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# Native Americans under the Castilian Crown: Resettlement Policy in 16th Century Peru

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## ABSTRACT

The debate about the “nature” of the American Indians extended for several decades after the discovery and conquest of America. During that period various questions were posed. Were the Indians human beings like Europeans? Should they be considered “natural slaves”, using the category from Aristotle, or subjects of the Crown? Could they be converted to Christianity? Were they predisposed to receive European culture? These questions had important economic and political implications. After an intensive debate and some experiments, the Crown had to face the problem once and for all in order to establish its own political strategy regarding the indigenous American peoples. Diverse factors of a theological, philosophical and economic nature contributed to the recognition that Native Americans were, in fact, human beings for all intents and purposes, and so had the potential to learn the European cultural model (considered more advanced and therefore more complex) and receive the Christian doctrine.

However, the dynamics of the *Conquista* in the following decades brought about an incredible demographic collapse of the indigenous populations. This led the Crown to introduce concrete policies for the protection of the natives, who represented not only million of souls to be saved through conversion to Christianity, but also the main factor in the appropriation of resources in the new Indian settlements. For this purpose American society was considered divided into two different parts: the “*Republica de los españoles*” and the “*Republica de los indios*”. It was considered that, to guarantee their survival, it was essential to separate the indigenous populations from the Spanish as much as possible. However, such a division did not prevent the local labour force from being used for the profit of the Spanish settlers. In the Peruvian viceroyalty it was felt that a segregation model was too dispersed, and that it constituted an obstacle, both to the conversion of the indigenous populations and to their promotion to “better” cultural levels, as well as to their productive capacity. Between 1565 and 1575 around one million natives were forced to resettle in the so-called “*reducciones*”.

This chapter analyses the different voices (authors of treatises, religious people, rulers) who discussed the possibilities and methodologies for resettling the indigenous populations, attempting to determine if, in their view, these measures could be considered protectionist or discriminatory and if the real project was a true integration of the native American into the European social model. What was the reasoning of contemporaries?

*Il dibattito sulla “natura” degli indiani americani si protrasse per diversi decenni dopo la scoperta e la conquista dell’America, nel corso dei quali ci si chiese se gli indios fossero esseri umani come gli europei oppure no; se essi dovessero essere considerati “schiavi naturali”, usando una categorizzazione tratta da Aristotele, o se dovessero essere considerati sudditi della Corona a tutti gli effetti; ci si chiedeva se*

*essi potessero o meno essere convertiti al cristianesimo; se essi fossero o meno predisposti ad accogliere la cultura europea. La questione comportava importanti implicazioni di carattere politico ed economico. Dopo un animato dibattito ed alcuni tentativi sperimentali, la Corona dovette affrontare definitivamente tale problema per poter stabilire la propria linea di azione politica nei confronti degli indigeni americani. Diversi fattori di carattere teologico, filosofico, ed economico intervennero nel riconoscere che i nativi americani erano esseri umani a tutti gli effetti, che essi erano potenzialmente capaci di apprendere il modello culturale europeo (considerato più evoluto e quindi più complesso) e che potevano ricevere la dottrina cristiana.*

*Tuttavia, le dinamiche della conquista e dei decenni successivi avevano condotto ad un incredibile collasso demografico delle popolazioni indigene, fattore che spinse la Corona a determinare concrete politiche di tutela dei nativi, i quali rappresentavano non soltanto milioni di anime da salvare attraverso la conversione al cristianesimo, ma anche il principale fattore di sfruttamento delle risorse dei nuovi insediamenti nelle Indie. Si pensò, a tal fine, di dividere la società americana in due diversi ambiti: la “Republica de los españoles” e la “Republica de los indios”. Si pensava che per garantire la loro sopravvivenza fosse indispensabile che gli indigeni fossero il più possibile separati dagli spagnoli. Tale divisione non impediva, però, che la forza lavoro indigena fosse sfruttata a proprio vantaggio dai coloni spagnoli. Nel vicereame peruviano si ritenne che il modello insediativo degli indigeni era troppo disperso e che ciò avrebbe ostacolato sia la loro conversione che la loro promozione a superiori livelli culturali, oltre che la loro capacità produttiva. Tra il 1565 e il 1575, circa un milione di nativi venne obbligato a trasferirsi in nuovi insediamenti, chiamati “reducciones”.*

*In questo studio, attraverso l'analisi di alcune voci (trattatisti, religiosi, governanti) che discussero della opportunità e del miglior modo di condurre tale trasferimento di popolazioni indigene, si vuole indagare se nella loro ottica possano essere considerate misure protezionistiche o discriminatorie; se in tal modo si progettasse una vera integrazione dei nativi americani nel modello sociale europeo. Quali furono le considerazioni dei contemporanei?*

#### THE FIRST IMPACT OF THE “NEW HUMANITY”

In the 16th century, categories such as “tolerance” or “discrimination” had a different meaning from what they have today. As has been pointed out elsewhere, our “modern” concept of tolerance was essentially defined by John Locke in his *Epistola de Tolerantia* written in 1685 (published 1689) and by Voltaire in the *Traité sur la Tolérance* (1763)<sup>1</sup>. In the 16th century, ideas of tolerance and discrimination were quite different, and this study shows how policies, which would seem highly discriminatory today, appeared then to be wise state policy that took into account the safety and the freedom of the target population.

Such was the case of the American Indians following the Spanish conquest, during the colonial age, especially in the second half of the 16th century. The Castilian Crown was very sensitive to the safety of the Native Americans, whose numbers were sharply declining, but their concern was motivated by considerations that were very different from our own idea of tolerance and integration. Indeed, the notion of discrimination did not really enter the discussion. From the Crown’s point of view, the construction of new separate urban communities for the American Indians was not discrimination but rather a way of protecting and safeguarding their interests. To understand this better, we have to focus on the years immediately following the Spanish conquest of America.

The discovery of the New World had a deep impact on European culture and brought many new questions and issues onto the political and philosophical agenda (these have been explored by a number of historians<sup>2</sup>, although they have not yet been completely clarified). In particular, the

encounter with the indigenous population and the various consequences resulting from it were important aspects that had to be dealt with in the complex process of defining a new society that was to be made up of Europeans – mostly Castilian subjects – and American natives (though black African slaves should also to be taken in account, as they had begun to appear in some parts of the Americas by the 16th and 17th centuries)<sup>3</sup>.

The Spaniards had a clear idea of the position to be occupied by the American Indians in the society they were planning to build in their transatlantic dominions. Their ideas reflected the *ancien régime* division into estates, and the society they were going to construct was modelled on European paradigms<sup>4</sup>, that is to say, based on political theories that perceived society as structured like a body, with specific functions assigned to different parts, although it was not as strict division as in the medieval distinction between *bellatores, oratores, laboratores*. The first step to creating a New World society that could include the natives was to define what, in fact, the natives were.

### THE DEBATE ON THE NATURE OF INDIAN PEOPLE

The debate on the nature of the Native American Indians went on for several decades after the discovery and conquest of America. The existence of a people that were radically different from Europeans, whose presence was not recorded in the Holy Scriptures or in classical Greek and Latin texts, provoked a real intellectual challenge for the mental schema of 15th- and 16th-century Europeans. There were many questions and doubts as to the “nature” and “condition” of the Native Americans. Were they human beings, like Europeans? Were they “natural slaves” in the Aristotelian sense? Had the Crown the right to subjugate them? And in that case, could they be subjects of the Castilian Crown like everyone else? Could they be Christianized? Could they be “civilized”? The issue was not at all clear in the first decades after the discovery of the New World. The importance of these theological and political debates is indicated by the fact that, in 1532, the supreme Christian authority, Pope Paul III, intervened, declaring that the American Indians must be considered human beings and could not be deprived of their freedom in order to be Christianized<sup>5</sup>. But the papal intervention did not put an end to the debate about the nature of the Indians, as we can see from the famous Valladolid Controversy of 1550-51 between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who had very different views on the subject.

Bartolomé de Las Casas was the most famous and active member of the group that considered the Indians not only to be human beings with intellectual capacities, but also, to some extent, civilized. His writings and efforts in support of native rights have been studied by many historians, and were particularly influential in Peru, as has been pointed out by Isacio Pérez Fernández<sup>6</sup>. Las Casas’s *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, published in Seville, inspired crown policy on many issues, such as in the Royal *Cédula* of 20 December 1553<sup>7</sup>. Having spent a long time in the New World (he had been appointed Bishop of Chiapas), Las Casas had first-hand knowledge of the Indians and was convinced that they could be considered subjects of the Crown, that they had a spontaneous inclination towards religion and could be fully Christianized without the need for violence<sup>8</sup>.

Sepúlveda, a well-known humanist who had had Italian Renaissance education, conversely, was completely opposed to Las Casas’s point of view. He argued, using Aristotelian theories, that the Indians were inferior human beings and that their “natural” condition was to be “slaves” of the “rational”, more civilized and advanced Spanish peoples.

These different positions are clearly laid out and explained by Anthony Pagden in *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*<sup>9</sup>; there is no need,

therefore, to enter into further details on the matter, beyond pointing out some of the more important political and economic consequences of the debate. Once the conquest was completed, the Castilian Crown had to decide upon a policy with regard to their American indigenous subjects, and many different factors were brought to bear on the issue – moral, philosophical, and economical. The final decision involved recognition of their human “nature”, their ability to learn and live in society, their potential to be Christianized and to live in an advanced cultured and complex society, as the Spaniards believed that their own was. For the purpose of rights, they were perceived as comparable to the “uncultured” peasant subjects of Castile.

Nevertheless, the dynamics of conquest and the post-conquest situation led to a rapid decline in the American Indian population<sup>10</sup>. The reasons for this collapse, which has attracted great historiographical interest in past decades, were very complex, and involved anthropological, cultural and biological factors in addition to war and exploitation. Naturally, they were poorly understood by contemporary Spanish observers<sup>11</sup>. According to Alfred Crosby, author of an interesting analysis of the so-called “Columbian exchange” in 1492, most native deaths were caused by biological factors linked to diseases that were inadvertently transmitted by the Europeans in the New World<sup>12</sup>. Nathan Wachtel, on the other hand, attributes the demographic decline to the cultural and anthropological consequences of “conquest shock”, which “destructured” the Indians’ worldview, leaving their lives effectively meaningless<sup>13</sup>.

Obviously, contemporary observers were not aware of the biological factors, nor could they easily understand the cultural impact of the conquest on the natives. But Las Casas was not the only one who worried about the Indians’ condition and their cruel exploitation. Royal officers, such as Polo Ondegardo<sup>14</sup>, Juan de Matienzo<sup>15</sup> and Hernando de Santillán<sup>16</sup> wrote memoranda on the situation, and political writings addressed to the Crown, in an attempt to improve the natives’ situation, reasoning about the conditions they were living under and the exploitation they were suffering at the hands of the Spaniards. The huge volume of documents addressed to the King testifies to the fact that part of Spanish colonial society was concerned not only with the demographic collapse of the native population, but also with the need to improve their condition and respect at least some of their cultural habits.

In the 1560s, there was a very lively debate in Peru about the measures needed to counter the dramatic demographic collapse, and many writers, most of them religious people, put forward a number of suggestions for policies to prevent the complete extinction of the natives<sup>17</sup>.

## THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

So, once the Conquest was complete, the Castilian authorities had to decide upon a policy with regard to their American Indian subjects, and many different factors (moral, philosophical, and economic) were taken into account in this choice. The final decision recognised the Indians’ human nature, their ability to learn and live in a society, and their potential to be Christianized, and for the purpose of rights, they were considered comparable to the “rustic” peasants of Castile. The Crown decided to take steps to avoid their extinction, because the conquest and post-conquest dynamics were rapidly decimating the American Indian population.

The Indian Policy was central to any future development in Peru, because the Native Americans constituted the bulk of the available labour force in the colony. Moreover, their conversion to Christianity had been the main ideological justification for the Spanish Conquest. Juan de Solorzano y Pereira, the most important legal and political author in 17th-century Spanish America, explained that American Indians had been given by God to the Castilian kings to be “instruct-

ed” in Christianity and “introduced to political life” and “civilized”, and that the Spanish had to do this peacefully. He urged these goals to be pursued without violence or imposition, but only through “*amor, suavidad, tolerancia y perseverancia*” (“love, gentleness, tolerance and perseverance”), regardless of the Spaniards’ own interests in exploiting them. These notions he apparently borrowed from the theories of Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas<sup>18</sup>.

The Crown was therefore forced to devise concrete policies to protect the Indians, who represented not only millions of souls to be saved through baptism and Christianization, but also the main source of labour for the development of the colonial economy. At first, the Indian labour force was organised into a system called *encomienda*, where they served the Spanish in their houses and fields, and were employed in mining, pearl fishing and in other unhealthy activities (e.g. as carriers). Many Spaniards, including Las Casas, observed that it was dangerous for the Indians to live alongside the Europeans as they were exposed to violence and oppression, despite being protected by the royal legislation. Therefore, the new society was conceived as two separate political orders: the Spanish Republic and the Indian Republic. It was decided that the Indians should live apart from the Spaniards in order to protect them.

Obviously, the separation would not affect Indian labour (which was forced labour, of course) because this was essential for the exploitation of New World resources. But it was also clear to the Crown officials that the demographic collapse had to be stopped and that the Indians required some form of protection against the Spanish colonizers, and perhaps even some exemptions from excessive taxation. The Crown also needed to gain more control over the viceroyalty so as to acquire a bigger share of the Peruvian resources and have more influence over the Christianizing efforts.

As early as 1503, when Spanish domination was restricted to the Antilles and the Caribbean, many Spanish political writers wrote about the convenience of grouping the Indians into ordered settlements – villages or small towns. There were, however, some isolated voices, such as Polo Ondegardo, who suggested that the Crown would benefit if the Indians were allowed to maintain their traditional social and economic structures – an assessment based on an observation of the Incas’ system of rule (their *antigua orden*) and its great effectiveness on all levels, from production to legal and fiscal aspects. He wrote to the king explaining that the Crown should have maintained the “Indian system”, since it was well-adapted to Andean conditions and was very efficient and developed<sup>19</sup>. The differences between Native American society and culture in the Caribbean and within the Aztec Confederation, or Inca Empire, were substantial.

Unfortunately, most of the Incas’ social, political and economic order had been destroyed during the conquest and in the decade immediately after it<sup>20</sup>. Only scattered communities or individuals now remained in the large areas of the former Inca Empire, and these were easily forced by the Spanish to work in their *encomiendas* or mines. It would also have been impossible to have retained the Incas’ social and political structures because these were intricately bound up with their religion, which of course was completely unacceptable from the Spanish Crown’s point of view. Indeed, many writers have pointed out that the local Indian chiefs, or ‘caciques’, were actually the most tyrannical exploiters of their people after the fall of the Inca Empire.

The only way that the Spanish Government could prevent this kind of exploitation was to gain more control over the land and the Indian communities, and in order to do that, they studied measures that had been used by the Incas. During their rule, the Incas used to transplant whole villages, small communities (*ayllus*), and even ethnic groups to different parts of their empire. However, this was done for quite different reasons. They resettled (called *mitimaes*) people in order to remove rebellious groups, or for economic reasons, to give villages more productive environments. There were also resettlements for cultural reasons, to help the people of the region acquire

the Inca language, craft skills, or to partake in the economic and political structure<sup>21</sup>; the creation of *mitimaes* enclaves in different geographic locations would also have ensured the exchange of products between the different regions under Incan control. A further reason for resettlement was to prevent overpopulation and lack of resources in some areas.

In the first decades after the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire, there were many problems requiring urgent attention (civil war amongst the Spaniards, revolts against measures passed by the king, Indian revolts etc.), so it was difficult to proceed with the Indian resettlement programme. Charles V had ordered the Audiencia of Lima in 1549 with the intention of finally getting the resettlement under way, but without success. The viceroys, the Marquis of Cañete (1556-1560) and the Count of Nieva (1561-1564), also tried to “*reducir los indios a pueblos*” [resettle the Indians into villages], but encountered great opposition from the Spanish *encomenderos*, who were worried about losing their Indian workforce. It was Lope García de Castro, Governor and President of the Audiencia of Lima (1564-1569), who took the first real steps in this direction. In 1565, he received detailed instructions from the king to resettle the Indians<sup>22</sup>, on the grounds that this would be beneficial to them, would facilitate instruction in the Catholic faith, and would prevent them from being “scattered” around the wilderness, living “like animals” and “worshipping idols”<sup>23</sup>.

The Indians were used to living and working in kinship-based communities (*ayllus*) amongst close relatives, and with a certain amount of common land. The *encomienda* system was very damaging to those communities, because the allocation of Indians to *encomiendas* did not take into account the *ayllus*. Many Indians were forced to move far away to work for the Spaniards, sometimes travelling for weeks, even months, to reach their final destination, and as a result, their communities broke up. Their fields could not be worked because the men were far away, and so production declined.

Of course, these measures were underpinned by theoretical notions concerning the benefits of Europeanization, i.e. that the Indians’ souls would be saved by the Catholic faith; ostensibly, European culture was more developed and civilized, and the core of civilization was to be found in the *politia*, a concept that involved urban living in accordance with laws and the political order. For most authors “Christian” and “civilized” were considered synonymous – which is why José de Acosta had such problems with China, which seemed to be a quite developed society but did not espouse the true faith<sup>24</sup>. Their approach to history was providential, which meant that the highest level of civilization could only be reached after conversion to Christianity<sup>25</sup>.

## THE *REDUCCIONES* OF VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, it was decided that the existing territorial arrangement, according to which Indian communities were scattered across vast areas of inaccessible terrain, was not conducive to the Christianization, education and civilization of the natives, or to effective social control and supply of labour. Thus, Governor García de Castro issued a number of Laws (*Ordenanzas*) and Instructions (*Instrucciones*) with the view to launch a massive Indian resettlement programme. Although the results were only partial, the Crown nevertheless insisted that this should remain the objective.

The situation changed with Castro’s successor, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581)<sup>26</sup>. He was given detailed instructions by the king concerning the Indian resettlement, which was deemed to be central for their Evangelization and cultural and economic development<sup>27</sup>. The *Real Cédula* of 28 December 1568 explained that the *reducciones* would be the best way of ensuring “*la conservación, doctrina, gobierno y policía de los naturales*” [the protection, indoctrination, regulation and control of the natives]<sup>28</sup>. Resettlement would greatly facilitate conversion to Christianity, since

the natives' villages were scattered about the mountains and forests, often with great distances between them, and were not easily accessible by the *curas* (religious people sent to convert and educate them). Moreover, with the current situation it was also difficult to get an idea of population figures for the purposes of taxation; many natives would avoid contact with the Crown Officer sent to count them by disappearing into the mountains or forests. Consequently, in the years between 1565 and 1575, around a million Native Americans from the Andes were forced to abandon their villages to be resettled in new communities, called *reducciones*.

These new Indian settlements brought together members from several different *ayllu*, which allowed the authorities to gain better control of the Indians' morality (the Europeans had been scandalized by many Indian sexual habits, such as incest and homosexuality, as well as by their continuing attachment to pagan cults or "idolatry", even after formal conversion to Christianity). Towns were laid out in the form of grids, with standardized housing, all with windows, doors and water supply. There were public buildings, such as a church, police station and jail, and symbols of crown and faith were also well represented in the main square. They were modelled upon the Castilian town, and the basic concept was that of "civil coexistence", or *politia*, considered the best way of bringing civilization to the natives<sup>29</sup>.

Some aspects of the Incas' system were maintained, but the effects were completely different from those desired by Polo Ondegardo. In fact, the Spanish measures entirely changed the meaning of those practices, which had gained their significance from their insertion into a highly reciprocal religious and social context<sup>30</sup>. The best example of this was the maintenance of the Inca system of forced labour, known as *mita*<sup>31</sup>.

Viceroy Toledo, who implemented the "*mita* system" extensively during his administration, explained to the king in a letter of 8 February 1570 that his predecessors' achievements had been inadequate and needed to be completed. For him, Indian resettlement would greatly help the reorganization and management of forced labour for the state<sup>32</sup>. Thus, this was carried out on a large scale. A pilot attempt was organized at the beginning of 1570 involving two villages located very close to the capital Lima and the former Inca capital Cuzco; the Indians concerned were transferred to areas called *Santiago* and *Belén*<sup>33</sup>. Subsequently, a number of lay and clerical inspectors were sent around all 14 provinces of the country to complete the task, and the *encomenderos* were forced to cooperate with the crown's officers, and to reside in their *encomienda* mansions for the time necessary to help the inspectors to gather the Indians into the new planned *reducciones*<sup>34</sup>. The scale of the operation was immense: in the Condesuyo province alone, 16,000 Indians from 445 villages were resettled into 48 *reducciones* by the two inspectors sent there, Luís Mexía (a cleric) and Herrera (a judge)<sup>35</sup>. The new urban centres were placed close to the former Incan royal roads, to ensure better communication<sup>36</sup>.

The resettlement policy gave the Crown better control of the Indian workforce, which was to be used in the silver mines of Peru, and was essential for the general reassessment of the whole viceroyship of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the years between 1569 and 1581. He justified his measures to the Crown on the grounds that the natives had been subjected to despotism from local chiefs and that Spain was helping them by introducing them to a "free" and more "civilised" lifestyle<sup>37</sup>. He also pointed out that the laws for Indian taxation established in a royal *Cédula* in 1553 had not been applied and that the conversion of the natives had been inefficient and superficial<sup>38</sup>.

In order to establish a new political order, a key strategy was to build a new relationship between the local Indian élite (*kurakas*) and the Castilian Crown, replacing the former "post-Incan alliance" between *encomenderos* and *kurakas*. During Toledo's administration, the Crown did a great deal to cement this strategic alliance by transforming the *kurakas* into officers of the Crown. They



were allowed to maintain their former social status, or even improve it, receiving public positions and salaries<sup>39</sup>.

The resettlement policy undertaken in those years had a deep impact upon the subsequent American Indian population, and profoundly changed the way in which they related to their communities and to the Andean world and space around them. Later, the Jesuit Order would adopt a variant of this model and transform this system into a key element of their own programmes in Spanish America<sup>40</sup>. But that is another chapter of this history.

## NOTES

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- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33.
- <sup>8</sup> M. Mahn-Lot, *Bartolomé de Las Casas et le droit des Indiens*, Paris 1982.
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- <sup>18</sup> J. de Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana (1647)*, Madrid 1942, Lib. II, cap. I, p. 133.
- <sup>19</sup> Polo Ondegardo, *Relación acerca del linaje de los Incas* cit.
- <sup>20</sup> J. V. Murra, *La organización económica del Estado Inca Siglo XXI-De Mox.*, Mexico 1978<sup>2</sup>; S. Stern, *Peru's Indians People and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest. Huamanga to 1640*, Madison, WI - London 1982, pp. 3-79.

- <sup>21</sup> A. Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581*, Caldwell ID 1938, p. 124.
- <sup>22</sup> J. Hemming, *The Conquest of Incas*, New York 1970, p. 384.
- <sup>23</sup> "Instrucción real", Segovia, 13 settembre 1565, in R. Konetzke (ed.), *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispano-américa IV*, Madrid 1953, p. 416.
- <sup>24</sup> See L. Guarnieri Calò Carducci, *Nuovo Mondo e ordine politico*, Rimini 1997.
- <sup>25</sup> Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* cit., pp. 213-214.
- <sup>26</sup> M. Merluzzi, *Politica e governo nel Nuovo Mondo. Francisco de Toledo vicerè del Perú (1569-1581)*, Rome 2003.
- <sup>27</sup> See *Instrucciones al virrey Toledo*, Madrid, 28 December 1568, in Archivo General Indias-Sevilla (AGI), Indif. 2859, fs. 1-29v, published in L. Hanke, C. Rodríguez, *Los Virreyes Españoles en América durante el Gobierno de la Casa de Austria*, Madrid 1978, p. 109.
- <sup>28</sup> AGI, Lima, 578, r. 2, fols. 217-218, *Real Cédula* of 28 December 1568.
- <sup>29</sup> On the urban model and its Renaissance evolution see L. Benevolo, *La città nella storia d'Europa*, Rome - Bari 1993, p. 111; and D. Calabi, *La città del primo Rinascimento*, Rome - Bari 2001.
- <sup>30</sup> Wachtel, *La Vision de vaincus* cit.
- <sup>31</sup> See C. Sempat Assadourian, *Tranciones hacia el sistema colonial andino*, Lima - Mexico 1994.
- <sup>32</sup> AGI, Lima 29, Letter by Toledo to the King, 8 February 1570.
- <sup>33</sup> A. Málaga Medina, *Las reducciones del Perú durante el gobierno del virrey Francisco de Toledo*, in "Anuario de Estudios Americanos", 1974, 31, pp. 819-842, p. 824.
- <sup>34</sup> Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo* cit., p. 121.
- <sup>35</sup> L. Ulloa, *Documentos del virrey Toledo. Encomiendas y situaciones que su Excelencia ha hecho y proveído desde que entró en la tierra hasta oy veinte y ocho días del mes de febrero deste año de setenta y dos*, in "Revista Histórica", 1908, 3, pp. 314-347.
- <sup>36</sup> *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las colonias españolas de América y Oceanía*, vol. XLII, Madrid, 1864-1884, VIII, pp. 257-260.
- <sup>37</sup> *Instrucciones reales al virrey Francisco de Toledo*, Aranjuez 19 December 1568, par. 10, AGI, Lima, 578, Lib. II, fs. 279-293v-329-329v., in Hanke, *Los Virreyes Españoles* cit., I, pp. 79-94, par. 10, pp. 82-83.
- <sup>38</sup> "Os mandamos y mucho encargamos que tengáis muy especial cuidado de la conversión y cristiandad de dichos indios que sean bien adoctrinados y enseñados en las cosas de nuestra fe católica y ley evangélica y que para esto os informéis si hay ministros suficientes que les enseñen la doctrina y los bauticen y administren los otros sacramentos de la santa madre iglesia de que tuvieren habilidad y suficiencia para recibirlos", in Hanke, *Los Virreyes Españoles* cit., I, p. 80.
- <sup>39</sup> AGI, Lima 28 A, n. 55, see *Títulos que ahora se dan a los caciques que se proveen por el virrey*, Cuzco, 25 gennaio 1572. See also, Stern, *Peru's Indian People* cit., pp. 92-94.
- <sup>40</sup> See P. Broggio, *Evangelizzare il mondo. Le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America (secoli XVI-XVII)*, Rome 2004.

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