

Creation of Indian Republics in Spanish South America

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Creation of Indian Republics in Spanish South America

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スペイン領南米における先住民共和国の創設

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This article aims to reconsider the origin of the native communities in the former Spanish colonies in South America. In the first part of the article, I propose the hypothesis that the Indian towns created by the resettlement policy under Spanish colonial rule served as a basic mould for the creation of new societies both in the Andes and in the Amazon. In the late colonial period, the pre-Columbian societies irretrievably disintegrated and what I call “Indian republics” emerged from their ashes. These republics had the basic features of today’s native communities and they can be legitimately considered their direct ancestors. In the second part of the article, I take up the case of the Mojeños, a native people living in the Bolivian lowlands, and attempt to illustrate the historical process of the creation of Indian republics. In the late seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionaries launched evangelical activities among the Mojeños and resettled them into four mission towns. At the beginning, these towns were nothing more than conglomerations of antagonistic ethnic groups. As time passed, however, those living in the same town gradually formed a united body and took on a common identity. I explain how the native societies were transformed under Jesuit rule and how new identities were forged in the mission towns.

本論はスペイン領南米における先住民共同体の歴史的生成のプロセスを再検討するものである。論文の前半では、植民地当局の集住化政策により建設された先住民の町が、アンデスにおいてもアマゾンにおいても、新たな社会が生まれ出される母胎として機能したという仮説が提起される。植民地時代後期、征服以前に起源がさかのぼる民族集団は消滅し、本論が「先住民共和国」と呼ぶ新

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たな社会編成が姿を現した。それらの社会編成は、今日の先住民共同体の基本的特徴を備えており、その先行形態とみなすことができる。論文の後半では、現代のボリビア低地の民族のひとつ、モヘーニョに焦点が当てられ、彼らの「共和国」の成立過程が考察される。17世紀後半、イエズス会宣教師はモヘーニョのキリスト教改宗に着手し、彼らを4つの町へ集住化した。それらの町は当初、互いに敵対する民族集団の寄せ集めにすぎなかった。しかし、時がたつにつれて、同じ町に住む人びとは社会的連携を深め、やがてひとつのアイデンティティを共有するにいたる。本論では、イエズス会統治下のモヘーニョの社会変容とアイデンティティ生成のプロセスが究明される。

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1 Introduction

In the late 1960s, the Peruvian scholar Fernando Fuenzalida Vollmar published a short article with the title: “La matriz colonial de la comunidad de indígenas peruana” (The Colonial Matrix of the Peruvian Native Community) (Fuenzalida Vollmar 1967–1968). In this important but quickly forgotten article, he stressed the fact that “the native communities constitute a typical feature of the rural society in the Central Andes”. He offered a general characterization of their structure and attempted to explain their formation with reference to what he called “the colonial matrix”: the framework of domination and exploitation imposed by the Spanish upon the native population at the time of the conquest.

When Fuenzalida Vollmar wrote his insightful article, Andean ethnography was still at its inception. The publication of the monumental *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946–1959) definitively put an end to the Marxist paradigm, according to which the native communities are the last residues of a primitive communism whose highest achievement was the Inca Empire (Baudin 1928). With a growing body of empirical data, Fuenzalida Vollmar hypothesized that “the Peruvian native community was a product of the conquest” (Fuenzalida Vollmar 1967–1968: 95) and pointed out some of the colonization policies that might have contributed to its formation: the resettlement of the native population, the levy of tribute and labor,

the organization of town councils and religious confraternities, etc.

Today we have a much better understanding of the structure and workings of the native communities in the former Spanish colonies. Few of us, however, share Fuenzalida Vollmar's concern about their origin. The tendency toward essentialism is strong in this respect. In Andean ethnography, for example, the native communities are often depicted as irrevocably "Andean" (*andino*), having so far resisted all kinds of external pressure to transform their basic features: the archipelago system of land tenure, reciprocity, the *ayllu* kin groups, the dualist organization, the world view of the mountain spirits and the mother earth, etc. It is true that we also have a considerable accumulation of ethnographic studies that are sensitive to the passage of time. Those studies, however, tend to concentrate their attention on recent changes such as the expansion of the capitalist economy, the consolidation of the nation-states, the spread of political radicalism, the deterioration of the ecosystem, the activities of NGOs, etc.

Even a cursory glance at the contemporary native communities can show us that they owe some of their features to the Spanish conquest: the grid-plan layout, the town council, the festivities, etc. Nevertheless, we have very few studies that would help us understand the complex process in which the institutions, the practices, and the values of European origin were imposed on, then assimilated by the natives, eventually becoming part and parcel of their traditions¹). We still do not have much knowledge of when and how, after the initial destruction and disturbance, a new synthesis was achieved among the native population.

According to Nathan Wachtel, the transformation of the native societies under Spanish colonial rule cannot be reduced to the simple addition or subtraction of individual elements; it reached deep into the level of the definition of self (Wachtel 1992). Based on ethnohistorical studies of the Chipayas (Wachtel 1990), the Yuras (Rasnake 1988), and the K'ultas (Abercrombie 1986), all in the present-day Bolivian Andes, Wachtel suggests that the identities of those groups are "an outcome of the transformations of the native world under colonial rule" (Wachtel 1992: 39). He hypothesizes that, in the late colonial period, the indigenous people took on a new identity that would last until today. His thesis is a radical break with previous studies that often mistook such linguistic categories as Quechua, Aymara, Guaraní, etc., for ethnic and took for granted their uninterrupted continuity from the pre-Columbian past.

Following Fuenzalida Vollmar's and Wachtel's lead, this article seeks to examine "the colonial matrix" of today's native communities in the former Spanish colonies. It will take up the case of the Mojeños, a native people living in the Bolivian lowlands, and attempt to clarify the process of the formation of their collective identities. This article also attempts to situate the case of the Mojeños in the wider geopolitical setting of Spanish South America. I shall compare the historical trajectory of the Mojeños to that of the Aymara-speaking people of the Southern Andes

and throw light on their similarities. What I want to highlight is the standardizing effect of the Spanish colonization policy. The resettlement of the native population, their segregation from the Spanish colonizers, the organization of town councils, etc, were equally enforced all over the colonies regardless of ethnic and linguistic differences. In consequence, a high degree of social and cultural uniformity can be observed today among the indigenous people of the former Spanish colonies.

I have no intention to deny the obvious fact that the native societies continued to evolve after the independence of the colonies from Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In my view, however, in the late colonial period what Nathan Wachtel calls “crystallization” occurred and new social forms took clear shape among the native population²⁾. In this period, the ethnic groups that dated back to the pre-Columbian past irrevocably broke down and new societies emerged from their debris. These had the basic features of today’s native communities and they can be legitimately considered their direct ancestors. In this article, I shall call them “Indian republics” and attempt to delineate the process of their formation under Spanish colonial rule. On the other hand, I limit the use of the term “native community” to those social formations that appeared in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries under the pressure of the capitalist economy and nation-state formation. To clarify the process of transition from the Indian republics to the native communities is an important issue, but it remains beyond the scope of this article.

2 Ethnogenesis and language formation in Moxos

First of all, let me briefly introduce the Moxos region and its native inhabitants³⁾. The Moxos region approximately corresponds to the present-day Beni Prefecture in the Republic of Bolivia. It is situated on the southwestern fringe of the Amazon River Basin. Its climate is tropical and most of its surface forms a vast savannah traversed by innumerable rivers, which originate high in the Andes and flow down into the Amazon.

Because of the great distance from the major Spanish cities and the lack of precious metals, the Spanish colonizers scarcely penetrated the savannah and the few attempts at colonization invariably failed (Chávez Suárez 1986: 53–166; García Recio 1988: 21–78). It was the Jesuits who undertook the first full-scale colonial enterprise in Moxos. The missionaries launched evangelical activities in the 1670s. At that time, a large number of ethnic groups inhabited the savannah. They spoke different languages, lived widely scattered along the rivers, and engaged in hunting, fishing, and slash-and-burn agriculture. The Jesuits first came into contact with the ethnic groups of the Upper Mamoré River. Most of these spoke a language of the Arawak family. Indifferent to their ethnic affiliation, the missionaries called all of them “Mojos” and gathered them in four towns: Loreto, Trinidad, San Ignacio, and San Javier. Later the Jesuits expanded their sphere of activity toward the western



Figure 1 Major Jesuit missions in Spanish South America

savannah, the Lower Mamoré River, and the northeastern forest. At its peak, the Moxos mission comprised more than twenty towns with a population of thirty-five thousand or more (figure 1)⁴⁾.

Since 1994 I have undertaken several anthropological researches among the Mojo Indians, or the Mojeños as they are commonly known in the anthropological literature⁵⁾. Today they live dispersed in small villages and hamlets. The four mission towns founded by the Jesuits still exist and quite a few natives live there side by side with a white and mixed-blood population. Even those living outside the mission towns maintain a strong sense of affiliation to the town they take to be their home. In fact, for the Mojeños, town affiliation is nothing less than ethnic identification. They do not call themselves Mojos or Mojeños. Their self-designations are “Loretanos”, “Trinitarios”, “Ignacianos”, and “Javerianos”. These Spanish terms literally mean the inhabitants of Loreto, the inhabitants of Trinidad, the inhabitants of San Ignacio, and the inhabitants of San Javier⁶⁾.

I think it is safe to call these four groups “ethnic” because group identification is determined not by residence, but by birth; for example, the children of a Trinitario couple automatically become Trinitarios. It is true that many people live outside their home town, but this does not weaken their sense of belonging. In Moxos, population dispersion is a relatively recent phenomenon. It began in the mid-nineteenth century and accelerated in the twentieth century. Historical records attest that the vast majority of Mojeños lived in and around the four mission towns from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

All four Mojeño groups share most social and cultural characteristics. They all maintain a highly religious culture, with Catholicism at its core. Their communities all have a body of self-government called a *cabildo*. What distinguishes the four groups, besides ethnicity, is language; indeed, they speak different languages. The Loretanos speak the Loretano language; the Trinitarios speak the Trinitario language, and so on. These four languages all belong to the Arawak family and are closely related to each other. Their differences, however, are sufficiently clear and there is no room for confusion⁷⁾.

All this suggests that, among the Mojeños, the towns founded by the Jesuits served as a basic mould for ethnogenesis and language formation. Those living in the town of Trinidad, for example, gradually formed a united body, took on a common identity, and came to call themselves Trinitarios. They also created a common language. Even after the town population dispersed, they maintained their ethnicity and language, and continued to look on Trinidad as their home town.

In this article, I shall attempt to prove the following two hypotheses. First, the ethnicity and the languages of today’s Mojeños are not legacies from the pre-Columbian past; they are products of the historical transformations they had to go through under Spanish colonial rule. Second, the foundation of the towns and the resettlement of the native population played a crucial role in this process of eth-

nogenesis and language formation. I shall explain how the different ethnic groups which the Jesuits gathered in a town managed to establish a *modus vivendi* and how a new social formation emerged in their midst. I shall also specify when such terms as Loretano, Trinitario, etc, appeared for the first time and how they came to be used as group names.

3 Uniformity of the native societies and cultures

Before examining the particular case of the Mojeños, however, I want to broaden my horizons and take an overview of the Spanish colonization policy and its impact on the native population of South America. This is necessary because I do not think that the Mojeños' historical trajectory is substantially different from that of the other native groups who lived through Spanish colonialism. A comparison with the indigenous people of the Andes is particularly illuminating. In the highlands, the natives were similarly gathered together in large towns, where an Iberian form of town council was introduced and Christian teachings were given. The case of the Andes differs from that of Moxos in that the officers of the secular government, not clergy, carried out the concentration of the native population. Nevertheless, the long-term outcome of this policy was similar. The inhabitants of a town gradually formed a united body and took on a common identity. Some of them even came to call themselves by the town name⁸⁾.

In my opinion, one of the most remarkable features of the native peoples of the former Spanish colonies is their social and cultural uniformity. This uniformity is most clearly seen in a basic unit of their societies: the community. Typically a native community is composed of a principal town and several annexes. Town planning is surprisingly uniform; the houses and the streets are arranged in a grid-plan form and a large square or rectangular plaza occupies the center. A magnificent church with its bell tower faces the plaza. The communities have an egalitarian form of self-government with its officials elected every year. Except for the national government and, in some cases, labour unions or NGOs, the communities do not recognize any higher authorities. Christianity is an essential part of the communal life. Every town has its patron saint and the townspeople celebrate its yearly festival with much devotion.

The natives have a strong sense of belonging to their community. This is reflected in the fact that, in some cases, the community members use the town name to express their collective identity. It would be an exaggeration to say that, for them, the community means the whole universe. In fact, the natives sometimes use the term *indigenas* (natives) or *campesinos* (peasants) to distinguish themselves from the white or mixed-blood population. A sense of national identity is also widely shared. Nevertheless, we can safely say that even today community affiliation is the most important of all the collective identities they make use of.

Among the native peoples of the former Spanish colonies, social and cultural uniformity transcends linguistic boundaries, national borders, and ecological differences. The Mojeños, for example, have more in common with the Aymara-speaking people of the Southern Andes than their Amazonian neighbours who remained beyond the reach of the Catholic Church. I shall argue that this socio-cultural uniformity mainly resulted from the colonization policy the Spanish adopted toward the native population. Surprisingly enough, the Spanish used almost the same methods of colonization both in the Andes and in the Amazon, despite the enormous differences between the large-scale kingdoms of the frigid highlands and the small bands of hunters and gatherers of the tropical forests. For the Spanish colonizers, all the Native Americans lacked the basic ability to construct an orderly society. Therefore, the Spanish took it upon themselves to make one for them from scratch.

It seems to me that the historians of the Jesuit missions, especially those studying the Guaraní mission of the Río de la Plata, tend to overemphasize their uniqueness. Except for a few scholars such as Magnus Mörner or Nicholas Cushner⁹⁾, they regard the Jesuit missionary enterprise as fundamentally antithetical to Spanish colonialism. It is true that the Jesuit missions had some unique characteristics and that conflicts of interest often opposed the missionaries against the local society. I shall argue, however, that the Jesuit missions definitely formed part of the Spanish colonial venture and that the methods they used to transform the native societies were basically the same as those used elsewhere in the colonies. In my view, this uniformity of colonization policy left a lasting impact on the lives of the indigenous people of the former Spanish colonies.

4 Resettlement policy

What are those methods of colonization that the Spanish uniformly adopted toward the native population? I want to point out a single policy that seems to me of paramount importance. As mentioned above, it is the congregation of the native population in large towns. In Spanish South America, this resettlement policy was commonly called *reducción* (reduction). A town founded by this policy was also called a *reducción* or simply *pueblo de los indios* (Indian town).

Curiously enough, we have no in-depth studies on this policy¹⁰⁾. In Andean historiography, for example, all the academic textbooks mention the massive resettlement project of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, carried out all over the Andes in the 1570s. The majority of publications on this topic, however, repeat the same sketchy description and do not help us understand how such an ambitious project could have successfully been put into practice over such an extensive area¹¹⁾. To make matters worse, many scholars deny the relevance of this policy for the subsequent transformations of the native societies. Alejandro Málaga Medina, for example, tells us outright that “the *reducciones* established by Toledo had a very short life” (Málaga

Medina 1974a: 163; Málaga Medina 1974b: 842; Málaga Medina 1975: 41, 42; Málaga Medina 1993: 304). Scholars maintain that the inhabitants of the resettlement towns quickly went back to their old villages or migrated elsewhere to free themselves from the onerous duties of tribute and labor (Duviols 1972: 248–263; Spalding 1984: 225–226; Wightman 1990: 9–44).

The lack of in-depth studies does not allow us to make any decisive argument about the long-term effects of the resettlement policy on the native population. My own data on the Mojeños and other ethnohistorical studies, however, suggest that this policy set a course of change that the native societies would follow for several centuries to come¹²). Far from being short-lived, many resettlement towns still survive today. As I will show later, the native population indeed dispersed and migrated, but this does not necessarily mean “the failure of the *reducciones*” (Wightman 1990: 9), except for the government officers who made desperate efforts to confine the native population inside the towns in order to tax them.

What purposes did the resettlement policy have? There were many and I limit myself to pointing out two. First, the Christianization of the native population. It is well known that, besides the thirst for gold and silver, evangelization was a powerful motive for the Spanish conquest of America. There is no doubt that the Crown took this mission seriously and did everything within its reach to accomplish it. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the Catholic Church in the colonies constantly suffered from a serious shortage of personnel. The natives lived extensively scattered in small villages and hamlets, and a large number of missionaries would have been needed if they had attempted to preach to them in their own lands. Instead of wandering as itinerant preachers from one village to another, the clergymen decided to gather the natives in large towns. These towns were either new constructions or reconstructions of existing Indian towns¹³). Each resettlement town became a parish called a *doctrina*, and was placed under the jurisdiction of a bishop. A church was built and a parish priest appointed.

The second purpose of the resettlement policy was to facilitate the levy of tribute and labor from the indigenous people. In Spanish South America, the colonial state instituted a system of exploitation of Indian labor and the towns created by the resettlement policy served as basic units for this exploitation. All adult men between the ages of eighteen and fifty were obliged to pay a head tax and go to work for the Spanish as miners, weavers, domestic servants, etc (Spalding 1984: 161–166). The state took a census of the native population and each Indian was registered as an inhabitant of a particular town. They were prohibited from moving out of their town without permission. The task of collecting taxes and laborers was assigned to the Indian governors of the towns. These governors, commonly known as *caciques*, were originally hereditary lords of ethnic groups. After the conquest, they were given a privileged status as officers of the colonial government (Spalding 1984: 219–223; Thomson 2002: 29–44).

In Spanish South America, the resettlement policy was closely related to two other important policies and all three were implemented together. One was the segregation of the natives from the Spanish. The other was the establishment of a body of self-government called a *cabildo*. Let me briefly explain these.

The segregation policy basically aimed at protecting the natives from abuse by the Spanish colonizers (Mörner 1970). At an early stage of colonization, the Crown encouraged the Spanish to mix with the natives with the hope that the latter might learn the civilized way of living from the former. What actually happened, however, was the colonizers' mistreatment of the natives and the latter's moral degradation. Under pressure from the clergy, who severely criticized this policy and went so far as to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the conquest, the Crown reversed it and prohibited the Spanish from living in Indian towns. Those towns created by the resettlement policy were destined for the exclusive use of the natives and the only Spanish allowed to live there were the priests.

An Iberian form of town council called a *cabildo* was introduced to all the Indian towns created by the resettlement policy¹⁴⁾. The *cabildo* was a body of self-government and its representatives were elected every year from the townspeople. Among others it included the posts of *alcalde* (mayor), *regidor* (deputy mayor), *alguacil* (constable), and *escribano* (scribe). Theoretically the outgoing officials voted to elect the incoming ones. Among their principal duties were the administration of justice, the maintenance of public order, the administration of public funds, and the promotion of the Christian faith. The *cabildo* also helped the town's Indian governor collect tribute and labor. As I will show later, in the late colonial period, the *cabildo* became a core of political cohesion in the Indian towns.

The towns created by the resettlement policy were not static entities. They were capable of growing and reproducing themselves. In the Andean highlands, for example, the *reducciones* founded by Toledo's resettlement project in the 1570s soon started to replicate and create copies in their surrounding areas. The native population that had once been concentrated in a town started to disperse again, and villages and hamlets that had been abandoned rose like phoenixes from the ashes. Faced with this situation, the officers of the colonial government became alarmed at what they perceived as the failure of the resettlement policy and called for an immediate remedy (Málaga Medina 1993: 306–310; Wightman 1990: 20–24).

Were the government officers right when they took the population dispersion as an unmistakable symptom of the failure of the resettlement policy? In a sense, yes, because population movement inevitably made it difficult for them to identify the native taxpayers by residence. Nevertheless, it cannot be taken as a simple return to the pre-Columbian past for two reasons. First, the resettlement towns did not disappear¹⁵⁾. During the colonial period, the indigenous people practiced double-residence (Saignes 1991: 92, 108). A *reducción* town was usually surrounded by small hamlets called *estancias* (farms). In addition to a house in the town, the natives

owned another near their field on a farm and spent much of the year there taking care of their crops and livestock. They went to the town when they attended Mass, celebrated a Catholic festival, held public meetings, paid taxes, did business at a market, and so on. In principle, all the natives were supposed to live in a town. In reality, however, a town was not so much a place of residence as a center of political, economic, and religious activity.

Second, those who left a town and settled in a hamlet often attempted to replicate the physical and social characteristics of the town. They remodeled the hamlet in a grid-plan form, organized a council, and elected its officials. They chose a patron saint and dedicated a chapel. They also organized a confraternity and celebrated Catholic festivals. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the Church took severe measures against such activity. The clergy were especially scandalized at the religious ceremonies the natives performed in their chapels. They suspected that their Catholicism might be a veneer covering pagan practices. The ecclesiastical authorities often made inspectional tours to Indian villages, destroyed chapels, and arrested native priests. In the late seventeenth century, however, the Church lost interest in what they considered the stupid but innocent superstitions of the Indians, and instead became somewhat tolerant of their seemingly Catholic practices (Spalding 1984: 267–269). In consequence, some of the larger hamlets with their own councils, confraternities, and chapels were recognized as annexes of the town they had originally separated from. Some were even given the status of independent parishes with their own priests¹⁶.

From these facts we can infer that the resettlement policy was not simply imposed on the indigenous people; they actively participated in it. The model of the *reducción* town with its grid-plan, church, patron saint, town council, etc, was so profoundly internalized by the indigenous people that they constantly reproduced the structure of the very town they were trying to escape from. This internalization of the *reducción* model is what made the creation of the Indian republics possible.

5 What was a mission?

Let me summarize the basic features of an Indian town. It was created by the resettlement policy. The inhabitants of several villages and hamlets were gathered there. Its space was exclusively destined for native use. It had its own body of self-government. Now I should add that, among the Indian towns, there was an important subcategory: the mission. In this section I explain what distinguished a mission from an ordinary Indian town.

We know that in the frontier regions of Spanish South America, such as the Upper Amazon or the Río de la Plata, Catholic religious orders devoted themselves to the congregation of the native population for the purpose of Christianization. Towns or groups of towns created by clergymen were commonly called *misiones*

(missions). They had some unique characteristics and I want to point out three of them¹⁷⁾.

First, a mission was specifically aimed at non-Christian Indians. The missionaries called them *infieles* (heathens) or *gentiles* (gentiles). According to the revolutionary scheme the clergymen had in mind, the *infieles* or *gentiles* became *catecúmenos* (catechumens) once they entered a mission town and began to attend catechism classes. Then the *catecúmenos* became *neófitos* (neophytes) once they were baptized. Both the catechumens and the neophytes were considered to be in transition to becoming full-fledged Christians and subjects of the King of Spain; for this reason, they were exempt from tribute and labor (Armani 1982: 91–92; Mörner 1968: 35, 37, 55–56, 67).

Second, the clergymen in charge of a mission were always regular, that is, members of a religious order: Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits, etc. This was because a mission was outside the jurisdiction of the bishops. In the core areas of the colonies, an Indian town constituted a *doctrina* or Indian parish, and was placed under the jurisdiction of a bishop. In the frontier, however, bishoprics were not yet established and the clergymen in charge were subordinate only to the superiors of their order.

Third, the missionaries wielded both temporal and spiritual authority over their parishioners. They not only took good care of the souls of the natives; they also appointed town council officials, administered justice, punished criminals, supervised economic activity, and so on. This overlap of the secular and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions was certainly exceptional; it was, however, inevitable because, in the frontier, the missionaries were the only Spanish in contact with the natives and there were usually no government officers¹⁸⁾.

From the above, it is clear that the mission was a transitional institution. Theoretically, once the Christian faith firmly took root among the natives, a mission had to be handed over to a local bishop; it had to be incorporated into a bishopric as a *doctrina*. It also had to be placed under the jurisdiction of a government officer, and the missionaries would no longer be allowed to meddle in temporal affairs. Finally the natives had to be taxed and laborers levied.

In reality, however, the transition from mission to Indian parish was never completed. The reason is simply that, in the colonies, there were not enough clergymen and the ecclesiastical authorities needed cooperation from the religious orders. It is true that, from the mid-seventeenth century, the missions were placed under the jurisdiction of the local bishops (Armani 1982: 93–94; Mörner 1968: 69–70), but the secular clergymen seldom interfered and nothing really changed. For lack of government officers, the missionaries continued to enjoy both temporal and spiritual authority. The taxes the natives were supposed to pay to the Crown were actually canceled out by the salaries the Crown was supposed to pay to the missionary priests (Mörner 1968: 67, 85, 129, 131). Forced labor was also canceled on the

ground that the mission Indians undertook the task of defending the frontier with Portuguese Brazil (Armani 1982: 91–92; Mörner 1968: 55–56, 67, 95).

All this suggests that the distinction between a mission and an Indian parish was far from clear-cut. The difference was not so much substantial as circumstantial. After all, they were two varieties of Indian town and the Spanish called both *reducción*. Nevertheless, the historians of the Jesuit missions often contrast mission to Indian parish as heaven to hell. They depict the Jesuit missions as liberated districts in the midst of Spanish despotism and oppression. The epithet “utopian” is sometimes applied to the Jesuit missions¹⁹). As I have pointed out, however, the Jesuit missions were created by the same colonization policy as the non-Jesuit, non-mission Indian towns. In my view, the Jesuit missionary enterprise was “utopian” to the same degree as the Spanish colonial venture it was part of.

6 Indian republics

As we saw in the case of the Mojeños, during the colonial period, the Indian towns founded by the resettlement policy served as a basic mould for the emergence of new societies. The natives who had arbitrarily been gathered in a town gradually formed a united body and took on a common identity. The societies formed in this way can be considered direct ancestors of today’s native communities. To designate them, I adopt a term from those days: *república de los indios* (Indian republic).

In the colonial period, the word *república* meant any kind of political regime that humans, by their very nature as social animals, organized themselves into. More specifically, it meant a city or a town with a republican form of government (Mörner 1970: 17–19). After the conquest, the Spanish founded a large number of cities throughout the colonies. Each of these cities constituted a republic. Later the resettlement policy created more than a thousand Indian towns. As a result, in Spanish South America, the Spanish republics coexisted with the Indian republics without their inhabitants intermingling with each other.

A republic is definitely an urban space. This should be so because, in the Spanish way of thinking, human beings become truly human only when they flock together in an urban setting and organize themselves into an orderly society; someone living alone in the wilderness is little more than a wild animal (Mörner 1970: 17–19; Pagden 1982: 68–71).

A republic is a form of democracy in the sense that the townspeople choose their own representatives from among themselves. Indeed, its political legitimacy depends on the recognition that it is a self-governing body of the townspeople. What is interesting from the viewpoint of political science is its relation to a *monarquía* (monarchy). Everywhere in early modern Europe, we can observe the rise of strong, centralized monarchies with larger financial resources, greater military forces, and more complex bureaucracies. The emergence of powerful monarchies inevitably put

renewed emphasis on the divine origin of sovereign power. In Spain, however, there was also a strong current of scholasticism with an assertion of individual natural rights. Spanish writers such as Francisco de Vitoria or Francisco Suárez supported the Aristotelian theory that the power of a monarch was in the first place granted to him by the voluntary act of free individuals on condition that he exercised it for the sake of the *bien común* (common good). Thus, in Spain, the doctrine of royal theocracy coexisted with that of popular sovereignty. The establishment of small republics inside a large monarchy was a compromise between these two conflicting currents (Mörner 1970: 2–19; Tierney 1997: 288–315).

Urbanism and self-government are two main aspects that characterized both the Spanish and the Indian republics. The two classes of republic were, however, very different in that, in the Indian republics, European institutions were forcibly grafted onto autochthonous ones and that, as a result, a complex process of interaction and negotiation ensued. An Indian republic was indeed a social and cultural synthesis that was finally achieved in a resettlement town more than a century after the conquest.

In my view, the formation of the Indian republics necessarily meant a rupture with the pre-Columbian past. This entails that the Indian republics could not be successfully established until the pre-Columbian ethnic groups were dismantled. In other words, the Indian republics could only be born out of the ashes of the pre-Columbian ethnic groups.

We know, for example, that, before the arrival of the Spanish, the Aymara-speaking people had built a number of kingdoms in the Southern Andes²⁰. In the 1570s, Toledo's resettlement project arbitrarily broke up these kingdoms into towns and the hereditary lords were demoted to the post of town governors. As time passed, the ancient kingdoms were gradually disintegrated and memories of them lost while, inside each town, a new republic was being formed, with the *cabildo* as its core (Abercrombie 1998: 213–314; Rasnake 1988: 93–165; Wachtel 1990: 413–520). As mentioned above, this social reorganization went side by side with a drastic change in collective identity. To take an example, according to Roger Rasnake, the inhabitants of the resettlement town of Encarnación de Yura, in present-day Potosí prefecture, formed part of the *repartimento* of the Wisijsa, together with two other towns, at the beginning of the seventeenth century²¹. In the late eighteenth century, however, the word “Wisijsa” completely disappeared from the records and the natives were designated by the name of their town as “Yuras” (Rasnake 1988: 95–137). This was indeed their self-designation when Rasnake did field research among their descendants in the late 1970s.

In the Andes, the resettlement policy broke up the pre-Columbian kingdoms while, in the Amazon, the opposite was the case. In the lowlands, before the arrival of the Spanish, a large number of small ethnic groups were jostling with each other for better hunting grounds and easier access to the rivers. To create a town with a

sizable population of a thousand or more, the Spanish had to gather together several ethnic groups. As a result, they faced the awesome challenge of transforming a conglomeration of different ethnic groups into a unified republic. Historical records show that, in newly created towns, people of different groups stayed apart from each other and never mixed. Moreover, they refused to obey a *cabildo* official who belonged to a different group. In the next section, I shall analyze in detail the historical process of integration of Indian republics in the Amazon.

Both in the Andes and in the Amazon, the creation of the Indian republics entailed the disintegration of the pre-Columbian ethnic groups and the reorganization of the native societies within the resettlement towns. The new societies born out of this process became the locus not only of collective identity but also of sovereignty. The inhabitants of each town got united to form a *común* (commonalty), which was highly conscious of its political autonomy and ready to fight for it against any usurpers. This is clearly seen when, in the late colonial period, the Indian commonalty of the Southern Andes rose up against the colonial authorities, the climax of which were the great rebellions of 1780–1781²²). The political ideology that guided the peasant masses in these revolts was the self-rule of the *común*. For example, when the people of Caquiaviri, in present-day La Paz prefecture, took control of the town in 1771, they proclaimed that “now that the *corregidor* [Spanish administrator] was dead, there was no other magistrate for them; instead the king was the *común* for whom they ruled” (Thomson 2002: 151; Thomson 2005: 58).

In the late colonial period, the Indian commonalty became highly critical of Spanish rule and insistent on its right to self-government. They normally exercised their sovereignty within the limits set by the colonial authorities, but in case of need they did not hesitate to defy those authorities. It is surprising that the idea of *república* as a self-governing body of townspeople was so deeply internalized by the indigenous people. In my opinion, the main channel by which this idea penetrated the native societies was the town council. I hypothesize that the *cabildo* created an entirely new political sphere in each town, where everyone had the chance to participate and climb to a high position. In the Southern Andes, this democratic system inevitably contradicted the traditional sovereignty embodied by the hereditary lords. The legitimacy of the latter depended on their descent from the rulers of the pre-Columbian kingdoms. This is the reason why the *caciques* did not become part of the Indian republics. Eventually the two forms of sovereignty came into serious conflict. In the late eighteenth century, the Indian commonalty revolted against their *caciques* and murdered them along with the Spanish administrators (O’Phelan Godoy 1997; Penry 1996; Thomson 2002).

7 Ethnic groups and their concentration in Moxos

So far we have examined the basic features of the Spanish colonization policy

and its impact on the indigenous people of South America. We have focused on the resettlement policy and considered the way in which it led to the creation of what we have called Indian republics. We have also looked at some characteristics of the missions and reconsidered their relation to the Spanish colonial enterprise. I think now is the time to go back to the Moxos region and examine the way new societies gradually emerged in the towns founded by the Jesuit missionaries.

The Society of Jesus undertook missionary activities in Moxos in the 1670s. Their first target was the Arawak-speaking people of the Upper Mamoré River in present-day Beni prefecture, Bolivia. The missionaries took a complete survey of the region and prepared very detailed reports on the location of villages, their distances, population, ethnic identification, language, etc²³⁾. Thanks to these reports, we now know the geographical distribution and the social composition of the Mojeños at the time of the Jesuit entry into the savannah.

In their reports, the missionaries distinguished three types of group formation beyond the family level: *pueblo*, *parcialidad*, and *nación*. A *pueblo* was a village with a population of between twenty and two hundred. Each *pueblo* had a chief and was often named after him. The chief assumed leadership in time of war or migration, though his authority was limited. We do not know whether the Mojeño chiefs were hereditary or not. They probably were, because a missionary affirmed that “those that are *caciques* today are sons or brothers of the deceased *caciques*” (Castillo 1906: 339)²⁴⁾. A *pueblo* was highly unstable. It often moved from one place to another and easily split into two or merged with another.

A *parcialidad* was a more stable formation. It had its own territory and included a number of *pueblos* within it. A *parcialidad* was not a political unity and lacked leadership. The people of a *parcialidad*, however, had awareness of a common ancestry and were named after their ancestor gods. They worshiped their gods and performed religious ceremonies together. I think these characteristics allow us to call a *parcialidad* an ethnic group.

Finally a *nación* was a group of *parcialidades* who spoke the same language. The Jesuits thought that the Arawak-speaking people of the Upper Mamoré River composed a single *nación* and named it “Mojos”²⁵⁾. The missionaries also knew that, outside the Mojo territories, there were other *naciones* like the Canichanas, the Movimas, the Itonamas, the Cayubabas, the Baures, etc. While the *pueblos* and the *parcialidades* had their self-designations, the *naciones* apparently had no such designations. This suggests that the *nación* was not a clearly defined social category for the natives.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits persuaded the Mojeños to resettle in four mission towns: Loreto (founded in 1682), Trinidad (1687), San Ignacio (1689), and San Javier (1691). At the time of resettlement, each *parcialidad* acted as a body and moved together to a town. In Loreto, for example, thirteen *parcialidades* resettled: the Casaboyonos, the Hapiruconos, the Sibaquerionos, the Tubira-

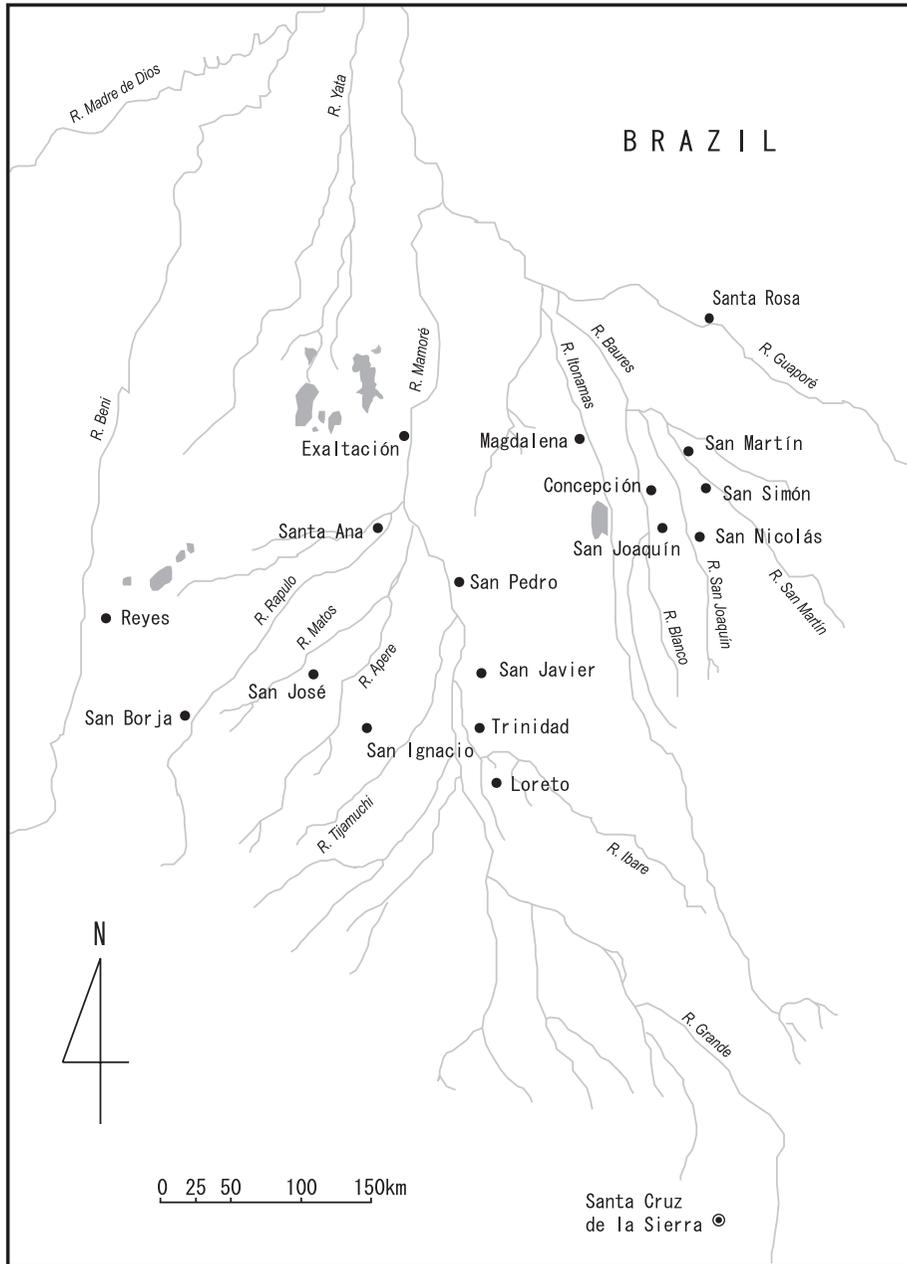


Figure 2 Major mission towns in Moxos

nas, the Suberionos de arriba, the Tatiruonos, the Mouremonos, the Suberionos de abajo, the Mariquionos, the Bonopeonos, the Chamainanos, the Manesonos, and the Aracureonos. The town's total population amounted to two thousand three hundred (figure 2)²⁶.

Obviously, at the time of their foundation, the mission towns were nothing more than conglomerations of different ethnic groups. According to the Jesuit reports, each group obeyed their own chief, referred to as *capitán*²⁷. Each occupied a different section of the town and cultivated a different stretch of land (Beingolea 2005: 151). Though living in the same town, the ethnic groups always stayed apart from each other. A missionary remarked: "one of the peculiarities of these Indians is that of being separated: division always pleases them in everything"²⁸. It is said that they prayed in the church separately, celebrated festivities separately, sang and played music separately, and played ball games separately²⁹. They even used different paths to go to the same lake or river so as not to encounter anyone from a different group and, as a result, a labyrinth of paths was created around a town³⁰.

The Jesuits instituted a council in each mission town and created posts such as *alcalde*, *regidor*, and *alguacil*³¹, but this institution soon became involved in the deeply rooted antagonism that reigned over the ethnic groups. They refused to recognize the authority of a council official who belonged to a different group. A missionary pessimistically admitted: "How could they accept a judge of another ethnic group, who they knew was hostile to them. Wouldn't it amount to converting the town into an infernal scene of fighting?" (Eder 1985: 365).

8 Emergence of the *domésticos*

What measures did the missionaries take to overcome this difficulty? How could the antagonistic ethnic groups become reconciled to living in harmony and forming a unified republic? While tackling this problem, I was lucky enough to find a clue in a baptismal register of the town of Loreto. This register covers the years between 1701 and 1766³². It is divided into a number of sections, which basically correspond to the ethnic groups that composed the townspeople. For example, there is a section under the heading "Mouremonos", and all the babies born into this group were chronologically registered there. This baptismal register also has a section which does not correspond to any ethnic group, under the heading "*domésticos*" (domestics).

Who were the *domésticos*? As the name suggests, they were originally the missionaries' household servants. They were young boys before marriage. A cloister adjacent to the church was a space where the missionaries and their servants lived together. In this space, there were also classrooms for children, workshops of all kinds, a dispensary, storerooms, etc. The whole space was called a *colegio* (college)³³. The young boys living in the college cooked for the missionaries and served

them at table. They helped them say Mass as acolytes and assisted them in their daily medical rounds as male nurses. They also taught the missionaries the local languages. The missionaries dressed them in European clothes, taught them how to play musical instruments, and trained them to become craftsmen³⁴). Even after they got married and moved out of the college, they continued to work for the town as musicians, sacristans, painters, sculptors, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, silversmiths, turners, etc. As a salary, they were provided with food from the produce of the town's common fields³⁵).

It is important to note that, in the baptismal register of Loreto, the *domésticos* are listed separately from all the other ethnic groups. Does this mean that the *domésticos* formed an independent group whose membership did not overlap with that of any other? In other words, did the Fathers' domestic servants cast off their ethnicity upon entering the college? Did they stop being Aracureonos, for example, and become *domésticos*? I think this was the case by the late Jesuit period. The baptismal register shows that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the *domésticos* were a mixture of people from different ethnic groups. The register specifies which group the parents of a baptized baby belonged to. From 1740 onward, however, there are very few mentions of ethnic identification and, instead, we often find the profession of the baby's father: sacristan, harpist, carpenter, blacksmith, cattleman, cook, etc. It is likely that, by 1740, the *domésticos* had become an independent group on the same footing as the other ethnic groups.

Why did the missionaries' domestic servants come to form a separate group? In Moxos, before the arrival of the Jesuits, women and children were often exchanged among different *parcialidades* as captives of war, commodities, or gifts (Saito 2003). They were considered highly valuable resources of human reproduction and, through marriage or adoption, they were incorporated into a host group. The Spanish colonizers used this system to gain slaves for their sugar cane plantations. They offered iron tools to the Mojeños, encouraged them to make war upon their neighbors, and bought captives from them. The Jesuits did much the same thing. The missionaries' domestic servants were originally captured for them by their native allies, bought in exchange for iron tools, or offered in token of friendship³⁶). Thus, from the native point of view, it was natural that these boys were severed from their native *parcialidades* and incorporated into the Fathers' *parcialidad*, so to speak.

My hypothesis is that the *domésticos* served as a core for the creation of a unified republic in each mission town. Structurally they were in the best position to represent the common interests of the townspeople. As a body, they were free from the antagonism of the ethnic groups while, as individuals, they maintained blood ties with the groups they originally came from. Moreover, they were close allies of the missionaries and, therefore, shared in the enormous authority the Fathers enjoyed among the converts.

In this respect, the baptismal register of Loreto reveals an interesting fact: the

expansion of the *doméstico* group. From the numbers of baptized babies, we can infer the approximate percentage of each group's population. The earliest surviving record of a baptized *doméstico* baby is in the year 1718 and, at that time, the *doméstico* group probably occupied twenty percent of the town's total population. From 1718 to 1766, the annual numbers of newborn *domésticos* remained relatively stable and even increased slightly while those of all the other groups decreased sharply. Since there is no reason to suppose that the *domésticos* had a significantly higher birth rate or lower mortality, I am inclined to think that this was due to the constant supply of new members, either from the non-Christian Indians or from the Christian residents of the town, which benefited the *doméstico* group. As a result, at the end of the Jesuit period, the *doméstico* population reached more than forty percent and they became by all odds the largest group in the town.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the *domésticos* were often described as nobility in the reports of Spanish officers. It is said that the Indian craftsmen enjoyed a higher social standing than the ordinary peasants and that they were economically privileged. Among the people of the *parcialidades*, "the ambition and the desire to enter the college in the ranks of servants or the lowest-ranking employees are ardent" (Carrasco 1832: 16). Demotion from the *doméstico* group to that of the *parcialidades* was considered a most severe punishment³⁷). I doubt that, during the Jesuit period, the distinction between the two groups was as hierarchical as those reports suggest, but it is certain that to be part of the college was a privilege many hoped to attain.

9 After the expulsion of the Jesuits

As is well known, the Jesuits were expelled from Spain and its overseas colonies on the order of King Carlos III in 1767. The half century between their expulsion and the independence of Bolivia in 1825 was, in my view, crucial for the creation of Indian republics in Moxos because, during this period, the collective identities based on the mission towns such as the Loretanos, the Trinitarios, etc, took clear shape. Fortunately this period is the best documented in the history of Moxos. A large number of official reports and census records throw light on the complex social structure of the mission towns³⁸).

According to these records, the native population in each town was divided into two social strata: one was called *familia* (family) and the other *pueblo* (people). It is said that the *familia* represented the nobility and the *pueblo* the commonalty. The former was divided into guilds of craftsmen such as musicians, sacristans, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and so on, and these were given a portion of the produce from the town's common fields. The *pueblo* was divided into *parcialidades*. Undoubtedly the *familia* corresponds to the *domésticos* of the above-mentioned baptismal register.

Let us take some examples³⁹). In 1803, the townspeople of San Ignacio were divided into the *familia* and the *pueblo*. The former was subdivided into ten guilds: musicians, carpenters, weavers, shoemakers, basketmakers, cooks, nurses, painters, blacksmiths, and cattlemen, and their population amounted to 939. The *pueblo*, on the other hand, was subdivided into seven *parcialidades*: the Carijirionos, the Punubonos, the Comoboconos, the Mures, the Casabenanos, the Heriseboconos, and the Movimas, and their population was 728. In 1806, in the town of Trinidad, the *familia* group included musicians, sacristans, carpenters, turners, tailors, blacksmiths, weavers, and cattlemen, and their population was 989. The *pueblo* group comprised the Siyaboconos, the Cojocureonos, the Moyunconos, the Tapimuonos, the Apereonos, the Achuboconos, the Chuchineonos, and the Tapacuranos, and their population reached 854.

As for the town council, the records enumerate several posts. First, there was an Indian governor in each town. Variouslly called *cacique*, *gobernador*, or *corregidor*, this supreme authority of the town should not be confused with the *capitanes* of the *parcialidades*. There are no mentions of this office in the Jesuit reports of the early seventeenth century. An anonymous report of 1754 informs us that it was originally created on the order of the Viceroy of Peru as the highest commander of military expeditions against hostile Indians⁴⁰). The office was not hereditary and apparently it had no fixed term. A new *cacique* was chosen when his predecessor was dismissed, retired, or died. A *cacique* usually had one or two *tenientes* (lieutenants). Moreover, there were the town council posts such as *alcaldes* who maintained public order, *fiscales* who sent the townspeople to the church and children to the school, *alguaciles* who watched over prisoners, etc. These officials were elected annually⁴¹).

In historiography, the half century of secular rule after the expulsion of the Jesuits is taken to be an age of hardship for the indigenous people⁴²). A Spanish governor was appointed as head of the entire region and local clergymen were sent to fill the vacant posts of priest. The latter, however, soon turned out to be no match for the Jesuits. They abused their authority to enrich themselves and undertook illicit commercial transactions with the Portuguese. They did not understand the native languages and relegated all their priestly duties to the Indian sacristans. The central government became alarmed at this disorder and, in 1789, carried out a reform. The priests were prohibited from meddling in secular affairs and an administrator was appointed in each town. What ensued from this reform, however, was a constant struggle for power between the priests on the one hand and the governor and the administrators on the other. Faced with this confusion, the indigenous people became distrustful of the Spanish authorities and gradually assumed a defiant attitude toward them.

The first action of open defiance which the natives took toward the Spanish was the expulsion of Governor Miguel Zamora y Treviño by an Indian *cacique* of the town of San Pedro named Juan Maraza, in 1801. San Pedro was home to the

Canichana Indians and the capital of the region. Both the Jesuit superiors of the mission and the Spanish governors resided there. After the success of this rebellion, Maraza declared himself governor of Moxos and announced that they no longer needed Spanish authorities and that they alone would rule thereafter⁴³⁾. He was later reconciled with a new governor, Pedro Pablo de Urquijo, but a spirit of defiance rapidly spread to the other towns. In 1810, the townspeople of Trinidad revolted against the Spanish authorities. They forcibly confined Urquijo inside the church and demanded his resignation. This time, however, the townspeople of San Pedro and San Javier took sides with the Spanish and rescued the governor. Next year, under the command of Maraza, they attacked Trinidad, caught the ringleaders of the rebellion, ransacked the town, and abused the inhabitants. As a result, twenty-seven men, five women, and thirty-three children under the age of ten were killed, and forty-six men and four women were fatally injured⁴⁴⁾.

The collaboration between the *cacique* of San Pedro and the Spanish authorities turned out to be fragile, however. In 1822, a new governor of Moxos, for some unknown reason, demanded Maraza's resignation and, on being refused, became exasperated by what he regarded as intolerable arrogance from an Indian. He shot him dead with a pistol. The townspeople of San Pedro reacted violently; they laid siege to the governor's house and set fire to it. The governor tried to escape and take refuge in the priest's house, but was killed on the way. Later Spanish troops were sent to Moxos and the rebels punished. The town of San Pedro was devastated and the capital of the region was relocated to Trinidad⁴⁵⁾.

10 New generation of native leaders

As far as I know, the terms Loretano, Trinitario, etc, appeared for the first time in the written testimonies of these disturbances. An important question to be raised is: Who coined them? In my opinion, it was a young generation of Spanish-speaking Indians. In the Jesuit period, the vast majority of the native population did not speak Spanish. The missionaries made every effort to learn the major languages spoken in the towns in their charge, but they also encouraged speakers of minor languages to learn a major one. Thanks to their effort, by the time of their expulsion, linguistic unification had been achieved in each town while serious language barriers separated one town from another. What the Spanish officers and clergymen found in Moxos in 1767 was this town-based linguistic diversity (Saito 2002; Saito 2005). In such a Babel-like situation, they first resorted to a small number of Spanish-speaking Indians, and then decided to train native interpreters. A serious effort was started with the establishment of a school in San Pedro by Governor Lázaro de Ribera at the end of the 1780s. From every town, a group of young boys was sent to this school to learn to read and write in Spanish. After finishing school, the boys were sent back to their home town to serve as interpreters and scribes for the

Spanish administrator and priests. They were also expected to teach Spanish to local children⁴⁶).

Probably it was in this school that collective identities such as the Loretanos, the Trinitarios, etc, were forged. Small groups of boys who came from different towns and who spoke different languages were gathered there. In this situation, they naturally became highly aware of their town-based linguistic differences. Since they spoke Spanish at school, they coined such Spanish words as Loretanos, Trinitarios, etc, to refer to each other. After returning to their home town, some of them became leaders and took an active part in the acts of defiance against the colonial authorities. They wrote to each other in Spanish and cooperated in each other's schemes. Here is an extract of a letter from a Trinitario *cacique* to a Canichana one: "I'm telling our Trinitario people to help with the Canichanas [...] Here I'm ready to help in all. Don't worry. So are the Lauretanos to help. The mail has already been dispatched [...] There are three canoes: two Javerianos and one Trinitario"⁴⁷).

From fragmentary sources, we can reconstruct a sketchy profile of some of these Spanish-speaking Indians. Pedro Ignacio Muiba, interpreter of Trinidad, was the principal leader of the rebellion in 1810–1811. Being a "very *ladino* [Spanish-speaking] Indian", he could write Spanish and "by letter encouraged a general uprising and a complete abandonment of obedience"⁴⁸). Baltazar Cayuba was another interpreter of Trinidad and a collaborator of the former⁴⁹). Gregorio González, brother of Pedro Ignacio Muiba, held the office of *cacique* in Trinidad in 1810–1811; his letters, written in Spanish and addressed to Juan Maraza, are now preserved in the National Archive of Bolivia⁵⁰). Manuel Muiba, *cacique* of San Javier in 1804, disobeyed the order of Governor Antonio Alvarez de Sotomayor to punish two Indian interpreters and threatened him with an armed uprising⁵¹). Estanislao Tilila, *cacique* and interpreter of Loreto, attempted to throw out a newly appointed Spanish administrator in 1801, following the expulsion of Governor Zamora⁵²).

All of them could speak Spanish and some could write it. All, at least for some time, stood in the vanguard of the indigenous challenge to the colonial authorities. In their home town, these Spanish-speaking Indians quickly gained power and some obtained the post of *cacique*. Being interpreters and scribes, they played the crucial role of intermediaries between the Spanish and the natives. This probably helped them climb up the social ladder with exceptional rapidity and attain prominent positions⁵³). It is an irony that the school whose original purpose was to train native collaborators for the Spanish actually produced their bitterest enemies. Governor Sotomayor, in a fit of rage, vituperated them: "the young people who took some instruction in Spanish and letters in this capital during Mr. Lázaro de Ribera's governorship are not capable of teaching [...] because all of them are the most vicious of their towns"⁵⁴).

In my opinion, these Spanish-speaking Indians brought back to their fellow townspeople exactly what they needed: an identity as a distinct social group. At the

beginning of the nineteenth century, the *domésticos* or the *familia* group occupied nearly half the total population in each town. This group had the potential to serve as a core of social cohesion. What was lacking was only a sense of collective identity. With an awareness of their town-based linguistic differences and such group names as the Loretanos, the Trinitarios, etc, the Spanish-speaking Indians made up for this lack.

It is important to note that the Mojeños' identity formation was realized against the background of strong anti-Spanish sentiment and an equally strong desire for self-government. By the time of the expulsion of Governor Zamora in 1801, the Spanish rule in Moxos had lost much of its legitimacy in the eyes of the native population. During the thirty-four years of secular rule, the Spanish officers did little more than exploit the natives, and the priests corrupted rather than improved their Christian morals. Petitions of *caciques* and *cabildo* officials to the colonial authorities attest that they were at the limit of their patience. I think the Spanish-speaking Indians played a crucial part in the transformation of this discontent into a political agenda. Being in contact with the outside world, they probably knew about the great indigenous rebellions that had shaken the Southern Andes at the end of the eighteenth century. A total negation of the legitimacy of the Spanish rule, a strong claim for self-government, a consciousness that now was the time to act were among the notable elements common to both the Andeans' and the Mojeños' political ideology.

To take an example, after the expulsion of Governor Zamora, Juan Maraza circulated oral and written messages all over the region to proclaim that "the present was another era, that there was no king, that there were no tribunals or other superiors, that everything was a lie, and that he alone ruled and they should obey him"⁵⁵). Compare this statement to the one made by the people of Jesús de Machaca, in present-day La Paz prefecture, on the occasion of their uprising in 1795: "the present was another era [...] The *cacique*, his *segunda* [lieutenant], as well as the priest had to change, and [...] those that the *común* wanted had to take their place" (Thomson 2002: 145; Thomson 2005: 49).

The Trinitario revolt of 1810–1811 led by Pedro Ignacio Muiba not only synchronized with the political events in the Andes but also with world history. The first decade of the nineteenth century is the time when the French army, under the command of Napoléon Bonaparte, invaded Spain, and the American-born Spanish took the opportunity to gain power in the colonies. The Spanish-speaking Indians in Moxos were not ignorant of what was happening overseas. In 1810, Gregorio González wrote to Juan Maraza: "Our King died in France. They killed him, and Boinaparte [sic] is in the palace where our King used to be. Spain is lost, and everything belongs to the French. Three months have passed without mail coming from Spain, and they are deceiving us into believing it is all right, but all is a lie"⁵⁶).

Everywhere in Spanish America, the news of the forced abdication of King Fernando VII by the French triggered struggles for independence. This was also

the case in Moxos. What was sought for in Moxos, however, was not the independence of the American-born Spanish from those of the Iberian Peninsula, but that of the Loretanos, the Trinitarios, etc, from all the Spanish. In 1810, when Governor Urquijo rebuked the Trinitarios for their disobedience and threatened to report the matter to the King of Spain, they replied “that it was my [Urquijo’s] lie, that there was no king, and that he had died”⁵⁷). There is no doubt that, for the Trinitarios, the news of the fall of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain announced the end of the Spanish rule and legitimated their claim for self-government.

What caused the failure of the Mojeños’ independence movement? In my opinion, the very success of their political activities brought about a condition for their failure. It is true that the Spanish-speaking Indians succeeded in creating new forms of collectivity such as the Loretanos, the Trinitarios, etc, and that these served as power bases for their political campaigns. However, since their identity formation was realized not only in opposition to the Spanish, but also to each other, they had difficulties in forming a unified front against their common enemies.

As a matter of fact, except for occasional calls for collaboration, the political activities of different towns were hardly coordinated. In 1801, with the audacious act of the *cacique* of San Pedro, the indigenous people’s expectation of political autonomy suddenly turned to reality. Maraza became *de facto* governor of Moxos and “no other voice or name is heard in the entire province than that of Juan Maraza, *cacique* of the capital”⁵⁸). In reality, however, Maraza’s voice was far from being the only one heard in the region. Leaders of different towns also declared themselves sovereign rulers. In Trinidad, Pedro Ignacio Muiba claimed: “I, Pedro Ignacio Muiba, am the one who rules the province and I will make up the towns”⁵⁹). He announced to his fellow townspeople: “I was the one who got the Canicianas to rise up and expelled Zamora from the province, and here nothing but what I want is to be done”⁶⁰). In Loreto, José Bopi professed himself to be an absolute ruler: “I don’t fear anyone, because I’m brave, and I’m in my town. Nobody but me should be in a commanding position, because I’m a powerful *cacique*, I’m an administrator and I’m also a governor”⁶¹). Though Maraza himself was held in high esteem, his claim that “all the province should be subjected to the Canicianan nation” was contested by leaders of other towns⁶²). As we saw, this political fragmentation had a fatal consequence when Governor Urquijo won Maraza over to his side and had him suppress the Trinitario revolt in 1811.

11 Conclusion

This article has examined the historical process of the formation of town-based ethnic groups in Moxos from two complementary perspectives: one regional and the other continental. The history of ethnogenesis in Moxos obviously has its regional characteristics. In my view, one of the most salient features is a close association

between ethnicity and language, which is not the case in the Andes. During the colonial period, the majority of the Andeans spoke either Quechua or Aymara while, in the Amazonian lowlands, language diversity was enormous. In Moxos, as we saw, the language unification of the towns preceded and prepared the way for their ethnogenesis. As a result, for the Loretanos, the Trinitarios, etc, language came to form an essential part of their identity. For this reason, even after the native population of the towns dispersed, they remained united as ethnic groups. Today the Trinitarios live not only in Trinidad, but also in San Lorenzo, San Francisco, and many other hamlets. Despite this geographical dispersion, however, they continue to speak the Trinitario language, regard Trinidad as their home town, and celebrate an annual festival on Trinity Sunday.

The ethnogenesis and the language formation of the Mojeños can be ultimately ascribed to the resettlement policy the Jesuits implemented in the region. In this respect, the missionaries acted as local agents of the Spanish colonial enterprise. It is important to recall that the history of the Mojeños forms part of a much wider process of creation of Indian republics all over Spanish South America. In the late colonial period, pre-Columbian ethnic groups disintegrated and new Indian republics emerged from their ashes in the Andes as well as in the Amazon. What gives a remarkable uniformity to this process is the Spanish colonization policy with its standardized implementation. The historical trajectories the individual societies followed are certainly diverse, but their goals are very much alike.

My analysis of the history of the Mojeños strongly suggests the need to study the Jesuit missions as an essential component of the Spanish colonial venture. Historians often regard the missions as an isolated paradise and erroneously attribute some of the characteristics of the Indian republics to the missionaries' initiatives. As I have shown, however, the Jesuits adopted the same methods of colonization as those used elsewhere in Spanish South America, and the results they obtained were also the same. Is this interconnectedness between Jesuit enterprise and secular policy characteristic of Spanish colonial rule in South America? This is probable because, in the Spanish colonies, the clergy's activities were under the tight control of the Crown. In order to answer this question adequately, however, we would need a comparative study on a much wider scale and, with growing concern for the global activities of the Society of Jesus, we are now in a good position to embark on such an ambitious project⁶³.

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Notes

- 1) On the native communities of present-day Bolivia, the following ethnohistorical studies are largely successful in establishing links between the pre-Columbian past and the present: Abercrombie 1998; Rasnake 1988; Saignes 1985; Saignes 1990; Wachtel 1990.
- 2) Wachtel 1992: 39. For a similar view, see Penry 1996: 2, 5; Thomson 2002: ix.
- 3) Throughout the article, I use the word “Moxos” to designate the region and “Mojeños” to designate the Arawak-speaking people of the Upper Mamoré River. During the colonial period, missionaries and government officers used the words “Moxos” or “Mojos” interchangeably to refer to both the region and its inhabitants.
- 4) On the history of the Jesuit mission in Moxos, see Barnadas 1985; Block 1994: 33–124; Chávez Suárez 1986: 187–312; Vargas Ugarte 1964.
- 5) On the contemporary society and culture of the Mojeños, see Díez Astete and Murillo 1998: 147–157; Jones 1980; Riestler 1976: 309–339; Saito 2004.
- 6) At the time of my research, all the men and the majority of women could speak Spanish. In their own languages, they referred to themselves as “Trinranono” (Trinitarios), “Inasianuana” (Ignacianos), etc. A preliminary report of the national census of 1994–1995 gives the following estimates of their populations: Trinitarios 9,813, Ignacianos 6,317, Javerianos 410 (Bolivia 1995: 755). The Lorentanos as a group disappeared in the late twentieth century.
- 7) On the Trinitario language, see Gill 1993; Gill n.d. On the Ignaciano language, see Olza Zubiri, Nuni de Chapi and Tube 2004; Ott and Burk de Ott 1983. Becerra Casanovas 1980 is the only comparative study of the four Mojo languages, but unfortunately it is saturated with errors.
- 8) In the Bolivian highlands, for example, we have the Yuras (Rasnake 1988), the K’ultas (Abercrombie 1998), the Chipayas (Wachtel 1990), etc.
- 9) See Cushner 1980; Cushner 1982; Cushner 1983; Mörner 1968; Mörner 1970.
- 10) On the resettlement policy in Spanish South America, see Coello de la Rosa 2001: 137–245; Duviols 1972: 248–263; Fraser 1990: 40–47, 75–79; Málaga Medina 1972; Málaga Medina 1974a; Málaga Medina 1974b; Málaga Medina 1975; Málaga Medina 1979; Málaga Medina 1993; Sordo 1995; Sordo 2000: 66–122; Spalding 1984: 178–180, 214–216, 225–226; Wightman 1990: 9–44. The basic sources are Cook 1975; Lohmann Villena and Sarabia Viejo 1986–1989.
- 11) According to Málaga Medina, during Toledo’s reign, a population of a million and a half was congregated into more than a thousand towns. See Málaga Medina 1974b: 836; Málaga Medina 1993: 299.
- 12) Among the ethnohistorical studies on the Bolivian highlands, Penry 1996 is the most eloquent exponent of this view. She maintains that “by the late 18th century [...] collective “Indian” identities and new, legitimate authorities were now forged through the syncretic civil and religious institutions of *reducción* towns into which the Spanish had forced indigenous people” (Penry 1996: 2).
- 13) The historians of the Andes tend to stress the dispersed settlement pattern of the pre-Columbian period and treat the resettlement towns as if they had been created from scratch (Rasnake 1988: 118; Spalding 1984: 17–20, 43–44). I suspect that, at least for the Southern Andes, the majority of the *reducciones* were founded on existing Indian towns. See, for example, the case of the Lupaqas (Murra 2002: 183–207; Wachtel 1990: 417).
- 14) On the *cabildo*, see Abercrombie 1998: 244–246; Penry 1996: 36–39; Spalding 1984: 216–219; Thomson 2002: 44–54.
- 15) There are very few statistical data that could inform us about the percentage of surviving towns.

- In the 1970s, Daniel Gade and Mario Escobar reported that approximately seventy percent of the towns founded during Toledo's reign survived in the southwest of Cuzco Prefecture, Peru (Gade and Escobar 1982: 446).
- 16) On the hamlets and the annexes of the *reducción* towns, see Abercrombie 1998: 272–278, 283–284; Penry 1996: 28–34; Platt 1987; Saignes 1991: 92, 108; Wachtel 1990: 30–35.
 - 17) There is much confusion on this topic and few scholars adequately distinguish among *reducción*, *misión*, and *doctrina* partly because, from the seventeenth century onward, the word *reducción* primarily meant *misión*. A pertinent discussion can be found in Málaga Medina 1975: 9–13; Palomera Serreinat 2002: 140–143.
 - 18) The missionaries were sometimes criticized for this apparent infringement of the jurisdiction of the secular authority. See Eder 1985: 363–366.
 - 19) See for example Bareiro Saguier 1995; Marzal 1992–1994; Melià 1995; Reiter 1995.
 - 20) Scholars use various words to designate such a political formation: “diarchy” (Abercrombie 1998), “señorio” (Bouysse-Cassagne 1978; Bouysse-Cassagne 1987), “nación” (Julien 1983), “kingdom” (Klein 2003; Lumbreras 1974), “reino” (Murra 2002), “chefferie” (Wachtel 1990), etc, without specifying what exactly they mean by these words. I think the scale of political organization (only the Lupaqas count more than 100,000) and the great autonomy they enjoyed even under Inca rule justify the use of the word “kingdom”.
 - 21) The *repartimiento* is a colonial administrative unit created in the sixteenth century. It roughly corresponded to the jurisdiction of a native lord entrusted to a Spanish conqueror as booty by the system called *encomienda*. See Spalding 1984: 47.
 - 22) See Penry 1996; Serulnikov 2003; Thomson 2002; Thomson 2005.
 - 23) The basic sources are Carta de los PP. que residen en la misión de los moxos para el P. Hernando Cavero de la Compañía de Jesús provincial de esta provincia del Perú en que se le da noticia de lo que han visto oído, y experimentado en el tiempo que ha que están en ella, provincia de los moxos, 20/IV/1676, ARSI, Perú 20, ff.200r-213v; Copia de la relación de los PP. de la misión de los infieles mojos, pueblo nuevo de los moxos, 12/VII/1679, ARSI, Perú 20, ff.228r-230r; Castillo 1906. See also Block 1994: 19–22; Tormo Sanz 1972.
 - 24) Among the Movimas and the Baures, the chieftaincy was hereditary. See Descripción de los mojos que están a cargo de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Perú, año de 1754, APTCJ, leg.3, no.7, f.7v; Eder 1985: 84–85.
 - 25) We do not know the origin of the word. It first appeared in the declaration of the Inca cord keepers (*quipocamayos*) to Cristóbal Vaca de Castro in 1542 (Jiménez de la Espada 1920: 19), then became associated with the legend of a fabulous kingdom, rich in gold and silver, which the Spanish conquerors hoped to discover in the lowlands. See Chávez Suárez 1986: 3–4; García Recio 1988: 26–33.
 - 26) Copia de la relación de los PP., pueblo nuevo de los moxos, 12/VII/1679, ARSI, Perú 20, ff.228r-229v; Carta del P. Antonio de Orellana al P. Provincial Martín de Xáuregui, Loreto, 18/X/1687, ARSI, Perú 17, f.107r; Libro de bautismo de la reducción de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 1701–1766, APBCJ, MM, no.0039.
 - 27) Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Perú el año de 1713, ARSI, Perú 21, ff.179r; Breve noticia del estado en que se hallan el año de 1713 las misiones de infieles, que tiene a su cargo la provincia del Perú de la Compañía de Jesús en las provincias de los mojos, AHLPL, LB-329, f.10r.
 - 28) Descripción de los mojos, año de 1754, APTCJ, leg.3, no.7, f.5r.
 - 29) Relación auténtica del Fr. Francisco de Torres del Orden de Predicadores sobre el estado de las misiones de Mojos, Lima, 14/I/1698, ARSI, Perú 21, f.113v; Relación de la misión apostólica de los mojos en esta provincia del Perú de la Compañía de Jesús que remite su Provincial P. Diego de Eguliz a N. M. R. P. Thyrso González General, año de 1696, ARSI, Perú 21, ff.58v, 63r; Eder 1985: 285–287, 298.
 - 30) Descripción de los mojos, año de 1754, APTCJ, leg.3, no.7, f.5r.
 - 31) On the *cabildo* of the Jesuit period, see Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús el año de 1713, ARSI, Perú 21, ff.179r-179v; Breve noticia del estado en que se hallan el año de 1713 las misiones de infieles, AHLPL, LB-329, ff.10r-10v; Descripción de los mojos, año de 1754, APTCJ, leg.3, no.7, f.19r; Altamirano 1979: 94; Beingolea 2005: 150; Eder 1985: 362; Orellana 1755: 108–109.

- 32) Libro de bautismo de Loreto, 1701–1766, APBCJ, MM, no.0039. In the same archive, another baptismal register covering the years 1682–1700 must have existed; Vargas Ugarte mentions it (Vargas Ugarte 1964: 29). Unfortunately this register is now missing.
- 33) On the physical structure of the *colegio*, see Carta del Padre Misionero Agustín Zapata al Padre Fernando Tardío dándole cuenta del estreno de la iglesia, y de la visita a los canisianas, San Javier, 25/IX/1693, AHLP, LB-267, ff.1r-1v; Altamirano 1979: 99.
- 34) On the missionaries' household servants, see Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús el año de 1713, ARSI, Perú 21, ff.177v, 178v; Altamirano 1979: 97–98; Eder 1985: 303; Mayer 1970: 246; Mayer 1972: 373.
- 35) On the craftsmen, see Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús el año de 1713, ARSI, Perú 21, ff.178v-179r; Descripción de los mojos, año de 1754, APTCJ, leg.3, no.7, ff.19r-19v; Altamirano 1979: 99, 221; Eder 1985: 319–325; Mayer 1972: 373; Orellana 1755: 109.
- 36) Carta del Padre Misionero Agustín Zapata al Padre Fernando Tardío, San Javier, 25/IX/1693, AHLP, LB-267, f.2r; Relación de la misión apostólica de los mojos, año de 1696, ARSI, Perú 21, f.50r; Eder 1985: 135.
- 37) Copia de la relación que comprende las noticias generales y particulares de la situación actual de la provincia de Moxos, escrita por el gobernador Lázaro de Ribera, San Pedro, 24/IX/1792, AGNA, Sala IX, 7-7-2, f.6r.
- 38) On the social structure of the mission towns after the expulsion of the Jesuits, see Descripción de algunas provincias y obispados de América por el Dr. Cosme Bueno, catedrático de prime de matemática y cosmógrafo mayor de estos reynos, año de 1771, RAH, 9/5907, f.96v; Copia de la relación escrita por el gobernador Lázaro de Ribera, San Pedro, 24/IX/1792, AGNA, Sala IX, 7-7-2, ff.5v-7r; Carrasco 1832: 16; D'Orbigny 1844/III: 230–231. A large number of census records are preserved at APBCJ, MM.
- 39) Padron general del pueblo de San Ignacio formado en este presente año de 1803, San Ignacio, 12/V/1803, APBCJ, MM-0192; Padron de la gente que compone este pueblo de la Santísima Trinidad de Moxos, Trinidad, 16/V/1806, APBCJ, MM-0193.
- 40) Descripción de los mojos, año de 1754, APTCJ, leg.3, no.7, f.19r.
- 41) On Indian governor and town council officials after the expulsion of the Jesuits, see Descripción de algunas provincias y obispados de América, año de 1771, RAH, 9/5907, f.96r; Decreto real al obispo de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, sobre el nuevo gobierno espiritual y temporal de las misiones de indios chiquitos y mojos, en aquella provincia, San Ildefonso, 15/IX/1772, BL, 4745.f.9. (28.), pp. 39–41; Copia de la relación escrita por el gobernador Lázaro de Ribera, San Pedro, 24/IX/1792, AGNA, Sala IX, 7-7-2, ff.5v-7r; Beingolea 2005: 150; Carrasco 1832: 16; D'Orbigny 1844/III: 230–231.
- 42) On Spanish secular rule in Moxos after the expulsion of the Jesuits, see Block 1994: 125–148; Carvalho Urey 1976; Chávez Suárez 1986: 339–499; Parejas Moreno 1976; René-Moreno 1974: 11–85; Roca 1992.
- 43) Declaraciones de los administradores de los pueblos de Exaltación, San Javier, Trinidad y Loreto sobre el estado de la provincia de Moxos, San Pedro, 5/II/1806, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXII, ff.264v, 269r.
- 44) After the suppression of the rebellion, Urquijo submitted official reports to the central government on two occasions. His reports contain letters and testimonies of himself, administrators, priests, and *caciques*. See ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII. Some documents are transcribed and published in Carvalho Urey 1976; Roca 1992.
- 45) On this event, see Carta de los curas de San Pedro al vicario juez eclesiástico Felipe Santiago Cortéz y otra de José de Mendizabal é Imas al mismo vicario sobre los conflictos entre el gobernador y el pueblo de San Pedro, San Pedro, 28/IV/1822 y Cochabamba, 3/VI/1822, APBCJ, MM-0060; D'Orbigny 1844/III: 133, 235.
- 46) On the training of native interpreters, see Informe del gobernador Lázaro de Ribera sobre el desastro estado en que se encuentra su provincia y los medios que él considera oportunos para remediarlo, San Pedro, 22/II/1788 & 15/IV/1788, RAH, Mata Linares, 9/1664, ff.546r, 561r-561v, 526r-562v; Copia de la relación escrita por el gobernador Lázaro de Ribera, San Pedro, 24/IX/1792, AGNA, Sala IX, 7-7-2, ff.7v-9r.
- 47) Copia de la carta escrita por el cacique de Trinidad Gregorio González al de San Pedro, 1/X/1810,

- ANBN, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, f.436r.
- 48) Representación hecha al gobernador Lázaro de Ribera por el cacique y demás jueces del pueblo de Trinidad, manifestando los escándalos que comete su cura Ramón Lairana, San Pedro, 7/XI/1786, ABNB, AM, v.8, no.XII, ff.193r-195; Informe de los curas primero y segundo del pueblo de Loreto contra el indio trinitario Pedro Ignacio Muiba, Loreto, 31/XII/1810, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, f.374r; Declaraciones de los administradores, San Pedro, 5/II/1806, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXII, f.264r. Some scholars mistakenly refer to him as *cacique*, but he never assumed this post or any in the *cabildo*. See Carvalho Urey 1976; Roca 1992.
 - 49) Informe del gobernador interino Antonio Alvarez de Sotomayor sobre las ocurrencias habidas entre los pueblos de Trinidad y San Javier, San Pedro, 24/XI/1804, ABNB, AM, v.17, no.XVIII, ff.170v-171r.
 - 50) Copia de la carta del secretario de gobierno Lucas José de González al gobernador Pedro Pablo de Urquijo sobre los acontecimientos del pueblo de Trinidad, Trinidad, 17/I/1811, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, f.435v; Copia de la carta escrita por Gregorio González, cacique de Trinidad al de San Pedro, 11/XI/1810, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, f.439r; Informe del gobernador Pedro Pablo de Urquijo sobre el alzamiento de los naturales del pueblo de Trinidad, San Pedro, 4/IV/1811, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, f.449r. González's letters to Maraza are located at ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, ff.436r, 437r, 438r-438v, 439r, 440r-440v.
 - 51) Informe del gobernador interino Antonio Alvarez de Sotomayor sobre el estado de la provincia, San Pedro, 29/XI/1802, ABNB, AM, v.17, no.IV, ff.40v-41v; Informe del gobernador interino Antonio Alvarez de Sotomayor, San Pedro, 24/XI/1804, ABNB, AM, v.17, no.XVIII, ff.175v-176r; Declaraciones de los administradores, San Pedro, 5/II/1806, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXII, f.265r.
 - 52) Declaraciones de los administradores, San Pedro, 5/II/1806, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXII, ff.264v, 267r; Copia del oficio de los curas primero y segundo de Loreto al gobernador Pedro Pablo de Urquijo, Loreto, 15/XII/1810, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, ff.361r-361v.
 - 53) It seems that the quick rise of the younger generation sometimes brought them into conflict with the elders of the towns. See Informe del gobernador interino Antonio Alvarez de Sotomayor, San Pedro, 24/XI/1804, ABNB, AM, v.17, no.XVIII, ff.175v-176r.
 - 54) Informe del gobernador interino Antonio Alvarez de Sotomayor sobre el mal estado de las escuelas de primeras letras y de las de dibujo por falta de textos y útiles, y sobre lo abandonado que está por los curas el aprendizaje de la doctrina cristiana, a causa de haber todos contraído la costumbre de delegar esta enseñanza a indios doctrineros, y de no pensar en ello ni aun a tiempo de administrar los sacramentos, San Pedro, 16/VII/1804, ABNB, AM, v.17, no.X, f.107v.
 - 55) Declaraciones de los administradores, San Pedro, 5/II/1806, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXII, f.264v.
 - 56) Copia de la carta escrita por el cacique de Trinidad Gregorio González, al de la capital Juan Maraza, 6/X/1810, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, f.440r.
 - 57) Informe del gobernador Pedro Pablo de Urquijo sobre el alzamiento de los naturales del pueblo de Trinidad, San Pedro, 9/II/1811, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXVIII, f.347v.
 - 58) Declaraciones de los administradores, San Pedro, 5/II/1806, ABNB, AM, v.18, no.XXXII, f.265r.
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