

Jeremy Ravi Mumford

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EMPLOYMENT

Brown University, Providence, RI, 2016-
Assistant Professor, Department of History

Brown University, Providence, RI, 2010-2016
Visiting Assistant Professor and Lecturer, Department of History

University of Mississippi, Oxford, MS, 2009-2010
Assistant Professor, Department of History

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, 2006-2009
Assistant Professor (fixed-term), Department of History, and Fellow, Michigan Society of Fellows

EDUCATION

Yale University, New Haven, CT
Ph.D. in Latin American History, 2005
Dissertation: "Vertical Empire: The Struggle for Andean Space in the Sixteenth Century,"
Prof. Stuart B. Schwartz, advisor (won Mary & Arthur Wright Prize for best dissertation on a historical topic outside of North America and Europe)

Columbia University, New York, NY
M.A. in North American History, 1997

Yale College, New Haven, CT
B.A. in History with honors, 1992

WORK IN PROGRESS

Abstract: “Kidnapping an Heiress: The Marriage of Beatriz Coya” is a microhistory of the illegal wedding of a 7-year-old Inka girl to an adult Spanish man in Peru in 1565. Based largely on the records of the resulting trial in the Spanish archives, the book tells the story of a week-long gathering in a country house outside Cuzco, as members of the city’s Inka and Spanish elite schemed, gossiped and waited to see whether the marriage, which would ally the conquered Inka royal family with a powerful Spanish clan, would take place. Beatriz’s mother, the widowed ex-Inka queen, agonized over whether to go through with the plan, which some of her advisors supported and others opposed. Insults were thrown and swords were drawn, while in one oddly comic interlude, an unoffending llama train was mistaken for hostile horsemen and the groom’s party mobilized to defend the house. At last the wedding took place, only to be quashed by the Spanish governor, who found the alliance of the two factions intolerable and had his own plans for Beatriz’s marriage.

The book consists of five chapters, each pairing narrative with the examination of a broader question which is the topic of controversy among historians. These include the traditional requirement for Inka royalty to marry close kin (Beatriz’s mother had married her own brother, but she broke with this tradition in planning her daughter’s marriage); Indian-ness and the conception of “race” in early colonial Peru; child marriage in Inka Peru and early modern Europe; Spanish-Inka diplomacy; and the place of sexuality and sexual abuse in the historiography of childhood. Although it was prohibited in Catholic law, both Spaniards and Inkas associated the practice of child marriage with nobility or royalty. Beatriz’s marriage was not just a pragmatic device for the alliance between two lineage-groups, but was also a way for conquered Inkas and upwardly-mobile Spaniards to perform shared values and mutual recognition within the colonial order.

BOOK

Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes (Duke University Press, 2012)

Abstract: This book examines a major episode of early modern colonialism: the General Resettlement of Indians in the Spanish Viceroyalty of Peru. In the 1570s, Spanish officials set out to move more than a million indigenous peasant farmers in what is now Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador to new towns, designed according to a single uniform plan. Scholars have treated the campaign as a successful act of cultural “ethnocide.” In fact, it was not. Much as in 19th- and 20th-century colonial enterprises in Africa and India, the Spanish moved ambivalently between two impulses: either to remake the conquered society after a European image, or to rule it according to its own norms. Officials in Peru were actually trying to conserve, or restore, systems that they believed had created wealth in the Andes under Inca rule, and which would support the heavy burden of Spanish tribute. At the same time, indigenous lords wanted to establish a new base for their authority under colonialism. In the end, the General Resettlement did not destroy the pre-existing organization of society, but added another layer to it.

ARTICLES

“A Child Marriage in Early Colonial Cuzco, *Journal of Family History* 45 (2020), 1-28

Abstract: This paper examines an arranged marriage between a 7-year-old Inka girl and an adult Spanish man, and the prosecution that followed. Historians of marriage in the early modern Hispanic world have found broad support for the principle of free consent, which underlay Catholic marriage law and prohibited child marriage. In this case, though, none of the participants, either Spanish or indigenous, in favor or opposed to the marriage, considered child marriage to be wrong in itself. The marriage of a child provided members of two ruling castes (colonial elites and colonized Inkas) a shared space for family alliance.

“Forgery and Tambos: False Documents, Imagined Incas and the Making of Andean Space,” in *Corruption in the Iberian Empires: Greed, Custom, and Colonial Networks*, ed. Christophe Rosenmuller (University of New Mexico Press, 2017), 13-32

Abstract: This chapter examines the case of Pedro de Castro, a minor Spanish official whose prosecution for forgery suggests a connection between Renaissance-era self-invention and the evolution of the early modern state. He had removed the central pages of his commission and substituted new text giving him broad powers in the southern Andean countryside. He responded that the substitution (which he claimed to have made with the late viceroy’s verbal consent) was legitimate practice in an expanding colonial state. Energetic man such as himself, he suggested, identified new fields of action and collaborated with their superiors to meet those needs, if necessary (given the fast pace of viceregal business) writing out their own duties on the fly. In fact, he used his forged powers not to enrich himself but to expand the government’s role in rural infrastructure. His defense challenged the concept of forgery itself, suggesting that documents were not fixed but living objects, linking two forms of cultural creativity—the invention of the self and colonial state-building.

“Las llamas de Tapacarí: un documento judicial de un alcalde de indios en la Audiencia de Charcas, 1580,” *Histórica* (Lima) 40, no. 2 (2016): 171-185

Abstract: This piece reproduces and discusses an important documentary discovery: the only known example of a written record of civil litigation before the *alcalde* (judge and mayor) of an early colonial indigenous village in the Andes. This kind of litigation, which was an important avenue for incorporating indigenous communities into the colonial state, is well-documented in Mesoamerica but very poorly understood for the much-less-literate indigenous population of the Andes.

“La Reducción General de Indios en el Perú, 1569-1575,” in *Las reducciones indígenas en debate: su impacto en los dominios de la monarquía hispánica*, eds. Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas (Lima: Editorial PUCP, 2016)

“Nuevos avances en el estudio de las reducciones toledanas” (with Akira Saito, Claudia Rosas Lauro, Steven A. Wernke, Marina Zuloaga Rada, and Karen Spalding), *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* (Osaka) 39, no. 1 (2014): 1-44

“Francisco de Toledo, admirador y émulo de la «tiranía» Inca,” *Histórica* (Lima) 35, no. 2 (2011): 45-67

“Aristocracy on the Auction Block: Race, Lords, and the Perpetuity Controversy of Sixteenth-Century Peru,” in *Imperial Subjects: Race, Ethnicity and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O’Hara (Duke University Press, 2009), 35-59

“Litigation as Ethnography in Sixteenth-Century Peru: Polo de Ondegardo and the Mitimaes,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2008): 5-40 (runner-up, James Alexander Robertson Prize, Conference on Latin American History)

“The Inca Legend in Colonial Peru,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 17, no. 1 (2008): 125-141 (Review essay on ten recent translations of colonial chronicles and other books about the Incas)

“Why was Louis Riel, a United States Citizen, Hanged as a Canadian Traitor in 1885?” *Canadian Historical Review* 88, no. 2 (2007): 237-262

“The Inca Priest on the Mormon Stage: A Native American Melodrama and a New American Religion,” *Common-Place* 5:4 (2005) [<http://www.common-place.org/vol-05/no-04/mumford/index.shtml>]

“Coca Politics: In Bolivia, Coca Growers Have Turned the Sacred Leaf into a National Symbol,” *Boston Sunday Globe*, Ideas Section, Sept. 28, 2003 [http://www.boston.com/news/globe/ideas/articles/2003/09/28/coca_politics/] (about the historical context of United States coca-eradication policies)

“Métis and the Vote in 19th-Century America,” *Journal of the West* 39 (2000): 38-45

“Mixed-Race Identity in a Nineteenth-Century Family: The Schoolcrafts of Sault Ste. Marie, 1824-27,” *Michigan Historical Review* 21 (1999): 1-23 (Michigan Historical Review Student Essay Prize)

“The Taki Onqoy and the Andean Nation: Sources and Interpretations,” *Latin American Research Review* 33, no. 1 (1998): 150-165

BOOK REVIEWS

Franklin Pease G. Y., *Los Incas en la Colonia: Estudios sobre los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII en los Andes*, ed. Nicanor Domínguez, reviewed in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (2015)

Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Túpac Amaru*, and Charles Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, reviewed in the *American Historical Review* (2015)

Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes*, reviewed in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (2015)

Steven A. Wernke, *Negotiated Settlements: Andean Communities and Landscapes under Inka and Spanish Colonialism*, reviewed in the *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* (2015)

Eve M. Duffy and Alida C. Metcalf, *The Return of Hans Staden: A Go-between in the Atlantic World*, reviewed in the *Journal of Early Modern History* (2015)

Paul Heggarty and Adrian J. Pearce, eds., *History and Language in the Andes*, reviewed in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (2012)

Heidi V. Scott, *Contested Territory: Mapping Peru in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, reviewed in *Renaissance Quarterly* (2011)

Joanne Pillsbury, ed., *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, reviewed in *Historical Anthropology* (2009)

Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington, *Blacks, Indians, and Spaniards in the Eastern Andes: Reclaiming the Forgotten in Colonial Mizque, 1550-1782*, reviewed in *Itinerario* (2008)

Kenneth Andrien, *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532-1825*, reviewed in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (2003)

José Miguel Morales Folguera, *La construcción de la utopía. El proyecto de Felipe II (1556-1598) para Hispanoamérica* and Paz Serrano Gassent, *Vasco de Quiroga. Utopía y derecho en la conquista de América*, reviewed in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (2002)

Stuart Stirling, *The Last Conquistador: Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and the Conquest of the Incas*, reviewed in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (2001)

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

New England Council for Latin American Studies, Best Book Prize, honorable mention (for *Vertical Empire*), 2013

Conference on Latin American History, James Alexander Robertson Prize, honorable mention (prize for best article to appear in *Hispanic American Historical Review* during the previous year, for “Litigation as Ethnography in Sixteenth-Century Peru”), 2009

Michigan Society of Fellows, University of Michigan, 2006-2009

Mary & Arthur Wright Prize (best dissertation on a historical topic outside of North America and Europe), Yale University, 2005

Mellon and Florence Levy Kay Postdoctoral Fellowships in the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1800, Brandeis University, 2004-2006

Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 2003-2004

Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, Spain and Bolivia, United States Department of Education, 2001-2002

Fulbright/IEE Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, Spain, United States Department of State, 2001-2002 [declined in favor of Fulbright-Hays]

Howard Lamar Center for the Study of Frontiers and Borders, Yale University, Research fellowship, 2001

Yale Council for International and Area Studies and Yale Council for Latin American and Iberian Studies, Pre-dissertation travel grants, 2000

Michigan Historical Review, Student Essay Prize, 1999, for “Mixed-Race Identity in a Nineteenth-Century Family: The Schoolcrafts of Sault Ste. Marie, 1824-27”

Pew Program in Religion and American History, Yale University, Summer research fellowship, 1999

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS AND INVITED LECTURES

American Historical Association, Annual Meeting, January 2021. Panel chair: “Empire’s Children: Violence, Colonialism and Childhood in Latin American History”; presenter: “Sexual Abuse and the Historiography of Childhood: A Case Study from Cuzco” [scheduled]

Beyond Cortés and Moteuczoma: Revisiting the Spanish Invasion of Mesoamerica, Yale University, New Haven, CT, March 2020. Invited speaker [canceled]

American Historical Association, Annual Meeting, January 2020. Panel chair: “Inca Girls and Women: Interdisciplinary Approaches”; presenter: “Kidnapping an Heiress: The Incas, the Encomienda, and Child Marriage”

Advanced Seminar, Historical Institute, Uppsala University, May 2019. Invited speaker: “Child Marriage in Colonial Peru”

Latin American Studies Association, Annual Meeting, Barcelona, Spain, May 2018.
Commentator: “Translation and Colonial Justice: Indigenous and African Legal Records and Testimony in Colonial Peru, Oaxaca, and Cartagena de Indias”

Unsettling Resettlement: Forced Concentration of the Native Population in the Colonial Andes, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, February 2018. Invited speaker: “The Andean Reducciones and the New England ‘Praying Towns’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”

Max Planck Institute for European Legal Research, Frankfurt, Germany, December 2017.
Invited lecture: “Forsaking All Others: The Inkas, the Habsburgs, and Royal Incest”

Latin American Studies Association, Annual Meeting, Lima, Peru, April 2017.
Presenter: “Habsburg and Inka Close-Kin Marriage in the Colonial Imagination”

Commentator: “Collaguas I, el conocimiento sobre historia andina cuarenta años después. Visitas y temas de etnohistoria en perspectiva”

American Historical Association, Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, January 2016. Panel organizer and presenter: “Inka Kingship and Kinship, Before and After the Spanish Invasion”

American Historical Association, Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, January 2016.
Commentator: “Meaning from Mountains: Interdisciplinary Approaches”

Rethinking Forced Resettlement in the Colonial Andes, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, November 2015. Invited speaker: “Historiography of the Toledan Reducciones” and (with Steven Wernke) “Deep Mapping the Reducción: Building a Platform for Spatial Humanities Collaboration on the General Resettlement of Indians in the Viceroyalty of Peru”

Asia-Pacific in the Making of the Americas, Brown University, Providence, RI, May 2014.
Commentator: “Manila: Transpacific Nexus of Cultural Translation”

Rethinking Space in Latin American History, Yale University, New Haven, CT, March 2014.
Invited speaker

Conference on Latin American History, Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 2014.
Chair: “New Directions in Colonial Andean History”

Conference on Latin American History, Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 2014.
Presenter: “Toledo and the General Resettlement”

Deep Mapping the Reducción: Toward a Historical GIS of the General Resettlement of Indians in the Viceroyalty of Peru, Vanderbilt University, November 7-9, 2013. [Workshop planning an online interactive presentation of the Andean *reducciones*, co-organized with Steven Wernke, with participation by historians and archaeologists from Peru and the United States]

Nuevos avances en el estudio de las reducciones toledanas, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, October 24, 2013. Invited speaker [Conference organized around my book, *Vertical Empire*, and two other books just published in Peru]

Harvard Andeanist Working Group, Cambridge, MA, April 6, 2012. Invited speaker: “Reducción General de Indios, 1569: Ethnography, ‘Tyranny,’ and Inca Romance”

American Historical Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, Jan. 6, 2012. Presenter: “Aristotle in the Mountains: Tyranny and the Andean Landscape in the Spanish Imagination”

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Peru, August 23, 2011. Invited speaker: “Pleitos indígenas en el Perú y Massachusetts, siglos XVI y XVII”

Programa de Estudios Andinos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru, August 25, 2011. Invited speaker: “Las reducciones toledanas y la idea de tiranía”

John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI, February 23, 2011. Presenter: “Incas, Jesuits and Forgery: The Peruvian Chronicle of Guaman Poma and its Afterlife”

LIIIº Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Mexico City, July 19, 2009. Presenter: “Toledo admiró y emuló la ‘tiranía’ de los Incas”

International Conference on Religion and Empire in the Early Modern Atlantic, University of Michigan, Sept. 29, 2007. Invited speaker: “New World Indigenous Revitalism from Taki Onqoy to Ghost Dance”

Colonial Americas Studies Organization, Simposio, Quito, Ecuador, June 8, 2007. Presenter: “Pleitos indígenas en las colonias americanas: Perú y Massachusetts”

American Historical Association, Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, Jan. 7, 2007. Presenter: “Aristocracy on the Auction Block: The Rebirth of Peru’s Native Lords in the Sixteenth Century”

Latin American Studies Association, Annual Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 15, 2006. Presenter, “State Ambition in the Imperial Atlantic: Peru, Castile and Utopia in the Sixteenth Century”

Conference on Latin American History, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Jan. 8, 2006. Presenter, “Native Litigants in the Courts of the Conquerors: Early Colonial Peru and New England”

David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, Latin American History Lecture Series, Oct. 26, 2005. Invited speaker: “The ‘General Resettlement of Indians’ in Sixteenth-Century Peru: Did it Happen? If So, How?”

International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1825, Harvard University, “Atlantic History: Soundings,” Aug. 13, 2005. Presenter: “Indigenous Lawsuits of Spanish America in Comparative Perspective”

Latin American Studies Association, Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, NV, Oct. 7, 2004. Session organizer, “Lawyers and Lawyering in Colonial Latin America,” and presenter, “Inca Jurisprudence and ‘Indios Pleitistas’ in Sixteenth-Century Peru”

New England Council for Latin American Studies, Annual Meeting, Dartmouth, NH, Oct. 18, 2003. Session organizer, “Labor and Uprooting in Colonial Peru,” and presenter, “Andean Mitimaes and the Encomienda in Sixteenth-Century Law”

International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1825 (Prof. Bernard Bailyn, leader), Harvard University, August 16, 2003. Presenter: “The Right to be Different in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish Empire: Transatlantic Context and an Andean Example” (available as Working Paper no. 03-03)

American Historical Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, January 5, 2003. Session organizer, “*Traza, Plaza, and Buena Policía*: Imagined Space and Community in the Spanish Colonial *República de Indios*” and presenter, “Reductions and Restorations: The Question of Indian Civic Space in Sixteenth-Century Peru”

Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Seville, Spain, March 12, 2002. Invited speaker, “Reducciones de indios en los Andes, siglo XVI: teoría y práctica”

CLASSES AT BROWN

Colonial Latin American History (lecture)

The Age of Revolutions in the Atlantic World, 1760-1824 (first-year seminar)

History of the Andes: From Incas to Evo (lecture)

How and Why We Talk about the Past (seminar)

Cannibals and Barbarians: Ethnography and the Other in the Early Modern World (Wintersession 2018)

ADVISING AT BROWN

First-year advisor (2012-14, 2019-20)

Graduate qualifying exam committee: Diego Luis (2017); Marley-Vincent Lindsey (2018); Stephanie Wong (2020, scheduled); Fernando Norat (2020, scheduled)

Graduate directed readings courses: Daiana Rivas-Tello (Spring 2020)

Dissertation committee:

Michele Mericle (received Ph.D. 2015)

Diego Luis (Ph.D. expected 2020)

Senior thesis advisor: Tara Prendergast (History), “Law and the Interests of Ownership in the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute” (2012); Cosima Ramirez Ruiz de la Prada (History), “The Impossible Monarchy: A Utopia of the 1812 Cádiz Constitution” (2013); Madeline Pesec (Latin American & Caribbean Studies), “The Compelling Case of Costa Rica: How a Central American Country Created a Robust Primary Health Care System” (2016); Katherine Grusky (History), “Digging Below the Surface: Women and Families in the El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904-1930” (2017); Charlotte Posever (Latin American & Caribbean Studies), “Unofficial Iconographies of Mama Huaco: Portraits of the First Coya in Viceregal Peru” (2018)

Faculty advisor: Kofán Heritage Project (2015-2017)

UTRA: Alvina Pillai and Jeffrey Velez, “‘No Present Authority of Law’: Criminal Justice and Sovereignty in the Blackfoot Confederacy, 1877-1889” (Summer 2012) – article published in *Great Plains Quarterly* (2014); Charlotte Posever, “Painting Identity: Portraiture in the Viceroyalty of Peru 1600-1870” (Summer 2017)

BROWN SERVICE

Mellon-Sawyer Postdoctoral Fellowship Committee (Spring 2018)

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Latin American & Caribbean Studies (2015-2018)

Academic Advisory Committee, John Carter Brown Library (2014-2016)

Academic Projects Associate, John Carter Brown Library (2010-2014): Organized symposium series; curated exhibitions; curated website for the Library’s Peru Collection

Faculty Liaison Committee member, John Carter Brown Library (2010-2014): Collaborated with faculty from various departments of Brown University to select JCBL fellows

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Northeast Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory, hosted at Brown, November 2019: one of two co-organizers

Howard F. Cline Prize Committee, Council for Latin American History, 2015. (The Howard F. Cline Memorial Prize, established in 1976, is awarded biennially to the book

or article in English, German, or a Romance language judged to make the most significant contribution to the history of Indian people in Latin America)

Board of Editors, *Ethnohistory*, 2014-2016

Chair, Andean Studies Committee, Conference on Latin American History, 2016

Has reviewed article manuscripts for *Población y Sociedad* (Buenos Aires), *Andean Past*, *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, *The Americas*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, and book manuscripts for *Cambridge University Press* and the *University of Arizona Press*; served as a reviewer for the NSF (proposal 1540610, 2015)

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Historical Association (AHA)
Council for Latin American History (CLAH)
Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

LANGUAGES

Speaking and reading: Spanish
Reading: French, Latin