The Language and Rhetoric of Conversion in the Viceroyalty of Peru

Regina Harrison
Spanish and Portuguese, Maryland at College Park

Abstract   The inception of linguistic and cultural "discourse" is studied with reference to four Andean Spanish-Quechua dictionaries printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Patterned on Nebrija's elicitation lists of 1492, the dictionaries document the existence of specific linguistic models as well as broader cultural assumptions that reveal the immediacy of semiotic interactions between Hispanic priests and Quechua-speaking indigenous informants. Lexical items often reflected the increasing commercial and administrative activities influenced by Spanish ideological constructs, which were foregrounded in divergent Iberian policies regarding bilingualism in the Andean region. By means of Quechua lexicography, Andean indigenous peoples voiced their critique of European "forms of civilization," while also "problematizing" their cultural identity through the adoption of Christian discourse along with the practice of Catholic rituals.

In 1641, the English scientist and philosopher John Wilkins published *Mercury: Or the Secret and Swift Messenger* (Wilkins 1984 [1641]).[1] In his essay on Mercury, he advocated the creation of a general language,

1. Jorge Luis Borges is well-known for his creative use of Wilkins's essay.
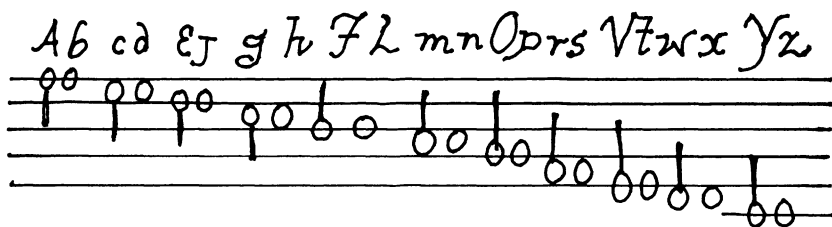
Figure 1. From John Wilkins, *Mercury: Or the Secret and Swift Messenger* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1984 [1641]), 76. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.

"speakable by all People and Nations," to overcome the confusion of writing and speech that had arisen since the calamity of the Tower of Babel. Wilkins proposed to eliminate this "confusion" by means of an alphabet based on musical notes, with his musical score replacing common words and letters found in the written alphabets of each nation (Figure 1).

The dream of one language spoken by all peoples and nations which dominated the thought of seventeenth-century philosophers was a response, in part, to encounters with the numerous vernacular languages found in the Americas. In his 1668 *Essay Toward a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, Wilkins expressed the difficulties of conversation given the multiplicity of languages: "Pliny and Strabo make mention of 300 Nations of different languages. . . . Some *American* Histories say, That in every 80 Miles of Country, the Inhabitants speak a different Language. *Joseph Scaliger* reckons Eleven Mother Tongues in *Europe*, which have no dependence on one another" (Wilkins 1984 [1668]: 174–75 [his emphases]).

The musical alphabet emblematically represents an issue of great importance to intellectuals and heads of state in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With musical notation, Wilkins sought to overcome the linguistic incomprehension which arose when Latin ceased to be a lingua franca in Europe. Vernacular languages—Spanish, French, Dutch, Italian, and German—appeared in the discourse of learned scholars. Translations were an attempt to fill in the gaps of communication, with the thoughts of influential writers often disseminated only through the efforts of polyglots who labored as translators.

Philosophical speculation about language went beyond the necessities of political and cultural discourse. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, language served as an indicator of one's place in heavenly and earthly hierarchies, and it was the Europeans who determined the nature of these classifications and criteria. Based on the Aristotelian model, language (or speech) was the primary marker for

designating the boundaries between the categories of humans and beasts. Judged on the basis of the European classificatory system, a human being without an ordered and proper language appeared to be "irrational." Without the reasoning capacity evinced through language, a soul, however human in appearance, could not receive the grace of Christianity.

A long "language chain of being" was forged in the discourse of the European philosophers and theologians who emulated the taxonomic systems of seventeenth-century botanists and zoologists (see Slaughter 1982). Attention turned to the primordial scene in the Garden of Eden: Which language, of all the languages, did Adam favor in naming the beasts, the blossoms, the loam and marl of the earth? Similarly, a ranking order was devised to evaluate the indigenous languages of the newly encountered continents of Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Writing, the sign system of language, became the dominant criterion for determining the worthiness of these non-European populations.

Those Europeans who engaged in the conquest of the Americas transported this cultural baggage when they sailed to foreign shores. Language, and language policy, soon dominated the political agenda of "civilizing" the subject populations. The Spanish, intent upon explaining European truths and values to the Indians, confronted the language barrier from 1492 on, with the voyages of Columbus. In the Andes, the discourse of conquest is vividly illustrated through an anecdote about when Atahuallpa, the Incan ruler, met up with the Spanish invaders in 1532: Father Valverde, the first missionary in Peru, handed Atahuallpa a Catholic book which, he said, contained the words of God; Atahuallpa held the book to his ear, then threw it to the ground, complaining that "it did not speak to him." Atahuallpa's disrespect for the Word as revealed in the pages of a Christian text became the ostensible motive for the war waged by the Spanish on the Incan nation.[2]

This paper examines the linguistic process of hegemony in the Viceroyalty of Peru in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Through their political and ideological legislation of language policy in the Andes, however well-intentioned, the Spanish erected cultural barriers which are still in place today. Even the linguists of the colonial period who were most enlightened and sympathetic to the plight of the Andean Indians wrote dictionaries that served to hegemonically incorporate the natives within European systems of epistemology and ethics. The Spanish-Quechua vocabularies mirrored a particular

2. For further commentary on this anecdote, see Sabine MacCormack (1988), Regina Harrison (1989), and Patricia Seed (1991).

Iberian frame of reference which was transported to the Americas along with the Old World's horses, grapes, chickens, and wheat. Explicit in these early Spanish-Quechua lexicons was a desire to communicate Christian concepts to the heathen; implicit, yet present nonetheless, was an ongoing effort to colonize and subjugate the indigenous population. However, what can also be discerned within these dictionaries are the alternative lexicons that allowed Quechua speakers to preserve their ethnic identity and voice their resistance to the structures of domination.

Legislating Language: Decrees and Dictionaries

John Wilkins envisioned with his musical alphabet an ideal language in which all substances and thoughts would be communicable in a harmonic transition from F down to C, assuming a treble clef notation. However, his musical schema also reveals the ideology of hegemony, where the dominant stratum fashions the parameters of hierarchical verities within its own society as well as in the societies of others. Embedded within Wilkins's linguistic philosophy was a European awareness of language not merely as a matter of understanding between nations, but as the means by which cultural hegemony is established. Through language, an ideology is created by the dominant stratum to impose its own interests on the colonized. These forms of domination are institutionalized means of extracting labor, goods, and services from a subject population. They embody formal assumptions about superiority and inferiority, often in elaborate ideological form, and a fair degree of ritual and "etiquette" regulates public conduct within them (Scott 1990: 21).

In the Andes, as in other regions, such views on the essence of language and language policies were reflected in royal decrees and local Andean legislation enacted by viceroys and Catholic provincial councils. Basically, the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries constituted the period of greatest interest in learning to preach in the Indian languages, a period which one Peruvian scholar calls "un indigenismo catequético" (a catechizing indigenism [Rivarola 1988: 97]). Pope Pius V, for instance, granted 100 days of indulgence to any Catholic missionary who could preach in an Amerindian language (Peña Montenegro 1985 [1771]: bk. 1, trat. 1, sec. 25, 5; Wood 1986: 41). As a result of the Crown's interest in native languages, chairs in Quechua were established in Lima (1580) and in Quito (1581) to examine those priests who intended to occupy parishes where Quechua was spoken. Royal decrees of 1580, 1603, 1605, 1622, and 1628 insisted that the religious learn and speak the languages traditionally found in their parishes (Wood 1986: 37, 47).

Although Quechua, the language of the Incas, is my primary focus

here, it was certainly not the only language spoken in the Andean region. The Jesuit priest José Acosta reminds us of this fact in statements which predate Wilkins's remarks about the multiplicity of world languages: "Se dice que en tiempos pasados setenta y dos lenguas pusieron en confusión al género humano. Pero estos bárbaros [en América] se diferencian entre sí por sus setecientas y más lenguas: apenas hay valle de una cierta extensión que no tenga su propia lengua materna" (They say that in times past seventy-two languages confused all of humankind. But these savages [in America] differ from each other due to their more than seven hundred languages: there's scarcely a valley of a certain size that doesn't have its own mother tongue [Acosta 1984 {1588}: 93]).[3] The royal decree of 1605 has been much cited as a key indicator of language policy; in this legislation, the Spanish expressed a fear of translating Christian concepts into "diabolical" Indian languages. Yet this decree also serves as a reminder, in its conclusion, of the ecclesiastical recognition that the diversity of languages in the Andes presented formidable obstacles: "Y aunque están fundadas Cátedras, . . . no es remedio bastante, por ser mucha la variedad de lenguas" (And even if academic chairs are established, . . . it's not enough, because of the many varieties of languages [*Recopilación* 1943 {1550}: 193]).

At the close of the sixteenth century, the tide turned against the promotion of indigenous languages in Peru, with the Spanish-speaking elites preferring that the natives be taught Spanish. In 1579, Antonio de Zuñiga opposed the use of Quechua by the clergy, going so far as to state that proselytization in the native languages impeded conversion (Mannheim 1991: 69). Furthermore, the royal decrees of 1586, 1590, 1624, and 1634 explicitly encouraged the teaching of Spanish in the schools. The Council of the Indies even suggested that the Indians "forget" their languages and switch to Spanish. However, Philip II stood firm in 1596 and would not permit either the use of force in teaching Spanish or the overturning of Spain's bilingual policy (Rivarola 1988: 97).[4] Spanish, as the hegemonic language, had another supporter in Juan de Solórzano, who argued in his *Política indiana* (Politics of the Indies) of 1647 that Spanish should be more widely taught, as had been repeatedly decreed in the past. By the end of the seventeenth century, the enthusiasm for Quechua (and other languages) had clearly waned. Viceroy Navarra urged in 1682 and 1683 that each town with a priest should also employ a Spanish teacher,

3. All translations are my own.
4. For detailed studies of language policy, see Bruce Mannheim (1984, 1991); for additional, comparative commentary, see Shirley Brice Heath and Richard La Prade (1982).

whose upkeep would be paid by the Crown. In 1685, the Crown not only agreed to this proposal, but also insisted that no Indian hold any position in a village without a knowledge of Spanish, issuing a decree to this effect in 1686 (Wood 1986: 46–47).

The Iberian legislation which first encouraged teaching Quechua to the priests and then teaching Spanish to the Amerindians was abetted by Renaissance theories that emphasized the importance of language in areas of colonization. In his "Teorías renacentistas de la escritura y la colonización de las lenguas nativas" (Renaissance theories of writing and the colonization of native languages), Walter Mignolo (1990) has carefully studied the contribution of Antonio de Nebrija to the Spanish colonization of the New World. Nebrija, a Latin humanist and biblical scholar of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, was a professor at the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. He is best known for his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (Grammar of the Castilian language), published in 1492, only a few months after Spain's conquest of Moorish territories and before Columbus sighted land in the Caribbean. Mignolo correctly redirects our attention from Nebrija's influential grammar and his orthography of the Spanish language to his widely disseminated studies of Latin, *Introductiones latinae*, of 1481, and *Introductiones in latinam grammaticem*, of 1540. These two works laid the foundation for writing the grammars of native languages throughout the Spanish colonies.

Nebrija's compilation of a Latin-Spanish dictionary, the *Dictionarium latino-hispanicum* (Nebrija 1492), was equally important to determining the manner in which the Spanish recorded the alien tongues surrounding them in Spain as well as in the Americas.[5] Pedro de Alcalá, for instance, modeled his Arabic dictionary on Nebrija's Latin-Spanish lexicon, "aquella [compilación] que hizo el honrrado i prudente varon, maestro Antonio de Lebrixa, a laqual yo añadi algunos nonbres y verbos" (that [compilation] that the honorable and wise gentleman, the well-known Antonio de Lebrixa, worked on, to which I added some nouns and verbs [Alcalá 1883 {1505}: 270]). Similarly, the early Quechua dictionaries in the Viceroyalty of Peru were patterned on Nebrija's Spanish and Latin vocabulary lists. The oldest surviving Quechua-Spanish dictionary, compiled by Domingo de Santo Tomás, clearly imitated Nebrija's lexical organization: "Este vocablario va por el mismo orden que el del Antonio de Nebrissa por el alphabeto, diuidido en dos partes. En la primera va el romance primero, y luego lo que significa en la lēgua de los Indios, por el que sabe la de España, y no la dellos, se aproueche del" (This dictionary follows the same alpha-

5. Frances Karttunen (1988) has documented Nebrija's importance for the lexicography of the Mesoamerican region.

betical order as that of Antonio de Nebrissa, divided into two parts. In the first half one finds the Spanish and then what it means in the language of the Indians, so that those who know the language of Spain, and not the Indian language, can benefit [Santo Tomás 1951b {1560}: 12]). Other, later dictionaries of Quechua were influenced either directly or indirectly by Santo Tomás's use of Nebrija: the "Anonymous" dictionary of 1586, Torres Rubio's slim volume of 1603, and a dictionary by González Holguín in 1608.[6]

A detailed comparison of the vocabulary in these four dictionaries will enable us to discern the inception of linguistic and cultural hegemony in colonial Peru. Fortunately, a preliminary study was published in 1985 by Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, which includes a count of the lexical items in each dictionary. The earliest colonial lexicographers (Santo Tomás and the anonymous 1586 author) highlighted the Spanish, not the Quechua, entries prior to the publication of González Holguín's dictionary, where the Quechua entries outnumbered the Spanish. These dictionaries are useful for documenting the shifts in linguistic hegemony by means of analyzing specific entries.

A summary of these four important early dictionaries of Quechua will better enable us to contrast their differences as well as compare their similarities. The *Lexicon*, published in 1560 by Santo Tomás in Valladolid, was the result of ten years of Quechua study. Santo Tomás, a Dominican priest born in Seville, was named the first examiner of Quechua; he evaluated the linguistic competence of aspiring parish priests. The *Lexicon* was definitely oriented to the Spanish speaker learning the Quechua language: the Spanish-Quechua section is made up of 6,200 entries, while the second part (Quechua-Spanish) contains only half that number (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1985: 15). Santo Tomás makes us aware of the lexicographer's plight in the sixteenth century, warning his Christian readers that the dictionary includes many regional terms ("terminos de provincias particulares" [terminology from particular provinces]), with different regional pronunciations: "No todos pronuncian los mismos terminos de una manera" (Not everyone pronounces these words the same way [ibid.: 15, 14]). From his simple, one-word entries, it is evident that Santo Tomás worked with the two major branches of Quechua, but especially with the dialect of the central and peripheral regions (Mannheim 1991: 140). The three other Quechua dictionaries that followed Santo Tomás's pioneering lexicography were based on the southern Peruvian dialects of Quechua, not on the dialects of the coast. This choice of dialects

6. Extensive references to colonial and contemporary publications in Quechua and Aymara are provided in Paul Rivet and Georges de Créquit-Montfort's (1951–56) bibliography.

reflects, in part, the Spanish desire to standardize the language for purposes of converting and catechizing the natives, as stated in the *Doctrina Christiana* of 1584 (see Barnes 1992). The committee charged with translating Catholic doctrine into Quechua did not employ the elegant Cuzco courtly speech, but wrote instead in a simplified version, such as would have been found in the countryside around Cuzco (*Doctrina Christiana* 1985 [1585]: 167; Mannheim 1984: 179).

The dictionary of 1586, called "Anonymous" in the literature, clearly identifies the printer, but neglects to name the author. Some say that it could have been written by Juan Martínez or by Padre Alonso Barzana. Whoever the lexicographer may have been, the dictionary was a most popular one, reprinted several times. There are some 7,000 entries in the Spanish-Quechua division, and 5,600 in the Quechua-Spanish (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1985: 17).

The Jesuit priest Diego Torres Rubio's dictionary of 1603 was embedded in his *Arte de la lengua quichua*, and its vocabulary list was consequently limited, with some 2,000 entries in both Spanish and Quechua (ibid.: 24). Despite its limited scope, however, Torres Rubio's dictionary was reprinted in Seville (1613) and in Lima (1619).

The most cited dictionary by far was that of the Jesuit Diego González Holguín, with its contextualization of frequently used lexemes in Cuzco Quechua that were solicited from many indigenous collaborator-informants. In this 1608 dictionary, we see a shift toward highlighting the Quechua-Spanish entries: there are approximately a thousand more entries of Quechua words than the 5,000 or so entries in the Spanish-Quechua section (ibid.: 23).

For comparative purposes, one more dictionary figures prominently in the study of ideology, the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o espanola* (Treasure of the Castilian language, or Spanish), published in Spain in 1611. The lexicographer, Sebastián de Covarrubias, cited his predecessor Nebrija in two specific entries, yet he more assertively mentioned his use of classical sources, as well as Hebrew and Arabic, and some of the European vernacular languages as the foundation for his dictionary. His text includes long, parenthetical explanations in Spanish. Not a mere word list, this *tesoro* is indeed a treasure trove of geographical relations, etiquette, proverbs, botany, biology, and the philosophical annotations that were common in the seventeenth century. Few readers linger over a dictionary, reading from cover to cover, with the well-known exception of Malcolm X (De María 1986: ix), yet Covarrubias's thick tome encourages precisely this method of consultation.

The publication of numerous Amerindian and vernacular dictionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries obscures the inherently difficult task of compiling a vocabulary list which accurately reflects culture. Umberto Eco provides a useful summary of methodological

problems common to contemporary and ancient efforts to write dictionaries. In *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, Eco (1984: 49) discusses the great difficulty of determining "semantic primitives," a finite number of "simple" concepts which are markers, properties, and universals. As Eco argues, it is very difficult to decide exactly what a "simple" concept is: a "primitive" defined using "intuitive" notions may be an infinitely open series; the concept may depend on our own experience of "world knowledge"; and a "primitive" may be a universal or innate idea, which is, ultimately, not finite. As Eco points out, the classifications used to establish lists of primitives often result in a mixture of analytical properties and pieces of "world knowledge." The best definition of a primitive would appeal to cross-classificatory criteria, where each component of a definition would be simply stated (ibid.: 46–68).

Such modern concern with avoiding ethnocentric and illogical definitions was not shared by lexicographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most writers of dictionaries thought hierarchically, with exclusionary categories, using an Aristotelian model or the medieval construct of the Porphyrian tree to define the essence of a substance. In this schema, the philosopher/lexicographer broke the substances down into increasingly finite restrictive oppositions based on observable characteristics. The Porphyrian tree illustrated well the ancients' conception of a human being, based on differentiae, oppositions of corporeal/incorporeal, animate/inanimate, sensitive/insensitive, rational/irrational, and mortal/immortal. The essence of "man" included rational faculties (differentiating "human" from "animal"), with immortality attributed only to God, the highest-ranking entity.

Languages were also envisioned in a similar taxonomic model which partook of the penchant for hierarchy in the seventeenth century. It was decided, after a great deal of discussion, that Hebrew took pride of place in this taxonomy because Adam had used Hebrew to name the animals and to speak with God (see Katz 1981). The classical languages occupied the next highest level, with the European vernacular languages ranked below them, as of less value. The languages of the infidels (Amerindian, Arabic, and Asian) were held in low esteem. The languages spoken in Mexico and Peru were disparaged because they lacked a writing system; the languages of Oriental cultures (China and Japan), on the other hand, were admired for the 85,000 figures which allowed "ciphers" to be written (Acosta 1962 [1590]: bk. 6, chap. 5, 285).

Language and Reason as Cultural Categories

As depicted in the Porphyrian tree, the dividing line between animal and humankind (man) resides in the concept of reason. A sensitive, *rational*, mortal animal is man, neither animal nor God, according to

the differentiae of the medieval system. Reason and the linked concept of language became even more important criteria in the Renaissance period of European "discovery" of foreign lands. As Anthony Pagden (1982: 92) has noted, "Reason, and from reason the ability to create and use language; these were two things which had raised man from barbarism to civility." In deciding the fate of the Indian inhabitants of the Americas, Spanish jurists and philosophers debated the characteristics of these newly "discovered" heathens. Were these peoples "barbarians," in the true sense of the word, stutterers and babblers who could not attain the *vitae communicatione* (ibid.: 77) so necessary to the creation of a "civilized" society? Their lack of an alphabet was counted against them, for a written language was a prerequisite to establishing laws, governance, and an accurately recorded history.

Because the languages of the Andes lacked a written tradition, they were automatically denied any status in the hierarchy of tongues; missionary priests, linguists, and adventurers, however, often strongly argued that these Amerindian languages were of value nonetheless. They were orderly, with the essential properties found in other languages, implying that they were *rational* constructs. The prologues of many religious tracts and linguistic studies by missionaries and chroniclers often emphasized this orderliness and these properties of the indigenous languages. Santo Tomás, author of the oldest Quechua grammar and a good friend of Bartolomé de Las Casas, praised the native language in terms which would enhance the Quechua language and culture in the eyes of the Spanish (Santo Tomás 1951a [1560]: 10–11):

> Lengua pues, S.M., tan polida y abundāte, regulada y encerrada debaxo de las reglas ypreceptos dela latina como es esta (como consta por este Arte) no barbara, que quiere dezir (segun Quintiliano, y los demas latinos) llena de barbarismos y de defectos, sin modos, tiempos, no casos, no orden, ni regla, ni concierto, sino muy polida y delicada se puede llamar. Y si la lēgua lo es, la gente que usa della, no entre barbara, sino cō la de mucha policia la podemos contar: pues segun el el Philosopho en muchos lugares, no ay cosa en q̄ mas se conozca el ingenio del hōbre, q̄ en la palabra y lenguaje q̄ usa, que es el parto delos cōceptos del entendimiento.
>
> (A language, then, Your Majesty, so refined and plentiful, ordered and confined within the rules and precepts of Latin is this one (as is seen in this Grammar), not barbarous, which (according to Quintilian and other scholars of Latin) means that it is full of uncivilized terms and defects, without modes, tenses, cases, order, rules, without internal coherence, but instead one could call it very refined and delicate. And if the language is like that, the people who make use of it [are] not savages, but people we can include among those with principles of governance: thus according to the great Philosopher, there isn't a manner more appropriate to discern the genius of humankind in whatever region [of the world] than in their words and their language, which gives birth to the concepts of understanding.)

Santo Tomás insisted on equating Quechua with Latin and, by extension, on its being a well-ordered language. In this way, he added substance to his argument that Quechua speakers were rational, fully comprehending and civilized human beings, not beasts. Years before, Las Casas had also championed the capacity to reason of the natives in the New World (Borges 1987: 26–36).

In 1585, the twenty-second sermon of the bilingual *Tercero catecismo* (Third Catechism) applied this same criterion to draw a dividing line between human and animal, attributing qualities of judgment and reason to humans that are lacking in beasts (*Tercero catecismo* 1985 [1585]: 613 [133]):

> Ñihvaychic ya, camcunaca runachu canquichic, cayri vtic mana soncoyoc-llamachucanquichic? Llamaca caualloca, ña viñachisca, manañamamanta ñuñuquenta yuma quētapa, riccinchu, allcopas, missitupas hinacamamam, mamantapas yayantapas yamcancanic. Ymaraycutac hinan? Mana soncoyoc mana yuyaynioc caspā hinā.

> Dezid, vosotros soys hōbres, o soys brutos animales, sin juyzio ni razon? El cauallo y el carnero despues que ha crecida no tiene quenta con quien le pario ni engendro, ni el perro ni el gato, antes les muerden como a los otros: porque? Porque son bestias que no tienen razon, ni entendimiento.

> (Tell me, are you men or mere brutes, animals lacking judgment and reason? A horse or a sheep, when grown, does not have the vaguest idea of who gave birth to it or who conceived it, nor do dogs and cats, who fight among themselves: Why? Because they are dumb beasts that have no reasoning powers and no understanding.)

The 1611 Spanish dictionary of Covarrubias was a European source that reiterated this pairing of language and intellectual capacity: "Razonar. Hablar concertadamente. Razonable, lo que estâ puesto en razon y mediania" (To reason. To speak with precision. Rationally, that which is governed by reason and measure [Covarrubias Orozco 1611: pt. 2, fol. lv]). A person who lacked this capacity for articulate expression and for living in society would be considered a beast, according to Covarrubias: "Bestia llamamos al hombre q̄ sabe poco, y tiene pensamientos baxos, semejāte en su modo de vivir a los brutos" (A beast we call a man who knows little, with base thoughts, who approximates animals in his lifestyle [ibid.: 134v]). Santo Tomás had likewise included an entry in the Spanish-Quechua division of his 1560 vocabulary that attributed to Quechua this privileged, linked concept of "reasoned discourse," namely, in the verb "to speak": "Razonar rimacuni" (to reason, speak [Santo Tomás 1951b {1560}: 197]).

Thus with Santo Tomás's equation of "speaking" with "reasoning" in the language, Quechua speakers could be considered human beings instead of some form of animal. Yet there was still another problem to be overcome: Quechua lacked words for certain concepts and material objects which the Europeans considered necessary elements of

existence. My semantic comparison of Nebrija's Spanish-Latin entries
in his 1516 dictionary with the four early Quechua dictionaries reveals
significant gaps. The 1560 dictionary of Santo Tomás contains 150
blank spaces where no Quechua word that represented the meaning
of the Spanish vocabulary item was found. Most of these blank spaces
occur with Spanish terms that reflect an exclusively European frame
of reference: terms for foods (*apio*/celery), metals (*azogue*/mercury),
commerce (*tassar*/to set the price of; *sueldo ganar*/to earn a salary), gov-
ernance (*reyno*/a kingdom), ritual (*bodas*/weddings), and philosophi-
cal essences (*carnal*). Likewise, many Christian concepts could not
be glossed, such as *sacrificio de hombre* (human sacrifice), *absolución de
pecado* (forgiveness of sin), and *penitencia* (penance). The Quechua dic-
tionary of 1586 (Anonymous 1951 [1586]) similarly lacked a Christian
vocabulary, such as terms for sacrament, the soul, and moral com-
mandments. González Holguín, who often praised the Quechua lan-
guage in his 1608 dictionary, nevertheless alerted his readers to the
lack of vocabulary in such domains as spiritual matters and the virtues
and vices: "Aduiertese que los indios no tenian vocablos de todo lo
espiritual ni vicios, ni virtudes, ni de la otra vida y estados de ella, y
este Vocabulario da copia desto, que es muy necessario para predicar
y catechizar" (Be advised that the Indians do not have words for spiri-
tual matters nor vices, nor virtues, nor of the afterlife and the stages
within it, and this Vocabulary [dictionary] reflects that, for it is neces-
sary to preach and to catechize [González Holguín 1952 {1608}: 10]).

González Holguín, writing from the immediacy of the need to cate-
chize the indigenous peoples of the Andes, produced a commentary
that reflected the concerns of missionaries there. Covarrubias, on the
other hand, while a contemporary of González Holguín, lived in Spain,
where he compiled a dictionary that reflected a more Iberian perspec-
tive (as in his mention of *indio* [Indian]). Interestingly, "indio" is not
found in its proper alphabetical slot; instead, it is defined within the
geographical concept of *Indias* (Covarrubias Orozco 1611: 502v):

> Oy dia se tiene mas noticia de las Indias q̄ en los tiempos antiguos. Ay Indias
> Orientales y Ocidentales. . . . Indio el natural de la India: indiano el que ha
> ido a las Indias, que de ordinario estos buelven ricos.
>
> (Today, one has more knowledge of the Indies than in ancient times. There
> are Eastern and Western Indies. . . . Indian [is] the native of India, Indiano
> [is] he who has gone to the Indies [Spanish America], usually these come
> back rich.)

Here, "indio" is a term of little philosophical importance; no mention
is made of any indigenous capacity for reasoned discourse. In fact,
"indio" is displaced from the central definition by the expansive image
of the rich "indiano" that dominates the description. An even more
revealing passage by Covarrubias occurs with the proper noun *Peru*.

Here, the Andean region and its peoples are seen in terms of the political economy, which justifies their conquest (ibid.: 586r):

> Peru provincia famosissima en la India Occidental, conquistada y señoreada de los Catolicos Reyes de España, de donde se han traido tantos millónes de oro, y de plata. Y en cambio de esto se les ha comunicado la santa Fe Catolica tan assentada en aquellas partes, como en las demas donde se ha predicado el Evangelio.

> (Peru [is] a very famous region in the West Indies [Spanish America], conquered and governed by the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain, from which have been brought so many millions in gold, in silver. And in exchange for this they have disseminated [there] the Catholic faith, which has been accepted in those regions, as in others where Christian doctrine has been preached.)

The Ideology of "Night" and "Day" in
Quechua-Spanish Dictionaries

The earliest Quechua lexicons, as we have seen, adhered closely to the terse entries penned by Nebrija. Later compilations, however, more amply reflected the Eurocentric perspective and the purpose of converting the heathens. Finally, almost a century after conquest, dictionaries appeared that attested to a "dialogical interaction" between the cultural patterning of Quechua and Hispanic word lists.

A useful methodology for analyzing semantic shifts has been proposed by Raymond Williams, who reminds us in *Keywords* of the "complexity of meanings" that a dictionary articulates. Far from revealing some neutral universal truths or concepts, lexicographers have always written from their own perspectives and ideological frameworks:

> The dictionaries most of us use, the defining dictionaries, will in these cases, and in proportion to their merit as dictionaries, list a range of meanings, all of them current, and it will be the range that matters. Then when we go beyond these to the historical dictionaries, and to essays in historical and contemporary semantics, we are quite beyond the range of the "proper meaning." We find a history and complexity of meanings; conscious changes, or consciously different uses; innovation, obsolescence, specialization, extension, overlap, transfer; or changes which are masked by a nominal continuity so that words which seem to have been there for centuries, with continuous general meanings, have come in fact to express radically different or radically variable, yet sometimes hardly noticed, meanings and implications of meaning.   (Williams 1983 [1976]: 17)

A good illustration of the ideological effect of the colonial dictionaries is the distinction between "night" and "day" in Quechua versus Spanish. Here, in the historical unfolding of lexicography, ideological underpinnings surface to reveal a Hispanic viewpoint. Santo Tomás's 1560 dictionary listed two Quechua words for *noche*: *tota/tuta* and *chissin*. The first entry, listing both "tota" and "chissin," obscured a Quechua cultural distinction between night ("tota") and afternoon

("chissin"). This error was partially corrected by additional entries which further restricted "night" to "tota":

> Noche generalmente [night in general] tota, o chissin.
> Noche prima [afternoon] chissin.
> Noche media [midnight] chaupi tota.
> Noches dos [two nights] yscaytota.
>   (Santo Tomás 1951b [1560]: 175)

Santo Tomás did not stray from the literal denotation of the nouns; all reference was skewed to chronological reference. However, in contemporary speech, as recorded by Jorge A. Lira (1944: 988), *tuta* connotes a wider semantic reference as "darkness" and a "time when the sun is below the horizon." Similarly, *chi'ssi* signifies "getting late," as when one's work drags on, in addition to the denotative meaning of "afternoon" (ibid.: 180). Santo Tomás did better with his Quechua-Spanish listings, where his entry for *tutayani* more accurately reflects a Quechua speaker's use of the word:

> Tota, o chissinc noche o obscuridad [night or darkness].
> Totayac escura cosa [a dark thing].
> Totayani · gui o racrayani · gui escrescer [to get dark].
> Totayaspa anocheciendo [the coming on of night].
>   (Santo Tomás 1951b [1560]: 365)

The verb form has a particularly strong emotive resonance among Quechua speakers, for it appears in a traditional elegy for Atahuallpa, who died at the hands of the Spaniards: "inti yaicushpa" (the sun went in)/"tuta yarcami" (it got as dark as the night [Mera 1892: 346, 347]).

While the Anonymous dictionary of 1586 came closer to capturing the broader usage of "tuta," with such definitions as "to darken" or "to stay up all night," selections from the Quechua entries of González Holguín (1952 [1608]: 348–49) show a much deeper understanding of the semantic domains covered by "night":

> Tuta. Noche [night].
> Tutayan. Anochecer [to grow dark].
> Tutayan inti, o quilla ñaui soncco. Escurecerse sol, o luna, o la vista o coraçon [when the sun or the moon grows dark, the vision grows dark, or the heart grows dark].
> Tutayan sonccoy. Desmayarse [to faint].
> Tutayan ñauiy. Quitarse la vista, o padecer vaydos [to lose the sense of sight, to suffer].
> Huañuy, o millay tuta tuta. Escurrissima noche [a really dark night].
> Manca hina tuta. Negra como olla [night as black as a cooking pot].
> Tutapacarin. Leuantarse muchos [*sic*] antes del dia a trabajar [to wake up early in the morning to work].

Here, some of the Quechua metaphorical sense has been captured in the darkening of the heart and in becoming blind. González Holguín's Spanish-generated entries, on the other hand, reflect Hispanic categories; these are predominantly mundane or meteorological, with references to a "dark" night, a "long" or "short" night, a "rainy" night, a "calm" night, and a night with or without a moon (ibid.: 601). The last entry, *tuta tuta pacarin*, translated literally, means "when night dawns." This oxymoron of night and dawn is barely intelligible, given our Western categories for determining the gradations from night to day. González Holguín was accurate in his nonliteral rendering of "waking up early to work," which extends the term's meaning to refer to a "certain sector of reality" (Ducrot and Todorov 1979: 253). However, as we now understand from Gary Urton's (1981) work in the Andes, Quechua divisions and units of time differ from Western astronomical systems. Urton explains the complexity of the word "pacarin":

> The conception of "twilight" in Quechua cosmology is different from our own, and the difference is based on the fact that the Quechua twilight is not only related to the periods of time but also to the units of space/time which are in continual motion in front of and behind the sun. That is, *pacarin* ("to be born," "to dawn") is not just the period of time when the eastern sky begins to lighten early in the morning (beginning around 3:00 to 4:00 A.M.); rather it is both this period of *time* and the unit of celestial *space* illuminated by the early morning sun.   (Ibid.: 152–53)

The lexemes for "day" (*punchao, inti*) even better display the lexicographer's cultural bias. With the publication of the Anonymous 1586 Quechua dictionary, eight Hispanic Christian concepts become associated with *punchao/punchau*:

> Dia de fiesta [Fiesta Day], zamacuy punchao, cacicuy punchau.
> Dia de trabajo [a work day], yanca punchau, llamcacuy punchau.
> Dia de ayuno [a day of fasting], cacijpunchau.
> Dia de carne [a day to eat meat], aychamicuy punchau.
> Dia de la muerte [Day of the Dead], huañuy punchau.
> Dia final [the Last Day], quepa punchau.
> Dia del juyzio [Judgment Day], taripay punchau.
> Dia lastimero [a day full of sadness], llayquij punchau.
> Dia aziago [a terrible day], chiqui punchau.
> (Anonymous 1951 [1586]: 136)

It is obvious that the Spanish vocabulary reflects a Christian perspective, whereas the Quechua entries in the same dictionary refer only to the basic, commonsense meaning of "day," with the sun high in the sky. Such religious referents are also to be found in González Holguín's 1608 dictionary, with the addition of many new entries covering the metaphorical equivalent for "having a bad day":

> Dia corco [a day of sinfulness]. Tacsa punchau huchuy punchau.
> Dia desgraciado sin ventura [a day of misfortune]. Chhiqqui
>   punchau.
> Dia aziago maldito [a "bad" day]. Atitapia ppunchau cussinnac
>   raquiypak ppunchau ati ppunchau.
>   (González Holguín 1952 [1608]: 487–88)

These phrases, accurately transcribed by González Holguín from his Quechua-speaking informants, however, contain embedded words signifying practices which the Spanish clergy clearly tried to stamp out. "Chhiqqui punchau," listed above as corresponding to "dia desgraciado" (a day of misfortune), may very well refer to Quechua forecasting by means of dreams, a practice frowned on by the Catholic Church in sermons and confession manuals. "Chhiqqui" paired with *ricuni* (I see) refers to Quechua belief in bad visions, whether in dreams or in daydreams (ibid.: 112). The priests fought hard to eliminate such belief in dreams, yet here this practice is recognized and thus preserved by the lexical reference to it.

The disparity evident in the (supposedly) universal cultural categories of night and day is even more exaggerated in the dictionary entries for "civilized" discourse. In general, the Spanish were highly motivated to nurture the "rational" faculties of their indigenous converts and, through dialogue, to lead them to the Catholic faith. Although *razonar* (to reason) is rarely to be found as an entry in the Spanish-Quechua vocabulary lists, multiple examples of *hablar* (to speak), which was considered a virtual synonym, are given. In 1560, three verbs for "to speak" were cited: *rimani*, *villani*, and *napaycuni*, as well as phrases for "to speak a lot," "to speak elegantly," and "to speak to another" (Santo Tomás 1951b [1560]: 144). Although no specific entry for "rational discourse" appeared, a phrase indicating a contractual verbal agreement was cited: "ñinacusca contrato [a contract], o conciertoc" (ibid.: 328).

By 1586, the choice of three verbs for "to speak" had been reduced to one, "rimani," and the allusions to "speaking" and "making sense" occurred with verbs for discourse:

> Hablar consideradmente [to speak, with clear thoughts],
>   huatuspami rimani.
> Hablar sin razon [to speak, with no coherence], hamu mantam
>   rimani.
> Hablar lo que se le viene a la boca [to say any old thing that comes
>   to mind], simijman chayacta caman rimani.
>   (Anonymous 1951 [1586]: 148)

This pattern was maintained by González Holguín in 1608, with fifty-seven entries for modes of speaking in his Spanish-Quechua section, and thirty-four entries in the Quechua-Spanish part. In the Spanish

entries, "speaking well," within the parameters of societal discourse, was emphasized:

> Hablar [to speak]. Rimani.
>
> Hablar con propriedad sin faltas [to speak flawlessly, appropriately]. Kazcacta cama rimani, o simicta kazcachicuni.
>
> Hablar proprio galano [to speak elegantly]. Añayñin to [*sic*] chayaquen simicta rimani.
>
> Hablar bien pronunciado [to speak, enunciating clearly]. Simicta kazcachinim o kazcactam rimani.
>
> Hablador chismoso que se va a congraciar con lo que oye [to gossip in a way that will please the listener]. Kanaqquellca simiqquellca.
>
> Hablar enojado [to speak in an angry manner]. Callchacuspam rimani.
>
> Hablar sin consideración y abulto [to speak abundantly, inappropriately]. Yancamrimani, o hapllaycachani pampa llam riman mana huatuspa.
>
> Hablar a troche moche [to speak very rapidly, helter-skelter]. Chamca chamcacta rimani vcucta hahuactaririmani.
>
> Hablar confuso, o escuro [to speak in a confused manner, or unclearly]. Arui aruictam rimani, titocta mana vyayriytam rimani.
>
> Hablar cosas difíciles y escuras [to talk about difficult or obscure things]. Huatuyta rimani mana vyarispapas vnanchananta. Cosas que se han de adeuinar por conjectura como las palabolas de Christo [to speak of things that must be prophesied by conjecture, such as the words of Christ], o huatunacta.
>
> Hablar al alma mouerla [to speak in a manner that is very moving, emotionally]. Soncco tturpuk simictarimani animap chayaqquen manta rimani.
>
> Hablar consideradamente [to speak thoughtfully]. Huatuspam hamutaspam ramani.
>
> Hablar incosiderado [to speak inconsiderately]. Pampalla mana huatuspa, mana vnanchaspa rimani.
>
> Hablar disparates [to talk nonsense]. Matuctam apllaycachani manachayaquenta rimani.
>
> Hablar a otro de negocios, o comunicarle [to speak with another regarding business, or notify]. Rimaycuni rimachini.
>
> Hablar entre dientes [to mumble]. Simi vcupi rimani.
>
> Hablar lo que se le viene a la boca [to say any old thing that comes to mind]. Simiymanchayacta camam rimani pampallan rimani, o hapllaycachani.
>
> Hablar sin razon [to speak with little logic]. Hamumantam rimani manam hamumanta churimani, no sin razon y causa hablo [without logic and causality I speak].
>
> Hablar tentando por sacar verdad [to speak with the intention of getting at the truth]. Huateccaspan rimachini o tapupayani.
>
> <div align="right">(González Holguín 1952 [1608]: 537–39)</div>

Catholic missionaries may not have considered the full semantic range of some phrases in their zeal to codify the Quechua language. In equating "huatuspam rimani" with "hablar consideradamente" (to speak thoughtfully), for example, the clergy may have been utilizing expressions for the very practices they wished to eliminate. The gerund *huatuspa* denotes bewitching and superstition, according to the definition of *huatuni as dar hechizos* (to bewitch [Anonymous 1951 {1586}: 50]), and, in the later entries of 1608 for *huatuni, adiuinar algo, o conjeturar, o sacar por discurso, o conjeturas prouidamente* (to prophesy, to predict the future by conjecture or by deduction, or to conjecture with foresight [González Holguín 1952 {1608}: 189]). Another entry reveals the Spanish lexicographer's attempt to overlay the shamanic substratum of a word with Christian symbolism: "Hablar cosas difíciles y escuras" (to talk about difficult or obscure things) is translated as "huatuyta rimani mana uyarispapas unanchanta. Cosas que se han de adeuinar por conjectura como las palabolas de Christo, o huatunacta" (things that must be prophesied by conjecture, such as the words of Christ, or *huatunacta* [ibid.: 538]). The priests did not successfully color this phrase with biblical allusions. The recourse to a Quechua phrase in the definition emphasizes the speech act, not the words of Christ: "To conjecture and divine by means of talking, not only by listening, can the meaning be understood" (as I would translate the Quechua).

Within the structure of Nebrija's original patterns of elicitation lists, the 1608 Quechua-Spanish dictionary also reveals an ideological undercurrent of blame and distrust, which were all too prevalent in the hegemony of the colonies:

> Rimani rimarini. Hablar [to speak].
> Rimarcurini. Hablar con enojo [to speak angrily].
> Rimarcuk. El inconsiderado en hablar [one who does not speak
>   appropriately, with decorum].
> Rimarcutamun. Yrse quexoso hablando con enojo [to leave angrily,
>   complaining].
> Rimayta vsachicuni. Tener facilidad en hablar [to be articulate].
> Ancha runap simin vsachik, o runa simi vsachik padre. El
>   predicador que tiene facilidad, o presteza en hablar la lengua
>   [a preacher who is articulate and speaks the language easily].
> Viracocha simi vsachik runa. Yndio ladino facil en hablar en
>   castellano [an Indian who converses easily in Spanish].
> Rimarcarini. Hablar disparates [to talk nonsense], o simin
>   manchayacta rimani. Hablar todo lo que le viene a la boca
>   [to say whatever comes to mind].
> Rimacuni rimaycuni. Murmurar hablar de otro mal [to gossip,
>   to speak badly of another].

Rimaycucuni. Hablar consigo, o entre dientes [to talk to oneself, to mumble].

Rimachini. Hablar a otro de negocios, o tratar con ellos suyos como [to speak with someone about business, or to deal with officials]. Virreytañam rimachini. Ya he hablado al Virrey [I have spoken to the Viceroy].

Rimachichini. Persuadir a declararse, o sacarle su pecho a otro o lo que hará [to persuade someone to speak up/out, to boast, to brag about what will be accomplished].

Rimachichini, o chataycuni. Dezir el mal al que lo puede remediar, o hablar dello para castigarlo [to tell someone who has power to correct a wrongdoing, or who can tell someone about it to ensure punishment].

Yayanta rimachichini. Hize a su padre que remediaze a su hijo [I spoke to the father about correcting the behavior of his son].

Huarminmanta rimachichini. Hize al marido que corrigiesse a su muger [I spoke to the husband about correcting the behavior of his wife].

Conak padrecta rimachichini. Hize al predicador que reprehendiese algo en el pulpito [I spoke to the priest so that he preaches against that from the pulpit].

Prouisorman rimachichini, o apuman rimachichini. Denunciar de peccados al juez [to denounce these sins to the judge].

Rimachicuni rimachicupayani. Solicitar mugeres, hablarles para mal [to solicit women, to speak to them with base intentions].

Huarmi rimachicuy. Lo [*sic*] solicitacion [to solicit women].

Rimachicusca. La muger solicitada [the woman who has been solicited].

Rimachipuni. Alcahuetear [to procure for sexual purposes].

Rimachicuk. El alcahuete [pimp].

Rimachicuquen. El que la solicita [he who solicits a woman].

Huarmi rimachicuy camayoc. El diestro solicitador de mugeres [he who has great success procuring women].

(Ibid: 317–18)

The vocabulary lists for *rimani* (literally, to speak) have strayed far from the original definitions that equated speaking with the ability to reason. This vocabulary indicates the degree of acculturation which had taken place in the colonies by then. The verb forms also indicate the prevalence of bilingualism in the colonies, as do the allusions to Indians who spoke Spanish well and to clergymen who had mastered the Quechua language. The verb *rimachini* (literally, to cause to speak) was used to discuss the business of the colonies in such phrases as "I am speaking to the Viceroy about these matters," "I speak to him to correct his wife's actions," "I speak to the priest so that he preaches against that from the pulpit," and "I denounce sin to the judge or to the head man." Language had become power here, as well as a means

of commerce. The numerous definitions of "rimachini" as solicitation, the procuring of women, reveals the underside of colonial discourse, where the ideology of Christian teachings was betrayed.

Rhetoric and Riposte in Quechua

The vocabulary lists amply demonstrate that Quechua served the purposes of conversion. However, the colonizers were aware that knowledge of the words alone would not suffice; words had to be strung together in such a way as to persuade the Indians to abandon their traditional beliefs. Effective rhetorical methods were the subject of ecclesiastical texts in the early colonial period. Syntax and rhetoric, in the hands of the Spanish, became powerful weapons in achieving the goal of colonization.

However, the speech acts of colonizer and colonized were frequently marked by mutual misunderstanding. Pedro de Quiroga, a Spanish priest who went to Peru as a missionary, clearly outlined the modes of communication commonly employed by the clergy (formal rhetoric) and the Indians' inability to master Eurocentric rhetorical styles. Quiroga's *Coloquios de la verdad* (Dialogues regarding truth) uses a mouthpiece (Barchilón) to berate the Indians for their ignorance of *disputio*, a formal rhetorical exercise in which two parties reason in opposition to each other. In the following *coloquio* (dialogue), Quiroga exposes conversion as a farce in which theological teachings elicit hypocritical assent on the part of the Indians (Quiroga 1922 [1555]: 113):

> A quanto se os enseña callais, de manera que si os dicen que Dios crio el cielo y la tierra decis que es assi, y si os dicen que lo crio un hombre, tambien decis que es assi; y a otra qualquier cosa, aunque sea un disparate, decis que es como lo dicen y enseñan; no pedis raçon de lo que no entendeis, ni la dais de cosa que hayais oydo, y se os haya predicado.

> Pluguiera a Dios que la contradixerades y arguyerades contra la fe con los entendimientos de todos los hombres y con todos los argumentos que el demonio os puede y sabe enseñar, que si esto hiciessedes, presto seriades desvencidos con la verdad y raçones que al mesmo demonio convenceran; pero callais con una dissimulacion que engañais a quantos con vosotros tratan, y en fin, sabeis ser hipocritas que fingis lo que verdaderamente haviades de obrar, y con este engaño os havemos administrado el baptismo sin entender lo que rescebis ni a lo que os obligais, ni aun sabeis para qué le haveis rescebido.

> (Whatever they teach you, you quietly accept, for instance if they tell you that God created heaven and earth, you say that it is thus, and if they tell you that a man created them, you say that it is thus; and to everything whatsoever, even if it is nonsense, you say that it is just as you are told and taught; you don't ask for explanation of something you do not understand, nor do you ask questions about what you might have heard or whatever they might have preached to you.

I would beg God that you contradict and argue against this Christian faith using the intelligence that all human beings possess and using all the arguments that the devil employs and knows how to teach you, and if you did this, very quickly you would be smitten with the truth and reasons that would convince even the devil; but you are quietly silent and you dissemble, and you deceive many who deal with you, and in the end, you know how to be hypocritical and you pretend to do what you really have to work at, and with this deceitfulness we have administered Baptism to you, with you not understanding what you receive nor to what you are obligated, nor do you understand why you have received it.)

Clearly, the Quechua speakers characterized here do not participate in the give and take of "logical" arguments and refutations. Their passive manner of accepting, yet not understanding, the principles of Christianity leads Quiroga to propose alternative rhetorical strategies. No subtle reasoning is to be used, only self-evident concepts and comparisons, expressed clearly: "Les dad a entender el misterio de nuestra Redempcion, procediendo en esto por terminos llanos que os entiendan, con raçones y comparaciones convenientes a sus entendimientos y a lo que les tratais, porque esto es fe, y con lengua y fe se enseña" (Let them understand the mystery of our Redemption, proceeding through this with simple words so that they understand, with logic and likely comparisons to appeal to their thoughts and the manner in which you deal with them, because this is a matter of Christian faith, and with language [communication] and faith one teaches [ibid.: 128]).

The "Proemio" of the *Tercero catecismo* (1985 [1585]: 356) echoed Quiroga's observations. The Catholic missionaries in Peru were advised to preach to the Indians by drawing on their own customs, avoiding those intricate arguments which the Apostles used in the conversion of the Jews and Gentiles and, instead, constructing appeals to emotion:

Y assi lo hazian los apostoles quando predicauan a los judios y gētiles el Evangelio, aprovechãdose con los unos de los testimonios de la Scriptura que teniã con los otros de la buena razon, y sentēcias de los sabios. Mas es de aduertir que con los Indios no sirvē razones muy subtiles, ni les persuaden argumētos muy fundados. Lo q̄ mas les persuade sō razones llanas y de su talle, y algunos similes de cosas entre ellos vsados. . . . Consta q̄ estos Indios (como los demas hombres) comūmente mas se persuadē, y mueven por affectos, q̄ por razones.

(And this the Apostles did when they preached the Christian doctrine to the Jews and the Gentiles, making use of the testimonies in the Scripture with some of the people and with others logic, and maxims of the learned men. But one must note that subtle logic is not useful with Indians, nor do well-grounded arguments persuade them. What persuades them the most is clear logic appropriate to them and some similes that they use among

themselves. . . . It's clear that these Indians [like the rest of humankind] are generally persuaded and moved by emotional appeal, rather than by logic.)

Similarly, Bishop Peña Montenegro, in his instructions for parish priests, cautioned against using very learned discourse (*razones*) with Quechua speakers. More effective, he suggested, were vivid illustrations (*egemplos*) of God's punishment of angels who sinned and the story of Adam and Eve, who brought death to all of us by their sin (Peña Montenegro 1985 [1771]: 304). Moreover, comparisons provided a useful didactic function, as when sin was described as a millstone tied around the sinner's neck (ibid.):

> Puede tambien dar luz al entendimiento para que conociendo el pecado, le aborrezca, usando algunas comparaciones, que es mejor modo para gente ignorante, diciendoles, que si el pecado es como una rueda de molino atada al cuello del pecador, con la qual es arrojado el hombre al abismo del infierno.
>
> (Enlightenment can cause understanding so that upon knowing what sin is, that it is a hateful thing, using some comparisons, which are better means with unschooled people, telling them that sin is like a millstone tied around the neck of a sinner, who is thrown with it into the infernal abyss.)

The bishop's description of hell, which followed this passage, is a fine example of an emotional assault on the senses, with its howls, gnashing of teeth, smells of sweat and sulfurous fumes, visions of monstrous devils, evocations of unrelenting hunger and thirst, poisonous biting serpents, and stinging lashes of the demons' whips (ibid.: 305).

Nevertheless, the ideological onslaught carried out by European Christians through rhetorical manipulation did not mute all response by the native populations. Although Quiroga complained of the pervasive "mumbled assent" of the newly converted, there is evidence of a riposte fashioned by the Andean Indians themselves. Their "unreason," and their particular argumentation, was recorded in the same texts that the Church published in order to facilitate conversion. It was reported in 1585 that Quechua speakers resisted the logical thrust of sermons from the pulpit and questioned Christian teaching on the basis of comparisons with their own religion. What was the difference, asked the natives, between worshiping Christian statues and worshiping Incan *guacas* or stones: "[Dizen] que como los Christianos tienen ymagenes y las adoran, assi se pueden adorar las guacas, o ydolos o piedras que ellos tienen. Yque las ymagenes son los ydolos de los Christianos" ([They say] that since the Christians have images and worship them, thus they can worship their *guacas*, or idols, or the stones that they have. And that these images are Christian idols [*Confessionario* 1985 {1585}: 262]). Despite the Quechua people's resistance to the new ontological concepts introduced by the Spaniards, the rhetoric of the

conquerors established a hegemony which defined the self-perceptions of the colonized Indians. Ravaged by new diseases that decimated their numbers and plagued by missionaries who sought out and destroyed the sacred signs of their Andean past, the Indians reportedly questioned God's ultimate motive for creating them. In an effort to avoid the unrelenting wrath of the priests who condemned their behavior, they used Christian logic to fashion an argument which absolved them of the sins of promiscuity and drunkenness: "[Dizen] que Dios los crio para viuir en peccado, y especialmente para cosas deshonestas de luxuria y de embriaguez, y que ellos no puedē ser buenos" ([They say] that God created them to live in sin, especially through unclean things such as lechery and drunkenness, and that they cannot be good [ibid.: 261]).

This same twist on Christian rhetoric was employed by the shaman-confessors, who appropriated the signs of the newly imposed faith for their own purposes.[7] In another passage from the *Instruction* of 1585 (published in the *Confessionario*), the shamans are said to pronounce the "saintly words" of Jesus and God in their traditional curing ceremonies, using coca leaves and guinea pig sacrifices (ibid.: 282):

Otros [hechizeros] ay q̄ allende q̄ visitan los lugares de los pueblos de Espanoles e indios, vsan su officio de hechizeria cō especie de christiādad. Y quādo illegā al enfermo echā sus bendiciones sobre el enfermo, sanctiguāse, dizē ay Dios, Jesus, o otras palabras buenas, hazen q̄ hazē oraciō a Dios, y ponē las manos, y parados, o de rodiallas, o sentados, meneā los labios, alçan los ojos al cielo, dizē palabras sanctas, y aconsejāle q̄ se confiesse, y q̄ haga otras obras de christiano, lloran y dizen mil caricias, haže la cruz y dizen q̄ tienen poder para esso de Dios, o de los Padres, o de los Apoés y abueltas desto secretemente sacrifican, y hazen ceremonias con cuyes, coca, sebo, y otras cosas, soban el viētre, y las piernas, o otras partes del cuerpo, y chupā aq̄lla parte q̄ duele del enfermo, . . . y dizen q̄ ya ha salido el mal, y q̄ sanara el enfermo.

(There are other [shamans] furthermore that visit the towns of the Spanish and the Indians, who use their position of shaman in combination with a kind of Christianity. And when they are with the sick person, they let fall blessings on the sick person; making the sign of the cross, they say, "Oh God, Jesus," or other good words; they make them pray to God and they place their hands on them, and standing or kneeling or sitting they move their lips, glance up at the heavens, say blessed words, and they urge him/her to confess and do other Christian acts; they cry and they say a thou-

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7. Jean and John Comaroff privilege the concept of riposte among the Tswana peoples in Africa, saying that "truly counter-hegemonic reactions . . . frequently seek out alternative modes of expression" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1989: 288). Unfortunately, colonial Quechua texts are not as explicit as those of the Tswana.

sand sweet things; they make the sign of the cross and [say] that they are given the forceful power for this from God, from the Priests, and from the Quechua *Apus*, and besides this they sacrifice and conduct rituals, with guinea pigs, coca leaves, and animal fat; they rub the stomach, legs, and other parts of the body, and they suck on that aching part of the sick person, . . . and they say that the evil forces have gone out and that the sick one is cured.)

The *Instruction* specifically states that these shaman-confessors were sought after for their mastery of both ceremonial systems; however, it also reports that they always insisted that they were Christians, not sorcerers: "Ellos [dicen que] no son hechizeros, sino Christianos" (they [say that] they are not shamans, but Christians [ibid.]). This speech act reveals once more the power of the Word, as it was appropriated by the newly converted and refashioned to function within a New World context.

As Charles Frederick Voegelin and Dell Hymes (1953: 634) observed many years ago, the essential goal of the missionary was to transfer the value system of the colonizer to the cultural system of the vanquished peoples: dictionaries had the "power to identify the values of the missionary with the understanding of the missionized. The 'words' of an American Indian language must [have appeared] to be indispensable equipment for an evangelical enterprise among the American Indians." My analysis of the Spanish evangelical enterprise in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals the enactment of the colonialist intention in the Andes. By being taught European patterns of reasoning, these conquered peoples were incorporated into the ranks of the "civilized." The colonizers' dictionaries and sermons demonstrate how the "second conquest" was accomplished through language. However, it is evident from these same texts that colonialist intentions were subverted by Quechua speakers, who maintained the original lexical values of their words for such practices as curing illnesses, forecasting the future, and resolving the native confrontation with the horrors of conquest. Thus, the Spaniards' strategies were not entirely successful; in the language and rhetoric of the vanquished Quechua peoples, we can detect the emergence of formidable strategies of resistance. The act of enunciation was thus transformed, with the interlocutors, the time, the place, and the modalities of the act all subordinated to a newly created referentiality that partook of, yet defied, hegemonic domination.

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