

## INTRODUCTION

It is a life of pirates, who always rob and pillage. And as there are pirates [...] who roam the seas to rob and kill men; so too there are pirates of the divine, who across the most tempestuous and troubled seas seek to rob the devil of the souls he unjustly rules. What was Xavier if not a heavenly pirate, who [...] stripped hell bare of millions of idolaters [and with them] entered heaven triumphantly in his rich, royal galleon?<sup>1</sup>

Spiritual piracy seems a strange analogy with which to compare the activities of the Jesuit missionaries who left Spain to evangelize the Americas and the Orient. Given the persistent trouble since the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused to the transatlantic Armadas by English, French and Dutch privateers, this choice of comparison would appear to carry oddly negative associations. Yet the cultural popularity in the Hispanic world of what we might now call ‘anti-heroes’ had already a long tradition; in the sixteenth century many found tales of the infamous *pícaros* highly entertaining.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, chronicles of conquest combined elements of medieval romances and more modern picaresque literature in larger-than-life tales of conquistadors. These originally poor men were considered valiant, won riches and fame, and conquered vast empires. In addition to this tradition, a by-product of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo’s attempts to centralize and strengthen the crown’s administrative control over the Peruvian viceroyalty was the deliberate re-writing of the Andean past to transform the Incas from justly ruling monarchs into usurping tyrants who were legitimately overthrown by the conquistadors.<sup>3</sup>

The greatest and most unjust tyrant, however, was considered to be none other than Satan himself and, as such, the above quotation is revealing of Hispanic perceptions of ‘the Indies’. With the optimistic humanism of the sixteenth century a mere memory in the seventeenth, it was commonly thought that, prior to the Spanish conquest, the devil ruled the Americas, keeping the souls of its inhabitants enslaved and destined for eternal torment and misery.<sup>4</sup> ‘Soul-pirates’, such as the Jesuits and other missionaries, therefore acted legitimately to despoil this tyrant usurper of what he wrongfully held for his own. Yet the war against Satan

was not limited to spiritual pillage on the high seas but was intimately entwined with the systematic urban colonization of the Americas. Every city founded was, in theory, a small if significant victory for the Christian side, in which Lucifer was driven out of territory he had wrongfully usurped from God. This was, in effect, a spiritual *reconquista* in which urban society formed the militant body – strategic outposts under siege in hostile territory.

As with any civil strife, however, this spiritual conflict could never be straightforward. Although colonial Hispanic society perceived itself as essentially urban and Christian, this clear vision is clouded by a close investigation and interpretation of sources dealing with the people who lived on the peripheries of that society – the marginalized of the cities and the rural Andeans. Whatever overarching ideals and perceptions might have existed, for these people everyday reality frustrated straightforward spiritual choices between the so-called forces of good and evil: the hardships that people had to contend with, the violence and passion that was common in colonial lives, even misunderstandings between priests, catechumens and parishioners often generated unorthodox and sometimes quite unexpected responses.

In the study that follows, readers will be encouraged to bear witness to the devil's perceived existence and to his extraordinary metamorphoses in the colonial Peruvian reality. In this attempt, the work exhibits a cross-section of society that tried to defend itself from, wage war against, and even make alliances with Satan. This was the reality in which people lived, a reality in which God, the devil, demons, angels and spirits – and, from an Andean perspective, deities and other supernatural beings – were firmly believed to exist. No matter how mundane people might have considered their lives to be, the supernatural was a firm and tangible reality, and not a bizarre abstraction.

All this was borne out in the day-to-day lives of colonial citizens, by their willing participation in the liturgy and in religious rites (whether Catholic or Andean), and by the juxtaposition of secular and liturgical responses to dilemmas and crises that affected individuals in rural and urban areas, and in the viceroyalty as a whole. The diarist and soldier Josephe de Mugaburu, for example, describes how in the same afternoon of the 7 May 1685, a seven-ship armada was dispatched from Callao to deal with English marauders off the coast of Panama whilst a religious procession led by the Viceroy (Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull – Duke of La Palata) left the cathedral for the fortress of the port to pray for the success of the expedition.<sup>5</sup> On 25 May, a penitential procession was held in Lima for the same purpose.<sup>6</sup>

Such examples demonstrate that colonial reality was one in which any separation of life into 'secular' and 'sacred', was unthinkable. The distance between modern, secular society and that of our early modern predecessors is extremely difficult to span – in fact, the worldview of the Hispanic conquerors and settlers in the Americas was much closer to that of the indigenous peoples whom they

conquered and intermixed with than it is to our own. A useful step in arriving at a better overall understanding of the period is the acknowledgement that, during the colonial period, the Hispanic and the indigenous worlds were not secular and that, consequently, their own particular circumstances and situations necessitated physical responses that were both material and spiritual. This was true whether the historical actor in question was a lowly Andean woman admitting to a Jesuit that she had left offerings to various deities so that she might recover from an illness, or whether the actor was the Viceroy himself ordering a general muster of men to fight English pirates and then leading a votive procession for the success of the military expedition. In such a context, Jesuits could be seen as 'soul-pirates', Christian existence as a war against a diabolical tyrant, and the colonial city as being under spiritual siege.

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I come from the blind abyss, where unbeaten I triumph, to triumph over man with my power [...] I challenge you to the death, man the enemy [...] My triumphs are increasing until Victory. [...] To arms! To arms most fearsome and harsh spirits! What more do you wait for? Leave now by the Tartar Gates!<sup>7</sup>

These rousing words spoken by Lucifer to the demons Asmodeus and Leviathan in the Jesuit play *Il Figlio del Diavolo* aptly depict the early modern belief in the constant state of conflict between the forces of Satan and the divine. United by their hatred of humankind, hostile demonic forces came through the gates of hell in order to lay siege to the City of God. The City of God had no specific geographical location but referred instead to the Christian Body, the source of urban civilization joined together by faith. This besieged collective body consisted of individuals who were, in turn, besieged by the forces of Satan so that he might gain access to the 'interior castles', to use St Teresa of Avila's evocative notion of the individual soul. It was the duty of every Christian, meanwhile, to defend the walls, to raise the siege, and to sally forth spreading the gospel and expanding the territory of the City of God.

The Spanish conquest of the Americas fitted well into this worldview. Here was a clear opportunity to take Christianity into pagan territory by founding new cities and evangelizing from these Christian centres. Moreover, in the New World, cases of possession were as common as they were in the Old. Bodies could be attacked by demonic forces with as much ease as before, despite the apparent inroads Christianity was making into territory believed to be controlled by Satan. In fact, as Stuart Clark writes, the apparently increasing number of demonic possessions during the early modern period indicated that the forces of Lucifer were gathering strength, moving towards the final and cataclysmic apocalypse.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, in the Americas demonic power took on a singular potency

as European magic melded with that of the indigenous peoples and the African slaves.

As we shall see in the second chapter, one expression of such demonic power took place in late sixteenth-century Lima. With the body of a young Creole woman called María Pizarro symbolizing the ‘Christian Body’, her possession effectively amounted to a micro-siege of the City of God. By apparently taking over the body of this one woman, Lucifer was believed able to delude her exorcists into thinking he was an angel of light, thereby affecting their theological preconceptions with disastrous consequences for all concerned. Satan’s power also seemed to undermine the sanctity and unity of the family, the next protective bastion of the faith. Key to this case was the question of discernment and the lack of certainty regarding what was real and what was not, what was true and what was false. The exorcists foundered on their inability to discern that they were being manipulated, either by María herself or by the spirit that apparently possessed her. It was apparent at the time that Satan, through delusion and lies, had broken through the defences of the City of God and brought down María, her family, and influential church figures in the viceroyalty.

Over a century later, the conflict continued – this time in the City of Trujillo. But the siege now took place on a much larger scale. Taking place in the seventeenth century, it involved the demonic possession of a group of nuns in the convent of Santa Clara. Chapter 3 shows how Satan had seemingly broken through again into an inner bastion of the City of God, possessing the bodies of a group of young nuns and servant girls and causing chaos within a cloister that should, ideally, have been a haven of prayer and sanctity and, as such, one of the driving forces behind the city’s spiritual economy. Worse still, the diabolical infection appeared to spread outside of the convent and into the city. The citizens of Trujillo took action with liturgical and penitential processions and prayers for the relief of the nuns in an apparent reversal of what was normally expected to happen. They looked beyond the city for the cause of their afflictions: to the surrounding countryside, inhabited by Indians and slaves thought to be in league with the devil. The case is further complicated by a marked tendency in Baroque spirituality to interpret possession as a test from God. The Franciscan spiritual advisor to the possessed ringleaders saw this as a sign of their sanctity. Meanwhile, other Franciscans were preaching in the city that the possession was a punishment from God, not for the sins of the nuns, whom they considered to be innocent and saintly, but for the sins of the townsfolk. God’s wrath was further provoked by the spreading of rumours, started by Dominican friars, that the nuns were faking the possessions. A paradox in the Franciscan interpretation was that Satan became an instrument of God, a vengeful messenger to further his divine plan. Whilst the Franciscans (generally) were convinced of the nuns’ sanctity, their very presumption appeared to prove Satan’s influence. The threat was increased even further when it was considered that a diabolical attack on

lone mystics could, and apparently did, provide the entry point to undermine the entire Christian community.

It was imperative, therefore, to alert the peoples newly incorporated into the Hispanic world to the perfidious ways of Satan. Where language did not suffice, then images might; and paintings that would not look out of place on a Flemish altarpiece, or frescos that might have adorned the walls of Neapolitan churches, were commonplace in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.<sup>9</sup> Art, particularly religious art, in the Hispanic world was, without doubt, internationally Hispanic. Indeed, the very unity of the Hispanic world depended on its internationalism. This unity, in turn, gave strength to human efforts to achieve salvation and for the 'Church Militant' to defend the City of God from diabolical assault. Certainly by the mid-seventeenth century, motifs that would have been recognized by parishioners in Extremadura would also have been familiar to the majority of urbanized Andeans. Similarly, concepts that were being debated in the University of Alcalá de Henares in Spain could be heard being disputed in the University of San Marcos in Lima.<sup>10</sup>

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It is difficult, however, to conceive of the devil in colonial Peru in isolation from evangelization and Christianity as a whole. Questions regarding the success or failure of the Christian enterprise in colonial Peru remain pertinent, ranging, as they do, from outright rejection of and resistance to Christianity, to the successful incorporation of the Andean peoples into the Catholic world.

With regard to resistance to Christianity, some colonial documents do indicate that some practitioners of native religion fled to places inaccessible to missionaries in order to continue with the traditions of their ancestors, free from Christian interference.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, such interpretations cannot hope to convey the interaction and reaction of the Andean world to Christianity in its entirety. As Kenneth Mills points out, 'it is not accurate to suggest that the tendency of a few persons to flee was a manifestation of a generalized "culture of resistance" or rejection.'<sup>12</sup> If it is true that Christianity was resisted by certain groups of Andean peoples, there is little doubt that it was accepted and practiced by many others. Manuel Marzal uses the present day as a starting point in order to assert that the contemporary Andean religious system, albeit syncretic, is essentially Christian, with Andean entities subordinated to God and the saints. He hypothesizes that the second half of the seventeenth century encompassed a period of 'crystallization of Andean religion', in which the changing cosmivision of colonial society began to stabilize.<sup>13</sup> This resultant, crystallized religious worldview, he argues, had by this time become wholly integrated within society and was not, as Nathan Wachtel asserts, a mere juxtaposition of two distinct religions.<sup>14</sup> This notwithstanding the fact that certain components of the indigenous religious world, and

others belonging to the Christian one, could not be combined into a single syncretic whole.<sup>15</sup>

In essence, then, it would be a misconception to consider the terms ‘Christian’ and ‘Andean’ as entirely antithetical and inherently contradictory.<sup>16</sup> As Luis Millones points out, contemporary Peruvians who attend shamanic curative rituals do not cease to be Catholic. In fact, acknowledging their Catholicism has become for Andeans a definitive manner of expressing their own religiosity.<sup>17</sup> A similar interpretation can be useful when considering religion in colonial Peru, certainly during the period that concerns this investigation (1560–1750). In *Del paganismo a la santidad*, Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs demonstrates that even before the beginning of seventeenth century, in the context of religious practice in the Andes, it was and is practically impossible to know where ‘Catholic’ ended and ‘Andean’ began. Estenssoro Fuchs constructs an impressive and subtle argument that the initial evangelization attempts in Peru (approximately between 1550 and 1570) were frustrated by a new wave of clergy influenced by the Council of Trent (1545–63) who refused to accept previously more open methods of evangelization and failed to understand the very real Catholicism of the neophyte indigenous population. Sometimes, previously permitted and encouraged indigenous expressions of Catholicism, such as the use of Andean dances in the liturgy or the use of *quipus* in confession, were repressed as idolatrous practices.<sup>18</sup> The fact that indigenous religious rites originally encouraged or even introduced as appropriately Christian during the initial phase of evangelization (1535–67) were progressively condemned as idolatrous through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries presented a certain paradox. More and more, Andean religious practices came to resemble Catholic liturgical rites (for in many cases there was clear continuity between these and the practice of pre-Tridentine Andean Christianity) and, as such, they fell more easily into the European category of diabolical parody.<sup>19</sup> Once again Satan was seen to be usurping the worship that was rightly God’s, doing it by mirroring the ritual of God’s Church on earth, and endangering the souls of the indigenous Andeans in the process.

This is perhaps one of the greatest tragedies of the Tridentine reform as it was implemented in the Andes. Despite the universal necessity of reform in the Catholic Church, in the Andes it created the bizarre situation whereby Andeans who were Christian (in a manner acceptable to the first mendicants) were prosecuted for the sins of idolatry and apostasy. In fact what had changed were the methods and detailed goals of the Tridentine Church. This disjuncture was quickly forgotten and the missionaries or extirpators of the seventeenth century soon saw indigenous divergence from Tridentine Catholicism as diabolic idolatry. Yet the very fact of often living in remote locations but still receiving sporadic missionary visits meant that Andean peoples frequently moved in both the Andean and the permitted Christian ritual worlds. It was commonly understood (although, spo-

radically, not wholly tolerated) that involvement in one did not rule out sincere participation in the other.

As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, Jesuit accounts, meanwhile, happily record that the marriage of Andean and Christian religious traditions in the minds of their congregations was not always felicitous. Preaching against the sin of idolatry often appeared to cause visionary crises of conscience in their spiritual charges, which inevitably resulted in edifying (or perhaps horrifying) accounts of tearful conversion, confession, and re-inclusion into the Christian community.<sup>20</sup> But if crises of conscience could push individuals in the direction of the new Tridentine brand of Christianity, was it not also possible that individuals could be pulled the other way? Personal crises that enabled the imagery of Jesuit sermons, or of Christian paintings and sculptures, to make a marked impact in the tormented dreams and visions of given individuals, could likewise cause people to suffer apparent attacks by their neglected *huacas*. These interior crises were often exacerbated by communal pressures that could range from conforming to the new Christian tradition to maintaining the old indigenous rites or finding some secret compromise between the two.

It is clear, therefore, that the evangelization process was by no means straightforward. Firstly there is the obvious problem of teasing from the weighty Christian imagery a more nuanced Andean perspective. This difficulty not merely confronts scholars of Andean history or even Hispanic colonial history but challenges colonial historians worldwide. Gayatri Spivak, for example, invites researchers (and readers) to think more carefully about who exactly history claims to represent and how it is presented.<sup>21</sup> Essentially, her argument questions the ability of historians to see through the narrative of colonial documents, on the one hand, and the suppositions, worldviews and prejudices of the authors about the people they describe, on the other. Are we, in other words, merely replacing a mistaken colonialist understanding of a silent people with another – that of the postcolonialists?

Nevertheless, in various instances – I have in mind the Jesuit *cartas anuas*, for example – ‘subalterns’ do in fact speak. They have a voice that can be gauged between the lines, but often also quite explicitly, in the confessions they made to the priests and in numerous accounts describing how congregations reacted to sermons and other didactic missions. It is, of course, true that the meanings implicit in these voices necessarily underwent considerable transformation as they were passed from narrator to narrator and, in the process, traversed different cultures and worldviews. But this should not mean that it is entirely impossible to retrace such transformations and, retrospectively, to reconstruct the cognitive processes that they entailed.

This task, already made difficult by the cultural and temporal distance that separates us from the historical actors, is further complicated by the problem, and even artificiality, of placing any one group of people into a particular histori-

cal category. In the context of evangelization in colonial Peru, for example, one might legitimately ask who the ‘indigenous Andeans’ actually were. Despite an almost natural inclination to begin our research from the perspective of ‘Andean’ versus ‘European’, it quickly becomes clear that such an approach is inadequate for understanding the evangelization of Peru, as it necessarily divides the historical process into a simplistic dichotomy of colonized versus colonizer and exploited against exploiter, even if allowances are made for indigenous leaders (*curacas*) to join the ranks of the oppressors. A model such as this collapses after the most superficial scrutiny. Indigenous nobility and their *ayllu* members had so many intertwining kinship ties that any attempt to separate the two groups into opposing classes is unworkable, even despite the tendency of colonial administrators and chroniclers to do so.<sup>22</sup> It is also impossible to categorize the Andean peoples into two clear groups of Christianized and non-Christianized peoples.

The colonial feast of Corpus Christi is a case in point. Carolyn Dean’s detailed analysis of the celebration in Cuzco convincingly shows that Corpus Christi was a celebration of triumph. Primarily, the triumphal celebration was a theological one – that of Christ’s victory over death, original sin, and, of course, the devil. This was a victory embodied in the Eucharist and in the affirmation of the mystery of the Mass that, as the Council of Trent made a point of re-emphasizing, relived and re-enacted Christ’s death and resurrection throughout history. Dean points out that Corpus Christi was also decreed by Trent to be ‘a triumph over heresy’, a declaration that sat well with the already existing association of the feast with victory over the Moors. Such victories were commemorated in the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi by mock battles in which the Christians naturally prevailed. When the feast was transferred to the Andes, Dean argues, so too were these associations. Triumphal arches were constructed along the processional route with the Moors being substituted by Andean ‘pagans’ and their religion as the vanquished satanic component. Elements of pageantry, in which Andean ethnic groups re-enacted historic mock battles against each other, affirmed viceregal authority as the victors and the vanquished alike submitted to the authority of the Crown and the ‘defeated’ were taken prisoner to the Spanish *corregidor*.<sup>23</sup>

Whilst not disputing that in the Corpus Christi feast Cuzco celebrated a series of multiple triumphs, including the overthrow of ‘satanic’ paganism, I would suggest that over-emphasizing this can tend towards to a skewed reading of the celebration. The inference that the feast was an annual, visual and physical reinforcement of the subjugation of all Andeans is an easy one to make. Dean is careful not to make this inference herself, writing that ‘Corpus Christi constituted a performative metaphor for the triumph of Christianity over native religion, and of Christians over “pagan” Andeans.’<sup>24</sup> However, it is a small step for a reader to misunderstand that those Andeans who were Christian were either grouped alongside those ‘pagan’ (and defeated) Andeans, or somehow ceased to fall into the ‘Andean’ category. But a qualification of the interpretation of Corpus

Christi as celebrating the triumph of Christ in the Andes is necessary. Of fundamental importance is the fact that Corpus Christi was a ritual that also enabled Christian Andeans to participate in victory. In effect, the triumph of Corpus Christi primarily belonged to the indigenous peoples, since it clearly signified that they had been liberated by the triumph of the Eucharist and incorporated within the Christian community by faith in the salvific death and resurrection of Christ.

Viewed in this light, Viceroy Toledo's instructions to community leaders in Cuzco to 'take great care with the Corpus Christi celebrations, to teach the newly Christianized indigenous audience [...] the true meaning of the festival that "replaced their idolatries"', is starkly significant. Although Corpus Christi did have a special meaning with regard to the conversion of Andeans from their 'idolatries',<sup>25</sup> the meaning was not intended to be one of triumph over Andeans. Rather it was meant to symbolize the triumph of Christ over Satan and the perceived unholy trinity of sin, heresy, and idolatry – most importantly, the liberation of Andeans from the devil's clutches. From the point of view of Toledo and the Hispanic clergy, if Andeans were able to understand that, then their conversion could, to all intents and purposes, be deemed successful. This is not to suggest that their deliverance was in any way understood to be a liberation from the worldly hierarchy. Quite the reverse: in recognizing and celebrating their liberation by Christ, they were also realizing their incorporation into the natural order of Christian peoples. As such, they could (and should), as members of the body of Christ, legitimately participate in the celebration of the triumph of the Eucharist.<sup>26</sup>

The emphasis on the inclusion of Andeans into the Christian body is further highlighted by the Jesuit *cartas anuas*, which repeatedly recount stories of tearful conversions, confessions and absolutions. In effect, more than the destruction of 'satanic' *huacas* and idols, what the Jesuits celebrated in their letters was the winning over of souls, wresting them, as they would have understood it, from the devil's grasp by force of reason, graphic imagery and, at times, coercion. The real victory was not so much the burning of *malquis* and the scattering of their ashes – though for the purpose of the missionaries this did demonstrate the seeming powerlessness of the idol and hence the futility of idolatry – as the conscious return of individuals to the Christian community and to God. This process was given ritual expression in the Sacrament of Penance,<sup>27</sup> and was proudly recounted time and again in letters sent back to Rome.

In this way, Tridentine Christianity made inroads into the Andes precisely in those areas where it was able to bring about a redefinition of community and the rituals that sustained it. Part of this process of redefinition inevitably involved conflict, as Christian influences and those Andeans under their sway struggled to gain control of the life of the community and shift the religious practices of the population from indigenous to Catholic rites. Those communal rituals that were

formerly centred on the invocation of the patronage of ancestors and natural deities, gradually and without apparent contradiction developed around the Mass, the cult of the saints and other Catholic devotions. *Cofradías* took responsibility for maintaining good relations between their new patrons (the saints) and the community in much the same way as care would previously have been taken to cultivate reciprocal relations between the communities and their *huacas*.<sup>28</sup>

Chapter 5 shows how, for some Andean communities and their deities, there occurred a converse reaction. In proportion as Christianity began to supersede *huaca* worship as the ritual mortar that bound certain communities together, the veneration of the Andean deities was pushed out of those communities into the ‘wilderness’. Rather than entire communities participating, these deities often remained in the care of a few individuals determined to keep the ancient traditions alive.<sup>29</sup> A resulting factor of this casting out of indigenous gods was that it was easier for the missionaries to persuade their Christianizing congregations that the *huaca* was in fact demonic. Missionaries seemed only able to understand Andean spirit-deities either as category mistakes and fabrications in the minds of the *huaca* worshippers, or as diabolically inspired illusions or fallen angels. There was no question of the existence of any supernatural or preternatural agencies other than God and the celestial hierarchy (fallen or otherwise).<sup>30</sup> This belief was self-reinforcing, and over time it did in fact spread to a large proportion of the Christianized Andean congregations. The apparent inability of a *huaca* or a *malqui* to defend itself from physical destruction at the hands of missionaries and extirpators was believed by the priests to show how ineffective the diabolically inspired Andean religious practices were against the power of Christianity.<sup>31</sup> As a result, they lost no opportunity to explain such powerlessness graphically to those Andeans who witnessed the destruction of the *huacas*. In some cases, of course, indigenous responses were not always what the missionaries desired. As Nicholas Griffiths explains, ‘the true location of the sacred, the repository of the numen [...] could not be shattered even by the physical destruction of the object of worship.’<sup>32</sup> The *huacas* in many cases were able to transcend their material form. However, there is evidence to suggest that such didactically destructive demonstrations did have a significant and long-lasting effect.

Both extirpation trial manuscripts and Jesuit *cartas anuas* document various acknowledgements by indigenous Andeans that the previously secure relationships between *huacas* and their ministers had degenerated into violence and instability. Kenneth Mills suggests that this was a normal consequence of a breakdown in reciprocal relations between the divinities and their worshippers, for ‘like other divine forces in the Andes, Supay was only to be dreaded if one had grown slack in one’s social and religious obligations’. Andeans, he argues, would have understood this as a perfectly normal response from a spurned or neglected *huaca*. At the same time, Mills notes that, especially from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, indigenous peoples commonly admitted that they

were no longer able to understand the messages of their gods, often asserting that the *huacas* no longer spoke to them as they had done to their elders.<sup>33</sup> This apparent dislocation of Andean religious traditions was inevitably given a new meaning, as the pedagogical response that Christian ministers sought to elicit from their neophytes – namely, that they should take consolation in the fact that, when confronted with Christ’s truth, the devil’s illusory power would fade away – began to sink into the Andean subconscious. Essentially, Andeans were confronted with the radically new and seemingly inescapable fact that Christianity was causing the apparent disintegration of their worldview at the very same time as it provided them with a uniquely powerful symbolic structure with which to shore it up and redefine its significance. As Griffiths points out, *huacas* had always been ambivalent towards their human subjects.<sup>34</sup> Now, however, Christianity provided an alternative that Andeans could turn to and deploy to reinterpret the ambivalence and apparent powerlessness of their *huacas* in the presence of the new faith.

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The evidence brought together in the following study certainly concurs with Kenneth Mills that the ‘mid-colonial Andean “demons” are the enemies of easy summary’ and did not always conform, in the minds of indigenous peoples, to the expectations and visualizations of Hispanic clergy.<sup>35</sup> As Estensorro Fuchs has shown, Andeans did, in fact, actively and willingly participate in Catholic liturgy from very early in the Colonial period.<sup>36</sup> As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, as the process continued, in the Christianizing communities, *huacas* were driven from the centre of the ritual world, and their worship was only maintained by individuals (and perhaps their supporters) who often found themselves in conflict with factions that considered themselves Christian. At the same time, the figure of Satan began to take shape as a spirit of the wilderness, impotent before the power of God and the saints, but capable of enticing individuals away from communal ritual practice.

All this does not mean that native religious practitioners simply stopped fulfilling a function that the majority of Andeans understood as essential for the well-being of their particular communities. Yet, the scattered evidence that exists to show that symbolic associations with Christianity were not unknown among Andeans, and of the crises of conscience that they inevitably gave rise to, is clearly indicative of a gradual process in which the respective roles of the *huacas* and the devil became blurred – not just in the minds of the clergy. A Christian Andean who confessed to invoking a *huaca*’s aid would have been invariably encouraged to associate the *huaca* with the devil. This process was aided considerably by the graphic Christian imagery found in paintings and sermons. Paradoxically, therefore, the missionary drive to cast Satan out of his mountain fortress resulted in him gradually gaining a firm foothold in the Andean cosmology. The demoniza-

tion of Andean deities, in other words, did not take place despite the remarkable differences perceived between Andean and European notions of the demonic. On the contrary, the process was in fact aided by clearly perceived similarities in the two worldviews.

At the same time as the idea of the devil began to materialize in the Andes – partly, as a result of missionary efforts to drive him out – religious authorities continued to concern themselves with the presence of Satan in the environs and even within the walls of the Christian body. In chapter 6 we shall see how Inquisitorial trial documents indicate that, no matter how hard catechists and preachers tried to impress upon their parishioners the dangers of dealing with Satan, many ordinary people, especially the most marginalized of society, often saw devils as useful sources of power in the everyday struggle to survive.<sup>37</sup> All the same, just as it is impossible to place the marginalized of colonial Peru into neat racial or cultural categories, so too, the demons these people invoked are often, and not surprisingly, strikingly representative of this blurring of socio-cultural boundaries.

Despite being part of a Hispano-Christian world, the very situation of these social groups in the Americas meant that, in many ways, they existed in an ‘in-between space’: in-between the Hispanic, the indigenous and the African. The attitudes of many people towards the demons that inhabited these in-between places were as ambiguous as the apparent nature of the demons themselves. Despite being a society under spiritual siege, devils were often invited through the defensive walls.

Given that the vast majority of the urban population, as well as much of the rural one, at various stages existed in these ambiguous social, cultural and religious spaces,<sup>38</sup> an understanding of Satan’s perceived presence, the transformations he necessarily underwent as he was seen to cross cultural boundaries, and the strategies that communities employed to defend themselves from his attacks, can give us clear insights into the worldview of the inhabitants of the viceroyalty as a whole. Similarly, an understanding of the devils of the in-between helps to shed a little light on the lives of a vast proportion of the colonial Peruvian population; for, in understanding more about why people sought alliances with an entity that they were told they should consider their mortal enemy, we can glimpse the struggles of the everyday lives of a marginalized yet dynamic population.