ni los otros que las hacen hilar, y tejer piezas de ropa, en que ganan a cuatrocientos por ciento, en corto tiempo. Ni menos aquellos que a cautela les prestan el dinero, a fin de que no les puedan pagar, y las justicias por esto se los entregan, o dan en prendas las hijas, y ellos a cuenta de buenos grillos, y cadenas, son sepultados, y ocupados en amasijos [i.e., las fábricas que hacen masa], y obrajes, adonde con gran miseria trabajan hasta morir: siendo bien para resentirse, ver los que están en los pueblos ir los Domingos, y

Fiestas arrastrando cadenas, y sonando [285] grillos a oír Misa: que los otros, que están en las estancias, y riscos de los montes, para guardar los ganados, Dios sabe cuándo la oyen.

No lo digan los que dicen, que los Indios son brutos incapaces de lo que son los otros hombres, siéndolo quizá mucho más, que algunos que lo dijeron. Pero qué quieren que muestren unos Indios, que están encomendados a los poderosos de España, y se van encomendando, no sé si diga al mismo desamor, o si a las furias de la ambición, y codicia: privados del conocimiento, y aun casi de la noticia de las cosas buenas, y malas, para seguir las unas, y dejar las otras. Andan descalzos, sin hacienda, sin honra, sin libertad, con toda aspereza, atropellados aprisa, tratados, y obligados a pagar a los que están en Europa sus tributos; y él que pagar no puede, aunque haya causa legítima, le venden sus alhajas; porque ellos de aquí no pasan, y su caudal es poco más de ocho reales. Esta venta se hace con tanta determinación, y violencia, como si se los debieran por hijos de otro Adán; o por haberles vendido comidas, vestidos, joyas de oro, y plata a justos precios, fiadas a ciertos plazos cumplidos, obligados por escrituras, con renunciados para no poder alegar en su favor.

Estos dejo, y digo de los que llaman Mitayos, que es lo mismo que Indios a quien hacen trabajar desde el cimiento hasta el tejado, y desde la lampa a la hoz, hasta guardar el ganado, aunque sea en los páramos más rigurosos, sin quedar algún oficio, desde las carretas, y arrias, cardas, obrages, batanes, y minas de los metales, en que no sean ocupados, y arrastrados, desde que nacen hasta que mueren, haciendo a muchos, que carguen lo que dejan de cargar en sus mulas, y caballos para descansar, engordar mejor, y vender. Las Indias, ahumándose en las cocinas, encargadas de las cosas bajas, y viles de las casas; y el tiempo que les queda ocupadas en hilar, coser, y labrar todas sus vidas. Dejo estos, y digo de los otros, a quien llaman Yanaconas, que es lo mismo que peones, que llevan los Españoles a vivir en el sitio de sus haciendas. Mal digo, que suyas han sido, y son de los Indios, pues con ellos las plantaron, criaron, benefician, y disfrutan. Y es verdad irrefutable, porque aquellos que las gozan, y poseen, no las trajeron por la mar en sus carretas de España. Dejo [286] estos, y digo de otros, su título es, Indios de la Demora, o del servicio personal, cuyas miserias exceden a las demás; pues todos con razón pueden decir, que son esclavos. Poco digo, porque a los que son esclavos, de todo lo sustentan sus amos, sin

negarles la menor cosa, que sea para su bien, y salud.

Dejo estos, y digo de todos los Indios; pues todos tienen por señores a los Virreyes, a las Audiencias, a los Gobernadores, a los Encomenderos, a los Clérigos, a los Frailes, a los Caciques, y a cuantos Ministros hay de vara, y pluma, y a todos sus criados, y esclavos, a los soldados, y millares de pasajeros. En suma, estos son los que cavan, y aran, lo que todos los referidos, y otros muchos han de comer, vestir, y gastar. Y cuando enferman, que se curen, o se mueran como bestias: envíanlos a sus pueblos por ahorrar cuidados de cura, y entierro: cuando viejos, por jubilados en el trabajo de veinte y cuatro quilates; buena yerba tienen los prados, las laderas, y riscos en los cerros: cuando muertos, muchos de ellos sin Sacramentos, una Cruz de caña en las manos, o allá los comen los cuervos: cuando sanos una perpetua ocupación a mamantes, y piantes, sin reservarlos de cazar en los campos, de pescar en los ríos, de bogar en los mares, los que viven en sus orillas; ni a los ciegos, pues con el tacto les hacen, que deshieren las heredades, que traigan los niños en los brazos, y de otros mil modos buscados por no dejarlos respirar.

Y las Indias de esta Demora, en sus casitas de ruín paja, y mal cubiertas, sin puertas, o por puertas unas ramas, o qué quiera: y dentro de ellas cuatro ollas, tres gallinas, dos cuyes, un perrito, un ganso, y poco más. Su comer, cual de un Ermitaño de Egipto, unos granos de maíz, unas raíces lo más común, y unas hierbas sin aceite, y sin vinagre, y muchas veces sin sal. Su dormir en una colgada red, o en unas hojas de árboles, y plátanos por colchones: el vientre al aire, o en aquellos puros suelos, de cuya humedad, y frialdad se repasan, y desmedran: sus sillas de respaldar, unos troncos de palos toscos, o unos cantos, como los hallan en los campos: y allí las Indias sentadas cercadas de sus hijuelos, unos mamando a los pechos, otros pidiendo comida; y ellas aprisa hilando, y torciendo en un muslo el algodón, para dar a su señor un tanto peso cada mes; y si algo falta, les dan a las casas, [287] si no se hallan lo primero, con que topan, que tenga algún valor; y si no ande el azote, y la labor, y después pagar lo que falta. Y de esta suerte, y de otras, como hace el gusano de la seda, hila, e hilando muere, para que se cubran sus amos, y quedan ellas como anduvo Eva; y sus hijos lo mismo que un Abel.

O lastimoso, doloroso, penosísimo, y lamentable estado! causa de tantos estragos, ruinas, despoblaciones, acabamientos de innumerables pueblos, grandes Reinos, ricas, y opulentísimas Provincias, de un nuevo

mundo, sólido, y macizo, de siete, u ocho mil leguas de circuito, con sus islas; así desde su descubrimiento, como en el discurso, y de presente, y venideros siglos: millones son de hombres muertos, y consumidos, mozos, niños, y viejos de linajes enteros, de los que estaban, y están en los vientres de sus madres por nacer en este infelícísimo, y confuso mundo: obras son hechas por muchos hombres, sin respeto a Dios, sin codicia del cielo, sin temor del infierno, ni de las justicias de la tierra, y sin empacho de las gentes, que han sido, y serán testigos de maldades tan inhumanas, y tan aborrecibles a todas las generaciones, raído todo el cuidado, que se debe a la piedad, y misericordia. Obras son hechas, y se hacen (que las callo de vergüenza) con títulos del Señor del cielo, y tierra, y de nuestro Rey Católico, fuerte, y firme columna, sobre que estriba el mayor peso de la República Cristiana, y el punto de su mayor reputación, y crédito, y de lo que su Majestad más se honra, y se gloria: y juntamente de fiel distribuidor de la justicia, (como después veremos) y con voz de bien general de todos sus moradores tan necesitados de bienes, pasaron, pasan, y pasarán al Pirú puesta la mira en la plata contra infinitas gentes inocentes, descuidadas, desnudas, flacas, desarmadas, y medrosas, sin arte, ni alguna práctica. Contra las más humildes, dóciles, fáciles, tratables, sencillas, simples, quietas, obedientes, fieles, reconocidas, y gratas gentes, que tiene en sí el universo.

Contra las gentes más pobres, y que más mal se tratan, en su vestir, comer, y dormir; y que son más liberales en dar de todo cuanto suyo es, que se sabe de otras gentes, y naciones. Contra los señores de la tierra más rica de oro, y plata, perlas, y esmeraldas; y de mayor aparejo en partes para ser más felicísima, que [288] tiene todo el globo; porque se extiende por lo ancho de la Tórrida [i.e., la zona tórrida], y lo mejor de las templadas de la una, y otra de los Polos. Contra las gentes más desocupadas, y más propias para toda buena enseñanza, y para mejor recibir nuestra santa Fe Católica, de cuantas se han descubierto: y por quien se pudiera decir en general: Que si conocieran a su Creador, y Redentor, que fueran las más dichosas, y bienaventuradas gentes de todas las que están creadas: porque son naciones, que no conocen la soberbia, ni la ambición, ni la codicia, ni la envidia, ni la vanidad; ni tienen aquellos cuidados, que cortan los buenos medios, con que se alcanzan los bienes: son todos parejamente bonísimos de contentar en todas las cosas.

Estos son aquellos mansos, que no poseen su tierra: los que lloran, desde que nacen, hasta que mueren, y no hay quien los consuele: los pacíficos, a quien de continuo se da guerra; los que tienen, y piden justicia, y no la alcanzan de vista. Estos son los desnudos, que visten a los vestidos: los pobres, que enriquecen a los ricos: los hambrientos, y sedientos, que sustentan, y no hartan a todos sus enemigos: los que dan posada a millares de peregrinos venidos de lejanas tierras, sin bordones, ni veneras: los enfermos sin cura, visita, y recurso: los que no saben, y han menester el buen consejo, que les niegan: los que sin error son castigados por aquellos, que merecen terribles, y desaforados castigos. Estos son para quien falta la caridad, y les sobra la paciencia: son gentes vivas, y muertas; y en vida, y muerte desiertas. Son gentes, con quien se usan todas las obras de Misericordia al revés. Estas son aquellas gentes, que desde que vinieron los codiciosos a sus tierras, están de señores de ellas cautivos nuestros. Estas son los siempre tristes, abatidos, y miserabilísimos; para quien todo son afrentas, ultrajes, persecuciones, trabajos, e infinitas miserias, con muchos falsos testimonios; porque perezosos, holgazanes, y ociosos, quieren, que los Indios trabajen toda su vida, para que tengan los diez, y veinte mil ducados de renta.

Triunfos son estos a costa del sudor suyo, de sus lágrimas, gemidos, sollozos, suspiros, y desconsuelos perpetuos, y pague quien no debe: es una terrible ley injusta, e inhumana, y no se ve, que es artículo de Fe, que Cristo ha de venir a juzgar vivos, y muertos, y dará la paga a proporción de buenas, o malas obras. [289] Estos son los dueños de tantos males, que no tienen fin, ni número; y a quien les promete el tiempo, y la corriente que llevan, que jamás se acabarán: y cuando lleguen los bienes los han de alcanzar por adarmes, y por onzas. Son estos miserables Indios hombres, que no son lobos, osos, tigres, ni leones; no son camellos, dromedarios, elefantes, ni demonios. Mujeres hay de nuestra forma con quien se casan Españoles, y lo que procede de ellas son hombres, y hay muy larga descendencia de ellos; y muchos eminentes en letras y virtudes, como lo dijo Solórzano, en el parecer que dio al Consejo supremo, sobre la vista del pleito del Obispo de Guamanga, acerca del Sacerdocio, y los aclama por dignos. Hombres son de nuestra forma, y acciones; creados por Dios todo poderoso, redimidos por su sangre, como la otra parte del linaje humano: derecho tienen al cielo, y a la tierra, y algunos los hacen sin gozar cielo, ni tierra, que vayan al centro de ella. Hombres son en suma,

y es definición de Fe, nacidos para conocer, amar, y servir a Dios en esta vida, y después verle, y gozarle en la otra: aman a los Reyes de Castilla, y los conocen por señores, por padres, y protectores suyos, porque leen sus Cédulas tan favorables, y desde acá les dan sus corazones.

Estas son aquellas gentes que tienen por su Pastor un gran Pontífice, un gran Rey por defensor, un gran Consejo, y Consejos, de donde les puede venir todo su bien con seguridad. Son gentes cercadas de Virreyes, Audiencias, Gobernadores, y de una suma incontable de ministros Eclesiásticos, y Reales, que todos visten, comen, y acuñan de sus haciendas mal que les pese: y si no, digan ellos cuánto dinero trajeron de España, y cuánto les quedó allá: y diga España, qué es lo que ha sido de ella, y si hasta todo género de infieles alcanzan muy grandes partes, y ha pasado, y pasará a las incógnitas, lo que estos Indios trabajan. Son gentes, que con todos estos bienes de fortuna, no para sí, sino para otros, y con tantos defensores han padecido, y padecen, y han de padecer hasta la muerte, sin haber cometido delitos en sus tierras, ni en las ajenas, por los cuales, ni ley natural, ni humana les condene a tantas penas de penas, y a tantos daños de daños, como tienen, y han sufrido tantos años. Son gentes a quien ampara la ley de Dios, y su sagrado Evangelio, pues no exceptúa a los Indios de Occidente, y nuevo mundo Pirú; ni manda [290] con pena de muerte corporal, y eterna, que los traten, ni dejen tratar con el desamor, y rigor que son tratados.

Son gentes tan sin ventura, que no hay un hombre piadoso, poderoso, y de valor, que tome debajo de su amparo a todos estos inocentes, y con verdad, y celo ardiente, en los pueblos, en las Ciudades, en los Reinos, y Provincias; en España, en Roma, y en Madrid, en las calles, en las plazas, en los Consejos, y en todas las partes de la tierra, adonde llega el humano linaje, y cuando falten estos, a las piedras, y a los montes, al aire, a la mar, y al elemento de fuego. Y si más puede dé golpes a los cielos, y en todas partes dé gritos, voces, y silbos, escarbe, cave, ahonde, gima, llore, avise, muestre, enseñe, arguya, ruegue, reprenda, siga, alcance, y vaya, y venga determinado a castigar a todos los insolentes, facinerosos, destruidores, y predadores de un gran mundo; y a acabar males de una vez: y cuando poco alivie unas tan pesadas cargas a gentes de tan pocas fuerzas, y rendidas, a quien han hecho, y ahora están haciendo, ya por faltas, ya por sobras, las mayores injusticias, violencias, fuerzas, y agravios en vidas, libertad, honras y haciendas, que se han hecho contra

otras gentes por gentes, sean de la ley, o secta, que quisieren: y por gentes, que de ellos mismos recibieron, y reciben continuos beneficios, cuya paga solamente Satanás, por ser quien es, no se corriera de ser a tanto bien tan ingrato, y desollado.

Y no se canse sin hacer grandes extremos, haga señas, llame, o brame para mover, y si no le quisieren oír, ni dejar ver a su Rey Felipe Cuarto, a quien todo se lo encubren el interés, y priveranza sea con voces de trompetas, y a son de cajas; y si no bastare a grandes golpes de campanas grandes, o a estruendo de lombardas, y si no, sea con el ruido de todas juntas, cite a todos los tribunales, a las Universidades, a los Clérigos, y a los Frailes, y a cuantos tienen letras, y práctica, y a los de intenciones sanas, y a todos cuantos pueden ser por algún camino, y modo, luz, alivio, y reparo en caso de tantas necesidades: y a cuantos conocen a Dios, y saben, que esto le deben: y rueguen a señor san Pedro, que baje del cielo a la tierra, para que diga en toda ella, cuán grande edificio es este de quien es piedra primera. Y los terrenos lo digan infinitas veces a las dos cabezas supremas, pues [291] lo dirán a sus Pastores, a sus dueños, a sus padres, a sus hermanos mayores, y a quien tiene la tutela, y la obligación de amparar estas infinitas ovejas de Cristo. Digan, quienes son los que las han buscado, y llamado, inducido, convidado, y atraído a la predicación del Evangelio, apacentado, guiado, conservado, y defendido de todos aquellos, que por algún medio, o fuese público, o secreto, las perturban, y ahora las inquietan, escandalizan, esparcen, y alebronan del camino del cielo: que yo no entiendo aquel usado lenguaje: de toma la Fe, daca la hacienda, y bien me suena; al prójimo como a ti mismo, pues no hay leyes contra la ley de Dios, para todos igual, y muy pareja; ni justicia contra la segura inocencia: y con todo eso en estas tan desdichadas tierras, ha sido muy al contrario, pues a los que habían de conservar, los maltrataron, los desollaron, y ahora los desangran; y al fin se han muerto infinitos, y quedan muy pocos vivos, muy exprimidos, y oprimidos: y porque no pueden los Predicadores, con ser tantos, hay grande suma de ovejas fuera de los rebaños de Cristo, por las cuevas de los montes, y las sierras, repastando antiguos ritos.

Y lo que a mí más asombra sobre todo, es, que los facinerosos, que asuelan estas gentes, y acaban este mundo, los veo honrados, y premiados, y alegan sacrilegios por señalados servicios, haciendo informaciones, porque merecen dos palos, y cuchillos y se tienen, y los

tienen por valerosos soldados, y muy servidores de Dios, y de su Rey, y se confiesan, y los absuelven, y sacramentan, sin restituir un real, ni satisfacer un pelo, y esto no hiere los oídos de todas las estatuas, que hay en Roma de mármol, de bronce, y alabastro. Es posible, que todos cuantos tienen ojos, y corazón humano, no se abrasan para clamar, y reclamar por lo pasado, y para pedir el remedio de los pocos que han quedado, y no gritan por la honra de la Patria, que tales hijos crió; y por la honra de Dios, que es la suma, y que más obliga a dolor: al fin, por tanta pérdida de bienes, y tal ganancia de males. No lo entiendo; y bien veo quebrantados todos los diez mandamientos con estas gentes, y los de su Majestad, que tantas veces encarga, y manda por sus Cédulas; que las amparen, y las desamparan; que las defiendan, y las ofenden; que les den su libertad, y los esclavizan, y encarcelan: en suma, rueda la ley [292] natural, las humanas, la razón, la verdad, y la justicia, y se ejecuta a toda furia la ira contra estas desdichadas naciones; que si supieran cómo han de llevar sus Cruces, y martirios, los males les fueran bienes; pero males de males sobre tantos males, no hay sufrimiento que los calle, ni lengua que los explique; y es gran dolor sobre dolor, ver qué lejos está del daño el remedio, todo cubierto de luto, llamando con voces tristes una buena voluntad, y a los Reyes, que la tienen les ponen tapias en los oídos. Pues lo cierto es, que cuando los pasados golpes no despiertan a quien los recibe en la cabeza, podemos con razón decir: Grande, y profundo sueño es este, coronado está de apio, y de beleño: y si no lo es, y se desprecian los avisos, y las amenazas del tiempo; y todo se va pasando sin ceniza en las cabezas, como las gentes de Níneve, podráse mejor decir, que ven el rostro a la muerte, y no la temen frenéticos.

[328] Epístola del Padre Fr. Buenaventura de Salinas, Lector de Teología, y Calificador del Santo Oficio, a su Hermano el P. Fr. Diego de Córdova, Autor del Libro de la Vida del Apostólico P. Fr. Francisco Solano.

En libro donde la justicia, de su mismo afecto, aclama las gloriosas memorias del Pobre, del Humilde, del Casto, del Caritativo, del Orador, del Penitente, del Espíritu profético, del Lince de pensamientos, del más reciente Sustituto de Francisco, del último Taumaturgo obrador de maravillas, del no solo mayor a todas luces, sino más dulce, más

sonoro, y más veloz predicador, que desde Oriente a los términos del mundo Occidental dilató la voz del Evangelio, y despertó los ecos Apostólicos. En esta causa común y pública del Padre más atento, y más justo Patrón de nuestra Patria. (No negará que lo es de Lima, quien la ve por él restituida a nueva vida, a libertad de ignorancias en que estaba sepultada, y oprimida, hasta [329] que la bañó con su luz este Sol, y dio su aliento Solano) excusé como pude la censura por el Autor del libro, recelando incurrir en la prohibición de aquella única ley, que veda; *Nequis in sua causa iudicet*: Aunque no es fácil apartar el afecto de la verdad, pues tiene tanta fuerza, que ocupa todo el discurso, y le arrebatara sin dar lugar a que le turben pasiones; y así se pudo fiar al juicio de un hermano, un libro Acertado en la elección de lo que dice; Cierto en la resolución, Advertido en la colocación, Consiguiente en la disposición; Puro en el estilo, Cuidadoso en las palabras, Nervudo en lo que prueba, Recto en el juicio, y tan Feliz en las conjeturas de su aplauso, que aunque se ponga en manos de la más escrupulosa calumnia, no estará sujeto a injurias, desvanecerá sus intentos, quebrantará sus impulsos, como al mar los escollos, que azotados de sus ondas por tantos siglos, no muestran señal alguna de su crueldad.

Bastaba decir esto para mi corto caudal, y la obediencia; si con lo mismo que pretendí excusarme a la censura, no me obligaran a otro mayor asunto, pidiéndome en una breve suma las historias de este nuevo mundo Occidental; los méritos y excelencias de la patria, y el estado en que se halla, ordenándolo todo a la Majestad del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe III. para que más fácil se incline a dar la mano a nuestro Santo, y nos le pida a la Santidad del Romano Pontífice (que Dios prospere poderoso) Patrón Canonizado. Y aunque pudiera embarazarme la majestad de la materia, y la obligación en que me hallo; con todo no he perdido el ánimo, porque llegué a obedecer con esta desesperación honrada a entrambas cosas, conociendo, que ni puedo igualar la una, ni podré satisfacer la otra: porque suma así, tan abreviada de historias de tantos siglos: y siglos de tantos méritos sublimes de la patria, sin duda se reputara por ofensa, a no ser ya defecto glorioso de su misma eminencia, no poderse ver bien servida. A esto, ya que tanta verdad no depende de mi ignorancia, miraría V. R. y quien así lo mandó, cuanto fió de mí, tan grande acción en tan breve tiempo, y largos ejercicios de mi lectura actual. Errado habré: y mucho, por la prisa, y con la inexperiencia. Mas siendo el primero que me fío a

estas ondas, mis errores servirán de doctrina a los que navegaren después; y si contentos con aprender (sin querer tocar el remo) los escarmientos no más, ninguno me siguiere, por lo menos quedará solo, y como fénix abrasado en el amor de nuestra patria. De quien dijo Platón que se [330] aventaja al que debemos tener a nuestros Padres. Corto le pareció a Hierocles que estuvo este Filósofo, con ser divino en la opinión popular, y dio la causa, diciendo: *Est enim velut alter Deus, et primus maximusq. parens*. Es la Patria un Dios segundo (aunque no lo hay) y primer pariente. Ella nos cría, nos enseña, y nos honra: ella se encarga de mil cuidados, porque descansen nosotros; castiga los malos porque nos dejen vivir en paz; premia los buenos porque todos lo sean, y heroicamente se inflamen, y sigan la virtud; y oblíganos con esto a que la amemos, honremos, y sirvamos. Díjolo con elegancia Marco Antonio Sabelico, lib. 8. cap. de Charitate in Patriam: *Amat hæc suos, et vult ipsa amari, tuetur suos, et non vult negligi, et ut breviter dicam (Patria à Civibus exigit officia, et quod cuiq. nostrum præstrat, iure suo repetit*. Ama la Patria a los suyos, y quiere ser amada de ellos; defiéndelos, y no quiere ser menospreciada, sino que en la ocasión la defiendan; y pide por ley natural, que la correspondan con los buenos oficios, que ellos primero recibieron de ella. Y es tan dulce, y eficaz su amor, que no permite que se olviden de ella. Qué cosa tiene el mundo mejor, ni más ilustre que Roma? y cuál más miserable, y bárbara que la Scitia? Y vemos que el Escita bárbaro está en Roma forzado, y suspira por su Patria. El labrador que está en Madrid, asiento, y Corona de los Reyes, viéndose libre, deja la Corte con gusto, por su pobre cabaña, y vuelve a respirar en las vitales auras de su aldea. Ulises, siendo natural de Ítaca; pueblo tan desventurado, y pequeño, que estaba situado como nido de pájaros, en el repecho, y ladera de un risco levantado (así lo afirma Cicerón en su Oratoria) decía, que el humo de su Patria, era más claro que el fuego de las más opulentas, y magníficas ciudades, y tenía por ascua encendida al más oscuro carbón. Luego según esto seguros van de calumnia los elogios reales, y verdaderos de la muy insigne ciudad de Lima, a quien debo la vida, la crianza, y buena institución [i.e., instrucción], pues por ser mi Patria es deuda natural la alabanza. A quién puede parecer mal, ver que un hombre pague sus deudas, y que las pague con gusto? Y más cuando llegó la ocasión, y el principal aliento de la costumbre, y consecuencia de los que escriben vidas de Santos, y Patrones; dando al principio noticia de aquellas Regiones, Provincias, Reinos y Ciudades que corrieron con el

Evangelio, y en prendas de su amor murieron, y les dejaron sus cuerpos. A mí me basta por ejemplo, la pluma Griega de san Juan Crisóstomo en la vida de san Pablo, escribiendo primero las [331] excelencias de Roma, los triunfos de los Romanos; prosiguió después con la mayor, diciendo: *Sed his omnibus divissis, ego ob id illam beatam prædico, quod erga Romanos Paulus, dum viveret, adeo fuit benevolus, adeo illos amavit, ut coram disseuerit, et postremo vitam apud illos finierit.* Aunque es verdad (dice Crisóstomo) que escribí primero los elogios de Roma, la antigüedad, la grandeza, la hermosura, la fábrica [i.e., los edificios suntuosos], la muchedumbre de sus ciudadanos, las riquezas, el Imperio, y leyes, las hazañas, los triunfos, y Emperadores; pero dejadas todas esas glorias, yo la llamaré dichosa; y bienaventurada, porque mientras vivió el Apóstol san Pablo amó a los Romanos; fuéles propicio, y benévolo, comunicó con ellos, predicó en su presencia, y al fin murió entre ellos, y tienen allí su cuerpo bienaventurado. Todo esto dice este gran Doctor para darnos a entender, que los respetos, y títulos de las Excelencias temporales que tienen las ciudades, aunque compitan con Roma, no son de tanta consideración si se comparan con la gloria, y soberanía, que alcanzan por los respetos divinos de los Santos, que las honraron en vida, y autorizan, y guardan con las reliquias de sus cuerpos en la muerte. Luego según esto las verdaderas Excelencias de nuestra ciudad de Lima, no deben consistir en sola su hermosura, su sitio, su opulencia, su nobleza, y cielo material; sino en la gloria, y triunfo de que goza, habiéndole concedido la mano liberal de Dios, entre sus astros, un nuevo Sol que la alumbró, otro espíritu de Pablo; una Imagen de aquel Cristo mío de sayal Francisco, un Solano, que como viento del Espíritu santo, con ímpetu seráfico, comunicó la vida a la Gentilidad; un Enoc arrebatado al paraíso, un Sol que corrió primero por todo este hemisferio del Pirú, derramando ascuas encendidas de fuego de amor de Dios, hasta que paró en esta ciudad, a quien amó tiernamente, y fue propicio, predicó en nuestra presencia, obró tantos milagros, y en prendas de su amor, como otro Elías cuando subió a los cielos nos dejó la capa gloriosa de su cuerpo. Esta es la mayor gloria de la Patria, este el aire más suave que tiembla, y corre por esta Tórrida Zona, y el claro Sol del año, que la ilustra; y así como mayor asunto descubrirá a la larga sus gloriosos rayos a la tierra, en todo el libro el Autor, mientras yo paso por las demás excelencias temporales de la Patria.

ILLUSTRATIONS

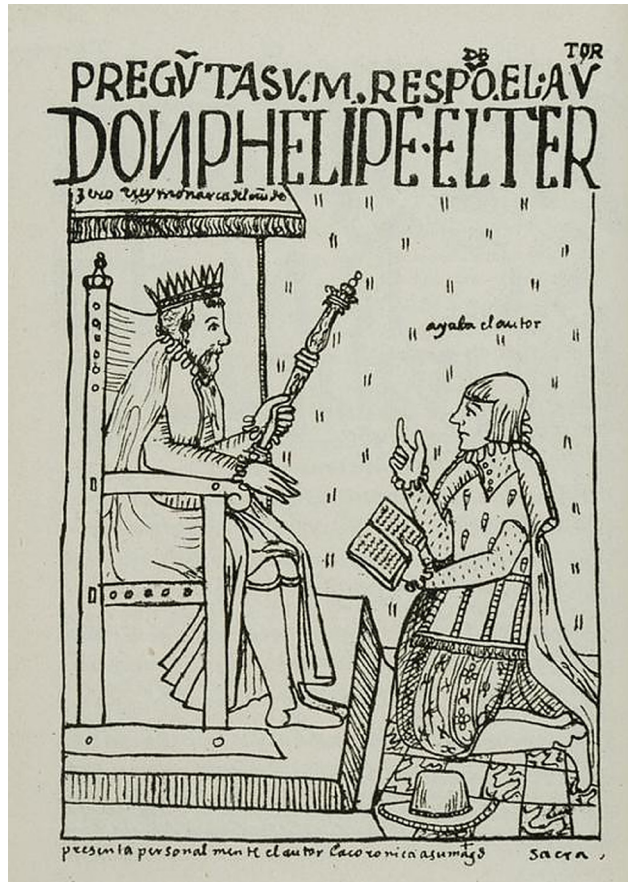


Fig. 1 "His Majesty asks, the author responds." Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, drawing 343. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Public domain. <https://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-74479.html>



Fig. 2 "The Cruelties used by the Spaniards on the Indians." 1699 English translation of Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, with images by Theodor de Bry. Public domain. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cruelties_by_Spaniards_on_American_Indians_Page_16-17_Bartolome_de_las_Casas.png

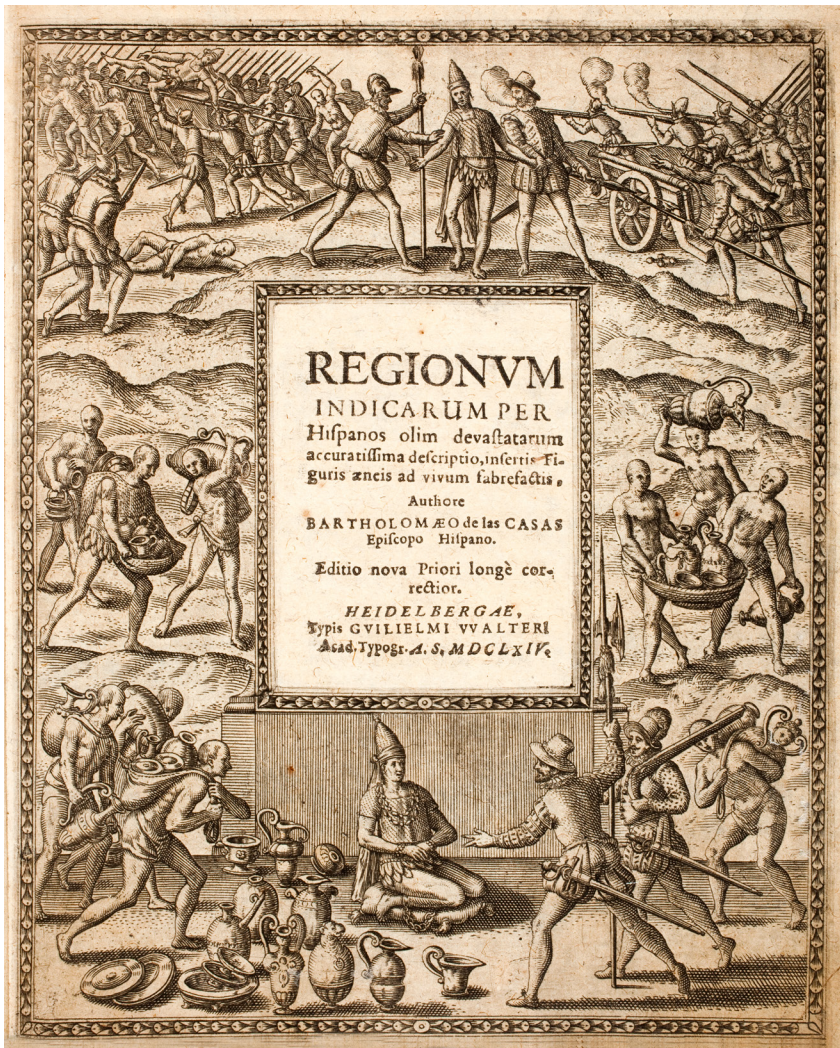


Fig. 3 Cover, 1664 Latin edition of Las Casas's *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, published in Heidelberg, with images by Theodor de Bry. Public domain. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bartolom%C3%A9_de_las_Casas_Regionum_355385740_MG_8827-Title_page.tif



Fig. 4 Theodor de Bry, "Spanish Conquerors Being Tortured" (as relates to Salinas's *Memorial*, p. 280: Valdivia being killed with molten gold). Public domain. *World History Encyclopedia*, <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/14812/spanish-conquistadores-being-tortured/>



Fig. 5 1664 Latin edition of Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, published in Heidelberg, with images by Theodor de Bry. Public domain. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bartolom%C3%A9_de_las_Casas_Regionum_355385740_MG_8857_042-12.tif



Fig. 6 "A Franciscan friar serving the poor through charity." Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, drawing 643. Public domain. Royal Library of Denmark, <https://poma.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/643/en/text/>



Fig. 7 "The first age of the Indians, *Vari Vira Cocha Runa*." Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, drawing 48. Public domain. Royal Library of Denmark, <https://poma.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/48/en/text/?open=id6>

5. The Activist Archive of Colonial Peru and Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova's 1630 *Memorial*

I.

The Peruvian Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova laments in his 1630 *Memorial on the Histories of the New World, Peru* that absolutely no one has defended the Andean Native peoples. He declares that “not a single merciful, powerful, and courageous man has made it his crusade to take all of these innocent Indians under his wing and, burning with zeal, proclaim the truth about them” (290).¹ Mounting a dramatic scenario that exhorts crusaders to proclaim the truth throughout the inhabited world and even to the heavens, with roars, cries, wails, and hisses, Salinas implies that a zealous defense of the Indigenous peoples like the *Memorial*'s operates in a void (*Memorial* 290). His would be a voice crying in the wilderness, akin to that of John the Baptist (John 1:23).

Salinas, who in his twenties had overseen Peru's official archive, brandishes a paper tiger. At once guardian, reader, and architect of that archive, he well knew that voices had indeed spoken, that the alleged void thronged with works crusading for Indigenous peoples. An anguished rhetorical move, a *cri de coeur*, Salinas's claim of a

1 *Memorial de las historias del Nuevo Mundo Pirú*. Page numbers for Salinas's 1630 *Memorial* refer to Valcárcel's 1957 edition of the text. Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations are mine, and they preserve the authors' capitalization protocols. To help make the scholarly backup accessible to those who do not know Spanish, where possible I draw on sources in English. As in my “Introduction,” throughout the essay I use the word “Indians” when citing or echoing Salinas and his contemporaries, but otherwise employ various more appropriate terms for the Native peoples.

discursive wilderness belies the activist archive that pulsates around the *Memorial* and that Salinas's text itself in part hosts. Colonial intellectual Salinas makes the *Memorial* an archive unto itself. His erudite Baroque text pulsates with others' voices overtly and covertly, in showy and elusive ways.²

Thus it is that among the many pro-Indigenous voices Salinas invites into his book we hear manifold reverberations of the most prominent, vehement Spanish advocate for the New World peoples, Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566), a priest in the Dominican Order. It would hardly escape informed readers, past or present, that the following words from Salinas's third discourse derive from Las Casas's introduction to his notorious exposé of Spanish savagery in the New World, the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* [An Account, Much Abbreviated, of the Destruction of the Indies] (1552). Mercenary individuals, states Salinas, have come to Peru and committed injustices "against infinite innocent, unsuspecting, naked, weak, unarmed, timid peoples, devoid of guile and wiles; the most humble, docile, tractable, simple, ingenuous, tranquil, obedient, loyal, grateful, and agreeable people the universe has ever known" (*Memorial* 287).³ Foregoing quotation marks, Salinas absorbs the writing persona of Las Casas and the Spanish missionary's role as the conscience of the Archive (see Figure 3).

The barrage of superlatives, idealization of Native peoples, and attendant Manichean contrasts of meek, lamb-like Indians versus brutal, predatory Spaniards that Salinas's lines so overtly lift from the *Brevísima*

2 As the translation of the *Memorial's* third discourse in this volume further bears out, not unlike other writers of his time (but perhaps more so), Salinas sometimes provides inaccurate references for his sources, or quotes them loosely, or incorporates verbatim or paraphrases others' words without attribution. It would seem at the very least that referring to a writer in one place tacitly authorizes Salinas to silently borrow from the author elsewhere.

3 Las Casas writes in the introduction to the *Brevísima*: "Todas estas universas e infinitas gentes a todo género crió Dios las más simples, sin maldades ni dobleces, obedientísimas, fidelísimas a sus señores naturales y a los cristianos a quien sirven; más humildes, más pacientes, más pacíficas y quietas, sin rencillas ni bollicios, no rijosos, no querulosos, sin rancores, sin odios, sin desear venganzas, que hay en el mundo" (75–76). The most Las Casian-sounding statements occur in the *Memorial's* third discourse (279, 287–88, 311–12), and they all derive from the *Brevísima's* introduction, a fanfare of general principles. Because Las Casas had not been in Peru, he basically hands over the *Brevísima's* chapter "De los grandes reinos y grandes provincias del Peru" [On the Great Kingdoms and Great Provinces of Perú] to an eyewitness, the Franciscan friar Marcos de Niza.

are mere tell-tale signs of the Peruvian's commerce with Las Casas's early treatise. Salinas carries a battery of Las Casas's signature drives from the *Brevísima* into his *Memorial* and into the Peru where Las Casas had never set foot. As a baseline to be elaborated on as we proceed, the Las Casian constructs that permeate the *Memorial* include:

—Style: an incandescent, hyperbolic, ironic, emotive style. Salinas's cascades of synonyms seem to exhaust the dictionary in a desperate attempt to communicate the Indians' plight.

—Las Casian topics: primordially, the egregious abuses of Indigenous peoples that the Spanish Christianizing mission and its avarice have entailed; also, the Natives' unmitigated pacifism and the paradisiacal attributes of pre-Columbian Latin America.⁴

—Appeals: that sound the chords of ethos and pathos, especially with regard to women and children, and that invoke divine and human law—all in an effort to enlighten an uninformed monarch and spur him to action. Writing to kings, the *Brevísima* and the *Memorial* both participate in the genre of the "Mirror for Princes," prescriptions for rulers.

As Salinas, at pains to electrify the king, channels Las Casas for the *Memorial*, the Peruvian author reprises two of the *Brevísima*'s suasive, if debatable, tactics. First, aiming as they principally do to compel, both works expose and loudly bemoan abuses but eschew large-scale, concrete solutions to them. In person and in publication, continuing to the end of his life, Las Casas surrounded the *Brevísima* with supplementary texts of a practical, grounded nature like "Entre los remedios" [Among the Remedies] (1542)].⁵ Salinas, as explained in my "Introduction" and

4 The *Brevísima* stresses the utterly paradisiacal character of the Caribbean Islands before the Spaniards arrived. Literalizing the concept as had Las Casas's source, Christopher Columbus's 1498 narration of his third voyage, Salinas's second discourse (and the third [288]) plant the idea that Earthly Paradise in fact lies in the New World. With a huge show of erudition that includes ancient Indigenous histories (102), ch. 1 of the second discourse vindicates the habitability of the Torrid Zone below the equator and makes a case for locating Earthly Paradise there—perhaps in Peru itself, given the country's delightful climate. In this, one of Salinas's pet subjects, politics and theology link up with the Franciscan reverence for nature so evident in ch. 2 of the second discourse (e.g., "the pleasures of the city's environs and of outings to the hills and mountains that surround it" [104]).

5 For instance, Las Casas first read the arguments of the *Brevísima* to the Council of the Indies in Spain in 1542, along with a "a set of legislative proposals" (Adorno, *Polemics* 74), "Entre los remedios."

below, waited until 1639 to float his major plan to remedy Peruvian ills. Until then, in a Las Casas gambit, the *Memorial* essentially focuses on problems, not answers. Second, as did Las Casas, Salinas plays to the Metropolis by aligning his exposé with the Crown's economic interests. Salinas harps on the vast financial losses that Spain suffers due to the colonizers' transgressions. The brutalized Andean Natives are dying out and with them the profits, desperately needed by the Crown in face of foreign wars and bankruptcy, to be reaped from the colonial enterprise. Hence the emphatic reappearance in Salinas's *Memorial* of the *Brevísima's* dire refrain: the depopulation of Latin America that spells ruin for the Spanish imperial project.

The attitudes toward the imperial project that Las Casas and Salinas's motivational texts convey, it is important to note, run on what we might now interpret as a fractured logic. Namely, the two activists and many others of their ilk argue in colonialist terms against exploitative colonialism. Theirs is not an unalloyed decolonialism but a decolonizing strategy that protests the commodification of the Native peoples and still purveys them to the Crown as a source of revenue. The fractured positions that pro-Indigenous writers adopt could be pragmatic and performative, or sincere. In the latter vein, they could reflect the genuine dual loyalties of Spaniards rooted in the New World, like Las Casas. As the viceregal world developed, creoles like Salinas—people of Spanish ancestry born in Latin America, Spanish-Americans—increasingly personified a hyphenated identity that bred dual loyalties. Creoles' Janus-faced perspectives, often strung between proud alliance with Spanish interests and the equally proud allegiance to local situations so evident in Salinas's paeon to his homeland (*Memorial* 329–31), elevate and to a degree naturalize the slant toward Spain that infiltrates an otherwise militant activism.⁶

Given that creole intellectuals, Salinas a beacon among them, had gained ascendancy in Peru by the seventeenth century, their tenacious pursuit of the benefits to be reaped from association with Spain and their surging proto-nationalist pride also added a new center of gravity to the pro-Indigenous activism that the *Brevísima* had inaugurated. Significant

6 Scholars too numerous to list have discussed the complex positionality of New World creoles. For a valuable, if thick, framing of creole subjectivity in English, see Higgins, "Introduction" (1–20).

as the outgrowth was to staunch creole promoter Salinas, it was in fact just one of the sea changes that had impacted the activist archive since 1552. This begs the questions: What does it mean for the 1630 *Memorial* to channel the *Brevísima* almost eighty years after Las Casas's writing and, as Salinas informs us, some one hundred years after Spain entered Peru (*Memorial* 312), in a now entrenched colonial regime? What intervening dynamics weigh on the *Memorial*?

Addressing the questions just framed, "The Activist Archive" scopes out several of the *multiple* sea changes that discourse for, and at times by, Andean Natives had experienced up to 1630. It analyzes a spectrum of pro-Indigenous textual crusades that, *mutatis mutandis*, perpetuated the *Brevísima's* activism and impacted the Peruvian milieu—that is, the force field of Peruvian activist discourse by the early seventeenth century. To illuminate the force field is, of course, to dimensionalize Salinas's *Memorial*.⁷ Therefore, focusing on the texts that resonate with Salinas's, this essay tracks their agendas and circuitry as well as the *Memorial's* explicit or implicit conversations with them. All the crusaders cry out not in a wilderness of activist voices but in an apocalyptic landscape of still-unrelieved Indigenous misery.

II.

By the seventeenth century, Peruvian champions of Andean Natives wrote in a climate teeming with post-*Brevísima* foundations and polemics. Of overarching import was the formidable Spanish canon of laws for the more humane governance of the New World that materialized from the 1500s (e.g., the 1512 Laws of Burgos, the 1542

7 At this point, it is worth noting the perspective of Bernard Lavallé, who edited the first critical edition of the *Memorial*, on issues central to my essay and developed below. Given the fact that Salinas only directly mentions Las Casas twice, Lavallé maintains that the Dominican crusader's ideas had largely faded in Peru by the time of the *Memorial*, and wonders if Salinas only knew Las Casas's work through that of Juan de Solórzano Pereira, a principal intertext of the *Memorial* (Lavallé 74–75). Lavallé's outstanding investigations of Salinas's sources, essentially of authors and texts named in the *Memorial*; the temporal framework of Lavallé's study, which concentrates on the proximate context of Salinas's book; and, of course, the blacklisting of Las Casas that occasioned such caution in Salinas and his contemporaries all support these arguments. "The Activist Archive" endeavors to show what happens to these premises when they are viewed through a wider lens.

New Laws) onward. Though already assembled in sixteenth-century collections, the laws reached authoritative compilation in the tomes of Juan de Solórzano Pereira, a master for Salinas: *De Indiarum iure* [On the Laws of the Indies] (1629) and its Spanish translation and epic expansion, *Politica Indiana* (1648).

Distinguished Spanish jurist Solórzano Pereira (1575–1655) served as judge of the high court in Lima, as superintendent of the premier mercury mine in Huancavélica, and back in Spain, on the Council of the Indies. Wielding eighteen years of experience in the New World and vast transcontinental knowledge, Solórzano Pereira produced his archives of archives. *De Indiarum iure*, published upon the author's return to Madrid, devotes nearly six hundred pages to the legality and benevolence of Spain's New World mission. The apologetic work cites hundreds of laws that prove Spain's righteousness. The last book of *De Indiarum iure*, nonetheless, demonstrates Solórzano Pereira's non-servile, critical bent. There, he outlines the subjects that the planned second volume of the work will treat, among them the "burdens and services that [the Indians] are forced to endure in their rotations of serving the Spaniards" (469). Not unexpectedly, *De Indiarum iure* ends with pleas to reform the treatment of the Indians, a clear lure for Salinas. The second volume of the *De Indiarum iure*, published in 1638, so enlarged on this critical vein that it was consigned to the Index of Forbidden Works and censored by order of Spanish King Philip IV, which forced Solórzano Pereira to revise his commentary (Pereña 37–45).

Solórzano Pereira's most definitive, monumental work, *Politica Indiana*, compiles all the Spanish laws related to the Indies and their inhabitants. Perhaps in response to the previous censure, no doubt to suit its encyclopedic aims, *Politica Indiana* steers a more ecumenical, sinuous course. Apologetics cedes to the dialectics of Baroque Scholasticism (García Añoveras 113): the Spanish jurist punctiliously and copiously lays out the laws, their antecedents, the arguments for and against them. Only after that, in certain grave, polarizing cases, does Solórzano Pereira tender his own opinions on the subject. The masterwork of a consummate legal scholar, *Politica Indiana* evinces more interest in concretizing the archive than in imposing a stamp on its material.

However, Solórzano Pereira predictably enough considers the Law to be sacrosanct, and both *De Indiarum iure* and *Política Indiana* extol

Spain's unflagging, good faith legal efforts to aid its new peoples, "the great zeal and solicitude with which our most Catholic Kings have desired, and always sought, the conversion, preservation, and good treatment of the Indians of the New world" (*Política* 55). Chapter Six of *De Indiarum iure*'s last book revolves around the proposition that "Our Kings have always religiously and piously ordered all the measures appropriate to the discovery [of the Indies] and conversion of the Indians. The excesses and abuses committed by captains and soldiers in no way detract from the Crown's religiosity and justice" (365). Spanish laws that attempt to rectify injustices, Solórzano Pereira deplures, get lost in transition or translation to the New World: "the Kings' orders tend to be slow, futile, or arrive too late" (*Política* xvi; similarly, the opening of *De Indiarum*, qtd. in Pereña 28).

Solórzano Pereira's compendia have extraordinary drawing power for Salinas, who corresponded with the Spanish jurist, suppressed libelous treatises against him (Salinas 1646, Part 1, fols. 69v–70r), and garnered praise from him (*Política* 729). Salinas confirms the *Memorial*'s heavy reliance on *De Indiarum iure* (*Memorial* 300), which he would have read in manuscript (Lavallé 44) and, shortly before publishing the *Memorial*, gone over in print. Calling it *De Iure Indiarum*, Salinas abundantly cites Solórzano Pereira's first work outright, as when he translates and transcribes the Spaniard's jeremiad on Indigenous misery (*Memorial* 308–10). Just as abundantly, as was his wont, Salinas "glosses or simply lifts" passages from the 1629 text, without stating their provenance (Lavallé 44).

One such move, a truly freighted one, underwrites the fourth chapter of the *Memorial*'s third discourse, entitled "How gloriously our very Catholic Kings of Castile have governed the Indies, as the Royal Decrees and Laws prove . . . despite what the Heretics claim" (315–27). This, the *Memorial*'s de facto appendix, glosses ten Spanish decrees from over two centuries that aimed to protect the Indigenous peoples, eight of which appear on pages 381–87 of *De Indiarum iure*. Borrowed without attribution to *De Indiarum iure*, the decrees signal one of Salinas's foremost debts to Solórzano Pereira. Time and again, the *Memorial* devoutly asserts that the Crown has "mercifully and justly decreed and ordered" laws for the good treatment of Native peoples (279) and that the laws have been flouted, which has resulted

in the “violence and oppression of the Indians’ wretched present state” (328).⁸

The Laws of the Indies in all their convoluted glory provide graphic proof that neither Solórzano Pereira nor Salinas exaggerates the ordinances’ impotence. To read the laws in the pan-Latin American *Política Indiana* or in Silvio Zavala’s compilation of legal measures that dealt with the tribute labor forced on colonial Natives (euphemistically termed *servicio personal*) in Peru is to meet a confounding web of advancements, wafflings, and abrogations with respect to the Indigenous peoples’ welfare. Perennial tension between competing stakes—the desire to improve workers’ conditions while maintaining profitability for the Crown—disposed the laws to contort themselves. We can take as an example the 1601 royal decrees, one of many serious attempts to reform tribute labor, a kind of new “New Laws.” The fifth chapter of the 1601 edicts affirms its commitment to affording the colonists’ lands the Indigenous labor they require *as long as* “the indians are not oppressed nor detained there *against their will*, as has happened in the past” (qtd. in Zavala 4).

Aspirational humanitarian laws became even more unstable when they passed into the New World. As we hear Peruvian viceroy Luis de Velasco inform his successor in 1604, pushback from outraged local constituencies derailed the laws’ fulfillment: everyone judged it “impossible to institute what His Majesty had ordered without great ruin and detriment to the Republic” (qtd. in Zavala 33). Viceroys exercised the leeway that the Crown had granted them to implement the laws as they saw fit. The 1601 edicts, for instance, end by instructing the viceroy to “add or subtract” whatever he saw fit to make the laws workable (qtd. in Zavala 4). Still, the viceroys found themselves stymied and issued “a constant stream of . . . reiterated yet disobeyed orders” (Cole 71). The *audiencias* [colonial high courts]

8 Lavallé’s notes to his edition of the *Memorial* and his introduction to the edition (42–45) well flesh out Salinas’s relationship to *De Indiarum iure*. Also see Pereña, 29, for a table of the decrees that appear in this section of *De Indiarum iure*. Comparison of them to the *Memorial*’s chapter reveals that Salinas mostly cites Solórzano Pereira verbatim but adds some commentary and a reference to Las Casas (321). Salinas wraps up his monarch-by-monarch survey with letters by Philip III and IV to Peruvian viceroys urging good treatment of the Indians, letters not included in *De Indiarum iure*.

tended to be a particular thorn in viceroys' sides, foiling the execution of royal ordinances.⁹

Post-*Brevisima* reformers in Peru, we will see, often invoke the vigorous if mercurial scaffolding of Spanish law. More fundamental yet to their argumentation are the precepts of the *Brevisima*'s author, Bartolomé de las Casas. Beyond the *Brevisima* and throughout his long life, Las Casas laid the foundations for New World human rights activism. The Dominican priest's treatises on behalf of the Native peoples galvanized and oriented polemics for years, indeed centuries, to come. Rolena Adorno pronounces Las Casas "the point of convergence" in debates on the Indies and their future "whose figure and conscience hover over the entire proceedings" (*Polemics* 15). Adorno's assessment holds true in spades for colonial Peru, where resorting to and renovating Las Casas's platform constitute a backbone of pro-Indigenous discourse.

Broadly speaking, Las Casas's platform consorts with the bull that Pope Paul III promulgated in 1537, "Sublimis Deus" [The Sublime God]. The papal bull maintains that New World peoples, their putative barbarism notwithstanding, were capable of receiving Christianity: "The sublime God so loved the human race" that He endowed all humanity "with capacity to attain to the inaccessible and invisible Supreme Good and behold it face to face" ("Sublimis Deus"). Las Casas accordingly contends in various writings that, as David Brading neatly encapsulates it, "all human beings had implanted within them a natural light which impelled them to seek the one true God" (64). From this belief flow several of Las Casas's most controversial stances, which shape into the pressure points of Peruvian commentaries. Again as a baseline, they include:¹⁰

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- 9 See Cole, ch. 4, on the instability of Spanish laws in the New World and, for multiple cases of fluctuations in early seventeenth-century Peruvian legislation, Zavala, ch. 7. Among other things, Zavala's chapter presents an edict of 1627 by Viceroy Guadalcázar that ordered remuneration to the conscripts for travel to their compulsory labor worksites; in face of difficulties the Audiencia of La Plata raised, the viceroy gave up and left the matter to his successor (83).
 - 10 The summary that follows is purely functional, fitted to the purposes of this essay, and by no means claims to do justice to Las Casas's thinking or the debates surrounding it. For excellent, more thorough background in English on Las Casas, see Adorno, *Polemics*, chs. 3–4; Brading, chs. 3–4; Pagden, chs. 1–3; also, Pérez Fernández on the Las Casian tenets that ignited Peruvians (265).

—Just title/unjust war: In Las Casas's view, New World peoples had free, sovereign disposition over their own lands, and had not made war on Spain. Therefore, Spain had the right to evangelize but not to usurp by war or other means the Natives' just title to their lands. Consequently, too, the pope could authorize religious crusades but could not award New World lands to Spain, as had the papal donations of 1493.¹¹

—Abolition of *encomiendas*: *Encomiendas* were grants of Indigenous tribute and labor bestowed upon the conquerors and their heirs avowedly in exchange for protecting their Native wards and instructing them in Christianity. But as was infamous, *encomiendas* had given rise to widespread abuses and devolved into virtual slavery for their wards. New World peoples, in Las Casas's conception free vassals of the Crown, could not by rights be subjected to slavery. The Dominican agitator therefore waged a lifelong battle for the abolition of the *encomienda*. Striking Spaniards' vested interests at their core, the *encomienda* roiled into a supremely problematic, hotly contested plank of Las Casas's and his followers' agenda.

—The 1542 New Laws: In 1542, the Crown promulgated the *Leyes Nuevas* [New Laws] that Las Casas had sponsored. The New Laws drastically limited the duration and eligibility for *encomiendas*, which the Crown would henceforth control. Further, the remarkably progressive New Laws banned any Indian slavery and exempted the Natives of the depleted Caribbean islands (Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico) from tribute service. Las Casas composed the *Brevisima* in 1542 to promote the New Laws and published his tract in 1552, after the embattled, enlightened laws were partially revoked.

Nowhere did the New Laws encounter more virulent opposition than in Peru. Whereas the first viceroy of Mexico, Antonio de Mendoza, tempered the ordinances for his context, the first viceroy of Peru, Blasco Núñez Vela, applied them to the letter. Rebellious Spanish *encomenderos* deposed Núñez Vela in 1544. Two years later, a mutinous

11 Put simply, in 1493 Pope Alexander VI granted the Spanish Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand all lands "discovered" or to be "discovered" to the south or west, so that the faith could be spread in them. It could thus be considered heretical to dispute Spain's just title to the New World.

band of Spanish emigrants led by conqueror Francisco Pizarro's half-brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, decapitated the Peruvian viceroy and paraded his head on the battlefield (Andrien 43–45). The civil war in Peru led Spanish King Charles V to repeal key provisions of the New Laws that dismantled the *encomienda*.

—Restitution: Shortly before his death, Las Casas doubled down on his “just title” arguments and carried them to their extreme consequences vis-à-vis Peru in two interwoven texts, *De thesaurus in Peru* [Tomb Treasure of Peru] (1562) and the *Tratado de las doce dudas* [Treatise of the Twelve Doubts] (1564). In these, his last major writings, Las Casas concludes that because Spain's incursions into the New World were illegitimate and tyrannical, the Peruvian kingdoms must be restored to their rightful sovereigns, the Incas and their heirs.¹²

Incendiary as Las Casas's final demands for restitution in Peru were, not they but his early *Brevísima* set off the principal shock waves that rippled across the Atlantic Ocean. For Las Casas's no-holds-barred tract had incited what came to be known as the Black Legend, scorching defamation of Spain for the brutality and greed that the *Brevísima* had ascribed to the Spanish New World enterprise. From the late 1500s to the early 1600s, translations of Las Casas's 1552 exposé proliferated in Europe, fanning extant Counter-Reformation Protestant animosity toward Spain (Saint-Lu 47–49). As Salinas observes (*Memorial* 316), the Black Legend's proponents employed words and pictures in their war against Spain: the sensational illustrations of the *Brevísima* that the Protestant Theodor de Bry published in Frankfurt in 1598 and that to our day have enormous currency come immediately to mind (see Figure 4 and Figure 5). Thus sorely provoked, legions of authors—too numerous to catalog here—on both sides of the Atlantic charged in to combat the assaults on Spain. When the Black Legend reached the New World, it triggered a verbal outrage in entitled Spaniards and creoles commensurate with the physical outrage that the New Laws had fueled

12 Adorno summarizes: “The reformist career of Las Casas should be seen as an evolution from his initial attempts in 1516 to protect the Indians while at the same time ensuring the economic prosperity of the crown to his ultimate recommendation, made forty-eight years later, that Spain abandon its rule in the Indies” (*Polemics* 63–64).

in Peru. Rising to the occasion, the creole Salinas torrentially vents his umbrage at the heretics' "slander" and spikes the *Memorial* with an almost satirical laundry list of their calumnies (315–18).

Salinas's diatribe on the Black Legend contains one of just two *explicit* references in the *Memorial* to Las Casas, whom it both times identifies as the "santo Obispo de Chiapa" [the saintly Bishop of Chiapas] (*Memorial* 318, 321). The paucity of explicit references to Las Casas in a text suffused with Las Casian energies symptomatizes a larger phenomenon: how the Black Legend had, as it were, blacklisted the Dominican provocateur. Isacio Pérez Fernández, a leading authority on the influence of Las Casas in Peru, confirms that the activist priest had plummeted into a liability, and that his thinking warranted protocols of caution in the viceroyalty. To avoid Las Casas's intervention, Peruvian officials refrained from implementing the reformer's policies until after his death and, even then, implemented the policies without attributing them to him (Pérez Fernández 363, 517). The same principle could explain why José de Acosta, the Jesuit provincial in Peru, abstains from mentioning the Dominican in his influential *De procuranda Indorum salute* [On Procuring the Salvation of the Indians] (written in 1576, published in 1588), which in a Las Casian register lays into abuses of the Indigenous peoples (Hanke 90; Adorno *Guaman Poma* 150n15).¹³

As abuses persisted and escalated, the exigency of the disruptive Las Casian agenda increased with them. Lucid, critical Peruvian crusaders for Andean Natives take up the banner (Lohmann Villena 373–75). They appropriate the Dominican's program and fit it to local contexts by means of an operating procedure that greatly surpasses the protocols of caution that the Black Legend had occasioned. Specifically, with new circumstances and a wider range of voices entering the public forum came a splitting of the signature elements of Las Casas's

13 Acosta may also refrain from mentioning Las Casas because the Jesuit supports the *encomienda* and the *mita*, as well as some degree of force to achieve the Indians' "salvation." The important "Proemio" [Preface] of Acosta's *De procuranda* reorients Las Casas's classifications of "barbarians," which argue that no matter their condition, they should not be subjugated by force (*Apologética* ch. 265). Acosta's preface, conversely, holds that the "barbarians" least favored with sophistication and reason—including most of the New World autochthonous peoples except those of the Mexican and Peruvian pre-Hispanic empires—are "barely human" and should be brought to Christianity by force. Salinas's Las Casian *Memorial* invokes Acosta with regard to ancient, not present, Peru.

platform outlined above. We thus find colonial Peruvian writers not subscribing wholesale to Las Casas's repertoire but instead selectively and strategically deploying its components as behooves their own objectives. Venerated or modified or disputed, the discrete components of the Las Casian arsenal if anything acquire greater purchase in the Peruvian milieu as it evolved.

Salinas's *Memorial* illustrates one set of ways in which special interests could disarticulate Las Casas's platform. Qua creole with divided commitments, loyal vassal Salinas, we know, pays fulsome homage to the Crown and its laws. The Peruvian author cements this obeisance by temporizing—playing a double game—with Las Casas in the *Memorial's* diatribe assailing the Black Legend.¹⁴ Yes, says Salinas, mentioning and silently paraphrasing one of Solórzano Pereira's arguments (*De Indiarum iure* 379–81, 405), the “excesses” and “cruelties” that “the saintly Bishop of Chiapas” adduces with regard to the chaotic *first* phase of conquest did occur. But they do not tarnish the motivations or ongoing actions of the Spanish kings (*Memorial* 318). Meanwhile, we also know, Salinas batters away in a Las Casian fever pitch at the horrors the imperial colonial project has wrought in his homeland, thereby exacerbating the two poles of creole identity.

The *Memorial* relegates the brunt of its skewed interactions with Las Casas to silent, but obvious, polemics. Not naming Las Casas, Salinas repudiates a tenet of the Dominican's ideology that had inspired countless fierce debates. That is, like Solórzano Pereira, the Peruvian Franciscan heatedly *supports* the just title to the New World the papal donation had bestowed on Spain, a “supreme, superior sovereignty, solid and lawful, the strongest, and Catholic (the Spanish Crown having attained and now possessing the Indies on the holy, just strength of the Apostolic See)” (*Memorial* 298). The same sentence and others nonetheless maneuver the just title that Las Casas disputed into the territory of the censorious *Brevísima*. Salinas reminds his readers that the

14 Further, Salinas partially destigmatizes the “saintly Bishop of Chiapas” by not limiting Las Casas to the *Brevísima*. As distinct from Las Casas's stigmatized *Brevísima*, which gave rise to the Black Legend, at one point the *Memorial* introduces Las Casas's defense of the Indians in his debates with Juan Inés de Sepúlveda in Valladolid (1550–1551). Salinas praises the “divine, and fiery Apologies” that Las Casas “mounted against Ginés de Sepúlveda on behalf of the Indians” (*Memorial* 321). Lavallé notes that Solórzano Pereira presents a similarly multidimensional Las Casas (75).

papal donation and blessing oblige Spain to protect the “spiritual and physical well-being of these poor peoples,” a sacred covenant that the Metropolis has not fulfilled (*Memorial* 298).¹⁵ In terms of the corollary accusation that Spain had perpetrated *unjust* wars, the creole Salinas all but disappears Las Casas’s volatile demand that Peru be restored to its Native sovereigns. The *Memorial* solely states in passing that “the lands belong to the Indians, and always have, for it is they who have planted, maintained, improved, and reaped the benefits of them” (285)—a gestural reference to and defusing of Las Casas’s last stand.

Only in 1639 from Madrid does Salinas audaciously, if again silently, sabotage Las Casas’s lifelong quest for the abolition of the *encomienda*. Then and there, Salinas rolled out a plan for Peru that centered on a revitalized *encomienda* administered by a re-empowered *benemérito* [heirs of the conquerors] creole elite to whom *encomiendas* would be granted in perpetuity. A new version of the rural *encomienda* managed by creoles who have an enhanced investment in preserving the institution, he believed, would safeguard the Native peoples, rescue them from *corvée* labor in the mines, and at the same time increase the Crown’s agricultural profits (Gálvez Peña, “Carro de Ezequiel” 54–57). Salinas’s *Memorial*, by contrast, dodges the Las Casasian tempest. Rather than target the *encomienda* as an institution, it shunts substantial blame for the system’s iniquities onto rapacious foreigners. Salinas primarily devotes the *Memorial* to a special pleading for the homegrown *beneméritos* that adheres to the traditional lines of creole complaint: why have the conquerors’ heirs, so steadfastly dedicated to Peru, not received their due, and why have the best *encomiendas* gone to others (e.g., *Memorial* 138)? For the time being, Salinas’s love for his brethren has outweighed his love-hate relationship with Las Casas.

Displaying no such ambivalence, the milestone works of Domingo de Santo Tomás (1499–1570) tailor Las Casas to the Peruvian context in unequivocal solidarity with Las Casas’s championing of the Indians. Friar Domingo, a Spanish missionary and Dominican priest like the author of the *Brevísima*, arrived in Peru around 1540. He burgeoned into Las Casas’s chief informant on Peru, his foremost Peruvian disciple, and a mainstay for pro-Indigenous Peruvian apologists. That at least until

15 Also see *Memorial* 77, 304.

1570 the Dominican order, early on appointed the representative of royal interests in Peru (Tibesar 3), held sway over the missionary landscape in the viceroyalty (Mazzotti 79), gave Domingo de Santo Tomás a bully pulpit for his agenda.

Salinas's *Memorial* commemorates Friar Domingo as a founder of the Dominican diocese in Peru, the Bishop of Charcas (now Bolivia), and as "famous for his holiness and learning" (200, 207). The Dominican prelate's "firsts" would not have escaped Salinas's attention. Domingo de Santo Tomás had been the first person to teach Quechua at Lima's University of San Marcos, and in 1560 he published in Spain the first grammar *and* the first lexicon of Quechua for Spanish missionaries.¹⁶ These initiatives attest to Friar Domingo's credo that evangelizing Andeans in their native languages was imperative for conversion. Of equal moment, Friar Domingo's prologue to his grammar celebrates Andean Natives as "people of very great civility and order," while the prologue to his lexicon condemns the "cruel, lying, carnal, greedy" Spaniards whose actions have besmirched Christianity in the eyes of the colonized Natives (iiii[v]). Both manifestos evoke Las Casas, whom Friar Domingo had met in Valladolid in 1556 (Pérez Fernández 34 et passim) and with whom he began to collaborate the very year that the grammar and lexicon came out.

Yet six years before the two men crossed paths, with a fury that would do the *Brevísima* proud, Domingo de Santo Tomás had already rebuked the colonizers' devastation of Peru. Having only read the New Laws and nothing else by Las Casas, in 1550 Friar Domingo rages in a letter to the Council of the Indies that "ever since this land was discovered," the Indigenous peoples have been thrown into misery, robbed, and killed, "treated with no more respect than animals, if that" (227).¹⁷ Colonization has produced a total "disorder and confusion," which will soon bring about the realm's decimation (227). Ethnic Andeans are ravaged by preposterous tribute requirements and especially by work in the mines, "the mouth of hell, which for the last four years has swallowed up the

16 *Grammatica, o Arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los reynos del Perú*, followed in the same year by *Lexicon, o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú*.

17 Pérez Fernández cites considerable portions of this rare letter on pp. 227–29. All quotes from the letter refer to Pérez Fernández's study, which also explains that Domingo de Santo Tomás did not have any contact with Las Casas until 1556 but had read the New Laws (229).

quantities of people whom Spanish greed sacrifices to its God—that is to say, the silver mines at Potosí” (228). The malfeasance that has laid siege to Peru breaches the Crown’s noble “ordinances and provisions” (228) and induces the tears (“may others weep” for Peru’s woes “as we have here” [227]) that swell into a trope of subsequent jeremiads, including Salinas’s.

Circumstances endemic in Peru, we see, conspired to mold Friar Domingo into a ventriloquist of the early Las Casas *without* Las Casas. However, when Friar Domingo communicates his own roadmap for reforms to the *Brevísima*’s author, he swerves from the *Brevísima*. The substantial, undated letter that Friar Domingo sent Las Casas trains its sights on the tribute payments (“tasas”) levied on Andean Natives and does so through a split lens.¹⁸ Each of the “Items” that compose the text first airs grievances about the “injustices” and “persecutions” that colonial rule has visited upon the Indigenous peoples. In a Las Casian mode, Friar Domingo expounds the duress that Peruvian Natives faced in fulfilling their obligations to the conquerors. He rains down wrath on unfair and capricious *tasas*, self-interested conquerors and encomenderos, defiance of Spanish laws, the demographic crises that plague Peru, the torments of harvesting coca, and more. In this vein, Friar Domingo goes so far as to mourn the loss of pre-Hispanic Inca “good customs” and justice (371).

He then completes each “Item” by prescribing concrete remedies for the offense. Mines that Natives have worked belong to them and should be returned to them (381), the judicial system should treat them fairly (382), judicial reviews should faithfully report the afflictions of the Indians (386), and fundamentally, tribute payments should be revamped in the ways that the document stipulates. Practical, flush with the solutions that the *Brevísima* sidestepped, Friar Domingo’s missive vitally and paradigmatically supplements Las Casas’s 1552 text.

In 1560, Domingo de Santo Tomás and Las Casas himself together

18 The title of the letter as published online by HathiTrust is: “Relación del P. Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás al Reverendo Obispo D. Fr. Bartolomé de Las Casas.” Pedro de la Gasca (viceroys of Peru from 1547–50) had placed Friar Domingo in charge of the *tasas*. See babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31210011274931&seq=378&format=plaintext

brokered a stunningly concrete, trailblazing plan sponsored by caciques who spoke for their collective peoples. In “the name of the caciques” of Peru, “by virtue of the powers that many of them, speaking for all the caciques and Indians of this realm, have vested in us” (335), the two Dominican priests teamed up and composed a “Memorial” to Spanish King Philip II. The “Memorial” transmits a slate of propositions that the caciques of seventeen Lima districts had formulated to counter a petition the king had received in 1554 from encomenderos: the encomenderos offered to purchase their encomiendas from the Crown and thus gain total control over them.¹⁹ When the caciques met in 1559 and drafted their counteroffer, they designated Friar Domingo and Las Casas as its agents to the Spanish court, thereby inserting a third voice, their own, into the two men’s “Memorial.” This triangulation, so in keeping with the two activists’ ideologies, represents what Alcira Dueñas calls the “cross-ethnic interstices” that enabled Indigenous voices to break into the lettered city (142). Collaborative or “collective authorship” engaged a network of individuals in relaying Indigenous concerns (13), afforded the disenfranchised indirect agency, and stretched the horizons of the Indigenous archive *per se*.

The special interests for which the “Memorial” lobbies solicit a revision of the encomienda, not the obliteration of the institution that Las Casas advocated. As usual, the debate revolved around the perpetuity of the encomienda. Each faction, the encomenderos and the caciques, angled to arrogate the right to perpetuity unto themselves and revamp it to their own benefit. A cutthroat competition for power over the encomienda transpired in which the encomenderos offered the Crown several million ducats for the right to perpetuity and the caciques offered one hundred thousand more ducats than the encomenderos, or more if necessary (Pérez Fernández 35). In line with its Indigenous constituency’s interests, the “Memorial” importunes the Crown to restore the privileges that the Incas had vouchsafed the Native elite, only consolidate Indian pueblos as the Incas had, and, because “the Spaniards always go against the indians’ welfare,” to forbid encomenderos from entering their villages (337). In line with

¹⁹ See Mumford ch. 4 for a more detailed account of the situation.

Las Casas's 1542 "Entre los remedios," the "Memorial" requests that encomiendas be withdrawn from private parties and escheat to the jurisdiction of the Crown. Buying into the fractured logic of Las Casas et al., the "Memorial" details the benefits that will accrue to the Crown from supporting its requests (338). Yet at heart the text's desiderata have propelled the encomienda in directions that clash not only with the encomenderos (and tacitly with the creole-oriented Salinas of 1639) but also with the fundamental feudal power structures that Spain had implanted in Peru.

While the whole destabilizing 1560 battle between stakeholders only resulted in minor actions by the Crown (Adorno, *Polemics* 86), the textual circuitry that fueled the battle remained potent and productive.²⁰ Brading deems Las Casas's legacy "all-pervasive and recurrent" (101). Pérez Fernández's seven-hundred-page survey of Las Casas in Peru has taken ample stock of that mammoth legacy. I will therefore now foreground several Indigenous-involved or -authored inflection points in the Peruvian post-Las Casian force field that both elucidate the drift of pro-Indigenous activist discourse and throw Salinas's *Memorial* into relief. They are: Pedro de Quiroga's *Coloquios de la verdad* [Colloquies of Truth], Viceroy Francisco Álvarez de Toledo's policies together with the "Memorial de Charcas" by twenty-four Indigenous lords, and Indigenous Andean Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* [The First New Chronicle and Good Government]. Las Casian in spirit, Quiroga and Guaman Poma's texts have connections to the Franciscans; informed conjecture will dynamize their relationships to Salinas's *Memorial*.

20 Well worth mentioning in connection with the ongoing textual circuitry is the "Representación de los daños y molestias que se hacen a los indios" [Representation of the Damages and Troubles Wrought Upon the Indians] presented at the Second Provincial Council of Lima in 1567 by Francisco Falcón. An attorney born in Spain, Falcón moved to Peru in 1559 and, as procurator for the caciques of Huánuco, Yauyos, and Lima, devoted himself to defending the rights of the Native peoples. His brash "Representación" lines up with Las Casas's *Tratado de las doce dudas* in enjoining restitution of Peru to its legitimate Native lords (394) and with Friar Domingo and Las Casas's 1560 "Memorial" by speaking for the caciques at their behest (390). Further, Falcón's "Representación" includes aspects of texts I discuss later. For example, complaints about harvesting coca, as in Quiroga; a document by the principal chiefs themselves (438–40), as is the "Memorial de Charcas"; and a long section (402–18) on the superiority of Inca governance, as in Guaman Poma and Salinas. For more on Falcón, see Lohmann Villena's article.

III.

Deserving a central place in the colonial Peruvian literary and activist canons but still something of an outlier, Pedro de Quiroga's virtuosic *Coloquios de la verdad* unleashes belligerent Las Casian diatribes within a dialogical framework. Its colloquies mainly involve three speakers, three characteristic members of the multiplex Peruvian world, each assigned his own backstory and viewpoint. The soldier Justino has recently arrived in Peru from Spain to make his fortune. Barquilón, a Spanish missionary and religious hermit has lived in the colony for many years.²¹ The Indigenous Tito, from Cusco, describes himself as an "Inca by birth and kin to the kings who conquered and possessed these realms, kings much esteemed and feared" (388–89).

With different speakers entering the fray at different moments, Quiroga's text stages four colloquies that encompass a raft of issues. In the first colloquy, Barquilón advises Justino about Peru and recounts the history of its Spanish conquest. The second colloquy opens onto an arresting scenario in which an anguished Tito, about to commit suicide and representing "all the indians of Peru," rails against "the excessive crimes, evils, and harm they have suffered, and still suffer," from Spaniards who have taken over Peru (369). In the third colloquy, Tito delves into the hardships that farming coca for Spanish masters has inflicted on Peruvian Natives, and in the final dialogue, Barquilón opens a space for Tito to weigh in on how to catechize colonial subjects fruitfully.

The manuscript of the *Coloquios* bears the signature of its author, about whom we have tantalizingly incomplete information. According to Ana Vian Herrero's herculean research (ch. 2 of her introduction), Pedro de Quiroga was born in Spain around 1510 and died in Cusco around 1588. He spent at least twenty years as a priest in Peru, where he served as a canon of the Cusco cathedral and a commissioner of the Inquisition.

21 Both Zarco Cuevas (whose edition of the text is available at: babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=txu.059173023550231&seq=13) and Rípodas Ardanaz, successively, call the character "Barchilón." Rípodas Ardanaz relates him to the historical Pedro Hernández Barchilón: an Andalusian condemned to death for fighting in Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, who fled, lived as an anchorite, and at the time Quiroga wrote, was directing the Hospital de Indios in Huamanga (17). Because I cite from Vian Herrero's edition, I use her nomenclature. Readers can find relevant extracts from Quiroga's text translated into English at <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0532#resources>

Quiroga probably authored the *Coloquios*, his only known oeuvre, during a sojourn to Spain and, Daisy Rípodas Ardanaz suspects, for a Spanish audience (44), hence its showcasing of stock Peruvian figures. The documentation on Quiroga available to us strongly suggests, but does not prove, that he belonged to the Franciscan order. Although Quiroga never names his order (perhaps purposely, so as not to circumscribe the relevance of the *Coloquios*) and although his own name has not been found in the rosters of Franciscan expeditions to Peru, a document from 1592 contains testimony from a Franciscan official that Quiroga had in fact belonged to the order (Rípodas Ardanaz 10n30).

The *Coloquios* themselves lend credence to Quiroga's affiliation with the Franciscans renowned for their austerity and ministrations to New World Natives. Two self-stated "hermits," or anchorites, who profess poverty and Christian rectitude inhabit the text, one in the person of Barquilón, the other in the form of the picaresque Tito's anonymous, hallowed master. Barquilón recounts that he has experienced hatred "because I have left the worldly path and support the natives of this realm" (343). The master who taught Tito to love God and his fellow man so abhorred the colonizers' "evil deeds" that he shed plaintive tears wherever he saw suffering conquered Incas (394).²²

The second mystery surrounding the by turns activist *Coloquios* is exactly when Quiroga wrote it. Only published in 1922 by the Augustinian priest Julián Zarco Cuevas, until then the *Coloquios* had resided in the Escorial library as the undated but signed sixteenth-century manuscript referred to above and as an eighteenth-century copy of the manuscript. Zarco Cuevas and the two other modern editors of the *Coloquios*, Vian Herrero and Rípodas Ardanaz, date it to varying moments in the 1560s. That the manuscript's paper derives from 1569 and that the volume tallies with the Las Casian resolutions put forth by the Second Provincial Council of Lima in 1567–68 (Vian Herrero 316,

22 Rípodas Ardanaz has unearthed a revealing Franciscan source for Quiroga's Tito: texts by Antonio de Guevara, bishop, poet, and royal chronicler of the Spanish king Charles V. Listing several parallel quotes, she convincingly equates Quiroga's Tito to the rustic farmer Mileno, who complains about the tyranny of the Romans to emperor Marcus Aurelius in Guevara's popular *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* [Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius] and his *Reloj de Príncipes* [Dial of Princes]. The speech by Mileno that Guevara's Marcus Aurelius recounts has been taken as a coded critique of Spanish imperialism (Rípodas Ardanaz 22–31).

39) argue for the late 1560s.²³ The implications of this period for the *Coloquios* and in general will come to light in due course below.

Whatever the exact date of the *Coloquios*, the text's verbal expression imbeds it in the sixteenth century. The *Coloquios'* limpid style has practically nothing in common with the overloaded erudition of Baroque prose like Salinas's. Declaring himself committed first and foremost to the truth, Quiroga says: "There is little erudition in what I write" (337). The author does not forgo biblical quotes in Latin, but predominantly he breathes real-life life into his colloquies by employing a conversational, idiomatic Spanish animated with questions to interlocutors. This vernacular, New World adaptation of Desiderius Erasmus's sixteenth-century Latin dialogues adds copious speeches in Quechua to the mix—an authentic Quechua, not a jocular, literary version of it (Vian Herrero 311) such as the parodic hodgepodes of languages that Baroque authors like Luis de Góngora and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz concocted. The down-to-earth Spanish of the *Coloquios* displays a peculiar egalitarianism, for all the characters speak alike (Rípodas Ardanaz 42), regardless of class, race, or ethnicity. Therefore, what individuates the characters and renders the text the "acerbic and satirical work" that Quiroga pronounces it (335), are the conflicting ideologies that the speakers personify, the *Coloquios'* salient feature and wager.

The dance of competing ideologies affords Quiroga a vehicle for the acerbic social criticism that underlies Erasmus's colloquies. "[I]t is better to die from bravery than from fear" (336), proclaims the Spanish author. Quiroga's boldly scathing portrayal of soldier Justino delivers on the maxim. The callow, mercenary, vulgar Justino who denigrates the Native peoples smacks of the worst conquerors and furnishes the *Coloquios* with a patent anti-hero. More subtly, Barquilón functions as a devil's advocate in Quiroga's interrogation of the Spanish endeavor in Peru (Vian Herrero 206). Barquilón's positive attributes belie the chinks in the would-be saintly hermit's armor. As the text progresses, he shades into a diehard evangelizer who views the Indians as the dregs

23 The Second Provincial Council of Lima (an ecumenical meeting of ecclesiastics, among them, the Dominican Friar Domingo), Las Casian in spirit, adopted resolutions on various issues that Quiroga addresses. The Council denounced the Indigenous peoples' forced, unpaid labor in the mines and in harvesting coca, and abusive encomenderos; it called for better trained, humanitarian parish priests. See Pérez Fernandez 368–71 and Dammert Bellido.

of humanity, believes that their obstinate refusal to embrace Christianity justifies the hardships they have endured (489), and lauds the *benemérito* creoles (351) along with Spain's glorious military victories in the New World (355). Barquilón's blind obstinacy further erodes his virtues. He tells Tito that the bulk of the Andeans Natives' problems have "already been remedied" and that "justice is administered to your people in *all* things" (448–49; emphases added). Tito ripostes to Barquilón: "All your remedies are more violent than the injuries to us they are supposed to right" (449).

Trenchant and vociferous, the anti-colonialist Tito flares into protagonism. The colonized Inca, who in the textual economy serves as a foil for the other two, blemished speakers, overshadows them. His speeches exceeding theirs in number and vigor, the Tito whose Christian name is Pedro would seem to stand in for the author (Vian Herrero 156). In any case, the "Inca by birth" floods the text with impassioned indictments of the colonizers' reprehensible behavior toward his race that shatter Barquilón's assertions of a now equitable Peru. Tito, militant agent provocateur, seeks maximum, ineluctable impact. Abstaining from Las Casas's equivocal, fractured logic, he bodies forth an unabashed iteration of the *Brevísima's* rhetoric. This "Las Casian stylistic vehemence" (Vian Herrero 139), on which various scholars have commented, bristles with the *Brevísima's* sweeping incriminations, hyperbole, negative superlatives, synonyms, aporia, rhetorical questions, and imagery.²⁴ So prevalent in Tito's speeches are these devices that no single sentence or paragraph suffices to convey them.

Thus the character Tito, a performance of Indigeneity by a Spanish author, becomes the Las Casas of the *Coloquios*. Tito has walked on the wild side with Las Casas, as puppeteer Quiroga admits in a quick act of brinkmanship. Barquilón's appraisals of Tito's rhetoric perfectly echo those that the *Brevísima* had rated: "You so inflate your complaints and exaggerate your injuries that you break into and wound the entrails and hearts of your listeners, and you would move the hardest rocks to compassion for your peoples" (489). To pierce the hearts of his audience, Quiroga's Indigenous crusader has imparted his message in

24 See Vian Herrero 139–69 on the much-debated question of Quiroga's stylistic and ideological Las Casianism (with the caveat that her perspective on the issue is quite literal).

an unfettered Las Casian voice. Of course, Quiroga has doubly hedged his bets. Tito is a fictional construct, and the *Coloquios*' dialogical apparatus enables him to ventriloquize Las Casas with impunity. Counterbalancing Tito's Las Casianism with an array of rival voices, Quiroga's wager shields the Inca's audacity and brooks language even bolder than that which Peruvian activists Domingo de Santo Tomás and Salinas muster.

Las Casian in tone, the stuff of Tito's protests diverges from the *Brevísima*. A bellwether of its time and place, the *Coloquios* coincides with Domingo de Santo Tomás in condemning the hardships of coca production and in endorsing ethnic Andeans' instruction in their own tongues. As Tito catalogs the afflictions of a fully-fledged viceregal Peru, he vents complaints that continued to obtain for Salinas's milieu and appear in his *Memorial*. The flouting of Spanish laws, the colonizers' self-interest, insufficient judicial reviews, casting aspersions on the Native peoples' humanity, and the immorality of treating them worse than animals had gathered into mournful staples of the activist discourse that Quiroga shares with Salinas. That said, Tito strikes certain more sui generis notes that bear an uncanny resemblance to the *Memorial*. Topics that attract Salinas in the *Memorial*, like the calamitous distance of Peru from the Crown (e.g., 274, 292), the uninformed and sleeping king (e.g., 313, 292, 297), and the treachery of lying to the monarch (281) had cropped up in the *Coloquios* (e.g., 486, 439, 404–05).²⁵ Is it not possible that Salinas, who swears that everything the *Memorial* says "is the supreme, complete, and potent truth" (*Memorial* 281), has the Colloquies of *Truth* by the conceivably Franciscan Quiroga in his mental archive?

Less indefinite, at times glaring, are Quiroga's ruptures with Las Casas. For the Inca Tito, the debate over Spain's just title to the New World has apparently receded into the background. He accepts vassalage, encomienda, and tribute obligations: "We are vassals of the King of Castile, and in his name our pueblos and provinces were placed in encomienda and distributed to those who conquered this land; it is

25 In Quiroga (439, 462) and in Juan Ortiz de Cervantes as quoted in the *Memorial* (307), it is *God* who does or does not sleep and keep watch over the Andean Natives. But in Salinas's own words, the uninformed Spanish *king* complacently sleeps ("He who sleeps does not rule" [*Memorial* 297]).

fitting and just that we make our tribute payments" (416). Immersed in a swirling colonial world, Tito complicates the Manichean, idealized characterization of Native peoples on which Las Casas (Vian Herrero 157) and Salinas trade. Quiroga's Inca accuses his fellow Andean Natives of lying (452), lambastes the tyranny of caciques (457–59) and, importantly, that of the Incas (e.g., 401–02). Nevertheless, akin to Domingo de Santo Tomás, Tito admires the Incas' "good laws and customs" (476). Merciless as the Inca laws could be, they sought to restrain an unruly populace (460–61). Quiroga then finesses the specter of Native unruliness into an expedient scare tactic. He closes the second colloquy with a tirade from Tito that urges the Spaniards to change course before these "deceptive, restive, and vindictive" people erupt in revolution (463). For better or worse, Tito has discarded Las Casas and Salinas's meek, inoffensive Indians.

Tito having dramatized the grim post-conquest circumstances to the hilt, it comes as a surprise that he, and the *Coloquios* in toto, stints on remedies. Friar Domingo's letter to Las Casas enumerates remedy after remedy for Peru; Quiroga's prescriptions in the fourth colloquy boil down to how the Indians can successfully be taught Christian doctrine, such as preaching to them in their own languages and improving the moral fiber of the missionary teachers. Tito announces that these recommendations constitute the "heart of my *whole* work," the heart to which he wished he could have applied the "*whole* of my abilities and language" (497; emphases added). It is all too easy to punch holes in Tito's evaluation. For Rípodas Ardanaz, the "peroration" "is more like a short manual for missionaries than the response of a speaker" who has rehearsed complaints in a Las Casian mode (47–48). The complaints, in other words, have basically and oddly dropped off the map. So has closure for the initial frame of the text. The last colloquy leaves the fates of the three characters presented at the outset unresolved, which flouts the norms of dialogical texts (Vian Herrero 224) and defaults on synthesis.

A self-aware text, the *Coloquios* had earlier on quietly planted clues about its own aberrations. In the second colloquy, Tito informs Barquilón that he will refrain from offering solutions. He anticipates that "you are about to ask me to tell you how the wrongs can be

righted,” and refuses to answer: “not everyone who has written about problems has provided remedies for them” (459). Tito adds that the sorry situation “is of your making and is yours to resolve” (460). Quiroga may very well have in mind an impending landmark event, the arrival in Peru of reformer Viceroy Francisco Álvarez de Toledo, already chartered in 1568. The *Coloquios*, observes Vian Herrero, “seems to be demanding the reform program that the Crown is preparing and will entrust to Viceroy Toledo” (208), which not only makes sense of the relatively non-committal text but also anchors it pungently in the late 1560s. Along these lines, then, the Quiroga whom Toledo would soon install in official posts (Vian Herrero 18) withholds panoramic recommendations and optimistically bequeaths Peru’s future to the succeeding regime.²⁶

IV.

Francisco Álvarez de Toledo began his tenure as Peru’s viceroy in 1569, governed for eleven years, and, to the satisfaction of the Spanish empire, radically transformed the viceroyalty. In 1568, Philip II had convened the Junta Magna [Great Council] that appointed Toledo viceroy and blocked out issues for him to tackle. Of utmost concern to the Crown was the decreasing revenue from Peru, where encomenderos perennially usurped tribute payments and silver production had declined owing to a lack of laborers and depletion of the richest silver veins. Confronting the malady, Toledo surged into the architect of later colonial Peru. As Kenneth Andrien cogently summarizes, the viceroy instituted expansive reforms in three key areas: “1. congregating the indigenous peoples into large strategic towns [*reducciones*] 2. imposing a regularized system of taxation, and 3. establishing a regimen of forced labor to support the silver mines of Peru” (49–50). Toledo’s initiatives, positive and negative, molded Peru for decades. They also endured as lightning rods for pro-

26 Rípodas Ardanaz notes that Quiroga’s “*Coloquios* weighed on *De procuranda Indorum salute* (1588) by the Jesuit José de Acosta—who surely knew Quiroga” (47). The influence is significant because Acosta, who came to Peru in 1572, collaborated with Viceroy Toledo and supported his reforms. In other words, the *Coloquios* that may have awaited Toledo’s policies ended up bolstering them.

Indigenous activists, Salinas, some sixty years later, a ringing voice among them.²⁷

Las Casas provided a flashpoint for the tortuous policies of Toledo's administration that redounded upon the Indigenous peoples conceptually and materially. Toledo himself pronounced Las Casas's allegations "the heart of most of the friars in this kingdom and the source of the greatest damage to it" (qtd. in Lohmann Villena 378). We remember that Las Casas's last writings, such as the volume on Peruvian tomb treasure, deemed Spanish incursions into the New World tyrannical and enjoined restoration of Peruvian lands to their rightful lords, the Incas. In an attempt to neutralize the threat to imperialism that Las Casas had propagated, Toledo and the Crown launched a campaign of historical revisionism. One line of attack consisted of banning certain pamphlets by Las Casas, with the excuses that the Crown had not licensed their publication and that they were full of lies. The anti-Las Casas onslaught did not stop there. Philip II ordered the confiscation of the Dominican's manuscripts held in Valladolid and Toledo those housed in Chiapas.²⁸

The paramount thrust of Toledo's high stakes historical revisionism turned Las Casas's arguments on their head by vilifying the Incas, not the Spaniards, as tyrants. Juan de Matienzo's *Gobierno del Perú* [The Governing of Peru] (1567), a treatise the Junta Magna had received, laid the groundwork for Toledo's offensive against the Incas. From the very first page of Matienzo's blistering, anti-Indian *Gobierno del Perú*, this high court judge of Las Charcas reviles the Incas as tyrants who seized Peru rather than as its natural lords. Matienzo's second chapter

27 Besides the issues analyzed below, Salinas remonstrates with the legislation on *yanacunas* that Toledo had introduced. Salinas writes: "Now I will speak of the Yanacunas, which is to say those brought to live as peons on the lands owned by Spaniards. I misspeak: the lands belong to the Indians, and always have" (*Memorial* 285); he defines *yanacuna* as an Indigenous word that means "those who perform household duties" (*Memorial* 189). In both cases, Salinas refers to the use of Indians for Spaniards' personal benefit on their estates, a controversial policy of the times that Toledo had authorized. Mine owners objected to Toledo's policies because they provided a loophole that allowed Andean Natives to escape *mita* service, and activists objected that the policies virtually enslaved the *yanacunas*, who were trapped on the estates and in service. The 1601 edicts, for example, deplore that "many indians are detained [in the estates] and denied freedom and Christian teaching, and their masters have them there as slaves" (qtd. in Zavala 4).

28 On the campaign against Las Casas, see Adorno, *Polemics* 52, and Pérez Fernández 475–79.

then decrees that the Spaniards had every right to invade the lands and unseat the despotic, heathen Incas.

Toledo translated Matienzo's convictions into a series of actions. Accompanied at times by Matienzo himself, Toledo spent 1570 to 1575 inspecting the Peruvian highlands. During their journeys, the inspectors culled information from native informants on the illegitimacy and severity of Inca rule, which the viceroy sent to the Crown in a dossier that laid out twenty "Informaciones." Further, Toledo commissioned revisionist histories like Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia índica* [History of the Incas] (1572) that reinforced the "Informaciones" and their jaundiced stance on the Incas.²⁹ Toledo, Pérez Fernández contends, never passed up an opportunity to delegitimize the Inca regime (512).

However, and however contradictorily, Toledo's reform program instrumentalized mechanisms of that regime. The extensive investigations he and his associates conducted had revealed pre-Hispanic systems that in the colonizers' judgment had worked effectively, and Toledo exploited them, making Inca rule a literally usable past. "In many ways, the Toledan project for Peru created what can only be called a successor-state to the Incas, with key institutions modelled on native practice" (Brading 138). Even before Toledo's quasi-Indigenism entered the picture, Quiroga's Tito had grasped the hypocrisy of like measures. He tells the colonizers: "You praise the governance and order of the Incas endlessly, but do you know what I see? You praise what suits your needs, and suppress what suits ours" (426–27). Toledo's congregating of Indigenous peoples into large strategic towns, or *reducciones*, mentioned above, was one such fraught appropriation from the Incas. To ensure the loyalty and assimilation of newly conquered tribes, the Inca *mitma* system had resettled newly conquered tribes. To facilitate political, economic, and religious control, Toledo applied the *mitma* system on a massive scale, pulling approximately one and a half million Andean Natives into some eight hundred and forty reservations (Mumford 90). Guaman Poma often inveighs against the turmoil and death that Toledo's congregation policy spawned.

29 On Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia índica*, see Thurner 35–36; for other works in this vein, see Vian Herrero 40, 63. Zamora notes: "The 'Informaciones' and the rabidly anti-Inca *Historia índica* (1572), written by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa at Toledo's request, were both intended as responses to Las Casas and most immediately to Diego Fernández's *Historia del Perú* (1571), which recognized the Incas as legitimate lords of Peru" (181n34).

When Toledo repurposed Inca corvée labor, the *mita* (or *mit'a*, the Quechua word for “period of service” [Cole 1]), he generated a toxic extractivist behemoth. The subjects of the Inca empire had discharged their tribute obligations through equitable, moderate, and remunerated statute labor. In view of the Spanish empire’s importunate thirst for silver, Toledo engorged the *mita*. He established a compulsory labor draft that required one-seventh of the Indigenous male population between eighteen and fifty years old to labor in the mines four months a year on a rotating, (lowly) paid basis (Padden xix; Brading 137). Successive charters expanded the mine *mita*; Toledo’s provisions and the royal decrees, such as those of 1601 (Zavala 3–5), which limited the service period and ameliorated the working conditions of the *mitayos* [*mita* conscripts], largely went unheeded. Hence, by “the early 1600s, the colonial *mita*” had been “completely divorced from the Andean *mita* system of reciprocal labor obligations from which it took its name” (Frye 285n307). Continuously modified but not abolished, the *mita* that Toledo had activated—“a remarkably harsh interpretation of Andean history and society” (Brading 138), as was the *mitma*—lived on for two centuries.³⁰

The *mitayos*’ horrific experiences in the mines demanded activists’ attention. Some of the worst conditions obtained in the Huancavélica mercury mines, where amid cave-ins, accidents, and inadequate ventilation laborers fell prey to poisonous fumes. On the dire straits in Huancavélica Salinas’s contemporaries could have read, for example, the *Servidumbres personales de los Indios* [Personal Service of the Indians] by a learned Spanish Franciscan who preceded Salinas as a resident of the Lima Convento de San Francisco, Miguel de Agia. In 1604, Agia baldly states that sending Indians to the mercury mines sends them to their death (qtd. in Zavala 19).³¹ Decades later, Solórzano Pereira, once an inspector of the Huancavélica site, still describes miners struggling through lugubrious, twisting passages

30 For a survey of developments in the *mita* from 1573 to 1700, see Cole’s book.

31 Otherwise, Salinas differs notably from fellow Franciscan Agia, who tends to care more about the “common good” than about the welfare of the Andean Natives. Agia tries to maintain a balance between humanitarian regard for the Native peoples and the needs of the state, but, like Acosta, he comes out for forced labor: “The Republic and the king have legitimate power and authority to compel and force its vassals and subjects” to work (qtd. in Zavala 21). On Agia, see Zavala 17–22; Duarte Silva; and Mazzotti 86–87.

"like those of Daedalus's labyrinth," breathing foul air, and weighed down with heavy loads, losing their footing and plunging to their deaths (*Política* 153–54).

Salinas intensifies this nerve center of activism. Disarmingly positive on Francisco de Toledo when it surveys Peru's viceroys (*Memorial* 122–23), his *Memorial* eventually laces into the extractivist *mita* that the reformer wrought. The creole author devotes several corrosive words of his own to the mines that imprison and bury conscripted Native laborers. Yet surpassingly damning are two texts by Domingo de Luna, a letter and a memorandum, that Salinas incorporates into his third discourse: Salinas opens his archive, the *Memorial*, to activist Luna, an official Protector of the Indians and a creole. Salinas glosses Luna's 1629 letter on the Huancavélica mines that the *Memorial* has just reproduced, saying:

This is what the Protector [Luna] says in his papers, all of which he delivered to me at this Convent of my Father, San Francisco, in Lima, so that I could see the miserable state in which the unfortunate Indians, vassals of Your Majesty, find themselves. He asked me to print at the very least some portions of them so that matters of such great import to the Royal Crown . . . could be known and remedied. (*Memorial* 297)

Luna's interpolated letter (*Memorial* 294–97) could stir a heart of stone. In chilling, naturalistic detail, it limns the travails of miners who ascend from the lightless depths bathed in bloody sweat and spewing blood from their mouths. Luna punctuates the letter with the appalling cases of an Indian who killed himself and his children to avoid the *mita*, the distraught women who scream as they watch their men depart for the mines, never to return, and more.

Bricoleur Salinas rushes into print in his own imminent *Memorial* Domingo de Luna's 1630 "Memorial" to the Crown on an auspicious remedy for the Huancavélica miners' plight. He transcribes portions of Luna's memorandum in the third discourse's Chapter Three, entitled "What the Indians offer Your Majesty to gain their freedom from the mercury mines . . ." (*Memorial* 292). In the arc of Peruvian activist discourse, the *Memorial's* report of an Indigenous overture harks back to Las Casas and Friar Domingo's 1560 collaboration with the caciques. Through a zig-zagging collective authorship that wends from the "indios" to Luna (acting "in their name" [294]) and now to Salinas, the report imparts an offer no less daring than the earlier caciques' proposal.

Luna relates that when the Crown had posited an expansion of the *mita*, Andean chiefs and governors had stormed the doors of the Lima high court in protest. Against that backdrop, the Indigenous leaders volunteered to pay the Crown, from their own funds, for the importation of mercury from China, Germany, or wherever else (*Memorial* 293).

The Natives' well-reasoned plan would free Andeans from the lethal mercury and save the lives of peoples without whom the Spanish empire would perish (*Memorial* 294). Luna begs Philip IV to relieve the Indigenous peoples' "extremely harsh slavery in the mines, no less so in any way than that of [the Israelites in] Egypt" (*Memorial* 294). Salinas breaks into a fervent meditation on the biblical bondage in Egypt and freedom (*Memorial* 299), complemented by Solórzano Pereira's ardent riff on the theme (*Memorial* 309–10). Moreover, Salinas records Viceroy Guadalcázar's entreaty that every armada dispatch four thousand hundredweight of mercury to Peru from Germany (*Memorial* 304). As in 1560, nothing moved the dial. Still, Salinas's inclusion and adumbration of the Indigenous overture constitutes one of the *Memorial's* few, partial stabs at a solution for Peru's dilemmas.

1582 witnessed a case that yields telling counterpoints to Salinas and striking returns on Viceroy Toledo's reforms. Just one year after Toledo left Peru, twenty-four *curacas* [principal Native lords and governors of Andean communities] from the mining province of Charcas took matters into their own hands. Dispensing with the external actors who had mediated the *Memorial's* "What the Indians offer Your Majesty to gain their freedom from the mercury mines" as well as Las Casas and Domingo de Santo Tomás's joint text, the *curacas* wrote a memorandum that asked Philip II to "do them honor and remedy problems" (828).³² Their fifty-three-chapter "Memorial de Charcas" ensued from a 1575 petition to Toledo by the

32 Peruvian ethnohistorian Waldemar Espinoza Soriano found a dossier comprised of the previously unpublished "Memorial de Charcas" and associated documents (including those of Ayavire and Dávila that I discuss) in the Archivo General de Indias, as "Charcas 45." The back cover of the dossier bears the date "1600," which suggests that the dossier may contain additions from or have been filed in that year (Platt et al. 828n169; Dueñas 53n6). Espinoza Soriano published his transcription of the dossier in 1969. The transcription, with an introduction by Edwin Claros Arispe, is also available at: www.redalyc.org/pdf/4258/425839840002.pdf. I cite from Murra's annotated, modernized edition of the text in *Qaraqara-Charka* edited by Platt et al. but also list the item numbers in the "Memorial de Charcas" that appear in Murra's and the more readily available online edition.

curaca Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, erstwhile accomplice of the viceroy in extirpation campaigns, first regional magistrate of Potosí, and a friend of Friar Domingo (Platt et al. 671). A false report made to the viceroy, Ayavire objected in 1575, had left him with fewer lands and a lower stipend than were his due. Toledo granted some of Ayavire's requests, but not to the petitioner's satisfaction. 1582 therefore found Ayavire joining the band of Native lords who demanded their rights on several fronts.

All the signatories of the "Memorial," it is important to note, were what was known as acculturated *indios ladinos*: Spanish-speaking and Christianized. As such, the ethnic leaders acknowledge the Spanish king as their master, profess their obligation to serve him ("we will serve him as our king and natural lord" [839; item #38]), and rue disobedience of Spain's good laws (836; item #28). Like Quiroga's Tito, not to mention Salinas and multitudes of others, they accept their status and duties as vassals of the Crown.

Instead of daunting the *curacas*, their accepted status as vassals enfranchises them in the "Memorial de Charcas." They avail themselves of the right to speak as "no lesser vassals of Your Majesty than Spaniards" (845; item #52) and stridently denounce Toledo's regime. The king, they state, should now rectify the offenses that "we, the sons and grandsons of the natural lords of Los Charcas, have suffered, and still suffer, from what Francisco de Toledo wrought upon us" (832; item #19). In stream with Friar Domingo's letter to Las Casas but not citing any Spanish sources, the leaders contest the higher tribute payments ("tasas") that Toledo had imposed on their peoples, to which they have only acceded out of fear (830; item #7). The tribute payments, declaims the "Memorial de Charcas," have plunged ethnic Andeans, regardless of class, into abject poverty (830; item #7) and to their deaths: the Native lords yoke the tribute payments, the demographic crisis, and the "notorious harm and injury" that the *mita* and mercury poisoning have perpetrated (829; item #3). Altogether, the *curacas* have forged a broad, caustic incrimination of the previous viceroy in a petition they hope will counteract the prior failures to be heard "as Your Majesty's vassals" that they allege (830; item #8).

Little as it shrinks from disclosing "injuries," the "Memorial de Charcas" is less concerned than the *Brevísima* with melodramatizing them and more concerned, as was Domingo de Santo Tomás's missive to Las Casas, with change. The *curacas'* memorandum certainly puts forward specific changes that would alleviate the mineworkers' burdens,

such as paying them a living wage (838; item #36) and overhauling tribute payments (828; item #1). Yet what dominates the “Memorial de Charcas” is its fight for the Native elites’ honors and powers, which assumes the following contours.

The ethnic leaders do not wish to overthrow the Spaniards or, as Las Casas’s later works would have it, to rule Peru. They do want, and are determined to wrench from the colonizers, the privileges that the Spanish nobility enjoy in the colonies *and*, recalling the demands of the caciques transmitted by Las Casas and Friar Domingo in 1560, the prerogatives the Indigenous nobility enjoyed under the Incas. The boons that the ethnic Andeans pursue range from higher salaries and exemption from tribute payments to restoration of the servants and vassals they commanded before Spanish rule. Inordinate as the requested entitlements might sound, they are not wholly untoward. From a wide angle, the *curacas*’ blueprint for a neo-Inca Indigenous elite can be construed as a logical, if ironic, fallout of Toledo’s reforms that valorized and instrumentalized Inca mechanisms. With good reason do the Indigenous lords incant throughout, “We ask for justice.”

Interestingly enough, the *curacas*’ appeals for justice enlist the mantras of creole pleading that appear in Salinas’s *Memorial* and countless other texts. An unexpected simulacrum of creole apologetics, the 1582 memorandum submits that the lords of Charcas were the first in their region to aid the Spanish, that they helped the conquerors pacify the province, and that they have earned the favor of colonial administrators. As heirs of the conquerors’ first allies, in sum, the Native elite reckon that they deserve special privileges.

The seemingly incongruous fungibility between creole and Indigenous argumentation brings to mind the influence of Jesuit educational institutions on a would-be segregated colonial society, notionally partitioned into the “republics” of the Indians and the Spaniards. For Jesuit colleges trained the elite of both groups, including the Ayavire family, in Potosí (Platt et al. 670–71) and elsewhere. The inculcation that some Indigenous caciques’ sons received fashioned them into *indios ladinos* with a Janus-faced perspective analogous to that of the creoles. Indeed, a document included in the dossier that contains the *curacas*’ memorandum, Potosí magistrate Juan Dávila’s 1582 “Parecer” [Opinion] on Ayavire, tenders a folksy portrait of the *indio ladino*, who dresses, eats, respects honor, and serves the Crown on a par with Spaniards (853). As Dávila’s “Parecer” corroborates,

the authors of the “Memorial de Charcas” emblemize the fluidity and category crises that inhered in a profoundly imbricated colonial setting.³³

V.

Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova collapses categories with a vengeance. Textualizing colonial fluidity, his *Memorial*’s third discourse is powered by the motor of a creole author who acts as the mouthpiece of the Indians—without the express authorization to do so that the texts discussed above featured. Salinas does not hesitate to blazon his self-appointed role:

I have put forth these two examples because I have been moved to set on my own weak shoulders the multitudes of innocent Indians—sons of Adam all—and to deliver them from the places where they lie hiding, buried, and oppressed, awaiting some part of God’s mercy, or at least some fulfillment of natural law. Thus, I assume the task of presenting the Indians to the gaze of the many Conrads . . . (*Memorial* 272)

[L]et those who are so tremendously wounded and aggrieved speak: the Author serves as their mouthpiece, and in shouts and tears laments what has become of them. (*Memorial* 282)

Salinas here proudly articulates the *modus operandi* that eminent Peruvian colonial scholar José Antonio Mazzotti has labeled creole indigenism. Mazzotti defines creole indigenism as the phenomenon in which a creole intelligentsia at the helm of colonial society make common cause with subalterns, deriving a “relational identity” from the alliance that supposedly works to both parties’ advantage (Mazzotti 78).³⁴ The

33 In the Peruvian colonial continuum, we may identify Rodrigo de Loayza’s 1586 *Memorial de las cosas del Pirú tocantes a los indios* [Memorial on Matters in Peru Regarding the Indians], written in Spain to its King Philip II, as a de facto bridge between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pro-Indigenous texts. An Augustinian priest born in Spain, and educated and ordained in Lima, Loayza composed a brazenly outspoken critique of Spanish wrongs and Indigenous suffering. His veritable latter-day and Peruvian *Brevísima*, nonetheless, has the practical cast of Friar Domingo’s letter to Las Casas, Friar Domingo and Quiroga’s stress on teaching Natives in their own languages, the antipathy toward Toledo’s policies of the “Memorial de Charcas” and Salinas, and the championing of creoles fundamental to Salinas. For an in-depth summary of Loayza’s hard to find *Memorial*, see Martínez.

34 Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela’s *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* [History of the Imperial City of Potosí], written from 1705 to 1736 and influenced by Salinas’s *Memorial* (Hanke and Mendoza xli), also exemplifies creole indigenism in the Peruvian milieu.

presumption and dysfunction, as well as advantages, bound up in the asymmetrical power dynamic are somewhat self-evident. Salinas, though, mobilizes this dynamic central to his text in complex, nuanced ways.

The creole indigenism that so conspicuously drives Salinas's third discourse seeps into his first discourse, on Peru's history. A fine chance (ostensibly) to transmit the Andean Natives' perspective arises from the high drama of the Spanish conquest, a well-trodden discursive site. Conceits familiar from earlier New World historical narratives resurface as Salinas endeavors to present "the Indians to the gaze" of the other.³⁵ We have the trope, which proliferated from Christopher Columbus onwards, of wide-eyed, naive Indians astounded by the newly arrived, outlandish Spaniards (*Memorial* 52, 54); in the manner of Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga's epic poem on the conquest of Chile, *La araucana* [The Araucaniad] (1569–89), when Salinas chronicles the conquest of Peru, he lists Peruvian warriors' names and depicts them as heroic, estimable adversaries. He emphasizes their ferocity: "The Indians were not cowards, tepid, and weak, but in many Provinces, well-armed, strong, and bellicose" (*Memorial* 75). There is an inadvertent madness to Salinas's method: it efficaciously glorifies Spanish heroism, and thus the heroes' creole heirs, but also implicitly undercuts his *Brevísima*-inspired avowals of the Natives' unmitigated pacifism.

Cultural broker Salinas could hardly fail to make room in the *Memorial* for the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), the Peruvian writer then most renowned in the Old World and the New. Salinas does not fall into the trap, but he stealthily fits Garcilaso to creole indigenism. Whereas Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales* [Royal Commentaries] (1609) hinged on his identity as a half-Inca, half-Spanish mestizo, Salinas introduces him as a Native ("natural de Cuzco"; *Memorial* 22–23).³⁶ Qua Native informant, Garcilaso merits pride of place in the *Memorial*'s first discourse. Weaving copious pieces of the *Comentarios reales* into the discourse's opening two

35 Salinas's description of Inca King Huayna Capac's spectacular retinue in the *Memorial*'s first discourse (21–22) and in the second discourse of Lima's "order and concert" (109), as well as the second discourse's street by street tour of Lima's marketplace and catalog of its wares (252–57), raise the question of whether he has Hernán Cortés's *Segunda carta-relación* [Second Letter-Account] (1520) in his sights.

36 Thanks to the Inca Garcilaso's alignment with his father, a Spanish conquistador, the author of the *Comentarios reales* has more in common with Salinas than one might imagine. Both subscribe to the providentialism of the conquest and favor the encomienda as recompense for participation in the conquest and as a system.

chapters, Salinas recruits Garcilaso as a prime eyewitness to the glory of the Inca past that the creole author concertedly establishes.

With this, Salinas enacts a form of cultural nationalism that appropriates Indigenous history for a proto-nationalist creole patriotism.³⁷ Via the Inca Garcilaso and others (Acosta, Pedro Cieza de León, Agustín de Zárate), the *Memorial* enshrines a cultural patrimony studded with marvels such as the fortress of Cusco, an eighth wonder of the world (*Memorial* 26). And especially, courtesy of Garcilaso's accounts, a marvelous cultural patrimony that scintillated with gold: Salinas has his readers tour temple precincts abounding in gold statues, walls, thrones, streets, doors, and so on. Garcilaso's rhapsodies on a literally golden bygone golden age attest that the majesty of the Incas rivaled the splendor of any potentates the world has known (*Memorial* 30).

The entrancement of *Salinas* with Garcilaso's rhapsodies on pagan gold, conversely, raises suspicions. Why would an ascetic Franciscan set outsized store on material wealth? The to an extent foreseeable answer emerges from the *Memorial's* third discourse, where Salinas eloquently highlights the poverty that now besets Peru: "At this, voices from the Provinces of Peru burst forth: cries from a Peru once populated by infinite powerful Indians, a Peru once rich, splendid, and laden with treasure (as we discussed in the second and third chapters of the First Discourse) and now so poor and devastated" (278). Not only, the third discourse tells us, has the new era obliterated Inca splendor and treasure, the wealth that Peru now produces and that Spain desperately needs also depends entirely on the Indians whom Spanish mistreatment is decimating (*Memorial* 313, 286). A cohesive machine, the *Memorial* has assuaged the problematic materialism of an initial salvo that eulogized an exorbitantly wealthy heathen past *and* has put cultural nationalism to work for pro-Indigenous activism.

Salinas's project of speaking for Andean Natives poses a greater, and more momentous, challenge than his transactions with the Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales*. I refer to the challenge of deciphering the *Memorial's* synergy with the *Primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno*: the unique but always already Las Casian masterpiece by Guaman Poma de Ayala (1530s–c. 1616), Quechua nobleman of royal Inca

37 On cultural nationalism, creole patriotism, and Indigenous history, see Merrim, *Spectacular City* 166–67, 320–31.

descent and *indio ladino*.³⁸ Salinas's *Memorial*, it should immediately be acknowledged, does not mention or cite Guaman Poma outright—hence the great challenge. Of course, if the virulence of the *Brevísima* sometimes pushes Las Casas underground in Salinas's *Memorial*, Guaman Poma's even more extreme indictments specifically targeting Peru render his Las Casian masterwork even more dangerous. The Salinas whose citations are in less problematic cases nebulous and who in his 1646 document fabricates a noble creole lineage for himself (see section I of my "Introduction") may willfully disappear the *Nueva corónica*. We will likely never know, but the silences have by no means deterred scholars from investigating (partially, I believe) the compelling indications that Salinas read and relied on Guaman Poma's 1,189-page illustrated text.

The encyclopedic, illustrated *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (henceforth, *Nueva corónica*) completed around 1615, divides into three parts: 1. the history of ancient Peru; 2. the Spanish conquest of Peru; 3. the longest part, "a synchronic and exhaustive description of life in the Peruvian viceroyalty" (Adorno, *Guaman Poma* 9). A vitriolic exposé of Spanish domination written in a Spanish laced with Quechua and a granular plan for *buen gobierno* [government reform] from the pen of a man who thought as a Native Andean, a Christian, and an imperial subject, the *Nueva corónica* by now rightfully stands at the forefront of the colonial Peruvian activist archive. As its final movement, our investigation of that archive will therefore undertake robustly—and down the line, adventurously—to locate Salinas's *Memorial* in the compass of the iconic *Nueva corónica*.

What, besides Guaman Poma's Las Casian furor, would have drawn Salinas to the *Nueva corónica* is not difficult to suss out. One potential hook for Salinas lies in Guaman Poma's marked admiration of the Franciscans, Salinas's order (see Figure 6). The *Nueva corónica* exercises its spleen on every major Christian order except the Jesuits and the Franciscans. In words and pictures, Guaman Poma showers praise on the latter for their charity, humility, and unblemished record of care for the Native population

38 Wherever possible I quote and cite the *Nueva corónica* from Frye's very substantial but still abridged translation of the work, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*. Parenthetical references to Guaman Poma's work give page numbers from the translation in italics, followed by the searchable page numbers from the magnificent online facsimile of the *Nueva corónica*. When Frye's translation does not include the material cited, I only give page numbers for the original.

(e.g., 643–44). Guaman Poma's veneration for the Franciscans also hides in plain sight, in the textual persona that the author fashions for himself. "Guaman Poma" declares that he led the life of a pilgrim who dressed "in sackcloth, like the poorest of men" (281; 916) and espoused poverty to "favor the poor of Jesus Christ, and give an accounting of this kingdom to His Majesty for the remedy and salvation of spirits" (355–56; 115).

Just as suggestively, the *Nueva corónica* boasts topics that would soon distinguish the *Memorial's* textual errand into the wilderness. Guaman Poma stirringly expresses the lack of crusaders for the Native peoples, the need to enlighten an oblivious monarch, the pledge to tell the truth, the abundance of disinformation, and the intent to create a new archive that individuate the *Memorial's* discursive mission. Consider, as a sample magnet for Salinas in the *Nueva corónica*:

After having completed their terms in office, none of these most Christian governors has ever been found to have favored the Indians. Instead, they have all come to add more burdens on the Indians and to favor the citizens, the wealthy, and the mine owners. Not one of them, it seems, has written or reported on the harsh labor and misfortunes of the poor Indians There is no one who will stand up for the poor of Jesus Christ. (164; 489)³⁹

The *Nueva corónica*, we see, abounds in clarion calls to a Salinas framing his first published opus, the *Memorial*.

We can now walk into the consequential evidence that Salinas engaged with the *Nueva corónica*. Basic logistics ground the evidence. As guardian of the Peruvian archive at the very time that Guaman Poma delivered his manuscript, Salinas could well have had access to it. Although in the *Nueva corónica* Guaman Poma states that he presented the text in Lima, but not when or precisely to whom, in February of 1615 he wrote a letter to Philip III informing him that he had completed a uniquely truthful, comprehensive history of Peru, then ready for publication ("Carta inédita," in Porras Barrenechea 664–65).⁴⁰ The date

39 Also of outstanding relevance to Salinas is Guaman Poma's, "I defend the kingdom, and that is why I am writing this history—to be a memorial, to be placed in the archive, so that justice may be seen" (346; 991). Guaman Poma's antipathy for creoles (e.g., 198–99; 552–53) could either be a disincentive for Salinas to interact with the *Nueva corónica* or a provocation to stand up for creoles in his *Memorial*.

40 On the penultimate page of the *Nueva corónica*, Guaman Poma wrote of his manuscript: "se presentó ante los señores" ["Presented to the gentlemen"] in Lima—but "los señores" is crossed out in the text (361; 1188).

intersects with Salinas's tenure as superintendent of Peru's archive, appointed to the post by viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros toward the end of his administration (1607–15).

Unsurprisingly, a cluster of authorities on the *Memorial* back the hypothesis that Salinas had contact with the *Nueva corónica*. Luis E. Valcárcel has no doubt that Salinas held the manuscript in his hands and perhaps received it personally from Guaman Poma (xiv). Raúl Porras Barrenechea tends toward believing that Salinas and Jesuit priest Anello Oliva met Guaman Poma in person around 1615, "obtained from him the references to the four ages, generations, or captains, which he was able to clarify in person . . . and encouraged him to send his chronicle to the King," which prompted the Andean Native's "praise of the Franciscans and Jesuits" (671). Warren Cook reasons that the *Nueva corónica*'s author entrusted the volume to an unspecified official who passed it to Salinas—and that Salinas, aficionado of unusual texts, may have rescued the explosive manuscript from destruction (xl).

Scholarly efforts to identify *textual* correspondences between the *Nueva corónica* and the *Memorial* have fixated on a few pages in Salinas's text, his interpretation of Peru's ancient history (8–9, 13–15). Andeanists have uncovered in Salinas's pages affinities large and small to Guaman Poma's elaboration of the four ages that preceded the Inca hegemony (in Chapter Five: 23–29; 48–52). Notably, the *Memorial* utilizes the same names for the four ages as the *Nueva corónica*; like Guaman Poma (32; 81), Salinas maligns the incestuous sorceress Mama Huaco, mother and wife of the first Inca, for introducing diabolical idolatry (*Memorial* 14).⁴¹ Mama Huaco's diabolic idolatry points to Guaman Poma and Salinas's shared emplotment of Peruvian history. Both narratives hold the Inca hegemony responsible for at first destroying previous Peruvian civilizations' admirable monotheism, harbinger of Christianity (Brading 319). For instance, Chapter Five of the *Nueva corónica* identifies the first pre-Inca peoples whom the god Viracocha had created after the biblical flood, the Huari [Wari] peoples led by Viracocha Runa, as the hazy progenitors of pre-Christian Peruvian monotheism (see Figure 7). Salinas follows suit, ascribing the origins of Peruvian monotheism to "Huari Viracocha Runa" (*Memorial* 9, 14).

41 According to Zevallos (49–53), among the various coeval accounts of Mama Huaco, only Salinas and Guaman Poma state that she had a sorceress named Pilco Ziza/Pilcosisa raise her son, Manco Capac Inca (Guaman Poma 32–33; 81–82; Salinas, *Memorial* 14).

That Salinas's rendition of the four ages deviates in some details from Guaman Poma's has sparked divergent theories, still unsettled. Once the *Nueva corónica* reemerged, Andeanists explored the four ages narrative and discovered its presence in coeval authors, Salinas among them. We owe the discovery and a paragraph-by-paragraph comparison of the two authors' commentaries on the four ages to José Imbelloni's seminal 1944 study. Not only did Imbelloni map out the similarities and differences between the two versions, he also made sense of the variants by positing that the four ages narrative had circulated in oral form, which written texts concretized diversely (68). The next trend conjectures that one written work, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba's no longer extant notebooks on ancient Peru, mediated between the *Nueva corónica* and the *Memorial*, serving as the ur-text of both. Especially because amid his long roster of sources on Peru's ancient history Salinas singles out the notebooks of creole *audiencia* lawyer Fernández de Córdoba for praise (*Memorial* 8) and elsewhere cedes a whole chapter of the *Memorial* to the lawyer's militant defense of creoles (81–92), the conjecture may ring true. Then again, especially because the notebooks are now lost, it is impossible to verify the conjecture—and Salinas may just as well have consulted Fernández de Córdoba and Guaman Poma's commentaries.⁴²

In any event, to concentrate exclusively on Salinas's interpretation of primeval Peru is to overlook a rich palimpsest, the fact that both the *Memorial* and the *Nueva corónica* would have the Spanish king interview Natives in person. As my "Introduction" discussed, Salinas advises the king to transport several of his Indigenous subjects, each with a different

42 Salinas begins the list of sources with the Indigenous quipu-keeper "Auquiruna" (who has not yet been identified) and ends it with Fernández de Córdoba (8). On Salinas, Guaman Poma, and the four ages, also see Cook xxxviii–xli; Duviols 30–33; Gálvez Peña, "Carro de Ezequiel" 68; Lavallé 46–47; MacCormack 386–87; Zevallos 52. While allowing that Salinas may have met Guaman Poma at the viceregal archive (44), Duviols comes out for the possibility that "both chroniclers—and particularly Guaman Poma—utilized a written source that contained a substantially complete and coherent version" of the four ages (33), i.e., Fernández de Córdoba's notebooks. Lavallé reinforces Duviols's position. On the other hand, Zevallos underscores the complications of this position, based as it is on a text of which we have no record, and considers it plausible that the four ages narrative circulated in oral form. Some discrepancies between similar parts of the *Memorial* and the *Nueva corónica* may also have to do with Salinas apparently not knowing Quechua (Cook xli) and therefore not being able to comprehend all of Guaman Poma's text.

profile, to the royal court and query them about their past, present, and future (*Memorial* 282). The *Memorial* prescribes a battery of questions for the Crown to ask, a veritable script for the encounter; in contrast to Domingo de Luna's interpolated text, here Salinas outlines his own design, bounded as it may be, for resolving Peru's troubles. What Salinas outlines, Guaman Poma had already put into effect, albeit fictionally. The *Nueva corónica's* prodigious, muscular "capítulo de la pregunta" [chapter of the questions] (ch. 32 in the original; excerpted in Frye's translation, 336–46) stages a long imaginary dialogue in which the king consults the author on an assortment of pressing issues (see Figure 1). Unlike Salinas's, Guaman Poma's script includes and showcases the author's responses, and it dwells on the colonized's tribulations rather than on the colonists' achievements. Notwithstanding, both scripts transfigure the question-answer format of the fearsome Inquisition into a medium beneficial to Andean Natives and devise means to give them a voice in the Spanish court.

Thus far we have visited the micro-zones of Salinas's *Memorial* that arguably exhibit the imprint of Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica*, an indispensable excursion but one that can fail to see the forest—the overarching relationships between the two texts—for the trees. It is time to embark on a riskier excursion, by taking Salinas's premise that he acts as a mouthpiece for the Indians at once more broadly and more literally. That is, I would like to think about Salinas as a rewriter of Guaman Poma who channels the *Nueva corónica's* activism, filtering it through the *Memorial's* prism. A thought experiment rather than any sort of proof, this speculative venture hopes to stimulate fresh, open-minded inquiries into Salinas. On a less daring level, it does the brass tacks, crucial job of setting Salinas *qua* activist over/against Guaman Poma.

To shift from the trees to the forest is to come to grips with the obvious: Guaman Poma, Salinas, and Las Casas's exposés all conduct textual shock and awe campaigns. For example, we read in the *Nueva corónica*: "I, the author Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, say that the Christian reader will be shocked and amazed to read this book" (229; 715). Although Guaman Poma's shock and awe campaign names Domingo de Santo Tomás and not Las Casas, Adorno has indisputably

proved that the *Nueva crónica* “quoted and paraphrased” Las Casas’s *Tratado de las doce dudas* (*Polemics* 41).⁴³ The *Nueva crónica* thereby embraces the *Tratado*’s radical conclusion that “because the gratuitous aggression of the foreign invasion had violated natural, divine, and human law, the Spanish were bound by their religion to make restitution for lands and wealth taken and dominion exercised” (Adorno, *Polemics* 46). Likewise, Guaman Poma keeps faith with Las Casas in demanding the abolition of the *encomienda* and in denying that the Indigenous peoples had put up any resistance that justified armed conflict (Adorno, *Guaman Poma* 27 and 29, 23). Instead, the authors agree, the Andean Natives had peacefully welcomed the Spaniards. Considering that the Inca Garcilaso had favored the *encomienda* and spurned Las Casas for oppugning it, one might accept Brading’s verdict that in Peru Guaman Poma figured “as the chief native disciple of Bartolomé de Las Casas” (Brading 267–68, 165).

As this “native disciple” calibrates Las Casas’s platform to Peru, he throws in his lot with, and outdoes, the *Brevísima*. Forswearing the dense Baroque erudition of its period, the *Nueva crónica* bursts with Las Casian firepower. It is hard to imagine a more unchained, savage, mordant attack on colonialism than that which Guaman Poma mounts in words and pictures; even Quiroga’s fictional Tito, unabashed as he was, pales in comparison with Guaman Poma. For precisely that reason, the *Nueva crónica* would reach out to Salinas, supplying grist for his activist mill. Guaman Poma’s text, completed only fifteen years before Salinas’s, expatiates mercilessly and profusely on issues of their mutual context that the *Memorial* decries, such as self-interested colonizers, depraved magistrates, overweening mestizos, oppressed *mitayos*, and depopulation. Among many instances, Guaman Poma vies with Salinas (and Las Casas) in crafting apocalyptic tableaux of the ethnic Andeans’ imminent, total demise:

43 Adorno’s 2002 article shows that the *Nueva crónica* references Domingo de Santo Tomás but not Las Casas. For specifics on Guaman Poma’s modulations of Las Casas’s *Doce dudas*, see Adorno, *Polemics* 41–46 and *Guaman Poma* 25–27, where she states: “Overall, it is as if he [Guaman Poma] rewrote Andean history backwards, starting not with oral accounts of legendary times, but with the *Tratado de las doce dudas* as the platform from which to argue retrospectively for native autonomy in the Andes” (27).

Your Royal Catholic Majesty, I tell you that in this kingdom the Indians are coming to an end, and they will come utterly to an end. Twenty years from now, there will be no Indians in this kingdom to serve your royal crown and defend our holy Catholic Faith. Without the Indians Your Majesty is worth nothing, because, remember, Castile is Castile because of the Indians. (338–39; 982)

The *Memorial* tends to compact into shorthand, rapid-fire barbs current matters to which Guaman Poma dedicates scores of burning pages, but as a digest Salinas's text would logically opt for rhetorical over explanatory strength.

In order to comprehend how the *Nueva corónica's* vision of Peru's past resonates with Salinas's *Memorial*, we again look beyond the four ages narrative. A descendant of the Yarovilca dynasty that the Incas assimilated into their empire, Guaman Poma portrays the Incas as usurpers (Adorno, *Guaman Poma* 132). By contrast, as had Friar Domingo and Quiroga, Guaman Poma applauds Inca good governance: "Consider the good public order, law, and justice that the Indians once had"; "In this life there are more drunks among the Indians than in the past. In the time of the Inca, there were none, nor were there any before that time, because of the good justice that existed then" (302; 938, 274; 872). The recent past, Viceroy Toledo's regime, inflects the *Nueva coronica's* rehabilitation of the Incas. Guaman Poma strenuously opposed Toledo, whose reforms had scourged the Native population and who had beheaded the holdout Inca ruler Tupac Amaru in Vilcabamba. Nevertheless, at one point the *Nueva corónica* allows that the viceroy "affirmed the ordinances that he had excerpted and approved from among those of the ancient Indians . . . the good laws that the Incas had upheld" (151; 449).⁴⁴ Accepting Toledo's ordinances at face value means that Guaman Poma by default subverts the viceroy's assaults on the tyrannical Incas. Above all and sharply, touting Inca good governance underscores the bad governance of the colonizers, the hellish world upside-down, or *pachacuti*, that is colonial Peru for Guaman Poma.

44 Guaman Poma devotes a long section to Viceroy Toledo (148–61; 446–61) and another to the good ordinances that tenth Inca king decreed (57–68; 184–95). As Frye summarizes: "The colonial regime that came of age under Toledo—a regime that enriched the most unscrupulous of provincial authorities and Spanish intruders while sending so many ordinary Indian workers to their deaths in the mines—is the main object of Guaman Poma's wrath in the *New Chronicle*" (xxi).

Salinas, who also has his quarrels with Toledo, heavily endorses and capitalizes on the Incas' superiority. Foreseeably, their idolatry ("barbarism" [*Memorial* 7]), affronts the Peruvian Christian, but apart from that Salinas exalts much more than Inca gold. At the end of the first discourse's last chapter, "The immense treasures and wealth of the Inca Kings of Peru," the *Memorial* cuts in for the kill. Inca good governance produced good imperial subjects who, motivated by "desires to please their Kings, whom they so loved," happily deluged their leaders with treasures (38). Conjuring the voice of Las Casas and summoning Guaman Poma's animus, Salinas blames the loss of treasure on Spanish tyranny: "And if the Spaniards who came, and still come, to the Indies, had not treated these peoples like the cruelest tyrants (as we will discuss later, in the appropriate place)," colonial subjects would similarly reveal mines that contain "immense treasures" to their new masters (38). But currently "servitude to the Spaniards, who bring their greed from Spain, is completely infernal, completely devoid of kindness, consolation, or relief" (38–39). As Salinas hints in saying "as we will discuss later," the denouement of his first discourse opens the floodgates to the third discourse, which fleshes out the tyranny and cruelty that have made Peru a hell on earth. Life for Peruvian *mita* miners contorts into "the living image of death, and the dark shadows of hell" (297, Salinas quoting Domingo de Luna), the Indigenous peoples experience mercy "in the form of its opposite" (288), and "[a]ltogether, natural law, human laws, reason, and justice fall by the wayside" (291–92)—in short, Peru as a world upside-down, *pachacuti*.

By the *Memorial*'s lights, the Babelic present has had the insidious effect of swaying Peruvian Indigenous peoples to aggrandize the Inca past and reject Spanish sovereignty. Salinas relates the Indians' belief that before the Spaniards took over, Andeans inhabited an ideal society, where everything from religion to economics to the state fit together in a harmonious constellation. The Inca gods "lovingly" left mortals "to their freedom, and their clemency benefited the mines, and the Inca men, women, and children, and made their kings and themselves rich as well" (*Memorial* 298). The order and concert that Renaissance Spain famously aspired to graft onto the New World, we deduce, has misfired and rebounded onto the ancient Incas. Moreover, so greatly have the iniquities of the conquest tainted Christianity that the Indigenous

peoples weep day and night for their own better gods (*Memorial* 298). Enveloping the Incas in an aura not merely of gold but of a bygone golden age, Salinas's narrative has pushed the boundaries of cultural nationalism and weaponized it into a metric of Spanish misrule. Only the distant Spanish king, court of last appeal for both Salinas and Guaman Poma, can right the upside-down Peruvian world.

Guaman Poma's reformist militancy does not let him wait for the king to intervene or to decide on a course of action. Unlike the *Memorial* and Quiroga's dialogues, the *Nueva corónica* wrests control of Peru's future from the Crown and stakes it on the propulsive blueprint for good government that the text orchestrates. For behind the litany in the *Nueva corónica* of "no hay remedio" [there is no remedy] stands its author's monumental plan for remedies (Frye xxvi) based on the transfer of power to Native elites.⁴⁵ The *Nueva corónica*'s plan expands into a whole world one pathway that Las Casas had seeded—restitution—and at the same time negotiates Guaman Poma's multiple personal emplacements. As observed earlier, the author braids mindsets of a Native Andean, a Christian, and an imperial subject. Specifically, Guaman Poma's "complex but coherent" approach (Adorno, *Guaman Poma* 5) is pro-Andean, anti-colonial, and anti-clerical, and pro-Christian and colonialist in respecting the interests of the Spanish empire. Thus, whereas Guaman Poma excoriates the draconian service colonizers inflict on the Native peoples and the sins Christian evangelization has incurred, for him, as a Spanish vassal, service and evangelization remain axiomatic.

A complex calculus, the *Nueva corónica*'s template for good governance revolves around the creation of an autonomous neo-Inca state that fills Spanish structures with Native elites. Viceregal magistrates, justices, mayors, and so on shall be replaced with caciques, who must be acculturated *indios ladinos* (e.g., 263–64; 784–85). While we do not know if Guaman Poma, himself an *indio ladino*, was familiar with the 1582 "Memorial de Charcas" authored by elite *indios ladinos*, the *Nueva corónica* aligns with its premise of restoring the privileges of former Inca nobles. On that level, a distinctive Indigenous Andean model of activism emerges from the overlap between the two texts. The shared model, it is evident, breaks apart and takes flight in the *Nueva corónica*'s quantum

45 We recall that in 1560 Las Casas and Domingo de Santo Tomás had advocated the transfer of power to Native elites (337).

leap from restoring pre-Hispanic privileges to supplanting Spaniards.

Then, in a dramatic amplification not only of the “Memorial de Charcas” but also (to my knowledge) of any prior Peruvian design, Guaman Poma goes global. Building on the notion of an autonomous neo-Inca state and reterritorializing the four-part division of the Inca empire, or Tiwantinsuyu, he proposes a new world order (325–26; 962–63). The author would have the globe apportioned into four monarchies—Europe, Africa, Turkish domains, and the Indies—each of which would operate as a sovereign state; the author eagerly volunteers one of his sons, a “great-grandson of Topa Inca Yupanqui, the tenth king,” as the viceroy of the Indies. All four monarchies, Guaman Poma propounds, “should be crowned, with their scepters and fleece. In the center of these four parts of the world shall be the majesty and monarch of the world,” the Spanish king.

Despite the concessions that Guaman Poma makes to the Spanish king, these revolutionary global plots leave no mark on the monarchist *Memorial*. As a rewriter of the *Nueva crónica* or otherwise, Salinas cherry-picks whatever best suits his political, ideological, and rhetorical investments. His center of gravity as a creole weds Salinas to the prevailing social order, that is, to an in part conservative agenda. However, on one front the *Memorial* notably outshines the progressive *Nueva crónica*: the textual treatment of women.

Guaman Poma seethes with rancor for Native women, whom he holds responsible for the defilement of the race and to a significant degree for the depopulation that preoccupies him as much it does Las Casas and Salinas. The *Nueva crónica*, which insists on barring outsiders from Indigenous communities (e.g., 150; 448), folds depopulation into miscegenation and scapegoats women for both. Yes, the “the *doctrina* padres, *encomenderos*, *corregidores*, Spaniards, stewards, deputies, and officers, and their servants” seduce or force Native women into the concubinage that adulterates bloodlines, for they give birth to a surfeit of “little mestizos and mestizas” (335; 976). Yet Guaman Poma inculcates the women themselves for succumbing to the blandishments of white men and the material comforts of life with them that turn the concubines into “tremendous whores” (306; 943–44). When consequently Indigenous females no longer wish to marry their own kind, or to marry at all, the Indians will “cease to multiply and will come to an end” (211; 580). Cascading into cataclysm, women’s depravity amounts to a veritable obsession of the *Nueva crónica*.

The *Memorial*'s women come as a much-needed relief to *Nueva corónica* and, it should be said, to the misogynistic leanings of transatlantic Golden Age literature.⁴⁶ As the start of Salinas's third discourse, which praises the heroines of Weinsberg, augurs, a hallmark of the *Memorial* is that it attends closely to women. In so doing, at various moments Salinas devotes separate, empathetic discussions to Peru's female population. On one occasion and in stark contrast to the *Nueva corónica*, he vindicates the intermarriage that so deranges Guaman Poma: "Women of these realms ["de nuestra forma"] have married Spaniards and have borne long lineages of worthy men, many of them excellent in learning and virtue" (*Memorial* 289; it is not clear whether he refers to creole and/or Indigenous women). An unambiguously positive, longer thread on Native women reels out from a passage that scholars have tagged as deriving from Guaman Poma. À la *Nueva corónica*, Salinas pillories Mama Huaco. But then, as soon as Spaniards enter the scene, Native women change sign in the *Memorial* (52–55), as they never do in Guaman Poma's text. A female cacique, La Tumbezina (the "beautiful woman from Tumbes" [53, 54]) effects and emblemizes the pivot. When she loads the Spanish conquerors with gold and welcomes them to land at Tumbes with an exuberant fiesta, La Tumbezina bridges the two worlds. To Salinas, her actions demonstrate the worthiness of Peru for having immediately received the Spaniards with open arms.

Thereafter, virtuous and hard-working women occupy the *Memorial*. Salinas paints women of privilege in a single brushstroke, as generally pious, charitable, courtly, and sharp-witted (246). He assesses other women at length and in depth, with an eye to their labors. Thus, the *Memorial*'s second discourse regales its readers with a textured cameo of the mulatta, Black, Indian, and mestiza women who sell their wares in Lima's marketplaces (*Memorial* 253). The third discourse spotlights the travails of Native women's servitude. Where Guaman Poma writes that mine owners "keep Indian cooking women in their residences; they use cooking as a pretext for taking concubines" (180; 530), Salinas switches the optic and says of Indian women that "their entire lives, they are made to breath noxious fumes in the kitchen, to perform the lowest and most vile

46 Much has been written about the misogynistic leanings of transatlantic Golden Age literature. For a sample and for theorizing of the issue, see Merrim, *Early Modern*, ch. 2. Salinas's *Memorial*, more conventionally, also hails Peru as a "fertile, merciful mother," a "rich mother" (85), and a "beautiful lady" arrayed in silver (90). In the *Memorial*'s activism, however, this makes Peru vulnerable to the grotesque figuration that she has been raped by Spain: she "has generously consented to having her entrails ripped open, her bones broken, and her viscera ground down in order to sustain her King, her Sovereign" (262).

household tasks" (*Memorial* 285). The *Memorial* subsequently audits in heart-rending detail the privations of the "Indias de la demora" [servants of the colonizers]: their wretched houses, paltry diet, and little children neglected in order to fulfill Spanish quotas for the cloth the women spin (286–87). Salinas vividly sums up that "like silkworms they spin and die from spinning in order to clothe their masters, while the Indian women themselves are left as naked as Eve and their children are sacrificed like Abel" (287). Digging deep into the Native women's world, the *Memorial* has exploded the *Brevísima's* schematic, monolithic representations of Indigenous peoples but heightened the pathos Las Casas strives to induce.

In the end, to gain maximum traction for the activism of the third discourse, Salinas cannot help but leverage precisely that—the pathos the *Brevísima* so masterfully engineered. The profuse archive and vigorous force field, with their blueprints for good governance and multi-ethnic voices, pounding around the *Memorial* in 1630 hammer home that over a span of eighty years *nothing* has succeeded in righting the upside-down world of colonialism. This long, disheartening trajectory puts pressure on latter-day activist writers to scale new heights, to redouble their exertions *as if* they were crying out in a textual void. Salinas beseeches: "Let the crusader not rest until he has gone to extremes: gesticulating, imploring, and roaring to move his audience" (*Memorial* 290). The *Memorial* meets its author's criteria by ramping up the emotive quotient. Salinas infuses Franciscan style, already inclined to the "conscious manipulation of vicarious emotional experience" (Fleming 186), with his own consummate verbal abilities. The rhetorical, imagistic, and auditory tours de force that vivify the third discourse, which we have seen in abundance, render it less a fount of new information than a masterpiece of passionate, committed discourse.

As an integral part of the drive to elicit a visceral pathos, the *Memorial* also writes on the body. Its third discourse meshes with the *Brevísima* and the *Nueva crónica* in writing history on the bodies of Indigenous peoples, "the blows, lashings, threats, and terrors they have received" (*Memorial* 283). Salinas, who promises to speak for the Indians "in shouts and tears" (*Memorial* 282), augments the corporeal repertoire with his own and others' weeping, *llanto*. Domingo de Santo Tomás, Quiroga, and Guaman Poma had wielded this leitmotif of the anti-colonialist archive, and

Salinas outstrips them by referring over fifteen times to tears.⁴⁷ Among the allusions to tears in the *Memorial*, we encounter: the first twelve Franciscans arrive in Peru “weeping, and planting the seed of the divine word” (209); Salinas’s eyes fill with tears as he writes (277); “the valley of Jauja, the Provinces of Yauyos, and other populous regions wail and weep tears of blood because their peoples are being killed off by the oppression, tribulations, and agony to which they are forcibly and violently subjected” (278). Tears, the somatizing of psychological distress, are also freighted with Christian connotations. They evoke cleansing, penance, the living water of the Holy Spirit, and, in Salinas’s words, Saint Bonaventure’s tears of blood (1646, Part 1, fol. 38r).

Alive, as it were, with water, the *Memorial* has marshaled all the resources at its command to accomplish the imperative mission of moving the king’s soul and *body*. False witnesses, self-interested enemies of the Crown’s glory, have concealed the truth from the king, and Philip IV has fallen into a complacent slumber akin to death (*Memorial* 272, 292, 297). He who sleeps a bad sleep, moralizes Salinas, loses honor and conscience (*Memorial* 297). “Buried alive” by his treacherous advisers, remote from Peru in distance and deed, the king only exists for his New World colonies as the figurehead of a monarchy’s “mystical body,” or body politic: in Salinas’s conception, an inordinately large empire from which succor “necessarily arrives late or not at all” (*Memorial* 297, 274).⁴⁸ The *Memorial* would shake the king and “soften the merciful, royal entrails of Your Majesty’s most Catholic breast” (*Memorial* 295). If Salinas, conscience of the archive, achieves his goal, the no longer mystical body of the king—now a creature of flesh and blood—shall awaken. And at long last, at the prompting of Salinas’s “Mirror for Princes,” he will unite the Indians and Spaniards into “a single body, single heart, and single spirit” free from scandal, injury, and sin (*Memorial* 310, translating Solórzano Pereira’s *De Indiarum iure* 485).

47 There are numerous poignant invocations of weeping in the *Nueva corónica*. For instance: “If you take this book and read it word by word, you will sit down and weep with your soul” (231; 716), and “I say to your Royal Holy Catholic Majesty—weeping and crying, shouting to heaven, begging God, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints and angels—I say that we, the poor, are sent so many punishments, misfortunes, and destructions: may God and Your Majesty not permit us to come to an end, or your kingdom will be depopulated” (346; 998–99). Salinas’s *Memorial* invokes tears, in widely varying contexts, on pp. 3, 17, 24, 85, 185, 188 (twice), 209, 277, 278, 282, 299, 303 (twice), 310, 313.

48 The notion of the commonwealth as a mystical body, and of kings as a mystical and a natural body arose in the twelfth century as an adaptation of Christian theology to the state. See ch. 5 of Kantorowicz’s classic *The King’s Two Bodies*.

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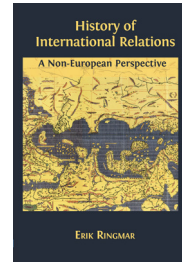
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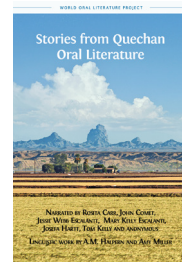
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