CHAPTER 2

"Multiplicarse ha la tierra de gente y de fruto": Gender and Re-production in Las Casas's and Guaman Poma's Biopolitical Projects (1516, 1615)

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In 1615, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (*c.*1534–1615) denounced the mistreatment of the Indians of Peru at the hands of Spanish authorities and priests. In the extensive letter to King Philip III, better known as *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, the Indigenous Peruvian intellectual accused the religious elite of exploiting the labor of Indian women and of abusing them sexually.[1] In one of the drawings illustrating the chronicle (Figure 2.1), a Dominican friar pulls the hair of a woman who is holding her baby on her back; the woman cries inconsolably as she is forced to work on the loom. Guaman Poma regrets the lack of alternatives or "remedies" under a colonial government that exploited the labor of Indians thus causing their humiliation, and ultimately killing them after causing much suffering.

In 1516, a century earlier, the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), in his *Memorial de remedios para las Indias*, proposed a series of remedies to preserve the Indians' life, health, and well-being, and to protect them from labor exploitation and from death. Las Casas's proposal never became a state policy and, as the case of Guaman Poma demonstrates, the abuses continued. Although Las Casas devoted part of his work to the defense of the Indians of Peru, he did not visit the Andes. Las Casas and Guaman Poma never met. However, Guaman Poma somehow knew about Las Casas's 1516 *Memorial* and proposed an updated version that both appropriates and subverts it.

This chapter explores the connections between two colonial projects surrounding the administration of Indian populations separated by a century: Bartolomé de las Casas's proposal of remedies (1516) based on the study of Carlos Jáuregui and David Solodkow (2018), and the project of "good government" (1615) by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Jáuregui and Solodkow propose, in an illuminating way, the study of the intersection between colonialism and

1 For an overview on women in colonial Latin America, see Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 9th ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 216–238.

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FIGURE 2.1
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Fraile dominico muy colérico y soberbioso," 645 [659]
Note: All references to Guaman Poma's *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* have the author's original and truncated pagination followed by the correction with the missing page numbers in square brackets, according to the 1980 edition by John Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste.
SOURCE: DET KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK

biopolitics. According to their theses, Las Casas's 1516 *Memorial* is a biopolitical project that "alleges that the life of the Indigenous population is the responsibility of the sovereign and that the good of the crown passes through that of its subjects."[2] Guaman Poma, in his *Corónica*, proposed something similar: a form of soft colonialism for the Andean context by means of a detailed project that would begin by preventing the extinction of Indians and the multiplication of mestizos in favor of the production and the prosperity of the kingdom. Despite some important differences between the two authors, for both the bodies of Indigenous women were mainly (re)producers; as well as forming part of the labor force, they were expected to be the producers of Indians that would in turn become workers. Their bodies served as colonial proletariat-generators, and ultimately, wealth-producers for the benefit of the kingdom. Progeny (*prole*) and laborers (*proletariado*)—reproduction and production—are key points in both proposals. While in English "prole" is a pejorative word for a working-class person, in Spanish *prole* (Lat. *proles*) retains the meaning

2 Carlos A. Jáuregui and David Solodkow, "Biopolitics and the Farming (of) Life in Bartolomé de las Casas," in *Bartolomé de las Casas O.P.: History, Philosophy, and Theology in the Age of European Expansion*, ed. David Orique and Rady Roldán-Figueroa (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 127–166 (128).

of progeny as offspring. I use *prole* in the Latin sense to call attention to projects whose teleologies are the generation of progeny alongside the multiplication of laborers (proletariat). As such, in both projects, the administration of female bodies and reproduction is a *res publica*.

1 "Humanitarian *Repartimiento*" (Distribution) / "*Recogimiento*" (Seclusion)

Jáuregui and Solodkow's proposal begins by questioning the history of Michel Foucault's biopolitical notion for whom this form of "governmentality" was traceable from the eighteenth century. Jáuregui and Solodkow put forth Las Casas as a paradigm of colonial biopolitics, not only of the well-known Las Casas but also concerning the young Las Casas in his 1516 *Memorial de remedios para las Indias*:

> The strikingly modern Lascasian project anticipates the biopolitical reasoning of the nineteenth century. However, for Foucault, classical sovereignty is manifested with the sovereign having the life of his subjects at his disposal, whereas in the Lascasian order, sovereign power is constituted as the sovereignty that *fosters life*, and governmental reasoning consists of intervening in the "life" of others and *not allowing them to die*.[3]

While in 1516 Las Casas was concerned about the deaths of Indigenous people due to the Spanish authorities' abuses, Guaman Poma, in 1615, reports not only the continuation of mistreatment and deaths but also what the historian David Cook calls the "demographic collapse" of Indian Peru.[4] Las Casas and Guaman Poma proposed policies to the king not only of "*not allowing them to die*," but further, as I argue, of *not allowing the Indians to disappear by multiplying them* through the administration of the Indigenous population, their bodies, and their sexual and reproductive life.

While Bartolomé de Las Casas uses the genre of "memorial of remedies" to argue before the king, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala—at eighty years of age and in the Andean mountains—had no access to the king. Therefore, Guaman

3 Jáuregui and Solodkow, "Biopolitics," 132.

4 Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Poma recreates a dialogue between the characters "Ayala the Author" and the "King" (Figure 2.2) using—as Rocío Quispe-Agnoli points out—his "writing as remedy."[5] In the imagined conversation, the "king" is very interested in understanding what has caused the decrease in the Indigenous population, and asks the "author" "how will the Indians multiply?"[6] Guaman Poma imagines a king who is specifically interested in the demographic crisis of the Indians—a king of whom Las Casas himself would have dreamed. Las Casas's project, like that of Guaman Poma, corresponds to a type of sixteenth-century utopian writing where, according to Santa Arias, history is narrated while questioning colonial power.[7] Ultimately, the fictional dialogue with the king recreated by Guaman Poma is one of those "other scenes" of displacement—of which Homi Bhabha speaks—wherein the oppressed Indian can subvert the colonial-imperial order and directly propose to the king a type of soft colonialism—one that lets them live and work restfully and also allows Indians to have hard-working and faithful progeny, thus making them worthy of the same rights.[8]

In his *Memorial*, Las Casas assigns to the king the "pastoral role […] of rescuing the Indigenous flock" and justifies the intervention of the monarch in the life of the population.[9] As Jáuregui and Solodkow clearly explain, the *Memorial* proposes the implementation of a form of peaceful colonialism based on 1) policies to multiply and to care for the Indians by means of nutrition, rest, health, and sexual reproduction; 2) economic policies for labor extraction from proper conditions in the fields and in the mines, without depending on forced labor; and 3) policies to create and foster good Christians—what these critics have called "pneumo-politics."[10] For Las Casas, caring for life is as much about the body as it is about the spirit: "without health, there is no earthly life, and without bodily life, there can be neither work nor spiritual salvation."[11] The remedies proposed by Guaman Poma focus on the same issues that concerned Las Casas and can be grouped into four areas of reform: 1) political reform: Indigenous jurisdiction and government in the name of the king; 2) agrarian

5 All translations into English are by the authors, unless otherwise indicated. Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, *La fe andina en la escritura: resistencia e identidad en la obra de Guamán Poma de Ayala* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2006), 237–260.

6 Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ed. John Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), 963 [977].

7 Santa Arias, *Retórica, historia y polémica. Bartolomé de las Casas y la tradición intelectual renacentista* (New York: University Press of America, 2001), 64.

8 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 153, 143.

9 Jáuregui and Solodkow, "Biopolitics," 128.

10 Jáuregui and Solodkow, "Biopolitics," 129.

11 Jáuregui and Solodkow, "Biopolitics," 132.

the mestizaje and to multiply the population of Indians. For him, interracial sex is not only abusive and immoral, but a product of tyranny: the Spaniards corrupt, humiliate, and cause the deaths of Indians, multiply the mestizo population, and destroy the *res publica*. The reason for the kingdom's ruin was the annihilation of the Indians. The remedy would then be a positive segregation policy to avoid both dishonor and mestizaje. For Guaman Poma, if the king does not stop mestizaje, "there is no remedy in this kingdom."[48]

3 "[*A*] *las mujeres se le pague su trabajo, queriendo ellas aceptar de hacello*" ["Women Should Be Paid for Their Work, Wanting to Accept from Doing It"][49]

The well-being policies were essential for multiplying the population and for guaranteeing the Indians housing, shelter, food, fair wages, decent working conditions, and periodic prolonged rest. In this, Guaman Poma seems to parrot Las Casas almost verbatim. Both propose the concept of "serving restfully" ("*holgar*," "*servir descansadamente*"), which would be achieved by a rotation between work in the fields and in the mines, combined with frequent breaks. Las Casas proposes eight-month breaks, and Guaman Poma proposes breaks ranging from two months to one year, depending on the type of work.[50] Additionally, Indians were to be provided proper food (for Las Casas: a "modern diet, rich in calories and proteins, low in sodium") and proper medical care.[51] As we will see in this section, these two biopolitical projects also proposed a focus on a sector of the population not directly related to mine extraction: women, especially pregnant women, and children.

Las Casas and Guaman Poma agreed that physical rest was essential for the Indians because they were often overworked and left to die. Indeed, the Indigenous population in the mountains decreased from 1,045,000 people to 585,000 between 1570 and 1620, a period wherein the population of the coast went from 250,000 to 87,000 inhabitants.[52] In addition to flooding, landslides, and accidents within the mines, other factors that contributed to the high death rate were "pneumonia and other bronchial and respiratory tract infections" as well as poisoning, since "Indians inhaled the dust [released into

48 Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 964 [982]–980 [998].
49 Casas, "Memorial," 22.
50 Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 962 [976]; Casas, "Memorial," 20.
51 Jáuregui and Solodkow, "Biopolitics," 156–158.
52 Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 318.

drawings: the lead-up to a sexual rape committed by a *corregidor* and a priest disguised as an Indian (Figure 2.7); a confessor hitting a pregnant woman and refusing to take her confession (8); nursing mothers' labor exploitation (1); Indigenous children being violently punished while learning the Christian doctrine (9); and labor exploitation of an elderly woman (10).[88]

In 1615, Guaman Poma denounced the Spanish authorities and the clergy because they raped the Indian women, impregnated them, and exploited their labor. Las Casas does not anticipate that later someone would accuse the clergymen of such abuses. For Guaman Poma, it was clear that with the *recogimiento*, the deaths of Indians due to labor exploitation, humiliation, and suicide would end and that more Christian Indians, faithful to the king, would be born. In several of his "good government" drawings, Guaman Poma represents Indigenous women working quietly with their looms, and even an Indigenous woman with her baby being compensated by the Indigenous council (Figures 11 and 12). Everyone would work and rest, and as a result there would be more production and wealth; and if the Indians are rich—Guaman Poma says—the rich will be richer.[89]

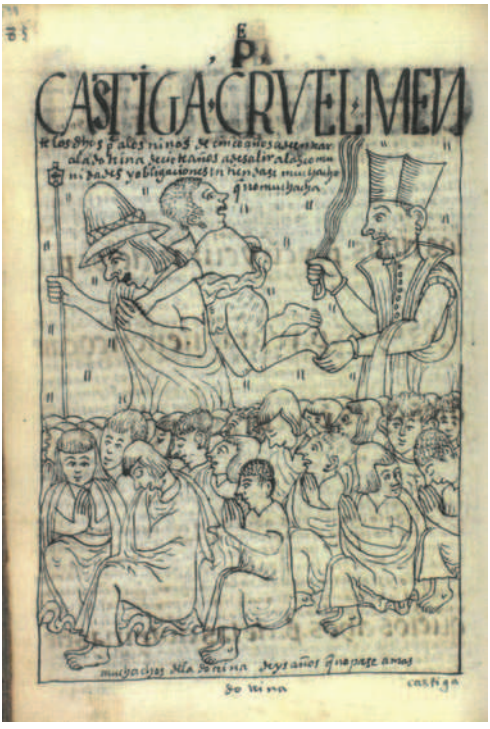
4 "Humanitarian Shepherding" / "Good Government"[90]

After establishing a dialogue between the two colonial biopolitical projects, both emphasizing production and reproduction (Bartolomé de Las Casas's "humanitarian shepherding" and Guaman Poma's "good government"), each separated by a century (1516, 1615), it is imperative to ask how Guaman Poma would have had access to Las Casas's work. In several of her works, Rolena Adorno has explored the connections between Las Casas and Guaman Poma by focusing her attention on Las Casas's *Tratado de las doce dudas* (1564). Adorno identifies marked similarities—referred to as "resonances"—between several of the arguments of Las Casas's *Tratado* and the "Conzederaciones" of

88 For studies on sexuality in Guaman Poma's images, see Paola Uparela, "Guaman Poma y la güergüenza colonial," *Revista de Estudios de Género y Sexualidades* 44.2 (2018): 17–36; Uparela, "Mirada, poder y genitalidad," 70–136; Mercedes López-Baralt, "La estridencia silente: Oralidad, escritura e iconografía en Nueva corónica de Guaman Poma," *La torre* 3.12 (1989): 609–649. About Figure 8, see Regina Harrison, *Sin and Confession in Colonial Peru: Spanish-Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560–1650* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 115–150.

89 Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 963 [977].

90 Jáuregui and Solodkow, "Biopolitics," 128.



FIGURES 2.7–10 Guaman Poma, 503 [507]; 576 [590]; 585 [599]; and 647 [661]
SOURCE: DET KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK

FIGURES 2.11 AND 2.12 Guaman Poma, 215 [217] and 654 [668]
SOURCE: DET KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK

Guaman Poma's *Corónica*.[91] According to Adorno, the *Tratado* has three ideas that Guaman Poma makes use of:

> First, [...] all peoples—Christian and non-Christian—had the right to sovereignty over their own lands. Second, the only right guaranteed to Catholic kings by the Pope had been to evangelize, not to conquer, dominate, or govern indigenous peoples. Third, the conquests had been illegal.[92]

91 Rolena Adorno, "La resonancia de las obras de Las Casas en la de Guarman Poma," in *Las Casas entre dos mundos* (Lima: Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, 1993), 210–223; Adorno, *Writing*, 23–27; Adorno, "Las otras fuentes de Guaman Poma: sus lecturas castellanas," *Historica* 2.2 (1978): 137–158; and Adorno, "El arte de la persuasión: El padre Las Casas y fray Luis de Granada en la obra de Waman Puma," *Escritura* 4.8 (1979): 167–189.

92 Adorno, "La resonancia," 213.

Guaman Poma paraphrases Las Casas's *Tratado de las doce dudas* and seems to replicate the Dominican's notions of possession and authority of the Indians over their lands and of keeping the king as the supreme sovereign. The title of sovereignty in Guaman Poma is, according to Adorno, "symbolic, not jurisdictional."[93] At first glance, for Guaman Poma, the monarch had no jurisdiction, or rather, an administrative territory over which to exercise his sovereignty.[94] However, more than symbolic sovereignty, as Adorno proposes, I maintain that Guaman Poma— as Jáuregui and Solodkow argue about Las Casas— grants the king other functions that imply a new, or at least different, way of understanding sovereignty. A sovereign is defined here by his faithful and loyal people rather than by his lands, that is, in terms of population. Furthermore, Guaman Poma's and Las Casas's sovereign had to fulfill the "pastoral role" with the Indians and to provide resources for good living, "not allowing them to die"; a responsibility to regulate the life previously abandoned to forced labor, the lack of shelter, food, and medical care, in addition to disgrace and humiliation.[95] Guaman Poma proposes Indigenous jurisdictions under the sovereignty of the king—a political sovereignty that he imagines as allied to his "good government" project. At a certain point, Guaman Poma calls his text a "new chronicle and well-being" and makes interchangeable the notion of "good government" with that of "good living," and sovereignty with the protection and fostering of life.[96]

Beyond the importance of the resonances of Las Casas's *Tratado de las doce dudas,* Guaman Poma did not quote Las Casas in his *Corónica*. So, the original concern is still valid; we do not know exactly which of Las Casas's texts Guaman Poma may have read or how he would have had access to them. According to Adorno, Guaman Poma was aware of the literary culture and "the first books published in South America at Antonio Ricardo's printing shop in Lima between 1585 and 1600."[97] Initially, we could affirm that Guaman Poma knew of the ideas of Las Casas through the library of some clergymen; most likely from sermons and conversations with them. Guaman Poma learned to speak Spanish with the cleric Cristóbal de Albornoz and learned to read and write with the help of Martín de Ayala, a mestizo priest, whom he refers to as his half-brother. In addition, Guaman Poma acquired artistic

93 Adorno, "La resonancia," 215.
94 Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 949 [963].
95 Jáuregui and Solodkow, "Biopolitics," 138.
96 Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 11 [11].
97 Rolena Adorno, "Bartolomé de las Casas y Domingo de Santo Tomás en la obra de Felipe Waman Puma," *Revista Iberoamericana* 68.200 (2002): 769–774 (769).

skills with Martín de Murúa, the priest and author of the *Loyola Manuscript* (depicted in Figure 2.10).[98] Among the clergymen and authorities of Peru who may have known of Las Casas's ideas, and whom Guaman Poma may have met, are Martín de Murúa, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, and Polo de Ondegardo.

As Las Casas's close friend, and as José Varallanos notes, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás would have been the one who informed Las Casas about the violent conquest of Peru for the narrative of the *Brevísima*.[99] Las Casas and Fray Domingo sent a *Memorial* (*c*.1560) to King Philip II wherein they proposed nine remedies, including allowing the Indians some autonomy over their jurisdictions; moving them—their families and servants—from the towns of the Spaniards; and reducing their taxes which, in addition to being very high, were poorly administered by the encomenderos.[100] According to the clerics, if the king did not implement these remedies, "he will lose and be left without a large number of faithful vassals, […] will lose all the tributes, or the majority, at least, those that the encomenderos will take out from the Indians, if the Indians survive."[101] Las Casas and Fray Domingo warned the king that if he did not remedy the damage in the Indies, he would lose his loyal vassals and never recover their economic production. As we see, there is a direct relationship between population and wealth, and between colonial *prole*(*tariado*) and production. The same advice already appeared in 1516 in Las Casas's *Memorial*: "and not dying, Y.H. will have the incomes secured and the lands populated and abundant with vassals; and multiplying people, as in that land wonderfully multiplies, increasing everyday their help and profit for great utility and support of the kingdom."[102] Curiously—less so, for us—this idea reappears even more strongly, in a sort of "rhetoric of threat," a century later in Guaman Poma's *Corónica*: "Twenty years from now there will be no Indian in this kingdom to serve the Royal Crown and defense of our Holy Catholic faith. Because without the Indians, Your Majesty is worth nothing because, remember, Castile

98 Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru: From a Century of Scholarship to a New Era of Reading* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen & the Royal Library, 2001), 55–56, 64.

99 Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás was a visitor (1548), bishop of Charcas (1561), and member of Cabildo de Lima (1550) and Segundo Concilio Limense (1567), and he wrote the first grammar and lexicon of the Quechua (published in 1560). José Varallanos, *Guamán Poma de Ayala: cronista precursor y libertario* (Lima: G. Herrera, 1979), 112, 121n10.

100 Bartolomé de las Casas and Domingo de Santo Tomás, "Memorial del obispo fray Bartolomé de las Casas y fray Domingo de Santo Tomás," in *O.E.*, 5:231–236.

101 Casas and Domingo de Santo Tomás, "Memorial," 232.

102 Casas, "Memorial," 7.

is Castile because of the Indians."[103] Guaman Poma could have been familiar with the *Tratado de las doce dudas*, with Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás' work with Las Casas, or with Ondegardo's ordinances in Huamanga. However, in Las Casas and Fray Domingo's *Memorial* there are no detailed policies to regulate and foster the well-being and multiplication of the population. In contrast, Ondegardo, who was likely identified by Guaman Poma for his work in Huamanga, proposed a series of ordinances that seem to be more oriented toward punishing the breaches with fines than stimulating population growth.[104] Las Casas and Guaman Poma insist on the need to not only prevent the Indians' deaths, but to promote their multiplication. Guaman Poma proposes a complex and detailed project that is only comparable to the *Memorial* that Las Casas had made a century before.

This work aims to trace the connections between two biopolitical projects separated by time and distance, as well as between Lascasian ideas surrounding Indians, intellectuals, and priests alongside *corregidores*, and "idolatry" extirpators who worked with Guaman Poma.[105] In spite of the fact that Guaman Poma knew Las Casas's proposals, what is important is that he does not limit himself to merely copying or quoting them. The link between Las Casas and Guaman Poma can hardly be traced historically or geographically; it is, above all, a rhizomatic connection caused by intellectual and political contagion, and at the same time, subversion.[106] This connection between Las Casas in 1516 and Guaman Poma in 1615 can only be made now, in light of the revealing and pertinent study by Carlos Jáuregui and David Solodkow about colonial biopolitics. This study addresses two political projects that did not become state policies, nor were they simply previous and imperfect versions

103 Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 964 [982]. About Guaman Poma's "rhetoric of threat," see Quispe-Agnoli, *La fe andina*, 63–75.

104 While anatomopolitics "tries to rule a multiplicity of men to the extent that their multiplicity can and must be dissolved into individual bodies that can be kept under surveillance, trained, used, and, if need be, punished," biopolitics "is addressed to a […] global mass that is affected by overall processes characteristic of birth, death, production, illness, and so on." Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended* (New York: Picador, 2003), 242–243.

105 Guaman Poma worked as an interpreter to Amador de Valdepeña, visitor of Toledo, and to Cristóbal de Albornoz, a clergyman known for his idolatry extirpation campaigns. Adorno, *Writing*, liii, 55–56, 62.

106 "Every rhizome contains lines of segmentarity according to which it is stratified, territorialized, organized, attributed, etc., as well as lines of deterritorialization down which it constantly feels. There is a rupture in the rhizome whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is part of the rhizome." Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus* (London: Continuum, 2004), 7, 10.

or precursors of biopolitics. Rather, Las Casas's "shepherding of Indians" and Guaman Poma's "good government" are biopolitical projects proposed to the sovereign for the administration of life in order to both produce *fruto* (harvest, wealth) as well as to reproduce and multiply *gente* (progeny/laborers) for the kingdom. Therefore, the king ought to continue, in a broad and lasting sense, *fostering the Indians' lives by multiplying them*.

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