

Mestizo Dreams: Transculturation and Heterogeneity in Inca Garcilaso de la Vega

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Verdad es que tocan [los escritores Españoles] muchas cosas de las muy grandes que aquella republica [de los Incas] tuuo, pero escriuen las tan cortamente, q̄ las muy notorias para mi (*de la manera que las dizen*) las entiendo mal.

—INCA GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, *Commentarios Reales* [*Royal Commentaries*] (emphasis added)

It is true that these [Spanish writers] have dealt with many of the very remarkable achievements of that empire [of the Incas], but they have set them down so briefly that, *owing to the manner in which they are told*, I am scarcely able to understand even such matters as are well known to me.]

—INCA GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, *Royal Commentaries*

AMONG THE many approaches to Latin American cultural and discursive phenomena in recent decades, two have been especially useful. The first is the theory of transculturation derived from the works of Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz. In his 1940 response to the concept of acculturation proposed by Robert Redfield and other North Amer-

icans to describe processes of "cultural contact," Ortiz argued that such a concept describes processes of assimilation only within a dominated culture but fails to encompass fully the transformations that occur when two cultures come into contact. While Ortiz recognizes that his use of "acculturation" somewhat narrows Redfield's use of the term, he nonetheless finds in the neologism "transculturation" a better tool for describing not the substitution of one (dominated) culture by another (dominant) one but an ideally syncretic and harmonious transformation of the two cultures into a third entity. Many years later, Ángel Rama, one of Latin America's leading literary critics, would develop this same concept to describe what he called "narratives of transculturation" in such writers as José María Arguedas, João Guimarães Rosa, Juan Rulfo, and Augusto Roa Bastos. In Arguedas's novels, for example, Rama encountered a manifestation of an "authentic national culture."¹

The second approach to Latin American literature which has proven very useful in recent decades derives from theories of cultural and discursive heterogeneity that refer to a preexisting condition on which any process of transculturation takes place. As initially formulated by Antonio Cornejo Polar, this approach posits that many discursive systems can coexist independently; their coexistence need not suggest a harmonious synthesis. In the case of *indigenista* novels, for example, the internal contradictions of some Latin American societies become transcribed within the heterogeneous character of the narratives, which purport to present an external portrait of the indigenous world within the parameters of a Western literary genre.² What these novels ultimately achieve, then, is not

1. For an early definition of "acculturation," see Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (1936): 149–52. For the first formulation of "transculturation," see Fernando Ortiz, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Havana, 1940). The first English translation, by Harriet de Onís, is *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (New York, 1947). Mariano Picón Salaz, in *De la conquista a la Independencia* (Mexico City, 1944), chap. 4, incorporates the use of "transculturation" as conceptual tool to explain early cases of cultural contact in the New World. A detailed summary of the concept of transculturation can be found in Sylvia Spitta, *Between Two Waters: Narratives of Transculturation in Latin America* (Houston, 1996), chap. 1. See Ángel Rama, *Transculturation narrativa en América Latina* (Mexico, 1982), esp. chaps. 3–4.

2. See, for example, Antonio Cornejo Polar, "El indigenismo y las literaturas heterogéneas: Su doble estatuto sociocultural," *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* (hereafter RCLL) 7–8 (1978): 7–21; Cornejo Polar, "La literatura peruana: Totalidad contradictoria," RCLL 19 (1983): 37–50; and Cornejo Polar, "Los sistemas literarios como categorías históricas: Elementos para una discusión latinoamericana," RCLL 29 (1989): 7–23. Two lucid comparisons of theories of transculturation and of cultural heterogeneity can be found in Raúl Bueno, "Sobre la heterogeneidad literaria y cultural de América Latina," and Friedhelm Schmidt, "¿Literaturas heterogéneas o literatura de la transculturation?" both in *Aseídos a la heterogeneidad cultural: Libro de homenaje a Antonio Cornejo Polar*, ed. José Antonio Mazzotti and U. Juan Zevallos-Aguilar (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 16–32, 33–40.

always a dialectic fusion of different cultural elements but rather a Westernized presentation of the Indian world.

In this paper I explore one of the first Latin American mestizo writers, a historian who has traditionally been considered a typical representative of the assimilation process of mestizo and criollo elites. But I argue that in the *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega wields a canonical historiographic discourse in such a way as to express a new perspective on the indigenous past and the colonial future, thus creating the bases for a discursive heterogeneity in later Latin American literature.³ By focusing on particular aspects of Garcilaso's discourse, I will underscore some elements of the style or *manera* he uses to achieve an authoritative voice—not only before a European public but also before his Andean relatives and acquaintances. Beyond simply rephrasing his defense of Inca organization and desire for mestizo privilege that are so recurrent and obvious in the *Royal Commentaries*, from his discursive strategies I will derive the image of a colonial subjectivity that challenges the most traditional interpretations of Garcilaso's style and perspective as totally Europeanized or "acculturated."⁴

I.

A few pieces of information about the world of this member of the first mestizo generation in Peru may be useful. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was born in 1539, six years after the occupation of Cuzco by Spanish troops. He was the offspring of the concubinage of a Spanish noble captain and an Incan princess and was raised in his mother's family and taught the

3. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales, que tratan del origen de los Incas, Reyes que fueron del Peru, de su idolatria, leyes y gobierno en paz y en guerra: De sus vidas y conquistas, y todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su Republica, antes que los Españoles pasaran a el* (Lisbon, 1609); the second part was published as Garcilaso, *Historia General del Peru: Segunda Parte de los Comentarios Reales* (Córdoba, 1617). In this essay, most citations are from Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru, Part One*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin, 1966), with the corresponding part, book, and chapter in the Spanish volume also provided.

4. Since the beginning of this century, it has become commonplace to read Garcilaso's work in opposition to those of more apparently "authentic" indigenous authors, such as Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti. For examples of this opposition persisting in the works of contemporary historians, see Nathan Wachtel, "Pensamiento salvaje y aculturación: El espacio y el tiempo en Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala y el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," in Wachtel, *Sociedad e ideología: Ensayos de historia y antropología andinas* (Lima, 1973); Patricia Seed, "Failing to Marvel: Atahualpa's Encounter with the Letter," *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 1–24; and Jacques Lafaye, "¿Existen 'teclas coloniales'?" in *Conquista y Contraconquista: La escritura del Nuevo Mundo. Actas del Congreso Internacional del Instituto Iberoamericano en Providence, Rhode Island, 1990*, ed. Julio Ortega and José Amor (Mexico City, 1994), pp. 641–50.

Inca language of Quechua during his first years. During the later years of his youth, he was educated in his father's culture and learned the Spanish language. Although bilingual in Spanish and Quechua, all his later works were written in Spanish more than twenty years after he left Peru in 1560 to live with his father's family in Spain.

Most studies of Garcilaso's oeuvre emphasize the gap between his so-called late-Renaissance style and his defense of Inca administration and its non-Western traditions of expression. He has even been accused by several historians of romanticizing and manipulating the European utopian tradition in order to present the image of an ideal government that was lost with the Spanish invasion.⁵ Most of these readings contextualize Garcilaso's works—especially the *Royal Commentaries*—within a European canonical tradition. A principal shortcoming of such interpretations is that they pay no attention to the subtleties of the first edition of the work. The most important editions produced during this century—those of Ángel Rosenblat in 1943–44, Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María in 1960, and Carlos Aranibar in 1991—have served as the exclusive source for many contemporary studies of the *Royal Commentaries*. Yet without exception these editions severely modify Garcilaso's original punctuation, assuming the potential receptor of the text to be a learned, Westernized reader. As a result, Garcilaso's prose becomes transformed into a clear example of how well a mestizo subject of the Spanish king was able to master the Castilian written language.

To present Garcilaso as a heterogeneous writing subject, I must explain some of the features of the *princeps*, or first, editions of the two-part *Royal Commentaries* and how they enable us to encounter a problematic mestizo subjectivity and its expression through a polyphonic discourse. Despite the apparent mistakes and misprints of the first editions, I argue that the rhetorical mechanisms embedded in the *Royal Commentaries* achieve a high degree of authority by evoking not only some of the most prestigious European literary and religious *topoi* but also some important symbols of Incan imagery and resonances with an Incan mode of narration. With this understanding of history as a double-voiced discourse, we can deduce the conformation of a writing subject who is dealing with a European audience and censorship but who, at the same time, is transforming original Andean themes and styles to accommodate them within a projective future.

One important factor to note with respect to this double-voiced discourse is that an aural reception of the work was considered as a possi-

5. See, for example, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de la poesía hispanoamericana* (Madrid, 1913), and, more recently, Juan Durán Luzio, "Sobre Tomás Moro en el Inca Garcilaso," *Revista Iberoamericana* 96–97 (1976): 349–61.

bility during its production process. This is verifiable especially in those chapters of the text which narrate Incan territorial expansions and which presumably were written and added after the initial conception of the work. José Durand establishes that the diachronic narration of the war campaigns and the deeds of the Incas was written after the synchronic description of their rituals and customs. Thus, the narrative voice of the text simulates some features of an ancient tradition of narration, one that Jan Vansina has termed the *historical poems*. This form of "epic" and historical reciting of the past was an institutionalized and formal practice among the Incas, one controlled by the state to strengthen the power of the sovereign. The *khipukamayuq*, or professional accountants and historians in charge of the composition of the poems, were supported by the royal families as a specialized staff that contributed to the glorification of the royal ancestors.⁶

It is now possible to know with a fair degree of certainty some characteristics of this celebratory genre. Following studies by Mario Florián and Jean-Phillipe Husson, we have learned that, like most Native American poetry, Quechua poetry was organized through semantic and syntactic couplets. These couplets have also been examined by Dennis Tedlock and Dell Hymes in the poetry of some North American native cultures, and by Ángel María Garibay and Miguel León-Portilla in the Nahuatl and Maya cases.⁷ The complementary character of these pairs of verses is achieved

6. José Durand, "Garcilaso y su formación literaria e histórica," in Centro de Altos Estudios Militares, *Nuevos estudios sobre el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega* (Lima, 1955), pp. 76–77; Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright (Chicago, 1965), p. 155. There are many testimonies from early and late chroniclers regarding the existence of this indigenous "genre." Juan Diez de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los incas* (1548–56), ed. María del Carmen Martín Rubio (Madrid, 1987), p. 86, is very explicit about the origin of these poems, attributing them to the initiative of Inca Pachakuti, the great reformer of the Inca state. Possibly because of the formalized structure of the poems, Betanzos compares them with the Spanish "romance" poetic form and calls them *cantares*. For recent approaches to Betanzos's text and its relationship to an oral indigenous "epic" source, see Martín Lienhard, *La voz y su huella* (Havana, 1989), chap. 6, and Mazzotti, "Betanzos: De la 'épica' incaica a la escritura coral: Aportes para una tipología del sujeto colonial en la historiografía andina," *RCLL* 40 (1994): 239–58. References to these poems are also detailed in Pedro de Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas* (ca. 1552; Madrid, 1985), chaps. 11–12, and appear in Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria* (1552), Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1958), pp. 391, 422; Antonio de la Calancha, *Chronica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú con sucesos exemplares vistos en esta Monarchia* (Barcelona, 1638), pp. 90–92, and, among others, Garcilaso himself in *Royal Commentaries*, pt. 1, bk. 6, chap. 5.

7. See Mario Florián, *Panorama de la poesía quechua incaica* (Lima, 1990); Jean-Phillipe Husson, *La poésie quechua dans la chronique de Felipe Guamán Poma*, Serie Ethnolinguistique Amerindienne (Paris, 1985); and Jean-Phillipe Husson, "La poesía quechua prehispánica: Sus reglas, sus categorías, sus temas a través de los poemas transcritos por Waman Puma de Ayala," *RCLL* 37 (1993): 63–86. See Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia, 1983); Dell Hymes, "Discovering Oral Performance and Measured Verse

by forms of syntactic parallelism and by the intersection of semantic fields that create the impression of a dual conception of time and space. For example, two verses in a poem collected by the Yaru Willka chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala are as follows: "Like a reflection of water, you are an illusion / Like a reflection of lymph, you are an appearance." The verses refer to the same entity, a "you" that is divided in two different images which refer to similar and complementary spaces.⁸

It would be interesting to develop a more detailed description of the mechanisms of pre-Hispanic Quechua poetry and the different lyric genres that survived as discursive practices after the arrival of the Europeans. The semantic and rhythmic complexity of such poetry was directly linked to ritual contexts, and its full understanding would imply constant references to the political and cultural circumstances from which they derived and in which they functioned. Unfortunately, however, very few lines have survived from the specific genre of "historical poems." Only Cieza transcribes in Spanish prose a short fragment of one of these texts. It is possible to deduce their political intention and direction, however, if we accept texts by Betanzos and Titu Cusi as having such an oral "hipotexte." On one hand, Betanzos devotes the first part of his history of the Incas to glorify the deeds of Pachakuti Inka, while Titu Cusi does so by tributing homage to his father, Mankhu Inka. Yet both are hardly "translations" of an original "epic" genre. According to what Betanzos himself declares, these "poems" were also sung and represented in ritual festivities. On the other hand, there are non-Incan versions (such as those gathered in *The Huarochiri Manuscript*) about the Andean past and the *cuzqueño* government. But we cannot afford to describe here their peripheral vision of the Cuzco regime.⁹

in American Indian Narrative," in Hymes, "In vain I tried to tell you": *Essays in Native American ethnopoetics* (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 309-41; and these works by Ángel María Garibay: *Llave del náhuatl* (Mexico City, 1940); *Épica náhuatl* (Mexico City, 1945); *La literatura de los aztecas* (Mexico City, 1970); and *La poesía lírica azteca: Esbozo de síntesis crítica* (Mexico City, 1937). Miguel León-Portilla has written on this topic in *La filosofía náhuatl estudiada en sus fuentes* (Mexico City, 1956); *Literatura del México antiguo: Los textos en lengua náhuatl* (Caracas, 1978); *Tiempo y realidad en el pensamiento maya* (Mexico City, 1968); and *Literatura maya*, comp. Mercedes de la Garza, chronology by Miguel León-Portilla (Caracas, 1980).

8. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno*, ed. Rolena Adorno and John V. Murra, trans. Jorge L. Urioste, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1980), 1:290. Translations of several Quechua couplets into Spanish can be found in Husson, "La poesía quechua prehispánica," pp. 65-66. These couplets are taken from the numerous poems Guaman Poma transcribed throughout his long chronicle.

9. Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, p. 57. I derive the concept of "hipotexte" from Gérard Genette's *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris, 1982), p. 39. Díez de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los incas*, ed. Martín Rubio, p. 86. *The Huarochiri Manuscript* is a compilation of myths and legends from the late sixteenth century in the central Andean region of Yauyos, made by the mestizo friar Francisco de Ávila during his campaigns for the "extirpation of idolatries." A summary of its discursive particularities can be found in the recent

It is useful to review the specific origins of Garcilaso's Incan oral sources during his life in Cuzco before 1560. He claims in his work that the main narrator of the foundation of Cuzco and the conquests by the Incas was a great-uncle of his, the prince Kusi Wallpa, son of Garcilaso's great-grandfather, Tupa Inka Yupanqi, the eleventh monarch of the empire (*Commentarios Reales*, pt. 1, bk. 4, chap. 16). In the chapters of the work devoted to the foundation of Cuzco (pt. 1, bk. 1, chaps. 15-17), interruptions in the text caused by abundant punctuation make its visual reading a very uncomfortable activity. This is why most modern editions of the *Royal Commentaries* have simplified the prose, making the text much more readable in terms of long phrases and fluidity.

In this first edition of 1609, the pace of the narration resembles a system of recitation that can easily be compared with what we know about the historical poems of the Inca court. The semantic couplets can be localized only by paying attention to the pauses and silences that are explicitly marked in the narration through comas, colons, and semicolons. In that period, many of the punctuation marks derived from copiers and typesetters during the process of the transcription of a text from its original form to the page proofs. But even if we accept that Inca Garcilaso did not read and correct the galleys of his book, it is still very telling that many other contemporary texts with similarly chaotic punctuation do not present pairs of couplets with the same frequency and in "foundational" or war passages. Some of the histories consulted by Garcilaso (such as those by José de Acosta or Francisco López de Gómara) are good examples. It is possible, of course, to find poets of the so-called Spanish literary Golden Age using similar forms of parallelism. But the frequency of dual structures in Garcilaso's prose coincides not only with the abundant use of this accepted rhetorical device but also with a simulated form of "recitation," which evokes an oral indigenous source; Garcilaso's old great-uncle Kusi Wallpa refers to his own narrative form as a *recitado* (pt. 1, bk. 1, chap. 16).¹⁰

Thus the localization of semantic couplets is almost impossible to accomplish in modern editions of the *Royal Commentaries*, which tend to privilege the longer cadences and visual scansion of an assumed West-ernized reader. But the use of formulas as variations of a "mental template," as Michael N. Nagler defines them, also remains visible in the narration of the Incan conquests throughout the work. In this sense, the

English edition by Frank Salomon and Jorge Urioste (Austin, 1991), esp. the introduction by Salomon.

10. For a more detailed explanation of this argument, see Mazzotti, "En Virtud de la Materia: Nuevas consideraciones sobre el subtexto andino de los *Comentarios Reales*," *Revista Iberoamericana* 61, nos. 172-73 (1995): 388-99; see also Mazzotti, *Coros mestizos del Inca Garcilaso: Resonancias andinas* (Lima, 1996), pp. 133-67.

resonance of a Quechua orality gives the text, in its original form, the authority to establish its arguments about the Incas and its premodern proposal of *nación*, *patria*, and social organization as one of a legitimate and familiar nature before an Andean public. Traditionally, the "oral" quotations in Garcilaso have been heard as "echoes of Thucydides" and re-creations of classic historians. This is an undeniable point; however, my reading of the princeps editions suggests a different kind of eloquence, especially given that Garcilaso dictated the *Royal Commentaries* to his son, Diego de Vargas; Durand argues the same point for at least the second part of the *Royal Commentaries*. And in the last years of his life, Garcilaso was not able to write because of his "shaky" hands.¹¹

This authority, achieved through the imitation of a specific type of orality, is consistent with the semantic aspects of certain images used in the work to describe the Andean spiritual ages. These images have generally been identified only with prestigious literary and rhetorical topoi such as the *præparatio evangelica* and the Augustinian scheme of the human ascension to the City of God. The metaphors used in the work to talk about Andean spiritual history also reveal a syncretic but contradictory conformation of Incan and European images. Garcilaso used the allegory of the climatic and temporal phenomena of obscure darkness, the morning star, and the sun of justice to refer to the ages of barbarism, the Incas, and the Christian faith (pt. 1, bk. 1, chap. 15). In his own words:

Viviendo, o muriendo aquellas gentes de la manera que hemos visto, permitio Dios nuestro Señor, que dellos mismos saliese vn luzero del alua, que en aquellas escurisimas tinieblas les diese alguna noticia de la ley natural, y de la vrbanidad y respetos, que los hombres deuián tenerse vnos a otros, y que los descendientes de aquel, procediendo de bien en mejor, cultiuassen aquellas fieras, y las conuirtiesen en hombres, hazien-doles capaces de razon, y de qualquiera buena dotrina: para quando effe mismo Dios, Sol de Justicia tuuiesse por bien de enuiar la luz de sus divinos rayos a aquellos idolatras, los hallasse no tan saluajes, fino mas dociles para recibir la fe Catholica, y la enfeñança, y doctrina de nuestra sancta madre Yglesia Romana.¹²

11. For the concept of "mental template," see Michael N. Nagler, "Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 98 (1967): 269-311, esp. 297. For an explanation of orality in Garcilaso based on Western sources, see, for example, María Antonia Garcés, "Lecciones del Nuevo Mundo: La estética de la palabra en el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," *Texto y Contexto* 17 (1991): 125-51, esp. 135-38, and Margarita Zamora, *Language, Authority, and Indigenous History in the Royal Commentaries of the Incas* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 45. For an argument about Garcilaso's dictation of his work, see José Durand, "Respuesta," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 3 (1948): 168, and José de la Torre y Cerro, *El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega: Nueva documentación* (Madrid, 1935), doc. 94.

12. Garcilaso, *Commentarios reales*, pt. 1, bk. 1, chap. 15, f. 13v.

[While these peoples were living or dying in the manner we have seen, it pleased our Lord God that from their midst there should appear a morning star to give them in the dense darkness in which they dwelt some glimmerings of natural law, or civilization, and of the respect men owe to one another. The descendants of this leader should thus tame those savages and convert them into men, made capable of reason and of receiving good doctrine, so that when God, who is the sun of justice, saw fit to send forth the light of His divine rays upon those idolaters, it might find them not longer in their first savagery, but rendered more docile to receive the Catholic faith and the teaching and doctrine of our Holy Mother the Roman Church.]¹³

The succession of the amount of light, presented here as a progression in terms of spiritual advancement, is a commonplace within the framework of Renaissance culture. The same metaphor was widely used elsewhere, from the Apocalypse to Albrecht Dürer's engraving of Sol Justitiae to Jesuit Pedro de Rivadeneira's late-sixteenth-century Spanish political treatise *The Christian Prince*, which Garcilaso mentions in other passages of the *Royal Commentaries*.¹⁴

But if we compare the images of Garcilaso's allegory with the Inca pantheon as described by Cristóbal de Molina, Blas Valera, Bernabé Cobo, and other chroniclers who wrote about Inca religion, we find that Garcilaso's images were not at all unknown for the surviving Inca aristocracy of the early seventeenth century. The morning star, or Venus, was generally characterized as a servant of the moon; it presided over the dawn and the spring as a symbol of fertility. The sun represented a dual entity, divided according to the solstices of summer and winter. In the case of the summer, *Apu Inti*, "major sun," was the symbol of the power of the higher celestial god Wiraqucha. It announced the climax of the rain and harvest times during the months of December to May. The other sun, *P'unchaw*, represented the weak sun of winter, when the celestial body lies at its furthest distance from Cuzco, the point of observation in the southern hemisphere. It represented a time of preparation and renovation of the cosmic cycle and was worshiped during the Inti Raymi celebration of June (figs. 6.1, 6.2).¹⁵

13. Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, p. 40.

14. For the Dürer painting, see Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1943), 1:78, and vol. 2, plate no. 101; see also Pedro de Rivadeneira, *El Príncipe Christiano* (1595), in *Obras Escogidas*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 60 (Madrid, 1868), p. 256. For other reminiscences of the morning star from the Apocalypse, see William D. Ilgen, "La configuración mítica de la historia en los Comentarios reales del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," in *Estudios de literatura hispanoamericana en honor a José J. Arrom*, ed. A. Debicki and E. Pupo-Walker (Chapel Hill, 1974), pp. 37-46, esp. pp. 41-42. For references to the "sun of justice" within Christian tradition, see also Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1959), p. 101.

15. See Cristóbal de Molina ("El Cuzqueño"), *Ritos y fábulas de los incas* (ca. 1573; Buenos Aires, 1959); Blas Valera ("el Jesuita Anónimo"), *Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirí* (ca. 1595), in *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas*, ed. Marco Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid, 1888; rpt., Asunción, 1950), pp. 133-203; and Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del*

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Fig. 6.1. Celebration of the major "Feast of the Sun" or summer solstice (Capac Inti Raimi) in the month of December. From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Paris, 1936).

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Fig. 6.2. Celebration of "Feast of the Sun" or winter solstice (Inti Raimi) in the month of June. From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Paris, 1936).

The two Inca suns suggest a complexity that any linear reading of the Christian "sun of justice" does not show. For which is the sun implied in the text if we consider Incan references to the major sun of December or the weak sun of June? If we follow a narrative succession based on the temporality of the day, the arrival of the españoles would represent the sun immediately following the dawn and thus could be compared to a sun that has not yet arrived at its potential maturity and power. In this sense, the text would be implying a "fourth age" surpassing the colonial order, a projective era represented by a major sun not present within the threefold description of the Andean spiritual ages. The example of the metaphoric suns illustrates the possibility of a subtextual reading of Garcilaso's work that decenters and even contradicts a purely Europeanized reading of the text. By attending to the Andean resonances of style and semantic fields within the work, we can begin to discern some of the features of a writing subject who is much more complex than the traditionally accepted commonplace of the "acculturated" and "harmonious" mestizo.

II.

It is possible to notice the existence of a polyphony that is not only successive but also simultaneous—that is, the subject represented in the work includes his own "other" speaking under the same formulas and style that are apparently univocal. A similar argument has been made by Rolena Adorno in one of her most recent works on Guaman Poma, in which she posits the overlapping of different positions of the colonial subject who must negotiate with Spanish censorship.¹⁶ The concept of polyphony is appropriate for the analysis of a "plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousness [in which the heroes] are not only objects of the authorial discourse but also subjects of their own directly signifying discourse." In the case of Garcilaso's work, we must remember that we are dealing with a profoundly elitist and Cuzcocratic version of the Andean past and the colonial present. The concept of polyphony, then, becomes insufficient because the Andean subtext and the Spanish superficial or explicit text overlap and imply a simultaneous intercultural discourse.¹⁷

Nuevo Mundo (1653), ed. Marco Jiménez de la Espada, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1890–93). See also R. Tom Zuidema, "La imagen del sol y la huaca de Susurpuquio en el sistema astronómico de los incas en el Cuzco," *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* 63 (1976): 199–230, and Arthur Demarest, *Viracocha: The Nature and Antiquity of the Andean High God* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 13–15.

16. See Rolena Adorno, "Textos imborrables: Posiciones simultáneas y sucesivas del sujeto colonial," *RCLL* 41 (1995): 33–49.

17. Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis, 1984), pp. 6–7. Bakhtin, "Discourse Typology in Prose," in *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views*, ed. Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska (Ann Arbor,

At the same time, because the writing subject becomes decentered, it cannot be completely considered within the framework of a transcultural national subject, as Ángel Rama has stated for such representative twentieth-century Latin American novelists as José María Arguedas and Juan Rulfo. The mestizo described by Rama is a culturally unified being, an affirmative and *atomic* mestizo, in the etymological sense of the word "atomic," meaning nondivisible. On the contrary, our mestizo colonial subject is highly divisible and therefore lives in a constant and chameleonic oscillation between worlds and cosmological visions.¹⁸

To explain why the oscillatory position of the writing subject acquires such an original status in Garcilaso's work, it is helpful to refer to the political direction of the text. According to David A. Brading, the proposal of a "Holy Incan Empire" underlies the entire conception of the *Royal Commentaries*.¹⁹ This is especially visible in the second part of the work, which presents a clear exaltation of the principal Spanish conquerors and even a political program of the 1540s conceived by Carvajal, one of the lieutenants of Gonzalo Pizarro (*Commentarios Reales*, pt. 2, bk. 4, chap. 40). The latter was a younger brother of Francisco Pizarro and led a major rebellion in Peru against the Spanish Crown between 1544 and 1548. He and mostly all of the *encomenderos*, or new Spanish landowners, opposed the New Laws decreed by the Crown. The New Laws, inspired by Bartolomé de las Casas, were intended to protect the Indians by limiting the privileges and possession of land by the conquerors.

In the program that Carvajal proposes to the rebel, he argues that Gonzalo Pizarro should proclaim himself king of Peru in alliance with the Inca nobility hidden in the mountains of Vilcabamba. Such a declaration would immediately presuppose the articulation of the mestizo group as the legitimate inheritor according to this political program. Yet we cannot be certain of the origins of this text, which Garcilaso puts in Carvajal's mouth. The sources quoted by Garcilaso are insufficient for establishing the veracity of the text. Nonetheless, Emilio Choy argues that the interest in the "progressive force" of the conquest (conceived as of the emergent

1978), pp. 176–96, refers to the related concept of "convergent discourses." It is still important to point out, however, that in the case of Garcilaso the multipositionality of the subject includes a highly problematic convergence of positions, some of them repressed by the official rhetoric and values of the period; see also Paul Smith, *Discerning the Subject* (Minneapolis, 1988), p. xxxv.

18. For transcultural modern authors, see Rama, *Transculturación narrativa en América Latina*, chaps. 3–4. Approaches to Garcilaso's cultural oscillations and incomplete harmony can be found in Nicolás Wey-Gómez, "¿Dónde está Garcilaso? Las oscilaciones del sujeto colonial en la formación de un discurso transcultural," *RCLL* 34 (1991): 7–32, and Cornejo Polar, "El discurso de la armonía imposible (El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega: Discurso y recepción social)," *RCLL* 38 (1993): 73–80.

19. David A. Brading, "The Incas and the Renaissance: The *Royal Commentaries* of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 18, no. 1 (1986): 1–23, esp. 22.

proto-bourgeoisie of the encomenderos) was an option considered by Garcilaso as a desirable factor in his reconstruction of Andean history.²⁰

Brading and Choy concur on the general sense of the *Royal Commentaries* as a political text, and not only as a historical account of the facts of the conquest and the Incan past. Indeed, one of the ultimate aims of the work is to defend requests for some privileges and tributary exemptions that the Inca descendants in Cuzco made to the Spanish Crown.²¹ But it is also important to keep in mind the general problem of the social conditions of the mestizo group during the first decades of the Spanish conquest. As was obvious then, the mestizos seemed different from both the white conquerors and the vanquished Indians, and surviving testimonies bear witness to the scorn mestizos suffered from both European and Indian groups. Most of Garcilaso's generation were born from Spanish fathers and Indian mothers, through relationships of rape, concubinage, or, very rarely, Christian marriage. Thus the social status of the mestizos was generally described as "marginal." They were not allowed to carry guns, possess land, or have Indians for their own servants. In general, they were reduced to practicing minor jobs as shoemakers, blacksmiths, or horse keepers; if lucky they might eventually serve the Spanish Crown as translators, owing to their knowledge of the indigenous languages. Only in very exceptional cases could mestizos inherit lands and properties from their Spanish "fathers"—when an Indian mother was a very important princess, for example, or when a father belonged to the peninsular aristocracy.²²

20. A letter from Carvajal to Gonzalo Pizarro is quoted in a passage from one of Garcilaso's sources, *El Palentino's Historia del Perú*, in *Crónicas del Perú*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 164 (Madrid, 1963), pp. xx, xlix. However, Carvajal does not refer there to an alliance with the Incan aristocracy or to the succession by a mestizo nobility. See also Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, "Observaciones generales sobre las guerras civiles del Perú: Los cronistas Diego Fernández, Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara y Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella," in *Crónicas del Perú*, ed. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, p. xlviii. Emilio Choy, "Quiénes y por qué están contra Garcilaso," in Choy, *Antropología e historia*, 2 vols. (Lima, 1985), 2:20-21.

21. See Manuel Burga, "El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega: Exilio interior, ambigüedad y segunda utopía," in Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía: Muerte y resurrección de los incas* (Lima, 1988), p. 282, and John H. Rowe, "Probanza de los Incas nietos de conquistadores," *Historia* 9, no. 2 (1985): 193-245.

22. On the legal status of mestizos, see Ángel Rosenblat, *La población indígena y el mestizaje en América*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1954), 2:151-55; and Richard Konetzke, "El mestizaje y su importancia en el desarrollo de la población hispanoamericana durante la época colonial," *Revista de Indias* 7, no. 23 (1946): 7-44, and Konetzke, "El mestizaje y su importancia en el desarrollo de la población hispanoamericana durante la época colonial (Conclusión)," *Revista de Indias* 7, no. 24 (1946): 215-37. For the case of Doña Francisca Pizarro, a mestiza who was the oldest daughter of Francisco Pizarro and an Incan princess, see María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Doña Francisca Pizarro, una ilustre mestiza* (Lima, 1989); Doña Francisca was recognized as "legitimate" by the Crown even though her parents were not married.

As a privileged mestizo, Garcilaso was not exactly a bastard, as were most of his generation. He was recognized as a "natural son" by his father, even after the Spanish captain married a very young Spanish woman when Garcilaso was ten years old. In this sense, his case was unusual compared with the normal conditions of mestizos. Even Indians referred to mestizos as *sacha runa* (*Commentarios Reales*, pt. 1, bk. 9, chap. 31), or "false men," men from the jungle not conceivable in terms of civilization and culture. The signification of the name "sacha runa" is enormous given that this minority of "monstrous" mestizos during the first decades of the invasion was going to become the great majority during the Republican era.

The *Royal Commentaries* appears, then, not only as a product of the process of colonization but also as an alternative view to that process and an articulation of a foundational perspective against the colonial, bureaucratic, and Crown-directed system. But it does not give initial impressions about the Inca culture such as those found in works by Cieza de León or Betanzos, who wrote in the early 1550s. Rather, it includes a general transformation of Incan knowledge as an important component of its reconstruction of the past. There is clearly an interest in underlining a harmonious but frustrated past in the general proposal of a Holy Incan Empire, conceived in terms of a strategic alliance between Spanish and Incan aristocracies. Although this political program is not explicitly supported by the writing subject, it becomes clear through the analysis of the subtext and the mythical exaltation of the rebel figures of Carvajal and Gonzalo Pizarro, during the narration of their military campaigns (*Commentarios Reales*, pt. 2, bks. 4 and 5). These figures no doubt occupy a pivotal role in the imagination of what could have happened in the mid-sixteenth century as an aftermath of the encomendero rebellion. But at the same time they represent a lost possibility, a separation of subject from object, which could explain the contemporary status of a marginal mestizo historian within the Spanish world. Nevertheless, as Max Pensky argues, this separation "subtly presupposes that [the union of the subject with object] is, however feebly and unsatisfactorily, accessible through memory, through intentional or unintentional discoveries of correspondences or traces, through the repetitive allegorization of the objects of experience. Memory and forgetting settle as constituent, mournful properties of the realm of objects of intuition and knowledge."²³ The "allegorization of the objects of experience" to which Pensky alludes may, in the case of Garcilaso, be understood as the expression of an imaginary point in the past that projects itself into the future only through overcoming the meaninglessness

23. Max Pensky, *Melancholy Dialectics: Walter Benjamin and the Play of Mourning* (Amherst, Mass., 1993), p. 27.

of life.²⁴ This melancholic subject, contrary to the many melancholic subjects of the late Renaissance, finds signification in the chaotic signs of the present through the practice of a specific "manera" or style of writing that represents a new voice and a new perspective: stylistically polyvocal, ideologically contradictory, and culturally mestizo in the diverse and complex sense already described.

The marginal subject expressed in Garcilaso's works, as José Rabasa states, challenges the canonical tradition of the wise and European authorized historian by means of an insistence on his Indian origins; this subject thus achieves a high degree of authority before his potential Andean readers.²⁵ But as we well know, the interpretations of his work have had diverse political and social consequences. One was the Great Rebellion of Tupaq Amaru the Second in 1780, which sought to reestablish an Incan aristocracy; another was the criollo war for independence, during which José de San Martín wanted to publish the *Royal Commentaries* for its understanding and dignifying view of the Andean past. Both political leaders recognized Garcilaso's work as a provocative base for a new independent state but no doubt took from the work very different projects and perspectives for the future of the nation. Indeed, the concept of nation has very specific racial and cultural meanings in the *Royal Commentaries*. For Garcilaso, nación is merely an ethnic group and still far from our modern concept of nation state as a fusion of different groups into one single, imagined cultural identity. For Garcilaso, there is a nation of *cuzqueño mestizos*, a nation of mulattos, a nation of criollos, and many non-Incan Indian nations. Garcilaso's text presupposes an implicit hierarchy in which the *cuzqueño mestizo* group, to which Garcilaso belonged, would be recognized as a ruling cast at the top of the social pyramid.²⁶

24. Julia Kristeva describes the state of "asymbolia" as typical of melancholic subjectivities in contemporary literature; see her *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia* (New York, 1989), p. 9.

25. José Rabasa, "On Writing Back: Alternative Historiography in *La Florida del Inca*," in *Latin American Identity and Constructions of Difference*, ed. Amaryll Chanady (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 130-48.

26. We are, of course, not dealing here with an enlightened "imagined community." Although Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), chap. 4, alludes to the formation of modern nation-states in Latin America, he discusses principally the role of newspaper printing and Westernized criollo elites at the end of the eighteenth century. Garcilaso's premodern conception of a Peruvian community may be more related to the "ethnic origins of [a] nation," which the *curacas* (indigenous local chiefs) could also embrace as their own; see Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York, 1986), chap. 1. Within Garcilaso's "ethnic nation" the racial and cultural groups (including the dominant criollos) became subordinated to a mestizo aristocracy. In the case of Garcilaso's text, the renewable function of signs in written language allows for different readings, depending on the social and cultural subject who consumes it; see Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Bhabha (New York, 1990), pp. 1-7. An initial approach to Garcilaso's reception by both criollo and mestizo readers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be found in

After having explored several elements of Garcilaso's work, one thing seems clear: the mestizo subject is neither only the Europeanized aristocrat that patronizes the Indian population nor only the representation of an Incan cosmic force that organizes reality according to a mythic conception of time and space. His discourse involves both elements and at the same time something else—the enigmatic manifestation of a dream—a dream that is, like any dream, the allegorization of a repressed desire marked by a diversity of voices and semantic fields readable in different ways. Despite the political programs that the official criollo cultures of the Andean countries have constructed over the fictional model of the harmonious and "acculturated" mestizo, the specificity of Garcilaso's subjectivity remains an open question. This brief journey, through an avenue of interdisciplinary analysis, has hopefully offered a tool for understanding one of the most interesting cases of historical possibility that existed during Latin America's early colonial period. This analysis has also hopefully underscored the need both to reformulate the concept of transculturation for early modern colonial discursive expressions and to explore the notion of discursive heterogeneity for texts such as the *Royal Commentaries*, born along the border of contradictory cultures, subjectivities, and political interests.

Pedro Guíbovich, "Lectura y difusión de la obra del Inca Garcilaso en el virreinato peruano (siglos XVII-XVIII): El caso de los *Comentarios reales*," *Revista Histórica* 37 (1991): 103-20, and in Mazzotti, "Garcilaso and the origins of the garcilasismo: Notas sobre el papel de los *Comentarios reales* en la formación de un imaginario nacional peruano," *Frnteras: Revista del Centro de Investigaciones de Historia Colonial* 3 (1998): 13-25.

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