

The Coming of the Kingdom

The Coming of the Kingdom explores the experiences of the Indigenous Muisca peoples of the New Kingdom of Granada (Colombia) during the first century of Spanish colonial rule. Focusing on colonialism, religious reform, law, language, and historical writing, Juan F. Cobo Betancourt examines the introduction and development of Christianity among the Muisca, who from the 1530s found themselves at the centre of the invaders' efforts to transform them into tribute-paying Catholic subjects of the Spanish crown. The book illustrates how successive generations of missionaries and administrators approached the task of drawing the Muisca peoples to Catholicism at a time when it was undergoing profound changes, and how successive generations of the Muisca interacted with the practices and ideas that the invaders attempted to impose, variously rejecting or adopting them, transforming and translating them, and ultimately making them their own. This title is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core.

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*The Muisca, Catholic Reform, and Spanish
Colonialism in the New Kingdom of Granada*

JUAN F. COBO BETANCOURT

University of California, Santa Barbara



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Justice removed, then, what are kingdoms but great bands of robbers? What are bands of robbers themselves but little kingdoms? The band itself is made up of men; it is governed by the authority of a ruler; it is bound together by a pact of association; and the loot is divided according to an agreed law. If, by the constant addition of desperate men, this scourge grows to such a size that it acquires territory, establishes a seat of government, occupies cities, and subjugates peoples, it assumes the name kingdom more openly. For this name is now manifestly conferred upon it by not by the removal of greed, but by the addition of impunity.

—Augustine, *On the City of God*, book IV, ch. 4. Trans. R. W. Dyson

Being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God would come, he answered them, ‘The kingdom of God is not coming in ways that can be observed, nor will they say, “Look, here it is!” or “There!” for behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you’.

—Luke 17:20–21 (ESV)

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¹ Gabriela Ramos, ed., *La venida del reino: religión, evangelización y cultura en América, siglos XVI–XX* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas”, 1994).

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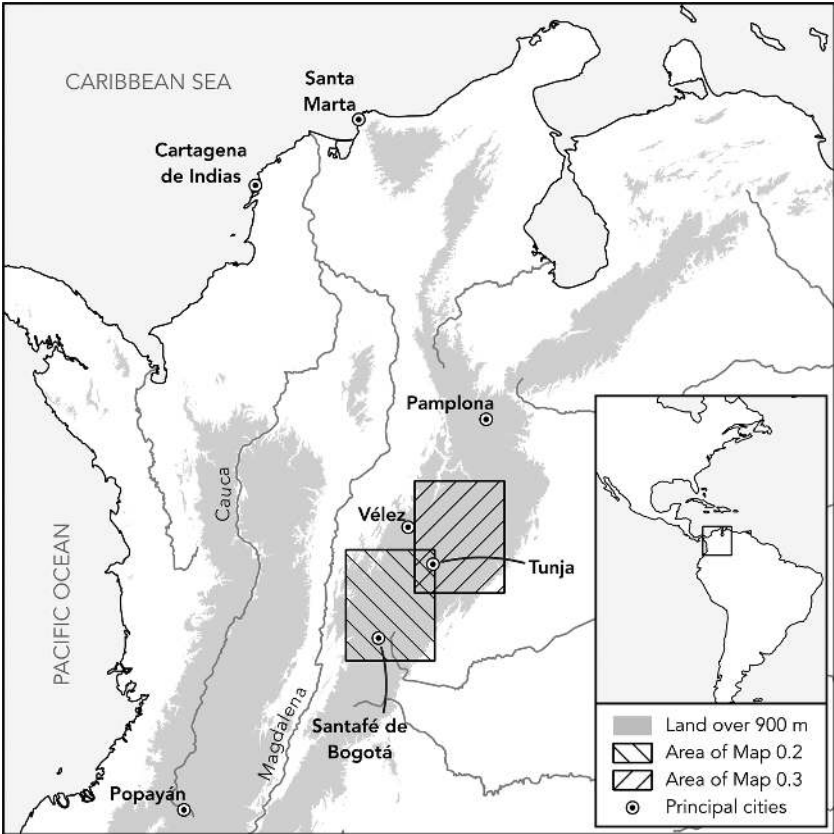
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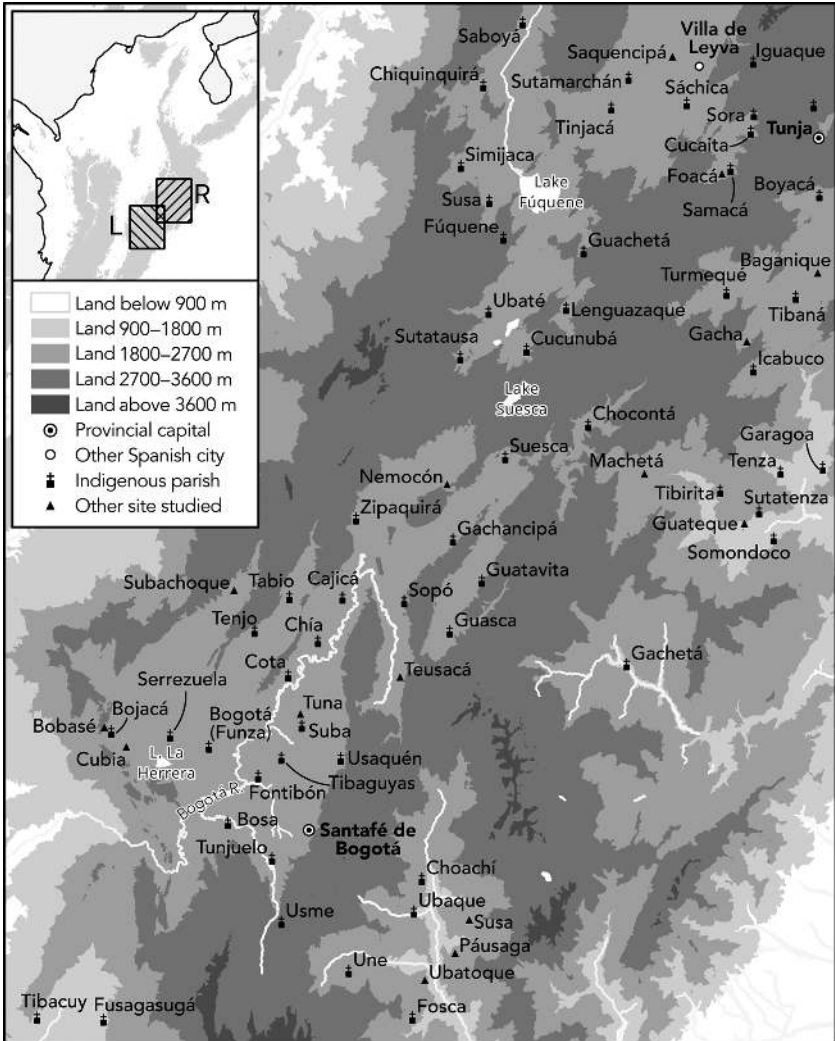
Abbreviations

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá
AHJ	Archivo Histórico Javeriano Juan Manuel Pacheco, SJ, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá
AHRB	Archivo Histórico Regional de Boyacá, Tunja
AHSB	Archivo Histórico, Fundación Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé, Bogotá
AHT	AHRB, Fondo Archivo Histórico de Tunja
APSLB	Archivo Histórico, Provincia de San Luis Beltrán de Colombia, Bogotá
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
C&I	AGN, Sección Colonia, Fondo Caciques e Indios
C&O	AGN, Sección Colonia, Fondo Curas y Obispos
CJ	AGN, Sección Colonia, Fondo Criminales Juicios
E	AGN, Sección Colonia, Fondo Encomiendas
FI	AGN, Sección Colonia, Fondo Fábrica de Iglesias
NR&Q	ARSI, Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis
PB	AGN, Sección Archivos Parroquiales, Archivos Parroquiales de Boyacá
RH	AGN, Sección Colonia, Fondo Real Hacienda
SF	AGI, Sección Gobierno, Serie Audiencia de Santafé
VB	AGN, Sección Colonia, Subfondo Visitas de Boyacá
VC	AGN, Sección Colonia, Subfondo Visitas de Cundinamarca

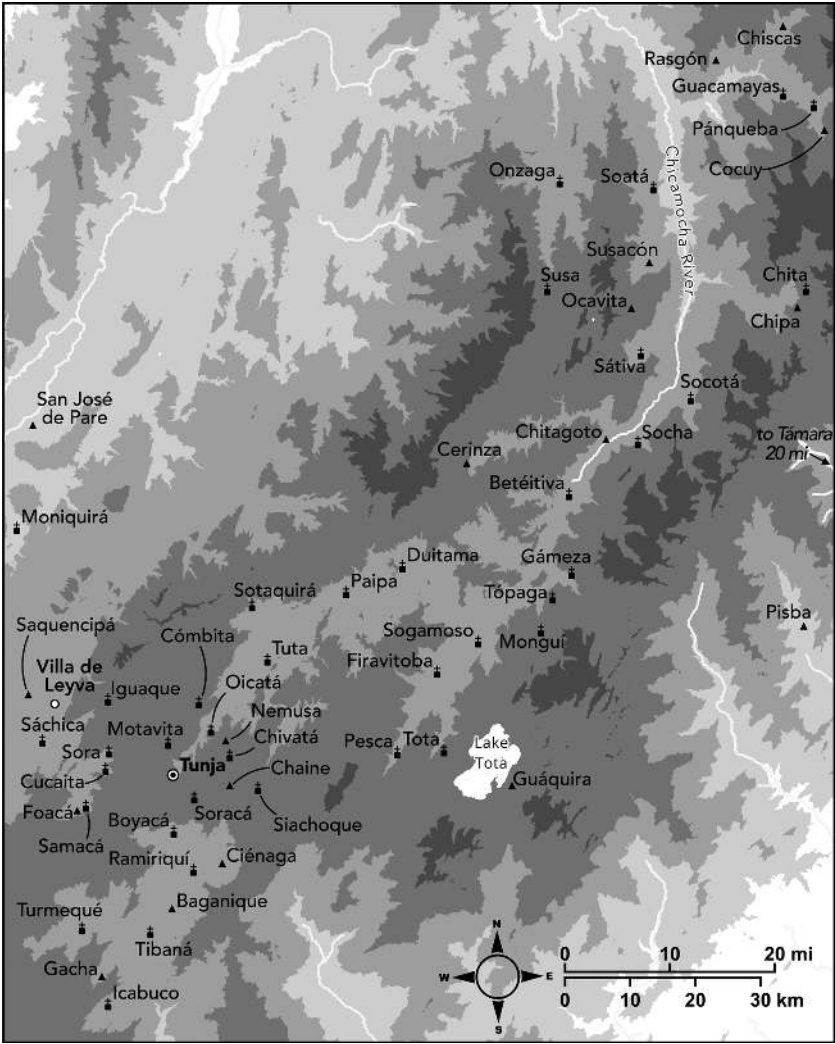


MAP 1 The Northern Andes, showing the principal Spanish cities of the New Kingdom of Granada and of the Archdiocese of Santafé¹

¹ These maps attempt to show the sites and communities studied in this book across the highlands of the Northern Andes. In most cases, I have mapped them in the locations that they occupied by the middle of the seventeenth century – a pragmatic choice that reflects when documentation is most abundant, particularly Rodrigo Zapata de Lobera’s 1663 summary of the civil visitations of the first half of the seventeenth century (discussed in Chapter 6). I have tried to be exhaustive, but this has not been entirely possible because many sites are no longer extant today. Indeed, by 1663, many had already been abandoned, or amalgamated with their neighbours as a result of trends discussed in the chapters that follow. Where no location could be ascertained, I have tried to indicate an approximate location in relation to mapped sites and landmarks in the main text, where I also sought to distinguish between settlements with identical names. All maps were drawn by me, using ASTER Global Digital Elevation Data and the *Diccionario Geográfico de Colombia* and *Colombia en mapas* data sets of the Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi (IGAC). I am grateful to Santiago Muñoz for his thoughtful feedback, as well as for information on the location of sites in the Valley of Ubaque, published in *Costumbres en disputa*.



MAP 2 The Province of Santafé and southern reaches of the Province of Tunja, c. 1650, showing cities, towns, and other settlements studied in this book



MAP 3 The central and north-eastern portions of the Province of Tunja, c. 1650, showing cities, towns, and other settlements studied in this book