

History 7910
Spring 2018
Tulane University
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Leaving Columbus: Select Topics in Colonial Latin American History

Today, Thursday, the 2nd day of the month of November of the year 1595, right on the Day of the Dead, the viceroy don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey, arrived in Tepeyacac. There the Spaniards greatly feted him, and the Mexica and people of the chinampas went there to dance.

Yn ipan axcan Juebes. yc omilhuitl mani metztl de Nouiembre de 1595. aos. huel iquac yn miccaylhuitl oncan maxitico yn tepeyacac yn visurrey. Don gaspar de çuniga y Azeuedo Conde de monterrey. ompa quimopapaquiltique yn castilteca yhuã ompa macehuato yn mexica yhuan chinampaneca.

-from the *Annals* of Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuantzin

This graduate seminar serves to introduce you to the study of Colonial Latin America in the wake of the 1992 quincennial, principally through select monographs. We will also survey some key articles and older works, as well as some annotated primary sources, such as the one cited above. As this quote from an indigenous Mexican author from the town of Amecameca demonstrates, history was already being written in the colonial period, and often by non-European authors. How do histories such as Chimalpahin's *Annals* fit into our broader conception of colonial Latin American historiography? And how might we categorize new, interdisciplinary works?

Although the colonial period in Latin America encompasses roughly the years 1492-1825 (extending to 1898 in Cuba and Puerto Rico), we will emphasize a slightly longer view (i.e., pre-Columbus to post-Independence) in hopes of establishing a fuller context for the events and topics examined. Topics for 2018 include pre-Columbian history, art history, and ethnohistory, Iberian precedents on land and overseas, conquest narratives, religious conversion and persistence, women and patriarchy, *mestizaje* (or "race-mixture"), resistance & rebellion, slavery, the environment, sexuality, elite culture, production and trade, regalism and its discontents, and the politics of independence.

Classes will alternate between shared reading sessions and individual reviews to be presented to the class. Review readings will be delegated one week in advance, consisting usually of a book and an article or two. You will write two formal book reviews (c. 1,000 words each), along with an historiographical essay on a topic of your choice (c. 25pp.). Each of you will also write three less formal, one-page 'sketch' reviews (précis-style summaries of key books) to share with your colleagues. Last, some of you will be asked to report "lost" historiographies listed beneath the standard readings for certain weeks. Why have these topics faded from view? Might they be revived – and revised – someday?

Most of the readings listed below are in English, but I will supplement them with items in Spanish, Portuguese, French, and other languages depending on the fluency and interests of individual class members. Put simply, there is a vast historiography that lies

beyond what I have listed here. In terms of the university's so-called Learning Outcomes, I cannot promise that by the end of this course you will have mastered colonial Latin American history, but you should have a solid basis from which to explore a variety of core topics in greater depth, and you should also be well prepared to read for a comprehensive exam or even to tackle developing an undergraduate course in this field. It is a rich and vibrant field, and as you will see, its volume – in English alone – has ballooned since 1992. Goodbye, Columbus!

Background Readings (recommended for everyone, but especially for those who have not taken an undergraduate survey of colonial Latin American history):

- Peter Bakewell. *A History of Latin America*, 3d ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2010.
- Leslie Bethell, ed. *Colonial Brazil*. Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- James Lockhart & Stuart Schwartz, *Early Latin America*. Cambridge UP, 1983.
- Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, & Sandra Lauderdale Graham. *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003.
- Matthew Restall & Kris Lane, *Latin America in Colonial Times*. Cambridge UP, 2012.

CLASS SESSIONS:

Week 1. They Went before Columbus: Iberia and the East Atlantic before 1492

Felipe Fernández-Armesto (*Before Columbus, 1492*), F. Bethencourt & D. Ramada Curto (*Portuguese Oceanic Expansion*), Anthony Disney (*A History of Portugal & the Portuguese Empire*), C.R. Boxer or A.J.R. Russell-Wood (*The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*), or Malyn Newitt (*History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion*), Richard Fletcher (*The Search for El Cid, Moorish Spain*), recent works on Convivencia (e.g., María Rosa Menocal, Vivian Mann), John Edwards (*The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs*), Steve Epstein (*Speaking of Slavery*), Teofilo Ruiz (*Spanish Society, 1400-1600*), Mark Meyerson (*Jewish Renaissance in 15c Spain*), Benjamin Gampel (*Anti-Jewish Riots*), Lucy Pick (*Her Father's Daughter, Conflict & Coexistence*), Ella Klein (*Jews, Christian Society, & Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*), look back at T.B. Duncan (*Atlantic Islands*), J.H. Parry (*Age of Reconnaissance*)

Week 2. Pre-Columbian Native America: Ethnohistory, Archaeology, Art History

Catherine Julien (*Reading Inca History*), Galen Brokaw (*A History of the Khipu*), Carolyn Dean (*A Culture of Stone*), Frank Salomon (*Native Lords of Quito, Huarochiri Manuscript, The Cordkeepers*), Susan Ramírez (*To Feed & Be Fed*), D. Carrasco (*Religions of Mesoamerica, To Change Place, City of Sacrifice*), Linda Schele & Mary Ellen Miller (*The Blood of Kings*), Michael Coe (*Breaking the Maya Code*), Thomas Patterson (*The Inca Empire*), Terence D'Altroy (*The Incas*), various works of Brian Bauer (*Ancient Cusco, Sacred Landscape of the Incas*), Gary Urton (*Signs of the Inka Khipu*), look back at J. Murra

Week 3. Contact: Columbus, Cabral, et al

Carla Phillips & William Phillips (*Worlds of C. Columbus*), Nicolás Wey-Gómez (*Tropics of Empire*), K.A. Myers (*Fernández de Oviedo's Chronicle of America*), Tzvetan Todorov (*The Conquest of America*), Columbus's own journals, Pero Vaz Caminha's "Letter to the King," Frank Moya Pons (*Después de Colón*), Kathleen Deagan, et al (*Columbus's First Outpost among the Tainos*), Alida Metcalf (*Go-Betweens in Early Colonial Brazil*), Stuart Schwartz, et al (*Implicit Understandings*), David Lupher (*Romans in a New World*), Neil Whitehead (*Wolves from the Sea*), Ramón Pané, Irving Rouse, etc. (and back at Carl Sauer, *Early Spanish Main*)

Week 4. Ambivalent and Unambivalent Conquests

read Bernal Díaz (*Conquest of Mexico*), Matthew Restall (*The Meeting*), Ross Hassig (*Mexico & the Spanish Conquest*), L. Matthew & M. Oudijk (*Indian Conquistadors*), John Hemming (*The Conquest of the Incas, Red Gold*), C. Townsend (*Malintzin's Choices*), Juan de Betanzos (*Narrative of the Incas*), P. Cieza de León (*Discovery & Conquest of Peru*), R.C. Padden, K. Jones, and T. Dillehay on Araucanians/Mapuche, J.I. Avellaneda Navas (*Conquerors of the New Kingdom of Granada*), J. M. Francis (*Invading Colombia*), look back at Lockhart (*Men of Cajamarca*), M. Restall (*Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*), F. Asselbergs (*Conquered Conquistadors*), Bernardo de Vargas Machuca (*Indian Militia, Defending the Conquest*), Bartolomé de Las Casas (*Destruction of the Indies*); R. Adorno (*Polemics of Possession*)

Week 5. Indigenous Voices

read James Lockhart (*The Nahuas after the Conquest, We People Here*), Yanna Yannakakis (*Art of Being In-Between*), Laura Matthew (*Memories of Conquest*), Robert Haskett (*Indigenous Rulers*), E. Boone & W. Mignolo (*Writing Without Words*), Susan Kellogg (*Law & the Transformation of Aztec Culture*), Serge Gruzinski (*The Conquest of Mexico*), Louise Burkhart (*Before Guadalupe, The Slippery Earth*), Osvaldo Pardo (*Origins of Mexican Catholicism*), Miguel León-Portilla (*Broken Spears*), Matthew Restall (*Maya World, Maya Conquistador*), Stephanie Wood (*Transcending Conquest*), Kevin Terraciano (*Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca*), and other "new philologists" (Susan Schroeder, Sarah Cline, James Krippner, Brad Benton, Peter Sigal, Mark Christensen, Caterina Pizzigoni, Peter Villeda), Sean McEnroe (*From Colony to Nationhood in Mexico*), Nancy Van Deusen (*Global Indios*), Karoline Cook (*Forbidden Passages*)

Week 6. "Peru" Revisited

read Heidi Scott (*Contested Territory: Mapping Peru*) Jane Mangan (*Trading Roles, Transatlantic Obligations*), Susan Ramírez (*The World Upside Down*), Karen Graubart (*With Our Labor and Sweat*), Cook & Cook (*People of the Volcano*), Brooke Larson (*Cochabamba*), Valerie Fraser (*The Architecture of Conquest*), Susan V. Webster (*Lettered Artists & the Language of Empire*), Peter Gose (*Invaders & Ancestors*), Linda Newson (*Life and Death in Early Colonial Ecuador*), Karen Powers (*Andean Journeys*), look back at J. Lockhart (*Spanish Peru*), R. Adorno (*Guaman Poma* + D. Frye translation of GP), see also: Carolyn Dean (*Inka Bodies*), Thomas Abercrombie (*Pathways of Memory & Power*), K. Lane (*Quito, 1599*), Ken Andrien (*Andean Worlds*), Steve Stern

(*Peru's Indian Peoples*), K. Spalding (*Huarochiri*); J.C. de la Puente (*Andean Cosmopolitans*), A.I. Prieto (*Missionary Scientists*), A. Duenas

Week 7. Religion in the Andes and elsewhere

Read John Charles (*Allies at Odds*), Regina Harrison (*Sin & Confession in Colonial Peru*), Ananda Cohen Suarez (*Heaven, Hell, & Everything in Between*), Pablo Gómez (*The Experiential Caribbean*), Alan Durston (*Pastoral Quechua*), Gabriela Ramos (*Death and Conversion in the Andes*), Irene Silverblatt (*Modern Inquisitions*), Sabine MacCormack (*On the Wings of Time OR Religion in the Andes*), Inga Clendinnen (*Ambivalent Conquests*), William B. Taylor (*Theater of a Thousand Wonders*), S. Owens (*Nuns Navigating*), Ronaldo Vainfas (*Trópico dos pecados*), James Sweet (*Recreating Africa*), Kenneth Mills (*Idolatry and its Enemies*), Nicholas Griffiths (*The Cross and the Serpent*), David Tavárez (*The Invisible War*), Fernando Cervantes on diabolism in Mexico (*Devil in the New World, Spiritual Encounters*), Serge Gruzinski (*Images at War*), Martha Few (*Women Who Live Evil Lives*), Alan Greer, et al (*Colonial Saints*), Ronald Morgan (*Spanish American Saints*), Kathleen Ann Myers (*Neither Saints nor Sinners*), Nancy van Deusen (*The Souls of Purgatory*), Nora Jaffary (*False Mystics*), Susan Schroeder & Stafford Poole (*Religion in New Spain*), Martin Nesvig (*Local Religion in Colonial Mexico; Ideology & Inquisition*), Kimberly Lynn, John Chuchiak

Week 8. Love and Marriage (and other possibilities)

read Cook & Cook (*Good Faith & Truthful Ignorance*), Allyson Poska (*Gendered Crossings*), María Emma Mannarelli (*Private Passions & Public Sins*), Zeb Totorici (*Against Nature*), A. Lavrin (*Sexuality & Marriage*), S. Stern (*Secret History of Gender*), Richard Boyer (*Lives of the Bigamists, Colonial Lives*), Susan Socolow (*Women of Colonial Latin America*), Ann Twinam (*Public Lives, Private Secrets*), Serge Gruzinski (*The Mestizo Mind*), Pete Sigal (*Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*), M. Horswell (*Decolonizing the Sodomite*), Kimberly Gauderman (*Women's Lives in Colonial Quito*), Karen Graubart (*With our Labor & Sweat*), Bianca Premo (*Children of the Father King; Raising an Empire*), Stuart Schwartz (*All Can be Saved*)

Week 9. Elite Society, Trade, and Institutions

D.A. Brading (*First America*), Jeremy Mumford (*Vertical Empire*), Rebecca Earle (*Body of the Conquistador*), Peter Bakewell (*Silver & Entrepreneurship*), Kathryn Burns (*Into the Archive*), R.J. Ferry (*Colonial Elite of Early Caracas*), Louisa Schell Hoberman (*Mexico's Merchant Elite*), look back at J. Kicza on Mexican merchants, S. Socolow on Buenos Aires, Russell-Wood on Salvador; see also Kent Lightfoot (*Indians, Missionaries, & Merchants*), Prudence Rice (*Vintage Moquegua*), A. Bauer (*Goods, Power, History*), R. Jamieson (*Domestic Architecture and Power*), Ernesto Bassi (*An Aqueous Territory*), Thomas Cummins (*Toasts with the Inca*), Edith Couturier (*The Silver King*), Bruce Castleman (*Building the King's Highway*), Jeremy Baskes (*Staying Afloat*); Xabier Lamikiz (*Trade & Trust*); see new work by Angela Ballone (*The 1624 Tumult of Mexico*), Arndt Brendecke, T. Herzog, Erik Myrup (*Power and Corruption*), Christoph Rosenmüller (*Corruption in the Iberian Empires*)

Week 10. The Urban Nexus of Race, Class, & Gender: Mestizaje and the ‘Vile Plebe’

Ben Vinson (*Before Mestizaje*), Maria Elena Martínez (*Genealogical Fictions*), Rob Schwaller (*Géneros de Gente in Early Colonial Mexico*), M. O’Hara & A. Fisher (*Imperial Subjects*), R. Douglas Cope (*Limits of Racial Domination*), Alejandra Osorio (*Inventing Lima*), C. Milton (*Many Meanings of Poverty*), M. Minchom (*People of Quito*), Jay Kinsbruner (*The Colonial Latin American City*), Gootenberg in *CLR* (June 1996), look back at Mörner (*Race Mixture*), Christopher Lutz (*Santiago de Guatemala*), Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán (*Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*), Laura Lewis (*Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, & Caste in Col. Mexico*), Joan Bristol (*Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches*), Alejandro Cañeque (*The King’s Living Image*), look back at Irving Leonard (*Baroque Times in Old Mexico*), Mugaburu’s *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, Arzans de Orsúa y Vela (*Tales of Potosí*); Lisa Voigt (*Spectacular Wealth*); Ann Twinam (*Purchasing Whiteness*)

Week 11. Northern Corn, Central Sheep: Borderlands and Environmental History

John Tutino (*Making a New World*), E. Bassi (*An Aqueous Terrirory*), R. Folsom (*The Yaquis*), R. Gutiérrez (*When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away*), D.J. Weber (*Spanish Borderlands, Bárbaros*), T. Herzog (*Frontiers of Possession*), Fabricio Prado (*The Edge of Empire*), J.M. Espinosa (*The Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1696*), Elinore Barrett (*Conquest & Catastrophe*), Hal Langfur (*Forbidden Lands*), Vera Candiani (*Dreaming of Dry Land*), Nicholas Robins (*Mercury, Mining, & Empire*), James Saeger (*Chaco Frontier*), Susan Deeds (*Defiance & Deference in Mexico’s Colonial North*), Cynthia Radding (*Wandering Peoples*), Elinor Melville (*A Plague of Sheep*), Craig and West (*In Quest of Mineral Wealth*), Warren Dean (*With Broadax and Firebrand*), Donna Guy and Thomas Sheridan (*Contested Ground*), James Brooks (*Captives & Cousins*), James Sandos (*Converting California*), Steven Hackel (*Children of Coyote*): Juliana Barr (*Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*); see also new articles by Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert and others on environment; Saul Guerrero (*Silver by Fire, Silver by Mercury*)

Week 12. Sugar and Slavery (papers should be under way, topics cleared, etc.)

Júnia Furtado (*Chica da Silva*), David Wheat (*Atlantic Africa & the Spanish Caribbean*), Michelle McKinley (*Fractional Freedoms*), Alex Borucki (*From Shipmates to Soldiers*), Russell Lohse (*Africans into Creoles*), Rachel O’Toole (*Bound Lives*), Stuart Schwartz (*Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels, Sugar Plantations, Tropical Babylons*), Katia Mattoso (*To be a Slave in Brazil*), James Sweet (*Recreating Africa*), Linda Newson & Susie Minchin (*From Capture to Sale*), Kathleen Higgins (*Licentious Liberty*), Maria Elena Díaz (*The Virgin, The King, & the Royal Slaves of El Cobre*), Alonso de Sandoval (*Treatise on Slavery*), Anontil (*Brazil at the Dawn of the 18th Century*), F. Proctor (*Damned Notions of Liberty*), M. Restall & B. Vinson (*Black Mexico*), Patrick Carroll (*Blacks in Veracruz*), Herman Bennett (*Africans in Colonial Mexico*), Lolita Brockington (*Blacks, Indians, & Spaniards in the Eastern Andes*), Sherwin Bryant (*Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage*), Russell Lohse (*Africans into Creoles*), Francisco Vidal Luna & Herbert Klein (*Slavery & the Economy of São Paulo, 1750-1850*), Frederick Bowser on slavery in early Peru, J.J.

Reis (*Revolt*), look back at Tannenbaum, Freyre, King, Ortiz, Mellafe, Palmer, E. Vila Vilar, Boxer, Aguirre Beltrán

Week 13. Bourbon Science and Rebellion in the Backlands

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (*How to Write the History of the New World*), Daniela Bleichmar (*Visible Empire*), Martha Few (*For All of Humanity*), Bianca Premo (*Enlightenment on Trial*), Patricia Marks (*Deconstructing Legitimacy*), Chad Black (*Limits of Gender Domination*), Sergio Serulnikov (*Subverting Colonial Authority or Revolution in the Andes*), Charles Walker (*The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*), Kenneth Andrien & Alan Kuethe (*The Bourbon Reforms*), Kuethe, MacFarlane, et al (*Reform and Insurrection in Bourbon New Granada*), Stern (*Resistance, Rebellion, etc.*), G. Paquette (*Enlightenment, Governance, & Reform*), Sinclair Thomson (*We Alone Shall Rule*), W. Stavig (*World of Tupac Amaru + Tupac Amaru and Katarista Rebellions*), look back at Phelan (*The People and the King*), Barbara Ganson (*The Guaraní under Spanish Rule*), Julia Sarreal (*The Guaraní and their Missions*), David Cahill (*From Rebellion to Independence in the Andes*), Robert Patch (*Maya Revolt & Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*), William Taylor (*Magistrates of the Sacred*), Ben Vinson (*Bearing Arms for His Majesty*), Michael Ducey (*A Nation of Villages: Riot & Rebellion in the Mexican Huasteca, 1750-1850*), Peter Guardino (*The Time of Liberty*), Neil Safier (*Measuring the New World*)

Week 14. Padre Hidalgo, S. Bolívar, and T. l'Ouverture in "Independence Day"

Rebecca Earle (*Spain & the Independence of Colombia*), Jaime Rodríguez (*We Are Now the True Spaniards*), Laurent Dubois (*Avengers of the New World*), David Geggus (*Haitian Revolutionary Studies + new source book*), Graham Nessler (*Islandwide Struggle*), John Tutino (*Mexico 1808*), Christon Archer (*Birth of Modern Mexico; Wars of Independence*), Kenneth Maxwell (*Conflicts and Conspiracies*), H. Kraay (*Race, State, & Armed Forces*), Jay Kinsbruner, Jaime Rodríguez, or Richard Graham (*Independence in Spanish America*), J. Chasteen (*Americanos*), Charles Walker (*Smoldering Ashes*), Sarah Chambers (*From Subjects to Citizens*), C. Townsend (*Tales of Two Cities*), Karen Racine on F. Miranda, J. Lynch on Bolívar, Eric Van Young (*The Other Rebellion*), look back at Russell-Wood (*From Colony to Nation*), C.L.R. James (*Black Jacobins*)

Week 15: Final Papers due, Coffee Talk