

***Nuestra Señora: Confraternal Art and
Identity in Early Colonial Lima***

by

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To my family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	Archivo Arzobispal de Lima
ABPL	Archivo de le Beneficencia Pública de Lima
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación del Perú
AHCL	Archivo Histórico de la Catedral de Lima
APDSJGB	Archivo de la Provincia Dominicana de San Juan Bautista del Perú
Cof.	Cofradías
Exp.	Expediente
fol.	folio
IFAN	Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
Leg.	Legajo
PR	Patronato Real

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the visual culture of black and indigenous lay confraternities in Lima during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With limited extant visual evidence, I take advantage of Lima's rich documentary record for the early colonial period and use the confraternities of the Virgin of Copacabana and of the Virgin of the Antigua as case studies for how we might incorporate subalterns into Lima's art-historical purview. By prioritizing confraternity members' self-identifications over colonial administrative categories, I demonstrate that black and indigenous people in colonial Lima were active patrons, defined the city's visual culture through religious and social engagement, and applied their own cultural lenses in their use of sacred images and ritual objects.

Following the Introduction, Chapter 2 uses confraternal records, especially inventories, to recover and examine the sacred images and goods of Lima's black and indigenous confraternities. I argue that by commissioning sacred images, displaying these images in ornamented chapels and during urban processions, and adorning them with clothing and accessories, confraternities should be considered curators of material "collections." I contend that, as the majority of the city's population, black and indigenous sodalities significantly defined the visual aspects of the religious and municipal landscape of colonial Lima.

Chapter 3 addresses the confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana, an indigenous sodality founded in part by people from Chachapoyas. The confraternity commissioned a polychrome wooden statue of the Virgin and Child in 1588 that evolved into a popular cult image after it was

observed miraculously sweating in 1591. Following the statue and confraternity as they were relocated within the city, I consider the statue, its renaming, and its adornment through the interpretive lens of Chachapoya art, architecture, and religious ritual, in order to speculate about the devotees' experiences. Approaching the image from a Chachapoya perspective reveals that the confraternity members imbued the statue with their history under Inca and Spanish control in ways that colonial officials could not perceive.

Chapter 4 examines the confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua, a black sodality that came to be controlled by Greater Senegambians in the seventeenth century. I begin by discussing the ways in which the confraternity mobilized its confraternal goods to assert their superiority over rival Afro-confraternities, and argue that material culture played a critical role in legal disputes that was comparable to the racially-charged language examined by historians. Then, focusing on the group that identified with Greater Senegambia, I analyze the confraternity's goods, including a wooden statue of the Virgin that was commissioned by the sodality in 1568, alongside visual art and rituals from modern Greater Senegambia. In so doing, I propose that the Virgin's devotees formed possible correlations with West Africa through interactions with their sculpted image.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

I. Introduction

A grand painting of Lima's central plaza (fig. 1.1, 1680), now in the Museo de América in Madrid, depicts the viceregal Peruvian capital as an exemplary colonial city: devoutly Catholic, overflowing with the edible spoils of empire, and teeming with a multiplicity of peoples, all contained by sturdy buildings lining rectilinear streets.¹ The fictive scrolls on either side of the panel serve as a legend guiding the viewer through a numbered "tour" of Lima that begins with the Cathedral and Sagrario in the center, moves up the left side of the plaza, then follows the row of churches and convents that give the impression of forming a last line of defense between the warm tones of the city and the cool blues and grays of the looming Andes mountain chain. The spatial tour concludes in the plaza, moving clockwise from the bottom left around its four corners, and a final stop at the *callejón de los mercaderes*.

The legend then turns to the "fruits" of the land, which, if followed numerically, sends the viewer darting wildly around the canvas when matching numbers to depicted features. There is a striking contrast between the order of the built environment surrounding the plaza imposed by the colonial government and the life teeming within. The fabricated boundaries, too, appear drab and monotonous, relative to the vibrant pulse of the people, flora, and fauna of Lima. While

¹ The Viceroyalty of Peru was an administrative province of the Spanish Empire, established in 1542. At its peak, it encompassed most of South America and Panama, before it was reduced in the eighteenth century to only include all of the modern country of Peru, as well as all or parts of the modern Andean countries of Colombia, Ecuador, and Chile. Thus, I only use the term Peru alone when referring to the modern country.

the variety of “exotic” fruits and flowers are a visual delight, especially in the makeshift market on the right, it is the mundane interactions among Lima’s people that bring the city to life and give the painting its documentary air.

Close viewing is rewarded by the discovery of seemingly endless, yet compelling, micro-narratives, populated by figures clearly coded as black, indigenous, Spanish, and mixed-race. In the very center of the painting, a luxurious fountain – one of the few depicted elements that still exists (fig. 1.2) – is both a decorative feature and an important source of water, as underscored by the many black men, likely enslaved or *jornaleros* (day laborers), filling jugs with water and loading them onto their mules (fig. 1.1a). Just beneath the fruit market (fig.1.1b), a bread-seller, one of Lima’s many black entrepreneurs, raises her arms in distress as a skinny dog bounds away with its pilfered snack. Along the bottom of the canvas, a wealthy few have dressed in their best, mounted their mules, and boarded their carriages, to see and to be seen in Lima’s most prominent performance space. Two indigenous women (fig. 1.1c) share a mule that appears proud to be wearing a flashy red ribbon. Just above the carriage on the left (fig. 1.1d), an indigenous woman from the mountains, as indicated by the legend, casually leads a llama, while spinning yarn with a drop spindle. To the left of the fountain, a multiracial group of women (fig. 1.1e), identifiable by their clothes, sell their wares, as two Dominican religious women stroll by. Disproportionately large Spanish figures positioned in the bottom-right corner (fig. 1.1f) command the viewer’s attention, including women in lace *mantillas*, city officials in black, and a man standing in the gateway wearing eye-catching white.

While the seventeenth-century plaza scene clearly represents — even purposefully shows off — Lima’s multiracial population, art historical scholarship on the early modern city has largely overlooked its black and indigenous residents. The discrepancy is stark and lamentable,

but not surprising. The misrepresentation of the city's colonial past is in part a result of the limited art and architectural remains from the colonial period due to the climate and frequent seismic activity.² The larger issue, however, is a tendency within the study of colonial Latin American art to focus on either the European art present in the viceroyalty, which Lima has, or the visible mixture of European and Inca traditions, which Lima's art lacks. Consequently, non-Inca Andeans have been overlooked and Afro-descendants have been omitted entirely. Lima is past due for an art history that reflects the diversity of its residents and describes their activities as makers and users of visual art.

This dissertation uses the documents generated by colonial confraternities to initiate the process of recovering the art and visual culture of black and indigenous Limeños, and thereby, re-integrating them into Lima's art historical narrative.³ Since there has been no systematic study of confraternal art in viceregal Peru, the first chapter introduces the sacred images and decorative

² The Nazca and South American continental tectonic plates meet along the coast of Peru, making it particularly susceptible to earthquakes. The most devastating earthquake to hit Lima during the colonial period was the 1746 Lima-Callao earthquake and tsunami, which destroyed the city and its port in a matter of minutes. On the 1746 earthquake and the subsequent rebuilding of the city, see: Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

³ Race is a deeply contested and well-studied topic in academic study on colonial Latin America. See, for example: Daniel Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race Concentration and Biopolitics in Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017); Andrew B. Fisher, Matthew D. O'Hara, and Irene Silverblatt, eds., *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009). This dissertation relies on scholarship on issues of race in the colonial period, but does not engage with it, in part because racial categorizations were imposed by the Spanish and encourage the leveling of a variety of experiences into monolithic categories against which I want to actively push. Nevertheless, race-related terms existed in the colonial period, as now, and I use them for the sake of clarity. I purposefully do not use the term "non-Spanish" because I find it problematic to define groups of people based on the colonial powers. Whenever possible, I try to retain colonial Spanish terminology, always italicized, when describing colonial peoples. *Indio* and *indígena* were used for indigenous people, *mestizo* referred to people of mixed indigenous ancestry (usually indigenous and Spanish), *moreno* and *negro* were used to describe blacks, *mulato* and *pardo* were used to describe the various racial mixings involving people of African descent (especially black and Spanish), *español* was used as a blanket term for Spanish people, *peninsular* referred to Spanish people born in the Iberian peninsula, and *criollo* was used to describe anyone who identified as originating in Lima. When discussing people of African descent, I prefer the term "black" because it is used positively by people African descent in the United States. I use "Afro-descendant" as a broader umbrella term that includes all people of African descent, especially when differentiating between *negros* and *mulatos*. "Afro-Peruvian" is used in this dissertation only to discuss people living in the nineteenth century, around or after the establishment of the Peruvian Republic. Out of sensitivity for the cultural baggage associated with the terms "indian" and "mulatto" among contemporary communities in the United States I never use the English translations of *indio* and *mulato*, despite their continued use in scholarship.

goods of Lima's confraternities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, based primarily on black and indigenous sodalities. Following the survival of visual and archival material, I take two confraternities as case studies: the indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana (fig. 3.1) and the black confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua (fig. 4.1). Employing a wide range of evidence from archival documents, but also surviving paintings, polychrome sculpture, and decorative textiles and jewelry, I demonstrate that black and indigenous people in colonial Lima were active patrons, defined visual culture through religious and social engagement, and applied their own cultural lenses to visibly European images.

This chapter tells the "tale of two cities" that emerges from the disparate contrasting accounts of colonial Lima embedded within the disciplines of art history and history. I begin by discussing the dominant narratives within Lima's art history, which stress European artists and influences. Next, I lay out the multiracial capital presented by historians, focusing especially on the research of scholars who have studied the black and indigenous people who made up the majority of Lima's population. Finally, I provide an overview of the shape of the dissertation project.

II. Historiography for Lima's Art History

The study of Lima's art has a long historiographic tradition that has been directly affected by the city's evolving relationship with European art. The study of colonial Andean art, initially a subset of Spanish art history, began with the art of Lima.⁴ This early research exalted artworks created by celebrated European artists, imported or manufactured by immigrants, as the gold

⁴ On the development of colonial Peruvian art history, especially the role of *indigenismo*, see: Ananda Cohen-Aponte, "Forging a Popular Art History: Indigenismo and the Art of Colonial Peru," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 67, no. 1 (2017): 273–89; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Carla Rahn Phillips, and Lisa Voigt, "Spain and Spanish America in the Early Modern Atlantic World: Current Trends in Scholarship," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (2009): 9–14.

standard, dismissing local products as “poor copies” of lesser value.⁵ Notably, despite the many ways in which the field has evolved beyond its Eurocentric origins, the tendency to evaluate colonial Latin American art in relation to or primarily in terms of European antecedents endures.⁶ As we shall see, scholarship on Lima still places a high premium on identifying stylistic connections with European art, stemming from the association of the viceregal capital with European cultural hegemony and artistic authority.

Art historical accounts of the city are dominated by European artists, styles, and images.⁷ At the top of the hierarchy is the “Mannerist” painting of the Italian artists who immigrated to and traveled throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru in the sixteenth century: the Jesuit Bernardo Bitti (1548-1610), Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547-1616/28), and Angelino Medoro (1567-1631).⁸ Drawing from a Spanish and colonial valorization of early modern Italian art, art historians of the colonial Andes have privileged these figures, seemingly attributing the entirety of Andean artistic developments to them, including the famous “Cusco School.”⁹ Their prestige is such that they are included in essentially every significant art historical study of colonial Peru and have

⁵ See, for example: Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, “La pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato,” in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú: El libro de arte del centenario* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2001).

⁶ See, for example: Aaron M. Hyman, “Inventing Painting: Cristóbal de Villalpando, Juan Correa, and New Spain’s Transatlantic Canon,” *The Art Bulletin* 99, no. 2 (2017): 102–35.

⁷ For broad overviews of the art of Lima, see: Bernales Ballesteros, “La pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato”; Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, “La escultura en Lima, siglos XVI-XVIII,” in *Escultura en el Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1991), 1–133; Luis Eduardo Wuffarden and Ricardo Kusunoki, eds., “Arte y cultura visual en el Virreinato,” in *Pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 1–53.

⁸ The first Italian painters to come to colonial Peru were Bernardo Bitti (1548, Camerino, Italy-1610, Lima; arr. in Lima 1570), Mateo Pérez de Alesio/Matteo da Lecce (1547, Lecce, Italy-1616, Lima; arr. in Lima c.1588) and Angelino Medoro (1565, Rome, Italy-c.1633; arr. in Lima c.1586). Another Italian artist, the painter Pedro Pablo Morón (d.1616), who collaborated often with Pérez de Alesio, but he has not received much attention.

⁹ The “Cusco School” is not a true “school,” but rather a later designation for an artistic tradition that grew out of Cusco and varies widely from artist to artist, the most famous of which are Diego Quispe Tito (1611-1681) and Marcos Zapata (c.1710-1773). These artists show the range of time and artistic approaches encompassed by the designation. “Cusco School” paintings are largely religious in subject, but the original painting (in the Church of La Compañía in Cusco) of the *Marriage of Martín de Loyola to Beatriz Ñusta* and its copies, as well as the series of panels depicting the Corpus Christi celebrations in Cusco, have received a lot of scholarly attention. These painters are often racially categorized as either *mestizo* or indigenous, hypothetically accounting for the inconsistencies found in their paintings and fitting neatly within the framework provided by the debates surrounding indigeneity.

received special attention from prominent Bolivian scholars like José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert.¹⁰ All three Italian artists, but especially Bitti, have been discussed primarily in terms of their “Mannerist style,” despite the fact that “Mannerism” is itself not a stable category.¹¹

Moreover, a visual comparison of exemplary paintings by these artists — Bitti’s *Virgen de la*

¹⁰ On Bitti, see: Mónica Solórzano Gonzales, “La coronación de la Virgen por la Santísima Trinidad de Bernardo Bitti en el arte peruano virreinal” (MA thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2012); Pedro Querejazu Leyton, “La Madona del pajarito de Bernardo Bitti: tratamiento de conservación y restauración,” *Conserva: Revista del Centro Nacional de conservación y restauración*, no. 5 (2001): 81–94; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *El hermano Bernardo Bitti: Escultor* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanos- Americanos, 1984); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Bitti: un pintor manierista en Sudamérica* (La Paz: División de Extensión Universitaria, Instituto de Estudio Bolivianos, Universidad de San Andrés, 1974); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Bitti y los orígenes de la escuela Cusqueña* (Cusco: Instituto Nacional de Cultura: Dirección General de Turismo: Concejo Provincial del Cusco, 1974); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Bernardo Bitti* (La Paz: Biblioteca de Arte y Cultura Boliviana and Dirección Nacional de Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1961). On Pérez de Alesio, see: Julianne Johnson, “Constructing an Identity for Artist and City: An Analysis of the Trans-Atlantic Career of Mateo Pérez de Alesio” (MA thesis, UC Riverside, 2009); Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Dos obras inéditas de Mateo Pérez de Alesio en el monasterio de la Concepción,” *Histórica* 28, no. 1 (2004): 179–92; Antonio Palesati, *Matteo da Leccia: manierista toscano: dall’Europa al Perú* (Pomaranze, Italy: Associazione turistica Pro Pomaranze, Comune di Castelnuovo Val di Cecina, La Comunità di Pomaranze, in collaborazione con Comune di Poamarance, Comunità Montana Alta Val di Cecina, 1999); Teresa Gisbert, “Mateo Pérez de Alesio y los murales de San Francisco de Lima,” *Arte y arqueología* 8–9 (1983 1982): 139–46; Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, “Mateo Pérez de Alesio, pintor romano en Sevilla y Lima,” *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 56, no. 171 (1973): 221–71; J. A. Gere, “A Drawing by Matteo Perez Da Leccio,” *Master Drawings* 11, no. 2 (1973): 150-154+202-203; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio* (La Paz: Universidad Boliviana, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos, 1972). On Medoro, see: Fernando García Sánchez, “Proceso inquisitorial a que fue sometido el pintor Angelino Medoro y su familia por la muerte de Fernando Medina Melgarejo veinticuatro de Sevilla,” *Laboratorio de arte* 27 (2015): 583–89; Rafael Ramos Sosa, “Una pintura inédita de Angelino Medoro en Sevilla,” *Laboratorio de arte* 18 (2005): 185–91; Teodoro Hampe Martínez, “Sobre la imagen de la muerte: el retrato de Santa Rosa de Lima por Angelino Medoro,” in *Manierismo y transición al Barroco. Memoria del III Encuentro Internacional sobre Barroco* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005), 77–89; Fuensanta Arenado, “Nuevos datos sobre el pintor Angelino Medoro (Roma, 1567-Sevilla, 1633),” *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 60, no. 184 (1977): 103–12; José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “El pintor Angelino Medoro y su obra en Sudamérica,” *Anales del Instituto de arte americano e investigaciones estéticas* 18 (1965): 23–47.

¹¹ On the three Italian painters and the influence of “Mannerism” in colonial Peru, see: Christa Irwin, “Roma in Lima: Italian Renaissance Influence in Colonial Peruvian Painting” (PhD Diss., Graduate Center, CUNY, 2014); Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, “Influencia italiana en la pintura virreinal,” in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú: El libro de arte del centenario* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2001), 109–64; Michael Morse, “The Influence of Italian Mannerism in Early Viceregal Peru: Mateo Perez de Alesio, Bernardo Bitti and Anglino Medoro” (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1998); Rafael Ramos Sosa, “La pervivencia del manierismo en Lima: el motivo ornamental de la sillería del Monasterio de Santa Catalina,” in *El arte español en épocas de transición: actas*, ed. Comité Español de Historia del Arte (León: Universidad de León, 1992), 445–48; José Chichizola Debernardi, *El manierismo en Lima* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1983); Francisco Stastny, *El manierismo en la pintura colonial latinoamericana* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1981); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “Renacimiento y manierismo en la arquitectura ‘mestiza,’” *Boletín del Centro de investigaciones históricas y estéticas (Caracas)* 3 (1965): 9–44; Martín S. Soria, “Pintores italianos en Sudamérica entre 1575 y 1628,” *Saggi e memorie di storia dell’arte* 4 (1965): 115–76; *Manierismo y transición al Barroco: memoria del III Encuentro Internacional sobre Barroco* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005).

Candelaria (fig. 3.17), Pérez de Alesio's *Virgen de la Leche* (fig. 1.3), Medoro's *Virgen de la Inmaculada Concepción* (fig. 1.4) — reveals only superficial visual similarities, such as the palette of colors and elongated anatomical features. More striking, however, are the differences, significant enough to illustrate that the three artists do not share a cohesive “style.” Nevertheless, discussing the Italian painters in terms of style has been useful for narratives that prioritize artistic lineage, since it serves to connect Bitti, Pérez de Alesio, and Medoro to later Andean painters.

Spanish artists, artisans, and architects also relocated to work in the viceroyalty of Peru.¹² Among them, the high-profile works of the sculptors Juan Martínez de Arrona (1562-1635, fig. 1.5), Martín Alonso de Mesa (1573-1626, fig. 1.6), and Pedro de Noguera (1580-1660, fig. 1.7) are readily identified as part of Lima's artistic profile. These artists have become the subject of a particular study by the highly-respected Sevillian historian of Peruvian art, Rafael Ramos Sosa, whose research focus has also reinforced the dominance of Spanish visual culture ascribed to colonial Lima.¹³

Artwork from Europe was imported to Lima during the colonial period, predominantly from Spain, but also from Flanders. In particular, paintings by the Spanish artists Francisco de

¹² There were too many Spanish immigrant artists, but some of them are: Gaspar de la Cueva, Luís de Espindola y Villavicencio, Juan de Illescas, Pedro de Mena, Andrés de Ocampo, Cristóbal de Ortega, Diego Rodríguez, and Luís Ortiz de Vargas. See, for example: Emilio Harth-Terré, “Los Illescas, pintores en Lima,” *Anales del Instituto de arte americano e investigaciones estéticas* 11 (1958): 87–92; Rafael Ramos Sosa, “El escultor-imaginero Gaspar de la Cueva en Lima (1620-1628),” in *La consolidación del Barroco en la escultura andaluza e hispanoamericana*, ed. Lázaro Gil Medina and Luis Javier Cuesta Hernández (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2013), 423–43; Jorge Bernal Ballesteros, “Noticias sobre el escultor y arquitecto Luis Ortiz de Vargas,” in *Andalucía y América en el Siglo XVII: actas de las III Jornadas de Andalucía y América*, vol. 2 (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1985), 97–140.

¹³ Rafael Ramos Sosa, “Martín Alonso de Mesa, escultor y ensamblador (Sevilla c. 1573-Lima 1626),” *Anales del Museo de América* 8 (2000): 45–63; Rafael Ramos Sosa, “Juan Martínez de Arrona, escultor (c. 1562-1635),” in *Euskal Herria y el Nuevo Mundo: la contribución de los vascos a la formación de las América*, ed. Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, Ana de Zaballa Beascochea, and Óscar Álvarez Gila (Vitoria: Servicio Editorial, Universidad del País Vasco, 1996), 567–77; Antonio San Cristóbal, “Martín Alonso de Mesa y Juan García Salguero en el retablo mayor de la Concepción,” *Revista del Archivo general de la nación* 18 (1998): 123–51; Antonio San Cristóbal, “Los alarifes de la ciudad en Lima durante el siglo XVII,” *Laboratorio de arte*, no. 6 (1993): 129–55.

Zurbarán (1598-1644, fig. 1.8), Juan de Valdés Leal (1622-1690), and Bartolomé Murillo (16170-1682, fig. 1.9) are considered integral to the city's artistic heritage.¹⁴ The paintings and prints of the Flemish artists Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640, fig. 1.10) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) are also credited as highly influential in the development of the so-called “Lima School” of painters in the early-eighteenth century.¹⁵

Similarly, polychrome sculptures imported from Spain, particularly images proven to have been miraculously efficacious or statues attributable to celebrated artists (and sometimes both), played critical roles in the religious life of colonial Limeños, as they do today. Whereas these miracle-working sculptures have only recently garnered attention, the corpus of Spanish-made works has been well covered in art historical scholarship, particularly the statues of the Sevillian-based Flemish sculptor, Roque de Balduque (d. 1561, figs. 3.15-16), images by Juan de Mesa (1583-1627, fig. 1.11), and those of the Sevillian Juan Martínez Montañés (1568-1649, fig. 1.12), known during his lifetime as “el dios de la madera” (the god of wood) for his ability to “enliven” wood through the mimesis of his sculpture.¹⁶

¹⁴ Bernales Ballesteros, “La pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato.”

¹⁵ On the importance of prints in the colonial Andes, see: Emily C. Floyd, “Matrices of Devotion: Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Limeñian Devotional Prints and Local Religion in the Viceroyalty of Peru” (PhD Diss., Tulane University, 2018); Aaron M. Hyman, “Rubens in a New World: Prints, Authorship, and Transatlantic Intertextuality” (PhD Diss., UC Berkeley, 2017); Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, *El grabado en Lima virreinal: documento histórico y artístico (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2002).

¹⁶ See: Rafael Ramos Sosa and Luis Martín Bogdanovich, eds., *La madera hecha Dios: Arte, fe y devoción en torno a la Pasión de Cristo* (Lima: Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana, 2016); Antonio José Albaronedo Freire, “El calvario del cabildo bajo de la Casa Consistorial de Sevilla: Una obra atribuible a Roque de Balduque,” *Laboratorio de Arte*, no. 24 (2012): 795–804; Rafael Ramos Sosa, “De Malinas a Lima: Un largo viaje para un niño perdido. Notas sobre el Niño Jesús montañésino: A propósito de nuevas obras en el Perú,” in *Actas del coloquio internacional el niño Jesús y la infancia en las artes plásticas, siglos XV al XVII*, vol. 2010 (Sevilla: Archicofradía del Sagrario de la Catedral de Sevilla, 2010), 315–61; José Hernández Díaz, *Juan Martínez Montañés (1568-1649)* (Seville: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 1987); Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, “Esculturas de Roque de Balduque y su círculo en Andalucía y América,” *Anuario de estudios americanos* 34 (1977): 349–71; José Hernández Díaz, *Juan de Mesa: Escultor de imaginería (1583-1627)* (Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1972).

These artists and their imported artworks represent a very powerful strand of artistic influence from Andalucía, in southern Spain, on the art of Lima. This is not by coincidence. Seville was, technically, the only official port for ships bound for the Americas.¹⁷ Artists destined for the Viceroyalty of Peru also sometimes spent substantial time in Seville prior to their departure.¹⁸ In addition, we know that Lima actively modeled its religious visual culture after Seville's.¹⁹ In a discussion of Lima's festival culture, Ramos Sosa went so far as to assert:

“Lima is a city founded *ex-novo*; for that reason the indigenous presence was minor and, especially as the capital of the viceroyalty, the Spanish, peninsular fingerprint, in the broadest sense, was the most notable physiognomic characteristic [in the city]...From that, we can deduce that Lima's festival culture must have been like that of any other peninsular city, with opportune ingredients from Indian culture that gave [Lima] a personal touch.”²⁰

Far from the exception, this view is still the predominant art historical perspective on colonial Lima.²¹ The connection between the viceregal capital and the Andalusian city is undeniable, yet it is overstated, to the detriment of our understanding of Lima and its art.²²

¹⁷ Bernales Ballesteros, “La escultura en Lima,” 18.

¹⁸ Bitti was in Seville for 2 months and Pérez de Alesio was there from 1583-1589.

¹⁹ For example, on June 8, 1550, Lima's city council ordered that its municipal officials must process closest to the host, because officials “normally [do so] in Spain, in Seville,” and that failing to follow the order was punishable by “grave penalties and incarceration.” [“En este cabildo los dichos señores Justicia e Regimiento cometieron a los señores alcalde y diputados desta cibdad que se ynformen por la horden que an de yr oficios mas çerca al santissimo sacramento e que aquellos se ynformaren que suelen yr en españa en sevilla e que por aquella mysma horden vayan y les conpelan con graves penas e prision a ello como les paresçiere.”] Bertram T. Lee, Juan Bromley, and Sophy E. Schofield, eds., *Libro de los cabildos de Lima* (Lima: Imp. Torres Aguirre, Sanmartí y Cía., 1935), 38-39.

²⁰ “Lima es una ciudad fundada *ex novo*, por ello la presencia indígena era menor y sobre todo al ser capital del virreinato la huella española, peninsular, en el sentido más amplio, era la característica más notable de su fisionomía...De todo ello se desprende que el talante festivo de Lima debió de ser como el del cualquier ciudad peninsular, con los oportunos ingredientes de la cultura india que le daban la nota personal.” Rafael Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal: siglos XVI-XVII* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, Asesoría Quinto Centenario, 1992), 18.

²¹ See, for example: Guadalupe Romero Sánchez, “El escultor sevillano Cristóbal de Ojeda y su partida al Perú,” *Laboratorio de arte* 25 (2013): 863–76; Guillermo Lohmann Villena and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *La semana santa de Lima* (Lima: Fondo Por Recuperación del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación: Banco del Crédito del Perú, 1996); Francisco Stastny, “Un muralista sevillano en Lima,” in *Formación profesional y artes decorativas en Andalucía y América*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, 1991), 75–85; María Adelaida Allo Manero, “Aportación al estudio de las exequias reales en Hispanoamérica: La influencia sevillana en algunos túmulos limeños y mejicanos,” *Anuario del Departamento de historia y teoría del arte* 1 (1989): 121–37; Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, “Escultores y esculturas de Sevilla en el Virreinato del Perú, siglo XVI,” *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 72, no. 220 (1989): 261–82.

²² Bernales Ballesteros says the same thing, talking about the plurality of Lima's art.

Moreover, there is extremely limited art historical scholarship on indigenous and black people in colonial Lima as producers and consumers of art. A small number of artists and artisans have been identified, such as the sixteenth-century indigenous painter from Huarochirí, Francisco Juárez, and the seventeenth-century black painter, Luis Fernández, but they have gone largely unexplored.²³ Even the enslaved *mulato* painter, Andrés de Liébana, who contributed to an extant series of the life of Sant Francis in the courtyard of the Convent of San Francisco (c.1671) that has been characterized as demonstrating “the stylistic maturity of Limeño painters,” has not attracted interest.²⁴ The sole exception is an article on a black sculptor named Juan Simón (b.1584, fig. 1.13), whom Ramos Sosa presents as a “disciple and slave” of Juan Martínez Montañés.²⁵ Also neglected are the important sacred images associated with black and indigenous people, such as the miraculous frescoed image of the *Señor de los Milagros* (Lord of the Miracles), traditionally believed to have been painted by an enslaved Angolan.²⁶ As a result of this lacuna in the scholarship, we are left with the impression, unintentionally or otherwise,

²³ The known indigenous artists working in Lima are: Francisco Juárez (c.1572), Juan Amai (c.1580), Martín Pedro (c.1586), Agustín de Cervantes (from Quito, active c.1603), Andrés Rodríguez (from Quito, c.1631), Santiago Marca (from Jauja), Marcos de Silva (c.1622), Francisco Guerra (c.1622), Pedro de Puga (from Cusco, 18th century), Santiago de Mendoza (from Cusco, 18th century), and Santiago Quispe Tito (c.1718). Bernaldes Ballesteros, “La pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato,” 41; Emilio Harth-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, *Pinturas y pintores en Lima virreinal* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1964), 50–55. A small number of Afro-descendant painters have also been identified, including Luis Fernández (c.1638), Cristóbal Albaro (c.1700), Francisco Araujo (c.1750), Matías Almendaris (18th century), and José Ancieta (late-18th century). Harth-Terré and Márquez Abanto, 49–50. See also: Emilio Harth-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, *Perspectiva social y económica del artesano virreinal en Lima* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1963), 77–95; Emilio Harth-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, “El artesano negro en la arquitectura virreinal limeña,” *Revista del Archivo nacional del Perú* 25 (1961): 3–73; Emilio Harth-Terré, “El indígena peruano en las bellas artes virreinales,” *Revista universitaria (Cuzco)* 49, no. 118 (1960): 46–95.

²⁴ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “La catedral de Lima y el ‘triumfo de la pintura,’” in *La Basílica Catedral de Lima*, ed. Guillermo Lohmann Villena (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2004), 272.

²⁵ Rafael Ramos Sosa, “El escultor Juan Simón: Discípulo y esclavo de Montañés,” in *Migraciones y rutas del barroco: VII Encuentro internacional sobre barroco*, ed. Norma Campos Vera (La Paz: Fundación Visión Cultural, 2014), 37–45.

²⁶ On the Lord of the Miracles, see: Julia Costilla, “‘Guarda y custodia’ en la Ciudad de los Reyes: la construcción colectiva del culto al Señor de los Milagros (Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII),” *Fronteras de la historia* 20, no. 2 (2015): 152–79; María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Pachacamac y el señor de los milagros: una trayectoria milenaria* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1992); Raúl Banchemo Castellano, *La verdadera historia del Señor de los Milagros* (Lima: Inti-Sol, 1976).

that Lima was either devoid of black and indigenous people, as asserted by Ramos Sosa in the quote above, or that these populations neither engaged with nor made significant contributions to Lima's visual culture until the Afro-Peruvian painters José Gil de Castro y Morales (1785-1841) and Francisco "Pancho" Fierro de Palas (1807-1879) worked in the nineteenth century.²⁷

III. Correctives by Historians Regarding the Settlement and Demography of Lima

Historians, by contrast, have compellingly pushed against the Iberian characterization of Lima that remains so entrenched within art historical scholarship. The documentary research undertaken by specialists of black and indigenous Limeños resonates with the multi-racial pictorial representation of the city with which this chapter began. Before continuing our foray into Lima's art and visual culture, let us first become acquainted with the city that emerges through the scholarship of these historians of the colonial period.

The work of ethnohistorians like María Rostworowski has made it clear that, to truly understand Lima's inhabitants, we must begin before the Spanish invasion. The city was founded on the southern bank of the Rímac River (map 1.1), the only source of water in a valley where rain rarely falls, due to the area's humid desert climate.²⁸ The site chosen was on the lands of a

²⁷ On José Gil de Castro, see: Natalia Majluf, *José Gil de Castro: pintor de libertadores* (Santiago de Chile: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2015); Museo de Arte de Lima, ed., *Más allá de la imagen: los estudios técnicos en el proyecto José Gil de Castro* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2012); Ricardo Mariategui Oliva, *Jose Gil de Castro (el mulato Gil): vida y obra del gran pintor peruano de los libertadores* (Lima: La Confianza, 1981); Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú, *Jose Gil de Castro 1785-1843: pintor de libertadores*. (Lima: Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú, 1971). On Pancho Fierro, see: Natalia Majluf and Marcus B. Burke, *Tipos del Perú: la Lima criolla de Pancho Fierro* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 2008); Gustavo Arturo León y León Duran, *Apuntes historico genealogicos de Francisco Fierro: Pancho Fierro* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional, 2004); Ricardo Cantuarias Acosta, *Pancho Fierro* (Lima: Brasa, 1995); Raúl Porras Barrenechea and Jaime Bayly, *Pancho Fierro* (Lima: Instituto de Arte Contemporáneo, 1959).

²⁸ Peru's central coast is defined by several river valleys that connect the Andean cordillera and the Pacific Ocean, beginning with the Fortaleza Valley in the North and ending with the Cañete Valley in the South. The modern urban area of Lima falls within the Chillón, Rímac, and Lurín river valleys. The area's climate and extremely low rainfall are primarily due to a combination of the rain shadow caused by the mountain range and the Humboldt Current. The city has only two distinct seasons: summer (December-May), generally hot and sunny, and winter (June-November), which is cool and almost entirely overcast. The climate is periodically disrupted by the El Niño-Southern Oscillation

curacazgo (governorship) of indigenous people now known as the Límac, one of several such small groups in the Rímac Valley.²⁹ These fishing-based *curacazgos*, along with those of the Lurín Valley, comprised the Ychsma polity (*señorío*, ca. 900-1470 CE), defined by a shared common language or dialect, mythical origin, public ceremonial structures, burial rituals, and style of visual culture.³⁰ The Ychsma are named after their numen, a popular oracle, described in ethnohistoric and ethnographic legends as the creator of the world, humans, and agriculture, and as the god of earthquakes, and the lord of the night.³¹ When the Inca entered the region around

climate phenomenon, marked by a warming phase (El Niño) and cooling phase (La Niña). On Lima's desert climate, see: José Jaime Capel Molina, "Lima, un clima de desierto litoral," *Anales de geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 19 (1999): 25–45.

²⁹ Teresa C. Vergara Ormeño, "The Copacabana Indigenous Elite: Formation Identity and Negotiations (Lima, 1590-1767)" (PhD Diss., University of Connecticut, 2018), chap 1. See also: María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978), 50–51, 80. The Límac are also sometimes called the Rímac, but I use the prior in order to avoid confusion with the river. They Límac are not to be confused with the Lima culture that occupied the same area ca. 100-650 CE. The word Rímac, from which the city's name is derived, means "one who speaks" in Quechua (*rimaq*), in reference to the a lesser-known oracle near the river. There is evidence that this oracle was located in the modern Santa Ana neighborhood. According to the chronicler Cristóbal de Albornoz, its visual manifestation was that of a round stone. Reinhard Augustin Burneo, *El damero de Pizarro: el trazo y la forja de Lima*, Munilibro 8 (Lima: Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima, 2017), 8.

³⁰ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Las macroetnias en el ámbito andino," *Allpanchis* 22, no. 35–36 (1990): 25–28. The Ychsma are also known as the Ychma, Ichma, Ishma, and Ichmay, and other similar variations. See also: Sara Jane Marsteller, "Community Identity and Social Diversity on the Central Peruvian Coast: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Ychsma Diet, Mobility, and Mortuary Practices (c. AD 900-1470)" (PhD Diss., Arizona State University, 2015); Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "La etnia Ishma (Ychsma, Ichma, Ichmay)," *Investigaciones sociales* 18, no. 32 (2014): 117–59; María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Breve ensayo sobre el señorío de Ychma," in *Costa peruana prehispánica*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1989), 71–78. Many archaeologists have written about the material culture of the Ychsma. See, for example: Krzysztof Makowski and Gabriela Oré Menéndez, "Alfareros de aquí o de allá: identidad estilística y tecnológica en el valle de Pachacamac (costa central peruana)," *Revista española de antropología americana* 43, no. 2 (2013): 515; Mary Frame et al., "Ychsma Textiles from a Late Horizon Burial at Armatambo," *Ñawpa Pacha* 32, no. 1 (2012): 43–84; Francisco Bazán del Campo, "Los Contextos Funerarios Ichma Inicial de Conde de las Torres," *Arqueología y sociedad*, no. 19 (2008): 9–22; Iván Falconí, "Caracterización de la cerámica de la fase Yschma medio del sitio Armatambo, costa central del Perú," *Arqueología y sociedad* 19 (2008): 43–66; Jane Feltham and Peter Eeckhout, "Hacia una definición del estilo Ychsma: aportes preliminares sobre la cerámica Ychsma tardía de la pirámide III de Pachacamac," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines* 33, no. 3 (2004): 643–79; Miguel Cornejo, "Sacerdotes y tejedores en la provincia inka de Pachacamac," *Boletín de arqueología PUCP*, no. 6 (2002): 171–204.

³¹ Marsteller, "Community Identity and Social Diversity on the Central Peruvian Coast," 63; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Pachacamac y el señor de los milagros*; Arturo Jiménez Borja, "Pachacamac," *Boletín de Lima* 7 (1985): 40–54; Thomas C. Patterson, "Pachacamac: An Andean Oracle Under Inca Rule," in *Recent Studies in Andean Prehistory and Protohistory, Papers from the Second Annual Northeast Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. D. Peter Kvietok and Daniel H. Sandweiss (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 159–76. On oracles in the Andes, see: Marco Curatola Petrocchi, "¿Fueron Pachacamac y los otros grandes santuarios del mundo andino antiguo verdaderos oráculos?," *Diálogo andino: Revista de historia, geografía y cultura andina*, no. 38 (2011): 5–19; Peter Eeckhout, "El oráculo de Pachacamac y los peregrinajes a larga distancia en el mundo andino antiguo," in *Adivinación y oráculos en el mundo andino antiguo*, ed. Marco Curatola Petrocchi and Mariusz S.

1470, as part of Tupac Inca Yupanqui's (1441-1493) northward expansion of Tawantinsuyu, the highland invaders recognized the influence of the "Lord of Ychsma" in the region, and the oracle was subsumed into the Inca's sacred pantheon as Pachacamac, as it is now known.³² The incorporation of the *señorío* into Inca domains entailed more than just building a new temple to the sun and an *acllauasi* (house of chosen women). It also involved Inca settlers being placed there in order to maintain Inca control.³³ When the Spanish invaded the Rímac Valley, they encountered both Ychsma and Inca people.³⁴

Spanish forces had already occupied the desert shrine at Pachacamac in 1533, but it was not until January 6, 1535 that Captain Francisco Pizarro (1495-1541) formally made his move into the lush Rímac Valley, dispatching men from his base at Pachacamac to scout the Límac *curacazgo* with the express purpose of identifying a location for the new capital.³⁵ The *curaca*

Ziólkowski (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008), 161–80; Peter Gose, "Oracles, Divine Kingship, and Political Representation in the Inka State," *Ethnohistory* 43, no. 1 (1996): 1–32.

³² Peter Eeckhout, "Reyes del sol y señores de la luna: inkas e ychsmas en Pachacámac," *Chungará (Arica)* 36, no. 2 (2004): 495–503. There has been debate in scholarship as to whether Pachacamac was a major pilgrimage site. There is also question as to whether or not it declined in popularity during the Inca period. On Pachacamac see also: Peter Eeckhout, "Change and Permanency on the Coast of Ancient Peru: The Religious Site of Pachacamac," *World Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2013): 137–60; Peter Eeckhout, "Las pirámides con rampa de Pachacamac durante el horizonte tardío," in *Arqueología en el Perú: nuevos aportes para el estudio de las sociedades andinas prehispanicas*, ed. Rubén Romero Velarde and Trine Pavel Sveden (Lima: Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal, 2010), 415–34; Peter Eeckhout, "Pachacamac y el proyecto Ychsma (1999-2003)," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines* 33, no. 3 (2004): 425–48; Peter Eeckhout, "The Palaces of the Lords of Ychsma: An Archaeological Reappraisal of the Function of Pyramids with Ramps at Pachacamac, Central Coast of Peru," *Revista de Arqueología Americana* 17/18/19 (2000 1999): 217–54; Peter Eeckhout, "Relatos míticos y prácticas rituales en Pachacamac," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines* 33, no. 1 (2004): 1–54; Izumi Shimada et al., "Un Siglo Después de Uhle: Reflexiones sobre la Arqueología de Pachacamac y Perú (One Century After Uhle: Reflections on the Archaeology of Pachacamac and Peru)," in *Max Uhle (1856-1944): Evaluaciones de sus investigaciones y obras*, ed. Peter Kaulicke, Manuela Fischer, and Gregor Wolff (Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2010); Krzysztof Makowski and Alain Vallenás, "La ocupación lima en el valle de Lurín: en los orígenes de Pachacamac monumental," *Boletín de arqueología PUCP*, no. 19 (2015): 97–143.

³³ Because Quechua was not a written language until the arrival of the Spanish, there is no standardized orthography. Inka, for example, is now considered to be more "correct" than the more common spelling of Inca. Because I am writing about the colonial period and using colonial sources, I use the most common spellings of the period, relying especially on Juan Martínez, *Vocabulario en la lengua general del Peru llamada Quichua, y en la lengua Española* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1604).

³⁴ There were an estimated 4,000 people in the *señorío* of Ychsma in 1535. Augustin Burneo, *El damero de Pizarro*, 18.

³⁵ Augustin Burneo, 18.

(governor), Taulichusco, was likely aware of the Spanish incursion and was purportedly very hospitable, likely in order to cement an alliance.³⁶ Pizarro, of course, was no ally, and when Taulichusco refused to willingly cede his lands, the captain took them by force, ousting the *curaca* from his palace and seizing his lands for his *encomienda*, the grant of land and people awarded to Spanish invaders.³⁷ The story of Lima's very inception, then, is not one of a "tabula rasa" waiting to be filled, but rather, as with the rest of the invasion of the Americas, one of forceful conquest, economic exploitation, and violence.

Lima, called the *Ciudad de los Reyes* (City of Kings), was founded on January 18, 1535. Pizarro took the capital's foundation as the opportunity to build an ideal planned city, in which order and organization were paramount. Lima was laid out in a grid plan, 13 blocks (*manzanas*) in length or longitude and 9 in width or latitude, separated by streets 40 feet wide. Each of the 117 blocks was subdivided into four plots (*solares*), which were allocated by Pizarro.³⁸ The major religious orders present at the time of the foundation – the Franciscans, Dominicans and Mercedarians – were assigned prominent plots, whereas those orders that would arrive later – the Augustinians in 1551 and the Jesuits in 1568 – were left to acquire their own urban property.³⁹

The best-positioned *solares*, those surrounding the Plaza Mayor, Pizarro assigned to himself and his men, with one also allocated for the construction of Lima's first church. As the

³⁶ Taulichusco, who ruled jointly with his brother, Caxapaxa, was the son of a *yanacona* (servant) to Mama Vila, the wife of the Inca ruler Huayna Capac (1493-1527). He claimed to have welcomed Pizarro with offerings, including gifts of llama meat, fowl, fish, maize, and fruit. Paul Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima, Peru (1532-1824)* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2001), 5–6. See also: Gabriela González Carbajal, *Lima prehispánica* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1998), 85; María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Dos probanzas de Don Gonzalo, Curaca de Lima (1555-1559)," *Revista Histórica* 33 (1981): 105–73.

³⁷ Vergara Ormeño, "The Copacabana Indigenous Elite," chap. 1.

³⁸ Alejandra B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*, Americas in the Early Modern Atlantic World (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 13. For a visualization of the way the *solares* were divided and to whom, see the map in Augustin Burneo, *El damero de Pizarro*, 31–32.

³⁹ For a good overview of the erections of Lima's many religious structures in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, see: Osorio, *Inventing Lima*, 19–23.

city's heart, however, these initial assignments would evolve into the most integral components of Spanish colonial governance. Pizarro's *solares* became the palace of the viceroy. Plots he gave to his followers turned into the houses of the *cabildo* (municipal council). The small church, for which Pizarro famously laid the first stone, eventually became the city's Cathedral. Once the Inquisition arrived in 1570, the area surrounding Lima's plaza had an extremely high concentration of buildings belonging to the colonial government and its officials and to religious institutions.⁴⁰ Seen as a map, Lima appears orderly, a fitting "stage" for the exhibition of colonial, and by extension royal, power.⁴¹ And yet, as we saw in the painting of the plaza in 1680, when we account for the presence of the city's residents, this orderly view of the center operates as an ideological counterpoint to the complexity of the circulation and social life of a multiracial and socially diverse population within the city.⁴²

"Negros" and "Indios" in Colonial Lima

In addition to its coastal population, Lima came to be filled with indigenous immigrants from throughout the viceroyalty and, most of all, blacks. Ironically, this did not occur in spite of Spanish interventions, but as a direct result of them. Building and maintaining the city required a cheap labor force. Aware of this, Pizarro set aside certain *solares*, scattered throughout the city, to serve as temporary housing for the rotating indigenous labor force (*mita*) brought in to work within the city.⁴³ The importation of enslaved Africans was a different solution to the same end.

⁴⁰ On the Inquisition in Lima, see: Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

⁴¹ Alejandra Osorio argues that the city was built to fit the ideals that "reflected the concerns of an imperial court that increasingly conceived of the city as a baroque "stage" for the exhibition of royal power." Osorio, *Inventing Lima*, 13.

⁴² Speaking to the painting's accuracy, the *cabildo* made many failed attempts throughout the seventeenth century to order the plaza. Osorio, 16.

⁴³ Osorio, 18. The *mita* (or *mit'a* in Quechua) was a system of tribute labor, originally set in place by the Inca, in which laborers would be extracted to do work for the Inca for a limited amount of time every year. During the Inca period, this system was tied in with Andean norms of reciprocity (*yanapanakuy*), and communities that sent laborers received benefits in kind, such as food or clothing, from the Inca. The Spanish adopted the *mita* system, but without the guiding element of reciprocity, ended up treating it like free slave labor.

Blacks arrived in the Andes alongside the Spanish invaders, some as servants and some as invaders themselves.⁴⁴ The multi-racial environment of the city of Lima, as well as the perceived “disorder” that came with it, were factors from its incipience.

The works of Frederick Bowser and Lyn Lowry have been foundational interventions in the study of black and indigenous people in Lima, and this dissertation is deeply indebted to them.⁴⁵ Bowser’s monograph, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (1974) traced the development of slavery as the institution grew into the backbone of the colonial economy.⁴⁶ With his thorough archival research, Bowser explored the diversity of experiences among enslaved blacks in the urban context, especially in Lima, with distinctions, for example, between domestic workers, *jornaleros* (day laborers), and street vendors. Similarly, Lowry’s dissertation, “Forging an Indian Nation: Urban Indians under Spanish Colonial Control (Lima, Peru 1535-1765)” (1991), demonstrated that, despite being a relatively small population, indigenous people, too, were integral to life in colonial Lima.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Lowry argued that indigenous people in the city, coming from different regions and cultures, formed a new collectivity under the Spanish-imposed designation of *indio*, through which they formed a new identity for themselves.

Lima’s population, especially in the sixteenth century and in a somewhat different way in the seventeenth century, was overwhelmingly comprised of people who originated from elsewhere. Indeed, as early as the end of the sixteenth century, over half (52%) of colonial

⁴⁴ Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 4–6.

⁴⁵ Before them, Emilio Harth-Terré’s extensive archival research laid a foundation for their work. See: Emilio Harth-Terré, *Negros e indios; un estamento social ignorado del Perú colonial* (Lima: Librería-Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1973); Emilio Harth-Terré, “El esclavo negro en la sociedad indoperuana,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 3, no. 3 (1961): 297–340.

⁴⁶ Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*.

⁴⁷ Lyn Brandon Lowry, “Forging an Indian Nation: Urban Indians under Spanish Colonial Control (Lima, Peru, 1535-1765)” (PhD Diss., UC Berkeley, 1991).

Lima's population was black.⁴⁸ It is worth noting that although they were a small minority, some of Lima's Afro-descendants were immigrants from Spain, especially Seville. Most of Lima's black residents, however, were enslaved people and their descendants, with origins in West Africa, and scholars have made an effort to locate the ethnicities of Afro-descendants.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it was not just *mitayos* (*mita* workers) from the nearby river valleys that ultimately settled in Lima, but people from the distant highlands as well. Some surely came to Lima as a result of the "demographic collapse" of the early colonial period.⁵⁰ At the same time, many also came to the Spanish capital by choice, as was the case with *forasteros*, indigenous migrants, usually men, who left their homes in order to avoid overburdening their communities by being counted within the abusive Spanish tribute system.⁵¹ Over time, both black and indigenous people populated not only Lima's *callejones* (alleys), but also formed diaspora communities for themselves in certain sectors of the city. For example, the parish of Santa Ana was predominantly indigenous, the parish of San Marcelo was predominantly black, and the *barrio* (neighborhood) of San Lázaro, across the Rímac River, was populated by people of all races.⁵²

Recognizing the diversity of experiences within such a varied urban population, historical scholarship has pushed back against the utility of monolithic racial categories to describe the

⁴⁸ Vergara Ormeño, "The Copacabana Indigenous Elite," chap. 1.

⁴⁹ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links*, xxi, 225 p. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "Origins of the Slaves in the Lima Region in Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," in *From Chains to Bonds: The Slave Trade Revisited*, ed. Doudou Diène (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 43–54.

⁵⁰ Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620*, 41 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). It is worth noting that the term is problematic because it neutralizes the genocide of indigenous people during the Spanish invasion of the Americas. I use it here because it remains widely-used in the field and encompasses the deaths that occurred as a result of the spread of disease.

⁵¹ On *forasteros*, see: Karen Vieira Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: University Of New Mexico Press, 2009); Ann M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570-1720* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990); Noble David Cook, "Patrones de migración indígena en el Virreinato del Perú: mitayos, mingas y forasteros," *Histórica* 13, no. 2 (1989): 125–52.

⁵² The colonial parishes of Santa Ana and San Marcelo more or less correspond with the contemporary parishes in Lima.

city's inhabitants. Karen Graubart, focusing on particular groups and institutions, has added depth reflective of the diversity of peoples who fell under the colonial terms, *negro*, *moreno*, and *mulato*.⁵³ Rachel O'Toole's work on Afro-descendants on the north coast of Peru has been key in complicating our understanding of blacks in terms of race and ethnicity. In her book, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (2012), about the complex web of relationships between blacks and Indians, and in articles, O'Toole has employed transnational approaches to complicate ethnic categories, like the catch-all term *bran*, by demonstrating its polycultural nature.⁵⁴ Similarly, Teresa Vergara Ormeño, has pushed back against the monolithic "Indian Nation" proposed by Lowry and, later, Paul Charney.⁵⁵ Vergara has convincingly argued, instead, that indigenous people in Lima preserved their ethnic identities, even past the first generation to arrive. Moreover, she has demonstrated that they maintained ties to their home communities through a variety of means, including indigenous networks of communication.⁵⁶ I situate my project within this vein of scholarship and see visual culture as a means through which we can continue to explore how black and indigenous people formed new collectivities for themselves in Lima.

⁵³ Karen B. Graubart, "The Bonds of Inheritance: Afro-Peruvian Women's Legacies in a Slave-Holding World," in *Women's Negotiations and Textual Agency in Latin America, 1500-1799*, ed. Mónica Díaz and Rocío Quispe-Agnoli (London: Routledge, 2017), 130–50; Karen B Graubart, "'So Color de Una Cofradía': Catholic Confraternities and the Development of Afro-Peruvian Ethnicities in Early Colonial Peru," *Slavery & Abolition* 33, no. 1 (2012): 43–64. See also: Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes, "Pendiendo de un hilo: religiosidad, hechicería y curanderismo en las esclavas de Lima a fines de la Colonia," *Desde el Sur* 1, no. 1 (2009): 143–61.

⁵⁴ Rachel S. O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

⁵⁵ Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima*; Paul Charney, "A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian Cofradías and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru," *The Americas* 54, no. 3 (1998): 379–407; Paul Charney, "Negotiating Roots: Indian Migrants in the Lima Valley During the Colonial Period," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (1996): 1–20.

⁵⁶ Teresa C. Vergara Ormeño, "Growing Up Indian: Migration, Labor, and Life in Lima (1570–1640)," in *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ondina E. González and Bianca Premo (Albuquerque: University Of New Mexico Press, 2007), 75–106.

The growing number of black and indigenous people in Lima was of concern to the Spanish colonists, in part because it challenged administrative attempts at racial ordering. One such attempt was the “two republics” system, in which Spaniards were meant to govern themselves as one *república* and indigenous people were to govern themselves in their own *república*.⁵⁷ This system did not account for Afro-descendants, who were neither Spanish nor indigenous, and by certain colonial reckoning were not considered fully human.⁵⁸ The most infamous colonial attempt to separate and impose order upon racial groups was the “General Resettlement” (*reducción*) of indigenous peoples under Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515-1581) in the 1570s.⁵⁹ The process involved concentrating indigenous communities into Spanish-made settlements in order to facilitate evangelization and the collection of tribute. This eventually occurred throughout the entire viceroyalty, but began in Lima, when many of the city’s indigenous residents were forcefully gathered and relocated to Santiago del Cercado, the walled *reducción* just beyond Lima’s northeast city limits, where they were put into the spiritual care of the Jesuits. In theory. The Cercado was intended to serve as a space in which indigenous people would learn to be good Christians and live in *policia*, “safely” separated from Spaniards and blacks.⁶⁰ Of course, this separation was ultimately unsuccessful, as demonstrated by the fact

⁵⁷ On the “two *repúblicas*” system, see: José Carlos de la Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans: Seeking Justice and Reward at the Spanish Royal Court* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018); Ben Vinson III, *Before Mestizaje: The Frontiers of Race and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Magnus Mörner, *Estratificación social hispanoamericana durante el período colonial* (Estocolmo: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1980).

⁵⁸ Marcella Hayes argues in her dissertation that blacks effectively had their own *república*. Marcella Hayes, “The Black Spaniards: The Color of Political Authority in Seventeenth-Century Lima” (PhD Diss., Harvard University, Forthcoming).

⁵⁹ See: Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas Lauro, eds., *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el Virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017).

⁶⁰ Vergara Ormeño, “The Copacabana Indigenous Elite,” chap. 1.

that blacks and Spaniards came to live in the Cercado and by the diversity of the population of San Lázaro.⁶¹

Recent research has illustrated how examining the failure of such initiatives can broaden our understanding of black and indigenous people in Lima. Michelle McKinley and Tamara Walker, for example, have examined the ways that enslaved people in Lima worked within the confines of the colonial system to buy their freedom and negotiate status.⁶² Tetsuya Amino has discussed how, rather than passively accept their “reduction,” indigenous Limeños left the Cercado in high numbers.⁶³ This dissertation builds on their work by examining how engagement with visual culture allowed black and indigenous people to assert themselves into Lima’s urban environment and history. Also valuable are the contributions of José de la Puente Luna, Leo Garofalo, Alcira Dueñas, Sabine Hyland, Nancy van Deusen, and others, who have demonstrated that Lima’s black and indigenous population acquired skills critical to the development of the colonial project, and became priests, worked in *chicherías* (chicha breweries) and *pulperías* (stores), engaged with religious women, and much more.⁶⁴ In short, their scholarship shows that

⁶¹ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, “Discourse and Political Culture in the Formation of the Peruvian Reducciones in the Spanish Colonial Empire (1533-1592)” (PhD Diss., SUNY Stonybrook, 2001).

⁶² Walker, who discusses sartorial choices and the sole series of Peruvian casta paintings, is the only historian engage with art in their scholarship. Tamara J. Walker, *Exquisite Slaves: Race, Clothing, and Status in Colonial Lima* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Michelle A. McKinley, *Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600–1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁶³ Tetsuya Amino, “Un milagro de la Virgen y la libertad de los indios en Lima: Aspectos históricos de la reducción urbana en el caso del Cercado y el barrio de San Lázaro,” in *Reducciones: la concentración forzada de las poblaciones indígenas en el Virreinato del Perú*, ed. Akira Saito and Claudia Rosas Lauro (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2017).

⁶⁴ Nancy E. van Deusen, *Embodying the Sacred: Women Mystics in Seventeenth-Century Lima* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018); José Carlos de la Puente Luna, “En lengua de indios y en lengua española: Escribanos indígenas, cabildos de naturales y escritura alfabética en el Perú colonial,” in *Desafíos metodológicos para la historia de los pueblos indígenas*, ed. Ana Luisa Izquierdo de la Cueva (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2016), 51–113; José Carlos de la Puente Luna, “The Many Tongues of the King: Indigenous Language Interpreters and the Making of the Spanish Empire,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 23, no. 2 (2014): 143–70; Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the “Lettered City”: Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017); Alcira Dueñas, “The Lima Indian Letrados: Remaking the República de Indios in the Bourbon Andes,” *The Americas* 72, no. 1 (2015): 55–75; Sabine Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011); Nancy E. van Deusen, “Diasporas, Bondage, and Intimacy in Lima, 1535 to 1555,” *Colonial Latin*

these were not just *negros* and *indios* – they were Limeños with agency, devotion, and personal interests, just like their Spanish counterparts.

IV. Advances in Highland Andean Art History and De-centering the Visual

While historians have demonstrated the extent to which Lima was filled with and defined by its black and indigenous inhabitants, these populations remain glaringly absent from art historical scholarship on the city. One of the reasons for this omission is that little visual and material culture related to Lima’s black and indigenous populations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries survives. The racist legacies of the colonial world did not prioritize or facilitate the preservation of the cultural heritage of these Limeños, and the earthquakes that periodically hit viceregal Peruvian centers destroyed material and archival sources. Because art historians depend so heavily on extant objects in order to construct knowledge about artistic practices, an object-based art history of Lima’s black and indigenous colonial residents is particularly elusive.⁶⁵

Furthermore, the fragmentary surviving corpus of visual art from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lima does not lend itself to the kind of sustained consideration of a “hybrid” Spanish-indigenous visual idiom of the kind that has been identified in the art of the Andean highlands. In Cusco, the former capital of Tawantinsuyu, a formidable and politically-influential indigenous population actively consumed and produced a distinct visual culture in the colonial period, particularly in the eighteenth century, much of which is marked by the negotiation of

American Review 19, no. 2 (2010): 247–77; Leo J. Garofalo, “Conjuring with Coca and the Inca: The Andeanization of Lima’s Afro-Peruvian Ritual Specialists, 1580-1690,” *The Americas* 63, no. 1 (July 2006): 53–80.

⁶⁵ There appears to be a growing interest among early modernists to figure out how to contend with objects that have not survived. At the 2019 meeting of the Renaissance Society of America conference, Aaron Hyman and Dana Leibsohn organized a seminar entitled, “Gone Missing: Reckoning with Colonial Loss in the Early Modern World. For the 2020 meeting, Dana E. Katz and Dawn Odell are organizing a double panel, sponsored by the Newberry Library’s Center for Renaissance Studies, entitled, “NONEXTANT.”

Andean and European visual traditions (fig. 3.12). Scholars working on the highland Andes, including Ananda Cohen-Aponte, Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, Stella Nair, and Carolyn Dean have used these objects to examine the colonial period and portray it as a time in which Andean — predominantly Inca — people were active colonial agents whose religious practices and cultural practices did not disappear at the moment of the Spanish invasion.⁶⁶

Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn called attention to the problematic nature of the analysis and fetishization of “visible hybridity” in their famous co-authored article, “Hybridity and its Discontents.”⁶⁷ They challenged historians of colonial Latin American art to consider colonial objects wherein hybridity was invisible or unremarkable, because focusing on the visible alone has caused “other hybridities to be ignored” and revealed “a need to erase or at least deny colonialism’s force and legacy (which is only in small part visible).”⁶⁸ A revisionist art history of colonial Lima must confront and redress such erasures and denials, a process that Cohen-Aponte has begun for the colonial Andes.⁶⁹ This is particularly necessary if we are to understand not just the ways black and indigenous people in Lima were expected to engage with art and visual culture, according to colonial expectations, but rather, how they actually did so.

⁶⁶ See, for example: Ananda Cohen-Suarez, “Painting Andean Liminalities at the Church of Andahuaylillas, Cuzco, Peru,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 22, no. 3 (2013): 369–99; Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (University of Arizona Press, 2013); Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “La descendencia real y el ‘renacimiento inca’ en el virreinato,” in *Los incas, reyes del Perú*, ed. Natalia Majluf (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2005), 174–251; Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “Arte e identidad: Las raíces culturales del barroco peruano,” in *El Barroco peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003), 1–57; Luis Enrique Tord, “El barroco en Arequipa y el valle del Colca,” in *El Barroco peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla, vol. 2 (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003), 173–215; Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas B.F. Cummins, *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998); Teresa Gisbert, “The Indigenous Element in Colonial Art,” in *America: Bride of the Sun: 500 Years Latin America and the Low Countries* (Brussels: Flemish Community, Administration of External Relations, 1991), 143–56.

⁶⁷ Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, “Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5–35.

⁶⁸ Dean and Leibsohn, “Hybridity and Its Discontents,” 29.

⁶⁹ Ananda Cohen-Aponte, “Decolonizing the Global Renaissance: A View from the Andes,” in *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review*, ed. Daniel Savoy (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 67–94.

Dean and Leibsohn's second co-authored article, "Scorned Subjects in Colonial Objects" (2017), provides a good model for the analysis of colonial art.⁷⁰ Focusing on what they call subject-objects — indigenous things that were identified as sentient but reclassified as "objects" by Europeans — Dean and Leibsohn argued that we should reconsider them in terms of their "pre-Hispanic" ontologies and epistemologies rather than only European ones. To write about subject-objects as though they were objects alone, they argue, is to "extend the work of the extirpaters of idolatry."⁷¹

While Dean and Leibsohn wrote specifically about replacing colonial perspectives about indigenous things with indigenous understandings, this tactic can and should be extended to a reconsideration of how European objects were viewed in the colonial world by both indigenous people and by the substantial population of Afro-descendants. The incorporation of blacks into colonial Latin American art history is particularly urgent. Notably, in neither "Scorned Subjects" nor its predecessor, "Hybridity and its Discontents," did Dean and Leibsohn meaningfully consider black people as active agents in the colonial world.⁷² This omission is indicative of a significant problem in the art historical scholarship focusing on the Spanish colonial world, which almost completely ignores African artistic contributions, as noted above. It would appear that in the quest to deepen understanding of indigenous experiences in colonial Mexico and Peru,

⁷⁰ Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Scorned Subjects in Colonial Objects," *Material Religion* 13, no. 4 (2017): 414–36.

⁷¹ Dean and Leibsohn, "Scorned Subjects," 432.

⁷² In "Hybridity and Its Discontents" Africans are mentioned only in their discussion of *casta* paintings. Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents," 9. Research on *casta* paintings is one of the only places where colonial blacks are most actively discussed in art historical scholarship. On *casta* paintings, see: Magali M. Carrera, "Locating Race in Late Colonial Mexico," *Art Journal* 57, no. 3 (1998): 36–45; Ilona Katzew, *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America* (New York: Americas Society, 1996); Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Ilona Katzew, *Inventing Race: Casta Painting and Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2004); Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

historians of Spanish colonial art have inadvertently, yet troublingly, erased Afro-descendants. I would argue we cannot write a comprehensive history of Lima's art and visual culture without including Afro-descendants.

First and foremost, I seek to understand how black and indigenous people in sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Lima engaged with sacred art and visual culture. My intention is not just to integrate their experiences into current scholarship, but to elevate them, so that from the perspective of the discipline, black and indigenous people are understood to have been valued actors who are as integral to our conceptions of Lima's art history as the colonial Spanish elite, or perhaps even more so. At the same time, this dissertation is a timely reflection upon the discipline of art history. It asks how we, as art historians, use visual art as evidence. I contend that we must necessarily depart from traditional methodologies, perhaps even de-center the visual, if we wish to write a racially-inclusive art history for Lima. And, in doing so, we broaden our understanding of one of Spanish America's most important cities as well as our own disciplinary approaches toward material culture.

V. Diversifying Lima's Art History

Confraternities: Historiography, Sources, and Methods

This dissertation is centered on the people of Lima and will deepen our understanding of Lima, and yet it is, by necessity, not an encyclopedic study about Lima. In order to avoid the kind of unproductive generalization that could further inhibit our understanding of black and indigenous engagement with the visual, this study focuses on two religious confraternities, the indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana and the black confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua.

Because people from every racial group and social class of Lima, from enslaved person to viceroy, joined *cofradías* (confraternities), organized religious groups of lay people, this

category of institution offers an ideal avenue for the study of Lima's marginalized racial communities.⁷³ Organized around a variety of common interests — race, neighborhood, guild, and devotional cult — confraternities promoted the formation of corporate identity and offered religious, cultural, and social activities that were relatively autonomous from the colonial government.⁷⁴ Indeed, writing about Seville, the Spanish anthropologist Isidoro Moreno argued that black confraternities were the only place in which black communities could formally assert their collective identity with dignity, even if confraternities were also intended to control social behavior.⁷⁵ This characterization, with the paradoxical relationship between relative freedom and control, can be extended to the Spanish American context and to indigenous people as well.

Scholarship on Andean confraternities provides important context for this dissertation. Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers's *Las cofradías en el Perú: región central* (1981) and Teresa Egoavil's *Las cofradías en Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII* (1986), are foundational to the study of Peruvian confraternities.⁷⁶ Influenced by these studies, scholars like Walter Vega Jácome, Paul

⁷³ Christopher F. Black, "Introduction: The Confraternity Context," in *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Christopher F. Black and Pamela Gravestock (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 2.

⁷⁴ There is a large body of scholarship on confraternal art in Europe and some broader studies have included the Americas. See, for example: Diana Bullen Presciutti, ed., *Space, Place, and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Nicholas Terpstra, Adriano Prospero, and Stefania Pastore, eds., *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prospero, and Nicholas Terpstra, eds., *Brotherhood and boundaries: Fraternità e barriere* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011); Nicholas Terpstra, *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Christopher F. Black and Pamela Gravestock, *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁷⁵ Isidoro Moreno Navarro, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla: etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de historia* (Sevilla: Secr. de Publ. de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1997), 26; See also: Isidoro Moreno Navarro, "Pluriethnicidad, Fiestas y Poder: Cofradías y Fiestas Andaluzas de Negros Como Modelo Para La América Colonial," in *El Mundo Festivo En España y América*, ed. Antonio Garrido Aranda (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2005), 169–88.

⁷⁶ Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú: región central* (Frankfurt/Main: Vervuert, 1981); Teresa Egoavil, *Las cofradías en Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor San Marcos, 1986). Although now 10 years out of date, Walter Vega Jácome provides a good overview for the development of confraternity studies in Peru. Walter Vega Jácome, "Cofradías En El Perú Colonial: Una Aproximación Bibliográfica," *Diálogos* 1 (1999): 137–51. Susan Verdi Webster wrote a similar historiographical overview for the colonial Americas. Susan V. Webster, "Research on Confraternities in the Colonial Americas," *Confraternitas* 9, no.

Charney, and Karen Graubart, have examined the particular ways that black and indigenous people in Lima utilized sodalities in the process of creating corporate identities.⁷⁷ Most recently, literary scholar Miguel Valerio has argued that the active agency of confraternity members can be located in behaviors that appear to conform with or reinforce the dominant hegemonic religious culture.⁷⁸ Looking to early modern Iberian texts that described the participation of black confraternities in festive practices, he convincingly demonstrates that “blacks availed themselves of religious confraternities in order to preserve, continue, and adapt their communal and festive African practices to a Christian context.”⁷⁹ This project builds on the work of these scholars by arguing that it was not just the institution, but the material culture at the core of confraternal life and, more precisely, engagements with the related objects, that facilitated the creation of corporate collectivities.

While the study of confraternities in colonial Latin America is a vital and expanding area of historical scholarship, investigation into confraternal art has been limited. Art historian Susan

1 (1998): 13–24. For scholarship on confraternities in other parts of Latin America, see: David Fernández Villanova, Diego Edgar Lévano Medina, and Kelly Montoya Estrada, eds., *Cofradías en el Perú y otros ámbitos del mundo hispánico (siglos XVI-XIX)* (Lima: Conferencia Episcopal Peruana, 2017); Elizabeth W. Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); Nicole von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006); Albert Meyers and Diane Elizabeth Hopkins, eds., *Manipulating the Saints: Religious Brotherhoods and Social Integration in Postconquest Latin America* (Hamburg: Wayasbah, 1988).

⁷⁷ Graubart, “So Color de Una Cofradía”; María Candela de Luca, “Las cofradías de indios en el territorio de Charcas (siglo XVIII): balance historiográfico y nuevas propuestas de análisis,” *Revista cambios y permanencias* 1 (2010): 94–117; Walter Vega Jácome, “Manifestaciones religiosas tempranas: Cofradías de negros en Lima, siglo XVI,” *Historia y cultura*, no. 24 (2001): 15–16; Charney, “A Sense of Belonging”; Rafael Varón, “Cofradías de indios y poder local en el Perú colonial: Huaraz, siglo XVII,” *Allpanchis* 17, no. 20 (1982): 127–46; Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, “La posible articulación del ayllu a través de las cofradías,” in *Etnohistoria y antropología andina*, ed. Amalia Castelli, Marcía Koth, and Mariana Mould (Lima: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1981).

⁷⁸ Miguel A. Valerio, “Kings of the Kongo, Slaves of the Virgin Mary: Black Religious Confraternities Performing Cultural Agency in the Early Modern Iberian Atlantic” (PhD Diss., The Ohio State University, 2017); Miguel A. Valerio, “Black Dancers and Musicians: Performing Afro-Christian Identity in Early Modern Spain and Portugal” (October 7, 2015).

⁷⁹ Valerio, “Kings of the Kongo, Slaves of the Virgin Mary,” 5.

Verdi Webster concluded her 1998 essay on the state of research on confraternities in colonial Latin America with an entreaty to art historians:

“The visual, material evidence of Indian confraternities is abundant throughout the Americas, and yet there are few studies of such objects and their ritual functions. Christian images were introduced into the New World in order to instruct the native people and to serve as devotional objects. Extra-liturgical dramas that used sculpted images brought Christian narrative to life and transcended language barriers. Over time, the images were gradually appropriated and assimilated by the indigenous people. They penetrated the personal and social existence of native groups and became a part of their individuality and of their collective life, thereby allowing in some way for the continuity of pre-Hispanic traditions. Images and objects used by the native confraternities in Latin America thus deserve careful research.⁸⁰

She focuses in this passage on indigenous sodalities, but her observations can easily be extended, albeit with some revisions, to the black brotherhoods that formed alongside them. Despite making a compelling case for the study of colonial corporate art, only Cristina Cruz González, in the case of Mexico City, and Webster herself, in the case of Quito, have explicitly taken up the task to date.⁸¹ Thus, this project is an intervention in the study of an especially important visual aspect of life in colonial Lima.

I chose to focus on these two confraternities and their images for multiple reasons. Not the least among them is the fact that the central cult images for both of the confraternities were

⁸⁰ Webster, “Research on Confraternities in the Colonial Americas,” 20–21.

⁸¹ Cristina González, “Visualizing Corporate Piety: The Art of Religious Brotherhoods,” in *A Companion to Viceregal Mexico City*, ed. Luis J. Gordo Peláez and John F. López (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Susan V. Webster, “Native Brotherhoods and Visual Culture in Colonial Quito (Ecuador): The Confraternity of the Rosary,” in *Faith’s Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra, Adriano Prospero, and Stefania Pastore (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 277–299; Susan V. Webster, “Ethnicity, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Confraternity of the Rosary in Colonial Quito,” in *Brotherhood and Boundaries: Fraternalità e Barriera*, ed. Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prospero, and Nicholas Terpstra (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011), 387–98; Susan V. Webster, “Confraternities as Patrons of Architecture in Colonial Quito, Ecuador,” in *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas. International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Christopher F. Black and Pamela Gravestock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 204–25. Chapter 2 discusses Webster’s work and the study of confraternal art in colonial Latin America at length. Scholars working on cult images, many of which belonged to confraternities, have also dealt with, but not focused on, confraternal art. See, for example: Rosario Granados Salinas, “Fervent Faith. Devotion, Aesthetics, and Society in the Cult of Our Lady of Remedios (Mexico, 1520-1811)” (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2012); Derek Burdette, “Divinity and Decay: The Narrative of Miraculous Renovation and the Repair of Sacred Images in Colonial Mexico,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 25, no. 3 (July 2, 2016): 351–70.

prominent Virgins within the religious landscape of colonial Lima. The Virgin was an extremely popular subject of cult devotion in the Spanish Americas, as in Spain, and Mary has already been well understood as a site for cultural intermingling.⁸² Rubén Vargas Ugarte's magisterial book, *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios mas celebrados* (1956), remains the single most comprehensive examination of Marian images in Latin America, and I am indebted to, and build directly on, his research.⁸³ The Virgin of the Antigua was celebrated as one of the first paintings to arrive in the city of Lima in 1545 and remains a point of pride for Lima's Cathedral today.⁸⁴ A century later, the Virgin of Copacabana was identified as the Marian image that had drawn the most devotion in the entire city of Lima.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, neither image has attracted much attention from art historians, aside from some discussions of the style of the images.⁸⁶

The fame of these Virgins in the colonial period was directly tied to the fortunes of their black and indigenous confraternities. As a consequence, the two confraternities generated a wealth of documentary evidence, thereby fortuitously providing considerable information about the sodalities and their members. Of especial interest were the shifting collectivities of certain of the members – the Chachapoya in the Copacabana confraternity and the *caboverdes* of the Antigua confraternity – and the increasingly evident roles that ethnic-like divisions played in the confraternities' development. The self-identifications of these subgroups within the

⁸² Linda B. Hall and Teresa Eckmann, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Cecilia Klein, "Fighting with Femininity: Gender and War in Aztec Mexico," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 24 (1994): 219–53.

⁸³ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios mas celebrados* (Madrid: Talleres Gráficos Jura, 1956).

⁸⁴ Wuffarden, "La catedral de Lima y el 'triumfo de la pintura.'"

⁸⁵ Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios mas celebrados*, 187.

⁸⁶ Historiographic discussions for these Marian images can be found in Chapter 4 and Chapter 3, respectively.

confraternities provided starting points for comparative visual evidence for the Marian images—with a consideration of architecture and mummy bundles from the cloud forests of the Andes in the case of the indigenous confraternity, and with the visual culture of initiation rituals from the Greater Senegambian region of West Africa in the case of the black confraternity. In generating this comparative perspective, I built a corpus of objects by traveling to the Chachapoyas region of Peru and the Casamance region of Senegal, and by visiting major museums and collections with objects from these areas.

In no way do I mean to claim that a strong identity with a place of origin has a one-to-one correlation with the same self-identification in diaspora. Being Chachapoya in the region of Chachapoyas prior to the Spanish invasion was not the same as being Chachapoya in colonial Lima. For the black *cofrades*, the issue is even more complicated, since *caboverde* is a designation of the colonial world. Thus, I am most interested in examining what it meant to be Chachapoya or *caboverde* in colonial Lima, and more specifically, what mobilizing those labels meant within the contexts of their respective confraternities.

The extensive documentation preserved for these and other indigenous and black confraternities in the Archive of the Archbishopric of Lima (AAL) is what truly enabled this research and the recovery of lost images and visual culture. The AAL's *Cofradías* section is the largest well-catalogued collection of confraternal documents in Lima, which made it possible to review documents for the majority of colonial Lima's sodalities.⁸⁷ This was particularly crucial for Chapter 2, since a broad review of documents was necessary for the introduction of confraternal material culture, and it partially dictated my choice for which confraternities to focus on in Chapters 3 and 4.

⁸⁷ Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, *Catálogo de cofradías del Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima* (Madrid: San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 2014).

Unfortunately, the AAL does not have the sodality books with lists of members and possessions that would have been of most use. However, it is rich in documented disputes, between opposing confraternities, religious officials and confraternities, confraternity leaders and their successors, and confraternity leaders and members, to name just a few of the various litigants. These records sometimes include critical information like foundation documents, information about members and subdivisions within the membership, financial records, inventory lists, and, on occasion, the subjective opinions of black and indigenous confraternity members.

While the majority of my evidence ultimately came from the AAL, I also undertook research in Lima's other major archives, looking for evidence related to the Antigua and Copacabana confraternities from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Archive of the Public Welfare of Lima (ABPL) is another major archive for confraternal documents, especially for the Dominican Rosary *cofradías*. However, my access was extremely limited, and the documents related to the confraternities in my case studies mainly dated to the later colonial period. I also examined the catalogued sixteenth- and seventeenth-century notarial protocols at the General Archive of the Nation (AGN), which had similarly scant evidence for Chapters 3 and 4 but was especially fruitful for revealing aspects of the lives of the artists who created Lima's Virgin of Copacabana. In addition, I located some invaluable contracts that detailed the appearance, cost, and production of long-lost confraternal objects.

This methodological approach has certain limitations. The documentary record is uneven, with some confraternities represented more extensively than others and through diverse categories of documents, with most written records mediated by Spanish notaries.⁸⁸ When

⁸⁸ On the mediating role of notaries in colonial Peru, see: Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

considering confraternity members' devotional practices and their use of religious images as described in the documentary record, I attempt to fill the gaps in the colonial evidence – the archival silences – by imagining what the *cofrades* could have recalled during confraternal engagement, in order to reveal what colonial officials did not perceive in subaltern ritual practice.⁸⁹

Chapter Content

This dissertation is composed of a chapter that situates religious confraternities in Lima, two substantial case studies, one focusing on an indigenous confraternity and the other on a black confraternity, and a conclusion. Chapter 2 discusses indigenous and black Limeños together, while the confraternal case studies in Chapters 3 and 4 purposefully do not. This separation in the case studies is intentional in order to ensure that each sodality and its members' distinct traditions are considered primarily within their own, particular contexts. This is especially critical in the case of the black confraternity, in light of the continued marginalization of Afro-descendants in scholarship on colonial Latin American art.

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 provides the first extended study of confraternal art in Lima. It begins by introducing confraternities in Lima in general terms, before shifting the focus to black and indigenous sodalities. The second section addresses confraternal sacred images and decorative goods, considering them as objects that form a confraternal “collection.” I

⁸⁹ Many have discussed the limitations and silences of the archive, as well as the ways in which these can be overcome. See, for example: Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, ed. Rosalind C. Morris (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 21–78; Laura Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Saidiya V. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2007); Antoinette M. Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); John Beverley, *Subalternity and Representation: Arguments in Cultural Theory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

argue that, by commissioning sacred images, and especially by ritually adorning them with clothing, black and indigenous people used confraternal possessions to curate their own religious experiences. The third section turns to Lima's festival culture. I demonstrate that processions provided *cofradías* with the public platforms for the performance of corporate identity through displaying their *bienes*, or decorative goods. I conclude that black and indigenous sodalities actively defined many of the visual aspects of the religious and municipal landscape of colonial Lima.

Chapter 3, the first of the two case studies, examines the indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana and the sixteenth-century statue at the center of the cult. The chapter follows the confraternity and its image as they were moved throughout the city and utilizes Sabine MacCormack's idea of "reciprocal impingement" to consider how the cult image served as a nexus for indigenous and Catholic religious traditions. The first section, which examines the confraternity's earliest period in the neighborhood of San Lázaro (1588-1590), discusses the founding *cofrades*, focusing especially on its Chachapoya-identified members. Then, I look at the commissioning of the statue, originally named the Virgin of the Repose, and the Sevillian typologies from which its artists drew, thereby disentangling the Lima Virgin from the highland Copacabana cult and re-contextualizing the Lima sculpture's visual qualities within the site-specific needs of the confraternity. The second section is set in the Cercado (1590-1592), where the confraternity and image were newly established under the title of the Virgin of Copacabana after the forced relocation of the indigenous residents of San Lázaro. I argue that the new title reflected the larger confraternity's new setting and engaged with Chachapoya history. The sculpture performed a sweating miracle at the end of 1591, which I discuss in detail and contend could have been understood by its Chachapoya devotees in relation to ancestor mummy bundles.

The third section follows the sodality and image to the Cathedral in 1592. I use a seventeenth-century statue painting of their Virgin to explore the community's transformation in the wake of the miracle and their struggles with the church after the death of their patron, Archbishop Mogrovejo. I thus demonstrate that the Virgin of Copacabana was a locally produced image of the Virgin Mary, strategically materialized and deployed by a particular indigenous community, operating in the fluid religious context of early colonial Lima, to form a new and adaptable collectivity.

The fourth chapter, the second case study, focuses on the black confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua, founded in the Cathedral around 1560. Here, I speculate about the *caboverde* members' experiences, using Cecile Fromont's analytical tool, "spaces of correlation," to think about how West African religious traditions may have been applied to the Spanish Virgin. After discussing "Afro-ethnic" identities in Lima, the first section considers what it meant to be a *caboverde* member in the Antigua confraternity, concluding that the term likely refers to persons with connections to the Greater Senegambia region of West Africa. The second section addresses the confraternity's early history. I discuss the apparently "multiethnic" group that founded the confraternity around a markedly Sevillian painted image and the possible motivations behind this choice. Then, I suggest the painting currently in the Lima Cathedral is not the original cult image that arrived in 1544 and demonstrate that the sodality, instead, engaged with a sculpted image produced in Mexico. The third section examines that inter- and intra-confraternal disputes in which the *cofradía* engaged. I demonstrate that, in the sixteenth century, the confraternity mobilized its material possessions against rival groups in order to obtain the position of greatest prominence among Lima's black confraternities in the Corpus Christi processions. In the seventeenth century, when the composition of the sodality began to split between *criollos* and

caboverdes, the confraternity leaders took a similar object-based approach to gain the upper hand, with the *caboverdes* ultimately winning the struggle. The fourth section analyzes the Antigua confraternity's inventoried possessions alongside visual art and rituals from modern Greater Senegambia, including Bijagó sculpture and female initiation ceremonies, the golden jewelry of the Wolof and Tukulor, and the male initiation ceremonies of the Diola. Through this comparative analysis I propose the possible "spaces of correlation" the *caboverde cofrades* might have created through their interactions with their sculpted devotional image.

Finally, Chapter 5 draws together the previous chapters, proposes future avenues of research, and discusses the project's broader implications. As we shall see, the lessons learned from this project of incorporating black and indigenous people into the history of colonial Lima's art extend far beyond the City of Kings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the discipline of art history, its methodologies, and its place in the academy.

CHAPTER TWO

Confraternal Visual Culture in Lima 1535-1700

I. Introduction

A monumental painting depicting a Good Friday procession (figs. 2.1-2.1a, c.1660), commissioned by the elite Spanish confraternity of the Virgen de la Soledad, provides us with one of the only extant pictorial records of the material grandeur of Holy Week in colonial Lima.⁹⁰ At the far right of the painting, an ephemeral Calvary tableau is set beneath an awning, against the facade of the Chapel of La Soledad. The central cross is empty with only a loosely-draped cloth hanging from the cross bar, indicating that the sculptural image of Christ has already been removed and that the procession depicted is of the *Santo Entierro*, or Holy Burial. With candles in their hands, a continuous line of elite Limeños process along, including regular clergy, members of the military, holy women, and *cofrades* (confraternity members) from the Spanish nobility. The stream of wealthy participants is punctuated by sacred images, borne aloft on litters (*andas*). Two of these images— an articulated polychrome wooden sculpture of Christ (fig. 2.2, 1619) by Pedro de Noguera (1580-1660) and the confraternity’s titular Virgin of la Soledad (fig. 2.3, c.1660) — are still extant and remain in use. In the painting, at the front of the procession, the image of Christ appears wrapped in a cloth and lying upon an elaborate silver

⁹⁰ Part of a pair, the other painting is equal in size and depicts the front of the procession in Lima’s central plaza and includes earlier scenes from the Passion. Documentation for the two paintings is no longer extant, but it is presumed that both were commissioned by the elite confraternity of the Virgin of la Soledad and were meant to be displayed in the sodality’s chapel, adjoining the Church of San Francisco, where they still hang.

bier adorned with tall candles (*cirios*). The Virgin, wearing a black mantle and kneeling under a canopy (*palio*), follows her son on an elaborate golden platform. A final image tableau represents a scene of the Supper at Emmaus and sits on a simpler, wooden platform, decorated with candles and a dozen flowerpots, overflowing with red and white bunches of flowers (*ramos*). Each of the litters is accompanied by four external bearers, whose faces are totally concealed, and several more carrying the weight from behind the *andas*' blue skirts (*faldones*). Each element, splendid on its own, combines to create a marvelous religious spectacle in which the Soledad *cofrades* and their images play a starring role.

The Holy Burial procession has drawn a multiracial crowd of Limeños, some of whom are still exiting the church. In the foreground, people are shown in the act of worship, such as the indigenous men in the process of falling to their knees at the sight of the images on the first two *andas*. In front of the Virgin, a *limosnero* (alms collector) with a covered face collects money from a Spanish man. The Spaniard is accompanied by a black child, whose piety contrasts with that of the other children playing nearby, seemingly unaware of the procession. Most of the crowd in the upper portion of the painting sit and dutifully watch the spectacle, including some from the comfort of the carved wooden balconies for which Lima is well-known. Others, meanwhile, are engaged in commercial activities in the buildings' stalls, and social interactions not immediately related to the procession. Even with these entertaining visual digressions, the painting leaves us with the impression of a bustling seventeenth-century city, with a fervent piety activated through confraternal visual culture.

With a paucity of visual evidence for the colonial period, this painting of a mid-seventeenth century Holy Week procession has come to serve as an exemplary visual document

of confraternal devotion in colonial Lima.⁹¹ However, commissioned by an elite *cofradía* and meant for private display in their confraternal chapel, the painting necessarily and purposefully focuses on its central subjects. While black and indigenous Limeños are certainly present, none are *cofrades* and they appear primarily as passive onlookers of the religious festivities being carried out before them. At most, when shown actively engaging in religious devotion in the painting, subalterns effectively serve as evidence of the success of the colonial evangelization project. That is to say, the painting does document confraternal devotion and visual culture in Lima — but only for the city’s small population of elite Spanish people.⁹² This chapter will begin the challenging process of recovering the confraternal art and visual culture of Lima’s black and indigenous residents, thereby demonstrating that subaltern *cofrades* were similarly defining the city’s religious landscape.

To date, the sacred images and *bienes* (movable goods, material possessions) of colonial Lima’s black and indigenous confraternities, have received limited scholarly attention.⁹³ Lacking extant examples, art historians have largely overlooked these objects, despite their important role in confraternal devotion, consequently excluding them and their devotees from art historical accounts. The small number of images that do remain, such as the statue of Lima’s Virgin of Copacabana (fig. 3.1) and the copy of the painted Virgin of the Antigua (fig. 4.1), have been examined in a manner that artificially separates them from their confraternal contexts.

Confraternal *bienes*, in turn, have been discussed by cultural historians interested in Limeño

⁹¹ The painting has been dismissed as being of “sub-par” quality and redeemed by its value as a glimpse into religious practice in Lima. See, for example: Bernalles Ballesteros, “La pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato,” 57–58.

⁹² The problematic tendency in art historical scholarship to treat Spanish colonists as a shorthand for the entirety of Lima is discussed in Chapter 1.

⁹³ The Spanish term *bienes* comes from the Latin term *bene*, which meant “well,” and literally translates to goods, assets, property, and possessions. In Iberia, the term *bienes* was used to describe the movable possessions of a confraternity and was transported to the Spanish Americas.

cofradías, but only briefly and primarily in terms of their economic value as registered in inventories.⁹⁴

There is a growing body of scholarship on urban *fiestas* (celebrations) and Baroque spectacle in early modern Spanish America, looking especially at the art and ephemeral architecture used in royal celebrations, such as portraits, catafalques and *túmulos* (tumulus), and large religious celebrations like Corpus Christi and Holy Week. This scholarship has addressed confraternal visual culture in Lima.⁹⁵ In *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal: siglos XVI-XVII* (1992), the Spanish art historian Rafael Ramos Sosa recreates aspects of Lima's visual culture that have long been lost through a combination of thorough archival work, published texts, and extant drawings. However, a tight focus on elite celebrations prevented him from dealing with "non-Spanish" Limeños, and he ultimately presents Lima's visual culture as little more than a mimicry or extension of that in Seville, in Spain.⁹⁶

Looking beyond studies of Lima, art historians like Carolyn Dean and Maya Stanfield-Mazzi have uncovered the ways that highland Andeans purposefully mobilized confraternal goods and images in their religious and social lives.⁹⁷ Through a close examination of the material culture of the indigenous participants represented in the sixteen paintings of Cusco's Corpus Christi processions, Dean, in *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* (1999), finds the deeper ethnic meanings aligned with the perspectives of contemporary Andean viewers. Where Dean gestures toward devotional images and the adornments placed on them, Stanfield-Mazzi convincingly demonstrates in *Object and Apparition* (2013) that the three-dimensionality of

⁹⁴ See: Egoavil, *Las cofradías en Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII*, 8–12.

⁹⁵ Lohmann Villena and Wuffarden, *La semana santa de Lima*; Alejandra B. Osorio, "The King in Lima: Simulacra, Ritual, and Rule in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2004): 447–74.

⁹⁶ This is discussed in Chapter 1.

⁹⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*; Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.

sculpture enabled indigenous Andeans to physically interact with the Christian divine, firmly locating Christian sculptural images at the heart of highland Christianity.

Finally, art historian Susan Verdi Webster's recent investigation of Spanish *cofradías* and "native brotherhoods" of Quito comprises the only other systematic art historical study on confraternal art in colonial South America.⁹⁸ While Webster successfully demonstrates that elite Quiteño sodalities were powerful architectural patrons, a lack of archival sources led her to generalize and flatten her analysis of indigenous *cofrades* and their visual culture.⁹⁹ However, her study of Seville's penitential confraternities in *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain* (1998), foregrounds *cofrades'* engagement during religious celebrations with their sacred images.¹⁰⁰ In particular, her contention that processional images were "produced" through "a threefold process that was initiated by the artists, elaborated upon by the confraternity, and finally realized in the activation of the sculpture within the context of the procession" is invaluable, as Webster thereby assigns active agency to sodality members in the fashioning of their sculptures and corporate identities.¹⁰¹

This chapter begins the process of recovering the art and visual culture of Lima's black and indigenous confraternities, as well as the documented ritual practices through which *cofrades* engaged with them, in order to incorporate them into the art historical scholarship on

⁹⁸ Webster, "Native Brotherhoods and Visual Culture in Colonial Quito (Ecuador)"; Webster, "Ethnicity, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Confraternity of the Rosary in Colonial Quito"; Susan V. Webster, "Vantage Points: Andeans and Europeans in the Construction of Colonial Quito," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no. 3 (2011): 303–30; Susan V. Webster, "Masters of the Trade: Native Artisans, Guilds, and the Construction of Colonial Quito," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 1 (2009): 10–29; Webster, "Confraternities as Patrons of Architecture in Colonial Quito, Ecuador"; Susan V. Webster, "A Major Confraternity Commission in Quito, Ecuador: The Church of El Sagrario," *Confraternitas* 12, no. 1 (2001): 3–16; Susan V. Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

⁹⁹ She argues, for example, that "native confraternities actually promoted a kind of ethnic leveling similar to the indiscriminate label of 'Indian' invented by the Europeans." Webster, "Ethnicity, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Confraternity of the Rosary in Colonial Quito," 387–88.

¹⁰⁰ Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*.

¹⁰¹ Webster, 111–12.

early modern Latin America. By focusing our study on black and indigenous people, we do not just learn about the secondary, “niche” practices of viceregal subjects. Rather, by centering the art and ritual of those who comprised the overwhelming majority of Lima’s residents, we get a truer understanding of the texture of religious practice in Lima and colonial Spanish America. This is an important distinction to make, as the unrelenting and singular interest in art historical scholarship on colonial Lima on colonial Spanish culture is typically treated as unavoidable or unproblematic, thereby dismissing the artistic and cultural contributions of black and indigenous people.

Furthermore, I propose that, if we use an analogy and consider the material and visual culture related to each confraternity as a kind of “collection,” we can situate their documented sacred images and *bienes* as “inventory items” that were actively collected and displayed through purposeful curation, rather than as objects that were passively owned. The word “collection” evokes images of the early modern *Kunst-und Wunderkammer* or the modern museum designed to educate the public, in both cases an accumulation of objects funded by an elite patron or institution with the intent of display.¹⁰² However, in *Collecting Across Cultures* (2011), Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall state “there was no single individual or group who determined what all [early modern] collections might contain,” citing how “African princes...captured members of other African groups so they could acquire the newest kinds of cloth produced in Europe” and “Native Americans sought colored glass beads made in Europe, often trading them

¹⁰² Art historians Lia Markey and Daniela Bleichmar and cultural historian Surekha Davies have looked at the practice of collecting in the early modern world as a means of engaging with the larger historical questions and narratives of the period, though this has been done almost exclusively through the lens of Europeans collecting “exotic” and “foreign” objects. Lia Markey, *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016); Daniela Bleichmar, “The Imperial Visual Archive: Images, Evidence, and Knowledge in the Early Modern Hispanic World,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 24, no. 2 (2015): 236–66; Surekha Davies, *Collecting Technology in the Age of Empire*, forthcoming.

to other groups.”¹⁰³ Their contention that the definition of the early modern “collection” can and should be broadened to encompass the practices of non-Europeans is useful.

In this light, the acts of founding a confraternity, commissioning a primary sacred image for the confraternal altar (often of the Virgin) as well as other images for devotional use, and acquiring *bienes* that supported religious activities and differentiated individual cults, could be considered as a form of “collecting and reinventing.” Thinking about colonial Lima’s black and indigenous confraternities in this way, we may understand that subaltern *cofrades* were curating their images and adornments for parochial viewers on a daily basis. Furthermore, in requiring confraternities to participate in religious processions on principal feast days, colonial Lima gave black and indigenous *cofradías* a platform for the public display of their collections, and thereby, their self-curated representations.

This chapter is primarily designed to situate the reader within the social, confraternal, and artistic context of Lima in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in preparation for the two in-depth investigations of an indigenous and a black confraternity in the case studies that follow. Because the chapter is also interested in recovery, whenever possible, I include details from the archival record about the art and *bienes* of as many other black and indigenous confraternities as possible so that we get a richer sense of the religious culture and its subaltern participants in the City of Kings, as the viceregal capital of the Andes and a colonial Spanish city.

The first section addresses confraternities in Lima. After a brief overview of the institutional structure and organization, I consider black and indigenous sodalities as relatively autonomous, racialized sites in which subalterns could negotiate their own identities. I then focus on the patronage rights to confraternal chapels and demonstrate the precarious position of black

¹⁰³ Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall, *Collecting across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 2.

and indigenous confraternities within colonial society, and the way that material possessions were implicated in incidents of discrimination against subalterns.

The second section is interested in the sacred images and decorative *bienes* of black and indigenous confraternities and considers them as objects that form a confraternal collection. I begin with the Spanish Marian advocations at the center of these confraternal cults and speculate about why they were chosen. I demonstrate how commissioning and interacting with sculpture allowed black and indigenous *cofrades* to visually redefine images associated with Spanish cult devotion, not just for themselves, but inadvertently for the city of Lima. Next, I examine the practice of dressing the cult statues, and argue that, in dressing and adorning their images as noblewomen with their *bienes*, confraternities were actively curating their religious experiences.

Finally, in the third section, I turn to Lima's festival culture. I introduce processions as potent, public religious occasions that offered opportunities for corporate performance, before addressing the role that *bienes*, such as images and banners, played in determining the positions in line that black and indigenous confraternities would be assigned. Next, I discuss the high material cost of participation that could prevent attendance, as well as the ways that *cofradías* offset it. Then, I discuss *andas*, their decoration, and the people tasked with carrying them, to suggest that *cofrades* may have been most concerned with the performative aspect of processions. This chapter, then, demonstrates how, through engagements with their sacred images, black and indigenous *cofrades* played active roles in the visual definition of the religious landscape of colonial Lima. In so doing, not only are subaltern participants in confraternal visual culture made visible, but crucially, the vast majority of the city, which therefore reveal the true fabric of the religious life of one of the foremost cities in early modern Spanish South America.

II. *Cofradías in Lima*

Confraternities, Christian lay associations with religious and social objectives, were initially established in Lima shortly after the foundation of the city. The Dominican order, with the support of Lima's first archbishop, Jerónimo de Loayza, O.P. (1498-1575), spearheaded the effort by founding the city's first confraternity, aptly dedicated to the *Santísimo Sacramento* (Blessed Sacrament), in 1538, with a confraternal chapel established in the monastery of Santo Domingo.¹⁰⁴ The first *cofradías* that formed without the prompting and direct oversight of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were founded in 1555, with a boom in confraternity foundations in the late-sixteenth century.¹⁰⁵ By 1585, Lima already had 23 confraternities (7 for indigenous people, 10 for Afro-descendants, and 6 for Spaniards), which were founded throughout the city, in parish churches, churches established by religious orders, and the Cathedral.¹⁰⁶ In Lima's New Spanish counterpart, Mexico City, confraternities were similarly established shortly after the foundation of the city in 1521 and proliferated in the sixteenth century, though in Mexico this occurred on a much larger scale. In 1794, there were 951 confraternities under the jurisdiction of the Mexican archbishop.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Diego Edgar Lévano Medina, "El mundo imaginado: La cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana y la religiosidad andina manifestada," in *Angeli novi: Prácticas evangelizadoras, representaciones, artísticas, y construcciones del catolicismo en América (siglos XVII-XX)*, ed. Fernando Armas Asin (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2004), 114.

¹⁰⁵ The *Hermanidad de Caridad y Misericordia* was founded in 1555 in order to help address Lima's growing social welfare needs, including people dying without Last Rites and providing dowries for Spanish and mestiza girls. Fernando de Armas Medina, *Cristianización del Perú: (1532-1600)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1953), 433.

¹⁰⁶ Celestino and Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú*, 119.

¹⁰⁷ It is worth noting that the archbishop, Alonso Núñez de Haro, sought to shut down 500 of those confraternities. Laura Dierksmeier, "From Isolation to Inclusion: Confraternities in Colonial Mexico City," in *Space, Place, and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City*, ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 73. On confraternities in New Spain, see: Murdo J. MacLeod, "Confraternities in Colonial New Spain: Mexico and Central America," in *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenblicher, vol. 83, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Brill: Leiden, 2019), 280–306; von Gernetzen, *Black Blood Brothers*.

Due to the quick proliferation of *cofradías*, secular and sacred colonial officials in Lima became concerned about losing their “control” over them, and in the seventeenth century created the *Real Juzgado de Cofradías* (Royal Tribunal of Confraternities), run by secular authorities, and the *Juzgado de Testamentos, Cofradías, y Obras Pías* (Tribunal of Wills, Confraternities, and Endowments). The two tribunals were responsible for overseeing the activity of the city’s sodalities, especially in economic matters, such as reviewing the account books that confraternities were required to present every year and resolving disputes that arose between and within sodalities.¹⁰⁸

Cofradías were organized around a specific devotion — an advocacy of the Virgin, a saint, or Christ — typically focused on a sacred image that was cared for and celebrated by the confraternity’s members. In exchange for dues, regular attendance of liturgical celebrations, and fulfilling service requirements for the sodality, *cofrades* received a number of benefits, including burial in the confraternity’s sepulcher, financial assistance in times of need, and a supportive community, to name just a few.¹⁰⁹ Each group was expected to govern itself according to a set of rules known as constitutions.¹¹⁰ These rules, which were initially written at the time of a group’s foundation and then revised to reflect changes in conditions and practice, identified the principal *fiesta*, set the dues, detailed requirements for its members, and outlined the confraternity’s leadership.¹¹¹ The larger community was led by a small council known as the *veinticuatro*s,

¹⁰⁸ Campos y Fernandez de Sevilla, *Catálogo de cofradías del Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima*, 25.

¹⁰⁹ Other forms of social aid included helping members’ daughters find husbands, take in orphans, support *cofrades*’ families in the event of a death, help people get out of jail, and aid members purchase their freedom from enslavement. See: Agustín Hevia Ballina, “Las cofradías en la vida de la Iglesia: Un mundo de piedad y la caridad: Hacia un censo de documentación de cofradías de la Iglesia en España,” *Memoria Ecclesiae* 1 (1990): 77–108.

¹¹⁰ Although they were self-governing, there were still several layers of oversight, such as regular officials, the *juez de cofradías*, and the archbishop, depending on the type of confraternity.

¹¹¹ Constitutions had to be approved in order for the group to be founded initially and ranged in their specificity. Confraternities also sometimes renewed their rules, usually in the event of the sodality’s re-foundation or if the confraternity’s priorities changed.

initially composed of the confraternity's founders and later of their descendants.¹¹² Annually, the *veinticuatro*s elected officials from amongst themselves, the highest of which were the two *mayordomos*, followed by a *procurador* (in charge of money), and two *diputados* (deputy officials). These leaders had the task of making sure the confraternity ran smoothly, taking responsibility for the confraternity's sacred images and *bienes*, overseeing the upkeep of the chapel, and organizing events like Masses, burials, and *fiestas*, through which the confraternity actively participated in the religious life of the city.¹¹³

It is worth noting that the characteristics of Lima's *cofradías* were common to other early modern confraternities throughout the areas where Roman Catholicism was practiced, especially those in Spain. As such, the confraternal institution placed Lima into a larger, global network incited by the transoceanic diffusion of the Church in the fifteenth century. From region to region, however, there are variations tied to local devotions, social structures, and religious and political authority. It is the particularities of *cofradías* in Lima, caused by the colonial and Andean contexts, in which we are most interested.

Black and Indigenous Confraternities in Lima

While Lima's confraternities were generally structured and functioned similarly, their membership varied greatly. In certain sodalities, like the confraternity of Saint Eloy (Cathedral) or that of Saints Crispin and Crispinian (Cathedral), membership was determined by guild affiliation.¹¹⁴ The majority, meanwhile, were designated to serve specific racial populations, best characterized by the four confraternities dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary in Lima's

¹¹² The term *veinticuatro* was transferred from Andalucía, where it referred to the alderman and municipal officers.

¹¹³ The wealthier confraternities collected large sums of money each year, in the form of dues, alms, and the rental of property. If things went well, these positions had the potential for great social capital. If not, as was often the case, officials suffered significant consequences, which not uncommonly included going to jail.

¹¹⁴ San Eloy was the silversmiths' confraternity, while San Crispin y San Crispiniano was the confraternity of the shoemakers.

Dominican church, one of which was exclusively Spanish, another indigenous, another black, and the fourth *mulato*. This racialized constitution was the norm throughout colonial Latin America, a notable distinction from most contemporary European confraternities. The model of segregated membership, however, was brought from Seville, where the first black confraternity in Western Europe was founded “before 1400” by Cardinal-Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena y Roelas.¹¹⁵

Black and indigenous people were initially encouraged by religious authorities to join confraternities in order to facilitate evangelization and ensure the continued observance of Catholic orthodox beliefs and rituals. Colonial subalterns responded to this prompting and played an important role in the flourishing of the institution within Lima. The relative independence and the self-governance of subaltern confraternities, however, was cause for concern on the part of church authorities and there was an attempt to reduce their number in 1583 and 1613.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, confraternities continued to grow in and around churches, parishes, and hospitals, and the number jumped from seventeen black and indigenous confraternities in 1585 to twenty-nine in 1619.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Moreno Navarro, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla: etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de historia*, 27, 49–56; Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble ciudad de Sevilla, metrópolis de la Andalucía, que contienen sus más principales memorias desde el año de 1246, en que emprendió conquistarla del poder de los Moros el gloriosísimo Rey S. Fernando III de Castilla y León, hasta el 1671 en que la Católica Iglesia le concedió el culto y título de Bienaventurado* (Madrid: Imprenta Real. Por Iuan Garcia Infançon ..., 1677), 77–78.

¹¹⁶ Spanish officials worried that black and indigenous people were abusing the confraternal institution for non-religious purposes, sometimes benign, like as excuses to get drunk, and sometimes malignant, such as illicit meeting places that encouraged fomenting social unrest. The Third Lima Council prescribed targeted Afro-confraternities in particular, specifying that black *cofradías* should not be allowed to meet outside of sacred spaces, and even there only with a priest present. Campos y Fernandez de Sevilla, *Catálogo de cofradías del Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima*, 23–24.

¹¹⁷ Celestino and Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú*, 119–21; Walter Vega Jácome, “Cofradías limeñas,” in *Lima en el siglo XVI*, ed. Laura Gutiérrez Arbulú (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú: Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2005), 709.

The historical record reveals that the Spanish government's efforts to keep the *castas* separated, and the related expectations that Spaniards, indigenous people, and blacks would belong to separate confraternities, were frequently undermined. This points to a vast divide in the colonial world, between official policy, regulations, and prescriptions, on the one hand, and praxis, on the other.¹¹⁸ It also suggests a complex web of inter-relationships and reciprocity between populations within the city that were socially and racially defined, yet fluid, both in terms of these definitions and in terms of their make-up. Elite Spanish confraternities like that of La Soledad (San Francisco), for example, had black and indigenous affiliates for whom they undertook burial services.¹¹⁹ Similarly, black and indigenous testators claimed affiliation with Spanish confraternities, which seems to confirm some degree of membership or affiliation in those communities.¹²⁰ Similarly, Spanish people also joined black and indigenous confraternities, to greater and lesser degrees, depending on the sodality. Apparently, Spanish interest in the indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of the Candelaria (San Francisco) was so great that the *cofradía's* 1644 constitutions included rules that specifically outlined the roles of Spanish brothers within the group:

“8. Because it is in its best interest that, in the business of their sacred confraternity and in good order for the confraternity, there be a record and that it be recorded what is necessary with all fidelity, we order that there be found an honorable Spaniard, with a good reputation, who wants to be a *veinticuatro*, and that he serve as a scribe, and that he might be accepted [into the confraternity] without ulterior motive”¹²¹

¹¹⁸ This is consistent with the issues in the “two *repúblicas*” system. See: Chapter 1.

¹¹⁹ See, for example: AAL, Cof., Leg. 16-A, Exp. 3 (1690-1691).

¹²⁰ For example, an Afro-descendant woman named Francisca Campoverde, identified as *morena*, claimed affiliation with numerous confraternities, most of which were Spanish (La Soledad, Santo Cristo, NS de las Ánimas, Buena Esperanza y Santo Ángel de la Guardia, Nuestra Señora de Belén), and only two of which were black (Rosario, San Antón). Francisca requested to be buried in the chapel of the elite Spanish confraternity of the Virgin de la Soledad, in San Francisco. AGN, PNXVII, fols. 2626r-2631r (1651). I thank Marcella Hayes for sharing this case with me.

¹²¹ “Por que combiene que en los negoçios desta ss^a cofradia y buena horden della aya despacho y que asiente lo que combenga a ella con toda fidelidad hordenamos que se busque un español honrrado de buena vida y fama que quiera ser veinte y quatro y sirba de escribano al qual reseviran sin interes ninguno” AAL, Cof., Leg. 6, Exp. 15, fol. 3r (1644).

“10. Since some Spaniards may have devotion to this confraternity, we order that [the confraternity’s] scribe have a book for those such Spaniards that would want to gain the grace of this sacred confraternity; and that they may join as minor brothers, pay the alms that they would like, without there being a limit, and that those such confraternity members not be admitted to council meetings, or to anything else, since [this confraternity] is for Indians”¹²²

More than just the strategies of the Candelaria confraternity, these rules raise important issues with which Lima’s indigenous confraternities had to contend. Literacy rates were low throughout Spanish America, but especially amongst subaltern populations, even in the case of an elite confraternity like this one. And while scholars like José Jouve-Martín have expanded our ideas about literacy to include conceptions that do not require “knowing how” to write or possessing the authority and means to do so, it would appear that the very real necessity of keeping good, written confraternal records was great enough for the Candelaria confraternity to appoint a Spaniard to a leadership position.¹²³ Nevertheless, at the same time, the tenth rule indicates that the sodality members had some kind of understanding of what it meant to comprise an indigenous confraternity and were interested in preserving that by limiting the power of the Candelaria Virgin’s Spanish devotees. Ultimately, colonial racial identity appears to have primarily dictated who could be part of a confraternity’s leadership and participate in public spectacle, and therefore *cofradías* remain a useful tool for historians in considering black and indigenous experiences in colonial Lima.

Confraternities served as critical sites of identity negotiation for black and indigenous people in colonial Lima. Certain sodalities further differentiated amongst themselves within their

¹²² “Por que algunos españoles tendran deboçion a esta cofradia ordenamos que el escribano della tenga un libro de por ssi Para los tales españoles que quisieren ganar las graçias desta Sancta cofradia y entraren por hermanos menores paguen la limosna que quisieren sin que aya limite y los tales cofrades no sean admitidos en los cavildos ni a cossa ninguna por quanto es de Yndios” AAL, Cof., Leg. 6, Exp. 15, fol. 3r (1644).

¹²³ Larissa Brewer-García, “Beyond Babel: Translations of Blackness in Colonial Peru and New Granada” (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 6; José Ramón Jouve-Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005).

own group. The indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of the Repose (San Lázaro), for example, include people who identified as Chachapoya.¹²⁴ The black confraternity of the Virgen de los Reyes (San Francisco), describe themselves in their confraternal records as being composed of *bran*, *jolofo*, *terranova*, *mandinga*, and *casanga* members, and specifically outlined the division of leadership so that each *casta* could be fairly represented.¹²⁵ In contrast, the *zape* and the *cocolí* sub-groups within the confraternity of the Virgin of the Rosary (Santo Domingo), struggled against each other.¹²⁶ Such interactions indicate that the confraternity provided a space wherein black and indigenous people could self-identify and that these differentiations held specific, yet fluid, meanings for the black and indigenous *cofrades* who adopted them, as historians like Karen Graubart and Paul Charney, among others, have convincingly demonstrated.¹²⁷ It is worth emphasizing that Afro-descendants and indigenous people in Lima actively mobilized colonial legal and material culture to create relational identities that could be deftly blurred and repositioned as the need arose.¹²⁸

The confraternal chapel, or *capilla*, was an important part of corporate life. Every sodality was required to maintain and adorn the chapel in which they housed their altar and sacred image, celebrated Mass, held meetings, prepared for *fiestas*, stored other *bienes*, and (ideally) buried dead *cofrades*.¹²⁹ Sodalities that had accumulated significant wealth, like the *cofradía* of the Virgin of the Candelaria (San Francisco) indisputably were in possession of the

¹²⁴ The particular ethnic make-up of this confraternity is discussed at length in Chapter 3.

¹²⁵ AAL, Cof., Leg. 51, Exp. 24 (1829 [1649]). For further discussion of African “ethnicities” in Peru, see: Chapter 4.

¹²⁶ AAL, Cof., Leg. 36, Exp. 28 (1670-1671).

¹²⁷ Tamara J. Walker, “The Queen of Los Congos: Slavery, Gender, and Confraternity Life in Late-Colonial Lima, Peru,” *Journal of Family History* 40, no. 3 (2015): 305–22; Graubart, “So Color de Una Cofradía”; Charney, “A Sense of Belonging”; Patricia Mulvey, “Slave Confraternities in Brazil,” *The Americas*, 54, no. 3 (1982): 39–68.

¹²⁸ See: Joanne Rappaport and Thomas B.F. Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 27–52.

¹²⁹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 20, Exp. 11, 4v, 6v (1607).

title to their chapels. By 1643 the Virgin of la Candelaria already had a significant chapel in the Franciscan church decorated with doors, and by 1670, they boasted two chapels with space for not two, but three altars.¹³⁰ This, however, was the exception, rather than the rule.

The requirements for keeping a chapel were fairly straightforward, such as keeping it “well fashioned and in good repair,” but also subjective, which proved problematic for black confraternities in particular.¹³¹ In late June, 1595, the confraternity of the Virgin of Aguas Santas (Merced) needed a replacement *licencia*, a document that proved their right to remain in their chapel, after a previous *mayordomo* had taken the original and its copies with him to Potosí.¹³² The Mercedarian prelate, who found the chapel to be “unfinished,” granted the request of the black *cofrades*, on the condition that the confraternity complete their chapel with a decorated arch and facade within a month and pay a fine of 150 pesos; failure to meet their conditions carried the potential penalty of eviction.¹³³

The Aguas Santas *mayordomos* hastily made arrangements to comply, commissioning the *mulato* architect Juan de Mora to complete the work in exchange for 70 pesos.¹³⁴ The architect was instructed that “the arch and facade and chapel...[should] conform to the model of the façade of the virgin saints Justa and Rufina,” in reference to the chapel of a *mulato* confraternity also in La Merced.¹³⁵ It was not uncommon for confraternal commissions to refer to other

¹³⁰ Despite describing themselves as “very poor,” the Candelaria confraternity’s chapels cost them 8000 pesos for construction alone. AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 8 (1670).

¹³¹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 20, Exp. 11, fol. 8rv (1615).

¹³² AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, fol. 34r (1595).

¹³³ It must be noted that similar fines were imposed by bishops on non-compliant confraternities in post-Tridentine Europe. In pointing out this case in Lima I do not mean to say that the circumstances were unique to this Limeño confraternity. Rather, I am interested in the way that such expectations affected subaltern *cofrades* in Lima.

¹³⁴ The confraternity agreed to pay him 70 pesos. Notably, the price of 70 pesos did not include the bricks, lime, sand, and laborers, which Juan de Mora agreed to provide at his own cost. The confraternity agreed that they would pay him within the following two months. AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, fol. 15v (1595).

¹³⁵ “yo El dho Juan dra mora me obligo de hazer El arco y portada y la capilla de nra s^a de agua sanctas conforme al modelo de la portada de las virgines sancta justa y Rufina” AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, fol. 15v (1595).

structures and objects, but this choice is of particular interest, as it suggests that the Aguas Santas community had a desire to place their confraternity in visual dialogue with the only other Afro-descendant community in the church.¹³⁶ Given the prominence of the chapel facade and arch, we might understand the choice as evidence that Afro-Peruvians were influential artistic patrons in Lima.¹³⁷

Remaining with the Afro-descendant confraternities of La Merced, we get a greater sense that maintaining a well-decorated sacred space did not necessarily spare a community from dealing with the colonial city's harsh interventions in race relations. In 1608, the Mercedarian *comendador*, suddenly decided to terminate the long-term occupancy of a chapel in La Merced by the above-mentioned *mulato cofradía* of Justa and Rufina and reassign the devotional space to a group of Spanish blacksmiths interested in founding a confraternity devoted to Saint Lawrence.¹³⁸ The church reportedly took such swift action that the *mulato* devotees reported that they had arrived one day, only to find chunks missing from the chapel's arch and holes in the altar wall.¹³⁹ One witness, Juan de Rufino, said that "he had seen a few days [prior] that the images of the virgins were missing from their altar and heard the sacristan of the church bragging that he was the first to strike the arch of the virgins' chapel with a wooden beam in order to tear

¹³⁶ In 1594, when the confraternity of the Santísimo Sacramento in the church of San Sebastián in Lima commissioned a pyx from the silversmith Alonso Bravo, they specially requested that he make it "like the one that is in the Church of Santa Ana." AGN, PN XVI, fols. 798r-799r (20/04/1594). The black confraternity of Nuestra Señora de Loreto would be founded in the Mercedarian church by 1619, but no evidence suggests the Loreto *cofradía* was there in the sixteenth century.

¹³⁷ To be more precise, it would have been, had Juan de Mora actually adhered to the contract. Even after a mountain of lawsuits, the architect did not complete the commission and the confraternity was still paying people to finish it in 1597. Pedro Tigueros was paid 38 pesos and 2 reales to step in after Juan de Mora left, as well as several black builders. AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, fol. 48v (1596). It is worth noting that the original contract included language that stated that, in the event that Juan de Mora was not able to finish the chapel due to any reason aside from being physically incapable of doing so, he would be personally responsible for paying for the chapel to be completed. AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, fol. 16r (1595)

¹³⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 2 (1608-1610).

¹³⁹ The Justa y Rufina confraternity provided a *probanza*, in which witnesses testified that the *mulato* sodality had used the chapel appropriately since 1581 and the blacksmiths' construction in the chapel had caused a disruption in the cult's normal operations. See: AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 2, fols. 33r-37r (1608).

it down.”¹⁴⁰ The testimony thus accused the Mercedarian priest of malicious intent and implied that the violence enacted against the chapel may have extended to the saints’ images as well, which he contrasted to the peaceful and pious care taken by the Justa and Rufina *cofrades*.

Later, a witness brought on behalf of the *mulato* confraternity, Captain Suero Díaz de Camopanes, confirmed the priest’s complete disregard for the *cofradía* and made clear his view that the Mercedarian *comendador* was giving the Spanish blacksmiths unfair preferential treatment, stating that the friar had asked him to convince the confraternity to simply accept another chapel.¹⁴¹ The confraternity purportedly replied “that they did not want to leave their [chapel] for another, even if it were the main one [in La Merced], and as such would go against [the priest] and take [the case] all the way to Rome because His Holiness [the Pope] would help them.”¹⁴² In the end, it was not the Mercedarians who resolved the conflict, but rather the blacksmiths’ confraternity of Saint Lawrence, which had decided to look elsewhere after seeing that the *mulato cofradía* had convincingly established their rights to the *capilla* in question.¹⁴³

The conflict illustrates the precarious situation of black and indigenous sodalities in early colonial Lima, even when they performed their confraternal duties according to conventional protocols and expectations. At the same time, the sodality’s firm response speaks to the importance of their chapel’s space and the great lengths to which the confraternity was willing to

¹⁴⁰ “a visto como de Pocos dias a esta parte an faltado del dho altar de las virgenes las dhas ymagenes y a oydo decir al sacristan mayor del dho convento de nra ss^a de las mercedes que el prim^o que dio con la barreta para derribar el arco de la dha capilla de las virgenes fue el” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 2, fol. 33r (1608).

¹⁴¹ His testimony was the only one to emphasize that the Justa and Rufina community was composed of *mulatos* or to specifically identify that the blacksmiths were Spanish. AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 2, fols. 35v-36v (1608).

¹⁴² “respondieron que no querian dexar su sitio por otro aunq fuesse El de la Capilla maior y que assi lo avian de contradecir y seguir hasta llevarlo a rroma q su santidad los anparase” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 2, fol. 36r (1608). It is worth noting that the confraternity had good reason to be confident, as they had a copy of the *licencia*, dated May 9, 1581, that proved they had the rights to the chapel. AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 2, 15v-18r (1608).

¹⁴³ The blacksmiths explained in their letter that even though it had been given to them by the Mercedarians, it was clear that the chapel had belonged to the confraternity of Justa y Rufina. It was no coincidence, either, that they ended their case on the day the *mulato* cofrades presented their case - the blacksmiths further explained that they were not interested in getting tangled up in *pleitos*. AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 2, fols. 43r-45r (1608).

go in order to preserve its devotional space and belongings. Furthermore, the way the Justa y Rufina *cofrades* used their chapel in the lawsuit against the Mercedarians, speaks to the potency of material goods, and that the sodality members understood how they could be put to use. As we shall see, despite the high stakes of visual performance, Lima's black and indigenous *cofradías* also deftly used their sacred art and *bienes* to their benefit over the course of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

III. Curating Sacred Images and Interactions

We turn now to the objects recorded in the inventories of Lima's black and indigenous confraternities. While the case studies in the following two chapters provide extended analyses of two specific images, we must first situate confraternal sculptures on a broader scale. Through their art and *bienes*, colonial *cofrades* curated visual representations of their communities. Since Lima was the self-imagined stronghold of Spanish culture in the Andes, however, subaltern confraternities were limited by the boundaries of colonial normative Catholicism. As such, the documentary record demonstrates that Lima's subaltern sodalities owned and operated with the same kinds of images and goods as their Spanish counterparts. Nevertheless, as with the institution of sodalities, their art and *bienes* were implicated in the process of creating distinctive corporate identities.

Relatively little is actually known about how black and indigenous colonial Limeños chose the devotions that would serve as the core for their cults. While some confraternities were pre-established and managed by orders, like Niño Jesús (San Pablo), a devotion propagated by the Jesuits, archival evidence indicates that it was the founding communities themselves that chose their own devotions and commissioned the initial images that became the focal points of their cults. A sodality's chosen location, meanwhile, seems to have been dictated most strongly

by proximity to the neighborhoods in which members resided, as taking part in confraternal life required regular and active participation, to which physical distance would have been a significant impediment.

These circumstances are best illustrated by the black confraternity of Santa Elena. In 1630 the *cofrades* were caught in an internal disagreement about whether or not to relocate their confraternity from the Hospital of San Pedro, where the sodality was founded, to the convent of La Purísima Concepción.¹⁴⁴ The members opposed to the move, who claimed to be former *mayordomos* and among the group's founders, explained that they had dedicated their confraternity to Santa Elena "for [it] having been our devotion" and had chosen the hospital "to be able to more easily attend to the necessities of the said confraternity, and [for] having it so close to our houses."¹⁴⁵ Though the Santa Elena *cofrades* made it clear that they were the ones who chose the cult and provided an explanation for their location choice, they leave us wondering what motivated them to center their cult around an image of Saint Helena, the discoverer of the True Cross.

The advocations of a number of Lima's black *cofradías* coincide with the most popular black confraternities in Seville, including the Virgen de los Reyes, the Virgen de los Ángeles, and the black Rosario confraternity.¹⁴⁶ Black saints like Elesban, Iphigenia, and Benedict of

¹⁴⁴ See: AAL, Cof., Leg. 28, Exp. 1 (1630). The dispute over the confraternity's location was further complicated when the confraternity tried to move again, this time to the Mercedarian church, and the priest of the Purísima Concepción convent wanted to keep the cult in place. AAL, Cof., Leg. 56-A, Exp. 6 (1634). For a full account, see: Hayes, "The Black Spaniards: The Color of Political Authority in Seventeenth-Century Lima."

¹⁴⁵ "fundamos la dicha cofradia en el ospital del apostol Sⁿ P^o por aver sido nra devocion y poder mas facil de acudir a lo necesario de la dicha cofradia teniendolo serca de nuestras casas" AAL, Cof., Leg. 28, Exp. 1, fol. 1r (1630). The *mayordomos* in favor of moving, claimed that the proximity of the hospital did not necessarily mean it was accessible, since the church was closed all week and during work days, and as such did not have an altar there and did not keep the image in the church. AAL, Cof., Leg. 28, Exp. 1, fol. 2r (1630).

¹⁴⁶ On black confraternities in Spain, see: Carmen Fracchia, "The Place of African Slaves in Early Modern Spain," in *The Place of the Social Margins, 1350-1750*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Jane L. Stevens Crenshaw (New York: Routledge, 2016), 117–34; Rocío Periañez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos y blancos: los esclavos en Extremadura durante la Edad Moderna* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 2010); Debra Blumenthal, "'La Casa Dels Negres': Black African Solidarity in Late Medieval Valencia," ed. Thomas F. Earle and Kate J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge

Palermo, however, do not appear to have enjoyed the same popularity in Lima as they did in early modern Spain.¹⁴⁷ Whereas Seville's most prominent and wealthy black confraternities owned prized images of these saints and placed them on their Marian altars, Lima's black confraternities did not collect them until the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁸ The sole exception is the short-lived *cofradía* of the black Saint Iphigenia, the illicit foundation and quick dissolution of which were closely tied to the image of the Ethiopian saint.¹⁴⁹ The statue of the *santa* originally belonged to the black confraternity of San Salvador, in the Jesuit church of San Pablo, but was taken around 1656 by certain of its members, led by a man named Juan de Contreras, to found their new community. Six years later, the San Salvador community tried once again to regain its image, after finding out that Contreras had pawned the image to a *confitero* (sweets and wax worker) named Vicente de la Rocha for 30 pesos. Ironically, Contreras later rejoined the

University Press, 2005), 225–46; Moreno Navarro, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla: etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de historia*; Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700* (Ithaca: Macmillan, 1989).

¹⁴⁷ On black saints, see: Erin Kathleen Rowe, “Visualizing Black Sanctity in Early Modern Spanish Polychrome Sculpture,” in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, ed. Pamela Patton (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 51–82. There was great devotion in Lima to the *mulato* Dominican saint, Martín de Porres (1579-1693), but he was not canonized until 1962. On Saint Martín de Porres, see: Larissa Brewer-García, “Negro, Pero Blanco de Alma: La Ambivalencia de La Negrura En La Vida Prodigiosa de Fray Martín de Porras (1663),” *Cuadernos Del CILHA* 13, no. 17 (2012): 112–45; Celia L. Cussen, “Fray Martín de Porres and the Religious Imagination of Creole Lima” (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996); Celia L. Cussen, “La fe en la historia: Las vidas de Martín de Porras,” in *Historia, memoria y ficción*, ed. Moises Lemlij and Luis Millones (Lima: Seminario Interdisciplinario de Estudios Andinos, 1996), 281–301; Alex García-Rivera, *St. Martín de Porres: The Little Stories and the Semiotics of Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995); Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, “Fray Martín de Porras: Santo, ensalmador y sacamuelas,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 3, no. 1–2 (1994): 159–84; José Antonio de Busto Duthurburu, *San Martín de Porras (Martín de Porras Velásquez)* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992).

¹⁴⁸ Rowe, “Visualizing Black Sanctity in Early Modern Spanish Polychrome Sculpture,” 52. APDSJGB, Inquisición 1.2. In Cusco when the removal order was issued, the altar of Saint Vincent reportedly had a bust of Saint Samuel and another of Saint Phillip Martyr, which were wearing diadems and insignias of the Inquisition. According to the same document, there were previously also similar busts in the Chapel of the Blacks, as well as a bust of Saint Claire that had a scepter and diadem. The order states that the images needed to be removed because “we do not pray to them, nor do they appear in our monuments, or in the *Martirologio* of the order.” (fol. 39r) In Lima, the confraternity in the “Chapel of the Blacks” had an image of a Señora de Marca, who was said to have been worshipped in Ethiopia. (fol. 48v)

¹⁴⁹ AAL, Cofradías, Leg. 54, Exp. 10 (1662). In the 20th century the nearby city of Cañete founded its own confraternity dedicate to the Ethiopian saint. See: Roberto Sánchez, “The Black Virgin: Santa Efigenia, Popular Religion, and the African Diaspora in Peru,” *Church History* 81, no. 3 (2012): 631–55.

leadership of the San Salvador *cofradía* and tried to recuperate not just the image he had pawned, but the sculpture that had been acquired to replace it, which de la Rocha was also accused of having in his possession.¹⁵⁰

Since the first person from the Americas of indigenous descent to be canonized was Juan Diego Cuauhtlatoatzin, the Chichimeca man associated with the apparition of Mexico's Virgin of Guadalupe, in 2002, indigenous sodalities in colonial Lima did not have indigenous saints from whom to choose their sacred mediators.¹⁵¹ And yet, they appear to have been drawn to specifically local Peruvian manifestations of the sacred as soon as they became known. For example, the Virgin of Copacabana (fig. 3.27) a sculpture produced in the Lake Titicaca area by the indigenous artist Francisco Tito Yupanqui in 1583, had an indigenous sodality in Lima by 1590 (as will be discussed in Chapter 3). Immediately after Rose of Lima had been canonized in 1671, a group of indigenous people in Lima attempted to found a confraternity in her name.¹⁵² The would-be *cofrades* specifically referred to Rose as "our [saint] from the same land."¹⁵³ In nearby Surco, another group similarly wanted to found a *cofradía* to the *criolla* saint in 1679.

¹⁵⁰ AAL, Cofradías, Leg. 54, Exp. 10 (1662).

¹⁵¹ Juan Diego Cuauhtlatoatzin (c. 1474-1548; beatified 1990) is believed to have been a Chichimeca, Nahuatl-speaking man from central Mexico, who was among the first indigenous people to be baptized by the Franciscans after the Spanish invasion. There is some speculation as to whether or not he existed, but his purported role in the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe has entrenched him into Mexican religious tradition and history. Rose of Lima (1586-1617) was the first saint from the Americas (beatified 1667, canonized 1671). Martín de Porres (1578-1639), a Limeño contemporary of Rose who is popularly considered *mulato* though possibly also of indigenous descent, was the first mixed-race saint from the Americas (beatified 1837, canonized 1962). Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680), a Mohawk-Algonquin woman from New York State, was the first Native American to be beatified in 1980, but she was not canonized until 2012.

¹⁵² On Saint Rose of Lima, see: Tristan Weddigen, "Materiality and Idolatry: Roman Imaginations of Saint Rose of Lima," in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. Christine Göttler and Mía M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 103–46; Oliva M. Espín, "The Enduring Popularity of Rosa de Lima, First Saint of the Americas: Women, Bodies, Sainthood, and National Identity," *Cross Currents* 61, no. 1 (2011): 6–26; Frank Graziano, *Wounds of Love: The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis: Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América* (Lima: Instituto Frances de Estudios Andinos, 2001); Teodoro Hampe Martínez, *Santidad e identidad criolla: Estudio del proceso de canonización de Santa Rosa* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1998); Gonzalo de la Maza, *Una partecita del cielo: La vida de Santa Rosa de Lima*, ed. Luis Millones (Lima: Horizonte, 1993).

¹⁵³ "nuestra paysana" AAL, Cof., Leg. 20, Exp. 12, fol. 1r (1671).

The *indios*, led by their *cacique*, used the fact that they “with great devotion, had a sculpted image made of the glorious Saint Rose of Santa María, and had made her gilded *retablo* and all other adornments” as evidence that they should be allowed to found their sodality.¹⁵⁴

Sacred Images

Crucially, Lima’s black and indigenous *cofrades* played active roles in the commissioning of their cult statues, thereby allowing them to visually distinguish their sodalities. At times, such as when a group’s central image was a painting, commissioning a sculpture was necessary so that the confraternity could fully engage in many colonial religious practices, such as ritual dressing and procession.¹⁵⁵ The indigenous Candelaria *cofradía* (San Francisco), for example, owned both an image for the altar and a separate one for processions.¹⁵⁶ Without extant examples, we cannot know what these images looked like, aside from guessing that those named after specific cult images, such as the Virgen de Aguas Santas or the Virgen de Loreto, might have shared formal similarities with the Spanish originals. However, even that is not necessarily the case, since visual likeness was not strictly necessary for an early modern copy.¹⁵⁷ Black and indigenous confraternities certainly had the potential, effectively, to visually redefine well-known Spanish images in generating their own objects of devotion. While this would not necessarily have any implications for the Spanish cults with which these colonial confraternal image advocations were linked, it would have had real implications for the religious visual

¹⁵⁴ “an asistido con mucha devocion a hazer la hechura de bulto de la Gloriosa sancta Rosa de sancta Maria y la han hecho su retablo dorado y demas adorno” AAL, Cof., Leg. 73, Exp. 10-A, fol. 1v (1679)

¹⁵⁵ This was the case for the black confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua, discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁵⁶ AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 9, fol. 15r (1676).

¹⁵⁷ The issue of visual likeness is discussed in-depth in Chapter 3. See also: Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles: Transforming Images in Italy from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 196. On the reproduction of miraculous images, see: Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2015), 52–53; Clara Bargellini, “Originality and Invention in the Painting of New Spain,” in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*, ed. Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005), 78–91; Thomas B.F. Cummins, “On the Colonial Formation of Comparison: The Virgin of Chiquinquirá, The Virgin of Guadalupe and Cloth,” *Anales Del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 21, no. 75 (1999): 51–77.

landscape of Lima, especially in the case of the processional sculptures that frequently passed through the streets of the city. A title of the Virgin that appears simply “Spanish” in text, is complicated in its visual form by subaltern patrons in the process of defining their collectivities.

While the confraternal images necessarily had European stylistic forms, the use of statues in the Andes and West Africa would have informed *cofrades*’ engagements with the sculptures. This is examined in the two case studies that follow this chapter, but it is worth clarifying here that statues played significant, albeit very different, roles in the religious life of both the Andes and Africa. Although textiles were paramount in the Andes, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, sculptures were involved in some religious and state rituals (fig. 2.4).¹⁵⁸ For example, early chroniclers described that the Inca had a statue that represented *Inti* (the sun), which was surrounded by deceased Inca rulers, in the center of the Coricancha, the most sacred temple in Tawantinsuyu and the center of religious and ritual life in Cusco.¹⁵⁹ The statue was described as having the shape of a young boy, clothed in a tunic of *compi* cloth (*cumbi*, cloth of finest weaving), and wearing the *mascapacha*, the red-fringed headband worn by the Sapa Inca (Inca ruler), both of which speak to Andean traditions of “textile primacy.”¹⁶⁰ The statue was considered to be and was treated as a sentient thing: it was attended by *acllas* (chosen women),

¹⁵⁸ It is worth remembering that our understanding of Inca culture must be approached with caution since a lot of our knowledge comes from colonial sources, who were predisposed to emphasize that which was familiar to them. In this case, Spanish familiarity and concern with “idols” might have led chroniclers to over-emphasize the importance of statuary and they definitely overlooked the importance of textile and stone.

¹⁵⁹ Coricancha (also, Koricancha, Qoricancha, Qurikancha) literally means gold (*cori*, *qori*, *quri*) enclosure (*cancha*, *kancha*) in Quechua. Some of the fine Inca masonry of the Coricancha remains in situ, under the colonial Church of Santo Domingo in Cusco. It was built at the confluence of the Tullumayu and Huatanay Rivers (*tinku*, or *tincuc mayu*; *mayu* means “river” in Quechua), and described as adorned with gold, both on the finely joined masonry (*canincakuchini*) of the structure and within it.

¹⁶⁰ Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 66–67. Sapa Inca translates to “only Inca” in Quechua and was the title used by Andeans to refer to the ruler of Tawantinsuyu. Although it is acceptable in scholarship to translate this to “Inca Emperor,” I find it inaccurate to use a European title, especially when discussing the pre-invasion period. On “textile primacy, see: Chapter 3 and Rebecca Stone-Miller, “To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes,” in *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, ed. Rebecca Stone-Miller (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1992), 11–24.

received food, *aka* (*chicha*, corn beer), and sacrifices, and had a decorated seat where it could choose to rest.¹⁶¹

Throughout pre-colonial Africa, religious anthropomorphic statues were pervasive, prompting concerns about idolatry from Europeans (fig. 2.5). However, as Suzanne Preston Blier has pointed out, “traditional” African sculpture was not dissimilar from Catholic depictions of saints, in the sense that statues served primarily as visual referents that helped the actor gain access to a higher power.¹⁶² For instance, the *nomoli* (pl. *nomolisia*) of the Sapi (fig. 2.6) and *pomdo* (pl. *pomtan*) of the Kissi (fig. 2.7), carved steatite figures found in modern Sierra Leone and Guinea, are believed to commemorate and invoke the force of a deceased ancestor or nobleperson.¹⁶³ Little is certain about their early-modern functions, but *pomtan* were recorded to have been used in the twentieth century as corpse substitutes, carried on a litter, and wrapped with amulets and sacrificial blood (fig. 2.8).¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, the materials from which African statues were made were often thought to be imbued with spiritual power that needed to be addressed before being worked. But, as temporary shelters for spirits, deities, and ancestors, African statues generally were deactivated once they were taken out of the ritual context.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, 66–67. *Aclla* (*aklla*) comes from the Quechua verb *acclay*, which means “to choose.” These women were specially chosen from throughout Tawantinsuyu, cloistered, and trained from childhood to produce food, *aka*, and *compi* cloth garments. The word *chicha* does not come from Quechua, but rather originated in Central America. The Quechua word for the fermented corn drink, and the term by which the Inca knew it, is *aka* (*aqá*). On the importance of the throne or seat, see: Carolyn Dean, “Fame of Thrones: Seats, Sights, and Sanctity among the Inka,” *Material Religion* 11, no. 3 (2015): 355–85.

¹⁶² Suzanne Preston Blier, “Capricious Arts: Idols in Renaissance-Era Africa and Europe (The Case of Sapi and Kongo),” in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (London: Ashgate, 2009), 16.

¹⁶³ William A. Hart and Christopher Fyfe, “The Stone Sculptures of the Upper Guinea Coast,” *History in Africa* 20 (1993): 71–87.

¹⁶⁴ Frederick J. Lamp, “House of Stones: Memorial Art of Fifteenth-Century Sierra Leone,” *The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 2 (1983): 229.

¹⁶⁵ Blier, “Capricious Arts: Idols in Renaissance-Era Africa and Europe (The Case of Sapi and Kongo),” 17.

Statues were processed in the Andes, African worshippers lit candles in front of statues in their devotional practices, and offerings were made to religious subject-objects in both of these regions, as well as Iberia.¹⁶⁶ In pointing these out, I do not mean to imply that the traditions of the Inca are representative of the cultural diversity of the Andes, or that West Africa's innumerable ethnic groups can be simplified into one. Rather, I bring them into this discussion in order to gesture toward the many points of correlation and divergence among religious practices in the three distinct regions that came together in the context of colonial Lima. Recognizing such links is key to understanding how sodalities used devotional images to define their new colonial collectivities. However, this scholarship requires specificity about the self-identifications of the people involved that is not always evident in the archival evidence, in order to avoid overgeneralization. Thus, in the remainder of this chapter I will focus on the colonial context of Lima, and only incorporate key comparanda from the Andes and West Africa in anticipation of, and in order to supplement, the in-depth examinations of Chapters 3 and 4.

Materiality of Sacred Images

Black and indigenous *cofrades* fashioned distinctive visual cultures for their confraternal devotions. This visual culture was impacted by the material qualities and limitations of the polychrome sculptures that so often were placed upon the principal altars in their chapels and were the focal points of their devotion. Confraternal images were continually involved in processes of accretion and modification through ritual touch, renovation, and adornment.¹⁶⁷ Although contemporary restorations of extant confraternal images have removed traces of physical interaction, the sculptures that remain in use enable us to imagine the kinds of traces

¹⁶⁶ On subject-objects, see: Dean and Leibsohn, "Scorned Subjects"; Carolyn Dean, "Reviewing Representation: The Subject-Object in Pre-Hispanic and Colonial Inka Visual Culture," *Colonial Latin American Review* 23, no. 3 (2014): 298–319.

¹⁶⁷ Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 166.

that devotees would have left. The sculpture of Lima's indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana, for example, continues to be implicated in a relationship of ritual touch with her devotees, said to have begun in the colonial period.¹⁶⁸ Every year on her feast day, in commemoration of the sweating miracle the Virgin performed in 1591, devotees, through a priest intermediary, cleanse the statue's face with water and cloths, which are collected and made available to the faithful in need of spiritual or physical healing (fig. 2.9).¹⁶⁹ Though done gently, this repeated contact degrades the image's *encarnación* (flesh-toned polychromy) over time (fig. 2.10), a physical manifestation of the members' devotion on one of the only parts of the statue that remains visible when the figure is adorned with clothing, wigs, and jewelry (fig. 3.38). Since its restoration in 1993, the image is only dressed on the principal feast day of the cult on December 28, so that devotees can take part at this time in the "very ancient" tradition of praying beneath the Virgin's mantle (fig. 2.11).¹⁷⁰ This is the annual opportunity devotees get to touch and kiss the statue, consequently discoloring the sculpted hem (fig. 2.12). If these, or similar, traditions date back to the colonial period, as the Virgin's Franciscan caretakers claim, we might imagine that the sculpture's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century indigenous *cofrades* similarly left devotional marks on their sacred image, thereby continually redefining the visual qualities of the early colonial image through their active engagement.¹⁷¹

What we know for certain is that Lima's black and indigenous confraternal images were periodically renovated, typically entailing repainting and the replacement of missing pieces. In September 1614, the elite indigenous Rosario *cofradía* (Santo Domingo), hired the Spanish-born

¹⁶⁸ In conversation with Sor María de Jesús. The importance of ritual touch in the Andes is discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁹ As will be discussed at length in Chapter 4, the Virgin of Copacabana's tears were gathered on the day of the miracle and these contact relics were later attributed with healing the sick.

¹⁷⁰ In conversation with Sor María de Jesús.

¹⁷¹ In conversation with Sor María de Jesús.

artist, Cristóbal de Ortega (b.1548), to “gild [*dorar*], scratch designs into the gold [*estofar*], paint, apply flesh tones [*encarnar*], and renew [*renovar*] the image of Our Lady of the Rosary again, which they have in the indigenous chapel of the said advocacy,” so the sodality could place the Virgin on a litter for procession.¹⁷² The wording in the contract seems to purposefully distinguish between processes related to the practical reapplication of missing materials through restoration (*dorar, pintar*) and those related to the renewal and modelling of the Virgin’s distinctive features (*estofar, encarnar, renovar*), suggesting that the *cofradía* had hired the painter to do work that was both practical and ritual. Furthermore, Ortega specifies that this was not the first time he had been commissioned by the confraternity for this purpose, which may be an indication that the *cofrades* trusted the painter to carry out the task.¹⁷³

The black confraternity of the Virgen de los Ángeles (Merced) appears to have had their image renewed for primarily practical reasons. For example, in 1641, in preparation for the feast of Corpus Christi, the *cofradía* paid 3 pesos “for the painter who decorated the face and hands of the Virgin, which were mistreated and it was necessary to decorate her.”¹⁷⁴ Two years later, the sodality’s *mayoralas* (female confraternity officials) spent 35 pesos to restore the Virgin, which included replacing some of her fingers that had “broken.”¹⁷⁵ The frequency of repairs is not indicative of the image being cheaply made. To the contrary, the image, commissioned in 1640,

¹⁷² “yo el dho xpoval de ortega me obligo de dorar estofar e pintar y encarnar y rrenovar de nuevo la echura de la ymagen denra señora dell rrosario que tienen en la capilla de los naturales de la dha adbocacion” The confraternity requested that the image be completed in time to be processed in the naval *fiesta* that was to take place in the Dominican monastery that year. Ortega was paid 60 pesos for completing the work. AGN, PNXVII, Prot. 53, fol. 790r (15/9/1614).

¹⁷³ This possibility seems especially likely because Ortega had and maintained many ties to indigenous confraternities in the city, including that of the Virgin of Copacabana, for which Ortega painted and gilded the statue. Furthermore, the confraternity may have sought out Ortega as a direct response to the Virgin of Copacabana’s purported sweating miracle in 1591. This will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁴ “tres patacones q di a graviel de la vega y a lucas de quiñones para El pintor que adereço El rostro y manos de la Virgen q estava maltratado y fue nesesario aderesarlo” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 27r (1641).

¹⁷⁵ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fols. 34r; 46r (1643). On February 5, 1643 the confraternity paid Diego de Torres, the painter, 1 peso to paint the fingers. They paid the sculptor, Diego Muñoz y Prado 4 for pesos for the fingers and another 30 pesos of unspecified work on the image of the Virgin.

cost the confraternity 250 pesos, a substantial sum.¹⁷⁶ To some extent, damage was inevitable, especially, in Lima's extremely humid climate. In 1590, for example, the black confraternity of the Virgin of Aguas Santas had to pay 19 pesos to restore a sculpted image of the Virgin of Aguas Santas that had been "eaten by moths, degraded, and discolored."¹⁷⁷ Most likely, however, it would seem that the damage sustained by the Virgen de los Ángeles described above came as a result of the confraternity's ongoing interactions with the sculpture at the center of their cult.

"In the style in which noblewomen dress": Dressing the Virgin

The polychrome wooden statues that stood on confraternal altars and were carried in processions were rarely displayed unadorned, with their materials of manufacture fully manifest – their carved wooden features and applied pigments and gold. In the colonial period, as now, Lima's cult images were difficult to discern from beneath continually-changing layers of adornments. Even images with fully carved clothing were ritually adorned with mantles, wigs, jewelry, veils, and more.¹⁷⁸ These were among the primary items that confraternities acquired for their "collections" and it is through the application of these decorative *bienes* that the curatorial agency of black and indigenous *cofradías* is most in evidence.

Writing about the early colonial period, the Augustinian chronicler Antonio de la Calancha (1584-1654) described that "it was custom at that time to dress images of the Virgin

¹⁷⁶ The confraternity did not pay for the sculpture in one lump sum. They collected limosnas specifically for this purpose on at least two occasions in 1640 and paid Doña Catalina in several small installments. AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 46v (1640).

¹⁷⁷ "mas de aderesar una ymagen de nuestra cofradia de nuestra señora de aguas santa questava comida de polilla y desbrada y descolorida costo dies y nueve pesos" AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, 40r (1590). It is unclear if this was the confraternity's primary sculpture of the Virgin or, more likely, just an image in the confraternity's collection, like the canvas painting of the Virgin of Aguas Santas or small sculpture of the Virgin that the *cofrades* used to solicit donations. AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, fol. 40v (1590).

¹⁷⁸ Dressing sacred images is by no means unique to Peru or the Spanish Americas; the practice had existed for centuries in various parts of Europe well before Lima was founded. See: Richard C. Trexler, "Dressing and Undressing Images: An Analytic Sketch," in *Religion in Social Context in Europe and America, 1200–1700* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 65; William A. Christian Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 159; Manuel Trens, *María: iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español* (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1945), 642.

with clothing, skirts, and head coverings, in the style in which noblewomen dress.”¹⁷⁹ The Augustinian church’s statue of the Virgen de la Gracia (fig. 2.13), for example, was dressed with “rich embroideries of gold, silk, and silver, and of brocades and costly fabrics of silver, silk, and gold, adorning her with rich jewelry, pearls, and precious stones.”¹⁸⁰ The practice caused concern for the Church, resulting in the Second Lima Council (1576-1581) issuing a decree stating that “the image of Our Lady or of any female saint cannot be adorned with the clothes and garments of women, nor should they put on the cosmetics or colors used by women. [The image] could, instead, wear some rich mantle that the image has with it.”¹⁸¹

Nevertheless, as early as 1594, the statue of the Virgin of the Repose, which belonged to the multiracial, Spanish-led confraternity in the church of San Lázaro (discussed in Chapter 3), is recorded to have owned at least three dresses — white, yellow, and green — donated by a widowed devotee on her deathbed.¹⁸² The word used in the inventory, *vestido*, usually means dress, but can also mean clothing, and the confraternity clarified that in the case of the yellow *vestido*, the garment was a skirt (*saya*) paired with a cape (*manto*). However, the subsequent *vestido* was described as a “white taffeta dress *de la china*, adorned with golden fringe, with a cape of lace, [and] a blouse embroidered with a glittery, golden crown.” These were immediately

¹⁷⁹ “Usavase entonces vestir a las Imagenes de la Virgen con ropas, sayas i tocas al modo que se visten las mugeres nobles” Antonio de la Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru: con sucesos egenplares en esta monarquia ...* (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1639), 569–70.

¹⁸⁰ “i esmeravase Dona Juana en que los vestidos de la Virgen fuesen de ricos bordados de oro, seda i plata, i de brocados i telas costosas de plata, seda i oro, adornandola con ricas joyas de perlas, i piedras preciosas” Calancha, 570.

¹⁸¹ “53. que los ovispos vissiten las ymagenes y las que hallaren mal hechas e indecentes o las aderecen o quiten del todo y la imagen de nuestra señora o de qualquiera santa no se adorne con bestidos y trages de mugeres, ni le pongan afeites o colores de que usan mugeres, podrá empero ponerse algún manto rrico que tenga la imagen.” Rubén Vargas Ugarte, ed., *Concilios Limenses (1551-1772)*, vol. 1 (Lima: Tipogr. Peruana, 1951), 125. Stanfield-Mazzi has argued that dressing practices in the Altiplano followed the Council’s decree, suggesting that the clothing placed on the Virgins in this region were limited to gauze gowns with a rich mantle overlay. Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 81.

¹⁸² “maria de quiros siendo biuda poco antes que muriesse no se acuerda que tantas dias dio para el dho altar la ymagen de bulto pequeña de nra sra con tres vestidos uno blanco, otro berde y otro leonado” AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 2, fol. 35r (1594).

followed by the gold and silver head scarf the Virgin was apparently wearing at the time, in addition to a crystalline rosary, all the trappings of elite women at the time.¹⁸³ In spite of the recent decree of the Second Lima Council, the confraternity was not dressing their Virgin like this surreptitiously, as *Bachiller* Hernando Martínez, an ecclesiastic *visitador* and beneficiary of the Cathedral, officially approved the confraternal records.¹⁸⁴

The surviving seventeenth-century inventories of black and indigenous confraternities further attest to the fact that the prohibition was not heeded.¹⁸⁵ Perhaps the most overt evidence of this is the 1676 inventory of the wealthy, indigenous *cofradía* of the Virgin of the Candelaria (San Francisco), in which they described their processional Virgin as “a sculpted image of Our Lady that is dressed with a shirt, petticoat, and doublet with an underskirt of red damask.”¹⁸⁶ In addition, among a large number of sumptuous *mantos* and opulent pieces of jewelry, the sodality recorded an entire section entitled “dresses and capes,” making an explicit differentiation between the two categories of clothing.¹⁸⁷ It included a pink (*carne de doncella*) skirt (*saya*) and doublet of a textile with metallic thread and golden stars, a skirt (*pollera*) of blue lustrous silk with silver flowers, and a black *saya*, *manto*, and doublet that the Virgin wore during lent, veils, and head scarves, all used to adorn the sacred image.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ “otro vestido de tafetan de la china blanco guarneçido con una franja de oro ancha con un manto de toca Raxada una camisa de la dicha ymagen bordada con una corona de oro escarchado = un pañuelo de cortado de oro y plata q tiene la ymagen en la cabeça – un Rosario de Cristal” AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 2, fol. 57v (1594). The descriptor “de la china” was used in colonial Latin America to denote anything that came vaguely from outside of Europe, but especially from the Spanish Philippines and Japan. “un vestido de tafetan leonado y amarillo que es saya y manto” AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 2, fol. 57v (1594).

¹⁸⁴ AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 2, fol. 57r (1594).

¹⁸⁵ AAL, Cof., Leg. 6, Exp. 14, (1642); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 26r (1640-41); AAL, Cof., Leg. 54, Exp. 10, fol. 5r (1661).

¹⁸⁶ “mas una ymagen de na sa de bulto que se biste con camisa naguas y jubon faldellin de damasco carmesi” AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 9, fol. 15r (1676).

¹⁸⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 9, fol. 17rv (1676).

¹⁸⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 6A, Exp. 9, fols. 17v-18v (1676).

Furthermore, though it does not appear to have occurred every time an image's adornments were changed, it was not uncommon for colonial Limeño confraternities to send their images to a *señora's* (woman's) home in preparation for special occasions.¹⁸⁹ *Cuentas* from the indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of Loreto (Santa Ana) give us some insight. On the occasion of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1650, the confraternity sent their Virgin to the home of a woman whom they paid 2 pesos, two chickens, and a peso worth of fruit to adorn (*aderezar*) their Virgin.¹⁹⁰ Based on the *mayordomo's* purchases on the day of the *fiesta*, we know that the image was adorned with jasmine, had her hair curled into ringlets, and had a candle affixed to her hands with two large, luxurious ribbons.¹⁹¹ Once the image was ready, on the morning of the feast, it was transported back to the church of Santa Ana with great pomp, accompanied by a band of musicians, probably all Afro-descendants, playing the *caja* (drum), *clarín* (trumpet), and *chirimías* (shawms).¹⁹² Although the instruments were European in origin, music was also important in Andean celebrations, as attested in descriptions of the Inca festival of Citua by early chroniclers and in the drawings of Guaman Poma (fig. 2.14).¹⁹³ We might imagine that the joyful playing of music, resonated with the indigenous Andeans who comprised the confraternity.

¹⁸⁹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 39-A, Exp. 2, fol. 21v (1654); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 26r (1640-1641); AAL, Cof., Leg. 30, Exp. 10, fol. 1r (1654).

¹⁹⁰ The chickens were worth 10 reales each, bringing the total for her payment to 3 pesos and 4 reales. AAL, Cof., Leg. 30, Exp. 9, fol. 15v (1650). Later the same year, the confraternity paid a woman 4 reales to dress the Christ Child. AAL, Cof., Leg. 30, Exp. 9, fol. 17r (1650). It is possible that the woman was a confraternity member, though affiliation is designated elsewhere in the Loreto confraternity's *cuentas* and *cofrades* were not typically paid for services rendered to their sodality. Moreover, in 1653 the indigenous Rosario *cofradía* (Santo Domingo) similarly contracted a *señora* to adorn their image for the *fiesta* of Nuestra Señora del Naval, specifying that the *cofrades* had paid her 12 pesos "because others were charging 30 pesos." AAL, Cof., Leg. 39-A, Exp. 2, fol. 21v (1653).

¹⁹¹ The ribbons (*listones*) cost 6 pesos and 3 reales, the jasmine cost 2 pesos, and the glass and coal or charcoal (*carbón*) used to curl the hair cost 4 reales. AAL, Cof., Leg. 30, Exp. 9, fol. 15v (1650).

¹⁹² They paid 2 pesos and 4 reales for the music. AAL, Cof., Leg. 30, Exp. 9, fol. 15v (1650). According to the research of the musicologist Kydalla Young, when confraternal account books recorded racial categories for musicians, woodwind and brass performers were usually identified as black and sometimes indigenous, while drummers were typically black. Kydalla Etheyo Young, "Colonial Music, Confraternities, and Power in the Archdiocese of Lima" (PhD Diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2010), 120–21.

¹⁹³ Citua was a celebration that took place during Coya Raimi (August and September) and was expanded under the Inca into an imperial occasion. MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, 195–98. Music was an important part of Andean ritual ceremonies. John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the

The above examples make it very clear that Lima's black and indigenous confraternities used the *bienes* in their collection to adorn their Virgins "in the style in which noblewomen dress" and did so very deliberately. But why did the *cofrades* dress the Virgin in more than just a *manto* if the clothes beneath were not likely to be visible and it was theoretically prohibited? As we shall see in Chapter 4, dressing and textiles were ritually important components of male initiation among the Bijagó of modern Guinea-Bissau, and Chapter 3 argues that it is productive to consider the dressing of confraternal images through cultural practices in the Andes that involve layering, wrapping, and rewrapping with cloth. The primacy of textiles in the Andes cannot be underscored enough, as attested by the sophisticated textiles of Paracas (fig. 3.21), and Inca practices of creating special textiles (fig. 2.15) for *guacas*, sacred "things" that sometimes were fashioned statues, but more commonly were unworked stone, mountains, vistas, bodies of water, the living and mummified bodies of the Sapa Inca and astral bodies.¹⁹⁴ The importance of textiles as an interpretive indigenous lens in the colonial period will be examined in Chapter 3.

Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian H. Steward, vol. 2, The Andean Civilizations (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, 1946), 289–90. On music in the Andes, see: Henry Stobart, "The Llama's Flute: Musical Misunderstandings in the Andes," *Early Music* 24, no. 3 (1996): 470–82.

¹⁹⁴ The concept of the *guaca* (now more commonly spelled *huaca*, *waka*, or *wak'a*) was notoriously difficult for extirpators of idolatry in the colonial Andes to pin down. In his 1560 Quechua dictionary, Domingo de Santo Tomás defined *guaca* as "templo de ydolos o el mismo ydolo." Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Lexicon o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Peru* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Córdoba, 1560), 131r. For a recent, thorough examination of *guacas*, see: Tamara Lynn Bray, ed., *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015). Figures wrapped in textiles found in Inca Capacocha sites have provided a wealth of knowledge on textiles in the Andes. The bibliography on Andean textiles is vast and growing. For recent examples, see: Elena Phipps, "Andean Textile Traditions: Material Knowledge and Culture, Part 1," in *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII / Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII*, ed. Lena Bjerregaard and Ann H. Peters (Lincoln: Zea Books, 2017), 162–75; Elena Phipps, "Inka Textile Traditions and Their Colonial Counterparts," in *The Inka Empire: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, ed. Izumi Shimada (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 197–214; Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Weaving and Tailoring the Andean Church: Textile Ornaments and Their Makers in Colonial Peru," *The Americas* 72, no. 1 (2015): 77–102; Denise Y. Arnold and Penny Dransart, eds., *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes* (London: Archetype Publications, 2014). Tamara Bray has argued that these anatomically-correct miniatures were understood by the Inca "as animate, person-like beings in their own right, e.g. as targets for and sources of social agency." Tamara Lynn Bray, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of Camaquen: Thinking Through Late Pre-Columbian Ofrendas and Huacas," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19 (2009): 361.

Writing about the colonial Peruvian Altiplano, Maya Stanfield-Mazzi has argued that dressing images “contributed to an ever-changing image of the statue-as-divinity.”¹⁹⁵ This seems apt for the Limeño context as well. Thus, cloth’s nature as a “transformative medium” provided subaltern *cofradías* the opportunity to use their decorative *bienes* to curate manifestations of the divine that suited their religious experiences.¹⁹⁶

Beyond Luxury

Black and indigenous Limeño *cofrades* drew from the visual language of luxury as part of the decoration of their sacred images. Indeed, confraternities explicitly detailed the European provenance of their fabric *bienes*, as the indigenous Copacabana confraternity did with a chestnut-colored Italian cape worn by their image of Saint Marcellus.¹⁹⁷ At the same time, examples like the Reposo Virgin’s white taffeta dress *de la china* show that cosmopolitan splendor was not only derived from Europe.¹⁹⁸ This particular transregional circulation of goods was a feature of colonial Latin America, afforded by a geography positioned between multiple global trade routes.

In the colonial world, as in Golden Age Iberia, sumptuous riches were the visual language of power. Indeed, Susan Webster has argued that the extravagant adornment of sacred images in Seville was popular because it allowed confraternities to “participate in a realm of

¹⁹⁵ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 81.

¹⁹⁶ Jane Schneider, “Cloth and Clothing,” in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Chris Tilley, Webb Keane, and Susanne Kuechler (London: Sage, 2006), 204. The concept of transformation in indigenous Andean traditions is discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁹⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10A, Exp. 6, fol. Br (1659). See also: AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 9, fol. 18r (1676) which notes that the indigenous candelaria confraternity had “un capisallo del monto rico con puntas de oro de milan [an undershirt, richly assembled, with golden [puntas] from Milan]” for the Christ Child.

¹⁹⁸ “otro vestido de tafetan de la china blanco guarneçido con una franja de oro ancha con un manto de toca Raxada una camisa de la dicha ymagen bordada con una corona de oro escarchado” AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 2, fol. 57v (1610). It is most likely that the *vestido* they are describing is not a dress in the usual sense, but rather, a skirt (*saya*) and a *manto*. The descriptor “de la china” was used in colonial Latin America to denote anything that came vaguely from outside of Europe, but especially from the Spanish Philippines and Japan. The meaning behind indigenous confraternities owning imported luxury cloth is discussed further in Chapter 3.

power, prestige, and glory that once had been exclusively reserved for royalty.”¹⁹⁹ If Lima really was the alter-Seville that art historical scholarship characterizes it to be, we might conclude that dressing images with worldly splendor similarly allowed black and indigenous confraternities to engage with the viceregal elite. It would appear, however, that while Lima’s subalterns could not afford to ignore the colonial powers in their ritual dressing of sacred images, black and indigenous *cofradías* were also pointedly performing with and for each other.

This may be supported by the many instances in which subaltern confraternities did not rely solely on sumptuousness, foreign or otherwise, to convey the status of their sacred images. Lima’s *cofrades* often incorporated ephemeral elements that augmented and personalized their cult images. The black Rosario Virgin, for instance, was adorned with rosemary and basil on several occasions during Lent in 1668.²⁰⁰ The aromatic herbs were not commonly used in the *fiestas* of seventeenth-century Lima, suggesting that the value of their addition was particular, and certainly not monetary.²⁰¹

Flowers, meanwhile, were used regularly in the ritual decoration of images, as can be seen in the popular genre of statue paintings, like that of the Virgin of Pomata in the Brooklyn Museum (fig. 2.16). It is not surprising that the indigenous Rosario community would use flowers to decorate their Virgin. What is of interest, however, is the fact that a peso’s worth of flowers and other decorations were individually sewn onto the Virgin’s *manto*.²⁰² This is laborious work, but would have added a singular, personalized touch to the Virgin’s decoration.

¹⁹⁹ Susan V. Webster, “Shameless Beauty and Worldly Splendor on the Spanish Practice of Adorning the Virgin,” in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf, *Analecta Romanae Instituti Danici, Supplementum*, 33 (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 271.

²⁰⁰ AAL, Cof., Leg. 31, Exp. 25, fol. 13r (1668).

²⁰¹ This is the only confraternity that I have seen use these herbs to decorate an image.

²⁰² “Mas compre tres reales de Alfiler = y otras tres reales de clabito = dos reales de hilo para quajar los floresçitos y otros adornos que le pusieron en el manto de nra señora son un patacon” AAL, Cof., Leg. 39-A, Exp. 2, fol. 21v (1653).

Moreover, the effect would have approximated a floral textile, like the *manto* with “flores grandes” worn by the Virgen de los Ángeles (Merced) in 1692, a variant of a common colonial type of cloth.²⁰³ These ephemeral additions would have added to the resplendence of the already luxurious textile to which the flowers were affixed.

Returning to the account of Antonio de la Calancha, the Augustinian went on to explain that San Francisco’s Virgen de la Gracia had been allowed to continue wearing elite women’s clothing after the Second Lima council prohibited it for the rest of the city, because “if richness drew curious eyes, the beauty of the image won over common devotion, which is very important, for as soon as our nature declines in spiritual matters, let the eyes negotiate hearts through delightful images.”²⁰⁴ The Augustinian seems to have drawn a direct correlation between splendor and, specifically, popular devotion. If so, by dressing their images in the elite trappings of noblewomen, black and indigenous confraternities would have called the attention of other faithful like themselves, thereby increasing devotion to their particular images. Put differently, a confraternity’s *bienes* had the power to entice Limeños to look at the curated spectacle of their sacred sculptures and, thereby, their reified devotion.

IV. Fiestas and Processions

Fiestas and processions brought confraternities out of their chapels and into the *neblina*-filled open air of Lima. On these occasions, the city’s streets would fill with sculpted saints, musicians, flowers, and ephemeral architecture, transforming the city into an enormous, mobile

²⁰³ “un manto de tela blanca con flores grandes guarnesido de puntas grandes y otras pequeñas al buelo aforrado en tafetan nacar” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp.42, fol. 2r (1692).

²⁰⁴ “Lo rico si se llevaba los ojos de la curiosidad, la belleca de la Imagen ganava la comun devocion, que inporta mucho, segun se descaece nuestra naturaleza en las cosas espirituales que sean las Imagenes deleytables, con que los ojos suelen negociar coracones. La republica tenia en esta Imagen su devocion, i repetianse continuo milagros por los que recibian los beneficios, i eran sus maravillas lo aplaudido de la ciudad, i lo celebrado en el Peru.” Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru: con sucesos egenplares en esta monarquia ...*, 570.

religious landscape that overwhelmed the senses. The city's *Libros de Cabildo* record that as early as 1550, the city council was concerned with the specific details of these events, and issued orders to regulate festive activities that continue to this day.²⁰⁵ Feast day celebrations occurred with a remarkable frequency: according to one estimate, over three hundred *fiestas* were celebrated annually in seventeenth-century Lima.²⁰⁶ The high number is primarily due to the religious calendar, which included annual festivals like Holy Week and Corpus Christi, as well as numerous feasts in honor of the Virgin and Catholicism's panoply of saints. In addition to these designated feast days, the city also celebrated *fiestas* for special occasions, such as the canonization of a saint, the arrival of a new bishop, and the reading of papal bulls, among others.

Lima also came to use religious processions as one of its main defenses and responses against the earthquakes that periodically devastated it.²⁰⁷ When apotropaic measures failed and earthquakes occurred, the city organized a procession of its most sacred images that culminated in the plaza, as an act of repentance and request for mercy. After an earthquake shook Lima on July 9, 1586, the feast of Saint Elizabeth (July 2) was celebrated annually, in commemoration, with a procession comparable to that of Corpus Christi, eventually becoming one of Lima's most defining religious events.²⁰⁸ Lima's extremely famous *Señor de los Milagros* (Lord of the Miracles), a frescoed image of the crucified Christ traditionally believed to have been painted by

²⁰⁵ Lee, Bromley, and Schofield, *Libro de los cabildos de Lima*, 38–39.

²⁰⁶ Rosa Maria Acosta de Arias Schreiber, *Fiestas coloniales urbanas (Lima - Cuzco - Potosi)* (Lima: Otorongo Producciones, 1997), 55–56.

²⁰⁷ The prayers of nuns were also deployed apotropaically against natural disasters. The *Arequipeño* chronicler Ventura Travada presents the sisters of the Convent of Santa Rosa as the defense against the apocalyptic potential of El Misti, the largest of the three volcanoes that surround Arequipa. Ventura Travada y Córdova, *Suelo de Arequipa convertido en cielo* (Arequipa: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1993).

²⁰⁸ From 1587 on, Lima's plaza was decorated for the feast of Saint Elizabeth at levels comparable to Corpus Christi. Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal*, 203.

an Angolan slave, is considered to have been activated in the aftermath of an earthquake in 1655 and an annual commemoration was established.²⁰⁹

Less frequent were secular *fiestas* and processions in honor of royal officials, especially the king and his viceroys. Regal associations meant that secular festivals were, by far, the most elaborate. Despite the Crown's best efforts to curtail overspending, Lima's city council strained the city's budget in preparation for the royal celebrations.²¹⁰ As in the rest of the early modern world, however, the line between the sacred and profane was blurred. In 1644, for example, the king ordered Lima to identify its most "popular" image of the Virgin so the image could be celebrated annually.²¹¹ The archbishop personally believed that the honor should go to the Virgin of the Assumption (fig. 3.15), but reported that the Virgin of Copacabana (fig. 3.1) had attracted the most devotees, and ultimately selected the Virgin of the Rosary (fig. 3.16) in Santo Domingo.²¹² The artificiality of the distinction is emphasized by the expectation that, to varying degrees, ecclesiastic officials, confraternities, and sacred images would be involved in every celebration, and the same was true for secular officials.²¹³

²⁰⁹ The original image was just of the crucified Christ. God the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin, and Mary Magdalene added between 1718 and 1766. Due to its location, the prominent Peruvian historian María Rostworowski has connected the cult to that of the nearby oracle of Pachacamac. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Pachacamac y el señor de los milagros*. According to legend, the man had no artistic training whatsoever, but was so overcome with feelings of intense faith and religious fervor that he was able to produce the masterful image. Further adding to the miraculous quality of the image, the man painted not on canvas with oil, but on an adobe wall that was damp from a nearby irrigation canal. Thus, the image, while made by the hands of a lowly slave, was also a divine creation. Banchero Castellano, *La verdadera historia del Señor de los Milagros*.

²¹⁰ Osorio, "The King in Lima."

²¹¹ AGI, Lima, 302 (June 15, 1645).

²¹² This choice turned out to be a problem for the archbishop. According to the archbishop, in 1644, the Virgin of the Rosary was chosen for the honor and was transferred, in two processions, from its confraternal altar in the Church of Santo Domingo to the Cathedral and back, on the occasion of the celebration. In 1645, however, the Dominicans refused to allow the Virgin to be removed from their church, forcing the archbishop to come to them, which the archbishop did not appreciate.

²¹³ See: Acosta de Arias Schreiber, *Fiestas coloniales urbanas (Lima - Cuzco - Potosi)*.

Processional Order and Insignia

For the mandatory processions like Corpus Christi, confraternities were arranged in a strictly defined order, in which the most prominent sodalities were those in closest proximity to the Host. Following Sevillian conventions, processional order was based primarily on the antiquity of the sodality, though in Lima these rules of precedence necessarily required modification to deal with *casta*.²¹⁴ For each procession, *cofradías* were strictly divided by race: Spanish *cofradías* led the procession, followed by indigenous people, then blacks.²¹⁵ Within each subgroup, the order was determined predominantly by the foundation dates of the individual sodalities, with the oldest confraternities in the more prominent positions.

Despite the straightforwardness of the conventions, frequent inter-confraternal disputes over processional position and the arguments rival sodalities put forth attest to the system's flexibility.²¹⁶ This often worked against black and indigenous confraternities, as in 1630, when the Jesuits displaced the Cercado's oldest indigenous confraternity, dedicated to Santiago, in the procession line, with its *reducción*'s newest *cofradía*, dedicated to Saint Ignatius, the Jesuit Order's founder.²¹⁷ For every such instance, however, there are many more in which confraternities capitalized on colonial expectations to improve their position.

²¹⁴ For example, on June 8, 1550, Lima's city council ordered that its municipal officials must go [process?] closest to the host, because officials "normally go in Spain, in Seville," and that failing to follow the order was punishable by "grave penalties and incarceration." "En este cabildo los dichos señores Justicia e Regimiento cometieron a los señores alcalde y diputados desta cibdad que se ynformen por la horden que an de yr oficios mas çerca al santissimo sacramento e que aquellos se ynformaren que suelen yr en españa en sevilla e que por aquella mysama horden vayan y les conpelan con graves penas e prision a ello como les paresçiere." LCL, Lee et al., eds, 1935, 38-39.

²¹⁵ The order in which confraternities process is clearly outlined in AAL, Cof., Leg. 32-A, Exp. 8 (1639). Appendix 2.

²¹⁶ AAL Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 1 (1574); AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2 (1585); AAL, Cof., Leg. 20, Exp. 1 (1601-1602); AAL, Cof., Leg. 31, Exp. 7 (1617); AAL, Cof., Leg. 39, Exp. 10, (1622-1628); AAL, Cof., Leg. 39, Exp. 12 (1628); AAL, Cof., Leg. 32-A, Exp. 8 (1689).

²¹⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 47, Exp. 5 (1630). The year before, the Jesuits displaced the second-oldest confraternity, that of San Marcelo, with that of Saint Ignatius and it had similarly turned violent. AAL, Cof., Leg. 47, Exp. 4 (1629). Saint Ignatius was canonized in 1622.

Processional position was also influenced by what the confraternity was carrying with them. Sculptures took precedence and confraternities with images borne aloft upon *andas* were positioned after those bearing only crosses or banners (*guiones*, fig. 2.17).²¹⁸ Though seemingly secondary, these insignia of textile and metal could be luxury items in their own right. The black confraternity of the Virgin of the Rosary (Santo Domingo), for example, had two remarkably elaborate *guiones* made in 1628.²¹⁹ The first, a banner, was made of a “fine white fabric,” adorned with silk rope, two large and two small tassels, and fringe. It was embroidered with an image of the Virgin of the Rosary that was embellished with two strings of pearls and placed in the center of a rosary that was studded with sequins. The second was a silver cross, fashioned after the one used by the indigenous Rosary confraternity. The creation of these *guiones* cost the confraternity at least 224 pesos, and involved two separate artists and three merchants.²²⁰

Some sodalities, like the indigenous Candelaria *cofradía* (San Francisco), owned several banners, used for different occasions. In 1676, they had a “rich” banner made of white floral fabric, adorned with tassels of white silk and gold; another white, older banner used in burial processions; a banner of black velvet, embroidered and with tassels; and a banner of purple taffeta, with a crimson taffeta cross in the center.²²¹ *Guiones*, elevated on long poles and visible from afar, served as visual representations immediately associated with specific communities in

²¹⁸ In the Lima synod of 1636, Archbishop F. Arias de Ugarte complained that the financial burden of taking *pendones* out procession (along with *borracheras*) was one of the “excesses” of indigenous confraternities that was jeopardizing their evangelization. [“por los excesos que los dichos indios hacen en sacar pendones a título de las dichas cofradías, y en hacer borracheras, y convites en las dichas cofradías, siendo este vicio en los indios muy general, y fuente y raíz de otros muchos, y gravísimos pecados: y el principal impedimento que hay para su cristiandad, y para el fruto del santo evangelio que se les predica”] in Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, *Catálogo de cofradías del Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima*, 24–25.

²¹⁹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 39, Exp. 14, fol. 16rv (1630-1631).

²²⁰ AAL, Cof., Leg. 39, Exp. 14, fol. 16rv (1630-1631).

²²¹ “Un guion Rico de tela blanca a flores con sus borlas de seda blanca y oro; mas otro guion de tela blanca biejo que sirbe en los entierros de los angelitos; mas otro guion de tersiopelo negro bordado con sus borlas; mas un pendon de tafetan morado con una crus en me dio de tafetan carmesi” AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 9, fols. 17v-18r. (1676).

a manner comparable to devotional images carried in procession. Knowing their value, black and indigenous confraternities would mobilize these items, especially banners, in inter-confraternal disputes, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.²²²

There were also very particular rules about which groups could process specific types of objects and when they could do so. Not only were these requirements constantly changing, they also carried significant consequences if not followed. In 1699, for example, images on *andas* were expected to accompany the main Corpus Christi procession, whereas textile banners were requested for the octave. Confraternities were expected to follow the same rule for the feast of the Visitation - a very important celebration for Lima. The penalty for not participating in these processions, in turn, was excommunication and a fine of 10 pesos for Spaniards, and 6 pesos and 2 days in jail for black and indigenous people.²²³

The Cost of Participation

The plethora of visual elements necessary to “appropriately” decorate for a *fiesta* or procession meant that participation was an expensive endeavor for confraternities, regardless of racial affiliation. The financial hardship was such that some *cofradías* sought to get exemptions from participation in processions. In 1693, for example, the *mulato* confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Santo Domingo requested an exemption from the archdiocese from processing during Holy Week, explaining that they had not been able to participate in any processions for the previous six years because they lacked the means to repair their image’s litter, much less to decorate it, and had other debts on top of that.²²⁴ The wealthy, elite Spanish confraternity of the

²²² This is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

²²³ AAL, Cof., Leg. 27, Exp. 31, fol. 1r (1699)

²²⁴ “se halla tan pobre sumam^{te}...q no tiene Renta alguna ni medios de que poderse balar p^{ra} el gasto de la procession de la semana Sancta dela quaresma que por la mesma Rason a tiempo de seis años q no sale o salido a las procesiones por tener todas las andas quebradas y maltratadas sin haver tenido medios algunos con que poderla aderesar Respecto de los Tiempos presentes q ni aun para pagar fuera de otras deudas y debes fuera de trescientos pesos” AAL, Cof., Leg. 31-A, Exp. 4, fol. 1r (1693).

Santa Veracruz weighed in on the matter, singling out black confraternities as particularly guilty of “trying to skip the timeless custom” before demanding that the archdiocese compel the *mayordomos* of the black and indigenous confraternities to have their sodalities participate in the Holy Thursday procession with their insignias, sculptural groups of the Passion, and wax.²²⁵ But even the Spanish confraternities would, on occasion, seek exemption. The Virgin of the Rosary in Santo Domingo and of the Immaculate Conception in San Francisco, two of Lima’s wealthiest confraternities, had special exemptions from participating in the procession for Saint Elizabeth in 1646.²²⁶ Moreover, in 1699, Diego Muñoz y Rivera, a Spanish Lieutenant General and *mayordomo* of the confraternities of the affiliated confraternities of the Virgin of the Remedios, Santo Ángel del Custodio, and Redención de Cautivos (Merced) contested an ecclesiastical order to participate in the “arduous task” of carrying his sodalities’ images, banners, and scepters in procession. He threatened that if he were not excused from doing so, he would leave the cult, leaving “only the *indios*, *mulatos*, and *negros* to care for the images.”²²⁷ It is apparent from these examples that the requirements for participation in religious and secular festivals in early modern Lima could put considerable pressure on the resources of confraternities of all types and that the rhetoric in the appeals to the diocesan authorities could be couched in racial terms.

We are better served by understanding irregular attendance for processions in terms of the very real financial decisions confraternities had to make. The indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of the Candelaria (San Francisco) decided in 1644 to allocate the majority of its funds toward the procession of its principal *fiesta* and on the processions it held every Sunday during lent. Their 1644 constitutions began with several rules elaborating their involvement in both,

²²⁵ AAL, Cof., Leg. 31-A, Exp. 4, fol. 3rv (1693).

²²⁶ AAL, Cof., Leg. 27, Exp. 31 (1699).

²²⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 27, Exp. 31, fol. 8r (1699).

clearly signaling thoughtful consideration.²²⁸ Just over twenty years later, the *promotor fiscal* (prosecutor) of the Archbishopric found the Candelaria confraternity's involvement insufficient and tried to force the indigenous *cofrades* to participate in the Holy Friday procession that took place in the chapel of the Virgen de la Soledad, connected to the Convent of San Francisco. The confraternity fought back by responding that it had not participated in this procession for over forty years, in no small part because the Spanish and black participants fought with them and treated them like "miserable Indians."²²⁹ They continued, explaining that they could not afford to participate because they barely had enough money to pay for their two chapels, were deeply in debt from the *retablo* they had made for their Virgin (worth 5,000 pesos), and already spent a considerable amount of money on "wax, music, *andas* and adornments for the saints, and the sermon" for their weekly Lenten processions.²³⁰ Ultimately, the Candelaria confraternity's reasoning was deemed acceptable, and the *cofradía* went on to decorate their chapel with three altars.²³¹

In order to offset the high cost of *fiestas*, confraternities sometimes pawned their *bienes*. In 1701, for example, the black Rosario confraternity explicitly requested permission to pawn some of their *bienes*, in addition to collecting donations, so that the *cofradía* could afford to pay for its annual procession.²³² In addition, there are seemingly innumerable instances in which *mayordomos* filed suits against their predecessors for doing the same.²³³ Although it was usually

²²⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 6, Exp. 15 (1644).

²²⁹ "no fue la menor el aberse experimentado muchos disgustos y Riñas Con los morenos y españoles q concurren en dha proseçion pretendiendo todos sujetar y maltratar a dhos mis partes que como miserables yndios" AAL, Cof., Leg. 6A, Exp. 5, fol. 4r (1666).

²³⁰ AAL, Cof., Leg. 61, Exp. 5, fol. 4v (1666).

²³¹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 8 (1670).

²³² AAL, Cof., Leg. 31-A, Exp. 10, fol. 1r (1701).

²³³ See, for example: AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp. 2, fols. 43r-43v, 58r (1596-1597); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 1, fol. 1r (1608-1610); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 5, fol. 5r (1620); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 2r (1643); AAL, Cof., Leg. 20, Exp. 7, fol. 1v (1654); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 24, fols. 2v, 7r-7v (1661); AAL, Cof., Leg. 65, Exp. 24, fol. 2r (1684); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 42 (1692); AAL, Cof., Leg. 31-A, Exp. 10 (1701).

the sodality's decorative *bienes* — especially gold-plated crowns, luxury textiles, banners, and crosses of high value — that were pawned, sacred images were as well, albeit rarely. For instance, in 1676 the Rosario de *indios* confraternity pawned and redeemed multiple images of the Christ Child for 20 pesos.²³⁴

More commonly, however, Limeño confraternities, regardless of wealth or *casta*, rented decorations for *fiestas* and processions. *Cofradías* could rent essentially anything, including *andas*, textiles, rugs, jewelry, clothing, banners, candles, and candlesticks.²³⁵ In one early case, the black confraternity of the Virgin of Aguas Santas rented “some faces” from the painter Juan de Illescas (c.1545-1597) for the *imágenes de vestir* that decorated their Holy Thursday *monumentos* (altars of repose).²³⁶ Churches would sometimes rent items to their confraternities, but more often than not, confraternities turned to each other, sometimes going to the same confraternity year after year for the same item.²³⁷ The economic demand was so high that the

It is worth noting that in some of these cases, it is likely that the previous *mayordomos* had pawned goods for their personal benefit.

²³⁴ AAL, Cof., Leg. 39-A, Exp. 19, fol. 3r (1676).

²³⁵ The *mulato* Rosary confraternity rented *andas* three times for Corpus Christi and twice for October processions in 1607. AAL, Cof., Leg. 39, Exp. 1, fol. 11v. In 1676 the indigenous Santa Cruz confraternity (San Lázaro) rented *andas* on several occasions, spending 20 reales for the feast of Saint Elizabeth, 3 pesos for the feast of Saint Rose of Lima, 6 pesos for the feast and octave of the Virgin of the Rosary. AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 17, fols. 5v-6r (1676). The black *los Ángeles* confraternity (Merced) rented a banner (*estandarte*) for 1 peso and 6 reales, as well as 60 altar candles (*cirios*) for 30 pesos for the Mercedarian Church's celebration of the octave of Corpus Christi in 1642. AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fols. 9v, 45v (1642). See also: AAL, Cof., Leg. 20, Exp. 5, fols. 62v, 66v, 69r (1625-1639); AAL, Cof., Leg. 39, Exp. 14, fols. 15r-15v (1630-1631); AAL, Cof., Leg. 68, Exp. 9, fol. 9v (1666); AAL, Cof., Leg. 39-A, Exp. 10, fols. 9v, 11r-14r, 23v, 30r (1667-1668); AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-A, Exp. 13, fols. 7v, 16v-17v (1673); AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 17, fol. 5v (1676-1677); AAL, Cof., Leg. 54, Exp. 37, fol. 6r (1686).

²³⁶ “a Ju^o de yllescas pintor en el año de 97 por aderesçar el monum^{to} y alquiler de unos rostros p^a el seis patacones tiene c^a de pago” AAL, Cof., Leg. 42, Exp.2, fol. 48v (1597). Juan de Illescas, the younger, was a painter, born to a family of painters, headed by his father, Juan de Illescas, the elder (c.1520-1575). Illescas the younger was born in Córdoba and traveled with his family to Mexico by 1548, to Quito by 1549, and to Peru by 1570. Both father and son were prolific artists in Lima, where they produced paintings as well as polychromed sculptures. Illescas the younger did a lot of work for the Cathedral, including painting the Cathedral's Holy Week *monumento* in 1582 after the carpenters Pedro de Gárnica and Juan Gómez finished assembling it. Rodolfo Pérez Pimentel, “Juan de Illescas El Viejo,” in *Diccionario Biografico Ecuador*, accessed June 21, 2019, <http://www.diccionariobiograficoecuador.com/tomos/tomo9/i2.htm>. Illescas was a *veinticuatro* of the confraternity of the Virgen La Soledad in the Convent of La Merced, and it is possible that the Aguas Santas cofrades knew Illescas because they had seen him around La Merced. AGN, PNXVI, Prot. 145, fols. 132v-136v (5/12/1597).

²³⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 40, Exp. 17, fols. 5v, 6r (1676).

indigenous *cofradía* of the Virgin of Loreto (Santa Ana) was able to make a substantial amount of money by amassing and renting *bienes* to other confraternities and private individuals.²³⁸

Andas

As we saw in the painting of a Holy Week procession in Lima discussed in the opening of this chapter, litters were equally as visible as the confraternity's sacred image during a procession. These large portable platforms were made of wood and ranged widely in terms of form and function, from smaller litters meant to carry a single image to larger ones that could accommodate multi-figure tableaux. The word *andas*, like the objects themselves, can be traced back to Mediterranean antiquity.²³⁹ Romans employed litters, carried by enslaved people, in their displays of wealth and status: elites, especially women, were transported in urban settings on *lecticae*, and eminent men were carried on litters in mock funerals as well as funeral processions.²⁴⁰ During processions held prior to circus races, games, and at the inauguration of magistrates, litters (*fercula*) were used to carry statues of Roman divinities and religious diorama-like scenes.²⁴¹

Though the use of *andas* in colonial Peruvian processions is directly linked to Roman traditions, by way of early modern Iberia, there are many similarities with the use of litters in

²³⁸ See, for example: AAL, Cof., Leg. 30, Exp. 20, fol. 2r (1662).

²³⁹ It is believed to derive from the Latin *amitis*, which referred to the poles of a litter. Nicholas Purcell, *Transport, Wheeled* (Oxford University Press, 2016), <http://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-6531>. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Sebastián de Covarrubias proposed that the term *andas* comes from *andar* (to walk), in reference to the fact that bearers walked while carrying the litter (*los que las llevan van andando*). Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española, etc.* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611), 69r.

²⁴⁰ For more on the use of litters in Antiquity, see: John Bodet, "Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals," *Studies in the History of Art* 56 (1999): 258–81; Thomas McGinn, "Feminae Probrosae and the Litter," *The Classical Journal* 93, no. 3 (1998): 241–50; Peter J. Holliday, "Processional Imagery in Late Etruscan Funerary Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 94, no. 1 (1990): 73–93.

²⁴¹ Brian Madigan, *The Ceremonial Sculptures of the Roman Gods* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), chap. 2. See also: Nathan T. Elkins, "The Procession and Placement of Imperial Cult Images in the Colosseum," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 82 (2014): 73–107.

West African and Andean traditions that could certainly have been noticed by Lima's black and indigenous denizens. Among some Manjak in modern Guinea-Bissau, for example, litters (*djongagu*) are used to carry the bodies of the dead in search for the death's cause, and later take on the abilities of a diviner or oracle.²⁴² This idea of the spiritually imbued litter may have affected the experience of colonial black Limeños in the processional context, perhaps prompting the association of a Catholic sacred image with the body of a dead relative, or possibly influencing the *cofrades'* decorative decisions for their processional *andas*. The Inca, meanwhile, ritually employed litters (*rampa, pitca*) to carry and process *guacas*, such as the mummified body of the Sapa Inca (fig. 2.18), as well as transport the living (fig. 2.19).²⁴³ The litters were often enriched with luxury adornments, such as textiles, gold, feathers, precious stones, and embroidery.²⁴⁴ Given the overlap between the decorations used on *rampa* and those used on *andas*, we might imagine that Andeans saw a continuation of their traditions in their colonial rituals.

Due to the prominence of *andas* in processions, there was a lot of pressure on sodalities to decorate their *andas* as lavishly as they could afford. Decorations varied according to occasion as well as budget, but commonly included candles, figures of angels, plant material, and textiles.²⁴⁵ More elaborate versions were gilded and featured rugs, cornucopias, lavish textiles

²⁴² Joop T. de Jong and Ria Reis, "Kiyang-Yang, a West-African Postwar Idiom of Distress," *Cult Med Psychiatry* 34 (2010): 311; Eric Gable, "The Decolonization of Consciousness: Local Skeptics and the 'Will to Be Modern,' in a West African Village," *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 2 (1995): 247.

²⁴³ See, for example: Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. Roland Carter Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 33, 36, 54, 148, 218; Susan Ramírez, *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 76, 157, 174, 179, 184, 186; MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, 71, 114, 120, 124, 131, 154.

²⁴⁴ On Inca litters, see: Dennis E. Ogburn, "Dynamic Display, Propaganda, and the Reinforcement of Provincial Power in the Inca Empire," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 14, no. 1 (2008): 225–39.

²⁴⁵ For example, the primary *andas* of the indigenous Candelaria confraternity had eight angels attached with large screws (15v). The *andas* for its image of Christ was decorated with four large palms and two pounds of wax for Palm Sunday (25v). The confraternity also rented *andas* for its image of a guardian angel (36r). AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 9 (1676-1680). See also: AAL, Cof., Leg. 31-A, Exp. 14, fol. 2r (1707).

such as silk and velvet, and golden tassels.²⁴⁶ Their large size meant that litters required off-site storage and were often decorated in a secondary location.²⁴⁷ For example, the indigenous Niño Jesús confraternity (San Pablo) decorated their images and *andas* for the procession of the Virgin of Candlemas in the city's fish market, where certain members of the confraternity resided.²⁴⁸

On the one hand, decorating *andas* gave confraternities another space wherein they could perform corporate identity and wealth. On the other hand, the practice also added another significant cost to a *cofradía*'s annual budget, which may account for why some confraternities carried only banners in processions. Some sodalities, like the Rosario de *mulatos* confraternity in 1607, rented litters from other confraternities until they could afford to make one of their own.²⁴⁹ In contrast, the wealthy Spanish confraternities, like Purísima Concepción (San Francisco) and the Virgen de la Piedad (Merced), owned multiple litters. The Piedad sodality, for instance, owned individual *andas* for each of their multiple processional images, of various sizes for corresponding occasions, and others that were processional pieces on their own, including one with a scene of the demonic world and a particularly elaborate *andas* with the Holy Sepulcher, among others.²⁵⁰

Although no *andas* from this period have survived, account books and inventories allow us to take as an example the *andas* of the black confraternity of the Virgen de Los Ángeles

²⁴⁶ See: AAL, Cof., Leg. 2, Exp. 9 (1684-1691); AAL, Cof., Leg. 14, Exp. 22 (1686).

²⁴⁷ In 1688, for example, the Spanish confraternity of the Virgin of la Piedad (Merced) stored the *andas* they used for their Virgin and their *andas* of the holy sepulcher. AAL, Cof., Leg. 14, Exp. 30 (1688).

²⁴⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 54, Exp. 3, fol. 10r (1646). In 1654, the indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of Loreto specified that they had sent their *andas* to the home of an unspecified woman for their decoration (and they paid 2 reales to get them there and another 2 to get them back). AAL, Cof., Leg. 30, Exp. 9, fol. 16v (1654).

²⁴⁹ The Rosario de *mulatos* confraternity rented *andas* from the Confraternity of the Virgin of la Victoria, a black confraternity in the church of San Sebastián on three occasions in 1607 for “fiestas celebrated in their chapel” for a sum of 6 pesos. The same *cuentas* also show a number of donations and payments toward commissioning *andas* of their own. AAL, Cof., Leg. 39, Exp. 1, fols. 11v, 12r, 30r, 34v, 36v (1607). About 60 years later, the black Rosario *cofradía* rented their *andas* from them for Holy Week 3 pesos. AAL, Cof., Leg. 31, Exp. 25, fol. 7v (1668).

²⁵⁰ AAL, Cof., Leg. 14, Exp. 22, fol. 5rv (1686).

(Merced). The Los Ángeles community commissioned a litter in 1640 for Holy Week, noting that they had had none up to that point.²⁵¹ The cost totaled to a mere 40 pesos because a devotee, Doña María Flores, had donated enough wood for the *andas* as well as a bench, likely destined for the confraternal chapel, for other female members. The litter was not gilded but it was varnished and decorated with candles that sat on *arandelas* (candle holders). For Holy Thursday two years later, the sodality added a black baldachin and skirt to the *andas*.²⁵² Notably, they were fashioned from parts of an old, donated brocade bed canopy that they had dyed black; the rest of the cloth was used for altar decorations during Masses of the dead for confraternity members.

In these examples, the extent to which the Los Ángeles sodality used and reused donated materials stands out. And while such actions are undeniably tied to the *cofradía*'s limited wealth, as well as the dynamic repurposing of material goods in colonial Latin American society, they also speak to the lengths to which the confraternity was willing to go in order to participate as fully as possible in festival culture.²⁵³ Even the alterations cost money – dying the bed canopy alone cost 4 pesos – which suggest that the Los Ángeles community prioritized having a litter and decorating it “as best [they] could” over investing the same amount of money into creating a finer banner or scepter.²⁵⁴ Given that within the processional order confraternities with images were given priority over those that only carried other *bienes*, the Aguas Santas *cofradía*'s decision makes sense. However, it is worth highlighting that their decision also demonstrates the Afro-confraternity's awareness of the social purchase of visual culture.

²⁵¹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 26v (1640-41).

²⁵² AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 45r (1641-43).

²⁵³ On the second-hand market in Italy, see: Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

²⁵⁴ Regarding the baldachin, the *cuentas* note that Doña Ana de la Cueva “del sse acomodo lo mejor q pudo” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 45r (1641-43).

For a comparative perspective, in contemporary Cusco, carrying the *andas* for one of the fifteen saints and Virgins in the Corpus Christi procession is a great honor, and every parish has its own specific rules for who is eligible.²⁵⁵ Only unmarried men of marriageable age can carry Saint Anthony Abad, while only married men may carry Saint Joseph.²⁵⁶ Those carrying Saint Sebastian must walk barefoot, an allusion to the saint's nickname, "el calatito."²⁵⁷ Only men of a lower socioeconomic status can carry "La Linda," the Cathedral's Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.²⁵⁸ Carrying a processional litter is difficult physical labor, as the decorated *andas* and saint are very heavy and the procession takes a full day to complete. Even so, Cusqueños willingly endure the labor out of religious devotion, for social standing within their community, and because doing so gives them the chance to define the Virgin's "behavior" in the ritual performance — determining when she dances, when she greets the *mayordomos*, and when she blesses the city.²⁵⁹ Similarly, in Lima today, only devotees are permitted to carry the litters of sacred images, some of whom had to "donate" to the brotherhood for this privilege.

In sharp and surprising contrast, early colonial Limeño *cofrades* very often paid others, usually black men, to carry their *andas* during processions.²⁶⁰ Indigenous confraternities, too,

²⁵⁵ Max Harris, "Saint Sebastian and the Blue-Eyed Blacks: Corpus Christi in Cusco, Peru," *TDR* 47, no. 1 (2003): 149–75.

²⁵⁶ "El Corpus Christi. Cusco Peru," *Cofrades*, accessed June 21, 2019, <http://cofrades.sevilla.abc.es/profiles/blogs/el-corpus-christi-cusco-peru>.

²⁵⁷ "Conozca las curiosidades e historias de fiesta del Corpus Christi de Cusco: La tradicional festividad religiosa," *Andina*, accessed June 21, 2019, <https://andina.pe/agencia/noticia-conozca-las-curiosidades-e-historias-fiesta-del-corpus-christi-cusco-559285.aspx>.

²⁵⁸ Silvia Sonia Bonet Gutiérrez and Donaldo Humberto Pinedo Macedro, "El sistema de cargos o mayordomías en la festividad de la Virgen Inmaculada Concepción del Cusco" (Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cusco, 2014), 85.

²⁵⁹ The saints and Virgins are treated like people, each with his or her own personality, preferences, and quirks. *Ibid.* See also: Richard C. Trexler, "Being and Non-Being: Parameters of the Miraculous in the Traditional Religious Image," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum*, 33 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 15–27.

²⁶⁰ See, for example: AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fols. 26r, 27r (1640-1641) AAL, Cof., Leg. 39-A, Exp. 2, fol. 20r-20v (1654); AAL, Cof., Leg. 39-A, Exp. 10, fols. 11r-11v (1667-1668); AAL, Cof., Leg. 31-A, Exp. 14, fol. 1v (1707).

like that of La Candelaria (San Francisco) consistently hired black men to carry their images during processions. Around 1677, for example, their *mayordomo* paid 3 reales to “rent” (*alquilar*) six black men to carry the *andas* for their image of San Salvador on Palm Sunday and paid 12 reales directly to six others to carry their Virgin on three occasions during their *fiesta principal*.²⁶¹ Notably, the litter bearers for Inca elites prior to the Spanish invasion were supplied through *mit’a* (tribute labor), such that the visual served as an assertion of Inca political dominance.²⁶² Thus, it is possible that indigenous confraternities hired blacks as assertions of their social positions within the colonial world, or that their choice of doing so was understood in this way.

The actions of the black Aguas Santas confraternity (Merced) in 1642 suggest that other factors, related to the social valence of physical labor, may have been relevant. That year, the Aguas Santas *cofrades* paid 2 pesos to four black men who were not members of the confraternity to carry their devotional image for Holy Friday “because the brothers did not want to carry it.” The confraternity did, however, spend an extra 2 pesos to rent tunics for these hired porters.²⁶³ The confraternity spent another 12 pesos during Corpus Christi the same year on hiring outside labor, with a seemingly frustrated *mayordomo* noting that “the brothers could have avoided the cost if they had [agreed] to carry the *andas*.”²⁶⁴

A nineteenth-century scroll (figs. 2.20-21, c. 1830) by the Afroperuvian artist Pancho Fierro (1807-1879), signals the endurance of the practice of hiring black Limeños to carry

²⁶¹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 6-A, Exp. 9, fols. 26r, 35r (1676-80).

²⁶² The Andamarca Lucanas in particular were designated as litter-bearers because the Inca valued them for their steady pacing. Dennis E. Ogburn, “Becoming Saraguro: Ethnogenesis in the Context of Inca and Spanish Colonialism,” *Ethnohistory* 55, no. 2 (2008): 294.

²⁶³ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 45r (1642). They also paid 4 black men to carry their Virgin for Corpus Christi in 1641 “because none of the brothers wanted to carry” the image and *andas*. AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 27r (1641).

²⁶⁴ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10-B, Exp. 17, fol. 46r (1642).

processional images. Painted in watercolor, this immense scroll, now preserved at the Hispanic Society of America, depicts the procession for Maundy Thursday, exiting the Augustinian church. Fierro did not clearly articulate the support system for some of the litters, with the *andas* staging a scene of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane (fig. 2.21), appearing as if it were floating above the crowd. When the watercolorist did portray the litter bearers, however, they were all Afro-descendants, such as the two men supporting the scene of the Raising of the Cross (fig. 2.22). Looking closely at the same litter, we can also see a number of dark, bare feet peeking out from under the purple textile. This demonstrates how litter skirts, at least in Lima, were used to conceal the many Afro-descendants supporting the immense weight of the images.

It is not clear when, exactly, carrying the litter ceased to be perceived in negative terms and came to be seen as an honor in Lima. Regardless, the colonial and early Republican examples offer an interesting contrast with the restricted access to sacred images in Spain in the same period, or, prior to the Spanish invasion, to the Sapa Inca.²⁶⁵ Whereas proximity to a sacred image during a procession has long been assumed to be an indicator of prestige, it would appear that in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lima, black and indigenous sodalities may have been more concerned with the performative dimension of their sacred sculptures, and the practical considerations related to their presentation, than with the material sculptures themselves during these moments of public performance. This points to the importance of confraternal images as sites of self-presentation for confraternities during municipal events. It also reinforces an argument that runs through this chapter, that within early modern Latin American festive culture,

²⁶⁵ The early chroniclers wrote that most inhabitants of Tawantinsuyu were never given the opportunity to see the Sapa Inca. Miguel Cabello de Balboa (1535-1608) asserted that it was a crime to look at the ruler. Pedro Cieza de León (1520-1544) recorded that if bystanders caught a glimpse of the Sapa Inca when the cloth of his litter was lifted, let out a great cry. Juan de Betanzos (1510-1576) described the elaborate rituals required by the few who were granted an audience. Ramírez, *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes*, 76.

these sacred images were mobilized within extraordinarily elaborated multi-media, inter-visual, and sensorial matrices, where relative degrees of magnificence produced by indigenous and black confraternities had a significant social valence and value.

V. Conclusion

With limited control over the advocacy of their cult and a real necessity to adhere to colonial norms of adornment, we might imagine that Lima's black and indigenous *cofrades* were drawn less to a static sculpture and more to the dynamic nature of dressing and presenting it. By putting the image in a continuous state of transformation, the act of dressing allowed subaltern confraternities to define and redefine sacred images at their discretion. Thus, although the sacred image was the primary object in the confraternity's "collection," it was the applied adornment that most empowered black and indigenous *cofrades* in asserting themselves within the religious landscape of Lima.

This calls to mind Richard Trexler's assertion regarding miraculous images: "I wish to stress how mistaken we are when we describe these images as if they were in a museum, stripped to the bone and divested of all the ornaments of clothing and honors with which they were earlier dressed. In fact, they had clearly owed their so-called miraculosity to these features, heaped on them by rustic legends, power-seeking rulers and other devotees."²⁶⁶ From this perspective, the barrier to the art historical study of Lima's black and indigenous confraternities may not reside in the loss of their sacred images, but in the total lack of extant examples of the clothing, jewelry, wigs, and capes through which they were defined.

To be clear, I am by no means arguing that the confraternal images of Lima were unimportant for their colonial devotees or historians. As we shall see in the case studies in the

²⁶⁶ Trexler, "Being and Non-Being: Parameters of the Miraculous in the Traditional Religious Image," 18.

following chapters, indigenous and black *cofrades* engaged with their sacred images in numerous ways and mobilized them to their benefit. Rather, I contend that, just as overlooking black and indigenous confraternities problematically limits our view of religious life in colonial Lima, discussing the *cofradías*' devotional sculptures separately from the adornments placed on them and the festive settings in which they were processed prevents us from fully understanding these sacred images.

In a sense, then, having neither the images nor the clothing of colonial Lima's black and indigenous *cofrades* is a boon. By considering the confraternity as a "collection," we are able to reassign agency to the devotees and see that sacred images were not just linked to numinous visions and miracles, and that the objects used to adorn them were not merely attempts to engage with colonial ideas of wealth. It would appear that the ritual act of dressing images provided black and indigenous people with the ability to activate their statues of painted wood and to "ennoble" them through attentive adornment in valued confraternal possessions. This ritual fashioning (pun intended) of the sculptures was simultaneously a self-defining act of representation for the subaltern sodalities.

Archival evidence thus presents an image of Lima quite distinct from that represented in painting with which this chapter began. While the elite Soledad *cofradía* that commissioned this painting would have us believe that life in the City of Kings and its festival culture were dictated by Spanish customs, Lima was, in reality, defined by its multiracial population. While the colonial Spanish may have held power over the subaltern majority, we have seen how, even within the confines of colonial norms, black and indigenous people defined Lima's religious landscape through their participation in devotion and festivals, and through the display of their confraternal art and *bienes* in their decorated chapels and in public procession.

CHAPTER THREE

The Virgin of Copacabana and Chachapoya Devotion in Early Colonial Lima

I. Introduction

During Mass one Saturday morning in late December 1591, the face of the Virgin of Copacabana (fig. 3.1), a sculpture in a chapel located in Lima's Cercado neighborhood, was seen by those in attendance suddenly to look "resplendent" and to produce liquid.²⁶⁷ The priest celebrating Mass, Juan de Pineda, dismissed it as an illusion caused by the oil in the paint used to polychrome the sculpture and completed the service as usual.²⁶⁸ Moved with religious fervor, however, four Spanish women present at the Mass confronted the priest as he was changing out of his vestments to proclaim the miracle. "She is sweating like a person!" they cried.²⁶⁹ Suddenly convinced that the Lord was acting through the sculpture, Pineda climbed upon the altar and started to wipe away the "sweat" with cotton, rosaries, and ribbons, feverishly torn from the clothes of the witnesses, and whatever else was handed to him. The more the priest wiped the sculpture's face, the more liquid came forth, saturating the items handed to him. Meanwhile, the Virgin's indigenous devotees ran through Lima's streets, spreading the news: "Our Lady of

²⁶⁷ The account of this miracle and the events that followed are found in a manuscript documenting the authentication of the cult, prepared by Antonio Valcázar, an ecclesiastical judge, and approved by the Archbishop of Lima, Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, now in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Patronato Real (PR), 248, Ramo (R.) 24, *Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo: milagros Virgen Copacabana: Lima*. This account was published in "Documentos para la historia, Nuestra Señora de Copacabana," *El amigo del clero: Órgano oficial de la Arquidiócesis de Lima*, n.d., 9–17, 34–44, 53–57, 83–90, 101–7, 126–36, 154–60, 176–83, 198–205, 222–31, 244–54, 270–77, 298–307. My citations are from the original document.

²⁶⁸ "y atribuyendolo este [estig]º al olio de la pintura paso adelante con el sacrificio de la misa hasta averla acabado" AGI, PR, 248, R.24, fol.2r. All translations are mine unless otherwise specified.

²⁶⁹ "estaba sudando como una persona" AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 11v.

Copacabana was crying and water was running down her chest, and the baby Jesus was doing the same!”²⁷⁰ As word of the miracle disseminated, people from throughout the city made their way to the indigenous neighborhood to witness the sweating, filling the church with not only the residents of the Cercado, but Spaniards and Afro-descendants from the city as well.²⁷¹ An ecclesiastical judge was dispatched to investigate the events, and after a painter had testified that the liquid could not have come from the paint or varnish (as both of these were “very dry”), the Archbishop of Lima, Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo (r. 1581-1606), was summoned.²⁷² The proceedings to authenticate the miracle began that same day, and Mogrovejo announced the miracle’s authenticity the following month.

The miracle, recorded in detail by an ecclesiastic official, brought the Virgin of Copacabana into Lima’s spotlight. Beginning our discussion with the miracle, however, would be to start in the middle of the story of the Virgin and the indigenous confraternity (*cofradía de indios*), a religious community that actively commissioned, defined, and re-interpolated its devotional image of the Virgin as the community’s location (map 3.1) and needs shifted.²⁷³ The sculpture had been commissioned by a multiethnic indigenous community that included a prominent group from the faraway region of Chachapoyas soon after they founded a

²⁷⁰ “nuestra señora de copacabana estava llorando y que le corria el agua por el pecho y que lo mismo hazia el nyño Jesus” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 53v.

²⁷¹ Pineda testifies that “por aver llegado mucho concur de gente, yndios, y españoles que vinieron a la vez de la ciudad” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 2v. Although black Africans are not specified in the general account, among the witnesses who testified about the miracle, three identified as “negro” or “negra” and two who identify as “mulata.” Reducing Lima’s population to these three categories is problematic, but I use them here purposefully when describing the language and categories found in the colonial documents.

²⁷² “sabe este tº como oficial que es del dho oficio que entiende y sabe muy bien que la dha agua no puede ser de la madera ni del barniz que la dha ymagen tiene y que entiende que ha sido milagro que nuestra señora ha sido huida de hazer por que no pudo resultar de la dha madera ny barniz la dha agua por ser el barniz muy seco” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 4v-5r.

²⁷³ *Cofradía de indios* was the indigenous counterpart to the *cofradía de españoles* (Spanish confraternity), composed of *peninsulares* and *criollos*, and the *cofradía de morenos* (black confraternity), composed of Afro-descendants, enslaved and free, *mulatos*, and other racial mixings involving other people from the African continent. For more on these terms and the race-based confraternities in colonial Lima, see: Chapter 2.

confraternity in 1588. These original confraternity members lived in the mixed-race Lima neighborhood of San Lázaro, on the right bank of the Rímac River, and titled their patroness the Virgin of the Repose (*Virgen del Reposo*). An ongoing struggle for jurisdiction over the indigenous people of San Lázaro led the *cofrades* to be violently relocated in 1590 to the Cercado, Lima's indigenous *reducción* just outside the city. The confraternity was founded anew in a small chapel there just a year before the image was said to have performed the prodigious sweating miracle. The Reposo advocacy was replaced at this time by the confraternity, in favor of the title of the Virgin of Copacabana. A year later, in 1592, the Virgin was relocated yet again, this time to a site in no less than Lima's Cathedral, where the archbishop and his family would serve as her principal patrons. Lima's Virgin of Copacabana and her confraternity enjoyed a sumptuous chapel there until 1604, when an earthquake and the subsequent remodeling of the Cathedral uprooted them. This fueled the confraternity's efforts to move the image and their community back to San Lázaro, where they finally returned in 1633. Over the course of 45 years, the Virgin of Copacabana and her indigenous confraternity did not just adapt to, but flourished within, three of Lima's most disparate environments. In this chapter, I examine the Virgin of Copacabana as a popular religious image activated by her indigenous *cofrades* through their engagement with the sculpture, both as an object of worship and as a culturally potent tool in the construction and retention of communal identity in the dynamic urban landscape of Lima.

Over the course of the chapter I maintain a close focus on the confraternal community, as I present aspects of the sculpture's history and formal qualities. I offer a multifaceted analysis to shine light upon the lives and strategies of this specific indigenous community in an effort to illustrate the diversity within the sodality and the city. The first section explores the colonial context in Lima as the indigenous *cofrades* operated within the viceregal capital under the

vigilant watch of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the Inquisition. This is a story about concealing, defining, and maintaining Andean identities, and therefore calls for a consideration of traditions originating in the Iberian Peninsula. I do this purposefully, not to perpetuate colonial hierarchies that demand or prioritize discussion of European tradition, but rather in order to examine how indigenous sodality members adapted to the religious and cultural conventions and protocols of the City of Kings, such as a preference for a visually “European” image, and actively manipulated these imposed conventions and protocols to promote their community. Historians such as Karen Graubart have demonstrated how indigenous *cabildos* (councils) translated indigenous notions of justice into Spanish legal concepts in order to promote their positions to outsiders.²⁷⁴ Applying this interpretive approach to the study of confraternal art allows us to see how devotional objects functioned as integral tools in the religious and social strategies of indigenous people in the early modern capital.

That the *cofrades* managed to navigate life in the colonial city does not, however, indicate that they discarded their identities prior to coming to Lima or fell into the catch-all *indio* category imposed upon them by Spanish officials, as some historians have posited.²⁷⁵ Amongst the founding members of the Copacabana confraternity, for example, was a group who referred to themselves as Chachapoya, an indigenous ethnic group from the cloud forests far to the north of Lima (map 3.2). Though the sodality was multiethnic, the Chachapoya were the only members to identify themselves explicitly with an ethnic-like label throughout the confraternity’s history. As such, in addition to European perspectives, this chapter also considers Chachapoya and Chacha-Inca funerary practices, architecture, and material culture in order to suggest the various

²⁷⁴ Karen B. Graubart, “Competing Spanish and Indian Jurisdictions in Early Colonial Lima,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, ed. Kenneth R. Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

²⁷⁵ Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima*; Lowry, “Forging an Indian Nation.”

“invisible” ways that Chachapoya *cofrades* could have maintained their ethnic identity and certain of their cultural practices in their interactions with the Virgin.²⁷⁶ Focusing on this subgroup permits an exploration of the evolving concept of indigenous identity within an urban context and an emphasis on the diversity of experiences brought by immigrants to the viceregal capital.

In applying these analytical frameworks, I do not mean to assert that “European” and “indigenous” modes of looking were mutually exclusive, approaching asymptotically. Historian Sabine MacCormack identified the highland cult of the Virgin of Copacabana, from which Lima’s Virgin takes its title, as a site of “reciprocal impingement,” wherein Spanish and Andean traditions of understanding space and time mutually influenced each other and drew devotees into a new collectivity through their shared devotion to the Virgin.²⁷⁷ Though the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana in Lima developed in a different environment, similar processes involving modes of looking and ritual practice certainly also occurred in the capital. When appropriate, I will highlight evidence of moments of “impingement” that flourished under Lima’s Virgin of Copacabana.

Historians, using primarily the documentation in the official authentication of the miracle, have addressed certain aspects of the cult of Lima’s Virgin of Copacabana, particularly in relation to the miracle of 1591 and the role Archbishop Mogrovejo played in authorizing the cult.²⁷⁸ Art historians, however, have not taken much interest in the statue and related cult. The

²⁷⁶ On “invisible hybridity,” see: Dean and Leibsohn, “Hybridity and Its Discontents.”

²⁷⁷ Sabine MacCormack, “Human and Divine Love in a Pastoral Setting: The Histories of Copacabana on Lake Titicaca,” *Representations* 112, no. 1 (2010): 56. For an in-depth discussion of the conflicting views regarding sacredness and religiosity of indigenous Andeans and European Christians, see: Kenneth R. Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*.

²⁷⁸ The following sources address the sculpture as part of larger studies: Amino, “Un milagro de la Virgen y la libertad de los indios en Lima”; Tetsuya Amino, “Las lágrimas de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana: un milagro de la imagen de María y los indios en diáspora de Lima en 1591,” *Tōkyō daigaku kyōyō gakka kiyō* 22 (1989): 35–65;

study of the visual art of colonial Lima has heavily emphasized identifying stylistic connections with European art, neglecting objects of local manufacture that do not overtly manifest what is perceived to be a European stylistic mode.²⁷⁹ Ironically, as we shall see, Lima's Virgin of Copacabana was, in fact, deep in conversation with European-made visual art in both Lima and Spain. Lacking an extended study of the image, art historians have been satisfied with simply linking the sculpture to the highly venerated cult image in modern-day Bolivia of the same name, produced by Francisco Tito Yupanqui, an artist of Inca descent, in 1583.²⁸⁰ The result is a fragmented view of the statue and related cult based largely on stylistic discussions that rarely considers the sculpture as the devotional object of its indigenous confraternity.

This chapter provides the first comprehensive examination of Lima's sculpture of the Virgin of Copacabana. Utilizing unpublished confraternal documents in Lima's archives and a close visual analysis of the Virgin and Chachapoya visual culture, I untangle the origins of the Limeño sculpture and interrogate its relationship with the highland Copacabana cult and its local community of Chachapoya immigrants. I demonstrate that this Virgin was an important figure in the religious landscape of early colonial Lima as well as a devotional object that held unique

Julia Costilla, "El milagro en la construcción del culto a Nuestra Señora de Copacabana (virreinato del Perú, 1582-1651)," *Estudios atacameños* 39 (2010): 35–56; Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Las lágrimas de María: simbolismo, devoción popular y la Virgen de Copacabana," in *Espacios de exclusión, espacios de poder: el cercado de Lima colonial* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2006), 177–206; Vega Jácome, "Cofradías limeñas"; Gabriela Ramos, "Nuestra Señora de Copacabana: ¿Devoción india o intermediaria cultural?," in *Passeurs, mediadores culturales y agentes de la primera globalización en el mundo ibérico, siglos XVI-XIX*, ed. Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, Carmen Salazar-Soler, and Solange Alberro (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005), 163–76; Lévano Medina, "El mundo imaginado: La cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana y la religiosidad andina manifestada"; Lowry, "Forging an Indian Nation," 46–51; Carlos García Irigoyen, *Santo Toribio: obra escrita con motivo del tercer centenario de la muerte del santo arzobispo de Lima*, vol. 1 (Lima: Imprenta y librería de San Pedro, 1906), 29–35; Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios mas celebrados*, 182–88.

²⁷⁹ See, for example: Bernales Ballesteros, "La escultura en Lima."

²⁸⁰ There has been no substantial art historical study of the Virgin of Copacabana in Lima. The sculpture is discussed briefly in the following: Rafael Ramos Sosa, "Nuevas noticias del escultor Bernardo Pérez de Robles en Perú," *Laboratorio de arte*, no. 16 (2003): 453; Bernales Ballesteros, "La escultura en Lima," 37–38; Margarita M. Estella, "Sobre escultura Española en América y Filipinas y algunos otros temas," in *Relaciones artísticas entre España y América*, ed. Enrique Arias Anglés (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), 75; Enrique Marco Dorta, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Salvat, 1950), 329–30.

meaning for a particular group of indigenous people living in Lima.

In order to elucidate how the Limeño sculpture of the Virgin of Copacabana was mobilized and activated by its confraternal community, this chapter follows the *cofradía* and the sculpture as they were moved throughout the city. The first section examines the sculpture and confraternity during their initial period in the multiracial *barrio* (neighborhood) of San Lázaro, from 1588 until 1590. I begin with a brief introduction of the history of the neighborhood and the sodality, focusing especially on its Chachapoya members. Then, I discuss the commissioning of the statue and its first title, that of the Virgin of the Repose, before identifying the Marian typologies in Lima and Seville from which the sculpture drew. I argue that the foundation of the confraternity was the community's effort to establish themselves in the *barrio* of San Lázaro after the Toledan reforms.

The second section follows the confraternity and sculpture to the Cercado neighborhood in 1590, at which point both were reestablished under the title of the Virgin of Copacabana. I assert that the new title, by design, appealed to the indigenous residents of the *reducción* and preserved Chachapoya history by referencing the Inca invasion of their homeland. I also discuss the 1591 miracle in detail and end the section by arguing that Chachapoya *cofrades* experienced the “living” image in relation to their ancestor mummy bundles.

The third section follows the image as it is relocated to the Cathedral, where it stayed from 1592 until 1633. I examine a contemporary statue painting of the Virgin of Copacabana in order to get at the ways the confraternity adorned the image during a precarious time in their history, following the death of Archbishop Mogrovejo. Finally, as an epilogue, I briefly touch on the fates of the image and confraternity upon their return to San Lázaro, as this history reveals the lasting influence of the Virgin on Lima's religious topography. As we shall see, the Virgin of

Copacabana was neither merely an Andean nor a European Virgin. It was a locally produced image of the Virgin Mary, strategically materialized and deployed by an indigenous community to operate in the fluid religious context of early colonial Lima.

II. The Confraternity in San Lázaro

Founding *cofrades* in San Lázaro

If you visit the Church of Our Lady of Copacabana in Lima today, the Franciscan nuns who act as guardians will proudly tell you their *Virgencita* is a “true copy” of the Bolivian Virgin of Copacabana that was sent to Lima’s *indios* by the Emperor Charles V himself.²⁸¹ The story is not a recent fabrication: in Francisco Antonio Montalvo’s *El Sol Del Nuevo Mundo* (1683) the sculpture is described as a “*copia verdadera* of the [sculpture] in the Province of Humasuyo, in the highest part of Peru.”²⁸² The confraternity dedicated to the Virgin also adopted this legend, as seen in promotional prints for the Indigenous Confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana dating to the late-eighteenth century (fig. 3.2).²⁸³ Factually inaccurate, the story has shaped our understanding of the sculpture and its indigenous *cofrades*, and continues to impede deeper study. Examining the actual circumstances – geographical, social, religious, and artistic – of the sculpture’s production, reveals the critical decisions the indigenous *cofrades* made in order to establish and shape their cult, and the special role the Chachapoya members played.

Contrary to the popular legend, Lima’s Virgin of Copacabana was not initially made as a copy of Yupanqui’s highland image, nor was it made in Spain, although the artists responsible

²⁸¹ Sor María Consuelo de Jesús, in conversation, August 26, 2015.

²⁸² “copia verdadera de la que en la Provincia de Humasuyo, en lo mas alto del Peru...se venera” Francisco Antonio de Montalvo, *El sol del nuevo mundo: ideado y compuesto en las esclarecidas operaciones del bienaventurado Toribio Arzobispo de Lima* (Roma: Imprenta de A. Bernavo, 1683), 323.

²⁸³ “siendo embiada de Carlos V. à los Naturales de esta Ciudad” *La milagrosa ymagen de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana...*, (broadside), Lima, en la calle de Juan de Medina, 1778.

were themselves from the Iberian Peninsula.²⁸⁴ Archival documents show that the sculpture was created 30 years after the death of Charles V (1500-1558) and was commissioned by and paid for at the expense of the indigenous *cofrades* devoted to her.²⁸⁵ That the *cofradía* commissioned the sculpture, in particular, is a crucial clarification, as it indicates that indigenous people played a central role in the conception of their devotional object. We must consider the possibility that they, as patrons, had some influence over its design, perhaps specifying certain aspects of the sculpture, such as the type of wood, the polychroming, the composition, and its dimensions. Thus, in order to understand the motivations behind some of the decisions they made we must first examine the community that commissioned it and the environment in which the group was initially established.

The founding *cofrades* resided in San Lázaro, a neighborhood located just across the Rímac River from Lima proper that extended from the banks of the river to the base of Cerro San Cristóbal.²⁸⁶ The *barrio* was first known as “San Pedro de los Camaroneros” (Saint Peter of the Shrimpers) in reference to its indigenous residents, who had been granted exclusive permission to catch fish and shrimp on the riverbanks, in the river, and in its lagoons in 1538 by order of the city council.²⁸⁷ The same river that provided employment and sustenance, however, also tended to flood in the rainy season, washing away wooden bridges and effectively cutting off the

²⁸⁴ It is unknown from where exactly in the Iberian Peninsula they emigrated, though it is very likely they are from or spent significant time in Seville, as discussed later in the chapter.

²⁸⁵ In his testimony, the sculptor of the image specified, “que puede aver tres años antes mas que menos q hizo y labro la dha ymagen en esta ciudad”. AGI, PR, 248, fol.60v. AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 2, fol. 146r (1605-1606).

²⁸⁶ This more or less corresponds to the modern district of Lima known as Rímac. For more on San Lázaro, see: Kathleen M. Kole de Peralta, “Mal Olor and Colonial Latin American History: Smellscapes in Lima, Peru, 1535–1614,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (2019): 1–30; Domingo Ángulo, *Notas y monografías para la historia del barrio de San Lázaro de la ciudad de Lima: origen y principios del barrio de San Lázaro* (Lima: E.R. Villarán, 1917); Carlos García Irigoyen, *La fundación de Lima* (Lima: Imprenta El País, 1898). For an extended discussion of the establishment of the neighborhood of San Pedro de los Camaroneros, see: Vergara Ormeño, “The Copacabana Indigenous Elite,” chap. 1.

²⁸⁷ Ángulo, *Notas y monografías para la historia del barrio de San Lázaro*, 273.

neighborhood from the city proper. In order to address the issue, Lima's city council allowed San Lázaro's indigenous inhabitants to shore up the riverbanks and clean the city's streets in exchange for the right to remain there.²⁸⁸ A high rate of mortality and an influx of immigrants leaves us with scant information on the size of the indigenous population across the Rímac. According to Jesuit records, approximately three hundred indigenous tributaries and their families lived there in 1590, while a slightly later account claims there were seven hundred.²⁸⁹

The first stable bridge joining the two banks of the river was built upon the arrival of Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza (r. 1556-1561) around 1557. The bridge of limestone and bricks allowed the neighborhood to become a significant, if peripheral, neighborhood of Lima.²⁹⁰ This increased accessibility led the *barrio* to be chosen as the site for the new slaughterhouse and stockyards as well as the leprosy hospital so the afflicted could be treated safely away from the city proper.²⁹¹ The hospital and church of Saint Lazarus were completed in 1563, the impact of which was such that the neighborhood came to be known as San Lázaro rather than San Pedro de los Camaroneros.²⁹² However, the presence of the church and available jobs attracted a relatively

²⁸⁸ The elite of the city were more concerned with its access to cheap labor, however, and so indigenous people were allowed to carry out public works for the city and live in San Lázaro. Lowry, "Forging an Indian Nation," 54.

²⁸⁹ An indigenous tributary was a man between the ages of 18 and 50. Lowry, 40. Alonso de Huerta, the *capellán* of the Copacabana confraternity, claimed that 700 indigenous people were living in San Lázaro at the time they were moved to the Cercado, of which 400 fled. Huerta's account was given in support of Archbishop Mogrovejo's beatification, however, so the priest's estimates may be inflated in order to emphasize the failure of the forced relocation to the Cercado.

²⁹⁰ The bridge was prone to damage whenever the level of the river rose and so was replaced in 1610 by a stone bridge completed in 1610. Domingo Ángulo, *La metropolitana de la ciudad de los reyes, 1535-1825* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1935), 95.

²⁹¹ Leprosy was known as the "illness of Saint Lazarus," so hospitals specifically built to deal with this illness were named after the New Testament saint whom Christ resurrected from the dead. Since leprosy was not indigenous to the Americas and was an illness that mostly plagued the poor, it is most likely that the epidemic broke out among the black African population in the city. On the history of leprosy in Peru and the Americas, see: Rosario del Pilar Antuñaño Colpáher, "Salubridad y epidemias en la ciudad de Lima, 1535-1590" (BA thesis, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2014); José Terencio de las Aguas, "Consideraciones histórico-epidemiológicas de la lepra en América," *Medicina cutánea Ibero-latino-americana* 34, no. 4 (2006): 179-94; Hugo Pesce, "La epidemiología de la lepra en el Perú," *Anales de la facultad de medicina* 44, no. 1 (1961): 1-104; Hugo Pesce, "Lepra en el Perú precolombino," *Anales de la facultad de medicina* 38, no. 1 (1955): 48-64.

²⁹² On the Hospital of San Lázaro, see: José Neyra Ramírez, "El hospital de San Lázaro de Lima," *Folia dermatológica peruana* 17, no. 3 (2006): 149-50. Construction of the hospital coincided with the onset of the

large population of poor Spaniards and free Afro-descendants from Lima proper. The church and hospital of San Lázaro became a meeting point for a divided neighborhood in which indigenous people inhabited the area between the right bank of the Rímac and the church, and the new residents settled north and around the church.²⁹³

Although established only three years after Lima proper and just across the Rímac, San Lázaro remained discrete from South America's Spanish capital early on in its history.

Anthropologist Lyn Lowry has argued that the developments that came with the stable bridge and the later designation of the *barrio* in 1624 as the location for quarantined Afro-descendants suspected of exposure to smallpox especially demarcated San Lázaro as filled with pollutants. In this way, the very functions that made San Lázaro vital to Lima's continuing existence also served to marginalize it.²⁹⁴ Although the neighborhood was within short walking distance of the city center, there appears to have been a significant psychological barrier separating the two districts. Consequently, San Lázaro was able to develop as a multiracial neighborhood that enjoyed some autonomy from the colonial power.

The imagined distance from Lima posed a logistical and spiritual problem – clergy were unwilling and sometimes unable to cross the river – with implications for San Lázaro's indigenous residents.²⁹⁵ Until the church of San Lázaro was built, they did not have a designated

epidemic, but the building was largely funded by the a Spaniard named Antonio Sánchez, who in 1568 donated land, gardens, and *solares* toward the hospital, as an act of penance for having called his father in Spain a “lazarino.” Neyra Ramírez, 149. At the time of its founding, the hospital had only two halls. In 1606, the hospital was renovated to have three halls, one for men, one for women, and one for black Africans. By then, the epidemic had spread such that the sick outnumbered the hospital beds and the hospital's *mayordomos* were afraid leprosy would spread throughout the viceroyalty. Pesce, “La epidemiología de la lepra en el Perú,” 11.

²⁹³ Vergara Ormeño, “The Copacabana Indigenous Elite,” chap 1.

²⁹⁴ Lowry, 84.

²⁹⁵ In a report requested by Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo on the *barrio*, its inhabitants unanimously declared “que cuando los Curas de esta santa Iglesia han der ir por algunos cuerpos, los hacen subir más arriba de la puente, porque no quieren bajar por ellos diciendo que hace sol y que es muy lejos.” [that when the priests of this Holy Church [Cathedral] had to go for a few bodies, they made them climb above the bridge, because they do not want to descend to their level, saying that it is sunny and it is too far], Juan Jiménez (18 de Marzo 1601) in “Expediente seguido el año de 1601 por el Licenciado Miguel de Salinas, Provisor y Vicario General del Arzobispado, ante el

priest or other official means of evangelization or religious care, rendering their residence there in violation of viceregal regulations surrounding indigenous settlement. Historian Teresa Vergara has demonstrated that in order to justify their continued presence in the neighborhood, indigenous people in San Lázaro had to make visible displays of piety. In 1555, for example, they constructed a chapel (*ermita*) near where San Lázaro would later be built dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary of the Bridge.²⁹⁶ When Toribio de Mogrovejo rose to the position of archbishop in 1579 he also assumed the role of spiritual protector for San Lázaro's indigenous residents living outside of the Cercado, officially transferring the teaching of religious doctrine across the Rímac from the small shrine to the church of San Lázaro.²⁹⁷ In order to quell any lingering doubts of idolatry, the *barrio*'s indigenous residents were also invited to join existing confraternities and to found their own.²⁹⁸

It was in this diverse neighborhood and under these fraught circumstances that, on November 1, 1588, “Indian shrimpers and Chachapoyanos and those that reside in the corral of San Lázaro, by their own will and in order to aid their souls,” founded their confraternity.²⁹⁹ In this first line of their founding document, the *cofrades* clearly identified the three groups that comprised the confraternity: the “shrimpers,” the Chachapoya, and an undifferentiated other group.³⁰⁰ According to Vergara, the sodality's shrimpers were the same responsible for the 1538

notario Luis de Morales, con el fin de comprobar la necesidad de establecer una vice-parroquia en el barrio de San Lázaro” in Ángulo, *Notas y monografías para la historia del barrio de San Lázaro*, 273.

²⁹⁶ The shrine, now known as the Capillita del Puente, still stands in Lima's modern Rímac district and is touted as “the smallest chapel in the world.” Vergara Ormeño, “The Copacabana Indigenous Elite,” chap. 1.

²⁹⁷ Vergara Ormeño, chap. 1.

²⁹⁸ Vergara Ormeño, chap. 1.

²⁹⁹ “Los yndios camaroneros y chachapoyanos y los q residen en el corral de San Lazaro de nra voluntad y para ayuda de nras animas y mayor devocion con nuestra señora queremos fundar y fundamos una cofradía” AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 12r (1588).

³⁰⁰ A document dating to 1620 states that the *cofrades* were those “que llamban los camaroneros y chachapoyanos que vivian en el asiento de san laçaro,” indicating that these two moieties were part of the confraternity's official history. AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, fol. 417v (1620).

petition to the colonial government for fishing rights.³⁰¹ They, the people living in the area at the time of the Spanish invasion of Lima, belonged to the curacazgo of Amancaes, part of the province of Ychsma, which was subject to the religious sanctuary of the oracle at Pachacamac located in the nearby Lurín River Valley (map 3.3).³⁰² A list of the members on the reverse of the founding document includes a woman named Francisca de Pachacama, whose surname potentially confirms the presence of Ychsma people in the confraternity.³⁰³

The same list contains several surnames – Chaucha, Chacha, Chenche, Cami, Bagcha, Chici, Chicam, Llanco – that have roots in the language spoken in the Chachapoyas region that was lost in the early colonial period, and indicate that a number of the *cofrades* were likely immigrants to Lima from Chachapoyas.³⁰⁴ San Lázaro’s location and the economic stability established by the native indigenous group attracted immigrants coming to Lima from as far north as Cajamarca, Chachapoyas, and Quito.³⁰⁵ That the Chachapoya explicitly identified themselves in the founding document is of special interest. It is possible that the Chachapoya were named because they enjoyed some privileges from the Spanish, having supported them against the Inca, as will be discussed below. It also indicates the term held some kind of stable meaning, and that they had a sense of themselves as a distinct collectivity within the confraternal community.

The last group seems to be a catchall for all other indigenous people in the confraternity,

³⁰¹ Vergara Ormeño, “The Copacabana Indigenous Elite,” chap 1.

³⁰² Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima*, 6. On the Ychsma, see: Chapter 1, note 30.

³⁰³ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 11r (1588). The attached list of the founding members shows that the group was relatively small, with only forty-five members, and composed mostly of married couples. The oracle was previously known as the Lord of Ychsma, but its name was changed to Pachacamac by Tupa Inca Yupanqui around 1470. The Inca incorporated the oracle into its religious pantheon and promoted it as the coastal counterpart to theophanies in Lake Titicaca. Though now discussed as an ethnic group, the people now called the Ychsma are actually better understood as a religious federation organized united under Pachacamac.

³⁰⁴ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 11r (1588). Jorge Zevallos Quiñones, “Onomástica prehispánica de Chachapoyas,” *Revista lenguaje y ciencias* 35 (1966): 3–18.

³⁰⁵ Vergara Ormeño, “The Copacabana Indigenous Elite,” chap 1.

about which we know little. The bridge built in 1557 brought with it even more indigenous immigrants, including a number of Moche and Chimú origin.³⁰⁶ The majority of the members' surnames appear to be derived from Quechua, which potentially suggests that there were *cofrades* of highland origin, as Quechua was the language spoken by the Inca elite in Cusco.³⁰⁷ Names like Juan Pizarro and Marcos Criollo signal the presence of so-called *indios ladinos*, indigenous people who spoke Spanish and dressed according to Spanish norms.³⁰⁸ It may be that this portion of the confraternity got lumped together because no other groups had sufficient numbers to be named. Whatever the reason, the result is a collapsing of the identities of the indigenous immigrants that composed this portion of the confraternity. However, it also serves to highlight the importance of the Chachapoyanos' identification, both in terms of how they conceived of their community and as an opportunity to speak specifically about the experiences of a group of indigenous people who came to Lima.

The Chachapoya

The use of the term "Chachapoyanos" throughout the Lima confraternity's documents suggests that the group retained an identity related to their ethnic background that likely influenced their lived experiences – social, religious, or otherwise – in the early colonial city. In order to understand how this group within the confraternity may have activated the Virgin from a Chachapoya perspective, we must first step back and examine their history, culture, and art

³⁰⁶ Domingo Ángulo, *La metropolitana de la ciudad de los reyes, 1535-1825*, vol. 2 (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1935), 105.

³⁰⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 11r (1588). This may not be a reliable ethnic marker, however, both because Quechua was disseminated by the Inca as part of their expansion throughout the Andes and because it was a very diverse language, in the sense that it was spoken by a number of distinct ethnic groups and in that there were a wide variety of dialects. Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550-1650* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 5. During the colonial period the Spanish also spread Quechua as part of their evangelizing efforts. Moreover, Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino has argued that it was the Quechua of the central coast that the Inca adopted and ultimately disseminated. The Quechua-derived surnames, then, may just as easily suggest that those *cofrades* were native to the central coast. Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, "Tras las huellas del aimara cuzqueño," *Revista andina* 17, no. 1 (1999): 151–52.

³⁰⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 11r (1588).

before they arrived in Lima. “Chachapoya” refers to the Andean societies that inhabited the mountain range between the Marañón and Huallaga rivers as early as 800 CE.³⁰⁹ There is some disagreement about the concept of an ethnic identity in the region. Archaeologists Warren Church and Adriana von Hagen argue, based on material culture, that a regional identity emerged in the region around 1000 CE that coalesced into an ethnic category known as Chachapoya for administrative purposes under the Inca, as a consequence of their invasion in 1470.³¹⁰ Some ethnohistorians, such as Waldemar Espinoza, however, have argued that the region was actually composed of a number of ethnic groups that formed alliances in response to military threats like the Inca.³¹¹ More recently, however, Anna Guengerich has contended that the ephemeral alliance model lacks archaeological evidence and, following Kenneth Nystrom and Marla Toyne, that this popular understanding of the Chachapoya was derived from Spanish chroniclers biased by Inca ideological narratives that cast them as a warrior culture linked to the Amazon.³¹² The behavior of the Copacabana *cofrades* in Lima does not align with the enduring colonial myth of the

³⁰⁹ Warren Church and Adriana von Hagen, “Chachapoyas: Cultural Development at an Andean Cloud Forest Crossroads,” in *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, ed. Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell (New York: Springer, 2008), 904. For a recent, thorough overview of Chachapoyas, see: Warren Church and Anna Guengerich, “La (re)construcción de Chachapoyas a través de la historia e historiografía,” *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 23 (2018): 5–38.

³¹⁰ Church and von Hagen, “Chachapoyas: Cultural Development at an Andean Cloud Forest Crossroads,” 904. The term “Chachapoya” is not what they would have called themselves as the Chachapoya spoke their own language. The name is thought to derive from the Quechua words *sacha* (tree) and *phuyu* (cloud). Adriana von Hagen, “Chachapoya Iconography and Society at Laguna de Los Cóndores Peru,” in *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, ed. Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell (Boston: Springer, 2002), 137.

³¹¹ Some of the more well-known ethnic subgroups identified in the region are the Chillao, Chilcho, Chacha, and Paella. For a longer list, see: Jorge Zevallos Quiñones, “El área geográfico-cultural de la prehistoria de Chachapoyas: Una nueva postulación,” *Gaceta arqueológica andina* 24 (1995): 13–23. Ethnohistorians who have argued for this model are: Klaus Koschmeider, “Asentamientos chachapoyas en el norte de la provincial de Luya, departamento de Amazonas,” *Arqueología y sociedad* 28 (2015): 71–114; Peter Lerche, *Los Chachapoya y los símbolos de su historia* (Lima: Ediciones y Servicios Gráficos César Gayoso, 1995); Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, “Los señoríos étnicos de Chachapoyas y la alianza hispano-chacha,” *Revista histórica* 30 (1967): 224–332.

³¹² Anna Guengerich, “Settlement Organization and Architecture in Late Intermediate Period Chachapoyas, Northeastern Peru,” *Latin American Antiquity* 26, no. 3 (2015): 365; Kenneth Nystrom and J. Marla Toyne, “Place of Strong Men: Skeletal Trauma among the Chachapoya and the (Re)Construction of Social Identity,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Bioarchaeology of Human Conflict*, ed. Christopher Knusel and Martin Smith (New York: Routledge, 2015), 371–88.

bellicose Chachapoya people.

Located in the cloud forest juncture of the northeastern Peruvian Andes and the upper Amazon basin (map 3.4), the Chachapoya inhabited a difficult environment described in the early colonial period as “very rugged and wet land, all year it does nothing but rain, and for some reason the Indians build their houses on the summits and heights.”³¹³ At the same time, they were well poised to access a wide range of natural resources, resulting in incursions from outside forces as well as interchange. Ceramics found in early archaeological sites such as Manachaqui and Gran Pajatén, for example, provide evidence that the Chachapoya were mediating Andean-Amazonian exchange.³¹⁴ Looking at the visual similarities in their stone carving traditions and the presence of specific figures in common—splayed human figures, felines, and feline-human hybrid creatures with fanged teeth, shown in profile—Church and von Hagen have proposed significant cultural contact between the Chachapoya and the much earlier Recuay culture (c.200-600 CE), which flourished on the highlands and were related to the coastal Moche.³¹⁵ Textiles (fig. 3.3) from the Chacha-Inca site of Laguna de los Cóndores, in their iconography and technical attributes, such as tunic assembly methods and tapestry weaving techniques, provide evidence of influence from the Wari (c.600-1200 CE), which flourished in the south-central Andes and the coastal area of modern Peru.³¹⁶ A feathered headdresses of cane framework and parrot feathers found at the same site similarly attest to the influence of Amazonian societies.³¹⁷ We might imagine that occupying a physical and cultural crossroads in Chachapoyas equipped those who emigrated to thrive in the multiethnic, multiracial environment of early colonial Lima.

³¹³ von Hagen, “Chachapoya Iconography and Society at Laguna de Los Cóndores Peru,” 137.

³¹⁴ Church and von Hagen, “Chachapoyas: Cultural Development at an Andean Cloud Forest Crossroads,” 911.

³¹⁵ Church and von Hagen, 911.

³¹⁶ Church and von Hagen, 913.

³¹⁷ von Hagen (2002), 151.

A period of population growth, settlement nucleation, and artistic efflorescence in the Late Intermediate Period saw the development of “classic” Chachapoya culture.³¹⁸ Although the Chachapoya *cofrades* had no opportunity to recreate their architectural tradition in Lima, it merits a brief discussion, as Inge Schjellerup and others have identified the proliferation of shared architectural methods and symbolism as a manifestation of Chachapoya ethnic identity.³¹⁹ Their circular stone houses with pointed straw roofs (fig. 3.4) were located primarily on mountaintops, peaks, and ridges, and appear to follow the landscape in their settlement patterns.³²⁰ Chachapoya settlements primarily consisted of freestanding buildings, most of which were houses for single families (fig. 3.5). Ritual and communal structures were present, but were, notably, comparable in scale to the houses and were set apart by distinctive additions.³²¹ These additions frequently were stone mosaic friezes, usually geometric but sometimes also figurative, as in the case of Gran Pajatén (fig. 3.6).³²² These designs may offer some insight into Chachapoya religious and cultural beliefs. Federico Kauffmann Doig has speculated that the zigzag motifs (fig. 3.7) represent lightning, rain, rivers, and ravines, and that shapes resembling wave crests are a symbol for a “deity” that reigned over atmospheric conditions.³²³ These symbols, then, might allude to the preeminence of water and especially rain, reflective of the region’s uniquely wet climate. The zigzag has also been interpreted as representing snakes and condors, which the chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega identified as a sacred animal and the primary

³¹⁸ Church and von Hagen, “Chachapoyas: Cultural Development at an Andean Cloud Forest Crossroads,” 913.

³¹⁹ Church and von Hagen, 920.

³²⁰ For a deeper discussion of Chachapoya settlement patterns, see: Guengerich, “Settlement Organization and Architecture in Late Intermediate Period Chachapoyas, Northeastern Peru.”

³²¹ Guengerich, 371.

³²² The anthropomorphic and avian friezes at Gran Pajatén are limited to the Abiseo region in far southern Chachapoyas. For more on Gran Pajatén, see: Duccio Bonavia, *Las ruinas del Abiseo: Informe presentado al Museo nacional de antropología y arqueología de Lima* (Lima: Universidad Peruana de Ciencias y Tecnología, 1968).

³²³ Federico Kauffmann Doig, “Motivos simbólicos Chachapoyas,” in *Los Chachapoyas*, ed. Federico Kauffmann Doig (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2013), 326.

deity of the Chachapoya.³²⁴ The rhombus, another common motif that has come to be representative for the Chachapoyas region, has been understood as evidence of their veneration of big cats like the jaguar and can also be found in their ceramic tradition.³²⁵

These interpretations, however enticing as explanations for religious life of the Chachapoya, must be approached with caution. Anthropologists like Frank Salomon have argued Andeans did not worship deities at all, and that the European concept of “gods” has been inappropriately projected on very different indigenous concepts of sacred essence.³²⁶ Similarly, Carolyn Dean has questioned the transposition of Western ideas about “art” into the Andean context.³²⁷ She demonstrated that the visual traditions of the Andes were largely conceptual, establishing presence not through likeness, but rather through material metonymy, which relies on the material rather than perceived similitude.³²⁸ While we might not understand the meanings behind these motifs, they were indisputably prevalent throughout Chachapoya art and architecture. And, the absence of this visual lexicon in the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana is somewhat surprising in light of its ready incorporation into the Catholic architecture of the Chachapoyas region, like the zigzag embellishments on the church of La Jalca Grande (c.1538, fig. 3.8). As we shall see, this disparity speaks to the visual differences between the colonial experiences lived in Chachapoyas and in Lima.

The Chachapoya also had a distinctive material and performative tradition for their cult of the dead, with considerable variation. They produced anthropomorphized sarcophagi for

³²⁴ Arturo Ruiz Estrada, “La cerámica Kuélap,” in *Los Chachapoyas*, ed. Federico Kauffmann Doig (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2013), 300.

³²⁵ Ruiz Estrada argues the rhombus originated in Leymebamba or Luya, the northern part of the Chachapoya region, from the Pomacocha ethnic subgroup specifically. Ruiz Estrada, 300.

³²⁶ Frank Salomon, *At the Mountains’ Altar: Anthropology of Religion in an Andean Community* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

³²⁷ Carolyn Dean, “The Trouble With (The Term) Art,” *Art Journal* 65, no. 2 (2006): 24–33.

³²⁸ Carolyn Dean, “Metonymy in Inca Art,” in *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and Other Objects*, ed. Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 105–20.

individual bodies in the north, built large mausolea (*chullpas*) for multiple burials in the south (fig. 3.9), and placed their dead in natural caverns.³²⁹ Sarcophagi, such as the *purun machu* tombs at Karajía (fig. 3.10), are always found in groups that suggest communities of ancestors.³³⁰ In their study of La Petaca's natural burial cave and two large *chullpas*, Lori Epstein and Marla Toyne confirm that community was an important part of Chachapoya social identity, and was maintained and strengthened by their mortuary rituals.³³¹ Although such structures were more often than not in inaccessible, yet visible, locations, their placement allowed the dead to dynamically participate in the lives of their Chachapoya descendants across the physical landscape.³³² Since many of these burial structures remain in situ, it is likely that these would have been particularly ingrained in the visual imagination of the Copacabana *cofrades* in Lima.

Mummy bundles provide another important source of information about the Chachapoya. Although the Chachapoya had a diverse range of processes for preserving the dead, bodies were usually situated in a compact seated position, wrapped in a combination of vegetal fiber cords and woven textiles, and sometimes contained small ritual items like coca bags or ceramics.³³³ Adriana von Hagen's and Sonia Guillén's extensive research on the mummies found at the Chacha-Inca site of Laguna de los Cóndores found a large cache of bundles, wrapped with cotton cloaks, reflecting influences from neighboring traditions, some embroidered with typical

³²⁹ Lori Epstein and J. Marla Toyne, "When Space Is Limited: A Spatial Exploration of Pre-Hispanic Chachapoya Mortuary and Ritual Microlandscape," in *Theoretical Approaches to Analysis and Interpretation of Commingled Human Remains*, ed. Anna J. Osterholtz (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 98.

³³⁰ For more on Chachapoya sarcophagi and mausolea, see: Ángela Brachetti-Tschohl, "Los sarcófagos y los mausoleos preincas en Chachapoyas," *Anales del Museo de América* 21 (2013): 42–66.

³³¹ ³³¹ Epstein and Toyne, "When Space Is Limited," 121.

³³² Epstein and Toyne, 104. Ethnohistorical research shows that Andeans believed ancestors had power, both positive and negative, they could exert in the physical world. Epstein and Toyne, 102.

³³³ See: Sonia E. Guillén, "Artificial Mummies from the Andes," *Collegium Antropologicum*, 141-157, 28, no. 2 (2004): 141–57. Sonia E. Guillén, "Artificial Mummies from the Andes," *Collegium Antropologicum*, 141-157, 28, no. 2 (2004): 141–57.

Chachapoya frieze designs, and a few with embroidered faces (fig. 3.11).³³⁴ They also found evidence of mummies that had been rewrapped, indicating repeated and extended tactile interaction between the living and the dead.³³⁵

Practices of ancestor worship were powerful throughout the Andes, causing mummies to be targeted by Christian extirpators of idolatry.³³⁶ Obviously, in the colonial world and especially in Lima, indigenous people could not safely continue their traditional funerary practices. In response, they adapted and modified their rituals. The colonial confraternal context is particularly significant in this regard, since funeral arrangements were traditionally one of the main responsibilities of a sodality. Thus, the burial practices and related devotions of the confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana would have been one of the critical performative occasions for the Chachapoya *cofrades* to recall their cultural heritage.

The Inca invaded the Chachapoyas region around 1470, as part of Topa Inca's expansionary campaign. The Chachapoya fought back, gaining them the reputation of being

³³⁴ Guillén, 153.

³³⁵ Epstein and Toyne, "When Space Is Limited," 103. On the extirpation of idolatry in the Andes, see: Pablo Joseph de Arriaga and L. Clark Keating, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2015); Celia L. Cussen, "The Search for Idols and Saints in Colonial Peru: Linking Extirpation and Beatification," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 3 (2005): 417–48; Pierre Duviols, *Procesos y visitas de idolatrias: Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Lima: Instituto Frances de Estudios Andinos, 2003); Thomas B.F. Cummins, "To Serve Man: Pre-Columbian Art, Western Discourses of Idolatry, and Cannibalism," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42, no. 1 (2002): 109–30; Iris Gareis, "Repression and Cultural Change: The 'Extirpation of Idolatry' in Colonial Peru," in *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions Between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*, ed. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999), 230–54; Thomas B.F. Cummins, "El Lenguaje del arte colonial: Imagen, ekfrasis, y idolatría," in *Encuentro internacional de peruanistas estado de los estudios histórico-sociales sobre el Perú a fines del siglo XX* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1998), 23–45; Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*; Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Juan Carlos García Cabrera, ed., *Ofensas a dios, pleitos e injurias: causas de idolatrias y hechicerías. Cajatambo siglos XVII-XIX* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1994); Gabriela Ramos and Henrique Urbano, eds., *Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrias, siglos XVI-XVIII: Charcas, Chile, México, Perú* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1993); Ana Sánchez, *Amancebados, hechiceros y rebeldes (Chancay, siglo XVII)*, vol. 11 (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1991).

³³⁶ The Spanish believed mummies to be vessels through which the devil spoke with Andeans and many were consequently burned, as Gonzalo Pizarro did with the mummy of the Inca Viracocha. MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, 91.

fierce warriors “determined to die before giving the advantage to their enemies,” but were ultimately incorporated into Tawantinsuyu after much bloodshed on both sides.³³⁷ On account of Chachapoya resistance and their subsequent uprisings, the Inca responded harshly, enacting significant changes purposefully aimed at disrupting the region and reorganizing it for Inca administrative convenience. A central aspect of this campaign was the implementation of *mitma*, a policy of forced resettlement. As much as half of the Chachapoya population was dispersed throughout the Inca territories, including Lake Titicaca, the Mantaro Valley east of Lima, the Lucumayu Valley northwest of the Inca capital in Cusco, and to Cusco itself, where Chachapoya people served as palace guards along with Cañari rebels who were being similarly punished.³³⁸ The Inca repopulated the region with loyal Inca settlers and *mitmaqkuna*, including a group from Huamachuco of the northern coastal region, and another of Wanka people from the Mantaro Valley, brought to produce ceramics.³³⁹

Having only recently suffered defeat and relocation, the Chachapoya infamously sided

³³⁷ “Oída la respuesta se empezó la guerra cruel de ambas partes, con muchas muertes y heridas. Los Incas iban determinados a no volver atrás. Los Chachas (que también admite este nombre aquella nación) estaban resueltos de morir antes que dar la ventaja a sus enemigos; por esta obstinación de ambas partes hubo mucha mortandad en aquella conquista y también los Chachas, viendo que el Imperio de los Incas se acercaba a su provincia...se habían percibido de algunos años atrás para defenderse, y habían hecho muchas fortalezas en sitios muy fuertes, como hoy se muestran, que todavía viven las reliquias; y habían cerrado muchos pasos estrechos que hay, demás de la aspereza que aquella tierra tiene en sí, que es tan dificultosa de andar que por algunos caminos se desguindan los indios ocho y diez estados de alto; porque no hay otros pasos para pasar adelante.” Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, vol. 1 (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1985), 154.

³³⁸ Church and von Hagen, “Chachapoyas: Cultural Development at an Andean Cloud Forest Crossroads,” 916. On the Chachapoya *mitmaqkuna*, see also: Espinoza Soriano, “Los señoríos étnicos de Chachapoyas y la alianza hispano-chacha”; Lisa Rankin, “And Such Was the Custom of the Inca: The Imperial Mitmaq Policy of the Inca” (PhD Diss., Trent University, 1995).

³³⁹ The descendants of the relocated Wanka make up the modern community of Huancas, north of the city of Chachapoyas, and continues to produce pottery. Ana María Lorandi and Lorena Rodríguez, “Yanas y mitimaes: Alteraciones incaicas al mapa étnico andino,” in *Los Andes cincuenta años después (1953-2003): homenaje a John Murra*, ed. Ana María Lorandi, Carmen Salazar-Soler, and Nathan Wachtel (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003), 9; Church and von Hagen, “Chachapoyas: Cultural Development at an Andean Cloud Forest Crossroads,” 916.

with the Spanish in their campaign against the Inca.³⁴⁰ The Chachapoya, along with the Cañari, who had similarly rebelled, came to be considered by the Spanish as “friendly Indians” (*indios amigos*), serving as guards for Spanish magistrates, and enjoying a number of privileges in the colonial world.³⁴¹ They were designated noble, were exempt from tribute or corvée labor, claimed lands, and could not be granted in *encomienda*, to name but a few.³⁴² In early colonial Lima, they were especially valued for their loyalty. For example, as historian José Carlos de la Puente Luna has shown, almost all of the interpreters-general of the Audiencia of Lima in the sixteenth century came from Chachapoyas, beginning with Juan de Alvarado (appointed 1555).³⁴³ The Chachapoya in the sixteenth century, and their descendants in perpetuity, lived extraordinary colonial lives and the Chachapoya *cofrades* in San Lázaro were no exception.

The role the Chachapoya played in the Spanish invasion and the special rights they earned, however, also led to an antagonistic relationship with Inca people well into the colonial period. Art historian Carolyn Dean has uncovered evidence of ethnic conflict between the Inca and their former guards, the Chachapoya and Cañari, visualized in the late-seventeenth century (c.1674-1680) in the final canvas of the renowned Corpus Christi paintings from Cusco (fig.

³⁴⁰ In his account of the conquest of the Chachapoya Juan de Alvarado noted that not all of the local lords sided with the Spanish, remaining loyal to the Inca governor of the area. de la Puente Luna, “The Many Tongues of the King: Indigenous Language Interpreters and the Making of the Spanish Empire,” n. 10.

³⁴¹ The Chachapoya and Cañari were forced to serve as guards to Inca governors throughout the empire and in Cusco. Though two distinct ethnic groups, the Chachapoya and Cañari were conflated in the colonial period. In the 1613 census of the indigenous population of Lima shows that the term *cañar* came to be understood as its own *casta* category that included people from Chachapoyas, Quito, Cusco, Cuenca, and Huamanga, lands native to Chachapoya and Cañari people. de la Puente Luna, 147.

³⁴² de la Puente Luna, 146. See also: Inge Schjellerup, *Incas y españoles en la conquista de los chachapoya* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005), 126–29; Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 186–92; Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, “Los chachapoyas y cañares de Chiara (Huamanga), aliados de España,” in *Historia: problema y promesa: Homenaje a Jorge Basadre*, ed. Francisco Miró Quesada Cantuarias, Franklin Pease G.Y., and David Sobrevilla (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1978), 231–53; Espinoza Soriano, “Los señoríos étnicos de Chachapoyas y la alianza hispano-chacha.”

³⁴³ de la Puente Luna, “The Many Tongues of the King: Indigenous Language Interpreters and the Making of the Spanish Empire,” 146.

3.12).³⁴⁴ She argues that the panel was sponsored by the Cañari and Chachapoya residents of the Santa Ana parish who comprised the Spanish magistrate's elite guard. They had themselves depicted wearing Spanish clothing, some even wearing the Cañari insignia of the silver moon, and sharing the center stage with the blessed sacrament. In so doing, the anti-Inca rebels reinforced their ethnic identities and pointedly aligned themselves with the Spanish, in reference to their historical alliance. Whereas the Inca in Cusco might have preferred to forget the conflict, the Cañari and Chachapoya benefited from the visual assertion of their version of the past.³⁴⁵

That this was occurring more than a century after the invasion speaks to the importance of indigenous ethnic identities in the colonial world as well as the enduring memory of the Andean world prior to the invasion. In late-sixteenth century Lima, barely a century after the Inca invaded Chachapoya land and fifty years after the arrival of the Spanish invaders, these conflicts were fresh – within living memory for some – and were almost certainly playing out throughout the city and in the dynamics of the Copacabana confraternity.

The Commission of the Statue and the Artists

In 1588, in the church of San Lázaro, this group of “shrimpers and Chachapoyanos and those that reside in the corral of San Lázaro” founded their confraternity, devoted to the Virgin of the Repose. As noted above, the title given to the statue was initially not the Virgin of the Copacabana.³⁴⁶ At the time the confraternity was founded, news of the miraculous Virgin on Lake Titicaca had already been circulating for years. Andeans had been making their way to Lima from throughout the viceroyalty for years, and the same networks that allowed indigenous

³⁴⁴ On the Corpus Christi paintings, see: Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.

³⁴⁵ Dean, 197.

³⁴⁶ “Los yndios camaroneros y chachapoyanos y los q residen en el corral de San Lazaro de nra voluntad y para ayuda de nras animas y mayor devocion con nuestra señora queremos fundar y fundamos una cofradía” AAL, Cof., Leg.72, Exp.4, fol. 12r. Though the sculpture did not change advocacy until 1590, I will refer to the image as the Virgin of Copacabana since this is how the sculpture is most commonly known and for the sake of consistency.

immigrants to maintain ties to their communities could have brought the advocacy to the capital.³⁴⁷ The story of the Virgin of Copacabana was also transmitted through institutional religious channels since the Augustinians spread the devotion as part of the continuous effort to convert indigenous people. Indeed, converts from Lake Titicaca also took it upon themselves to proselytize on behalf of the highland Virgin.³⁴⁸ The question arises – if the community knew of the advocacy in 1588, why did they not choose it initially? As we shall see, this was the first decision of many designed to project peninsular Iberian Christianity and solidify their presence in San Lázaro.

Lacking a surviving contract, we no longer know exactly when the *cofrades* commissioned the sculpture, but documents generated during the sodality's time in the Cathedral confirm that the image was commissioned and paid for by the confraternity.³⁴⁹ As the primary devotional object that would come to represent the community in public spaces, the sculpted Virgin was an important vehicle through which to convey the appropriateness of their devotion. The choice of prominent Spanish artists reflects the *cofrades'* aesthetic interests for their Virgin and the financial resources or sponsorship that they had for the undertaking. Furthermore, the relationship that the confraternity maintained with the painter of the sculpture bears witness to the intimate involvement of the Chachapoya members in the process of creating their devotional image.

It was the Spanish sculptor Diego Rodríguez de Celada (c.1531–1604) who carved

³⁴⁷ Vergara Ormeño, “Growing Up Indian: Migration, Labor, and Life in Lima (1570–1640).”

³⁴⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 1, Exp. 12, 1634. Juan Bautista, a Copacabana native, was tried for witchcraft after being captured in the town of Huamantanga. After the Virgin had miraculously healed him, he became very devoted to the Virgin and began to travel with a replica of the image, asking for donations on her behalf. Huamantanga welcomed him with *chicha* and dances, which upset the local priest, who turned in Juan Bautista to the *Visitador de Idolatría*.

³⁴⁹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fols. 83r-114v (1605).

Lima's Virgin of Copacabana.³⁵⁰ While little documentation survives of other works that Rodríguez produced in the City of Kings, archival records demonstrate that he was an itinerant artist who spent substantial periods of his professional career in Lima, with intermittent travel to other parts of the viceroyalty, including Quito, Cusco, Arequipa, and Sucre.³⁵¹ This itinerant experience had an impact on Rodríguez's art, and ultimately informed his creation of the miraculous Virgin in Lima. The work of the similarly peripatetic Italian artist Bernardo Bitti stands out as particularly influential for Rodríguez, as can be seen in an image of Saint Sebastian that the Spaniard produced for the Jesuit Church of La Compañía in Arequipa (1590, fig. 3.13).³⁵² It is worth noting briefly that Rodríguez was in Sucre in 1583, around the same time that Yupanqui, the indigenous artist responsible for the original Virgin of Copacabana, is said to have completed the highland image.³⁵³ It is possible, then, that the two artists met at some point, and Rodríguez was most likely familiar with the famous cult statue around the time of its creation, making it that much more curious that the *cofrades* did not choose the Copacabana

³⁵⁰ AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 60v. Rubén Vargas Ugarte was the first to identify the sculptor, but names him simply as "Diego Rodríguez" since that is how he is named in the miracle documents. I identified his second surname based on documents the sculptor generated that remain at the General Archive of the Nation in Lima (AGN) and a confraternal document at the AAL. At the AGN, see: PN XVI, Prot. 97, fols. 75v-76v (05/08/1594); PN XVI, Prot. 26, fols. 300r-301r (19/07/1597); PN XVI, Prot. 15, fols. 2674r-2674v (16/09/1597). At the AAL, see: Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 2, fols. 167r-169r (1605-1606). It is not currently known where exactly within the Iberian Peninsula the artist originated.

³⁵¹ Based on his commissions, we know Rodríguez traveled to: Quito (1571), Cusco (1580), Sucre (1583), Lima (1588, 1594). The dates and locations of Bitti's travels are: Lima (1575-1582), Cusco (1583-1584), Juli (1584-1585), La Paz (1585), Juli (1585-1591), Lima (1592), Cusco (1592-1595), Arequipa (1596-1600), Sucre (1598-1599), Potosí (1599), Sucre (1599), Lima (1600-1601?), Juli (1602-1605), Arequipa (1605), Huamanga (1605-1610?), Lima (1610). de Mesa and Gisbert (1974), 24-114. On Rodríguez in Quito, see: Gabrielle Palmer, "The Religious Polychromed Wood Sculpture of Colonial Quito: Its Origins and Sources" (PhD Diss., University of New Mexico, 1973), 52-53. On Rodríguez in Bolivia, see: José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Escultura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, 1972), 41-42, 262-64. On Rodríguez in Arequipa, see: Luis Enrique Tord, "La escultura virreinal en Arequipa," in *Escultura en el Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1991), 282.

³⁵² Estabridis Cárdenas dates the sculpture to 1590 and attributes it to Rodríguez based on the chisel marks. Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, "La 'mamacha' candelaria en el arte colonial," *Sequillo* 4-5 (1993): 75. Tord dates the sculpture to the last third of the sixteenth century, attributes the sculpture to Rodríguez, and lauds it as an "important exemplar of mannerist sculpture." Tord, "La escultura virreinal en Arequipa," 282.

³⁵³ On February 28, 1583 Rodríguez was commissioned by the *comendador* of the Church of La Merced in Sucre, to produce a *retablo*. de Mesa and Gisbert, *Escultura virreinal en Bolivia*, 41.

advocation in 1588.

The commission responsible for verifying the miracle summoned the sculptor in early January 1592 for testimony, just a week after the sweating miracle had occurred.³⁵⁴ At that time, Rodríguez claimed that the sculpture was made from “cedar from Nicaragua.”³⁵⁵ Cedar wood was commonly requested for sculpted *retablos* in sixteenth-century Lima, especially for central figures.³⁵⁶ The imported wood not only adds a viceregal geographical reference point to the sculpture’s culturally plural creation, but also demonstrates the confraternity’s wealth, as it was extremely expensive. In light of the considerable economic privileges the Chachapoya enjoyed, it seems likely that the financial contribution that made Rodríguez and the cedar a possibility came in large part from the Chachapoya members of the confraternity.

The Spanish painter Cristóbal de Ortega (b. 1548; active c. 1588-1614) was responsible for polychroming and gilding the Limeño Virgin.³⁵⁷ Although Ortega played an equally important part in the creation of the miraculous sculpture, he has gone virtually unnoticed in scholarship on the cult image.³⁵⁸ Even less is known about Ortega’s career, but we do know that after the miracle, in 1594, the *mayordomos* of the Confraternity of the Visitation commissioned

³⁵⁴ For Rodríguez’s full testimony: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 60v-61v.

³⁵⁵ “hizo la dha ymagen de madera de cedro de nicaragua” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 61r.

³⁵⁶ See, for example: AGN, PN XVI, Prot. 48, fols. 680-681v (30/03/1589); AGN, Prot. 8, fols. 45-45v (18/03/1596); AGN, PN XVI, Prot. 115, fols. 1476-1476v (20/11/1598); AGN, PN XVI, Prot. 22, fols. 1472-1474v (08/09/1602).

³⁵⁷ Ortega stated he was “de hedad de quarenta y dos años poco mas o menos” (“forty years old, more or less”) in the 1591 miracle documentation. AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 52v. In his 1605 testimony for on behalf of the *cofradía*, he stated he was “de hedad de cinquenta ans poco mas o menos” (“50 years old, more or less”). AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 87r (1605). It is not currently known where exactly within the Iberian Peninsula the artist originated.

³⁵⁸ Estabridis Cárdenas is the only other historian to discuss Ortega, though the short format of his article did not leave him room enough to go into much depth. Estabridis Cárdenas, “La ‘mamacha’ candelaria en el arte colonial.” Overlooking the painter/gilder is common in art historical study of polychrome sculpture, which has emphasized sculptors as the true creator, whereas painters and gilders (Ortega was both) are relegated to the domain of mere decorators. See: Xavier Bray, “The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700,” in *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700*, ed. Xavier Bray (London: National Gallery Company, 2009), 18.

Rodríguez and Ortega to produce decorations for their chapel in the Cathedral.³⁵⁹ The fact that an elite Spanish confraternity also commissioned the two artists for high-profile work, indicates that the *cofrades* successfully chose artists who could create an image with an aesthetic acceptable to Spanish viewers. Furthermore, as the pair was likely commissioned as a direct result of the highland Copacabana Virgin's fame, it can be argued that the confraternity inadvertently had a lasting effect on the artistic and religious landscape of early colonial Lima. This demonstration of indigenous agency and influence is in direct opposition to the dominant art historical narrative that still dictates that Lima's colonial visual art was solely or even primarily Spanish.

Furthermore, Ortega's career is marked by fairly frequent documented interaction with indigenous people, complicating the concept of the "Spanish artist" and his workshop in Lima.³⁶⁰ In January of 1588, for example, the same year that Ortega finished painting the Virgin, an indigenous man from Huamanga named Hernando Huruso Caravay entered Ortega's service in what seems to have been an apprenticeship.³⁶¹ Domingo Girnay, a self-identified *indio ladino* and member of the Limeño confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana, testified in 1604 that he saw the sculpture being made "in the house of its Spanish painter at the time that the said *indios* brought [the image] to the *barrio* of San Lázaro," suggesting the *cofrades* were aware he was in Ortega's workshop.³⁶² If so, this would have added a layer of meaning – one not visible to Spanish eyes – to the sodality's experience of the image. Whereas early modern Spanish art placed a high premium on the finished art object and the identity of the creator, many Andean traditions did not, valuing the crafting process was equally, if not more, than the final product.

³⁵⁹ PN XVI, Prot. 97, fols. 142-143v (27/11/1594).

³⁶⁰ As discussed in Chapter 1, Ortega was also specially commissioned by the indigenous confraternity of the Virgin of the Rosary to "restore" their devotional image in 1614.

³⁶¹ AGN, PN XVI, Prot. 31, fol. 1031v (16/01/1588).

³⁶² "y la bio hacer este t[estig]o en casa de su espanol pintor al t[iem]po que la traxeron los dhos yndios al barrio de san lacaro" AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 106r (1604).

Ortega, as the painter of the sculpture, was effectively creating luxury textiles with which to clothe and honor the Virgin that were only rarely visible to people outside of the confraternity, due to colonial practices of ritual dress. Given the potency of textiles to Chachapoya people, it is here that we might identify the reciprocal impingement of Spanish and Chachapoya traditions. The Virgin wears several distinct textiles that vary in pattern and finery.³⁶³ The most luxurious is the double-sided brocade mantle composed of a rich blue exterior adorned with an abstract, coral-like pattern illusionistically woven into it with gold thread, an orange-red interior, seemingly stamped with a large, golden leaf pattern. This painted mantle can be compared with Chachapoya lavish ceremonial textiles. Let us take, for example, a tunic now at the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. (fig. 3.14) that features components of “classic” Chachapoya images that can be found in different combinations on other extant tunics.³⁶⁴ The weavers of this tunic employed a mix of techniques: warp-faced plain weave with supplementary warp floats for the supernatural figures, brocade, embroidery, and Chachapoya assembly style (two panels stitched up the sides and the middle).³⁶⁵ While the end result is a visually stunning and iconographically complex object, the use of various processes was equally appreciated by its viewers, who were accustomed to finding meaning in the facture of an object. This occurred in their architectural practices as well. Chachapoya houses conveyed status not through materials,

³⁶³ I have not been able to examine the conservation report generated during the statue’s 1993 restoration, so it is unclear whether the current polychromy actually reflects the sixteenth century polychromy. As a result, I have limited my analysis of the textiles.

³⁶⁴ The tunic has a geometric embroidered design on the top left, seated felines on the bottom right and on the “belt,” and two sets of splayed male figures with a number of objects in their centers against the two orange fields, with the figures on the right topped by front-facing felines. For more on Chachapoya textiles and iconography, see: Lena Bjerregaard and Adriana von Hagen, eds., *Chachapoya Textiles: The Laguna de Los Cóndores Textiles in the Museo Leymebamba, Chachapoyas, Peru* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2007).

³⁶⁵ Adriana von Hagen, “Stylistic Influences and Imagery in the Museo Leymebamba Textiles,” in *Chachapoya Textiles: The Laguna de Los Cóndores Textiles in the Museo Leymebamba, Chachapoyas, Peru*, ed. Lena Bjerregaard and Adriana von Hagen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2007), 59.

but through the way materials were assembled and the size of a structure, as a result of a person's social capital.³⁶⁶ These experiences and modes of viewing could have extended to the colonial Limeño context, allowing the confraternity's Chachapoya members to appreciate that their Virgin was created by a Spanish master open to indigenous involvement.

Furthermore, Ortega maintained a friendly and working relationship with the Lima Copacabana confraternal community well after he completed the Virgin, as evidenced by the fact that the painter was brought in as a witness when the Copacabana *cofrades* were involved in litigation against the secular clergy in 1605.³⁶⁷ Additional evidence of their ongoing connection may be seen in the fact that the two indigenous people who entered Ortega's service in the years following the miracle, Cristóbal de Chachapoyas and Francisco Chiquilolo, were both from Chachapoyas.³⁶⁸ There are no member rosters for the confraternity beyond its foundation, and since Lima became home to a not-insignificant Chachapoya population, the apprentices may not have been members. Their presence in Ortega's shop, however, could nonetheless have been meaningful for *cofrades* who defined themselves with Chachapoya identity. Ortega's workshop practices and his ties to the confraternity and to the Chachapoya reflect the interracial interactions that occurred in the early colonial world, contradicting the artificial racial and ethnic divisions that scholarship has perpetuated, particularly in the case of the art of Lima.

Visual Sources for the Statue of the Virgin

The choice of Rodríguez and Ortega to produce the confraternity's statue resulted in a sculpture that drew heavily from European and Limeño typologies of the Virgin. Identifying the

³⁶⁶ Anna Guengerich, "Monte Viudo: Residential Architecture and the Everyday Production of Space in a Chachapoya Community" (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 2014), 156.

³⁶⁷ For Ortega's full testimony, see: AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fols. 87r-90v (1605).

³⁶⁸ Cristóbal de Chachapoyas entered Ortega's employ as a servant for the period of a year in 1592, AGN, PN XVI, Prot.19, fols. 181v-182 (09/06/1592); Francisco Chiquilolo, an "*indio ladino* from San Juan de Chito, Chachapoyas," entered Ortega's workshop as an apprentice in 1593, AGN, PN XVI, Prot.19, fols. 516-516v (06/07/1593).

models helps determine the visual dialogues that were taking place in the early modern city and, thereby, to appreciate how the Virgin's visual aspects would have supported the confraternity in their activities and ambitions in San Lázaro. As we shall see, the Virgin appealed to viewers familiar with the religious art of the early colonial city, thereby attracting a wider group of devotees – and their donations – than just the confraternity members. This popularity, paired with the image's aesthetic qualities, would also have been used by the *cofrades* as evidence that their faith was beyond reproach, under the pastoral oversight within San Lázaro.

The dominant artistic sources for Lima's Copacabana Virgin were polychrome wooden Marian sculptures produced in Seville by the celebrated Flemish artist Roque de Balduque (d. 1561) and imported to Lima in the 1550s.³⁶⁹ Two of Balduque's images of the Virgin were displayed in prominent locations in the city.³⁷⁰ The Virgin of the Assumption (fig. 3.15), had been donated by Francisca Pizarro Yupanqui (1534-1598), the daughter of the city's founder and an Inca *ñusta* (princess), as a memorial for her father, and sat on the main altar of the Cathedral.³⁷¹ The Virgin of the Rosary (fig. 3.16), located on the high altar of the Dominican

³⁶⁹ Bernales Ballesteros, "Escultores y esculturas de Sevilla en el Virreinato del Perú, siglo XVI," 270.

³⁷⁰ Rodríguez's sculpture shares the stance of Balduque's Virgin, with the carefully extended right hand and general positioning of the Christ Child. All three wooden polychrome sculptures are defined by the use of a variety of captivating textiles that are draped over the bodies in a similar manner. There is some variation, however, in the Virgin of Copacabana in the manner in which the fabric lies around Mary's chest and the gathering of the mantle underneath the child rather than in the Virgin's right hand. Furthermore, the way the fabric is wrapped around the Copacabana child is not identical to either sculpture, but seems to be adapted from the toga-like cloth worn by the child in Balduque's sculpture made for the Rosary confraternity in Santo Domingo. I am the first to examine in-depth these Roque de Balduque sculptures as the major influences for Lima's Virgin of Copacabana. The earliest connection between the sculpture and the Balduquean Marian model is Estella, "Sobre escultura Española en América y Filipinas y algunos otros temas," 75. While she identifies the relationship, she misattributes the Lima Copacabana sculpture to "Inca Tito Yupanqui." In 1993, Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas also later identified the Lima sculptures as possible reference points for Rodríguez's sculpture. Estabridis Cárdenas, "La 'mamacha' candelaria en el arte colonial," 76.

³⁷¹ Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, "Esculturas de Roque de Balduque y su círculo en Andalucía y América," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 34 (1977), 361-362. The Cathedral of Lima was first named for the Virgin of the Assumption but was later rededicated to saint John the Evangelist. The "Virgin of the Evangelization" is a modern sobriquet, denoting its arrival during the early moments of the conversion of Peru's indigenous population. It was given this title by Pope John Paul II in 1985, during one of his visits to Peru. It was also at this time that the sculpture was removed from the main altar and placed in a side chapel, formerly called the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception.

church and convent of Santo Domingo, was commissioned by the Bishop-elect of Charcas, Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás, for the Spanish Confraternity of the Rosary.³⁷² Both sculptures have also been traditionally considered gifts from Charles V, and the modern-day nuns of the Church of Our Lady of Copacabana paradoxically claim that their *Virgencita* was sent along with them.³⁷³ The export of these two polychrome wooden statues by Balduque was ultimately part of a larger trend of Sevillian artistic influence on the early colonial Limeño art.³⁷⁴ In establishing a visual relationship between the newly commissioned Virgin del Reposo (now Copacabana) and Balduque's sculptures from Seville, the indigenous confraternity and the artists, Rodríguez and Ortega, drew on a dominant artistic style associated with religious art within the visual language of the city of Lima.

Evidence in the Copacabana statue of another influential new visual mode in contemporary art in Lima can be seen in the features derived from Italianate art. The mother and child both display an air of gracefulness: Mary's neck and hands are exaggeratedly long, and her fingers appear especially nimble as she uses only the tips of her fingers to hold the child; the Christ Child's long torso, daintily crossed legs, and the effortlessness with which he balances the cross and orb of power have a similar character. An emphasis on this quality of grace is associated with Italian art of the sixteenth century, which was transmitted in the Spanish Americas with the arrival of three celebrated Italian so-called "Mannerist" artists.³⁷⁵ The first to

³⁷² Bernales Ballesteros, "Esculturas de Roque de Balduque y su círculo en Andalucía y América," 365.

³⁷³ Sor María Consuelo de Jesús, in conversation, August 26, 2015.

³⁷⁴ For more on Roque de Balduque see: Albaronedo Freire, "El calvario del cabildo bajo de la Casa Consistorial de Sevilla: Una obra atribuible a Roque de Balduque"; Bernales Ballesteros, "Escultores y esculturas de Sevilla en el Virreinato del Perú, siglo XVI"; Bernales Ballesteros, "Esculturas de Roque de Balduque y su círculo en Andalucía y América."

³⁷⁵ The first Italian painters to come to colonial Peru were Bernardo Bitti (1548, Camerino, Italy-1610, Lima; arr. in Lima 1570), Mateo Pérez de Alesio/Matteo da Lecce (1547, Lecce, Italy-1616, Lima; arr. in Lima c.1588) and Angelino Medoro (1565, Rome, Italy-c.1633; arr. in Lima c.1586). On the work of these painters in Lima, see: Christa Irwin, "Roma in Lima: Italian Renaissance Influence in Colonial Peruvian Painting" (PhD diss., Graduate

arrive, in 1570, was the Roman-trained Jesuit painter Bernardo Bitti.³⁷⁶ His paintings were singular, characterized by exaggeratedly graceful figures, a palette of pastel colors, and drapery with sharp geometric folds. Art historical scholarship has heavily emphasized Bitti's influence on colonial Peruvian art, even naming him the father of the so-called "Cusco School" of painting.³⁷⁷ While this gives the Italian artist too much credit, Bitti was well known in the viceroyalty and in Lima in his time. One of the paintings Bitti produced during his first stay in Lima, the *Virgen de la Candelaria* (fig. 3.17), made for the Jesuit Church of San Pablo, is another of the Rodríguez's possible artistic sources.³⁷⁸

Both Virgins have the same long necks and fingers, and although Bitti's Virgin and child are noticeably lighter and airier, this can be attributed in part to the difference in medium. That this typology was borrowed from Bitti is undeniable, as the slender faced Virgin does not appear elsewhere in the art of colonial Lima. By invoking Bitti, Rodríguez aligned his sculpture not just with the Italian artist, but with his medium of painting as well, which Bitti's Jesuit order valued as the key to the success of the evangelization project.³⁷⁹ Thus Rodríguez achieved in sculpture

Center, City University of New York, 2014). Chapter 1 discusses these artists within Lima's art history in more detail, situating them within the city's artistic environment and providing full bibliographies.

³⁷⁶ Considering Rodríguez's itinerant nature, it is possible that the Spanish sculptor was familiar with Bitti's statues in the central highlands, since both masters were around Alto Peru around the same time. Although Bitti was trained as a painter in Italy, he learned to sculpt out of necessity during his sojourn in Peru. As in his paintings, Bitti's sculpted images are also defined by extremely graceful figures. On his journey north from Sucre to Lima, Rodríguez could have easily passed through Juli, where he would have seen Bitti's relief sculpture of the Assumption of the Virgin, or Cusco, where Bitti's earliest sculptures, created in collaboration with the Spanish Jesuit artist Pedro de Vargas for the altarpiece for the principal Jesuit church of the same city, are still preserved. It is worth noting that all of Bitti's sculptures were worked in maguey, a material native to the Andes, like Yupanqui's Copacabana, rather than wood, the medium Rodríguez chose for the Lima sculpture. On Bitti, see: de Mesa and Gisbert, *Bitti: un pintor manierista en Sudamérica*.

³⁷⁷ On Bitti as the founder of the "Cusco School," see: de Mesa and Gisbert, *Bitti y los orígenes de la escuela Cusqueña*. In reality it is not a true "school," but rather a later designation for an artistic tradition that grew out of Cusco and varies widely from artist to artist, the most famous of which are Diego Quispe Tito (1611 – 1681) and Marcos Zapata (c.1710 – 1773).

³⁷⁸ The church is now known as San Pedro but was called San Pablo in the colonial period and had an adjoining monastery and school. Before the expulsion of the Jesuits, it served as headquarters for the order in South America.

³⁷⁹ Jesuita Anónimo de 1600, *Historia general de la Compañía de Jesus en la Provincia del Perú*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944), 245.

the gracefulness that marked Bitti's painting, doubly reinforcing the visual language that indigenous people, especially those in the Jesuit-controlled Cercado, were taught to equate with Christianity in Lima. For the Copacabana *cofrades*, this quotation associated their Virgin with a painting by one of the most prominent European artists in early modern Lima, elevating the status of their image.

The modeling of the Lima Virgin of Copacabana after these images would have had many other implications for the indigenous community that ultimately deployed the sculpture. The relationship of the Copacabana sculpture to two of the most prominent sculpted images of the Virgin in Lima by Balduque, displayed on the high altars of major churches, as well as with Bitti's Virgin de la Candelaria in the Jesuit church, would have enhanced the value, agency, and emotional resonance of the Virgin of Copacabana through overt visual links. The indigenous *cofrades* would have appreciated the Rosario Virgin's connection with the Dominican Order, as it produced the first "defenders" of indigenous people in Peru, including Bartolomé de Vega and Domingo de Santo Tomás, who donated the Balduquean sculpture.³⁸⁰

Enhanced value is especially likely in the case of Balduque's Virgin of the Assumption, since this sculpture and the Virgin of Copacabana were both in the Cathedral from 1592 until 1633, and thus would have been readily available for such a comparison. Furthermore, the Virgin of the Assumption was commissioned by a direct descendant of Inca nobility.³⁸¹ Francisca Pizarro's mother was Quispe Sisa (later baptized as Inés Huaylas Yupanqui; 1518-1559), the

³⁸⁰ John H. Rowe, "The Incas Under Spanish Colonial Institutions," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 37, no. 2 (1957): 155–99. Rolena Adorno has argued that Guaman Poma was aware of and incorporated the work of Domingo de Santo Tomás, along with Bartolomé de Las Casas, in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c.1615). Rolena Adorno, "Bartolomé de las Casas y Domingo de Santo Tomás en la obra de Felipe Waman Puma," *Revista Iberoamericana* 48, no. 120 (1982): 673–79. Domingo de Santo Tomás also produced one of the earliest Quechua dictionaries, speaking to his respect for indigenous language. Santo Tomás, *Lexicon o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Peru*.

³⁸¹ On the life of Francisca Pizarro, see: María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Doña Francisca Pizarro: Una ilustre mestiza, 1534-1598* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2017).

daughter of Sapa Inca Huayna Capac (c.1493-1525). The *ñusta* was given to Francisco Pizarro by her brother, Atahualpa (c.1500-1533), the Inca ruler at the time of the Spanish invasion. After her parents divorced, Francisca was separated from her Inca family, left in the care of her Spanish family members who, as with her mother, treated the mestiza as a means for obtaining and maintaining power. In 1546, Gonzalo Pizarro (1510-1548) wanted to marry his niece in order to legitimate his rebellion against Peru's first viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela (r. 1544-1546). After Gonzalo's defeat, Vela's successor, Pedro de la Gasca (r.1547-1546) sent Francisca to Spain, in order to avoid any further such attempts to use her lineage against the Spanish crown. In 1552, the young woman, the only living heir to Francisco's fortune, was married to her other uncle, Hernando Pizarro (1504-1580), in order to secure the family's wealth.

As with the *ñusta* Beatriz Clara Coya (c.1556-1600), daughter of Sapa Inca Sayri Tupac and Cusi Huarca, whose union with Martín García de Loyola (1549-1598), the grand-nephew of Saint Ignatius Loyola, was famously depicted (fig. 3.18) and disseminated in painting by the Jesuits, Francisca's lineage was a double-edged sword. That which granted indigenous noblewomen power in the early colonial period simultaneously caused them to be objectified and abused. Indigenous viewers in Lima would likely have appreciated the visual connection between Francisca Pizarro's sculpted Marian gift and the miraculous image named after the highland Virgin, thereby associating the Copacabana sculpture with the power and plight of the mestiza. The Copacabana *cofrades* may even have requested that Rodríguez use Balduque's Virgin as a model for this reason.³⁸² Meanwhile, for viewers who recognized the Sevillian connection, the Limeño sculpture would have been specifically tied with the art and religion of the conquering culture, albeit through a Flemish interpreter.

³⁸² See, for example: Chapter 2, note 147.

Crucially, these visual associations with the artistic style and sacred imagery of early modern Seville directly addressed concerns from the viceroy and the Jesuits that they were not receiving appropriate doctrinal instruction and therefore needed to be relocated, or “reduced,” to the Cercado. Meanwhile, for viewers unfamiliar with these specific references beyond a generalized association with authoritative local Limeño Christian sacred imagery, these features may have encouraged an expectation of efficacious intercession and immanent sacred manifestation, like the 1591 sweating miracle.

Nuestra Señora del Reposo

Like the artistic typologies from which the sculpture drew, the title the *cofrades* chose in 1588, the Virgin of the Repose, also had its origins in Europe. It was not until after the *cofrades* were forcibly relocated to the Cercado in October of 1590 that the Virgin was renamed and the confraternity re-founded. It is worth emphasizing that the Reposo title was not forced upon the indigenous community. On the contrary, in documentation dating to 1604 involving litigation with their chaplain, the *cofrades* clearly state that they were the ones who chose this original title.³⁸³ Scholars have noted that the Lima image and sodality bore the Reposo title, but the deeper significance of the choice of advocacy has gone overlooked.³⁸⁴ As we shall see, the confraternity selected a title that was purposefully multivalent, at once supporting the *cofrades*' effort to stay in San Lázaro through overt European markers and making reference to their lives as a particular immigrant community residing in Lima.

Although the advocacy was not a common one in colonial Latin America, there were

³⁸³ “En la ymax^{en} q de su adboacion tomaron nombre nra s^a del Reposo q estava en el varrio de sⁿ lacaro y del cercado y agora lo esta en Copacavana” AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 83r (1604). The confraternity accused *capellán* Alonso de Huerta and his successor, Francisco de Ganbarana, of stealing money and goods that belonged to their cult.

³⁸⁴ Amino, “Las lágrimas de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana,” 47; Lévano Medina, “El mundo imaginado: La cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana y la religiosidad andina manifestada,” 121. AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fols. 9r-9v, 12r-12v, 83r-83v (1604).

multiple cults dedicated to the Reposo Virgin in the Iberian Peninsula that the *cofrades* may have been invoking.³⁸⁵ Considering the many visual connections the Limeño Virgin had with Sevillian devotional images and artists, it is possible that the Reposo title was invoking another image of the same advocacy in Seville (fig. 3.19).³⁸⁶ That Virgin, created by the Seville-based, French artist Miguel Perrin (1498-1552), is slightly smaller than life-size, made of cooked clay, and no longer displays its original polychromy.³⁸⁷ The *cofrades* may have been drawn to this image and advocacy for its reputation for aiding mothers in childbirth.³⁸⁸

This intercessory potential would have appealed to the *cofrades*, whose community was born, in part, due to the “demographic collapse” that occurred in the wake of the Spanish invasion, in addition to a trend of Andeans proactively immigrating in order to start a new life.³⁸⁹ Some details in the confraternity’s records support this, such as the fact that the confraternity’s founding group of members was composed almost entirely of married couples.³⁹⁰ Furthermore,

³⁸⁵ In the colonial Limeño context, there is only one other confraternity dedicated to the Virgin of the Repose, which was founded in the church of San Lázaro after the Copacabana *cofrades* were moved to the Cercado. This confraternity seems to have been founded to fill the void left in the wake of the future-Copacabana Virgin’s relocation. Unlike its predecessor, this confraternity was not specifically for indigenous people.

³⁸⁶ The Andalusian city had numerous religious, artistic, and political ties to Spanish America, due to the fact that Seville’s was the only port officially licensed to trade with the New World. Moreover, prints were made of Seville’s Virgin of the Repose in order to spread the devotion, some of which likely reached Peru and the neighborhood of San Lázaro in Lima. Juan Carlos Martínez Amores, “Una aneja devoción sevillana a la Virgen del Reposo,” *Boletín de las cofradías de Sevilla* 454 (1996): 19.

³⁸⁷ It is currently located immediately behind the main altar in the Cathedral of Seville, directly across from the entrance to the Capilla Real. It measures 153 cm in height. It was cleaned in 1983 to remove certain textiles that had been obscuring her. The polychromy dates to a “restoration” that was undertaken in 1893 by the sculptor Adolfo López and the painter Virgilio Mattoni. José Hernández Díaz, “Retablos y esculturas,” in *La catedral de Sevilla*, ed. Fernando Chueca Goitia and Diego Ángulo Iñiguez, 856 p. (Sevilla: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 1984), 317 (n.17).

³⁸⁸ The Virgin’s reproductive potency comes from the legend that gave the Sevillian image her other title, “Norabuena lo pariste.” According to the story, in 1560, a Jewish man entered the Cathedral, day after day, to tell the Virgin “noramala lo paristeis (you gave birth to him at a bad time),” until one day the Virgin paralyzed the man at the hour the church closed, when no one would find him. When the church was reopened, the Jewish man was found, and he confessed. He was condemned to be burnt at the stake, but the Virgin softened his heart and he converted. The title the Virgin received is the inverse of the offending proclamation. After this, the Virgin came to be known in Seville for her ability to help women successfully give birth. Martínez Amores, “Una aneja devoción sevillana a la Virgen del Reposo,” 20.

³⁸⁹ See: Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620*.

³⁹⁰ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 11r (1588).

their devotional image also later gained a reputation similar to Seville's, albeit after the sculpture had changed advocations. Apparently by 1614, Lima's Virgin of Copacabana continued to perform "miracles for some women who were giving birth" and pregnant women asked that the Virgin's mantle be brought to them.³⁹¹ It is worth noting that, apart from sweating in 1591, these unspecified childbirth-related miracles are the only ones recorded in the confraternity's records, which may be a hint that this intercessory power was a carryover from the Virgin's *Reposo* title.³⁹²

Another possible candidate is the Virgin of the *Reposo* in Valverde del Camino in Andalucía. The sculpture that currently sits in the church in Valverde (fig. 3.20) was executed by the Spanish sculptor Sebastián Santos Rojas in 1940 as a replacement for the Renaissance-era image lost in a catastrophic fire in 1936. Photographs of the sculpture before it was lost indicate that the early-modern statue, like its modern replacement, differed significantly from the Lima Copacabana Virgin. The Valverde image featured the archetypal iconographical markers for this avocation: a seated Virgin holding the Christ Child in her lap who has fallen asleep after feeding, as alluded by the placement of the Virgin's right hand on her breast. The Limeño Virgin, in contrast, is iconographically a "Candelaria," like Yupanqui's highland Virgin of Copacabana, suggesting that even early on in the confraternity's history there may have been an interest in visually aligning the Lima image with the highland cult.³⁹³

³⁹¹ "y lo que pasa es que como la ymagen de nra s^a de copacavana a hecho milagros a algunas muxeres que estan de parto y otros enfermos piden les lleven el manto de nra s^a y para su adorno y servicios lleven los candeleros para en ellos poner las velas" AAL, Cof., Leg. 11, Exp. 2, fol. 56v (1614).

³⁹² There also seems to have been a connection between the Virgin's miraculous, protective power and indigenous women in particular, since the mantle was rented (against the Copacabana confraternity's wishes) to the confraternity of the Cercado. AAL, Cof., Leg. 11, Exp. 2, fol. 56v (1614).

³⁹³ The visual discrepancy between the image typology of conventional *Reposo* images and that of the Lima Virgin would not have been an issue for early modern viewers, because the title alone was sufficient to align an image with a celebrated image cult. In the case of Renaissance Italy, Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser have argued that visual likeness is not an essential feature of copies, that it is enough for the copies to evoke by means of a title or

The Reposo advocation, which refers to a moment of rest during the flight into Egypt, was a fitting choice for the late-sixteenth century church in Valverde since it served as the rest stop for merchants on the route between Aracena and the port of Huelva.³⁹⁴ The Limeño confraternity may have chosen the Reposo title in reference to San Lázaro's location as the point of entry into the city of Lima from the north.³⁹⁵ Since the confraternity was composed in large part by immigrants from the north, like the Chachapoya, the Virgin's title can be understood metaphorically. Through the choice of the devotional title, then, the Marian image in San Lázaro was poised to operate as a physical gathering place and social resource for indigenous peoples who had experienced resettlement and migration. Moreover, this local meaning would have allowed the members to assert their identities as immigrants, while simultaneously signaling the *cofrades'* interest in Catholic devotional culture and the sacred topography of Spain.

Foreign *Bienes* and Andean Textile Primacy

The confraternity's "collection" of *bienes* may offer certain other clues about the way the early sodality was engaging its confraternal goods and positioning itself within San Lázaro. An inventory dating to November 1589, about a year after the sodality's foundation, reveals the growing reputation of the cult and the donations made by early participants. The items listed also are suggestive of the material needs and ritual activities of the sodality, such as candles and lamps for illumination, writing materials, crosses that *cofrades* used when soliciting donations, and a lock box in which donations were kept.³⁹⁶ In addition to these, the confraternity owned

inscription the primary cult image for the copies to tap into the efficacy associated with them. Garnett and Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles: Transforming Images in Italy from the Renaissance to the Present*, 196.

³⁹⁴ The first parish church built in Valverde del Camino with this advocation was built before 1585. The city of Valverde would later take the Virgin as its municipal patron in August of 1672. Juan Carlos Sánchez Corralejo, "La Virgen del Reposo de Valverde del Camino," *Valverde del Camino: Historia y patrimonio*, accessed June 21, 2019, <http://historiavalverde.blogspot.com/2012/09/la-virgen-del-reposo-de-valverde-del.html>.

³⁹⁵ Vergara Ormeño, "The Copacabana Indigenous Elite," chap 1.

³⁹⁶ "dos cruces con que piden limosnas / unas escrivancias con sus cuchillos y tixera nueva...una caxa con sola una llave" AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 9r (1589).

several very fine liturgical textiles and vestments for the statue, none of which were Andean in origin. These gifted textiles, with which the confraternity, as custodians of the cult, surrounded the Virgin, reveal that the Copacabana *cofrades*, like other subaltern confraternities in Lima, acted as conscious curators of a rich and diverse material culture.³⁹⁷

The *cofradía* owned multiple sets of altar frontals with matching canopies made of various materials such as damask from China, velvet, and taffeta.³⁹⁸ The luxuriousness of these textiles speaks to colonial adaptation made to fit Andean traditions. Rebecca Stone-Miller, among others, has demonstrated that textiles, which developed long before other media and exerting direct influence on them, acted as the foundation of the entire Andean aesthetic system and played a seminal role in the development of the societies that inhabited the region.³⁹⁹ Indeed, the textile record shows that Andeans devoted significant resources to technical exploration and innovation and assigned a great deal of society-wide labor to fiber production. Moreover, the creation of finished pieces often required combining elements from throughout the Andes' three ecological zones – cotton from the coast, camelid hair from the highlands, feathers from the jungle – as well as extensive interaction between regions and carefully coordinated trade or movement.⁴⁰⁰ Consequently, cloth came to symbolize high status and power in the Andes and thus were integral to political transactions.

The particular materials and the processes by which textiles were produced also held

³⁹⁷ On the confraternity as a collection, see: Chapter 2.

³⁹⁸ “un frontal de damasco de la china nueva encarnada y blanco con su sielo de arriba / otros dos mas de terçoiopelo y amarilla con sus sielos de tafetan viejo” AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 9r (1589).

³⁹⁹ This contrasts sharply with Europe, where textiles were present, but valued far less, in part due to their association with women. Stone-Miller, “To Weave for the Sun,” 13; Denise Y. Arnold, Elvira Espejo Ayka, and Juan de Dios Yapita, *Hilos sueltos: los Andes desde el textil* (La Paz: ILCA, 2008).

⁴⁰⁰ Hans Barnard et al., “Painted Textiles: Knowledge and Technology in the Andes,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 36, no. 2 (2016): 209–28; Mary Frame, “The Feathered Dresses of Cahuachi,” in *Peruvian Featherworks*, ed. Heidi King (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 55–62; Mercedes Delgado, “A Woman’s Feathered Cloth from Cerillos,” in *Peruvian Featherworks*, ed. Heidi King (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 63–68; Stone-Miller, “To Weave for the Sun,” 14.

significance to Andean viewers. Textiles made from the wool of the vicuña, a small Andean camelid that produces the finest wool, or that had been dyed blue, which was the hardest dye color to achieve, were especially prized and largely reserved for the elite.⁴⁰¹ In certain cases, such as the labor-intensive embroidery of Paracas textiles (fig. 3.21), production was a communal effort, sometimes even spanning an individual's lifetime, demonstrating a concern with facture over efficiency.⁴⁰² Similarly, cloth was almost never woven to be cut and sewn, and great care was taken to interweave the ends of threads. Stone-Miller has argued that this emphasis on entirety reflects fundamental Andean values that stress verity over illusionary surface appearance. Extended a step further, a person's "surface" – their clothing – would have been understood as describing their being or essence.⁴⁰³ People of specific regions were expected to wear regionally appropriate dress, which even the Inca ruler respected.⁴⁰⁴

Under the Inca, Andean textile traditions were combined, forming integral parts of state and religious functions. *Compi* cloth (cloth of finest weaving) was produced by *acllas*, women chosen from throughout Tawantinsuyu to specialize in weaving the garments (fig. 3.22) for the Sapa Inca, who wore different clothing every day, and for nobility.⁴⁰⁵ Due to the great importance and high demand for textiles, men of certain provinces, such as Chachapoyas, with

⁴⁰¹ Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun," 18.

⁴⁰² Anne Paul, "Why Embroidery? An Answer from the Ancient Andes," in *Silk Roads, Other Roads* (Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium, Northampton: Smith College, 2002); Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun," 20; Anne Paul and Susan A. Niles, "Identifying Hands at Work on a Paracas Mantle," *The Textile Museum Journal* 23 (1985): 5–15.

⁴⁰³ Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun," 22.

⁴⁰⁴ Susan A. Niles, "Artist and Empire in Inca and Colonial Textiles," in *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, ed. Rebecca Stone-Miller (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1992), 53.

⁴⁰⁵ According to Bernabé Cobo, common people were prohibited from wearing *compi*. Cobo described five categories of camelid-fiber cloth: *chusi* (coarse and thick cloth used for blankets and rugs), *ahuasca* (cloth used for everyday garments), *cumbi* (fine and precious), *cumbi* with tiny colorful feathers that resembled the texture of velvet, and *chaquira* (*compi* covered entirely with spall pieces of gold or silver). Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 23. On *acllas*, see: Chapter 2, note 161.

revered textile-making traditions, called *compicamayos*, were assigned to weave cloth for the Inca state. The finest Inca textiles were adorned with *tocapu*, variable geometric patterns typically inscribed in square units that formed rows (fig. 3.23). Their meaning is not certain, but scholars like Elena Phipps have argued that *tocapu* were part of a symbolic visual language.⁴⁰⁶ Textiles were also of the utmost importance in the Inca religious context, as it was used to form cloth “statues,” suggesting the sacrality of the cloth itself, and to wrap principal *guacas*, including the bodies of Inca rulers (*mallqui*, fig. 3.24), stones, and statues.⁴⁰⁷ Cementing the integral relationship of fiber to cosmic forces, some textiles were even “killed” as sacrifices by being ritually burned.⁴⁰⁸

Returning to colonial Lima, by using textiles in their cult, indigenous *cofrades* were thus continuing to participate in a long Andean tradition, while simultaneously acting within Spanish colonial religious conventions. Chinese fabrics in particular (fig. 3.25), which were finely spun and woven, were immediately appreciated by the textile culture of the Andes. Asian textiles were available in Peru as early as 1572, and scholars have noted how readily Andean weavers incorporated Asian motifs and materials into their existing weaving tradition (fig. 3.26).⁴⁰⁹ The use of Chinese silk in Lima in religious spaces frequented by indigenous devotees is nicely framed in a letter of 1602, written by the Count of Monterey, the Viceroy of New Spain. He quoted some merchants from Lima who reported, “The silks of China are much used in the churches of the Indians, which are thus adorned and made decent; while before, because of the inability to buy the silks from Spain, the churches were very bare.”⁴¹⁰ The Reposo confraternity

⁴⁰⁶ Phipps, 29.

⁴⁰⁷ On *guacas*, see: Chapter 2, note 194.

⁴⁰⁸ Stone-Miller, “To Weave for the Sun,” 18.

⁴⁰⁹ Elena Phipps, “Cumbi to Tapestry,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 83.

⁴¹⁰ Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898: Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and Their Peoples, Their History and Records of the Catholic*

also owned a table covering made of blue cloth from Mexico, paired with a plate, also from Mexico.⁴¹¹ These objects from New Spain were similarly valuable to the *cofrades* because they demonstrated the sodality's participation in the larger colonial world, where value was calibrated in terms of trade networks and the circulation of goods.

III. The Cercado and the Sweating Miracle

The Move to the Cercado

Despite their best efforts to remain in San Lázaro, in 1590 the indigenous *cofrades*, along with their image, were relocated to the indigenous *reducción* known as the Cercado. As discussed in Chapter 1, in 1570 the Toledan administration made the first attempt to gather Lima's indigenous population and relocate them within the walls of the Cercado, alongside the city's *mita* laborers, with mixed results.⁴¹² Crown officials continued to round up and relocate Lima's indigenous population throughout the early colonial period, but these efforts were not successful, due in part to the resistance of the Spanish elite who did not want to lose their servants or ready access to cheap labor, and in part to indigenous Limeños refusing to move or illicitly relocating themselves after the fact.⁴¹³ The Reposo *cofrades* were among those who initially resisted the move to the Cercado and their continued presence in San Lázaro consequently placed them in the thick of Lima's ecclesiastic and municipal politics. On one side of the struggle were the viceroy and the Jesuits and on the other was Archbishop Toribio Alfonso

Missions, as Related in Contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, Showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of Those Islands from Their Earliest Relations with European Nations to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903-09), vol. 12 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903), 64.

⁴¹¹ "un sobremesa de paño de mejico açul de dos baras nueva...y un plato de mexico" AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 9r (1589).

⁴¹² Refer to Chapter 1, note 45.

⁴¹³ For example, Alonso de Huerta reports that when the San Lazarino indigenous community was relocated to the Cercado, 700 were removed, but over half promptly fled, leaving behind only 300 in the *reducción*. Lowry, "Forging an Indian Nation," 40-41.

Mogrovejo. As early as 1585, a Jesuit priest named Juan Pérez de Aguilar had petitioned the Cabildo in Lima for the relocation of the San Lazarino community, but it was not until 1590, with the arrival of the new viceroy, García Hurtado de Mendoza (r.1590-1596), that the situation intensified.⁴¹⁴

The Viceroy finally gave the order to relocate San Lázaro's indigenous residents on August 30, 1590, when the Archbishop was away from the city. The archbishop's vicar, Antonio Valcázar, attempted to obstruct the move, but was halted by the viceroy's armed guards and indecorously dragged to the port of Callao. The viceroy's mandate was executed under the cover of night and was marked by acute violence: the indigenous residents were forcefully taken, stripped naked, scalped, and whipped, while their houses were burnt to the ground to prevent their return.⁴¹⁵ The night's savagery is a testament to the indigenous community's intense resistance to being ripped from their homes and forcibly removed to another part of the city. It also speaks to the extreme measures the Spanish took, not just to control the community, but to dehumanize and humiliate its members as well. As many as seven hundred people were relocated that night, of which number the confraternal community composed a small, yet influential part.⁴¹⁶

Learning about the events upon his return, the archbishop was livid, both for the

⁴¹⁴ Amino, "Las lágrimas de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana," 41. The priest's name is also identified as José de Aguilar and Hernando de Aguilera. Coello de la Rosa, "Las lágrimas de María: simbolismo, devoción popular y la Virgen de Copacabana," 138 (n. 42). Mendoza was dispatched by Phillip II to increase Peru's revenue after the decline that followed the surge during Toledo's reign. Mendoza identified the secular prelates, especially Archbishop Mogrovejo, as a major problem and began criticizing Mogrovejo to the king shortly after his arrival in Lima. Coello de la Rosa, "Discourse and Political Culture in the Formation of the Peruvian Reducciones," 274.

⁴¹⁵ Amino, "Las lágrimas de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana," 42. Amino quotes the testimony of one of the indigenous people present: "nos a mandado que vivamos todos generalmente en el Cercado así oficiales como los que tenemos tiendas públicas en la ciudad de todo oficio y a todos los más indios que vivimos entre españoles y a los que tenemos casas así en la ciudad como en el asiento de San Lázaro asotándonos [sic] y tresquilándonos [sic] por las calles desnudos porque muchos daños como dicho tenemos" Amino, 62-63 (n. 17). Original documents: AGI, PR. 248, R. 35.

⁴¹⁶ Coello de la Rosa, "Discourse and Political Culture in the Formation of the Peruvian Reducciones," 278.

egregious undermining of his authority and for the loss of spiritual jurisdiction over the indigenous community. Mogrovejo's response was swift and severe. He excommunicated the magistrate who had carried out the viceroy's orders and prohibited Jesuit priests from preaching in any of the parishes or convents of Lima.⁴¹⁷ The archbishop took it upon himself to build a church in the Cercado for the newly displaced community and named Alonso de Huerta as its curate.⁴¹⁸ Unfortunately, the chapel was dismantled and no descriptions remain from the brief time it stood, but it seems to have been sufficiently completed to be used as a space as early as 7 November 1590, which speaks to the haste in which it was constructed.⁴¹⁹ Nevertheless, the indigenous devotional community quickly had a new place to worship in the Cercado.

Later testimony, dating from 1605 and written by a Copacabana *cofrade* and self-identified *indio ladino* named Francisco de Sansoles, provides the only extant account of how the Virgin fared in the forced move, and with it, a glimpse into how the community interacted with their devotional object. Francisco recalls that the "image of [the Virgin of] Copacabana, called [the Virgin] of the Repose, was brought wrapped in a bed sheet and the said *indios naturales* had her in the said *pueblo* of the Cercado as something of their very own."⁴²⁰ The use of a bed sheet to carry the image suggests the transport was hastily undertaken, possibly on the same night as the raid, especially since the homes and possessions of those relocated that night were razed. Since the sculpture, though hollow, is life-size and quite heavy, at least two people would have needed to work together to relocate it.

⁴¹⁷ Coello de la Rosa, 279–80.

⁴¹⁸ Huerta was a trusted priest of Mogrovejo who was learned in Quechua. Amino, "Las lágrimas de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana," 42.

⁴¹⁹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 2, fol. 189r (1604).

⁴²⁰ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 95r (1605). "la dha ymaxen de copacavana que llamavan del reposo la llebaron Envuelta En una savana y la tubieron en el dho pueblo del cercado los dhos yndios naturales como cosa suya propia..." The following year, Sansoles was a *Procurador* (legal representative) for the confraternity. AAL, Cof., Leg. 11, Exp. 2, fol. 7r (1606).

In light of the Spanish guards' violent response, it is likely that the removal of the image, either on that night or in the immediate aftermath, was a risky undertaking for the *cofrades* involved, demonstrating a profound connection between devotees and Virgin. Furthermore, while the decision to use a sheet was probably born out of desperation, its use has ties to Catholic and Andean traditions that would have become entangled during the event. Wrapping the religious image could have evoked the ritual wrapping of images of Christ during Lent. More importantly, most Andean mortuary practices, including those of the Chachapoya, involved enveloping the body in textiles. I would argue that this association was even more probable, given the importance of funerary traditions and ancestor worship in the cultural memories of the *cofrades*. We may imagine that it was the Chachapoya *cofrades* who went to retrieve the Virgin and, upon arrival, deposited the image in a relatively safe corner of the Cercado. As discussed above, Chachapoya burial practices were integral to their cultural identity, not unlike the way the Virgin had become an emblem of the confraternal community. Consequently, though a mummy bundle (fig. 3.11) bears no ready visual parallels to the Virgin, in that moment, for those *cofrades*, there may have been an elision of the two. As we shall see, there were many instances of such reciprocal impingement for the devotees of the Virgin of Copacabana.

Similarly, the San Lazarino indigenous community would have experienced the violent move to the Cercado in terms of cultural memories. Relocating for any reason would have resonated with any immigrants or *forasteros* in the group, including the Chachapoya *cofrades*. In their case, however, the compulsory and ruthless nature of the move would almost certainly have sparked memory of the Chachapoya who had been removed to serve as *mitmaqkuna* by the Inca. That night in Lima, those whose ancestors resisted forced resettlement barely a century prior, despite their own fierce resistance, were defeated and arose the following day in the Cercado.

From Reposo to Copacabana

In the chapel built by the door of the Cercado's only gate, the Reposo confraternity met to re-found their confraternity in the new space. It was at this time that they changed the Virgin's title, from the Virgin of the Reposo to the Virgin of Copacabana, as she is now known. In investigating the possible catalysts for this change, it becomes clear that the community continued to balance colonial Catholic orthodoxy and their experiences as an indigenous community with Chachapoya ties, but did so more overtly in the new environment of the *reducción*.

Understanding the change in advocacy requires a brief examination of the original highland sculpture after which it was named and the circumstances surrounding the image's creation.⁴²¹ The original Virgin of Copacabana (fig. 3.27) was made in 1582 by the ethnically Inca novice artist Francisco Tito Yupanqui (c.1550-1616), and located in a town situated on Lake Titicaca in the highland Andes (modern Bolivia).⁴²² According to a retrospective account of the cult's origins written by Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilán (1570-1639) by 1621, drought had been crippling the region for some time. The two major moieties in the region competed to enlist the support of a Christian saint against the drought by founding a confraternity. The Anansaya, a group composed of Inca colonists and *mitmaqkuna* from 42 distinct ethnic groups, chose the Virgen de la Candelaria as their patron.⁴²³ Meanwhile, the native group, the Urinsaya, picked

⁴²¹ As described Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, sculptures were key to the evangelization process in Peru. Statues of the Virgin, in particular, were extremely popular and many regions of the viceroyalty had miracle-working statues supporting image cults, such as the *Virgencita de Chapi* in Arequipa, *Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* in the Lake Titicaca region, or *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* in Pomata. Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*.

⁴²² The earliest source on the Virgin of Copacabana is the Augustinian friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán, *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*, ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor (Lima: Talleres gráficos P.L. Villanueva, 1988). Major studies on the Virgin of Copacabana include: Verónica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); Julio María Elías, *Copacauana—Copacabana* (Tarija: Editorial Franciscana, 1981).

⁴²³ The Virgin of Candlemas commemorates the ceremonial purification of Mary that took place after the birth of Christ.

Saint Sebastian. Yupanqui's Candelaria sculpture ultimately prevailed and the Anansaya were able to establish their confraternity. Bipartite social divisions existed throughout the Andes, in which the Anansaya were the "upper," or superior, group, and the Urinsaya were the "lower," or inferior, group.⁴²⁴ The traditional Andean pattern dictated that the indigenous people of a region were Anansaya, whereas newcomers, the less privileged, were Urinsaya. The Inca, however, as conquerors of the Titicaca region, as well as the *mitmaqkuna* the Inca placed there, became Anansaya, displacing the indigenous population.⁴²⁵ Anansaya and Urinsaya divisions existed throughout Tawantinsuyu. For the Inca and throughout the Andes, everything had its complement, which together balanced and ordered the world. This reversal of Andean organization precipitated the social discord that played out in the late-sixteenth century in the form of the competition to found a confraternity in the highland Copacabana story.

Less than a decade later, in the entirely different environment of Lima, it would appear the *cofrades* in the Cercado recalled this pre-invasion and colonial conflict through the choice of the Copacabana advocacy. For the Chachapoya *cofrades*, the title could be understood as drawing a parallel between their recent forced resettlement to the Cercado and the Inca resettlement of Chachapoyanos to the Lake Titicaca region. Furthermore, since Chachapoya *mitmaqkuna* were part of the Anansaya moiety on whose behalf Yupanqui made his Virgin, the confraternity members in Lima may have felt a direct affinity to the image.

Going a step further, the Lima *cofrades'* identification with the Copacabana cult, in the aftermath of a miracle involving the supernatural emanation of water, may also have been

⁴²⁴ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the famous indigenous chronicler who wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth century, illustrated these divisions in a subversive image that presented Spanish holdings in Peru as *hanan* relative to the Spanish peninsula *hurin*. On complementarity, or "dualism" in the Andes, see: María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Ideología religiosa y política: Estructuras andinas del poder* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1983).

⁴²⁵ Sabine MacCormack, "From the Sun of the Incas to the Virgin of Copacabana," *Representations* 8, no. 1 (1984): 45.

influenced by the conditions in their immediate environment in Lima—the lack of water. Cult images were traditionally invoked in relation to weather conditions, and the confraternity may have been turning to their newly activated image for timely intercession. In extreme contrast to the Chachapoyas region, where rain is a central feature of the weather patterns, the unique humid desert climate in Lima results in very limited rainfall. For the *cofrades* who emigrated from Chachapoyas to Lima the shift in weather must have been a shocking change. Perhaps, then, choosing the Virgin of Copacabana, credited in the origin story with ending the drought in the highlands, as the new patron saint of the Lima confraternity was a subtle entreaty for the precipitation to which the immigrant community was accustomed. Of course, the Chachapoya composed only a portion of the confraternity, and the choice of the Copacabana advocacion may have been spearheaded by the shrimpers, or even imposed upon the group by Archbishop Mogrovejo.⁴²⁶ Regardless, such Chachapoya readings could still have been applied to the Virgin. These invisible, fluid associations were and still are critical to the immigrant experience.

Though the *cofrades* no longer needed their Virgin to justify their residence as they did in San Lázaro, it appears that the sodality members were still concerned with appropriateness, this time perhaps in an interest to leave the Cercado. Due to Yupanqui's authorship and the sculpture's origins in an area very sacred to the Inca, the Virgin of Copacabana gained a markedly highland Andean valence, a connotation perpetuated by both indigenous and colonial channels as they spread news of the Virgin. That an association with indigeneity is so carefully enfolded into the story of the Virgin's making and facture indicates that the association was deliberate, while at the same time closely linked with clerical concerns about the indigenous fabrication of Christian religious images. For example, according to the cult's foundation legend,

⁴²⁶ Tetsuya Amino argues that the title was imposed by the Archbishop. Amino, "Un milagro de la Virgen y la libertad de los indios en Lima."

Yupanqui sought approval from the local bishop for a license to paint and sculpt Christian images, with the bishop said to have mocked him, insisting “natives cannot make images of the Virgin, nor sculpt them.” Yupanqui only succeeded in producing the sculpture after enlisting assistance from Spanish artists and using a Spanish model from the Church of Santo Domingo in Potosí.⁴²⁷ The foundation legend in this way asserts that although the Virgin of Copacabana was an indigenous creation, European aesthetic principles and modes of making served as the guarantors of appropriateness and worthiness in a locally manufactured Christian sacred image.

In the materiality and form of the Virgin of Copacabana, however, the entangled nature of the work is in evidence. Art historian Teresa Gisbert interprets the differences between Yupanqui’s rendition of the Virgin and his model from the Church of Santo Domingo as evidence of the distinct way “Indians” viewed divine objects.⁴²⁸ Gabriela Siracusano has studied the pigments used in polychroming the Copacabana sculpture, noting the use of atacamite, a green mineral also used in a powdered form in Inca burials in the south-central highland Andes.⁴²⁹

The polyvalence of the highland Copacabana image would seem to have appealed to the Lima confraternity. The Copacabana title allowed the newly refounded confraternity in the Cercado to consciously invoke the highland Virgin’s overt European Christian references, as well as its latent Andean history and qualities. With the ethnic diversity of the Cercado, there was a high likelihood that some residents also had ties to *mitmaquna* in Lake Titicaca. Even if not, the Virgin, through her origins in an area sacred in the Andean world, provided an opportunity for *cofrades* to practice Catholic belief while remaining connected to indigenous

⁴²⁷ Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana*, 178.

⁴²⁸ Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Apartado 195, 1980), 100–101.

⁴²⁹ Gabriela Siracusano, “Mary’s Green Brilliance: The Case of the Virgin of Copacabana,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 45, no. 3 (2014): 389–406.

beliefs. With the presence of the Inquisition in Lima, overt performances and public manifestations of indigenous beliefs and rituals could readily be condemned as “idolatrous” or “pagan.” An image cult like the Virgin of Copacabana, generated out of Spanish colonial religious orthodoxy and highland regional religious culture and politics, offered the Lima confraternity a potentially safe religious context or frame for integrating and expressing supernatural beliefs and structuring social interactions.

The difficulty inherent in this process of cultural integration and expression, under the constant surveillance of church authorities, can be seen in the misfortunes of the Jesuit priest Blas Valera (1545-1597). Valera, born in Quitaya, near the city of Levanto in Chachapoyas to Luis Valera, one of the region’s invaders and a powerful *encomendero*, and Francisca Pérez, an indigenous noblewoman possibly related to the Inca Atahuallpa.⁴³⁰ Valera studied in Trujillo before joining the Society of Jesus in 1568, which had only recently arrived in Peru and was in need of bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers for the evangelization project.⁴³¹ He was first assigned to the mission at Huarochirí, outside of Lima, then spent four years in the Cercado (1572-1576), before being sent to missions in the highlands.⁴³² Though he was in the *reducción* nearly two decades before the San Lazarinos were relocated, Valera made a significant impression on the Cercado’s residents and the Chachapoya *cofrades* might have known of him.⁴³³

Notably, Valera was the first *mestizo* to be ordained by the Jesuit order, only to be subsequently accused of heresy, thereby playing a role in the Order’s decision to no longer allow

⁴³⁰ Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas*, 9.

⁴³¹ Hyland, 32.

⁴³² For Valera’s time as a novitiate and in the missions, see: Hyland, chap. 2.

⁴³³ Writing about his time there, Valera notes that the residents built a church dedicated to San Blas, suggesting they felt an affinity for the Jesuit. Sabine Hyland points out, however, that Blaise was a popular saint at the time.

mestizos to join. The priest was active in in the indigenous intellectual community of Lima, which sought to find commonalities between indigenous cultural beliefs and Christian ideology. Despite the obvious benefits in terms of indigenous evangelization, this was apparently threatening to Iberians and ultimately led to his imprisonment.⁴³⁴ If Valera, who was *mestizo*, noble, and learned, was vulnerable to Jesuit and inquisitional censure, then the indigenous *cofrades* newly living under increased surveillance in the Cercado would need to exercise greater caution. In this context, the Copacabana title may have offered a good compromise, the opportunity to invisibly practice aspects of their traditions without raising suspicion.

The Miracle of 1591

Just over a year later after the relocation, the confraternity's circumstances would drastically shift once more. On December 28, 1591, Lima's Virgin of Copacabana performed a sweating miracle. The event was highly celebrated by inhabitants throughout the city, extending far beyond the Virgin's devotees in the Cercado and its vicinity. Further, it brought the image and its *cofradía* to the attention of the entire city, bringing with it swift and dramatic changes to the sodality. Due to the archbishop's quick move to authenticate the miracle, an account of the miracle and events that unfolded over the course of the day is recorded in rich detail through a series of eyewitness reports. The majority of the forty testimonies collected were provided by self-identified Spaniards, who consequently dominate the miracle story. The fact that the Limeño image of the Virgin of Copacabana belonged to an indigenous confraternity calls this account into question. Even so, the role indigenous people played in the story hints at their relationship with the Virgin: in proclaiming the miracle in Lima's streets they not only drew others into their

⁴³⁴ Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas*, 2.

cult, but also controlled the Virgin's story at the municipal level, arguably more relevant to Limeño religious life than the official report sent to Seville.

According to the testimony of the Spanish priest Alonso de Huerta, at eight in the morning on the Feast of the Massacre of the Innocents, he came to the Cathedral, as he had several times before, to ask Juan de Pineda, a secular priest, to celebrate Mass in the Cercado on his behalf, since Huerta was busy with his duties preaching to the indigenous people of Lima. Pineda was reluctant due to the *reducción*'s distance from the city center, but eventually agreed.⁴³⁵ While the majority of the Mass's attendees were indigenous residents of the Cercado, they were joined by a number of others who had come from the city and whose testimonies were highlighted in the miracle documentation. The first to arrive to the church were a Spanish man named Benito Fernández, who came to beg alms for the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, and a terminally ill Afro-descendant woman.⁴³⁶ Next came a group of four Spanish women. One of them, Leonor de Vargas, claimed that the service that day was the seventh of a *novena* of Masses she had promised to dedicate to the Virgin of Copacabana.⁴³⁷ The presence of these witnesses demonstrates that even prior to the sweating miracle, the participation in devotion to the Virgin of Copacabana in the Cercado extended beyond the indigenous confraternity members. Around nine, Pineda rang the bells to call people to Mass and entered along with the indigenous residents of the Cercado.⁴³⁸

Pineda, as a witness, gave the following account:

“Between ten and eleven, at the time of the offertory, the witness [Pineda], having offered up the host and taking the chalice in his hands, saw a droplet of water fall onto the altar cloth, which he saw made a mark and heard when it landed. While

⁴³⁵ AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 53v.

⁴³⁶ For Fernández's testimony, see: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 28r-29v, 90r-90v. For Esperanza's testimony, see: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 78v-80v, 84v-87r, 89r-90r

⁴³⁷ For Vargas's testimony, see: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 7r-8r.

⁴³⁸ AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 28v.

taking the chalice and lifting his eyes to the image, in accordance with the ceremonies of Mass, being careful of the droplet of water he had seen fall, he saw that the face of the Our Lady appeared very resplendent and moist and different from how she usually looked during Mass. Attributing what he had seen to the oil in the paint, the witness continued with the sacrifice of Mass until he finished it.”⁴³⁹

Pineda’s testimony is clearly informed by his identity as a clergyman. He revealed that the miracle occurred not only during the holiest moment of the Catholic service, but also in the midst of the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, as if to prompt witnesses to acknowledge the transformation – or transubstantiation – that occurred in the image.

According to the testimonies of the Spanish women present at the Mass, the Virgin’s face had begun to distill liquid even before Mass had begun. And so, Leonor de Vargas and the other Spanish people in the church called Pineda to return and examine the image more closely.⁴⁴⁰ Upon closer inspection, the priest agreed that the faces of the Virgin and Christ Child were indeed miraculously “distilling sweat.”⁴⁴¹ That the Spanish women recalled the miracle differently from the priest helps to highlight the different motives that witnesses had when recounting the same event. Whereas Pineda correlated the miracle within the terms of a Mass, for the Spanish women present, it was important to have been the first to have witnessed it. Their testimonies also appear fairly early in the documentation and consequently serve to frame the miracle narrative with Spanish voices.

⁴³⁹ “entre diez y honze estando este tº al tiempo del ofertorio aviendo ofrecido la hostia tomando el caliz en las manos vio caer una gota de agua en los corporales que hizo señal e oyo el golpe y tomando el caliz y levantando los ojos a la ymagen conforme a las ceremonias de la misa estando con cuidado de la gota de agua que avia visto caer vio el rostro de nra señora muy resplendesçiente y jugoso e diferente de lo que otras vezes la suele ver diziendo misa y atribuyendolo este tº al olio de la pintura paso adelante con el sacrificio de la misa hasta averla acabado” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 1v-2r.

⁴⁴⁰ AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 7r.

⁴⁴¹ AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 2r.

Indigenous Responses to the Miracle

Many of the testimonies credit indigenous people in particular – predominantly indigenous men, often on their way to fetch the proper authorities – with spreading the news of the miracle and drawing the large crowds to the Cercado.⁴⁴² Despite the fact that the Virgin of Copacabana belonged to an indigenous confraternity, this is one of the few moments in the documentation in which indigenous people were allowed agency in the miracle narrative. The effectiveness of these indigenous messengers is evident in the testimony of a teacher named Pedro Enríquez, who described that “he went to the Cercado and when he arrived he went into the church where there were so many people that he could not reach the altar...because the people were so packed in that they were suffocating each other.”⁴⁴³ Importantly, their actions are documented excitement that the Virgin’s indigenous devotees experiences on the day of the miracle.

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, no indigenous people, from the confraternity or otherwise, were called as witnesses. Since the authentication materials were produced by ecclesiastic authorities and were ultimately reviewed by Archbishop Mogrovejo, the report is a carefully orchestrated document that reflects the biases of its generators and did not align with the desires or motivations of the confraternity. Historian Tetsuya Amino noted the exclusion of indigenous voices and suggested that Church authorities had disqualified indigenous witnesses due to their race.⁴⁴⁴ If the Spanish clergy had only collected witness statements from other Spaniards, this might be a plausible explanation. However, they also took statements from three

⁴⁴² The witnesses do not specify the ethnic identities of these indigenous people, referring to them only with general terms like *indio* and *natural*.

⁴⁴³ “se fue al cercado y llegado que fuese entro en la yglesia donde hallo mucha gente que no pudo llegar al altar ...por que estaba la gente tan apretada q se ahogaban unos a otros” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 61v.

⁴⁴⁴ Amino, “Las lágrimas de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana,” 48.

Afro-descendant witnesses, two who identified as “mulata,” and one who identified as an enslaved woman from “Tierra Biafara.”⁴⁴⁵ I would argue, instead, that indigenous witnesses were purposefully excluded in an attempt on the part of the diocese to maintain jurisdictional control over the image. By framing the miracle narrative with non-indigenous voices, the Spanish secular clergy would have been able to avoid potentially heterodox interpretations of the miraculous event, perhaps based in indigenous traditions.

One witness did repeat the comments of an indigenous woman he had heard, who had cried out to the Virgin “that she [the indigenous woman] had been forgotten, that people had said that [the Virgin] did not value [her] church...and they should just stay in the Cercado.”⁴⁴⁶ The content of the exclamation indicates the woman may have been one of the Copacabana *cofrades*, because she makes a reference to the sudden and recent relocation of the confraternity’s community to the Cercado. This Spanish witness thus provides us a rare glimpse into the way one indigenous viewer interacted with her devotional image, speaking to the image directly and with the informal “tu” form. Furthermore, it seems that the woman was setting herself in opposition to those who had resigned themselves to staying, possibly reflecting the active desire among some *cofrades* to return to San Lázaro. The struggle to return to San Lázaro was to play out, though not until several years later.

Although we do not have testimonies from indigenous people, we can speculate, based on their cultural traditions, about what they might have experienced on the day of the miracle. The nature of the miraculous flow of water, for instance, would have resonated deeply with the

⁴⁴⁵ AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 41r-42v (Maria Faxardo “biuda mulata”); fols. 72r-73r (Esperansa “negra”); fols. 78v-80v, 84v-87r, 89r-90r (Electra de Heredia “mulata viuda”); fols. 84v-87r (Elvira de Heredia “mulata”), Joana Lopez “una negra de sebastian p^oz mayordomo del espiritu sancto”); fols. 93r-93v (Luysa “esclava de goncalo de luque y ques de trra biafara”).

⁴⁴⁶ “oyo dezir este t^o a una yndia de las que alli estavan a bozes a la madre de dios que estava desolidada que dezian que no valias tu yglesia sino sanctiago avia de valer y avia de quedar en el cercado no mas.” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 21v.

Virgin's Chachapoya *cofrades*. They might have recalled, for instance, a *guaca* like the monolith from Pumachaca (fig. 3.28), originally located near the modern city of La Jalca Grande. The stone sculpture has a small channel across its back through which ran the spring sacred to the people of the area, according to a sixteenth century religious informant. When their Virgin began to produce water on that day and became a font of sorts, the Chachapoya *cofrades* may have recognized the origins of their ancestors, as they did in natural elements like springs, mountains, and some animals.⁴⁴⁷ Notably, water was also important for the Inca as the quintessence of life.⁴⁴⁸ Carolyn Dean has argued that the Inca used stone, water's complement, to guide or control the liquid using, for example, display fountains (fig. 3.29) and petrous *phaqcha* (fig. 3.30).⁴⁴⁹ An Inca *cofrade*, then, might have understood the water-producing Virgin as a *phaqcha*, guiding the essence of life to devotees. Though such an association would probably have only increased the indigenous Andean viewer's affinity to the Christian image, it would have been suspect and unwelcome in colonial Lima, especially in documentation destined for Spain.

Another interesting aspect is the way the miracle spread the cult quickly throughout the city. A large number of contact relics were created at time of the miracle, and the distribution of these relics likely aided in increasing the image's popularity. In his account, Pineda described how he climbed onto the altar at the insistence of the crowd and began to touch the Virgin's face with the items handed to him, reportedly intensifying the sweat and tears with each renewed contact. Pineda testified that he stood atop the altar for over an hour and descended only due to his own exhaustion, indicating the acute level of excitement on the day of the miracle. The small

⁴⁴⁷ Arturo Ruiz Estrada, "La litoescultura Chachapoyas," in *Los Chachapoyas*, ed. Federico Kauffmann Doig (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2013), 308.

⁴⁴⁸ Carolyn Dean, "Inka Water Management and the Symbolic Dimensions of Display Fountains," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59, no. 1 (2011): 22–38.

⁴⁴⁹ *Phaqcha* literally means "channel" or "stream of water" in Quechua, but is also used to refer to smaller artifacts, such as wooden or ceramic cups or bowls with extending channels, that Andeans used to make liquid offerings. Dean, 29.

group of Spaniards gave Pineda their personal rosaries, scapulars, necklaces, silk ribbons, and crosses. Indigenous women handed their young children to the priest so they could touch the sculpture, and brought large amounts of cotton, which the women collected and distributed to others in the church.⁴⁵⁰

Relics have a longstanding significance in Christian practice with both spiritual and financial benefits, so the actions of the indigenous women could easily be understood through this lens. Our knowledge of Chachapoya traditions is limited, but Inca practices provide some ideas for how to understand the creation of these new relics. The action of collecting the Virgin's distillation, for example, could have been understood as investing the cotton with *camay*, a Quechua word for the unique essence of a thing or kind of things. The extirpator of idolatry, Cristóbal de Albornoz, recorded in 1584 that Andeans would transfer the *camay* of sacred things to new locations by taking a piece of it (if friable) or touching a textile to it (if solid and immobile) and placing the piece or textile on rock in a new location, thereby transforming the new rock into the revered original.⁴⁵¹ We might imagine that confraternal recipients of the new contact relics touched the cotton to a smaller devotional image of the Virgin of Copacabana in their home, thereby further activating it. In so doing, these devotees would have integrated Andean conceptions into confraternal ritual practice, without concern of persecution. In this way, we do not just see evidence of indigenous agency in the wondrous events triggered by the confraternity's sculpture of the Virgin, but also evidence of the reciprocal impingement of religious traditions.

⁴⁵⁰ The prominent role of indigenous women was reported by several witnesses in the miracle documentation. See, for example: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 11v, 13r. Pineda himself testified indigenous children were handed to him. AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 2v.

⁴⁵¹ Dean, "Reviewing Representation: The Subject-Object in Pre-Hispanic and Colonial Inka Visual Culture," 303.

“*Mas encarnado*”: The “Living” Image

Much in the same way that the miracle generated moments of performative entanglement, there is evidence of interpretive entanglement in the Virgin’s purported transformation on the day of the miracle. By reviewing testimonies from the Spanish viewers about the miracle and examining Chachapoya ritual objects, we can see further notions of embodiment converging around the devotional image. Though visually and culturally disparate, the two traditions converged in cultic devotion to the indigenous confraternity’s Virgin of Copacabana, and speak to the powerful role visual art played in the early colonial period.

Cristóbal de Ortega, the artist responsible for the Virgin of Copacabana’s polychromy, reported that he saw the Virgin’s face “*mas encarnado* (more incarnated) and not with as much shine as [he] had left it.”⁴⁵² Through his testimony, Ortega was evoking the artistic discourse of early modern Spain regarding the role and decoration of religious sculpture. This tradition valorized lifelikeness in religious images, resulting in the vibrant tradition of polychromed statues that contrasts so strongly with the tradition of idealized bronzes and marbles in Italy in the same period.⁴⁵³

It grew, in part, in response to the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1565, which called for sacred images to be clear and accurate in order to teach the illiterate public, which was readily applied to colonial Peru’s indigenous inhabitants. Mystics such as Teresa of Ávila (1515-1582) and Saint John of the Cross (1542-1591) encouraged and extolled the use of sacred images

⁴⁵² “y de alli con atencion miro el rostro de la dha ymagen y la bido este tº mas encarnado y no con tanto lustre como este tº la avia dexado” AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fol. 52v.

⁴⁵³ The most important and fascinating exceptions to this trend in Italy are the sculptures of the *sacri monti*, devotional complexes with a series of space containing scenes from the life of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints, of Piedmont and Lombardy. As in the Spanish tradition, these sculptures were polychromed, dressed, and wore wigs. See: D. Medina Lasansky, “Bodily Elision: Acting Out the Passion at the Italian Sacri Monti,” in *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 249–73.

in spiritual devotion. The latter, who spent part of his youth in a sculptor's workshop, wrote:

“The use of images has been ordained by the Church for two principal ends – namely, that we may reverence the saints in them, and that the will may be moved and devotion to the saints awakened by them. When they serve this purpose they are beneficial and the use of them is necessary; and therefore we must choose those that are most true and most lifelike, and that most move the will to devotion, and our eyes must ever be fixed upon this motive rather than upon the value and cunning of their workmanship and decoration.”⁴⁵⁴

The polychromed sculptures in Spain and Spanish America manifest the saint's criteria for lifelikeness.

The process of creating these images was very highly regulated in early modern Spain by the Guild of Carpenters (for sculptors) and the Guild of Painters (for painters). Sculptors carved the images from wood and gessoed them in white, but they were strictly prohibited from painting the images themselves.⁴⁵⁵ The reason for the painters' guild's strict control over who could polychrome religious sculptures is in part explained by a letter written by Francisco Pacheco to the sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés in 1622. The painter and author of treatise *Arte de la Pintura* (1649) defended the importance of his medium to the so-called “*dios de la madera*” (god of wood), by saying “the figure of marble or wood requires the painter's hand to come to life.”⁴⁵⁶ Pacheco's assertion to his colleague is reinforced by the dual meaning of the word *encarnación*, which literally translates as “incarnated” or “enfleshed,” but also refers to the process by which *pintores de ymaginería* painted the subtle flesh tones of a sculpture.⁴⁵⁷ Thus, in his description of

⁴⁵⁴ “El uso de las imágenes para dos principales fines le ordenó la Iglesia, es saber: para reverenciar a los Santos en ellas, y para mover la voluntad y despertar la devoción por ellas a ellos; y cuanto sirven de esto son provechosos y el uso de ellas necesario. Y, por eso, las que más al propio y vivo están sacadas y más mueven la voluntad a devoción, se han de escoger, poniendo los ojos en esto más que en al valor y curiosidad de la hechura y su ornato.” John of the Cross, *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, ed. José Vicente Rodríguez and Federico Ruiz Salvador (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 1983), 405–6.

⁴⁵⁵ Bray, 18.

⁴⁵⁶ “y la figura de marmol o madera esta necesitada de la mano del pintor para tener vida” BNM, Mss. 1713, “Tratados de erudición de varios autores,” fol. 286r.

⁴⁵⁷ Only specially trained painters with the title of *pintor de ymaginería* (painter of imagery), attained via an examination set by the painters' guild, were allowed to polychrome the sculptures. The earliest instance in which

the Virgin on the day of the miracle as “mas encarnado,” Ortega was suggesting that God had improved upon his attempt to bring life to the Virgin.⁴⁵⁸ There were two ways of painting flesh tones: *polimento* (glossy) and *mate* (matte, lusterless). *Polimento* consisted of grinding together lead white and pigments with an oil medium of a light clear varnish and applying this over the white gessoed surface, which was then polished with a dampened scrap of a pig’s bladder and varnished.⁴⁵⁹ Ortega’s observation that the image had less shine (*lustre*), then, indicates that he used the *polimento* technique in painting the image and gives a visible indicator of the change that took place. This served as proof of the miracle that made the Virgin act as if alive through her sweat and tears. In so doing, Ortega inserted the Virgin into a long history of Spanish images that miraculously appeared “real” or “enlivened.”⁴⁶⁰

Ortega was not alone in noticing the change that occurred in the image’s face. The priest celebrating the Mass, too, described the Virgin’s face as “different than how she usually looked.”⁴⁶¹ For indigenous witnesses of the miracle, like the Chachapoya *cofrades* who must have been present, the visible change in the Virgin’s face could have elicited distinct associations rooted in their own traditions, more difficult to pin down but also more important.

Ortega is identified with that title in documentation at the AGN in Lima is 1590, though he must have attained it prior in order to have completed the Virgin of Copacabana in 1588, possibly having done so in Spain before arriving in the viceroyalty. AGN, PN XVI, Prot. 142, fols. 649-649v (29/12/1590).

⁴⁵⁸ The second half Ortega’s testimony about the Virgin’s face is another reference to his *encarnación* of the image.

⁴⁵⁹ Bray, “The Sacred Made Real,” 19.

⁴⁶⁰ Bray, 341–42. Even today there remains an understanding of the Virgin of Copacabana as “alive.” The mother superior, Sor María de Jesús used the same word, *encarnada*, to describe the *Virgencita* to whom she has devoted her life. As proof, she recounted the story of a novice nun (of an unspecified time) who was very devoted to the Virgin and would clean the sculpture every day, without fail. One day the nun was missing from the refectory at the lunch hour, causing the sisters to go looking for her. Knowing the nun to be very pious, the sisters went looking for her in the Virgin’s *camarín*, where they found the nun lying at the foot of the sculpture. When the nun awoke, she explained that while cleaning the Virgin’s neck, she felt not wood, but instead warm, living flesh, the realization of which had caused her to faint. The mother superior also confirmed that she has seen the sculpture’s face change, depending on the Virgin’s mood. Some days, she said, the Virgin looks more rosy-cheeked, other days pleased, and sometimes even angry when the community has done something displeasing. Once the community notices this, they make an effort to rectify their mistakes. Sor María Consuelo de Jesús, in conversation, August 26, 2015.

⁴⁶¹ “vio el rostro...diferente de lo que otras veces la suele ver” AGI, PR, R. 24, fol. 2r.

The Virgin's transformation from wooden image to living woman fits into a long history within Andean visual culture of objects depicting scenes of transformation. This can be seen, for instance, in the sunken circular ceremonial plaza at Chavín de Huántar (fig. 3.31). The low relief stone frieze surrounds the viewer with a procession of anthropomorphic figures (fig. 3.31a) in the upper register, and jaguars (fig. 3.31b) in the lower. The figures in the upper register, who wear elaborate costumes, and hold shell trumpets, weapons, or stalks of the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus, are believed to be in the process of transforming into the jaguars below. The dozens of stone tenon heads (fig. 3.32) that decorate the exterior of the pyramid appear to illustrate the process by which priests, possibly due to the use of the hallucinogen, were able to transform into jaguars and crested eagles.⁴⁶² The importance of transformation in the Andes is perhaps best captured by the story of the *pururaucas*, stones that turned into warriors to aid Pachacuti Inca (c.1438-1471/72) during a battle against the Chanca and re-petrified once the battle was won. The *pururaucas* accompanied later Incas into battle and were worshipped as *guacas*.⁴⁶³

While the Virgin of Copacabana did not undergo an extensive change of the kind illustrated on several extant Chachapoya objects, we can guess that the noticeable change that took place in the sculpture's face could have been understood in relation to them. A pyro-engraved gourd (figs. 3.33-34) found in Chullpa I in Laguna de los Cóndores has been read as depicting a scene or scenes of transformation in what might be a Chachapoya religious story.⁴⁶⁴ The gourd is decorated with five figures, each in various states of transforming from or into

⁴⁶² Richard L. Burger, "Chavín de Huántar and Its Sphere of Influence," in *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, ed. Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell (New York: Springer, 2008), 687. On transformation in Chavín, see: William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter, eds., *Chavín Art, Architecture, and Culture* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California, Los Angeles, 2008). For more on the Chavín, see: Richard L. Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995); Richard L. Burger, "The Sacred Center of Chavín de Huántar," in *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, ed. Richard F. Townsend (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1992).

⁴⁶³ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, 289.

⁴⁶⁴ von Hagen, "Chachapoya Iconography and Society at Laguna de Los Cóndores Peru," 144.

feline-like figures. Even the two figures that appear most complete, figures A and D, are in a state of flux, the first with a snake metamorphosed tail and the second with only three toes. Archaeologist Adriana von Hagen dates the gourd to before the Inca invaded Chachapoyas in the fifteenth century, but this does not mean the iconography was later lost. A tunic (figs. 3.35-35a) likely dating to the Inca occupation, found on a mummy bundle of an *orejón* (a nobleman) displays similar iconography along the neck slit.⁴⁶⁵ The creation of these ethnically plural objects speaks to the endurance of Chachapoya ethnic markers. If these images were not lost under the Inca, we should not assume that they were necessarily lost when Chachapoya people were in Lima and saw the face of their devotional image in the Cercado change before their eyes.

In a discussion of transformation in the Andes, the famous Huarochirí Manuscript also merits a brief mention. The text, written in Quechua in the late-sixteenth century, recounts the stories of *guacas* and other religious figures from provinces near Lima, including the story of two *guacas* named Cahuillaca and Cuniraya Huiracocha.⁴⁶⁶ In this story, the maiden Cahuillaca was so desperate to escape from the powerful Cuniraya that when she reached the coast near the temple of Pachacamac, she flung herself and her son into the ocean, turning them into small islands that can be still be seen today (fig. 3.36).⁴⁶⁷ Given the proximity of the Huarochirí province and the temple of Pachacamac to Lima, it is possible that the Chachapoya *cofrades* were familiar with the story and that it informed their perception of the miracle. The story additionally allows for insight into the coastal tradition of the “shrimpers” who were members of the confraternity. Moreover, these stories attest to the importance of sacred essence over form in

⁴⁶⁵ von Hagen, 150. *Orejón* is a Spanish word that indicates an indigenous nobleperson identifiable by his artificially stretched earlobes, a practice adopted by many Andean cultures, including the Inca and the Chachapoya.

⁴⁶⁶ For more on the Huarochirí manuscript, see: Francisco de Avila, *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, ed. Frank Salomon and Jorge Urioste (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

⁴⁶⁷ Francisco de Avila, *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*, ed. Gérald Taylor (Lima: Instituto Frances de Estudios Andinos, 2008), 25–29.

the Andes, a hierarchy at odds with Spanish conceptions about religious images, but which could have easily been applied to “Spanish-looking” objects.

In the midst of the commotion taking place within their small church, we might imagine that the Chachapoya confraternity members located the Virgin coming to life in the more personal and familiar context of the ancestors that used to be at the center of their communities, left behind by necessity in the *ceja de selva* so far north of Lima. Albeit not on the scale of Chachapoyas’ cliff sides, the altar elevated the Virgin such that the *cofrades* would have seen the image from below. The bodily act of having to raise their heads to see the Virgin may have elicited memories of gazing up and being looked down upon by their ancestors in the *purun machu* tombs like those at Karajía (fig. 3.10). Although Catholic traditions and Chachapoya funerary practices are distinct, both the Virgin and the *cofrades*’ ancestors served as fundamental generators of community and facilitated emotional ties. These associations would have been encouraged by the parallel traditions of ritually dressing the Virgin and ritually wrapping and rewrapping mummy bundles. Though the Virgin “came to life” and mummy bundles were by European definitions dead, for indigenous people, mummies were alive and were venerated ancestors who could be consulted, share in feasts, and visit friends and family in far flung regions.⁴⁶⁸ I would argue that the miracle would have actually reinforced such bonds as the Virgin was visibly able to interact with the *cofrades* the way mummy bundles traditionally did in Chachapoya communities. As many aspects of the confraternity’s actions illustrate, Christian and indigenous visual and material traditions could have commingled in the Virgin of Copacabana

⁴⁶⁸ On the Andean view of the “dead” as living, see: Carolyn Dean, “The After-Life of Inka Rulers: Andean Death before and after Spanish Colonization,” *Hispanic Issues On Line* 7 (2010): 27–54; Frank Salomon, “The Beautiful Grandparents: Andean Ancestor Shrines and Mortuary Ritual as Seen through Colonial Records,” in *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*, ed. Tom D. Dillehay (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 315–53; Bill Sillar, “The Social Life of the Andean Dead,” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 11, no. 1 (1992): 107–23; MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, 94.

and have been accommodated in the rituals and devotions of the confraternity.

After the Miracle

When the vicar Antonio Valcázar, who was sent by the Archbishop to look into the miracle, arrived, he took control of the crowd. He climbed atop the altar to inspect the sculpture himself, and, convinced that he was witnessing a miracle, placed a paten to catch any further drops that might fall. Valcázar immediately began collecting statements from witnesses, beginning with Pineda and followed shortly thereafter by the painter Melchior de Sanabria. Sanabria was specially summoned by the vicar for his professional opinion about the sculpture and his testimony served to support the legitimacy of the miracle.⁴⁶⁹ Similarly, when Alonso de Huerta arrived on a borrowed mule, he was questioned at length about how he ran the church in order to rule out the possibility of manipulation.⁴⁷⁰ As the day progressed, other prominent members of Lima's religious hierarchy arrived, including the Jesuit Juan Pérez de Aguilar, Archdeacon Juan Velázquez, and at the end of the night, Archbishop Mogrovejo himself.

The process of authenticating the miracle continued for a month as Valcázar gathered more witnesses, received statements from the sculptor and painter who had made the image, Rodríguez and Ortega, sought approval from leaders of the regular orders, and collected stories of miracles attributed to the Virgin and the contact relics that had touched the liquid the statue exuded. Witnesses claimed to have been cured of various ills on the day of the miracle, such as the woman whose son's fever broke as soon as she commended him to the Virgin, and the woman whose excruciating hip pain was suddenly relieved.⁴⁷¹ Even the sweat-soaked cotton, which reportedly cured the oversized spleen of a young boy and restored the sight of the

⁴⁶⁹ For Sanabria's testimony, see: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 4v-5r. This practice of getting the opinion of image makers has a precedent in Italy. Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, 174.

⁴⁷⁰ For Huerta's testimony, see: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 52v-57v. Huerta borrowed the mule from Archdeacon Juan Velázquez.

⁴⁷¹ AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 45r, 26r.

daughter of one of Lima's *vecinos*, was found to be miraculously efficacious.⁴⁷² In light of the testimony and evidence, the Archbishop approved the miracle at the end of January 1592.

IV. The Confraternity in the Cathedral

The Move to the Cathedral

On December 28, 1592, on the anniversary of the sweating miracle, the Virgin of Copacabana was moved from the Cercado to the Cathedral of Lima, in the city's religious and social center.⁴⁷³ The event represented the second major shift in the confraternity's history, and was marked with a ceremonious and jubilant procession. Though significantly less dramatic and destabilizing than the *cofrades'* forceful relocation from San Lázaro, the Virgin's move to the Cathedral was orchestrated by Archbishop Mogrovejo, whose patronage began across the Rímac River, became formalized when the archbishop financed the chapel in the Cercado, was intensified by the miracle, and expanded significantly once the Virgin was moved to the Cathedral, until the time of the archbishop's death in 1606. Rather than seeing the confraternity as a pawn in Mogrovejo's machinations, we should appreciate how the sodality simultaneously managed his attentions and navigated their new devotional environment and administrative oversight, surrounded by high church officials and the Spanish colonial ruling elite, in addition to guild members and Afro-descendants, in neighboring confraternal chapels. For the first time, the confraternity was operating in the heart of the City of Kings, where concerns about the appropriateness of devotional practices and the orthodoxy of manifest religious beliefs were certainly intensified. Unfortunately, very little record remains of the Virgin of Copacabana's forty years in the Cathedral, but an examination of a "statue painting" allows us to discuss the sodality's presentation as a prominent cult, speculate about the Chachapoya *cofrades'* experience

⁴⁷² For the story of the girl whose eyes were healed, see: AGI, PR, 248, R. 24, fols. 94v-96r.

⁴⁷³ Montalvo, *El sol del nuevo mundo*, 324.

in this space, and talk about the struggle that ultimately led to their return to San Lázaro.

The Chapel in the Cathedral

The *cofrades* were initially pleased with the move, writing that it was “very good and convenient” for them because being in the Cathedral allowed them to attend Mass every Sunday, be taught Christian doctrine in Quechua, and “bring other vagrant Indians to hear the said sermon and doctrine.”⁴⁷⁴ The chapel, which was built under the auspices of Mogrovejo and two women in his family, was located at the east end of the south aisle, where the San Cristóbal door is located today (fig. 3.37).⁴⁷⁵ In the absence of the chapel furnishings and adornment, which have since been lost, an unpublished *visita* in the confraternity’s records provides an idea of the sumptuousness of the Virgin of Copacabana’s *retablo*. The archbishop’s sister, Grimanesa Mogrovejo, financed the majority of the altarpiece. According to the account, she paid an incredible 800 pesos to an unspecified artist to sculpt and gesso the altarpiece, and 1000 pesos on top of that to the Italian artist Mateo Pérez de Alesio, to paint and gild it.⁴⁷⁶ Alesio was one of the most prominent and sought-after artists in sixteenth-century Lima and he was paid a very significant sum for his work, speaking to the high prestige the cult enjoyed at the time.⁴⁷⁷ No full descriptions of the *retablo* remain but it purportedly included a portrait of the archbishop, memorializing his patronage of the Virgin of Copacabana and her confraternity.⁴⁷⁸ With the

⁴⁷⁴ “nosotros consentimos y pedimos a vuestra señoría la ponga en la Dha capilla çitue y asiente En ella nuestra confradia por que a nosotros nos esta muy bien y nos convienesen E En esta santa ygleçia la dha confradia por quanto todos los domingos E fiestas De guardar acudimos a la dicha ygleçia a Donde se nos Enseña la doctrina xpiana y se nos predica En nuestra lengua y para poder acudir a la dha doctr^a como acudiremos ayudaremos a Recoxer los demas yndios vagantes para que acuDan al dho ssermon y doctrina” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 2, fol. 253r (1592).

⁴⁷⁵ Ángulo, *Notas y monografías para la historia del barrio de San Lázaro*, 325. The chapel was annexed, rather than fully incorporated, onto the Cathedral, and was practically in the cemetery. García Irigoyen, *Santo Toribio*, 1:29.

⁴⁷⁶ AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 2, fol. 188r (1604). I am the first to identify both the cost of the *retablo* and that Mateo Pérez de Alesio polychromed it.

⁴⁷⁷ In 1600, Alesio was paid 2,400 pesos for a *retablo* for Captain Diego de Agüero. AGN, PN XVI, Prot. 111, fols. 1482-1483v (07/07/1592).

⁴⁷⁸ “el s^r Arçobispo don thoribio Alfonso mogrovejo de buena m^{ra} fundo e instituyo en esta santa ygla y le erigio y fundo capilla, y a su costa y de algunas limosnas que por su orden se agregaron le hiço *retablo*, y tomo a su cargo la

support of Lima's highest church official, a prominently located chapel, and a high volume of donations due to the miracle, the Virgin of Copacabana and her indigenous *cofrades* flourished for a time.

A Statue Painting of Lima's Copacabana in the Cathedral

Due in part to the confraternity's successful return to San Lázaro in 1633 and to destruction caused by the periodic seismic activity Lima, physical evidence and documentation pertaining to the period in which the Virgin of Copacabana and her confraternity were situated in the Cathedral are no longer extant. There is some evidence, however, in statue paintings, a popular colonial genre of painting in which statues of the Virgin were depicted, dressed and adorned, standing on their respective altars.⁴⁷⁹ Created almost exclusively for private homes, these paintings primarily served to spread the fame of a particular cult statue throughout the viceroyalty and extend devotion to secondary sites. For modern scholars, they also provide a means of recovering the material culture and devotional rituals of early colonial devotees. They must be interpreted with care, however, since these paintings often included fictive elements in order to produce an image that was unique and "hovered between the real and the supernatural."⁴⁸⁰ A single statue painting depicting Lima's Virgin of Copacabana remains in good condition and provides a glimpse into this forty-year period in the Virgin's history when the statue was displayed in the Cathedral.⁴⁸¹

The painting, entitled *Our Lady of Copacabana with Saint Joseph and Saint Peter* (fig. 3.38), is now housed at the New Mexico History Museum.⁴⁸² The Virgin, wearing a luxurious

protection y amparo della y anssi en el dicho retablo esta retratada su persona" AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, fol. 413v (1620).

⁴⁷⁹ For a deeper study of the genre see: Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 137–75.

⁴⁸⁰ Stanfield-Mazzi, 139.

⁴⁸¹ I am the first to identify this image as depicting Lima's Virgin of Copacabana.

⁴⁸² Like other paintings of this genre, the medium is oil on canvas, with the canvas measuring 37.125 x 30 inches. It was part of a donation from the Institute of Iberian Colonial Art to the Museum in 2005, which although quite large,

mantle and holding the Christ Child, stands in the center of the painting atop an altar. The hem of her fine dress falls neatly along the contours of a crescent moon, denoting her manifestation as the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. Meanwhile, the candle in her right hand marks her as a *Candelaria*. The altar is also decorated with a crest containing the Virgin's title, itself crowned, indicating that she is the Queen of Heaven. Above the Virgin two angels draw back green lace curtains and below Saint Joseph and Saint Peter kneel on either side of the altar. "NRA SA DE COPACABANA" is prominently displayed under the sculpture in this painting, leaving no question as to her advocacy.

The Virgin in this painting is very different from depictions of the highland Virgin, as can be seen in a late seventeenth-century painting also in the NMHM collection (fig. 3.39). Although the Virgin in the painting is largely covered in the *mantos* in which colonial sculptures were frequently dressed, the placement of the hands and Christ child remain very clear and reveal that the Lima Virgin and not the highland statue is the object represented in the painting. The fingers of the painted Virgin's left hand are delicately spread, with the middle and ring fingers held awkwardly together to hold the Child. This closely reflects the positioning of the Lima Virgin's hand and contrasts strongly with the unique, claw-like grasp clearly visible in the Titicaca Virgin. Further evidence that the painting depicts the Lima sculpture during her time in the Cathedral can be found in a description written in 1683 by the Spaniard Francisco Antonio de Montalvo, wherein he wrote of "that beauty" of the Virgin of Copacabana, "who is crowned with

unfortunately arrived without basic information on the images. The museum dates the painting to the early-seventeenth century and attributes it to an "unidentified artist, Peru or Bolivia." Conversation with the NMHM curator, Josef Diaz, January 19, 2016. Gabrielle Palmer attributes the painting to the circle of Gregorio Gamarra, a follower of Bernardo Bitti. The visual evidence for this is very weak and the attribution seems to be more of a reflection of a trend in Peruvian art historical scholarship to connect paintings back to the Italian artist. Gabrielle Palmer and Donna Pierce, eds., *Cambios: The Spirit of Transformation in Spanish Colonial Art* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1992), 32.

stars, is dressed with the sun, and covers her feet with the moon.”⁴⁸³ Finally, the confraternity’s 1617 inventory records that the sodality owned a painted image of their Virgin, which may even be the one we see here, or a similar image.⁴⁸⁴

The painting features a typical lack of pictorial depth associated with statue paintings, which relied on fields of saturated colors and an array of patterns instead of mimetic likeness to depict miraculous images. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi argued that the two-dimensionality may have charged the image with supernatural significances for viewers from Lake Titicaca, some of which may have been displaced Chachapoya *mitmaqkuna*, where the tradition of Tiwanaku art depicted supernatural beings in two dimensions and humans and worldly beings in three dimensions.⁴⁸⁵

The Limeño Virgin, notably, appears animated. In both size and coloration, she is rendered similarly to the saints in front of her, which, when coupled with a knowing smile and an engaging gaze, make her seem alive. Other statue paintings also blur the line between sculpture and living being, such as oft-cited example of the Christ Child dressed in the regalia of the Sapa Inca (fig. 3.40), so the Limeño painting is on the early side of a longer tradition. We may read the enlivened-looking sculpture in the painting as a direct visual cue to remind the viewers of the Lima painting to recall the 1591 miracle. The Virgin’s sweating marked a major moment in the history of both the sculpture and the *cofradía*, and her confraternity would have gained prestige from reminding viewers of the preternatural event.

The Virgin in the painting is set against a dark, plain background. The simplicity of the

⁴⁸³ “aquella hermosura que se corona de estrellas, se biste del Sol, y se calça de la Luna” Montalvo, *El sol del nuevo mundo*, 323. While Montalvo was writing metaphorically and the description could be applied to a number of images, elements in the painting align with the described features and may reflect the enshrinement setting of the Virgin the Cathedral chapel.

⁴⁸⁴ “una ymagen de lienço de nra s^a de copacabana” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 8, fol. 3v (1617).

⁴⁸⁵ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 138–39.

setting contrasts with and ultimately emphasizes the lavishness of the mantle worn by the Limeño Virgin. The painting depicts her as richly dressed, wearing a white veil on her head, a salmon-colored, elaborately trimmed dress, and a white-and-gold brocade *manto*, also trimmed with gold, jewels, and pearls. A pair of *cirios* (altar candles) is one of the few decorative elements in the painting not part of the Virgin's clothing or incorporated into the altar setting. The fact that these candles are displayed so prominently speaks to the weight the confraternity gave to illumination in cultic devotion. As early as 1589, the confraternity owned 27 altar candles, 48 small candles, 2 *candeleros* (candlesticks typically about as tall as a person), and one lamp.⁴⁸⁶ Furthermore, when the confraternity was in the Cathedral, it had 17 large lamps, a remarkably high number.⁴⁸⁷ The lighting in the painting is uniform throughout the canvas, indicating that the purpose of the candles in the image is not necessarily to provide light within the pictorial space; instead, they seem to be included as a reflection of the confraternity's use of light in their devotional practice.

In colonial Peru wealth and status were conveyed with precious metals and minerals, especially as a community's access to and use of these compared with the adornments of similar corporations around them. In her research on the archaeological site of Monte Viudo, Anna Guengerich found that the Chachapoya, in contrast, created household status not through material possessions, but rather through the ways in which households engaged with the objects they possessed.⁴⁸⁸ This is best exemplified in the Chachapoya use of mica-tempered ceramics

⁴⁸⁶ “diez y nueve çirios de a qtro libras ya gastadas / veynte y dos velas pequeñas de a dos libras gastadas /çinco çirios de a quatro libras enteras / tres [çirios] de dos libras / dies y nueve velas enteras de a dos rreales de a dos libras / siete [velas] gastadas chicas de a dos rreales de a dos libras...dos candeleros...una lampara” AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 9r.

⁴⁸⁷ Egoavil, *Las cofradías en Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII*, 49.

⁴⁸⁸ Guengerich, “Monte Viudo: Residential Architecture and the Everyday Production of Space in a Chachapoya Community,” 208. Guengerich found that no household in Monte Viudo had privileged access to exotic products, which were only found in ritual contexts.

(figs. 3.41-42), which were found throughout the site of Monte Viudo, but in higher quantities in higher-status households. Guengerich argues that the use of sparkling mica temper would have engaged higher-status viewers sensually, as the addition of mica would have glittered when held in the sunlight or the lower firelight of the hearth.⁴⁸⁹ No examples of these ceramics have survived in Lima, but they could easily have made the journey from Chachapoyas. We may imagine that the flickering light of the candles against the pearls and gems on the Virgin's hem would have produced a similar effect for viewers of the Virgin in the chapel, but may have held a special cultural significance for the Chachapoya *cofrades*, given their tradition of mica-tempered ceramics. In the painting, the two altar candles are placed tantalizingly close to the delicate gems of the hem, especially evoking this sensual experience for the statue painting's viewer. Although we lack material evidence of the confraternity during its time in the Cathedral, the painting indicates that the ways in which the confraternity chose to present their image, even in a precarious moment in the confraternity's history, had the potential to resonate with the Chachapoya devotees.

Returning to San Lázaro

The confraternity's good fortune came to an end when the Cathedral was reconstructed in 1604. In the process of the renovation, the sodality's chapel was demolished and the miraculous sculpture was moved to the area around the main altar.⁴⁹⁰ By 1609 a new, temporary chapel for the confraternity was built in roughly the original location, but it was much less prominent than the earlier structure.⁴⁹¹ Furthermore, their worship was apparently relocated to the Cathedral's

⁴⁸⁹ Guengerich, 209.

⁴⁹⁰ Ángulo, *Notas y monografías para la historia del barrio de San Lázaro*, 325.

⁴⁹¹ The earthquake of October 1609 severely affected the cathedral. In his report of the damage, Alonso de Morales, the Master of Construction for the Cathedral noted: "las bobedas que estan an la nave que corre desde la capilla de nra señora de copacavana hasta la capilla de las animas estan tan molidas" Archivo del Cabildo Metropolitano de Lima, Obras, 1609, fol. 22r.

cemetery, which the *cofrades* felt was unbecoming of their devotion.⁴⁹² Nevertheless, Masses continued to be held, in Quechua, as evidenced by the *cofrades*' specific requests that their chaplains be fluent in the language.⁴⁹³ Ironically, the *cofrades* were left without a designated area to bury their dead, which posed an insurmountable problem for the community since the promise of burial arrangements was a privilege promised to those joining the sodality.⁴⁹⁴

After 1604, the *cofradía* often lamented that their community had suffered greatly and was left a ruin of its former glory. The sodality began petitioning the Archbishop to return to their original location in the city in the San Lázaro neighborhood as early as June of 1605.⁴⁹⁵ They proposed to build a church for the Virgin of Copacabana in their original *barrio*, making a very a strong case over the course of ten years. They cited having the support of other indigenous people living in the *barrio* across the river who were ready to aid them.⁴⁹⁶ They also had the support of Spaniards living in San Lázaro, who had donated large sums of money, bricks, the labor of Afro-descendants, horses, mules, houses, and land a block away from the church of San Lázaro.⁴⁹⁷

Unwilling to lose control of the image, a Spanish faction from the Cathedral adamantly argued that the Virgin needed to remain where she was. They claimed that the Virgin really

⁴⁹² “la dicha doctrina y sermones que todas las fiestas se nos hacen y enseñan en el sementerio dela dicha sancta yglesia, a donde acudimos por estar alli la capilla de nra s.^{ra}” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, fol. 409r.

⁴⁹³ “A Vm pido le m^{de} rremover [El dho BHR Fran^{co} de ganbarana] y quitar de la dha capellania y poner saçerdote q sepa la lengua y se entienda con los y^{os} y les trate con afabilidad y amor y en todo jus^{ta}” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 2, fol. 147r (1605).

⁴⁹⁴ “Los mayordomos y veinte y quatro de la cofradia de nuestra señora de copacavana decimos que la dicha cofradia a estado muy caida rrespetto de que en esta santa yglesia no tenian entierro los Hermanos ni capilla señalada por lo qual trataron y v s^a les hiço mrd de que pudiessen haçer la capilla que agora tienen en donde si no tubiessen entierro seällado seria ocassion de que los hermanos que agora tiene que son muy pocos se despiden como cada dia lo van haçiendo y se passan a otras y si no se pussiessa rremedio en ello totalmente la dha cofradia quedaria destruyda y sin ningunos hermanos” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 10, fol. 1r (1621).

⁴⁹⁵ José Manuel Bermúdez, *Anales de la Catedral de Lima* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1903), 45.

⁴⁹⁶ “pues su principio fue en el dho barrio de San laz^o donde ay muchas Perssonas devotas que quieren ayudar y favorezer la fabrica de la dha capilla y dar sitio y lugar muy a proposito” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, 402v (1615).

⁴⁹⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, 1616, fol. 397r (1616).

belonged to the Cathedral rather than the *cofradía* by claiming that the Archbishop helped pay for the sculpture.⁴⁹⁸ The sodality, in turn, responded with evidence to the contrary, questioning the painter Cristóbal de Ortega and numerous *cofrades* to prove definitively that the image had been commissioned and paid for by the confraternity.⁴⁹⁹ Finally, in 1615, the King of Spain gave the confraternity permission to build their church in San Lázaro and permanently relocate the Virgin of Copacabana there, so long as the new building had “the decency and ornament necessary to celebrate Mass in it.”⁵⁰⁰ At the King’s request, Archbishop Lobo Guerrero provided the community with the license required to make the move, and an indulgence of forty days of pardon for “all the faithful Christians who want to go hear Mass in the chapel” and say “an Our Father and a Hail Mary prayer in remembrance of the death and Passion of our lord Jesus Christ.”⁵⁰¹

Obtaining this official approval was a significant step for the confraternity, acting as the custodians of the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana, but their work was far from over. Building the chapel was a long process and in the time it took to complete it, the confraternity met with further opposition. In this case, a group of indigenous people that did not belong to the sodality initiated a counter-appeal to keep the image in the Cathedral.⁵⁰² This new development may

⁴⁹⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fol. 53r (1605).

⁴⁹⁹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 72, Exp. 4, fols. 83r-114v (1605). For Ortega’s testimony, see: fols. 87r-90v.

⁵⁰⁰ “y estando edificada y fundada y con la decençia y ornato necess^o Para deçir misa en ella” AAL, Cof., Leg. 10, Exp. 7, fol. 4r (1615).

⁵⁰¹ “todos los fieles Christianos q quisieron yr A oyrla a la qual capilla concedemos los quarenta dias de perdon q por derecho nos es permitido para q las personas q fueren a visitarla dha Capilla y con devocion rezaren un padre nro y un ave maria a la muerte y passion de nro señor Jesu Christo gozen dellos” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, fol. 405v (1615).

⁵⁰² “Los yndios oficiales que residimos en esta ciudad y maiordomos y coffrades que entre nosotros ay de las coffradias y hermandades que en ella esta fundadas anssi en los conventos, como en la comp^a de Jesus, y en otras partes, que aqui firmamos nros nombres, y en nombre, y en vos de los de mas yndios que residen en esta dicha ciudad...acudimos con mas commodidad los domingos y fiestas de guardar a la doctrina y sermones que ordinariamente se nos hacen, a lo qual no pudieramos acudir con la puntualidad que hemos acudido, si la dicha ymagen se llevasse a otra parte, viewers to recall the 1591 miracle, in which the en cuia consideraçion se proveio por el dicho s^r Arçobispo el auto de que haçemos presentaçion, el qual se ha de servir VS. Illra. mandar se guarde y cumpla sin

demonstrate the ethnic shift that occurred within the group, in which the strong Chachapoya contingent was supplanted by a noble, multiethnic group. The Copacabana *cofrades* grew tired of waiting and in 1620 tried to remove the *retablo* enshrining the image, only to be stopped and reprimanded for attempted theft.⁵⁰³ It would be another thirteen years before they would finally return with their highly venerated image of the Virgin to the *barrio* of San Lázaro.

V. Conclusion

On December 28, 1633, the confraternity of Our Lady of Copacabana brought the Virgin to her church in San Lázaro in a large procession. After nearly thirty years of fighting and thousands upon thousands of pesos, all collected by the confraternity and spent on the new church, the sodality finally had a space of their own in which they could worship, bury their dead, and support the cult dedicated to their Virgin. By the end of the seventeenth century, the church had even expanded to become a *beaterio*, a school for indigenous noble females (with a school run today by the Franciscan nun caretakers of the church).⁵⁰⁴

Though no longer in the city center, the Virgin of Copacabana remained an active image in the city of Lima. For example, in response to the earthquake of 1655, the Virgin of Copacabana was one of three images brought out in a special procession, followed by the viceroy, the archbishop, all of the religious orders, and a multitude of believers.⁵⁰⁵ Furthermore, the proliferation of image cults in the city, and the subsequent sweating and crying miracles

embargo de que los maiordomos de la dicha coffradía que al presente son; pretendan remover de la dicha capilla la dicha ymagen y que se lleve al pueblo y asiento de sant Laçaro” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, fol. 409r (1616?).

⁵⁰³ “ayer catorçe de este presente mes de hecho por algunas personas que dixeron que tenian orden para ello estando el dicho cavildo ocupado en deçir las horas canonicas en su coro; desarmaron el dicho retablo y se lo llevaron q queriendo llevar la ymagen, y teniendo notiçia de ello el dicho cavildo lo impidio y la trajo al altar de la sacristia donde esta” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 1, fols. 413r-413v (1620).

⁵⁰⁴ Waldemar Espinoza Soriano and Mery Baltasar Olmeda, “Los beaterios en la Lima colonial. El caso de un beaterio para mujeres indígenas nobles,” *Investigaciones sociales* 14, no. 24 (2010): 131–47.

⁵⁰⁵ Guillermo Lohmann Villena, “Una Catedral para un reino,” in *La basilica Catedral de Lima*, ed. Guillermo Lohmann Villena and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2004), 37.

involving images, provide evidence of the significant impact the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana had on the changing religious topography of the city of Lima in the seventeenth century. The Virgin of Copacabana led the way for Lima's subsequent miraculous image cults, some of which remain active today. According to the cult's foundation legend, when an earthquake struck Lima on November 27, 1630, the Virgen del Milagro (fig. 3.43) suddenly spun around in her niche to face San Francisco's high altar in order to intercede on Lima's behalf.⁵⁰⁶ In 1655 an image now known as the Señor de los Milagros (fig. 3.44), said to have been painted by an untrained enslaved Angolan man, reportedly did not fall during another major earthquake due to divine intervention, and in 1670 cured a man's malignant tumor and resisted erasure.⁵⁰⁷ According to its miracle book, on September 29, 1675, in nearby Jesuit church in Callao, a sculpture known as Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia (fig. 3.45) wept in a manner akin to the Virgin of Copacabana.⁵⁰⁸ The Viceroy himself wrote about the statue of the Virgin known as Nuestra Señora del Aviso (now lost) that, in 1687 warned Lima of an impending earthquake with

⁵⁰⁶ Diego de Córdova y Salinas, *Crónica franciscana de las provincias del Perú*, ed. Lino Gómez Canedo (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), 534. This Virgin is said to be one of the first images to arrive in the Viceroyalty of Peru and to have been a gift from Charles V. The sculpture first arrived in Lima but did not remain in the city for long. It was taken by Franciscan friars to the front lines of battle of the Spanish conquest of Cusco, where the image is said to have performed her first miracle in 1536, by Fernando Pizarro y Orellana, a relative of Lima's founder and author of *Varones ilustres del nuevo mundo*, and a Franciscan priest named Francisco de Chávez, who recounted the story in a statement he made in 1641, at the age of 108. While Pizarro and Orellana never left Spain, Chávez claims to have known the Franciscan fathers who founded the convent in Lima, and his story is the truth as far as the Franciscan order is concerned. Fernando Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres del nuevo mundo, descubridores, conquistadores, y pacificadores del opulento, dilatado, y poderoso imperio de las Indias Occidentales: sus vidas, virtud, valor, hazañas, y claros blasones* (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1639). For Chávez's statement, see: Córdova y Salinas, *Crónica franciscana de las provincias del Perú*, 535–36.

⁵⁰⁷ See: Chapter 1, note 26.

⁵⁰⁸ José de Buendía, *Sudor, y lagrimas de Maria Santissima en su santa imagen de la Misericordia. Reconocidas a 29 de setiembre dia del Arcangel S. Miguel año de 1675. Veneradas en la Capilla de Loreto de la Iglesia de la Compañia de Jesus en el Presidio, y Puerto del Callao. Segun consta del processo juridico hecho ante el juez ordinario de orden del ilustrissimo y reuerendissimo señor D. Fr. Juan de Almoguera arzobispo de Lima del consejo de su Magestad*. (Lima: Casa de Iuan de Queuedo, 1676). In a reversal of the events that took place eighty-four years prior, this Virgin, known as Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia, was a painted image under Jesuit control. As such, it seems that the Callao miracle was promoted by the Jesuits as an institutional response to the 1591 miracle, the control of which was purposefully taken from them by Archbishop Mogrovejo.

her tears.⁵⁰⁹ The miracle and cult of the Virgin of Copacabana are clearly interwoven with the miracle stories and the larger histories of these images.

In this chapter, I have recovered the history of the Virgin of Copacabana, her *cofrades*, and the material culture that surrounded the Virgin in early colonial Lima. We have seen how the Virgin was simultaneously a devotional image through which the confraternity could experience Catholic piety and a surrogate for indigenous ritual objects that supported confraternal members in integrating previously held beliefs about supernatural agency and ritual efficacy, that continued long-standing Andean cultural practices, into their daily lives in the viceregal capital city of Lima.

Special emphasis has been given to the Virgin's Chachapoya *cofrades* and their visual cultural and religious traditions. In following the image and community from their foundations in the multiracial *barrio* of San Lázaro, to the indigenous Cercado where the Virgin performed her miracle, to the sumptuous chapel in the Cathedral, alongside Lima's elite, we have seen how the confraternity used their Virgin to enhance their community's standing in different urban environments. Contrary to a historiographical narrative that denies that artistic agency of indigenous people in Lima, it is clear that the Chachapoya collectivity, in its ritual interactions with their Virgin, had the opportunity to activate historical memory and enact their cultural practices, such as renaming the Virgin to reference their forced relocation under the Inca and

⁵⁰⁹ The story of the Virgin of the Warning was recorded as early as two years after the miracle by the Viceroy of Peru, Don Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull (r. 1681-1689) in a report to his successor and later by the Jesuit priest José de Buendía (1644-1727) in 1693. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Mss. 3029, "Relación que hizo el Virrey del Perú D. Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull, Duque de la Palata, a su sucesor en el cargo, Conde de la Monclova, del estado del Virreinato y de todo lo actuado en el mismo por el Virrey saliente desde 7 de noviembre de 1681 hasta 18 diciembre 1689," fols. 160r-162; José de Buendía, *Vida admirable y prodigiosas virtudes del venerable y apostólico padre Francisco del Castillo de la Compañía de Jesús natural de Lima, Ciudad de los Reyes de la provincia del Perú Dirigida al muy ilustre señor don Salvador Fernandez de Castro y Borja, marques de Almuña, & hijo del exmo señor don Pedro Fernandez de Castro & conde de Lemos, & virrey que fué, gobernador y capitan general de los reynos del Perú; y ahijado del v. p. Francisco del Castillo*, vol. 5 (Madrid: A. Roman, 1693), 636-37.

engaging with the statue as they would an ancestor. Crucially, as far as the documentary record indicates, they did so publicly. In this way, the indigenous *cofrades* benefited from the rigid worldview, prevalent in Lima, that did not allow the Spanish to be fully aware of what occurred in plain sight. Their actions should not be reduced to simply being acts of resistance, but instead be understood as evidence of the resilience of the Andean practices, even in the context of the viceregal capital. At the same time, the fact that Iberian and Andean traditions mutually supported and impinged upon each other when they came together in the Copacabana statue allowed for a Chachapoya *cofrade* to simultaneously practice the orthodox Catholicism required by society in Lima and maintain their identity. The result was a new community of Limeño Chachapoyanos, distinct from their ancestors and the Spanish colonists.

A statue of the Virgin, that in name seems to be from the highlands, and through its stylistic markers appears “European,” has turned out to be neither and both. I have argued that this multivalent devotional work was mobilized by the *cofrades* to meet their complex and changing needs. Commissioned by a multiethnic indigenous community, made of wood from Nicaragua, sculpted and painted by Spanish artists drawing from Italian, Flemish, and Sevillian artistic traditions, caught up in Lima’s religious politics, and titled after a highland Virgin, Lima’s Virgin of Copacabana is in every way a product of the early modern world and serves as an emblem for the City of Kings. To put it into Andean terms, we might conclude that the Virgin of Copacabana could function as a metonym for the viceregal capital, fully imbued with its social essence. That the image was Spanish-made but defined by an Andean community is not an accident of history. Rather, it further attests to what we already saw in the previous chapter: Lima may appear Spanish, but it is in large part Andean at its core.

CHAPTER FOUR

From *Ira* to *Imagen*: The Virgin of the Antigua and Her Senegambian Devotees

I. Introduction

A large, gilded painting of the Virgin of the Antigua (fig. 4.1) stands out amidst a nineteenth-century altar in the third chapel on the north side of Lima's Cathedral. Generally believed to be a copy sent from Seville in the sixteenth century, the image is celebrated by the Cathedral and art historians alike as one of Lima's oldest and finest works of art.⁵¹⁰ Before the Cathedral was remodeled in the nineteenth century, the painted Virgin was prominently placed in a chapel positioned against the back of the choir stalls, so that it was the very first image a viewer encountered upon entering. And yet, this was not the image of the Virgin of the Antigua with which colonial Limeños would have been most familiar, but rather, a small wooden statue, now lost, that belonged to the black *cofradía* dedicated to the Virgin of the Antigua.⁵¹¹ Several times a

⁵¹⁰ The provenance for the painting currently installed in the Cathedral originates in 1778, in Fray Domingo de Soria's biography of the venerable Francisco Camacho (1629-1698). His account, which says that the painting was sent to Lima in 1544 or 1545 by the archdeacon of Seville's Cathedral, Don Juan Federegui, in celebration of the Cathedral's elevation to the rank of Metropolitan Church, appears to conflate events from the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. While the status of Lima's Cathedral was elevated in 1546, the only official in the Seville Cathedral named Juan de Federegui served as a member of the *cabildo* and as a canon between 1623 and 1649. Furthermore, an unpublished inventory from 1604 confirms that the Cathedral had an image of the Virgin of the Antigua, four varas tall and two varas wide, painted on panel. Notably, the inventory specifies that Antigua painting was located in the Chapel of Santa Ana (fig. 4.5), which sustained extensive damage in the 1609 earthquake. It is possible that the sixteenth-century painting of the Antigua was supplanted by a new copy, sent from Seville during Federegui's tenure (c.1624-49), that was painted on canvas, consistent with other copies of the cult image in the seventeenth century. We can only speculate about these earlier images of the Virgin of the Antigua, but should be cautious and not assume the current image was in the Cathedral until the seventeenth century.

⁵¹¹ Reference to the sculpted image appears in AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. AQr (1585); AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 3, fol. 27v (1599); AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.17r (1631). The confraternity paid 100 pesos for the sculpture and an accompanying gilded *retablo* from Mexico in 1585. The Limeño merchant Diego López de Toledo brought the items to Lima ahead of schedule by landing in the port of Paita and taking an overland route to the

year, every year, during the city's many religious holidays, the Virgin's *cofrades* dressed the statue in mantles, jewelry, and ephemeral decorations, and processed it in Lima's streets, where it was seen by the crowds of Limeños that lined the streets for the occasion. Whereas the painted Virgin's elite location kept it bound in one place, the Antigua statue was mobile and therefore accessible to more than just those who entered the Cathedral.

The *cofradía* of the Virgin of the Antigua (fig. 4.1), named for a Sevillian devotion to the Virgin, was founded in the Cathedral of Lima around 1560. One of the oldest black sodalities in the city, it was initially comprised of a diverse group of people identified as *morenos*. In its first seventy years, the *cofradía* amassed a rich inventory of goods (*bienes*), with which members demonstrated devotion to their Virgin and asserted their superiority over rival Afro-confraternities. By 1630, the black sodality began to divide, with one group identifying with the city of Lima (*criollos*) and another with the Greater Senegambia region of West Africa (*caboverdes*), each with its own leader (*mayordomo*). As the two factions struggled for control of the confraternity, the respective *mayordomos* similarly used the confraternity's *bienes* against each other. The Greater Senegambian *cofrades* ultimately prevailed around the mid-seventeenth century and shifted the confraternity's focus to support other *caboverde* communities in Lima. Though the "confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua of the *morenos* of *caboverde*" would retain its prominence, it materially declined due both to the infighting and to the University of San Marcos's increased involvement in their cult and chapel after 1644.

Although the Virgin of the Antigua is a Spanish-made object and traditionally held to be one of the first Marian images to arrive in Lima, surprisingly little art historical study has been

capital city. Sculpture and retablo were paid for ahead of time by the confraternity, and the shipping costs were paid by limosnas, totaling 240 pesos and 5 reales, gathered at the last minute by the confraternity's veintiquatros and its then-mayordomo, Francisco de Gamarra.

done on this Virgin in comparison to other images in the city.⁵¹² The painting is mentioned in works on the art of colonial Lima, but there has been no in-depth scrutiny of the documents generated by the confraternity or visual analysis beyond comparisons to the Sevillian original.⁵¹³ The most exemplary treatment of the Virgin of the Antigua is that of Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, who praised the image as one of the Lima Cathedral's first paintings, discussed the original Sevillian image, retold the story of the painted copy arrived in Lima, and ended with a brief examination of the copies made of the image.⁵¹⁴

Historical studies, such as the short articles by Virgilio Freddy Cabanillas, touch on the Antigua mostly discuss her as the adopted patroness of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and only acknowledge the Virgin's earlier association with the black *cofrades* in passing.⁵¹⁵ To discuss the cult of the Virgin of the Antigua in Lima without discussing the confraternal community that cared for her, however, is arguably missing the most essential components of the Antigua's history in the viceregal capital.

Spaces of Correlation

In this chapter I elucidate the complex and interconnected ways the Virgin of the Antigua's black *cofrades* utilized visual and material culture in their confraternal activities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lima. Though the cult of the Virgin of the Antigua originated

⁵¹² The early colonial objects that have received the most attention are those with identified artists, especially those made by European makers who came to the viceroyalty or those whose art was imported. See: Chapter 1.

⁵¹³ José Antonio Benito Rodríguez, "La Virgen de la Nube y el Señor de los Milagros de Lima," in *Advocaciones marianas de gloria* (Madrid: San Lorenzo de el Escorial, 2012), 1191–92; Lohmann Villena, "Una Catedral para un reino," 41; Wuffarden, "La catedral de Lima y el 'triumfo de la pintura,'" 243–44, 272; Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de Maria en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios mas celebrados*, 16.

⁵¹⁴ Wuffarden, "La catedral de Lima y el 'triumfo de la pintura,'" 243–44.

⁵¹⁵ Virgilio Freddy Cabanillas, "San Marcos y Nuestra Señora de La Antigua," *Revista del Archivo General de La Nación* 22 (2001): 133–44; Virgilio Freddy Cabanillas, "Nuestra Señora de La Antigua En San Marcos," *Alma Mater (UNMSM)* 20 (2001): 17–26; Luis Antonio Eguiguren, "La Patrona de Los Grados," in *Diccionario Histórico Cronológico de La Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Maros y Sus Colegios*, vol. 1 (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1940), 89–90.

in Seville, and the Antigua Virgin that hangs in Lima's Cathedral was imported from Seville, this chapter considers the Lima devotion first and foremost as inextricably tied to the black *cofradía*.

When considering the confraternity's devotional practices and their use of religious images as described in the documentary record, I speculate about what the *cofrades* could have remembered from their West African cultural heritage and place these within what Cécile Fromont terms "spaces of correlation." For Fromont, "spaces of correlation" are an analytical tool that encompass the "cultural creations such as narratives, artworks, or performances that offer a yet-unspecified domain in which their creators can bring together ideas and forms belonging to radically different realms, confront them, and eventually turn them into interrelated parts of a new system of thought and expression."⁵¹⁶ She argues that visual art produced through such cultural convergence would not just form a new entity, but rather, were "carefully crafted creations in which authors, artists, and patrons confronted and rearticulated sameness and difference into the newly interrelated parts of a new, cohesive whole."⁵¹⁷

Since the confraternity left no material culture other than the painting (and even that is questionable), I compiled a list of the *cofradía's bienes* through inventories and other records of objects in order to create a corpus of objects to which we can apply a *caboverde* lens. I propose that the Antigua sodality's members created spaces of correlation in which this material and visual culture can be more fully imagined and interpreted when considering the cultural heritage and memory of Greater Senegambia.

This chapter will investigate the confraternity's visual and material culture, focusing in particular on the practices through which the *cofrades* engaged them, thereby revealing the

⁵¹⁶ Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2014), 15.

⁵¹⁷ Fromont, 18.

dynamic, shifting collectivities that constituted the Antigua *cofradía*.⁵¹⁸ In order to access the Greater Senegambian practices necessarily not present in the archival record, I will propose possible spaces of correlation the members of the *caboverde* confraternity could have formed. Rather than place Catholicism in strict opposition to a self-identification as *caboverde*, Christianity is better understood as a dimension of the *cofrades*' colonial identity and experience, or possibly as an extension of an ongoing cultural process that began prior to enslavement.⁵¹⁹ By looking for the ways that *cofrades* might have decoded religious images and ritual objects through Greater Senegambian perspectives, we can recover a colonial collectivity that has been obscured by colonialism.

Chapter Structure

In order to reveal the multiplicity of ways that the *cofrades* of the Virgin of the Antigua activated the *bienes* in their confraternal collection, I have structured this chapter as a history of the devotional possessions revealed through inventories and archival records, following a roughly chronological narrative. The first section examines Afro-ethnonyms in the context of colonial Lima, before considering what it means to be *caboverde* in the Antigua confraternity. Then, concluding that the label most likely refers to the Greater Senegambia region of West Africa, I provide an introduction to the area, briefly highlighting the Wolof, Bijagó, and Diola peoples.

The second section addresses the confraternity's early history. Using limited documentation, I begin by explaining that the sodality was founded in the Cathedral around 1560 by a diverse black community. Then, I discuss the origins of the Virgin of the Antigua in Seville,

⁵¹⁸ I thank Rachel O'Toole for revealing to that practices were the key to the analysis I was already undertaking.

⁵¹⁹ Rachel S. O'Toole, "From the Rivers of Guinea to the Valleys of Peru: Becoming a Bran Diaspora within Spanish Slavery," *Social Text* 92, no. 3 (2007): 29.

the advocacy's cultural purchase, and why the Lima *cofrades* might have chosen it. In a discussion of cult images of the Virgin of the Antigua in Lima, I demonstrate that the sodality interacted more with a sculpted image they commissioned from Mexico in 1585 than with the painted image.

The third section examines the disputes in which the Antigua confraternity engaged, first against rival black confraternities in the sixteenth century and then amongst themselves in the seventeenth century. I argue that the *cofrades* deployed a strategy of demonstrating through their devotional images and liturgical objects that they were “good Christians” and that their opponents, the confraternity of the Virgin of the Rosary in 1574 and the confraternity of Saints Justa and Rufina in 1585 were, conversely, impious. In so doing, the Antigua community obtained the most prominent position in the Corpus Christi procession, established the stature of the community, and reveal to us the complex ways the members conceptualized material culture. In 1630, when the confraternity began to split between *criollos* and *caboverdes*, the battling *mayordomos* used a similar approach.

Acknowledging the limitations of the methodology, the fourth section analyzes the confraternity's collection of material culture alongside visual art and rituals from modern Greater Senegambia. Through the examples of Bijagó sculpture and female initiation ceremonies, the golden jewelry of the Wolof and Tukolor, and the male initiation ceremonies of the Diola, I propose that these later works provide some indication of the early modern religious and artistic traditions that the *caboverde cofrades* would have been familiar with. These later works from the region therefore help us to reconstruct the spaces of correlation in the Lima confraternity, from which the Greater Senegambian members generated new cultural experiences. I argue that the confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua adopted and subverted colonial religious imagery

while operating within a matrix of meaning that connected them to their African visual heritage. In focusing on the mobilization of confraternal objects, this chapter recovers aspects of the black *cofrades'* social identities and ritual life and refutes a longstanding art historical narrative that either ignores or removes agency from Lima's black population.

II. Afro-Descendants and Greater Senegambia

If we are to understand the confraternity and their engagements with material culture, we must begin by examining the people who self-identified as members of the two *parcialidades* (factions) that had manifested within the group by 1630. These factions were not ethnic, in the sense that neither *criollo* nor *caboverde* had a single, stable meaning, at least not one that extended beyond the context of this specific community. We can, however, talk about the collectivities that Afro-descendants formed by organizing under these terms. Such allied groups tended to clash within the confraternal context, especially as the seventeenth century progressed. The *Cofradía de morenos* of San Gabriel in La Merced, for example, saw a split between the *criollos* and the group of *negros congos* in 1676.⁵²⁰

Afro-ethnonyms in Colonial Lima

Although they were broadly based on locations in Africa, ethnonymic identifications like *caboverde*, *bran*, *congo*, and *angola*, were inventions of the colonial world.⁵²¹ They derived from the ports from which enslaved peoples embarked, and using them to examine identity in the Americas has been criticized, both for being inaccurate and for reducing Afro-descendants to their identities as slaves. Nevertheless, these terms seem to have developed meaning for those who adopted them. In her work on the enslaved populations of New Orleans, the historian

⁵²⁰ AAL, Cof., Leg. 65, Exp. 21 (1676).

⁵²¹ On the assignation of ethnonyms in colonial Latin America, see: Jeffrey A. Erbig Jr. and Sergio Latini, "Across Archival Limits: Colonial Records, Changing Ethnonyms, and Geographies of Knowledge," *Ethnohistory* 66, no. 2 (2019): 249–73.

Gwendolyn Midlo Hall argues for the self-identification of “nations” in archival documents as evidence of the endurance of African ethnic identities in the American context, despite the unclear and equivocal nature of the designations.⁵²² Hall’s research does important work toward challenging the belief, in her words, “that Africans were so fragmented when they arrived in the Western Hemisphere that specific African regions and ethnicities had little influence on particular regions in the Americas.”⁵²³ However, as Robin Law has demonstrated in her examination of the Yoruba, ethnicity in West Africa, as in the Andes, was fluid and subject to redefinition, and underwent transformation through the process of displacement across the Atlantic.⁵²⁴ Given the limitations of the colonial world, it behooves us to examine the African ethnicities of Afro-descendants in the Viceroyalty of Peru, while being wary of the inherent pitfalls in mobilizing the slippery geographic markers of African origins.

What it meant to be of the *nación caboverde* is neither obvious nor immutable. The fluid term meant something different for every group that mobilized it, even within the same city at the same time. This is best illustrated by a dispute that occurred in 1607 among the *biohoes* – an ethnonym that references the Bijagós archipelago off the coast of modern Guinea-Bissau – who made up the Confraternity of Juan de la Buena Ventura in Lima.⁵²⁵ This *cofradía*’s membership was apparently divided between *biohoes* born in Guinea and the *biohoes* who were *criollos* of the New World city of Panama. The Guinean-born *biohoes*, who founded the confraternity in the Convent of San Francisco, accused the Panamanian-born brothers of deception and immorality,

⁵²² Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*.

⁵²³ Hall, xv.

⁵²⁴ Robin Law, “Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: ‘Lucumi’ and ‘Nago’ as Ethnonyms in West Africa,” *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205–19.

⁵²⁵ Previously discussed by Graubart, “So Color de Una Cofradía”; Ciro Corilla Melchor, “Cofradías en la ciudad de Lima, siglos XVI y XVII: racismo y conflictos étnicos,” in *Etnicidad y Discriminación Racial en la Historia del Perú*, ed. Ana Cecilia Carillo Saravia et al., Publicación del Instituto Riva-Agüero 198 (Lima: Instituto Riva Agüero: Banco Mundial, 2002), 11–34; Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Los negros y la iglesia en el Perú: siglos xvi - xvii*, trans. Jorge Gómez, vol. 1 (Quito: Centro Cultural Afroecuatoriano, 1997).

requesting permission to expel them from the sodality.⁵²⁶ This case hints at the diversity of experiences people could have had while still identifying as *biohoes*. The fact that the complainant *biohoes* requested that *cofrades* from “other nations” remain in the brotherhood as they sought to oust other *biohoes* indicates that sharing an origin in a specific place was not the paramount connection.

However, the case also speaks to a stable element in the term. Regardless of whether the African connection was recent and fresh, as was the case with the *cofrades* who came directly from the Bijagós islands, or distant, like the *criollos* of Panama, the ‘homeland’ remained constant and thus granted access to a shared point of commonality. Thus, whereas Graubart, in her seminal article on Afro-confraternities in Lima, used this case to distance “Afro-Peruvian” ethnicities from “cultural and linguistic similarities that pre-dated enslavement in Africa,” I would argue that it points to the importance of African origins for Africans in diaspora. Consider the dispute in terms of contemporary disagreements between African Americans and recent African immigrants to the United States. As in the colonial case, those who have recently arrived notoriously look down upon their American counterparts, yet this does not negate the latter’s affinity to Africa. Perhaps the issue, then, is that discussions of “ethnicity” are not particularly useful for Afro-diasporic people in the colonial period, if using the term incites comparison between colonial vs. African manifestations. A discussion of colonial collectivities, instead, allows us to consider diasporic people on their own terms and leaves room for the change we already know to have occurred.

⁵²⁶ AAL, Cof., Leg. 51, Exp. 1, fol. 1v (1607).

Being *Caboverde* in the Antigua Confraternity

It is not entirely clear what the members of the confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua in Lima meant when they identified as *caboverde*, but it is most likely that they originated in a region now known as Greater Senegambia, which encompasses the area between the Senegal River in the north, the Sierra Leone River in the south, and the Futa Jallon plateau in the East (map 4.1). In the early modern period, this region was known as “Guinea” and “Guinea of Cabo Verde,” derived from the fact that before the establishment of the port at Cacheu toward the end of the sixteenth century, virtually all enslaved Africans originating from Greater Senegambia were transported to the Americas through the Cape Verde Islands, off the coast of West Africa (map 4.2).⁵²⁷ Through the end of the Portuguese *asiento* slave trade in 1640, Greater Senegambians were brought to the Viceroyalty of Peru in large numbers, comprising over half of the viceroyalty’s enslaved population.⁵²⁸ Thus, it is likely that the *cofrades* in Lima used the term *caboverde* to affiliate themselves with the larger region. This seems to be supported by certain aspects of the confraternity’s leadership, as when the first *mayordomo* for the Antigua *caboverdes* clarified that he was “*casta bran*,” or when the confraternity designated a *mayordomo* to represent the “people of Bissau” after it became exclusively *caboverde*.⁵²⁹ Lacking a list of the confraternity members, we can only guess at the cultural backgrounds of the *caboverde cofrades*.

It is worth noting that there was a population of Greater Senegambians that lived on the islands of Cape Verde, composed of enslaved Africans who served Europeans living on the

⁵²⁷ José da Silva Horta, “Evidence for a Luso-African Identity in ‘Portuguese’ Accounts on ‘Guinea of Cape Verde’ (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries),” *History in Africa* 27 (2000): 108; Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 86. The four main slave ports in West Africa were the Cape Verde Islands, the port of Cacheu in Guinea-Bissau, the island of São Tomé, and Luanda in Angola.

⁵²⁸ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 87–88.

⁵²⁹ Antón de Claros is identified as *bran* in AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fol. Er, Fr (1630). Francisco Bran was the *mayordomo* of the “Gente de bicaço” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 22, fol. 2v (1659).

islands and *vadios* (enslaved people who had escaped, similar to the Spanish term *cimarrón*). The historian Toby Green has argued that by 1575 some Afro-Cape Verdians had a distinct identity and used the term “criollo” for people born on the islands who spoke the vernacularized Kriolu language.⁵³⁰ This would suggest that some of the Antigua confraternity members may have been from this group. However, Green acknowledged that his sole example could have been an individual choice and, moreover, pointed out that in the seventeenth century some enslaved people in the Cape Verdian city of Ribeira grande, continued to identify with their Greater Senegambian origins, rather than with Cape Verde.⁵³¹ Further complicating the question of what it meant to be from Cape Verde were the continuous arrivals of enslaved people to the islands and periodic moments of migration from the islands back to the coastal cities of Greater Senegambia.⁵³²

Ultimately, we must come to terms with the fact we will never be sure exactly what the Antigua confraternity members meant when they identified as *caboverdes*, or how that meaning may have changed. Given the significant interchange of people as well as objects between the islands and the mainland, we can guess that even if the Antigua sodality members originated in the islands, they were still connected to the cultural traditions of Greater Senegambia. Building on this, this chapter will consider ethnic traditions from throughout the region when proposing possible interpretations by the *caboverde cofrades*. Before moving on to the Lima context, then, we must first acquaint ourselves with the Greater Senegambia region and its ethnic diversity.

⁵³⁰ Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589*, African Studies 118 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 274–75. Graubart wrote that the Antigua *cofrades* were people from Caboverde. Graubart, “So Color de Una Cofradia,” 57.

⁵³¹ Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa*, 275 (n. 72).

⁵³² Green, 275.

Introduction to Greater Senegambia

Boubacar Barry characterizes the Greater Senegambia region as an area of geographic and demographic confluence.⁵³³ It had a wide diversity of physical features, ranging from the semi-arid land north of the Gambia River (also known as Senegambia), to the fertile forested areas to the south (also known as Upper Guinea). Greater Senegambia played host to a large number of different cultural groups (map 4.3) — including the Wolof, Fulbe, Mandinka (Mande), Sereer, Tukuloor, Diola (Jola, Dyola, Joola), Nalu, Baga, and Tenda — that were loosely unified by the fact that this area of West Africa was a nexus of traditions from the Sudan, the Sahara, and the forest, and later by shared fates during the transatlantic slave trade.⁵³⁴

The upper, Sahelian area was inhabited by the Wolof and Tukuloor in the north, the Sereer in the coastal creeks of the Saluum delta, and the Mandinka along the Gambia River.⁵³⁵ Before the establishment of the European ports, the area was linked with the wider world through the Sahara, and it was in this part of Greater Senegambia that cultures of medieval Mali first merged with Islam, introduced by trans-Saharan trade.⁵³⁶ Generally speaking, the peoples living north of the Gambia River herded more livestock and lived in centralized polities under the control of the Wolof and Mandinka.⁵³⁷

Since an examination of every culture in this region is not possible here, let us look briefly at the Wolof, the largest ethno-linguistic group in modern Senegal. They locate their origins in the Jolof Confederation (c.1300-1549) that occupied most of the area between the

⁵³³ Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3. Barry refers to the whole region as simply Senegambia, but I will continue to use Greater Senegambia for the sake of clarity.

⁵³⁴ Boubacar Barry, “Senegambia from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century: Evolution of the Wolof, Sereer, and ‘Tukuloor,’” in *General History of Africa*, ed. Bethwell Allan Ogot, vol. 5: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 262.

⁵³⁵ Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa*, 31.

⁵³⁶ Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 3.

⁵³⁷ Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa*, 32.

Senegal and Gambia Rivers, rose to power around thirteenth century, and mainly sustained themselves with subsistence rainy-season cereal farming.⁵³⁸ The subsequent independent kingdoms of Waalo, Kayor, and Baol drew wealth, including small quantities of gold, from trade with Maure, Tukolor, and the Mali Empire.⁵³⁹ Though Wolof people (called *jolofos*, *jolufos*, and *jelofes* in the colonial period) comprised only a small portion of the population of Afro-descendants in Lima in the sixteenth century, given their large numbers and proximity to Cape Verde, it is possible that there were Wolof people among the Antigua confraternity, especially in the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁵⁴⁰

The peoples living in the forests, swamps, and marshlands in the southern half of Greater Senegambia, tended to live in smaller-scale, decentralized political units. The fertile land of the region allowed it to be populated so densely that in the 1590s, the trader André Alvares d'Almada claimed he had seen “two or three nations” within 100 kilometers of each other.⁵⁴¹ Among the most important of these groups were the Bainunk-Kassanké, Balanta, Biafada, Bijagó (Bidjogo), Brame, Cocoli, Floup, Landuma, and Nalu.⁵⁴² The affiliated collection of Mandinka states known as the Kaabu Federation lived inland, and south of the border of modern Guinea-

⁵³⁸ Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 15.

⁵³⁹ Timothy F. Garrard, *Gold of Africa: Jewellery and Ornaments from Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Senegal in the Collection of the Barbier-Mueller Museum* (München: Prestel, 1989), 36.

⁵⁴⁰ The presence of Wolof people in Lima in the sixteenth century is evidenced by a nineteenth-century copy of founding documents of the black confraternity of the Virgen de los Reyes in San Francisco, dating to 8 January 1589. The names of 73 founding members were recorded, 11 of whom took the last name Yolofo (Jolofo). In 1649, after significant dissention arose amongst the eight *castas* represented within the group, the confraternity voted to outline a rotation of leadership according to *casta* so that each of the dominant groups within the confraternity had fair representation. The “seats” were in a hierarchical order, determined by *antigüedad*, the order in which the groups were established within the confraternity. The first seat, on the right, was to be occupied first by a *bran* [*gran*] representative, since the sodality’s first founder was *bran*, followed by a *terranova*, *jolofo* [*yolofo*], and *mandinga*, in that order, as these were the first four *castas* to join. The seat on the left was to be occupied first by a *casanga* [*cancanga*], followed by an unspecified *casta* (possibly *terranova*), *jolofo* [*yolofo*], and finally, a *mandinga*. AAL, Cof., Leg. 51, Exp. 24, fols. 13r-17v (1829). See also: Felipe Andrés Roa Contreras, “Negros musulmanes, esclavos y libres en la América colonial: Cofradía de Jolofos de Lima correspondiente de la nación de los Jolofos” (BA thesis, Universidad de Chile, 2010).

⁵⁴¹ Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa*, 32.

⁵⁴² Green, 32.

Bissau lived a number of groups who associated with the Mandingued Susu and the so-called Sapi of Sierra Leone.⁵⁴³

Among these numerous groups, the people who inhabited the area between the Casamance river and the southern border of modern Guinea-Bissau are of special interest. A significant portion of Viceroyalty of Peru's enslaved population appears to have originated in this area, sometimes called the "Ríos de Guinea" in colonial-era documents.⁵⁴⁴ In contrast to their northern counterparts, the diverse peoples in this part of Greater Senegambia lived mainly in areas marked by dense woodlands, sprawling nearly all the way to the coast in the plateaus of the north zone. In the areas bordering the plateaus, tidal meanders dominate and allow for the wet rice agriculture that predates the arrival of Europeans and traditionally defined life there.⁵⁴⁵

We turn now to the Bijagó, residents of the archipelago of nearly ninety islands off the coast of Guinea-Bissau. Dispersed across thirty lush islands, the Bijagó enjoyed some autonomy from the mainland.⁵⁴⁶ In the fifteenth century, they lived mainly off of fishing and local agriculture, but with the rise of the transatlantic slave trade the decentralized islanders turned to raiding. In exchange for captives, they received iron and ore, which in turn helped them come to be known as highly effective warriors and the source for many destined to be enslaved.⁵⁴⁷ However, it would be inaccurate to simply classify the Bijagó as "predatory," as they have been

⁵⁴³ These groups include the Baga, Jalonké, and Volón. Green, 32.

⁵⁴⁴ See: O'Toole, "From the Rivers of Guinea to the Valleys of Peru: Becoming a Bran Diaspora within Spanish Slavery"; Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*; Stephan Buhnen, "Ethnic Origins of Peruvian Slaves (1548-1650): Figures for Upper Guinea," *Paideuma* 39 (1993): 57–110. This has been determined by the frequency of enslaved people with names like Banol, Casanga, Folup, Bran, Balanta, Biafara, Bioho, and Nalu. It bears repeating that these designations were applied in the Americas and the numbers might, therefore, be skewed.

⁵⁴⁵ Peter Mark, *The Wild Bull and the Sacred Forest: Form, Meaning, and Change in Senegambian Initiation Masks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 18.

⁵⁴⁶ Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1728), 198.

⁵⁴⁷ For an examination of Bijagó raiding, see: Omar H. Ali, "Benkos Biohó: African Maroon Leadership in New Grenada," in *Atlantic Biographies: Individuals and Peoples in the Atlantic World*, ed. Jeffrey A. Fortin and Mark Meuwese (Boston: Brill, 2014), 263–94.

classified, since Brazilian plantation inventories and the conflict in the confraternity of San Juan de la Buenaventura discussed above make it clear that they also had a presence in the Americas, including the Antigua confraternity.⁵⁴⁸

Let us take as a final focus, the Diola (called *biafara* or *biafada* in the colonial period), the predominant cultural-linguistic group of the Lower Casamance region in modern Senegal.⁵⁴⁹ Prior to the colonial period, they did not exist as an ethnic group, as evidenced by a wide variation of languages and religious beliefs. According to art historian Peter Mark, the Diola do not necessarily speak mutually intelligible languages, live in groups of tremendously variable size, neither do they share a single ancestral religion. Nevertheless, he has convincingly demonstrated that *bukut*, the male circumcision and coming-of-age ceremony that takes place in the sacred forest once a lifetime, came to serve as a means for coalescing and preserving Diola identity.⁵⁵⁰ Mark further argued that ethnic identity should be viewed as a continuously dynamic process that involves the constant creation and recreation of cultural expression, particularly in the broad interactive zones between cultures.⁵⁵¹ Thus, we might imagine that a similar ability to adapt pushed the Diola to form a new collectivity through the Antigua confraternity in the alien context of Lima, much the same way that O'Toole saw Brame (termed *bran* in the viceroyalty) doing in colonial Trujillo, on the northern coast of Peru.

⁵⁴⁸ Walter Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity, and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 93–95.

⁵⁴⁹ Buhnen, “Ethnic Origins of Peruvian Slaves (1548-1650): Figures for Upper Guinea,” 79.

⁵⁵⁰ Generally, the Diola living north of the Casamance River are Muslim, converted in the beginning of the 20th century, while those residing to the south are largely Catholic and continue to maintain indigenous ritual traditions. Mark has identified shrines, which were imbued with spirit forces and served as loci for communication between humans and spirits, as a central characteristic of precolonial religious practices that have been maintained. 22-24.

⁵⁵¹ Mark, *The Wild Bull and the Sacred Forest*, 16–17.

III. The Virgin of the Antigua and Her Prominent Black Confraternity

In order to understand how the Virgin of the Antigua served as the center for a confraternal community, we must begin with the Afro-descendants who formed the sodality. Very little is known about the earliest members due to a lack of documents from the sodality's early history. The *cofradía* was founded around 1560 and no later than 1574.⁵⁵² Although the black confraternity of the Virgin of the Rosary in the Convent of San Francisco was founded earlier, the Antigua confraternity was one of the oldest Afro-confraternities in the city, a fact that the *cofrades* leveraged time and again in their disputes with other confraternities.

It is similarly unclear who exactly founded the confraternity. During an intraconfraternal dispute in 1631, discussed below, one mayordomo claimed that the confraternity had been founded by slaves.⁵⁵³ Due to the Virgin's advocacy, which comes from Seville, and the identities of two early *mayordomos* – the prominent *albañiles* (builders) Francisco de Gamarra, a freed slave who came to Lima from Seville, and Raphael Manrique, a *criollo* of Lima – it is more likely that at least some of the founders belonged to a relatively privileged group.⁵⁵⁴ Moreover, as part of a dispute with another confraternity in 1585, the *cofrades* asked witnesses to confirm that they were “free *morenos* and honorable people, and among them there are many *cofrades* who are official, married, and rich people who help and have helped the confraternity with their

⁵⁵² The foundation documents for the Antigua confraternity have been lost, so the foundation date is based on testimonies given by witnesses in 1585 during a dispute with the confraternity of Santa Justa y Rufina, founded in the Convent of La Merced. The Antigua confraternity asked the witnesses they provided if they knew “that the said confraternity of Our Lady of the Antigua of the brotherhood of the *morenos* was founded about 40 years ago” (“si saben que la dha cofradia de nra señora del antigua de la hermandad de los morenos a tienpo de quarenta años poco mas o menos...se fundo”). None of the witnesses could confirm the 1545 foundation date. The 1555 date is based on the testimony of Hernán García, 69 years old, who testified that he had known of the confraternity for about 30 years. The 1565 date is derived from the most common answer, given by three witnesses who said they had known of the confraternity for about 20 years. AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fols. ALr-AYv (1585).

⁵⁵³ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.13r (1631).

⁵⁵⁴ Francisco Gamarra appears in AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2 (1585); AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 3 (1598-99). Rafael Manrique appears in AAL, Cof., Leg. 75, Exp. 1 (1606); AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 7 (1612-1613). For more on Francisco de Gamarra, Raphael Manrique, and other black builders in Lima, see: Harth-Terré and Márquez Abanto, “El artesano negro en la arquitectura virreinal limeña.”

estates and charity.”⁵⁵⁵ Witnesses mostly agreed with the statement, while a few clarified that some of the *cofrades* were also enslaved.⁵⁵⁶ Because of this and the fact that the group claims no specific affiliation, it is most probable that the group of *morenos* who founded the confraternity was ethnically, economically, and socially diverse. Most importantly, the *cofradía*, formed by the particular racial circumstances of the city of Lima, would peaceably operate as a heterogenous unit for 70 years.

The confraternity’s constitutions are not extant either, but those of another Antigua *cofradía* founded in 1619 in nearby Cañete gives us some hints as to what Lima’s constitutions may have included.⁵⁵⁷ Cañete’s features the standard rules for confraternities such as establishing the leadership structure, keeping a book of records, collecting alms, and tending to the burial needs of the dead.⁵⁵⁸ Another standard rule is the expectation that all members observe the Virgin’s feast on 15 August “with the greatest solemnity possible and with much devotion.”⁵⁵⁹ This date coincides with the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, which is the day the Sevillian cult celebrated the Antigua’s annual feast. Furthermore, in addition to confessing and taking communion, the entire confraternity was expected to “attend the procession and Mass with the altar candles lit, as is the custom with the other confraternities.”⁵⁶⁰ This rule reflects the

⁵⁵⁵ “si saben que los dhos cofrades de nra s^a del antigua son morenos libres y personas honradas y entre ellos a avido E ay muchos cofrades oficiales casados E rricos que an ayudado E ayudan con su hazienda y limosnas a la dha cofradia” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. ALr (1585).

⁵⁵⁶ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fols. ALr-AYv (1585).

⁵⁵⁷ It is not clear if there was a direct connection between the Cañete and Lima confraternities. It is possible that the Antigua sodalities in Cañete and Callao were somehow related to Lima’s at least initially, given that the Sevillian advocacy did not have a special affiliation with blacks and whereas all three Antigua brotherhoods in the greater Lima area did. The Callao confraternity is discussed below. The Cañete confraternity’s is the oldest constitution for a black sodality in the AAL, with the exception of that of the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes in the Convent of San Francisco. Los Reyes was founded in 1589, but the foundation documents and constitutions are only available in a nineteenth-century copy. AAL, Cof., Leg. 51, Exp. 24 (1829).

⁵⁵⁸ AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 3, (1619).

⁵⁵⁹ “a hazer la dha fiesta de nra s.^a de la antigua a quince de agosto con la mayor solemnidad que se pudiere y con mucha devocion” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 3, fol. Av (1619).

⁵⁶⁰ que los dhos mayordomos y demas veinte y quattros y cofrades confiesen y comulgen si fueren capaçes y teniendo licencia de su confesor el dho dia y esten en la procesion y missa con sus cirios encendidos como es

importance of the celebration for the community and hints at the important role visual and material culture played in such festivities.

The final rule in the Cañete constitution is not conventional and begs attention since it speaks to the expectations for a *cofradía de morenos*. It calls for all members of the confraternity, unless legitimately impeded from doing so, to “receive the doctrine every Sunday of the year in the evenings, to which they will be called by the bell. And in order for this to be done with the necessary care and the service of God be obtained...the priest [should] name two *fiscales* from among the brothers...to assemble all of the black men and women of [Cañete].”⁵⁶¹ The rule suggests that the confraternity was not founded just for the benefit of the *cofrades*, but rather for the spiritual wellbeing of the entire Afro-descendant community.⁵⁶² Regardless of how well the *cofrades* actually adhered to this rule, it would have conveyed that the members of the Antigua sodality in Cañete were deeply committed to the goal of spreading the Christian faith. The rule may have been included out of a sincere concern on the part of the confraternity members for the spiritual life of the larger population of Afro-descendants in the port, as key language to ensure that their *cofradía* receive its permission to be founded, or both. Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (1546-1622) gave his approval but expressed his concern that the constitutions “not have anything contrary to our holy Catholic faith and Christian religion,” possibly indicating that the *cofrades* had cause for concern, or that there was an abiding

costumbre en las demas cofradías” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 3, fol. Av (1619).

⁵⁶¹ “yten que esten obligados los dhos mayordomos y demas veinte y quatro y todos los demas cofrades y hermanos que no estubieren legitimamente impedidos a acudir a la dha yglesia mayor a la doctrina todos los domingos del año por la tarde para lo qual se les llamara con la campana y para que esto se haga con el cuidado necessario y se consiga el servicio de dios que en esto se pretende el dho cura ha de nombrar dos fiscales de los dhos hermanos los mas diligentes para recojer todos los morenos y morenas de la dha villa para el dho efecto” AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 3, fol. Av (1619).

⁵⁶² Archival evidence indicates that *cofradías* were not numerous in Cañete and I have thus far not found evidence of a second black confraternity. For a full list of the confraternal documents in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, see: Campos y Fernandez de Sevilla, *Catálogo de cofradías del Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima*.

preoccupation regarding the forms that the confraternal devotion of Afro-descendant Christians could assume.⁵⁶³

As the second black confraternity founded in Lima, it is possible that the Antigua *cofradía* had a similar rule and was held responsible for the religious lives of at least a portion of the city's quickly-growing population of Afro-descendants. Had this been the case, the action could have drawn a wide range of black Limeños to the confraternity, which would have not only grown the numbers of the group, but also increased the diversity of its composition. This would have been consistent with other sixteenth-century black confraternities in Lima, like that of the Virgen de los Reyes, and potentially set up the Antigua confraternity for the conflict between the *criollos* and *caboverdes* that occurred in the seventeenth century.

The Virgin of the Antigua in Seville and Her Cultural Purchase

The choice of advocacy was arguably more critical to a confraternity's potential success than its constitutions. Looking at the history of the Virgin of the Antigua in Spain of which Lima's was a copy, it becomes apparent that choosing this advocacy would have afforded significant religious and social benefits for the group of *morenos* who founded the confraternity. The Virgin of the Antigua (fig. 4.2) was originally a Sevillian advocacy and a symbol for the Andalusian port city in the early modern world. The monumental image, measuring 3.21m x 1.16m, is painted on a wall surrounded by an altar and is located in a prominent chapel in Seville's Cathedral (fig. 4.3). Authors writing in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries posited many origins for the image.⁵⁶⁴ The most widely accepted legends and those that arrived

⁵⁶³ "y que no tienen cosa contrario a nra santa fee Catholica y Religion Christiana" AAL, Cof., Leg. 70, Exp. 3, fol. Bv (1619).

⁵⁶⁴ One version argued that the Virgin first appeared in an ancient Roman temple that would later become the old Cathedral, thereby connecting her to either the early Christian images of the Virgin or a recycled image of Venus retouched by angels. This theory was debunked in the eighteenth century, when a priest emphasized that the old Cathedral had always been dedicated to the Virgen de la Sede. José María Medianero Hernández, *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua: la virgen "decana" de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, Servicio de Archivos y Publicaciones,

in early colonial Lima tie the image to the Reconquista.⁵⁶⁵ These held that the mural decorated a Visigoth chapel that was converted into a mosque during the Muslim invasion until the image was rediscovered in 1248 by King Fernando III of Castile.⁵⁶⁶

The Antigua cult reached its apex in the sixteenth century, precipitating the creation of authorized copies that were subsequently distributed throughout the Americas from as early as 1510.⁵⁶⁷ Most copies of the painting feature the standing Virgin wearing the mantle with the pointed fold on the left and with the Virgin holding the Child and a rose, indicating that these are the most important iconographical features.⁵⁶⁸ Perhaps more pertinent to the Lima confraternity's decision to align their image with the Sevillian Antigua cult were the many printed copies of the Virgin of the Antigua. Chief among these was a widely-circulated, late-sixteenth-century print by Hieronymus Wierix (fig. 4.4).⁵⁶⁹ The legend included at the bottom informs the viewer of the

2008), 23.

⁵⁶⁵ The conquest of the New World and ensuing evangelization efforts were understood by contemporary Spaniards as an extension of the Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula. Apparitions of Reconquista figures like Santiago, known as *Matamoros* (Moor Killer) in Spain and *Mataindios* (Indian Killer) in the New World, and the Virgin were frequently reported in early conquest battles. It is unsurprising that the Reconquista narrative was sent to and adopted in Lima, where a painted copy would have been understood as continuing conversion efforts.

⁵⁶⁶ Medianero Hernández, *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua*, 24. More recently, scholars have argued that the painting most likely dates to the early fifteenth century based on stylistic analysis and the kneeling patroness in the bottom right corner. José Guidol Ricart was the first to date the painting to the early fifteenth century. He argued that the kneeling woman could be Eleanor of Albuquerque (1374-1435), queen consort to Ferdinand I of Aragon (1380-1416). Medianero Hernández dates the painting to 1425-1450 based primarily on the "Italo-gothic" print on the Virgin's dress. Medianero Hernández, 25-26, 57-58. The painting has been retouched on at least two occasions, which both complicates the painting's dating and speaks to its continued use as a devotional object. The Antigua was retouched in 1497 by Gonzalo Díaz and around 1547-1548 by Antón Pérez. Medianero Hernández, 57-58.

⁵⁶⁷ The island nation of Antigua in the Caribbean was founded by Christopher Columbus in 1493, who named it after the Sevillian Virgin. The Antigua image brought to the Americas in 1510 lent its name to the early colonial city of Santa María la Antigua del Darién in Panamá. On the diffusion of copies of the Virgin of the Antigua in Spanish America, see: Magdalena Vences Vidal, *Ecce María venit: la Virgen de la Antigua en Iberoamérica* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones sobre América Latina y el Caribe: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2013); José María Medianero Hernández, "La gran Tecleciguata: notas sobre la devoción de la Virgen de la Antigua en Hispanoamérica," *Andalucía y America en el siglo XVI: actas de las II Jornadas de Andalucía y América. [celebradas en la](Universidad de Santa María de la Rábida, marzo, 1982)* 2 (1983): 365-80.

⁵⁶⁸ Seville's Virgin of the Antigua was canonically crowned in 1929, at which point these elements were added. Eduardo Rodríguez Bernal, *La exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes, 2006), 228. Copies do not consistently include the angels and crowns and only rarely reproduce the kneeling woman. The vegetal motifs on the Virgin's clothing change frequently from copy to copy, but most include some variation of the striped pattern on the reverse of the mantle.

⁵⁶⁹ Wierix's interpretation of the Antigua is quite loose but retains her basic iconography. The print's inscription is

advocation and asserts the story of the Virgin's association with the *Reconquista* and King Fernando III of Castile.

It is possible that the image of the Virgin in Seville had some kind of association with blackness that may have influenced the Limeño *cofrades*. In the eighteenth century, the Luso-Brazilian Carmelite José Pereira Santana (d.1759) visited the Carmelite church in Seville and saw that the altar of the Virgen de la Antigua was flanked by images of the black saints, Elesban and Iphigenia.⁵⁷⁰ If they were there, the Carmelite church would have been one of only three churches in eighteenth-century Seville that housed images of black saints, indicating that placement of the saints' images was purposeful.⁵⁷¹ It is possible that these images were present in the sixteenth century and the association of the Antigua with blackness was brought to the Andean coast by Sevillian blacks who moved to Lima.⁵⁷²

In choosing the advocation of the Virgin of the Antigua, the founding *cofrades* in Lima were drawing upon a Virgin whose potency was twofold.⁵⁷³ On a cultural level, the Antigua acted as a strong signifier of an elected allegiance with Spain and therefore colonial propriety. For founding *cofrades* like Francisco de Gamarra who emigrated from Seville, the Antigua may have helped to maintain a Sevillian identity already crafted before arriving in Lima. For a member like Raphael Manrique, however, who gained his freedom while in Lima, the Antigua advocation may have allowed him to align himself more closely to the colonial regime and away

in Latin and reads, "Domina nostra S MARIA (cui ab antiquitate cognomen) cuius imago in summa aede dun Ferdinandus tertius Hyspalim expugnaras in pariete depieta inventa." The print's circulation is attested by several Japanese interpretations of it. Medianero Hernández, *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua*, 100–103; José María Medianero Hernández, "Copias de la Virgen de la Antigua en Japón," *Laboratorio de arte*, no. 9 (1996): 323–32.

⁵⁷⁰ Rowe, "Visualizing Black Sanctity in Early Modern Spanish Polychrome Sculpture," 53.

⁵⁷¹ Rowe, 53. Their placement in the Carmelite church makes sense, as Elesban and Iphigenia were both Carmelite saints.

⁵⁷² Given the date, it is also possible that the images were added later, perhaps even placed there because of the viceregal Peruvian association of the saint with blackness.

⁵⁷³ On the choices confraternities made about the devotion at the center of their cult and the acquisition of the confraternal image, see: Chapter 2.

from his enslavement. For the members who were still enslaved, the Sevillian Virgin could have also served as a means for reaping the benefits of performing Spanish-ness. In religious terms, the Antigua's association with the Reconquista could have functioned to reinforce the evangelizing efforts through which the colonization of Spanish America was justified. We might imagine that the founding *cofrades* saw the benefit in choosing an advocacy connected so closely with conversion, perhaps indicating through the advocacy a public commitment to the spiritual work they were prepared to do, much like the final rule of the Cañete sodality's constitution.

It is worth reiterating here that the strategic choice of an advocacy by a confraternity for its cultural benefits was a common practice in early modern Europe and the Americas and was by no means inconsistent with genuine belief in the Virgin Mary and Catholic faith. Indeed, there is nothing in the documents that indicates that the Antigua *cofrades* were only superficially Christian. Rather, we should understand that the Virgin of the Antigua held profound Catholic religious and cultural meanings that the diverse group of black *cofrades* in the early colonial city would have considered in the process of crafting their colonial identities.

Cult Images of the Virgin of the Antigua in Lima

As discussed at the outset of this chapter, colonial Lima's most famous image of the Virgin of the Antigua was the painting still displayed in Lima's Cathedral (fig. 4.1). And while it continues to be an important image for the city of Lima, in the lives of the black *cofrades*, it was in many ways secondary to the wood statue the sodality acquired from Mexico in 1585.⁵⁷⁴ The *cofrades* left no descriptions of the statue, and sculpted versions of the Antigua were not common, leaving us guessing about its appearance. The low price the confraternity paid – it cost

⁵⁷⁴ For the documents in which the sculpture appeared, see: note 511.

more to ship than to make – and the lack of description may indicate that it, like other processional images, was a sculpture specifically intended for dressing. In such images (fig. 4.6) only the figures' faces and hands were fully carved, and the rest of the statue was left unarticulated. This would have brought down the cost of the image, but also placed great emphasis on the statue's clothing since it always had to be dressed. The Antigua confraternity's collection included a lot of clothing for the Virgin, as will be discussed below.

That the sculpture was commissioned and paid for by the black *cofradía* is significant because, in stark contrast to the painted Antigua, this statue unquestionably belonged to the *cofrades*. Having ownership over the image gave the confraternity greater control over the way the Virgin was dressed and displayed. Such creative license, impossible had the sodality been limited to the painted image, also allows us to read the confraternity's adornment choices with greater intentionality.

While the sculpture shared a space with the painted Antigua, which was over life sized, finely painted, and covered in gold, the inexpensive sculpture was likely hard-pressed to rival the luxurious artwork from Seville. The sculpture's mobility, however, granted it a greater visibility as it was processed through the city on feast days and in times of turmoil, such as after earthquakes.⁵⁷⁵ As such, it was the Antigua confraternity's sculpted image, rather than the painted Sevillian one, that colonial Limeños saw more regularly, since everyone was expected to witness municipal festivals, whereas only certain people went into the Cathedral where the painted image resided. The *cofrades*' decisions about how to dress their Virgin were thus rendered unexpectedly influential, for in dressing their image the black *cofrades* were not just

⁵⁷⁵ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.17r (1631). See: Chapter 2.

defining and presenting their community to the city, but the image of a Sevillian advocacy of the Virgin as well.

IV. Confraternal Disputes and the Role of Images and Bienes

Corpus Christi Disputes

Now that we have established the image at the center of the Antigua *cofrades*' devotional practice, we can turn our examination as to how the diverse early confraternity considered their Virgin and the confraternal material culture with which they engaged during processions. Corpus Christi processions were exceptionally exciting and fraught events for the Antigua confraternity. On the morning of the feast, Lima's confraternities – black, indigenous, and Spanish alike – gathered in the central plaza of the city for an exuberant, day-long procession.⁵⁷⁶ The sodalities came with their banners, processional images, and dressed in their finest regalia, prepared to celebrate the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and present themselves to the entire city. The extremely public nature of the celebration inevitably led to disputes between ambitious confraternities, especially in the sixteenth century, when procession orders were apparently still in flux. As one of the oldest black sodalities the confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua became involved in at least two disagreements over the coveted position closest to the host. The resultant disputes document the various strategies that the *cofrades* employed to portray themselves as pious, especially in comparison to other corporate groups, and to establish the prestige of their sodality. While the racially-coded language the *cofrades* used in these cases has been examined by scholars like Karen Graubart, the role that the images of the Virgins or the

⁵⁷⁶ Confraternal participation in Corpus Christ in colonial Lima is discussed Chapter 2. The Corpus Christi procession is still held in Lima but no longer to the same extent. In comparison, the feast's annual celebration in Cusco is still an elaborate cultural affair, more akin to the colonial celebration. On the colonial celebration of Corpus Christi in Cusco, see: Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.

confraternities' related material culture played in these disputes has not been studied to date.⁵⁷⁷

As we shall see, issues about the qualities of race and slavery played out in the documents, but the feud was about the objects. Paying close attention to the arguments the Antigua confraternity made in their defense reveals that the members deftly wielded their confraternal material culture against opposing sodalities. Moreover, we shall see that these devotional objects were not simply mobilized to supplement racial discourse, but rather were critical to their most successful maneuvers to secure privileges.

On June 9, 1574, the day before the celebration of Corpus Christi, the Antigua *cofradía* filed a suit with Archbishop Jerónimo de Loayza (1498-1575) to reinforce their position in the procession. The *cofrades* explained that when they had gone with their banner to take their place in line the previous year, they were stopped by the brothers of confraternity of the Virgin of the Rosary (*Nuestra Señora del Rosario*) from the Franciscan monastery. A disagreement ensued, causing the city officials to step in and order that the Rosario group take the better place that day so as to avoid further conflict.⁵⁷⁸ Loayza had made his decision based on tradition, which dictated that procession order was determined by antiquity; the older the confraternity, the closer they were positioned to the host. Nevertheless, the Antigua confraternity argued that that they should have the more prominent position because they were founded in the Cathedral, whereas Rosario, though admittedly older, was merely associated with the convent of San Francisco.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁷ These conflicts are discussed in Graubart, "So Color de Una Cofradía"; Corilla Melchor, "Cofradías en la ciudad de Lima, siglos XVI y XVII: racismo y conflictos étnicos"; Vega Jácome, "Manifestaciones religiosas tempranas: Cofradías de negros en Lima, siglo XVI"; Tardieu, *Los negros y la iglesia en el Perú*.

⁵⁷⁸ "los morenos hermanos de la cofradía de nra señora de la antigua de la s^{ta} yglesia desta ciudad dezimos que el día de la fiesta del s^o del año pasado en la proçesion Tubimos diferencia con los hermanos de la cofradía de nuestra señora del monesterio de s^o san fran^{co} por que querian llebar su pendon detras del nuestro y los al[ca]ldes ordinarios por hebitar debat^c por aquella bez sin perjuizio de nro derecho mandaron que fuese el pendon de San Fran^{co} detras del nuestro en lo qual nos agrabiaron" AAL Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 1 (1574).

⁵⁷⁹ "debe ser preferida nuestra cofradía E pendon della a la otra por ser de la matriz sin embargo q la otra sea mas antigua" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 1, fol. Ar (1574).

The ecclesiastic powers saw the value in their argument and ordered the two confraternities to trade off the more prominent place each year.⁵⁸⁰ The procession took place the next day and the break in convention greatly displeased the Rosario *cofradía*. Writing just after the procession, the Antigua cofrades lamented that when they tried to line up first, following the legal argument, the Rosario *cofrades* turned violent.⁵⁸¹

The Antigua confraternity began their condemnation of Rosario by defaming the community. They accused the brothers in San Francisco of having “little fear of our Lord God, much less of the ecclesiastic and secular justices, and little respect or veneration of the holy sacrament.”⁵⁸² Graubart argues that in their written complaint the *mayordomos* reserved the term *moreno* for themselves and the derogatory *negro* for their Rosario counterparts, and that in so doing they emphasized the other confraternity’s inferiority by affiliating them with slavery and presenting themselves as free and therefore superior.⁵⁸³

These issues, however, as Graubart admits, did not carry resonance with the Church officials to which the feuding groups had to plead their cases.⁵⁸⁴ Considering the objects involved in the fight, which were unquestionably of interest to the Church, reveals the

⁵⁸⁰ “mando que de aqui adelante los morenos hermanos de las dhas cofradias de nra señora de la antigua y de la concepcion saliendo en la proçesion del dia de la fiesta de corpus xpi tengan e guarden esta horden que la cofradia que un año saliere con su pendon mas çercano a las andas del santisymo sacramento el año siguiente vaya mas adelante y la que el tal año” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 1, fol. Av (1574). In the original complaint the Antigua cofrades did not specify the confraternity, referring to it only as the “confraternity of our lady of the monastery of San Francisco” and the ambiguity led to the “confraternity of the conception” to be named in the decision. Despite the confusion, both parties are in fact referring to the Rosario confraternity.

⁵⁸¹ Graubart attributed this event to the procession in 1573 that caused the Antigua confraternity to file the original suit and said that the two confraternities were grabbing at each other’s standards. Graubart, “So Color de Una Cofradía,” 50. However, the letter that detailed the violence is dated June 18, 1574 and refers to the Corpus Christi procession of 1574.

⁵⁸² “poco temor de dios nro s^{or} m^os preçio de las just^as Exlesiasicas E seglares poco rrespeto E beneracion del santisimo sacramento” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 1 (1574).

⁵⁸³ Graubart, “So Color de Una Cofradía,” 51.

⁵⁸⁴ Graubart, 52.

confraternity's winning strategy. In addition to this tactic, which was standardized in the period, the Antigua community also reported:

“they had the great vigor, anger, and force of a large multitude of people who had no respect whatsoever for what your honor had ordered...and they lunged at and grabbed our banner, breaking it and dragging it on the floor with no respect either for the crosses or the image of Our Lady [of the Antigua]. They made a great commotion and scandal at the procession, saying they were not receiving what your honor had ordered and thus had reason to do as they wanted...They committed a great crime and disgrace and deserve a great punishment and penance for it.”⁵⁸⁵

The Antigua confraternity went on to ask for the offending sodality to be punished, calling not just for retribution, but also a replacement of their banner with a new one of equal quality to the one that had been ruined. On a practical level, they were asking for compensation for their damaged property. However, by reminding the Church official of the Rosario confraternity's disrespect for the images of crosses and the Virgin on the banner, the Antigua *cofrades* also accused their counterparts of defiling sacred images, a form of sacrilege that was of special concern to the church in colonial Latin America.

Since only the Antigua confraternity's side of the events remain, the story as recorded is heavily biased in their favor. Their banner's damage was clearly more the byproduct of social strife than a lack of reverence for the Virgin of the Antigua in particular. However, in portraying their counterparts as iconoclasts, the Antigua *cofrades* situated the opposing confraternity in a long tradition of enemies of Catholic images and emphasized their own pious devotion to the images in stark contrast. Furthermore, the *escándalo* described in the complaint very probably

⁵⁸⁵ “estavan con grande ynbito y enoxo E fuerça de mucha multitud de gente no teniendo ningun rrespeto si lo mdo su sa e vmd q preste estava y echaron mano del dho nro pendon E nos lo rronpieron E arrastraron por el suelo sin tener rrespeto ansi mismo a las cruces E ymagen de nra s^{ra} q estava poniendo en la dha prosision grande alboroto y escandolo dizi^{de} q no seles dava nada de lo q su señoria @via pr^obeido y m^{do} sino qs causa de hazerlo q Ellos querian sin poderlo remediar el alguazil my^{or} desta audiencia ny las demas just^{as} desta çiudad q lo ql ansi aver hecho cometieron gran delito E de berguença y son Dignos de gran castigo E penitençia exemplar por tanto” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 1, fol. Br (1574).

involved physical violence against Antigua confraternity members as well. The Antigua *cofrades*' choice to emphasize the damage sustained by their banner suggests that they knew they could get further with the church officials who had control over their place in the procession by invoking the power of images and confraternal material culture. Their ploy worked and secured for the Antigua confraternity the most covetable position in the Corpus Christi procession, if only every other year.⁵⁸⁶

Just ten years later the Antigua *cofrades* once again found themselves in conflict with a confraternity of Afro-descendants over procession position. In May of 1585 the *cofradia* of the Virgin Saints Justa and Rufina, founded in the convent of La Merced, tried to make the case that their confraternity deserved to be more prominently located than the *cofradia* of the Virgin of the Antigua.⁵⁸⁷ They based their argument on the fact that theirs was a confraternity of *mulatos* and as the “sons of Spaniards” they were “therefore of greater dignity than the *negros*” of the Antigua confraternity.⁵⁸⁸ The Virgin of the Antigua's *cofrades* were incensed. They refuted the validity of the Justa y Rufina confraternity's argument, explaining that “the *cofrades* are *mulatos zambaigos*, [the sons of] blacks and *indias* and *mulatas* and other *morenos*, and are not of a higher quality than the *cofrades* of the Antigua confraternity.”⁵⁸⁹ As Graubart explains, by responding in this way the Antigua *cofrades* were not only engaging with their Justa y Rufina opponents, but also with colonial discourses about race and civility.⁵⁹⁰ This was undoubtedly an important part of their case, as evidenced by the sixth question of the Antigua confraternity's

⁵⁸⁶ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 1, fol. Fr (1574).

⁵⁸⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2 (1585).

⁵⁸⁸ “hemos pedido a vm Mande proveer sobre q nosotros llevemos El mejor lugar en la proçession del corpus xpi q la de los dhos negros pues somos hijos de españoles y personas por esto mas dignos q los negros” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. ACr (1585).

⁵⁸⁹ “demas de que los *cofrades* della dellos son *mulatos zambahigos* de negros E *yndias* y *mulatas* y otros *morenos* y no tienen mas calidad que los *cofrades* de la *cofradia* del *antigua*” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. AJr (1585).

⁵⁹⁰ Graubart (2012), 52.

probanza (witness statements), which asked the witnesses that they provided to testify to the veracity of their claims about what kind of *mulatos* composed the Justa y Rufina confraternity.⁵⁹¹

Crucially, though, they did not immediately respond in kind with racial discourse. Instead, the *cofrades* began with the argument that “in this case, [the ecclesiastic officials] ought not to take into consideration the people [in the confraternities], but rather, the images that they bring out in procession and the seniority of the confraternities.”⁵⁹² Once again, we see the confraternity emphasizing their image. With the earlier foundation date on their side, the Antigua confraternity did call attention, in this case, to the prestige of the Cathedral over the convent. And although their seniority should have been sufficient to pull the case into their favor, their own prior experience had taught them that officials could be swayed to overrule tradition. Perhaps remembering the efficacy of the strategy they used in 1574 led the Antigua confraternity to redirect the issue to their images, in arguing in for their greater significance rather than questions of race.

The Antigua sodality further asserted that “it would not be fair that the image of the Mother of God of the Antigua and her *cofrades* come out in a less qualified and authoritative position than the confraternity and *cofrades* of Santa Justa y Rufina.”⁵⁹³ Of special interest is their perhaps purposeful ambiguity in the reference to their image of the Virgin of the Antigua. Were they indicating the painted copy of the Sevillian cult figure or their newly-arrived sculpture

⁵⁹¹ “si saben que los cofrades de la dha cofradia de santa justa y rufina son pocos cofrades y de ellos son mulatos hijos de negros E yn^{as} e mulatos zambahigos y mocos estravagantes y sin asiento ni hazienda y sin horden ni concierto ni oficios y otros negros y saben los t^s que los cofrades de la dha cofradia del antigua por ser de la suerte que esta dho en la preg^{ta} antes desta son personas mas estimadas y de que nos haze mas caso que no de los dhos mulatos zambahigos cofrades de la dha cofradia de santa justa y rufina digan esa” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. AMr (1585).

⁵⁹² “este caso no se avia ma de tener consideracion a las personas sino a las ymagenes q sacan y al antiguedad de las cofradias” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. AJr (1585).

⁵⁹³ “y no es justo que le ymagen de la madre de dios del antigua y cofrades della vayan en lugar menos preminente y calificado que la ymagen y cofrades de santa justa y rufina” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. AJr (1585).

from Mexico? As a devotional image sent from Seville, imbued with historical authority both in its name and the fact that it was one of the oldest images in the city of Lima, the sixteenth-century panel might have held the greater prestige. The banner had helped them win the previous case in 1574, so they may have also been referring to a new banner image of the Virgin as the one that would have been physically displaced if the officials did not rule in their favor. It is also possible the *cofrades* were talking about the Virgin Mary herself. The rhetorical choice in description could have been a subtle reminder that their confraternity was dedicated to the Virgin, the Mother of God, whereas Justa and Rufina were merely saintly women who chose to maintain their purity. Though a case can be made for all the individual options, I contend that the *cofrades* were purposefully invoking all of these meanings when referencing the Virgin Mary. This would suggest that the *mayordomos* representing the Antigua community were thinking of images in dynamic terms, as a number of concepts and objects drawn together by an advocacy. This tactic confirms that images were extremely relevant to the confraternal institution.

Although the images involved in the dispute are no longer extant, we can still appreciate the significance of the fact that the struggle played out under the names of two uniquely Sevillian cults. Like the Virgin of the Antigua, the virgin saints Justa and Rufina were also symbols of the Andalusian metropole. These saints were traditionally believed to be sisters who were martyred in the third century after refusing to let their pottery be used for pagan ceremonies.⁵⁹⁴ Because they lived and died in Hispalis (modern Seville), the sisters became patronesses of the city and popular subjects for Spanish artists like Bartolomé Murillo (fig. 4.7), who depicted them with

⁵⁹⁴ On Saints Justa and Rufina as patronesses of Seville, see: Carlos José Romero Mensaque, “Culto y devoción a las santas Justa y Rufina en Sevilla durante los siglos XVI al XVIII,” in *San Rafael y el patronazgo de los santos mártires en Andalucía: Historia, arte y espiritualidad*, ed. Juan Aranda Doncel and Julián Hurtado de Molina Delgado (Córdoba: Hermandad de San Rafael, Ilustre Sociedad Andaluza de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos, 2016), 147–68.

their main iconographical attributes: ceramic pots and the *Giralda*, the minaret-turned-bell tower of the Seville Cathedral.⁵⁹⁵ The example of the two rival Afro-descendant confraternities speak to the ongoing process of redefinition that Spanish religious culture underwent in the viceroyalty.

The dispute between the two confraternities continued for only a week before the *Procurador y Vicario General*, Doctor Antonio de Valcázar, ruled in favor of both communities. In order to avoid further disruption, Valcázar put together a full list with the order in which all the black confraternities that participated in the Corpus Christi festivities would process. The Antigua confraternity was assigned to share the most prominent position with the confraternity of the Virgen de los Reyes (San Francisco), once again alternating years, followed by that of Santa Justa y Rufina.⁵⁹⁶ No documentary evidence of other such procession order disputes involving the Antigua confraternity remain. A full list of the procession order of Lima's confraternities issued around 1639 placed the confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua first among the blacks and *mulatos*.⁵⁹⁷ Arguments marshalled by the Antigua *cofrades* on the importance of their images were successful in securing the community's prominence well beyond the sixteenth century.⁵⁹⁸

The Splitting of the Confraternal Community

The harmony of the early group of *cofrades*, capable of forming a corporate identity through its material culture in the sixteenth century, would dissipate in the seventeenth century. By 1630, the confraternity had split into two factions and the sodality members no longer mobilized their images and devotional objects against rival confraternities, but instead against

⁵⁹⁵ The Cathedral of Seville is a converted mosque, and the Giralda was its minaret. The plan for Seville's cathedral was later used for the cathedral in Cusco.

⁵⁹⁶ Appendix 1.

⁵⁹⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 32-A, Exp. 8, fol. 2v (1689-1691). Appendix 2.

⁵⁹⁸ Kydalla Young states in her dissertation that this position was also reaffirmed in 1682 by Archbishop Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros (1677-1708), but I could not find this in the cited document (AAL, Cofradías, Leg. 47, Exp.19, 1682). Young, "Colonial Music, Confraternities, and Power in the Archdiocese of Lima," 196.

each other. The splintering within the Antigua *cofradía* has been discussed before, but only briefly and in terms of inter-ethnic conflict and questions about whether enslavement placed limitations on a confraternity leader.⁵⁹⁹ A thorough examination of the documented struggle between the two groups reveals that confraternal objects were at the center of the feud between the confraternity's members who identified as *criollos de Lima*, born in the viceregal capital, and those who identified as *criollos de nación caboverde*, aligned with the Greater Senegambia region. I will highlight representative clashes from their protracted dispute in order to demonstrate the role confraternal art played and the depths of the factions' antagonism, motivated by the formation of new collectivities, grounded in ethnic terms.

In April of 1630, a petition was filed to restructure the confraternity's leadership to reflect the *parsialidades* in the group – “one is of *criollos* of this city and the others are *criollos* of *caboverde*” – and have one *mayordomo* to represent each.⁶⁰⁰ On its surface, the letter appears to come from the whole confraternity, but snide references to the behavior of “*los de Lima*” (those from Lima) indicate that the *caboverdes* were the ones pushing for the change. This is confirmed by the signatures of Antón de Nisa and Eugenio Sequeyra, two members of the *caboverde* group who feature prominently in the ensuing documents, the latter of which was a *mayordomo* at the time with another *caboverde* named Juan Martín.⁶⁰¹ Three weeks later, the

⁵⁹⁹ Graubart, “So Color de Una Cofradía”; Tardieu, *Los negros y la iglesia en el Perú*.

⁶⁰⁰ “dessimos que en esta cofradia ay dos parsialidades que la una es de criollos de esta ciudad y los otros son criollos de caboberde... a vm pedimos y suplicamos mande quel dia de la elesion se elixa un criollo de lima y otro de caboberde y que cada uno dellos elixa los de su parsialidad.” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fol. Ar (1630).

⁶⁰¹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fol. Cr (1630). Eugenio Sequeyra's co-*mayordomo* was a man named Juan Martín, a blacksmith who was probably a *caboverde*, based on the fact that he always sided with the *caboverde* confraternity members (cite when he did that). If so, both *mayordomos* were *caboverdes* at the time they made the request for a *mayordomo* to represent each group in 1630. It seems likely that the *caboverdes* filed as a way to ensure that the two *caboverde* *mayordomos* were not replaced by two *criollo* *mayordomos* and consequently totally lose power.

confraternity's *veinticuatro*s held a *cabildo* (meeting) and elected Antón de Claros, a freed *caboverde*, and Domingo de Segovia, an enslaved *criollo*, as their new *mayordomos*.⁶⁰²

Though the situation remained stable momentarily, the struggle over the confraternity's collection of possessions and devotional objects, and the related question about whether or not it could be left in the control of an enslaved person, began at this point. Claros, who had been elected in absentia, did not want to accept the office, leaving the previous *mayordomos* with a conundrum. Juan Martín did not want to give the confraternity's *bienes* directly to Segovia because he was enslaved (*cautivo*), but the issue was avoided when Claros decided to accept the position.⁶⁰³ Arguing that "the brothers of the confraternity are of different nations and are rivals" and that the *criollos* composed the majority, his acquiescence came with the request that the "*nación caboverde*" also have its own *diputado* and *procurador* so that he would actually be able to carry out his duties as *mayordomo* and represent his *nación*.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰² The *veinticuatro*s who met that day were Eugenio de Sequeyra (*caboverde*), Francisco de Arroyo (*criollo*), Bartolomé de Zepeda (*caboverde*, elected first *diputado*), Francisco de Becerra (*criollo*), Juan de Valladolid (*criollo*), Antonio Ramos (*criollo*, elected *procurador*), Manuel de Burgos (*criollo*), Juan Ambrosio de Ayala (*caboverde*, elected second *diputado*), Pascual de Vega (*caboverde*), Antonio Gutiérrez (*caboverde*), and Domingo de Segovia (*criollo*). AAL, Cofradías, Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fols. Br-Bv (1630). I have determined their affiliations based on how they were identified and who they sided with in the documents. The only reason the election on April 21, 1630 occurred at all is because the future *mayordomo*, Domingo de Segovia requested it. He explained that the confraternity traditionally held elections on the first Sunday after Easter (March 31, 1631) but they had been indefinitely delayed by the two *mayordomos*, Juan Martín and Eugenio Sequeyra, in order to remain in power, a tactic they had successfully employed the year before. This would mean that the *caboverdes* had controlled the office of *mayordomo* since 1628. AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fols. Cr-Cv (1630).

⁶⁰³ Juan Martín requests, instead, that they be given to a third party. "al presente el dicho domingo de segovia quiere que se le entregen los bienes de la dicha cofradia los quales no an de entrar por ser como dicho tengo y cautibo... asi VM, a demandar q los bienes que al presente quiero entregar se entregen a una persona llana y segura para que quando se ofresca el prober contra ella, mandamiento de presion no halla el inconbiniente que en los cautibos" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fols. Dr, Fr-Fv (1630). Part of the reason Antón de Claros ultimately agreed to accept is because otherwise he faced a 6-peso fine and the possibility of being removed from the confraternity entirely, at the request of Domingo de Segovia. AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fols. Er-Ev (1630).

⁶⁰⁴ "Anton de claros moreno libre naçion casta bran mayordomo...digo que para que yo pueda usar y exercer el tal ofiçio de mayordomo conviene tener persona o personas de mi naçion que acudan a la solicitud y despacho de la dicha cofradia por andar muchas vezes ocupado en cossas neçesarias como Persona y hacienda y los hermanos de la dicha cofradia ser distintas las naciones unas de otras y en contrarios los unos con los otros por ser criolos [sic] la mayor p^o de los ermanos desta cofradia...A vmd pido y supp^o mande que se nonbre un diputado y un procurador de la naçion cavoverde que acudan a la solicitud de la dicha cofradia" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 11, fol. Fv (1630). A *diputado* is a delegate from among the *veinticuatro*s who was supposed to carry out the business of the confraternity, usually at the request of the *mayordomos*. A *procurador*, also from among the *veinticuatro*s, was theoretically

By December of 1630, the *caboverde mayordomo* Antón de Claros had already been in and out of the archiepiscopal jail as a result of legal disputes with Segovia and the *criollo procurador* Lucas de Salinas over 37 patacones and 2 reales that Claros had allegedly collected and kept without authorization.⁶⁰⁵ Upon his release, Claros defended himself by claiming that the disputed money was, in fact, for devotional objects. He explained that the 37 patacones and 2 reales over which Salinas had wrongly incarcerated him were in the possession of the *mayorala* María Prieta, who had gathered the money in order to make a banner “because the confraternity is without a banner, altar frontals, and other necessary and important things.”⁶⁰⁶ Claros thereby implied that the *criollos* were more concerned with money and outmaneuvering the *caboverdes* than in the confraternal goods over which they were trying to gain control.⁶⁰⁷

The situation deteriorated when it came time for elections again on April 27, 1631.⁶⁰⁸ The *criollos* chose Segovia to continue serving as their *mayordomo* and the *caboverdes* chose a man named Nicolás de Luguí.⁶⁰⁹ A mere two days later, the *criollos* began their campaign to nullify the election of Luguí, whom they exposed as a notoriously bad man unfit to lead the confraternity.⁶¹⁰ In contrast, they presented Domingo de Segovia as a “*moreno* of such satisfaction and punctuality that his virtues and good reputation” earned him his lot in life.⁶¹¹ In

charged with the confraternity’s goods.

⁶⁰⁵ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fols. 2.1-2.7v (1630).

⁶⁰⁶ “por estar la dha cofradia sin estandarte ni frontales ni otras cossas nesecesarias de ynportansia a ella maria prieta morena mayorala de la dha cofradia entre personas debotas y prensipales a rrecogido algunos pesos” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 2.7r (YEAR). A *mayorala* was a female official within a confraternity.

⁶⁰⁷ Salinas countered by asking for the revocation of María Prieta’s license to make the banner in January of 1632. AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fols. 2.13r-2.13v (1631).

⁶⁰⁸ The confraternity traditionally held its elections on “Domingo de Cassimodo,” the first Sunday after Easter.

⁶⁰⁹ He also appears in the documents as Nicolás Chapala and Lugerí.

⁶¹⁰ The first strike came on April 29, 1631 from Francisco Arroyo, Juan de Valladolid, and Francisco Becerra, who accused Luguí of perjuring himself in a case involving the *alcalde ordinario* Juan de los Ríos. (64.9. 4.3r). A group of *criollos* – Francisco Arroyo, Juan de Valladolid, Francisco Becerra, Marcelo de Burgos, Antonio Masculin, Juan Corres, and Domingo Gordo – met on May 5, 1631 and added that Luguí did not finish his time in the gallows. AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.5r (1631).

⁶¹¹ “moreno de tanta razon y de tanta satisfacion y puntualidad que sus virtudes y buena reputacion meresie^{ron} ser como es” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.3v (1631).

light of the revelation about Lugui, a group of *veinticuatro*s held a second election, which resulted in Lugui being replaced by the *criollo* Lucas de Salinas.⁶¹² The *caboverdes*, upset at having lost their *mayordomo*, held their own *cabildo* wherein they rejected Salinas's election because he, like Lugui, "has also been convicted of a crime, and for this and other defects he has been expelled from other confraternities. And for being a *negro esclavo*, [since] such people cannot do the duties of *mayordomos*."⁶¹³ In response, Segovia claimed that "black slaves founded the said confraternity and they have governed and supported [the confraternity] up to now and there is no constitution rule that prohibits it. For this reason, that allegation is invalid."⁶¹⁴ As discussed above, it is very unlikely that enslaved people were the confraternity's founders, but we can be fairly certain that there was no rule forbidding them from holding office.

After this point, although enslavement continued to be used derogatorily, the limitations of slavery ceased being an important part of the disputes in favor of a more property-centered approach. In the very next brief, Lucas de Salinas asserted:

"I am a black man who tells the truth. And I have always lived virtuously and have a good reputation of being virtuous, punctual, and a good Christian, fearful of God and of my conscience. And if I have had any disagreements, they have been to defend the goods of the confraternities and for the honest collecting [of money] on the confraternities' behalves."⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² The election was held on May 10, 1631. Lucas de Salinas (*criollo*) won with 9 votes, followed by Nicolás de Lugui (*caboverde*) with 7, Antón de Claros (*caboverde*) with 3, Pedro de Abrego (*criollo*?) with 2, Antón de Nisa (*caboverde*) with 2, Juan Lorenzo (*caboverde*) with 1, and Marcelo de Burgos (*criollo*) with 1. Domingo Gordo (*criollo*) was elected *procurador* by secret ballot. Assuming every *veinticuatro* present could only vote once, there were a total of 25 present. If votes were cast along partisan lines, the two groups were fairly evenly split, with 13 *caboverdes* and 12 *criollos*. Antón de Nisa and Pedro de Abrego were named *diputados* for having received the next highest numbers of votes

⁶¹³ "a sido tambien justiciado y assi por este y otros defectos que tiene a sido echado de otras cofradias en que a estado demas de ser como es negro esclavo y estos semejantes no pueden tener cargos de mayordomos" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fols. 4.10r-4.10v (1631).

⁶¹⁴ "lo otro en q^{to} a dezir que negros esclavos no pueden sermayordomos se Responde que negros esclavos fundaron la dha cofradia y ellos la an Regido y governado y sustentado hasta aora y no ay constituçion que lo prohiba y asi es invalida esta allegacion" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fol. 4.13r (1631).

⁶¹⁵ "soy moreno que trato mucha verdad y que siempre e procedido virtuosamente y con muy buena ffama y oppinion de virtuoso y puntual y de buen christiano temeroso de dios y de mi consciencia y que si alguna diferençia e tenido a sido por defender los bienes de la cofradias y por el buen cobro dellas" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fol. 4.15r (1631).

On a practical level, Salinas brought up goods in response to the allegations made against him. However, in doing so he also connected being perceived to be a “good Christian” with the act of caring for these objects. He also accused Nisa, the man who had defamed him, of squandering a number of the confraternity’s objects during his own tenure as *mayordomo*, including the processional image of Christ, as well as some money, most notably about thirty pesos intended for the purchase of their chapel.⁶¹⁶ In stark contrast to the character attacks readily deployed and dismissed, questions of objects and money were always pursued until some kind of remuneration had been achieved.

In order to prove their worth to the community, Salinas and Segovia produced a list of ways in which they had “augmented” the confraternity, the vast majority of which concerned objects they had procured and their use, with very little mention of money. They began by taking credit for “bringing the image to its chapel, as it was outside of it for four years and putting [the image] on the altar with great decency, as it is presently” within the last year.⁶¹⁷ Since their petition dates to May of 1631, this would appear to indicate that their image had been absent from its altar since about 1627, when the chapel was relocated. Lacking the image was a barrier to confraternal devotion, to say the least, rendering its return that much more significant.⁶¹⁸ Segovia appears to have taken great pride in this, repeating it once more in the first entry of a similar list in November.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁶ “y el dho anton de nisa consumio la hechura de un christo grande que se sacava la semana santa – sin orden de los v^{te} y quatro y no apareçido mas ni la p^{ta} en que dio la dha hechura – y mas consumio un estandarte de tafetan negro nuevo q se sacava El jueves y dos velos de nra señora - y treynta y tantos p^{os} p^a comprar la capilla q se los dieron a guardar para eso mas çinquenta y un p^{os} que cobro el dho anton de nisa del p^c p^o ss^{es} capellan” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fols. 4.15r-15v (1631).

⁶¹⁷ “Los aumentos que domingo de segovia y lucas de salinas an hecho de un año a esta p^{te} en la cofradia de nra s^a de la antigua son los siguientes - Lo Prim^o traer la imagen a su capilla questava fuera della quatro a^{os} avia y la pusieron en su altar con mucha decencia como esta el presente” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.17r (1631).

⁶¹⁸ Example from the Virgin of Copacabana that shows that it was not unheard of for a confraternity to be displaced.

⁶¹⁹ “yten Reforme El adorno de la ymagen y la saque de la casa donde estava con auto de vm y la puse en su altar”

The two *criollos* further claimed that they had acquired “doors adorned with drawings and gilding for the box [the Virgin] was in, so that neither air nor dust would reach her and so what she had on would stay secure.”⁶²⁰ This entry is particularly rich because it simultaneously shows the great care with which they treated their image of the Virgin and as well as describing a tangible addition to the confraternity’s *bienes*. Moreover, adding that the box was itself decorated similarly shows respect for the Virgin and increases its value. Segovia’s November list seems to reveal that the box was a fine enough object that it was later converted into a tabernacle, for which the two men also took credit.⁶²¹

Surviving documentation indicates that these struggles continued at this intensity for at least another three years. From May onwards the monthly back-and-forth of briefs mostly document various configurations of *criollos* and *caboverdes* trying to recuperate objects, inventories, and money into their possession. In a brief filed in 1632, for instance, the *caboverde* Antón de Nisa in 1632 found himself accused of being involved in setting up two tables without authorization, supposedly in order to gather alms in the name of the confraternity and pocket the money. He clarified that the table in question was set up by a *morena* and member of the confraternity named Juana de Caboverde, who was gathering money so she could pay for her husband’s funeral Masses.⁶²² Claros argued that she was justified in doing so because the only reason her husband was buried in the Church of San Lázaro (and therefore costing Juana money) was because the *mayordomos* were derelict in their duties.⁶²³ According to Nisa, “since [Segovia

AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fol. 7.Gr (1631).

⁶²⁰ “yten la caxa donde estava le hizieron unas puertas dibujadas y doradas para que el polvo ni El ayre no llegase a la imagen y p^a que este seguro lo q tie[ne] puesto” AAL, Cof., Legajo 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.17r (1631).

⁶²¹ “y le puse puertas en el tabernaculo muy curiosas y doradas” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fol. 7.Gr (1631).

⁶²² Claros accompanied the woman at her insistence. They gathered a total of 11 patacones, 2 of which were given to a wax worker named Luis Hernández and remaining 9 went home with Juana.

⁶²³ “que los nueve los llebo la dha Ju^a para deçir de missas a su marido difunto que se entero en la yglesia de San Lazaro por no aCudir los dhos mayordomos a esto como es su obligaçion” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fol. 11.Br (1632).

and Salinas] became *mayordomos* they have not wanted to bury any *caboverde*.”⁶²⁴ The second table, he goes on, was set up by a certain Teodosia Morena for the same reason.⁶²⁵

V. Confraternity Bienes and Greater Senegambian Perspectives

Using 19th- and 20th-Century Objects to Imagine Colonial Visual Experiences

Focusing on the colonial *caboverdes* presents a number of challenges. Animist practices in the Greater Senegambia region of West Africa did not tend to produce durable ritual objects, favoring instead ephemeral materials.⁶²⁶ These choices were purposeful, but their impermanence presents a methodological limitation for art historical and archaeological study.⁶²⁷

Early-modern sources, though few in number, give us some hints about the material culture and the uses of related objects that have since been lost.⁶²⁸ The writing of the Jesuit priest Alonso de Sandoval, for example, confirms that contemporary practices such as circumcision ceremonies, the active role spirits play in Greater Senegambian life, and the veneration of figural ancestor statues, can be traced back at least to the early modern period.⁶²⁹ However, as someone concerned with saving souls, his text turns spirits into demons and religious statues into idols.

⁶²⁴ “que despues que son mayordomos no an querido enterar ningun dif^o de Caboverde” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fol. 11.Br (1632).

⁶²⁵ “n q^{ta} a la segunda messa que no estubo este declarante en ella y que quien la pusso fue teodosia para el mesmo efecto” AAL, Cofradías, Leg. 64. Exp. 9, fol. 11.Br (1632).

⁶²⁶ In conversation with Dr. Ibrahima Thiaw, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, November 2017.

⁶²⁷ On the archaeology done in the region, see: Ibrahima Thiaw, “Colonization and the Development of Archaeology in Senegal,” in *European Archaeology Abroad: Global Settings, Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Sjoerd J. van de Linde et al. (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013), 349–74; Noemi Arazi and Ibrahima Thiaw, “Managing Africa’s Archaeological Heritage,” in *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*, ed. Peter Mitchell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 213–26; Ibrahima Thiaw and François Richard, “An Archaeological Perspective on West Africa and the Post-1500 Atlantic World,” in *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*, ed. Peter Mitchell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 983–98.

⁶²⁸ For a comprehensive list of early modern eye-witness accounts and travelers’ reports, see: Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 336–42.

⁶²⁹ Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda aethiopia salute; el mundo de la esclavitud negra en América*, Biblioteca de la Presidencia de Colombia 22 (Bogotá: Empresa Nacional de Publicaciones, 1627), 92.

Furthermore, having never been to Africa himself, the Jesuit's work reflects the biases of his classical, biblical, and slave trader sources.⁶³⁰

The illustrations found in published eye-witness accounts are similarly helpful and problematic. François Froger's *A Relation of a Voyage Made in the Years 1695, 1696, 1697* (1698) includes the earliest image of the horned cap worn by Diola initiates (fig. 4.8).⁶³¹ In the print, the man wearing the cap, like the man playing the balafon and the child in the tree, is so dark that it is difficult to discern on first glance that his back is to the viewer. The annotation floating above his head, "Dress of the Circumcised" (*Habillement des Circoncis*), makes it clear that that the figure is the pretense for exhibiting his accoutrements: a horned cap, a long shirt with a scalloped collar, a skirt made of tied bunches that cinches at the waist with a textile, and a long spear. As we shall see, the items that comprise the *habillement* in the print are still key components – some changed, some not – in circumcision and initiation rituals today. The spear, meanwhile, is being used to save a child from a monkey that, curiously, has been rendered with a relatively high degree of detail. The absurdity of the scene and the prop-like portrayal of the Diola figures illustrate how illustrations accompanying eye-witness accounts do not necessarily convey accurate ethnographic visual information.

Despite their issues, sources like Sandoval and Froger are useful in that they testify to the continuities of at least some early modern practices in the modern era. The overwhelming majority of the earliest extant objects from the Greater Senegambia region are primarily from the nineteenth century. With the intensification of European colonial activities on the continent after

⁶³⁰ On Sandoval, see: Nicole von Germeten, "Introduction," in *Treatise on Slavery - Selections from de Instauranda Aethiopia Salute*, ed. Nicole von Germeten (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008).

⁶³¹ François Froger, *Relation d'un voyage: fait en 1695, 1696 et 1697 aux côtes d'Afrique, détroit de Magellan, Brésil, Cayenne et isles Antilles, par une escadre des vaisseaux du roy, commandée par M. De Gennes* (Paris: M. Brunet, 1698).

the 1885 Berlin conference, objects were collected en masse to enter European national ethnological collections.⁶³² The objects in these collections, most of which are now scattered across Europe, are the closest available approximation to the material culture the Antigua *cofrades* might have known prior to being captured and shipped to Lima or experienced through residual memory and cultural practices.

Relying on these collections requires great care since some of the objects have questionable provenances. Furthermore, they are not unbiased representations of the cultures they represent, but rather objects curated by the collectors to fit contemporary taste and conceptions (or misconceptions, as the case may be). As a consequence, certain aesthetic styles, figurative images, media and specific cultures were prioritized and are now overrepresented in museums and scholarship.⁶³³ This not only limits the objects, but also the categories of objects I am able to discuss. Because of this, and in order to emphasize the diversity of traditions in the region, each inventory section below highlights the tradition and material culture of different groups from the region: the Bijagó and the Diola. This is by no means an exhaustive list and I do not intend it to be. Instead, I intend it to serve as a small sampling of the diverse material and visual culture, and the related identities and experiences, possibly represented by the Antigua *caboverdes*.

There is also the larger issue of the centuries of time that divide the *caboverde cofrades* and the collected objects presented here. In using nineteenth-century and modern objects to understand people from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries I do not mean to perpetuate the

⁶³² Dr. Lauren Taylor, personal correspondence with author, June 2019.

⁶³³ I visited a number of major European collections and encountered a lot of difficulties in locating art from Senegambia. The Musée Théodore Monod d'Art Africain (formerly the Musée de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire) in Dakar was the most fruitful, but even there the collection of art native to the region on display was quite small.

racist stereotype that “Africa” is “primitive” or “timeless.”⁶³⁴ In addition to the objects themselves, I rely heavily on modern ethnographies, such as those by Peter Mark and Danielle Gallois Duquette, which stress the continuities and adaptive changes in traditional practices.⁶³⁵ This approach relies on the premise that there are remnants or echoes of early modern practices in the contemporary world, often embedded in significant cultural activities, like initiation rites, although sometimes in totally unexpected places, like modern Senegalese wrestling rituals.⁶³⁶ Though the work is speculative, unless further archaeological and archival research uncover objects or descriptions dating to the early colonial period of Greater Senegambia, however, it is a preferable alternative to the effective erasure of the visual and material cultural history of a significant portion of Lima’s population.⁶³⁷

The connection to Greater Senegambia made by the *cofrades* themselves invites us to examine the types of objects and modes of looking and interaction from West Africa that likely informed the *cofrades*’ own contextualization of Catholic ritual practice. There is no way to conclusively draw a one-to-one parallel due to limited surviving visual culture from pre-colonial Africa. And, even with more available examples, searching for a direct equivalent would not be especially productive since the Antigua *cofrades*, like other groups displaced from their homeland, adjusted some of their traditions while maintaining others. What we can do is look to

⁶³⁴ Arazi and Thiaw, “Managing Africa’s Archaeological Heritage,” 213.

⁶³⁵ Mark, *The Wild Bull and the Sacred Forest*; Peter Mark, “Ejumba: The Iconography of the Diola Initiation Mask,” *Art Journal* 47, no. 2 (1988): 139–46; Peter Mark, Ferdinand De de Jong, and Clemence Chupin, “Ritual and Masking Traditions in Jola Men’s Initiation,” *African Arts* 31, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 36–47+; Peter Mark, “The Senegambian Horned Initiation Mask: History and Provenance,” *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 4 (1987): 626–40; Danielle Gallois Duquette, *Dynamique de l’art Bidjogo (Guinée-Bissau)* (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1983); Danielle Gallois Duquette, “Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands,” *African Arts* 12, no. 3 (1979): 31–93.

⁶³⁶ In conversation with Dr. Ibrahima Thiaw, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, November 2017. During his tenure as the director of the IFAN museum, Thiaw curated an exhibition about the intersections of modern wrestling and animism.

⁶³⁷ In conversation with Dr. Ibrahima Thiaw, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, November 2017.

culturally potent artifacts and speculate that their underlying significance would have informed their understanding of the Virgin, the *cofrades*' interactions with her, and the confraternity's related material culture.

The Virgin of the Antigua's "Collection"

In order to get beyond the limitations of the documentary sources, I bring the artistic and religious traditions of Senegal, the Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau into visual dialogue with colonial confraternal material culture to demonstrate how the *caboverde* members of the Antigua confraternity, like the Chachapoya in the previous chapter, may have perceived their image and documented *bienes* in relation to cosmologies and practices from their place of origin. Just as with the strategic choice of the Antigua advococation, this is not to say that these *cofrades* were not sincere in their Catholicism. These connections with other belief systems do not imply that the form of Christianity practiced was merely a thin veneer for "true" pre-existing beliefs, but rather are better understood as features in legitimate, unconscious processes in the creation of colonial Christianity. It may even be possible, as I shall argue, that differences in interpretation linked to West African religious heritage were powerful enough to have precipitated *caboverde* disagreements with the *criollos* over how to decorate the confraternal altar, chapel, and image, ultimately leading to the split and subsequent homogenization of the confraternity described above.

Writing about the Antigua confraternity's 1626 inventory, Jean-Pierre Tardieu seemed impressed with their wealth of *bienes*, and lists the items and their prices rather perfunctorily.⁶³⁸ This is not uncommon for inventories, but it is also a type of reading against which we must specifically push, as it prioritizes economic value over the social life of the objects listed. More

⁶³⁸ Tardieu, *Los negros y la iglesia en el Perú*, 1:524.

than that, to continue to read the inventory in that way is to continue to evaluate the objects recorded within them in terms of the colonial power that actively oppressed subaltern subjects. Looking at the confraternal holdings as a collection of purposefully acquired and displayed objects brings an otherwise static list to life. This shift invites us to consider the objects from the perspective of their “curators” and put them in dialogue with the art of Greater Senegambia, providing a new lens for the colonial objects that centers the *cofrades* who used them.

Until around 1630 the sodality amassed a large number of objects with which they dressed their sculpted image, adorned the altar on which the image stood, and carried in procession. Lacking further documentation, determining which items in the collection were donated, which were acquired by the confraternity, and which were actually put to use poses another challenge. A not insignificant proportion of the Antigua confraternity’s material possessions were donations, ranging anywhere from a small lamp given by an unnamed devotee, to a purple damask altar frontal and its matching chasuble donated by Archbishop Gonzalo de Ocampo (r.1625-1626).⁶³⁹ There are, however some indications of active choices about collecting and use made by the *cofrades*. Some objects inventoried are clearly marked as having been purchased by the community or with the use designated, while in other cases, these associations are only implied, like objects described as “worn out” or as in the “possession” of the Virgin. I focus especially on these more clearly indicated inventory items as they serve as a way to get at the Antigua confraternity’s choices.

⁶³⁹ “en 11 de Março Una lampara peña e Dio de limosna Antonio de Arxona q dixo pesava 11 Marcos 3 S” AAL Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 10, fol. 123r (1628); “Un frontal de Damasco morado con frontaleras q le dio el s^r Arcobpo D. Gonzalo de Campo - este dia Una casulla de Damasco morado q dio el dho s^r Arcobpo don Gonz^o de Campo” AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 10, fol. 121r (1626). Donations were made to confraternities for numerous reasons, including out of devotion to a specific image, for social capital, and for spiritual gain.

Sculpted Images of Otherworldly Beings

Although it is not listed in the documents, the most important object in a confraternity's collection was the eponymous image.⁶⁴⁰ Unsurprisingly, Spanish and Greater Senegambian perspectives on “numina” or supernatural images, on the form they take, and on the appropriate ways to worship are vastly different. As we shall see, several points of similarity could have provided connections that helped tie the members from the *nación caboverde* to the confraternal experience and ultimately strengthened their relationship to the Virgin of the Antigua. We will begin our analysis by considering how the statues of the Bijagó, who inhabit the islands off the coast of modern Guinea-Bissau, might have informed some of the *cofrades*' interactions with the sculpture of the Virgin of the Antigua.

We know relatively little about the confraternity's statue, but its description as an *imagen de bulto* from Mexico confirms that it was sculpted from wood.⁶⁴¹ This material might have resonated with the Greater Senegambian *cofrades*. The types of animist practices that continue to pervade the region's religious traditions tended to place trees in a cosmologically prominent place and many trees that decorate the landscape are still held to be sacred.⁶⁴² Furthermore, initiation ceremonies, such as those of the Bijagó of Guinea-Bissau and the Diola in the Casamance region of southern Senegal are in large part defined by spending a period of time secluded in the forest. It is during this time when “secret” knowledge is transmitted to the initiates, suggesting that wood in its living form has the potential to retain and convey sacred

⁶⁴⁰ In saying that the image is not listed in the documents, I mean that the Virgin of the Antigua never appeared as a singular item in an inventory. The image, usually as “*Nuestra Señora del Antigua*” (Our Lady of the Antigua) or “*la ymagen*” (the image) is referenced multiple times in the confraternity's documents. The panel painted Virgin does appear in inventories in the Cathedral's archives. AHCL, Serie L, Vol. 12, fol. 37r.

⁶⁴¹ The plethora of wooded areas in large parts of Spanish America made this the material *par excellence* in the colonial world, and nothing in the documents indicates the confraternity's image was made from anything else. Some regional exceptions to this are images made of corn paste in Mexico, sculptures of Huamanga stone in Peru, and *maguey* statues in both viceroyalties, to give but a few examples.

⁶⁴² In conversation with Dr. Ibrahima Thiaw, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, November 2017.

information.⁶⁴³ In contrast, the tradition of painting on canvas was not native to the Greater Senegambia region. We may guess, then, that the sculpted Virgin of the Antigua that the *cofrades* ordered from Mexico in 1585 was a particularly apt image for their devotion.

The use of wooden statues in the Bijagós archipelago were recorded as early as 1460 by the Italian slave trader Alvise Cadamosto (1432-1488) in his account of the voyage of the Portuguese explorer Pedro de Sintra and continue today.⁶⁴⁴ Bijagó statues, known as both *ira* and *orebok* (figs. 4.10-14), operate as intermediaries between the physical and spiritual worlds, two realms that, while distinct, are not entirely separate.⁶⁴⁵ *Ira* function in at least two capacities, as the repository for the soul of an ancestor and as the medium through which to interact with a higher being, either the “supreme being” Orrebuco-Ocoto or the creator deity Nindou.⁶⁴⁶ The wooden statues can be activated by individuals of all kinds, but especially so by the *oquinca*, the caretaker priestess charged with appeasing the *ira* and interpreting the needs of Orrebuco-Ocoto.⁶⁴⁷ Others can and do interact with *ira* for everything from weddings, to asking for a good harvest, to seeking confirmation of the selection of the village chief.⁶⁴⁸ In many ways, *ira* (sing.

⁶⁴³ See: Mark, *The Wild Bull and the Sacred Forest*; Gallois Duquette, “Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands.”

⁶⁴⁴ Robert C. Helmholz, “Traditional Bijago Statuary,” *African Arts* 6, no. 1 (1972): 52.

⁶⁴⁵ The use of the terms *iran* (*ira* in the plural) and *orebok* varies from island to island and the two are somewhat interchangeable. For example, according to Gallois Duquette’s research in the 1970s, *iran* was the word from the local “creole” language to refer to the powerful objects placed within shrines, but the term *orebok* was used instead on the island of Bubaque. Citing Gallois Duquette, Monica Visonà assigns both terms (*iran/orebok*) to the shrine-like statues. Monica B. Visonà, “Warriors in Top Hats: Images of Modernity and Military Power on West African Coasts,” in *A Companion to Modern African Art*, ed. Gitti Salami and Monica B. Visonà (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2013), 180. Helmholz, primarily discussing the anthropomorphic statues, uses the two terms interchangeably, but acknowledges the ambiguity of the terms and objects. He notes at the end of his 1979 article that Portuguese ethnographers have attempted to place Bijagó statuary into two categories: “(1) *Eramindé*: A divinity symbolizing indeterminate spirits which are tied to divinatory practices and fetichistic [sic] medicine. These sculptures preside principally at ceremonies destined to understand the cause of misfortune; (2) *Eraminho*: Figures which incarnate the spirits of deceased family members.” Helmholz, “Traditional Bijago Statuary,” 57. I choose to use only the term *ira* to avoid confusion with the supreme being known as Orrebuco-Ocoto and to remain consistent with the nomenclature used by the IFAN museum in Dakar. Francine Ndiaye, *Le Musée de Dakar: arts et traditions artisanales en Afrique de l’ouest* (Saint-Maur: Sèpia, 1994).

⁶⁴⁶ Helmholz, “Traditional Bijago Statuary,” 53–54; Ndiaye, *Le Musée de Dakar*, 29.

⁶⁴⁷ Helmholz, “Traditional Bijago Statuary,” 53.

⁶⁴⁸ See: Helmholz, “Traditional Bijago Statuary.”

iran) are at the very center of Bijagó society, not unlike how a primary devotional image linked with a confraternal advocacy was at the center of a confraternity.

While *ira* take many forms, they do not differ according to their usage. *Ira* that are treated as receptacles for ancestors do not necessarily look different from those used to communicate with Orrebuco-Ocoto. Indeed, they have defied easy categorization since they were first researched in the 1960s.⁶⁴⁹ Since these objects belong to kin groups and communities, the wooden statues vary according to the person who carved them, but generally *ira* are anthropomorphic, represent a single figure, and are made of carved wood. Some, like an example collected on Caravela Island in 1853, now at the Louvre (fig. 4.9), are carved of dense wood to naturalistically depict a being sitting on a stool. Others are more abstract (fig. 4.10), reducing the anthropomorphic feature to the suggestion of a head atop a conical base made of a wooden core wrapped with a textile that is covered in a fibrous plaster.⁶⁵⁰ In the early 1990s, French anthropologist Christine Henry encountered an *iran* on the island of Canhabaque that was formed by a rock that villagers had seemingly erected along the coastline.⁶⁵¹ Others still (fig. 4.11) feature an anthropomorphic head on a hollow cylindrical base wherein offerings are placed and hung, resembling a shrine. These few examples demonstrate the immense diversity of *ira* in Guinea-Bissau.

Admittedly, the variation in types and ambiguity of function of *ira* is very unlike the Catholic tradition of sacred images in the early modern where all images of the Virgin referenced one religious figure who acted as an intercessor on behalf of her devotees. There are some

⁶⁴⁹ Helmholz, 57. Helmholz identifies four main types: 1) seated on a stool, 2) bust mounted on an hourglass shape, 3) head on a conical shape, and 4) a head wearing a hat on a cylindrical base. For more on the variations of these images, see: Helmholz, "Traditional Bijago Statuary."

⁶⁵⁰ These have been called both *unika* and *eramindé* by Portuguese scholars. *Escultura africana no Museu de Etnologia do ultramar* (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1968), 18.

⁶⁵¹ Christine Henry, "Les arebuko des Bijogo (Guinée-Bissau). Culte de possession, objets de puissance," *Systèmes de pensée en Afrique noire* 12 (1993): 40.

resonances with the cult of saints, but also with the Virgin's many advocations, however, which differ in appearance, material, and geographical location. On one hand, the *ira*'s fluidity in terms of form and function could be difficult to reconcile with an image of the Virgin that is in many aspects static. On the other hand, the lack of set conventions for *ira*, aside from their vaguely anthropomorphic form and composition out of wood, might also have made it easier to adopt the sculpture of the Virgin of the Antigua as a new kind of *iran*. Though the Virgin could never literally be an ancestor, Orrebuco-Ocoto, or Nindou, her sculpture, similarly made of wood and operating in many of the same capacities, could be considered as an *iran* or at least understood in the same class. This would have run the "risk," from a Catholic point of view, that a *cofrade* might have simply assigned the attributes of an *iran* to the Virgin without truly understanding the more profound meaning of Mary linked to doctrine. Even if this were the case, so long as the *cofrade* in question continued to participate in prescribed Catholic ritual practice, they would still have appeared pious. For others, venerating the Virgin as an *iran* could have been a means through which they could understand and grow closer to her.

There is a great deal of variation from *iran* to *iran*. Many appear to be male, some even wearing top hats (fig. 4.12), while others are certainly female (fig. 4.13).⁶⁵² Unlike other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the art of Greater Senegambia is not characterized by many full-bodied figural representations. Consequently, the visual parallels between an *iran* and the colonial sculpture of the Virgin would have been clear, suggesting that a viewer familiar with figural *ira* could have made the strongest association with the Antigua through them. We might guess that

⁶⁵² *Ira* wearing top hats are an innovation beginning in the 18th century and therefore not relevant to study of the early colonial *cofrades*. They are worth mentioning in part because they demonstrate the kinds adaptation of Bijagó people in response to colonial realities, but also because they have received a fair amount of attention in scholarship. See: Visonà, "Warriors in Top Hats." Freestanding full figures like the female example are rare.

for the *caboverde* viewer, the visual dissimilarities may have been superseded by the *ira*'s relation to the otherworldly.

Perceiving the Virgin as an *iran* may have been further encouraged by the fact that burying the dead was one of the *cofradía*'s primary roles. Sharing this understanding with another *caboverde* confraternity member would have served to reinforce their social bond and, thereby, their identity within the colonial group. Considering the Virgin through this lens urges us to rethink Antón de Nisa's 1632 complaint about the *criollo mayordomos*' refusal to bury the *caboverde* dead. If the Greater Senegambian *cofrades* understood the Virgin as an *iran* this would have added another spiritual dimension to the slight. Or perhaps the *criollos* saw their counterparts making this connection and disapproved. Such disagreements over funerary practices could have hastened the split between the two communities.

A type of *iran* that resembled a standing female figure (fig. 4.13) would have made for a ready parallel, but female *ira* are very rare, and therefore unlikely. We can, however, look at the key role that women played in the spiritual life of the Bijagó. This did not carry over to the colonial world at large but resonates well with the major role that the Virgin played in Catholic life and the active roles *mayoralas* took in black confraternities. Objects such as a ceremonial spoon (*uotate*, fig. 4.14) and hatchet (fig. 4.15) produced during the female initiation ceremony are physical evidence for the importance of women in Bijagó life and death.

Both objects are related to the ritual periods known as *fanado*, studied extensively by Gallois Duquette in the 1970s.⁶⁵³ Carried out in two parts over the course of several years, the *fanado* initiates women into Bijagó society by calling them to serve as intermediaries for young men who have died before becoming *camabi* (the rank of an initiated man) by allowing the souls

⁶⁵³ *Fanado*, like *defunto* and *iran*, is a creole word developed from Portuguese. For more on the *fanado*, see: Gallois Duquette, "Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands."

of the men to ritually possess their bodies. During this time, the woman is known as either a *defunto*, a Creole word meaning “deceased,” or *orebuk*, a Bijagó word meaning “the Spirit” and a direct reference to Orrebuco-Ocoto. The creole title indicates the role that the woman takes on during the *fanado*, while the Bijagó word clearly indicates the woman’s sacred relationship with god. In the first part of the ceremony, known as the *fanado pequeno*, the *defuntos* are assigned the soul of the deceased kinsmen who will possess them, they don ritual dress, and they walk with the instruments of the uninitiated young man (*cabaro*) to a three-day retreat in a hut in the village.⁶⁵⁴ After the ceremony, the *defuntos* return to their daily lives for a year or two until it is time for the *fanado grande*, when the women retreat into a secret part of the forest for three months. What transpires during that time cannot be shared with the uninitiated, so it is unknown what occurs, but at the end the *defuntos* emerge from the forest covered in white paint, wearing headdresses, masks, and vegetal arrangements (figs. 4.16-18) that are similar to but smaller and lighter than those worn by male initiates. In going through this extended process, the men whose souls possessed the *defuntos* have officially become initiated and the women bear the war accoutrements of men. The women only become free of their spiritual duties once the next *fanado* takes place.⁶⁵⁵

The redemptive role that women played through the *fanado* has important similarities to the role that the Virgin played in Catholic belief, serving to strengthen the association between the objects used in the *fanado* and the sculpture. On another level, a parallel drawn between Virgin and *defunto* could have extended the respect to the women within the confraternity,

⁶⁵⁴ Gallois Duquette, 32. As part of their ritual bedecking, their heads are shaved and covered with mixtures of red ochre and palm oil, and trade out short vegetable fiber skirts for longer ones decorated with cowrie shells or small bands of red fabric, the color of Orrebuco-Ocoto’s sacred fire. Upon being possessed, the *defunto* gains the status of *cabaro*, and so, is able to hold objects like the *unikan orankoko*, “a wooden cylinder with horns at the end, which is covered with red fabric under which are crushed leaves of a kind of mangrove reserved for religious sculpture,” that is similar to the objects through which the God Spirit is materialized in the male *fanado*.

⁶⁵⁵ Gallois Duquette, 32.

thereby giving them greater opportunities for power. Black women were critical to the functioning of their confraternities in Lima, as well as in Mexico City and Salvador in Bahia, especially as alms collectors, caregivers, and mourners.⁶⁵⁶ As we saw in the cases of Maria Prieta, Juana de Caboverde, and Teodosia Morena, the *caboverde* women of the Antigua confraternity collected money, produced objects for the confraternity, and picked up the slack when the *mayordomos* were not involved enough. Confraternities appealed to black women as one of the few colonial institutions through which they could gather money and be actively involved in organizing public performances.⁶⁵⁷ The confraternal image, in particular, could have offered the *caboverde* women an outlet through which they could exercise power. Perhaps the sculpted image of the Virgin of the Antigua prompted these women not just to recall sculpted images of women like those on the spoon and hatchet, but to remember their experiences as *defuntos*. This could have helped them identify with the Virgin and to understand and appreciate Mary's key role in Catholic belief as an intercessor. We might imagine that these kinds of connections, prompted by similarities in form and material, might have encouraged Afro-descendant women to take an active role in their confraternal life and thereby regain the respect they had earned as *defuntos*.

Jewelry and Gold Adornments

The *cofrades* further adorned the Virgin of the Antigua with objects of precious metals and stones. An inventory from 1629, for example, noted the Virgin was wearing two short necklaces (*gargantillas*), one made entirely of emeralds and the other of assorted precious stones in gold settings, confirming that the *cofrades* chose to outfit her in this finery.⁶⁵⁸ Of all the items

⁶⁵⁶ Nicole von Germeten, "Sisters: Women in Confraternities," in *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 41–70.

⁶⁵⁷ Valerio, "Kings of the Kongo, Slaves of the Virgin Mary," 126.

⁶⁵⁸ "dos gargantillas que tiene puesta nuestra señora la Una con piedra de esmeraldas y la otra de otras piedras en trabas de oro" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 10, fol. 123v (1629). The confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua's

in the confraternity's collection, jewelry arguably provided the most straightforward space of correlation. Although the *cofrades* themselves were not wearing the objects, it is easy to imagine the confraternity's members, especially the women, identifying with the practice of bodily adornment as the sculpture of the Virgin of the Antigua was donned with necklaces, bracelets, and rings. As we shall see, although the colonial pieces worn by the Virgin did not replicate those of the Wolof and Tukolor, the materials, basic forms, and use as markers of status could have easily prompted the recollection of West African practices. Thus, it is possible that some of the *caboverde* women recast colonial materials and ideas of luxury to transform the Virgin into a Greater Senegambian-like woman of high status. The women could have also actively participated in the physical ritual by choosing the items that would adorn the Antigua.

Let us begin our analysis by considering gold, the material used in necklaces from the Antigua confraternity's inventory. The meaning of gold in the colonial Andes has been explored extensively as it was used in Christian practice, especially as these uses engaged with Inca beliefs about the metal's sacrality prior to the conquest.⁶⁵⁹ In sub-Saharan West Africa, too, gold held religious and cultural significance that Greater Senegambian people could have brought to Lima.⁶⁶⁰ According to Marian Ashby Johnson, the "Senegalese considered gold to be sacred, the purest and holiest of all metals, and far more valuable than silver or copper. They treated it with care and respect."⁶⁶¹ This actually has several points of correlation with Andean beliefs, which

collection did not specifically record many jewelry items, but we can be certain they used them because pieces of jewelry were commonly used items in confraternal devotion and because the confraternity's documents mention renting them for special occasions. See, for example: AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 33, fol. 1v (1696).

⁶⁵⁹ See, for example: Thomas B.F. Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America," in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (London: Ashgate, 2009), 77–104.

⁶⁶⁰ The majority of West Africans did not wear gold in the past. There were no significant indigenous schools of goldsmithing in Burkina Faso, Liberia, western and north Côte d'Ivoire, northern and Eastern Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, and Cameroon. Garrard, 20.

⁶⁶¹ Marian Ashby Johnson, "Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukolor of Senegal," *African Arts* 27, no. 1 (1994): 39.

indicates that Lima's Greater Senegambian residents – as well as those from outside that particular tradition – were inadvertently affected by contemporary debates occurring around the appropriateness of using gold in the colonial context.⁶⁶²

The kingdoms of the Wolof and Tukulor were close in proximity to the gold mines of Mali and developed their own jewelry traditions that would become their main traditional art form.⁶⁶³ Little archaeological evidence of gold objects from the region remain due to looting and the subsequent recycling of the material, but a small number of examples from burials have been preserved. The Rao pectoral (fig. 4.19), excavated near the modern city of Saint Louis in Senegal and dated to the fourteenth century, is potentially the earliest and most famous example.⁶⁶⁴ Made of 22-karat gold and weighing 191 grams, the pectoral is already impressive and materially valuable, but these qualities are overshadowed by the impressive combination of techniques used to produce its details, including filigree, repoussé, granulation, and hammering. Notably, the

⁶⁶² Andeans believed gold to be the “tears of the Sun,” an inherently formless fluid that was sacred, but not intrinsically living. Emily Floyd has argued that this perception of the “metallic effluvia” is what allowed gold, unlike stone, to be shaped into anthropomorphic forms without betraying its essential nature. Emily C. Floyd, “Tears of the Sun: The Naturalistic and Anthropomorphic in Inca Metalwork,” *Conversations: An Online Journal of the Center for the Study of Material and Visual Cultures of Religion*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.22332/con.mst.2016.2>. There is a significant bibliography of work on gold and other metals in the Andes. See, for example: Joanne Pillsbury, Timothy F. Potts, and Kim N. Richter, eds., *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2017); Christine Dixon, ed., *Gold and the Incas: Lost Worlds of Peru* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2013); Thomas B.F. Cummins, “Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 2–15; Heather Lechtman, “Ethnocategories and Andean Metallurgy,” in *Los Andes Cincuenta Años Después (1953-2003): Homenaje a John Murra*, ed. Ana María Lorandi, Carmen Salazar-Soler, and Nathan Wachtel (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003), 115–18; Penny Dransart, “Clothed Metal and the Iconography of Human Form among the Incas,” ed. Colin McEwan, *Precolumbian Gold: Technology, Style, and Iconography*, 2000, 76–91; André Emmerich, *Sweat of the Sun and Tears of the Moon: Gold and Silver in Pre-Columbian Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965); J. Olivari Ortega, “El Oro Entre Los Incas” *Boletín de Lima*, no. 16 (1994): 91–96; Bray Warwick, *Le travail du métal dans le Pérou préhispanique*, ed. Sergio Purin (Gent: Imschoot, 1990); Heather Lechtman, “The Significance of Metals in Pre-Columbian Andean Culture,” *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 38, no. 5 (1985): 9–37.

⁶⁶³ Ashby Johnson, “Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukulor of Senegal,” 36.

⁶⁶⁴ Ashby Johnson dated it to the fourteenth century in 1994, while Garrard placed it in the 17th-18th century in 1989.

origins of some of these techniques have tentatively been placed in the Mediterranean, but their use here evinces their long-standing application by Senegalese goldsmiths (*tegue*).⁶⁶⁵

This is critical, as it suggests that strong visual parallels could have been made by the *caboverde cofrades* between the pieces of jewelry used to decorate the Virgin of the Antigua and the jewelry of West Africa, as well as the shared practice of wearing it. If so, these parallels would have been easy to recall while interacting with the Virgin in Lima. Furthermore, this asks us to think about the continuities between Greater Senegambian and colonial art. Rachel O'Toole has described how some *bran* people had encountered Catholicism in Guinea-Bissau, indicating that their strategies employed to operate within the colonial world were not new adaptations, but rather continuations of those developed before arriving in Lima.⁶⁶⁶ Similarly, we might imagine that Wolof people in the *caboverde* faction could have made the ornamental correlation and recalled the ornamental strategies they had employed in West Africa.

Among the Wolof, gold ornaments were commonly worn by both men and women until the spread of Islam in the late-eighteenth century caused men to relinquish the practice.⁶⁶⁷ Women, however, continue to wear gold jewelry, and harness power from it in the present day by using visual markers to show off their stylishness and wealth (fig. 4.20).⁶⁶⁸ The incorporation of foreign techniques in the Rao pectoral indicates that the strategy of using jewelry as a space of correlation was already practiced in Senegal. Certain modern pendant styles are the visual heirs to this approach. The popular Tukolor *san-u-sebe* (trifle) pendant (fig. 4.21), for example, reproduces a late-eighteenth-century pendant made for the wife of a Bamana king and reflects

⁶⁶⁵ Ashby Johnson, "Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukolor of Senegal," 36.

⁶⁶⁶ O'Toole, "From the Rivers of Guinea to the Valleys of Peru: Becoming a Bran Diaspora within Spanish Slavery," 28.

⁶⁶⁷ Garrard, *Gold of Africa*, 36.

⁶⁶⁸ Ashby Johnson, "Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukolor of Senegal," 39.

influences from North and East Africa. Even so, it represented the king and his domains and traditionally was only worn by the wives of the king.⁶⁶⁹ Even the purportedly most ancient pendant style, the *coloni*, or *pellelle* (fig. 4.22), is a mix of Peul and Manding types, reflecting the multiethnic Tukolor who wear them.⁶⁷⁰

Gold jewelry's potency as a strategy for mediating cultural convergence is best illustrated by *signares* (fig. 4.23), female entrepreneurs who, through their marriages to European men, gained access to and participated in the coastal trade of West Africa during the colonial period. The term is applied as early as the fifteenth century to women who married Portuguese *lançados*, but the power of *signares* truly coalesced in the seventeenth century and continued well into the nineteenth.⁶⁷¹ As a complement to their luxurious clothing, some of these women wore large gold jewelry, through which they prominently displayed their wealth and became arbiters of taste. Since the beginnings of European incursion on the West African coast, *signares* encouraged the *tegue* in their employ to produce gold jewelry influenced by foreign objects.⁶⁷² Thus, they used the ornamental resources at their disposal in order to recast local materials and imported styles into physical manifestations of their knowledgeable consumption of multicultural objects and techniques. Doing so allowed them to visibly demonstrate both that they were aware of new fashions and had the financial resources to commission objects in response to the

⁶⁶⁹ Ashby Johnson, 43.

⁶⁷⁰ Ashby Johnson, 41.

⁶⁷¹ *Signare* is a French derivation from the Portuguese word *senhora* (lady, madam). The children of the union of *signares* and *lançados*, the term used for Portuguese men who married into West African nobility, are called *métis* (mixed race). On *signares*, see: Aissata Kane Lo, *De la signare à la diriyanké sénégalaise: Trajectoires féminines et visions partagées* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014); Hillary Jones, *The Métis of Senegal: Urban Life and Politics in French West Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Marylee S. Crofts, "Economic Power and Racial Irony: Portrayals of Women Entrepreneurs in French Colonial Senegal," vol. 19 (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 216–25; George Brooks, "The Signarés of Saint-Louis and Gorée," in *Women in Africa*, ed. Nancy Hafkin and Edna C. Bay (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976).

⁶⁷² Ashby Johnson, "Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukolor of Senegal," 38; Carson I.A. Ritchie, "Deux textes sur le Sénégal (1673–1677)," *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 30, no. 36 (1968): 309, 326.

cultural climate, not unlike the sartorial practices of the high-ranking men and women in the Kingdom of Kongo.⁶⁷³

Colonial Lima and a sculpted image of the Virgin of the Antigua could not, obviously, provide comparable cultural or physical spaces. The confraternity's *caboverde* women had neither the full freedom nor the resources of a *signare* to commission new jewelry for the Virgin at will. Nevertheless, it is possible that they recalled the golden ornaments they had to leave behind and applied the concepts as best they could. Perhaps instead of themselves, they adorned the Virgin, and rather than commission new jewelry, used the items available in the confraternal collection.

We can read the *cofrades*' choices to bedeck the Virgin with finery in the context of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sumptuary regulations meant to limit the access of non-elites to luxury goods and thereby to material and sartorial markers of status. Several sumptuary laws passed in the first half of the seventeenth century specifically prohibited all women of African descent, free or otherwise, from wearing silk, gold, silver, slippers adorned with silver bells, or lace at the risk of severe punishment.⁶⁷⁴ The restrictions were not particularly effective, but the Antigua *cofrades* were surely aware of them and likely recalled them in the process of undertaking their confraternal duties. Since the Virgin of the Antigua's prestige extended to her *cofrades* as well, the act of dressing the Virgin in fine veils and precious metals can be understood in a sense as an acceptable outlet for luxury display that did not violate sumptuary laws. Writing about the eighteenth century, Tamara Walker demonstrates the potency of sartorial markers and the ways that enslaved men and women used elegant clothing to "negotiate their

⁶⁷³ Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 111.

⁶⁷⁴ Walker, *Exquisite Slaves: Race, Clothing, and Status in Colonial Lima*, 33–34. Colonial authorities similarly attempted to restrict what indigenous Andeans could wear. See: Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes."

status, express ideas about masculinity and femininity, and attend to conceptions of belonging in ways that not only reflected but also challenged the dominant norms.”⁶⁷⁵ A century earlier, the Antigua *cofrades* may have been employing similar strategies not just on their bodies, but on the sculpted body of the Virgin as well.

Textiles and Fabrics

The objects the confraternity used to adorn the altar and the sculpture were arguably the most important in the confraternity’s collection, outside of the cult image.⁶⁷⁶ They are of special interest because this positioned fiber *bienes* as potential points of contention between the *caboverde* and *criollo cofrades*, who in the seventeenth century fought over the sodality’s possessions. The small handful of objects that we know the confraternity specifically bought were all textile goods made of fine fabrics like taffeta, damask, and silk.⁶⁷⁷ The majority of these were liturgical items that confraternities required to ornament an altar – tablecloth, altar cloths, corporal burse, purifiers – or to dress an officiant – chasuble, stole, maniple – for the celebration of Mass. The only non-liturgical object that we know the *cofrades* purchased was a blue taffeta veil. Whereas the other items the confraternity bought were acquired using discrete donations, the inventory specifies that the veil was “bought with the alms given by all the devotees of Our Lady,” indicating it was something for which the community had purposefully saved.⁶⁷⁸ Veils and mantles were fairly common inventory items, outnumbered only by wax and liturgical textiles, both of which were required by the sodality’s basic functioning. Indeed, there were no fewer than eight distinct veils and eight mantles for the Virgin and one cambric shirt for the Christ Child recorded in the Antigua confraternity’s documents.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁵ Walker, *Exquisite Slaves: Race, Clothing, and Status in Colonial Lima*, 18–19.

⁶⁷⁶ See: Chapter 2.

⁶⁷⁷ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 9, fol. 4.17r (1631).

⁶⁷⁸ AAL, Cof., Legajo 64, Exp. 10, fol. 121r (1626).

⁶⁷⁹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 7, fols. 15r-17v (1610-12); AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp.10, fols. 121r-121v (1626-1627).

Both the quantity of the clothing for the cult images and the quality of the materials used to fashion it testify to the importance of dressing the sculpted Virgin of the Antigua. As we saw in the previous chapter, textiles were integral to Andean cultures and textiles were especially abundant in the colonial world.⁶⁸⁰ It was in this context that the Antigua *cofrades* were acquiring fabric items for their collection that conveyed their active participation in popular religious visual culture, while the finery of the clothing placed on the sculpture would have signaled both a concern for their cult and for the Virgin of the Antigua in particular. Though these textiles were visible to a Cathedral audience on a daily basis, it was really during processions when the confraternity would have been able to showcase their curatorial decisions. As discussed at length above and in Chapter 2, for the confraternities who could afford it, processions were important moments for performing and asserting their group's identity on a municipal scale. In this sense, the colonial procession and the preparation for it had several elements in common with the *bukut* ceremonies of the Diola in the Casamance region. We might imagine that some of the confraternity's *caboverde* members recalled their initiation ceremonies while preparing for a procession and this memory guided choices in adorning the cult statue.

The *bukut* is an initiation ceremony that continues to serve as the central ritual in Diola culture. Art historian Peter Mark attributes its long survival to its flexibility as a symbol, meaning many things to different people.⁶⁸¹ His research on the ceremony, undertaken over the course of several decades, further demonstrates that the *bukut* has endured because it has been continually adapted, both in terms of the material culture involved and the practical elements of the ceremony, in reflection of the shifting realities of the Diola celebrating it. Writing about the community of Thionk-Essyl in 1998, Mark described:

⁶⁸⁰ See: Chapter 3.

⁶⁸¹ Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, "Ritual and Masking Traditions in Jola Men's Initiation," 46.

“For the people of Thionk-Essyl today, the celebration of *bukut* is not the re-creation of a frozen tradition. The issues, including ethnicity, that are addressed by both the public and the secret rituals reflect contemporary sociopolitical developments in Senegal. While remaining clearly within the framework of tradition (itself conceived as the bulwark of “Jola” identity), the form changes to incorporate and express the ideas it manifests. For this community of urban migrants, many of these ideas and values are associated with the market economy and with consumer goods like the commercial paints that have replaced the cowries and seeds that formerly decorated *sijumbi*.”⁶⁸²

Froger’s 1698 drawing (fig. 4.8) and description of the initiation ceremony discussed earlier suggest that many of the material elements of the ceremony have been retained, despite the changes. As such, the modern *bukut* can help us understand the ceremony that might have been familiar to certain of the *caboverde cofrades*.

The *bukut* marks the ritual passage of males into adulthood and full membership in Diola society. The most important elements – the circumcision and initiation retreat into the sacred forest – are also the most private.⁶⁸³ The public events that frame the three-month initiation retreat, however, are extravagant community affairs that draw people from outside the community. Because each *bukut* requires the expenditure of enormous accumulations of community wealth, they can only occur every twenty years and consequently initiate a generation of men.⁶⁸⁴ The infrequency of the ceremony contrasts sharply with the annual cycle of colonial processions, but also makes each *bukut* a potent expression of identity, not unlike one of the ways Limeño confraternities used processions to define their collectivity.

The public rituals that take place before and after the retreat are characterized by feasting as well as elaborate rituals of dance, song, and dressing. Although the initiates are the stars of

⁶⁸² Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, 46.

⁶⁸³ Mark, “Ejumba,” 141. Most initiates do not get circumcised at this time anymore, which is the biggest change that Islam and Christianity have made. Also, the retreat is now more like a week than 3 months. See: Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, “Ritual and Masking Traditions in Jola Men’s Initiation.”

⁶⁸⁴ They take place more infrequently now, depending on the needs of the host community. Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, “Ritual and Masking Traditions in Jola Men’s Initiation,” 36.

these performances, everyone in the community has a role in the rites and their combined efforts are required to ensure successful initiation. Communal participation and the importance of the objects involved is exemplified by rituals that occurred in the village of Thionk-Essyl in 1994 during the three days of celebration (*garur*) prior to the retreat. The men who were to be initiated (*kambaj*) made ceremonial visits (*buyeet*) to the compounds of their maternal relatives. After the senior woman in the compound, carrying locally produced, simple cotton cloths (*pagnes*) on her head (fig. 4.24), greeted the dancing *kambaj*, the initiate's eldest maternal uncle presented him with cloth from the woman's head (*jebil gahin*).⁶⁸⁵ The *pagnes* were tied around the *kambaj*'s waist as a tangible reminder of his roots in the compound.⁶⁸⁶ Some of the *kambaj* also wore *fulundim* (fig. 4.25), brilliant scarlet cloths that extended down the middle of their backs, as part of the costume that identified them as uninitiated. Since each *kambaj*'s mother decorated his *fulundim*, they varied in splendor. The particular use of these cloths suggests that for the Diola, textiles functioned as sophisticated indicators of identity to those familiar with the symbols.

Furthermore, the most elaborate *fulundim* included small mirrors sewn into the fabric amidst cowries, buttons, and small glass arranged in X shapes, crosses, and curvilinear patterns. These embellishments, associated with Islamic charms, simultaneously display spiritual power and the owner's wealth.⁶⁸⁷ The *pagnes* and *fulundim* thus both demonstrate how textiles were spiritually impregnated artifacts. Though textiles may not have been paramount for the Diola, they do seem to have held meaning more akin to Andean beliefs about the primacy of textiles and their ability to transfer *camay* (sacred essence) than the European tradition.⁶⁸⁸ It is possible

⁶⁸⁵ This dance expresses the interdependence of men and women. *Pagnes* decorated with charms were worn by masked initiates when they exited the sacred forest in initiations a century ago. Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, 40.

⁶⁸⁶ Since the *jebil gahin* took place in every compound, at the end of the day the *kambaj* were wrapped in the layers of tangible evidence of his maternal kin. Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, 39–40.

⁶⁸⁷ Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, 40–41.

⁶⁸⁸ On textile primacy and *camay*, see: Chapter 3.

that *caboverde cofrades* were using clothing in the context of a procession like Corpus Christi as markers of ethnicity. Carolyn Dean's work on the Corpus Christi series from Cusco dating to the 1680s identified specific ethnic groups in the famous Cusqueño paintings by their vestments, heavily modified versions of their clothing prior to the Spanish invasion.⁶⁸⁹ Due to the settlement history of the city – a major Spanish city built literally atop the ruins of the Inca capital – in Cusco markers of indigenous nobility were tolerated in way that they never were in Lima, a courtesy that was certainly not extended to Lima's black residents. However, the fact that Lima's ecclesiastic officials were far less familiar with Greater Senegambian sartorial practices than they were with Andean may have given the Virgin of the Antigua's *cofrades* some latitude to engage in Greater Senegambian practices and to utilize textiles that were culturally meaningful, but not intelligible to local colonial authorities. They might also have dressed the Virgin with items already in the confraternity's collection to the same effect. Their white silk mantle could perhaps have stood in for the *pagnes* presented at the *buyeet*, or the blue brocade mantle for the indigo *pagnes* initiates wore upon emerging from the forest made of the fabric still produced in the Greater Senegambia region (fig. 4.26).⁶⁹⁰ That these fabric items had the ability to convey a diversity of identities, would have been valuable for *caboverdes* attempting to indicate affiliation with Greater Senegambian ethnic groups, but at the same time might not have been welcomed by the *criollos*. Consequently, decisions about how to dress the statue had the potential to delay the strife between the *criollos* and *caboverdes* – or hasten it.

Returning to the *bukut*, the prescribed gender roles of the *buyeet* and the act of the *kambaj*'s mother decorating the *fulundim* speak not only to the complementary roles played by men and women in the initiation, but also to the importance of process and facture in the

⁶⁸⁹ See: Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.

⁶⁹⁰ Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, "Ritual and Masking Traditions in Jola Men's Initiation," 42.

production of the ceremony's material culture. This extended to the weaving of *usikoi* (fig. 4.27) the bovine-horned cap generally worn by older *kambaj*, and *ejumba* (fig. 4.28), the decorated bovine masks worn by some dancers upon exiting the forest as full initiates. In Thionk-Essyl *usikoi* could only be woven by specialists, typically older men related to the initiates.⁶⁹¹ *Ejumba*, by contrast, were woven substantially by the initiate's mother. This is a unique occurrence in West African masking traditions, wherein masks have been exclusively produced by men, either by the initiates themselves, as in the case of Dogon *kanaga* and the Bijagó *vaca bruto* masks (fig. 4.29), or by elders or blacksmiths, as with the Mande.⁶⁹² In all of these examples, the relevant point is that, while the completed masks were important to the ritual, their power derived, in part, from the way it was created and by whom.

With this in mind, we should reconsider the dispute from 1631 involving the two *caboverde* women who gathered alms of their own accord to make the black banner for funeral processions. If the women came from the Diola tradition, their insistence upon making the banner themselves might have been rooted in this tradition. Even if not, there were certainly other female *cofrades* who produced devotional objects for the confraternity whose actions went undisputed and therefore left no documentary evidence. As the other examples of the masks demonstrate, the potency of facture of identity-related objects and interactions occurred throughout the Greater Senegambia region, and this may have served as a space of correlation that helped coalesce the many ethnically-aligned *castas* into the *nación caboverde* within the Antigua confraternity. If the *criollos de Lima* were more ladinizized, as their identification suggests, they would likely not have shared the same concern with facture, and the difference

⁶⁹¹ Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, 40.

⁶⁹² Mark, de Jong, and Chupin, 40.

could have potentially contributed to the disagreement over material possessions within the confraternity.

As a final example, let us turn to the *ejumba* that define the post-retreat initiation. After being woven, the bovine masks, like the *fulundim*, were ritually adorned with iconographically-rich objects. The horns incorporated into every mask were symbols of strength and sexual power, a connection made explicit through the erotic pantomime in the male Bijagó initiates' dances (fig. 4.30).⁶⁹³ In 1986 *ejumba* were decorated with red abrus seeds, shells, strips of palm fronds cut into diamond patterns, and a cut-pile raffia fringe that ran down the center of the mask. Cowrie shells were used as currency in Senegal until the nineteenth century, suggesting they were allusions to wealth. Meanwhile, bivalves (fig. 4.31) recalled the use of such shells in traditional rain prayers, thereby indicating agricultural fertility. The use of abrus seeds was recorded as early as the sixteenth century and, since they also appear on the regalia of warriors and of a female organization dedicated to helping women in childbirth, associated the mask's wearer with strength and fertility.⁶⁹⁴ The multivalence of the *ejumba*'s decorative elements not only adds richness to the mask's meaning, but also demonstrates that its viewers had a sophisticated visual literacy that they brought with them to seventeenth-century Lima's processions. Furthermore, it is possible that savvy *cofrades* made the connection between *ejumba* embellishments and their associations and their dressed up and bejeweled processional image, since these traits were also associated with the Virgin and the heavily decorated *andas* on which the Antigua was carried.⁶⁹⁵ The obliqueness of these associations may seem tangential now, but

⁶⁹³ Ndiaye, *Le Musée de Dakar*, 28.

⁶⁹⁴ Mark, "Ejumba," 142; Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale*, 5:32. The name for the seeds, in the Gussilay dialect, is bachiompi (*bajumbi*), which is clearly related to the name of the mask. Mark, "Ejumba," 146 (n.17).

⁶⁹⁵ "andas nuevas doradas... un pavallon cubierta de andas que no resibio po truxillo tiene Juan lorencó" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 7, fol. 18r (1611).

they would have been opportune for the *caboverde cofrades*, whose devotion was under intense scrutiny as they processed through the streets. Through the recollection of Greater Senegambian cultural meanings purposefully mapped onto the Virgin, a *cofrade* from the *nación caboverde*, could participate in Catholic ritual practice while maintaining his West African practices in a way that was simultaneously culturally meaningful and invisible to a wary Spanish eye.

These are but a few examples of the many ways that *caboverdes* could have recalled their lives in Greater Senegambia while taking part in confraternal ritual. More could easily be identified by including other ethnic groups from the same area of West Africa, such as the Sarakole, Peul, or Malinke. There were and are a number of distinct groups in the region, but the areas of overlap suggest why the *caboverde cofrades* may have accepted allying under the colonial term. Although this chapter only discussed the initiation masks of the Diola, for instance, similar masks are used throughout the region, and many of the spaces of correlation created by recalling Diola *ejumba* could have been created by the initiation masks of Bijagó men. Similarly, Sarakole women, with their large, golden earrings, might have thought about the Virgin's jewelry much like Wolof women. We might imagine that the unfamiliar context of Lima served to emphasize regional similarities, bringing together otherwise disparate peoples through visual culture. If so, the possibility that the *caboverdes* and *criollos* disagreed over the confraternity's goods seems less farfetched. Perhaps the *criollos* did not appreciate that beliefs originating in Greater Senegambia were dictating the *caboverdes'* choices for how to dress the Virgin. Or maybe the reason the *criollo mayordomos* refused the *caboverde* woman's request to create a funeral banner was rooted in a distrust over interpretations about the motives behind the banner's making. There is no way of knowing for certain. Even if the devotional objects and

material possessions in the confraternal collection were not the main reason for the split, it seems likely that the differences in perception factored in to some degree.

First and foremost, it is important to remember that the members of the Antigua community were not simply acting within societal restrictions, but rather were collecting and displaying objects in order to negotiate their status and social perception of them as good Christians. The *cofrades* made this especially clear in the *probanza* they filed in 1585 against the confraternity of Santa Justa y Rufina. Before engaging with the issues of the relative superior quality of the Antigua *cofrades* or Justa y Rufina's racial polemic against them, the Antigua *mayordomos* posed questions about the confraternity's use of devotional objects. In question two they asked witnesses to determine "if the *cofrades* of [the Antigua confraternity] have had and have in the cathedral an altar, chapel, and image of the Our Lady of the Antigua well decorated and adorned where Ordinary Mass has been said and is said."⁶⁹⁶ Question three asked witnesses "if they know that the confraternity of Our Lady of the Antigua and its *cofrades* from [the time of its foundation] until now have brought out and bring out the image of Our Lady of the Antigua on the *andas* from the Cathedral for the processions on the day of Corpus Christi."⁶⁹⁷ Thus, the *mayordomos* established their confraternity's piety not by proving that the *cofrades* had a deep understanding of Christian doctrine or with the number of Masses they celebrated in their chapels, as we might expect. Instead, their strategy was to ask witnesses to confirm that the confraternity had an established devotional site in the Cathedral and engaged appropriately with images. Notably, neither the objects themselves nor the ownership of them was sufficient

⁶⁹⁶ "2 yten si saben que...an tenydo E tienen los cofrades della en la dha yglesia altar capilla E ymagen de nra del antigua bien adereçada y adornada a donde se a dho y dize de hordinario mysa" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. ALv (1585).

⁶⁹⁷ "3 yten si saben que la dha cofradia de nra señora del antigua y cofrades della del dho tienpo a esta pte en las procesiones del Dia de corpus xpi an sacadao y sacan de la dha yglesia mayor en andas la ymagen de nra s^a del antigua" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 2, fol. ALv (1585).

evidence that the confraternity deserved their place in the procession order. Rather, it was the black sodality's successful activation of their collection of possessions, through the adornment of the altar and the procession of a sculpture, that proved they were worthy.

VI. Conclusion

A Caboverde Confraternity

There is relatively little documentation for the Virgin of the Antigua's confraternity after the flurry of disputes that began in 1630, which makes it hard to pinpoint exactly when the confraternity became specifically *caboverde*. There may, however, be a clue in a document from 1637. According to the priest petitioning to be the chaplain for the sodality's chapel, their altar had little more than some hanging lamps and *frontales* for the altar.⁶⁹⁸ The Antigua confraternity's documents from the second half of the seventeenth century confirm that the sodality's collection had, indeed, diminished. This is somewhat surprising, considering the items recorded in the confraternity's collection not five years earlier. Notably, a large number of those objects had been claimed by the *criollo* mayordomos Domingo de Segovia and Lucas de Salinas. This might indicate not only that the *criollos* left the confraternity, but they did so with their goods in tow. The confraternity's *bienes* appear to have been a major point of contention in the disputes and the *criollos* could have taken the objects to keep them from being "misused" by the *caboverdes*, as a power play, or both.

Another factor to consider in the Antigua confraternity's impoverishment is the increased involvement of the University of San Marcos at this time, as mentioned above. San Marcos chose the Antigua for their patroness in 1627 but did not take control of the altar, chapel, and "all

⁶⁹⁸ "la dha ymagen y capilla no tiene mas Rentas ni bienes que los que al presente tiene que son muy pocos y esos son las lamparas que estan colgados y algunos frontales y por que tiene nesecidad la dha ymagen y altar para ayuda a su adorno de algunas cossas muy nesesarias las quales se an de comprar de las limosnas que se juntan y estas no seran suficientes las que se recojieren en al dha yglecia" AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 16, fol. Av (1637).

items that entered into the chapel” until 1644.⁶⁹⁹ The date of their sudden interest may confirm the arrival date of the seventeenth-century painting of the Virgin of the Antigua that still hangs in Lima’s Cathedral today. The appearance of the splendid painting, combined with the prominent chapel, may have drawn renewed attention to the Virgin’s cult, and consequently a number of donations, but through the administration of the university. By 1683, panegyrists like Montalvo and Echave y Assu described that the university had luxuriously decorated the chapel with lavish items like incredible silver lamps worth 4200 pesos and an elaborate *retablo* decorated with paintings, precious gems, and gold (fig. 4.32), to name just a few of its splendors.⁷⁰⁰ While a positive development for the cult of the Virgin of the Antigua, it would almost certainly have created a number of issues for her black *cofrades*. Given that the university rector’s request was granted in 1644, the objects that might have otherwise entered the confraternity’s possession went straight to the university, possibly accounting for why the Antigua *cofrades* had so few devotional objects.

The sodality formally began to identify itself as “the confraternity of the Virgin of the Antigua of the *morenos of caboverde*” no later than 1662, confirming that by then the *criollos* had either left the *cofradía* by choice or been ousted.⁷⁰¹ A short account book and *descargo* presented by former *mayordomo* Salvador Alonso strongly indicates that this likely occurred as early as 1654, if not before.⁷⁰² People identified as *caboverde* – some with more specific *casta*

⁶⁹⁹ In August of 1644, Gaspar Ochoa, the rector of the University of San Marcos, requested that all items that enter into the chapel come into his control rather than into the control of Miguel de los Reyes, the chaplain of the Antigua confraternity since 1637. AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 19 (1644).

⁷⁰⁰ Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario historico-biografico del Peru*, vol. 7 (Lima: J.F. Solis, 1968), 40. For seventeenth-century descriptions, see: Montalvo, *El sol del nuevo mundo*, 46; Francisco de Echave y Assu, *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol sobre sus tres coronas, el B. Toribio Alfonso Mogrobexo, su segundo Arzobispo celebrado con epitalamios sacros y solemnes cultos por ... la ... Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima ...: descripcion sacropolitica de las grandezas ... de ... Lima, y compendio historico eclesiastico de su Santa iglesia metropolitana* (Amberes: por Juan Baptista Verdussen, 1688), 105–7.

⁷⁰¹ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 24, fol. Ar (1662).

⁷⁰² AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 23, fols. 49r-51v (1662).

affiliations like *mandinga* and *bran* – appear frequently in entries registering *cofrades*' burial expenses, a number of economically-active *mayorals*, and as *mayordomos*. An account book presented in 1659 by the *mayordomo* Sergeant Bernardo de Barbosa, a *moreno libre* and *criollo de caboverde* are much the same.⁷⁰³ Of particular interest is a man named Francisco Bran, the “*moreno esclavo* of Don Antonio de Santiclara,” who upon turning in six pesos, was identified as “the *mayordomo* of the people of Bissau.”⁷⁰⁴ This seems to indicate that the confraternity's *mayordomos* were no longer divided between *criollo* and *caboverde*, but that the office had been reconfigured to represent a group originating in a specific location in West Africa. If so, it shows us that by prevailing the *caboverdes* were now able to serve their community more pointedly.

In this chapter, I have uncovered the history of the *cofrades* of the Virgin of the Antigua and the objects in what I have conceived as their collection. Although the black *cofrades* of the Virgin of the Antigua did not leave us with a physical corpus of religious devotional objects and sodality possessions, the documentary evidence demonstrated that the Antigua *cofrades* participated in a rich material and visual culture. The diversity of object-based arguments that the *cofrades* used, first against other confraternities in processional disputes and later against each other as *criollos* and *caboverdes* struggled for control, demonstrated that the Antigua *cofrades* were thinking about these objects in complex ways, understanding the colonially-assigned power of religious ritual objects and invoking them to their benefit. By acquiring images, devotional objects, and material possessions, and using them in religious devotion to adorn their statue of the Virgin, the black *cofrades* defined their sodality's identity.

⁷⁰³ AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 22 (1659).

⁷⁰⁴ “Mas seis pessos que me dio fran^{co} Bran mayordomo de la Gente de biçao” He was identified as enslaved in AAL, Cof., Leg. 64, Exp. 222, fol. 29v (1659).

Based on the *cofrades*' self-identification as *caboverdes* in the 1630s, I looked to the material culture and rituals of the Greater Senegambia region from which members came, in order to speculate about the cultural recollections the *caboverde* devotees might have experienced during their confraternal ritual practices. We may, perhaps, think of this as backward extension of Stuart Hall's model of encoding/decoding.⁷⁰⁵ Much in the same way that Hall's modern Black extracted meaningful messages from television based on their own social contexts, so might the Antigua *cofrades* have made cultural connections with European or colonial objects. In so doing, they experienced Christianity piety and retained elements of their Greater Senegambian cultural heritage throughout the process of creating colonial identities.

⁷⁰⁵ Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (New York: Routledge, 1993), 90–103.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

Except for the *traza* (urban trace) and the bronze fountain in its center, Lima's *Plaza de Armas* today bears little physical resemblance to the space depicted in the painting from 1680 (fig. 1.1) with which this dissertation began. The buildings are brightly-painted, twentieth-century neocolonial "reconstructions," and the markets have been replaced with wide thoroughfares and large green spaces.⁷⁰⁶ Historians of Lima's art have long mourned the loss of the city's colonial splendors to earthquakes, floods, civil unrest, and the relentless "modernization" that has occurred in the name of "progress," lamenting the impossibility of writing early colonial Lima's art history.

And yet, as in the painting, the contemporary plaza is still the beating heart of the City of Kings. It is populated by locals who attend Mass, visit saints' relics in Santo Domingo, and process on Catholic feast days. In contrast with the painting, however, entrepreneurial Limeños today are not static features within a representation display of "exotic" flora and fauna. Instead, they fashion a kind of Peruvian experience in the restaurants that now line the plaza, offering up meals that might combine *arroz a lo pobre*, an Afro-Peruvian dish, *chicha morada*, a sweet purple corn drink, and *chifa*, Lima's signature version of Chinese food. Along the central plaza and the straight colonial streets, older Limeños stroll arm-in-arm wearing their Sunday best,

⁷⁰⁶ On the rebuilding of Lima's central plaza in a "neocolonial" style, see: Horacio Ramos Cerna, "Destrucción y reinvención de la plaza de Armas: Estilo neocolonial y modernización urbana en Lima, 1924-1954" (MA thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2014).

younger pedestrians give in to the temptation of love potions and spells offered by *brujas* (witches), and others, still, sell “Cusco School” paintings and faux-alpaca-wool sweaters to tourists. Joining people whose ancestors predate the sixteenth-century invasion and the early colonial settlement of the city (indigenous, Spanish, African, mixed), are different populations of recent arrivals, Chinese and Venezuelan.

While Lima’s urban form may have changed, its essence has not. Viewed from an Andean or West African perspective, then, we might understand that the painted and contemporary plaza are much the same. Rather than mourn that which has been “lost,” we are encouraged to consider the living, non-elite city that has so purposefully been rendered invisible by the extended forces of colonialism. The seemingly simple, yet evidently radical and certainly challenging, act of applying a cultural lens and deeply rooted historical analysis generated from outside a limited “settler” colonizing perspective has the incredible potential to broaden current academic study.

In this dissertation, I worked to counteract the erasure and denial of subaltern presence and agency in the history of Lima’s art. In Chapter 2 I demonstrated that colonial Lima and its visual culture were never simply, or even predominantly, “Spanish.” Using inventories made it possible to overcome a lack of extant objects and to think about the collecting practices of Lima’s subaltern confraternities. Thus, it became clear that, through the confraternal institution, black and indigenous people appropriated and transformed what has traditionally been considered “Spanish” art as tools for forming new collectivities and navigating urban experiences within colonial Lima. In so doing, subalterns curated their religious experiences and effectively came to define the city’s religious landscape in ways unanticipated by the colonial government.

A new perspective on Lima emerged from the case studies in Chapters 3 and 4, in which indigenous and black people are shown not to have passively submitted to Spanish cultural hegemony. Both the sodality members of the confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana and the Virgin of of the Antigua demonstrated keen abilities to mobilize confraternal material culture in the form of ritual objects with multiple layers of meaning. We have seen, for example, how the indigenous *cofrades* of the confraternity of the Virgin of Copacabana designed and had made their devotional statue, and ultimately achieved their goal of having the cult image translated back to the district of San Lázaro, where the sodality had initially been formed. At the same time, they participated in longstanding Andean traditions that valued the materiality and facture of ritual objects. Similarly, when the members of the Antigua sodality found themselves at odds with rival black *cofradías*, conflicts likely born from pre-existing interethnic strife that originated in West Africa, the black *cofrades* mobilized their confraternal *bienes* to convince Spanish judges to rule in their favor. I have argued that these *bienes* simultaneously engaged Spanish, colonial, Andean, and West African understandings, at times all embedded within or associated with a single object, and that indigenous and black Limeños operated with sophisticated visual literacies.

The attempt here to see colonial material culture and practices through the perspectives of indigenous and black devotees introduced some of the many ways that Andean and West African cosmologies could intimately and publicly commingle with colonial culture. This co-existence could occur without drawing the attention of Spanish colonial officials specifically tasked with identifying and eradicating cultural practices and manifest religious beliefs considered to be “idolatrous” or “dangerous.” Both the Chachapoya in the Copacabana confraternity and the Greater Senegambians in the Antigua confraternity fundamentally transformed Spanish images –

images manufactured in Lima by Spaniards or imported from Spain – into colonial objects that reflected new colonial collectivities through confraternal ritual engagements. For instance, the relatively large archaeological and ethnographic record for the Chachapoya enabled me to recognize that the *cofradía*'s choice to rename the Virgin with the Copacabana title in 1590, after the sodality was forcibly relocated to the Cercado, attested to the endurance of Chachapoya cultural memory of their earlier subjugation by the Inca. In contrast, the devastating effects of colonialism on the African continent has left little seventeenth-century evidence from Greater Senegambia. Consequently, I relied on modern ethnographic studies to propose, for example, that the fluid formal idiom and wood material of statues from modern Guinea-Bissau suggests how the Bijagó people in the Antigua confraternity may have understood their Virgin as a colonial *iran*. That these black and indigenous peoples redefined their Virgins without altering their physical forms attests to the vibrancy and adaptability of Andean and West African material and performative cultural practices.

Since this dissertation is only the beginning of an ongoing project of recovering the art histories of colonial Lima's subalterns, there are a number of research avenues yet left to explore, even within Lima's confraternal context. One priority for future scholarship would be to explore the active interactions between black and indigenous confraternities as facilitated by sacred images, confraternal goods, and close proximity within shared chapel spaces. There were no true divisions between *castas*, biological or social, in the colonial world, and to discuss them separately is artificial. Nevertheless, it was necessary to do so in this project, in order to give each sodality and their members' distinct traditions sufficient attention. This was especially true in the case of the Afro-confraternity because blacks have received limited attention in scholarship on colonial Latin American art. A consideration of the four Rosario confraternities,

in particular, with their overtly mixed membership – black, *mulato*, indigenous, and Spanish – in the Church of Santo Domingo, would provide an organic way to explore the interactions between groups formed according to racialized colonial categories within and across confraternities.

The two case studies undertaken here also demonstrated the limitations to our understanding of colonial Lima's art without deeper knowledge of the traditions of the Andes and West Africa. It would also be fruitful, then, for specialists of West African art and visual culture to undertake study of colonial Limeño art. The study of Andean art has already benefited greatly from the trained eyes and deep wells of knowledge of early modern Europeanists and (so-called) precolumbianists. Over the course my research, I often found myself necessarily traversing the divides between fields and sub-fields of art historical expertise: the Andean cloud forests around 900 CE for Chapter 3 and nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greater Senegambia for Chapter 4. While both of these historical artistic cultures were outside of my own field of early modern colonial Peruvian art, the Chachapoya were far more familiar, since specialists of the colonial period are expected to know Andean visual culture prior to the Spanish invasion, whereas even an acquaintance with African art is not considered necessary. As a result of this training and also the larger surviving historical record for the Andes, indigenous peoples were inevitably more substantially represented in this dissertation. One hopes that in the near future such an imbalance will no longer be the case, as the contributions of Afro-descendants are further recognized as integral to the visual fabric of colonial Latin America.

On a broader scope, with this project, I endeavor to encourage a pointed reappraisal of current disciplinary approaches toward visual culture, especially objects produced, activated, and preserved under circumstances of marked power imbalances. Although we do not rely solely on objects, visual evidence remains at the center of art historical inquiry. Colonialism and its

legacies, however, mean that visual absence – be it of the absence of subaltern visual traditions in the art of the colonial period, or the absence of non-elite objects in prominent museum collections – is not neutral. It is no coincidence that a significant corpus of European objects survived the natural disasters that befell Lima. In the City of Kings, where the colonial project was based, the discipline’s strength thus became its weakness, resulting in the racial discrepancy between the colonial city that emerges from art historical scholarship and the Lima in evidence in the documentary record and recovered in recent work by historians. This dissertation begins the process of merging these two artificially-disparate cities and, I hope, can serve as a model for art historians interested in centering the visual culture of subaltern peoples, even in the absence of extant objects.

Beyond including people of color and their visual culture as subjects of academic study, we must make diversity within the discipline an immediate priority if we are to transform art history into a positive force for subalterns, rather than a field of study perceived to be primarily available to, and in service of, the elite. Today, in 2019, the discipline still lacks in racial, ethnic, and economic diversity.⁷⁰⁷ This is to the detriment of art historical scholarship and, as scholars of color have pointed out, plays a significant role in the continued oppression of “minorities” within the academy.⁷⁰⁸ We should ask ourselves: What are the implications, both for

⁷⁰⁷ Rodney Seph, “A Conversation on Latino Representation in US Art History Departments,” *Hyperallergic*, January 4, 2016, <https://hyperallergic.com/265464/a-conversation-on-latino-representation-in-us-art-history-departments/>; Rodney Seph, “Why Are There So Few Black Full Professors of Art History in the US?,” *Hyperallergic*, November 30, 2015, <https://hyperallergic.com/256013/why-are-there-so-few-black-full-time-art-historians-in-the-us/>; Adriana Zavala, “Latin@ Art at the Intersection,” *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 40, no. 1 (2015): 125–40.

⁷⁰⁸ See, for example: Amelia Gibson, “This Is Your Pipeline Problem,” *Inside Higher Ed: Conditionally Accepted*, February 15, 2019, <https://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2019/02/15/far-reaching-effects-how-campuses-treat-senior-faculty-color-opinion>; Rosa Pérez Isiah, “Passive Oppression in Education: Fueling the Achievement Gap,” *Medium: Identity, Education and Power*, January 22, 2018, <https://medium.com/identity-education-and-power/passive-oppression-in-education-fueling-the-achievement-gap-af637f8c3718>; Victor Ray, “The Racial Politics of Citation,” *Inside Higher Ed: Conditionally Accepted*, April 27, 2018, <https://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2018/04/27/racial-exclusions-scholarly-citations-opinion>; Clelia O. Rodríguez, *Decolonizing Academia: Poverty, Oppression and Pain* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2018);

our discipline and for ourselves as the generators of knowledge, of the choices that we make about what, or whom, to study, how we choose to undertake such study, and who we enable to do so with us? Who should be studying the visual when it is implicated in the systemic oppression of people of color? Which legacies are we perpetuating if we fail to include the very kinds of people we claim to be uplifting through our scholarship?

To be clear, I am neither suggesting that only people of color can or should study the visual culture of people of color, nor that people of color should exclusively study “their own” visual culture. I do, however, contend that the discipline necessarily cannot productively change without the equal input of people of color. Just as we should recognize the value of including the perspectives brought by colonial Lima’s black and indigenous *cofrades* to the historical production and use of visual and material culture, so must we recognize the value of the particular perspectives brought to art history by people of color, Latinx people, immigrants, queer and trans* people, and people from lower income backgrounds. Certainly, this dissertation could not have come into being were it not for my experiences as a first-generation immigrant from Lima.

To conclude, let us consider a recent work by the Dominican-born, Bronx-based artist Firelei Báez for the Museum of Modern Art’s “Modern Window” series. The installation, entitled *For Améthyste and Athénaire (Exiled Muses Beyond Jean Luc Nancy’s Canon)*, *Anacondas* (fig. 5.1, 2018), features the daughters of King Henri Christophe and Queen Marie-Louise Coidavid of the short-lived Kingdom of Haiti, who were forced into exile in Italy upon

Barbara LeSavoy, “‘On the Outside End’: Systems of Oppression and Academic Success,” *Black Women, Gender + Families* 4, no. 2 (2010): 85–108; Wendy Leo Moore, *Reproducing Racism: White Space, Elite Law Schools, and Racial Inequality* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 2010); Chavella T. Pittman, “Race and Gender Oppression in the Classroom: The Experiences of Women Faculty of Color with White Male Students,” *Teaching Sociology* 38, no. 3 (2010): 183–96.

their father's death in 1820 and the unification of the Kingdom of Haiti and Republic of Haiti.¹ Báez painted the two women, for whom we have no paintings or photographs, as silhouettes, filled with flowing abstracted swirls of purple and red paint, wearing only bright cochineal red *tignons* (headscarves that black women were forced to wear in Spanish Louisiana), decorated with “symbols of resistance and healing within the black diaspora” and a single dangling flower.⁷⁰⁹ Eyes, which look out confidently and confront the viewer, are the only physical features the painter gave the women, causing their gazes to seem all the more powerful. When asked about visualizing Athénaïre without a photograph to reference, Báez explained:

“That’s the thing. There are no portraits. So how do you make someone present when history has made such an effort to erase them? This composition was to try to imagine more the psychology of her, more her presence. It would be, I think, facetious of me to put a stand-in for her. I want there to be room for the viewer to recreate her in the present along with me. That’s why the only concept about her is that her gaze is direct into the viewer, so you connect.”⁷¹⁰

Báez’s creativity, explicit goal to recover and celebrate someone who was purposefully erased, productive mobilization of ambiguity, and willingness to involve those who engage with her art, are, I would argue, directly applicable to the kind of work we should be doing as art historians interested in the visual culture of subalterns. The black and indigenous populations of colonial Lima will never have the same visual or documentary evidence as their Spanish counterparts. Just as we will never know exactly how Améthyste and Athénaïre Christophe looked, we will never know the specifics of the Antigua confraternity’s devotion to their cult statue or the textiles the Copacabana *cofrades* placed on their Virgin. Nevertheless, these and other subaltern art histories need to be written too, and urgently. This will require us to be comfortable with

⁷⁰⁹ Firelei Báez, Studio Visit, interview by Isabel Custodio, November 14, 2018, https://www.moma.org/magazine/articles/16?fbclid=IwAR3dKFOVsIyNesKkm_i04ormPJbU0uXu2NBEiVYxdm7a0n3mY_1BcAAKvps.

⁷¹⁰ Báez.

producing academic work that looks different from that of our colleagues – a little more creative, speculative, ambiguous, collaborative by necessity – and believe that that difference does not mean our scholarship is “worse.” To the contrary, Báez’s work elegantly demonstrates the productive potential of uncertainty. If we are successful, we will be able to write a history of Lima’s art as dynamic and multifaceted as its colonial residents.



Figure 1.1a: *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, detail: collecting water at the fountain.

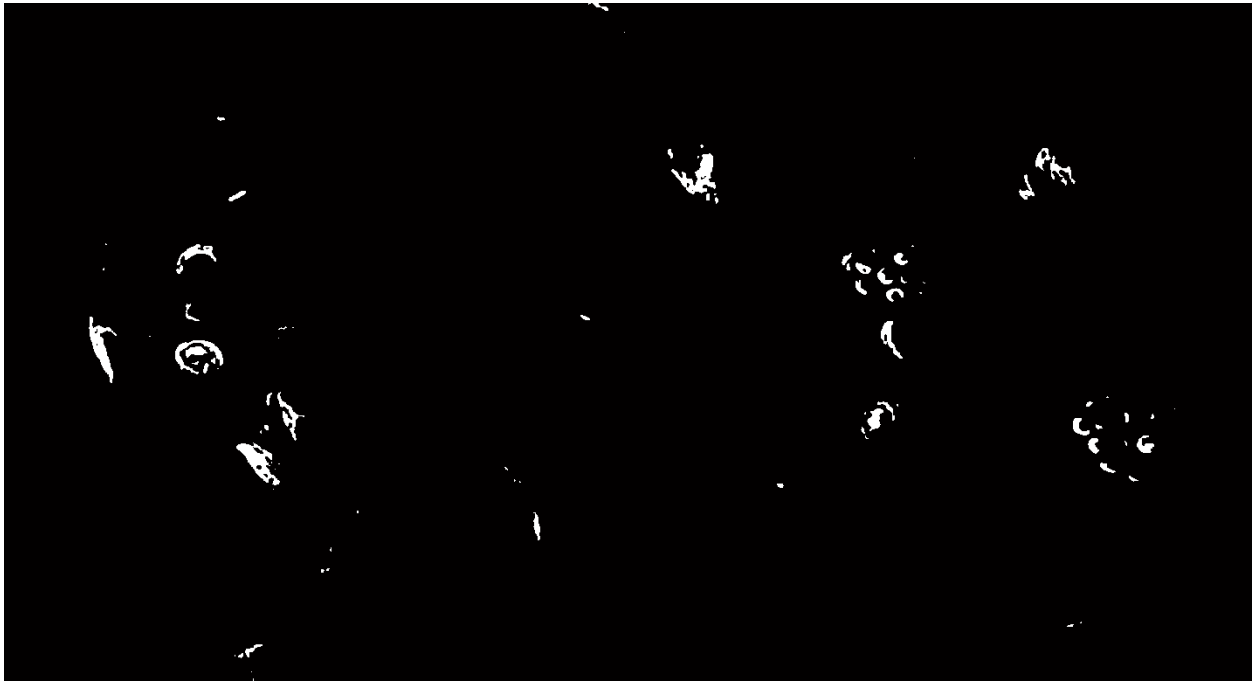


Figure 1.1b: *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, detail: bread vendor and dog.



Figure 1.1c: *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, detail: indigenous women on a donkey.



Figure 1.1d: *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, detail: indigenous woman from the mountains with llama and vicuña.



Figure 1.1e: *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, detail: merchant and Dominican religious women.



Figure 1.1f: *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, detail: Spanish people.

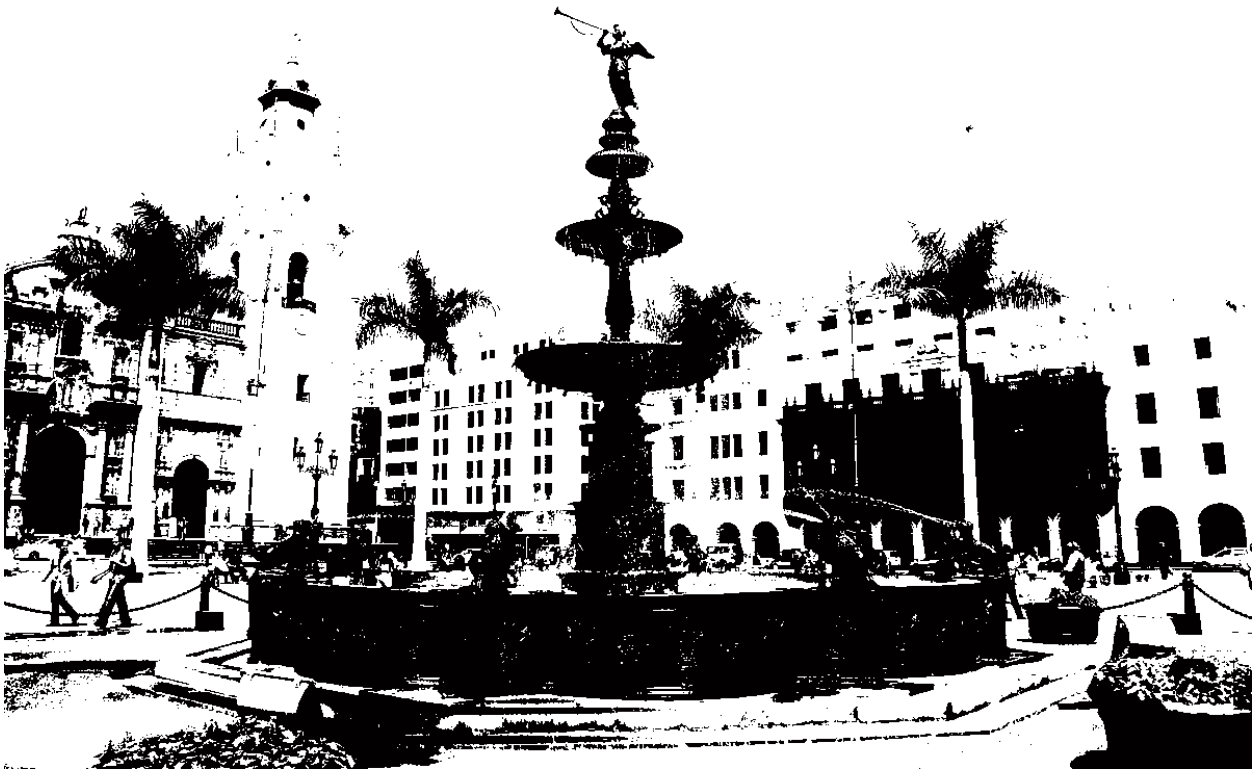


Figure 1.2: Pedro de Noguera, fountain in Plaza Mayor, 1651, bronze. Lima, Peru.

Photo: Paulo Guereta. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pileta_de_la_Plaza_mayor_de_Lima.jpg.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 1.3: Mateo Pérez de Alesio, *Virgen de la leche*, c. 1604, oil on copper plate. Museo de Arte de Lima, Lima, Peru.

Photo: <https://www.panoramical.eu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/DSCN8857e1424644723779.jpg>. Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 1.4: Angelino Medoro, *Inmaculada Concepción*, 1618, oil on canvas. Convento de San Agustín, Lima, Peru.

Photo: <https://camilotangerine.tumblr.com/image/90005200742>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 1.5: Juan Martínez de Arzona, drawers for the sacristy, c.1608, high relief wood sculpture. Cathedral, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Jon Roberts. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cajoner%C3%ADa_de_la_Sacrist%C3%ADa_Catedral_de_Lima.jpg.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 1.6: Martín Alonso de Mesa, *Saint John the Evangelist*, 1623, polychrome wood sculpture. Chapel of Santa Ana, Cathedral, Lima, Peru.

Photo: author.



Figure 1.7: Pedro de Noguera (designed by Martín Alonso de Mesa), choir stalls, c. 1620, high relief wood sculpture. Cathedral, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Christian Córdova. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catedral_de_Lima#/media/File:Siller%C3%ADa_del_coro,_Catedral_de_Lima,_Peru-02.jpg.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 1.8: Francisco de Zurbarán, *Saint Bruno*, 1640-1650, oil on canvas. Convento de la Buena Muerte, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, fig. 130.



Figure 1.9: Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Saint Joseph and Child*, 16th century, oil on canvas. Convento de los Descalzos, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, fig. 36.



Figure 1.10: Workshop of Peter Paul Rubens, *Agony in the Garden*, 16th century, oil on canvas. Tercera Orden Franciscana, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, fig. 43.



Figure 1.11: Juan de Mesa, *Cristo de la buena muerte*, 1625, polychrome wood sculpture. Iglesia de San Pedro, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Escultura en el Perú*, p. 81.



Figure 1.12: Juan Martínez Montañés, *Saint John the Evangelist*, 1618, polychrome wood sculpture. Chapel of the Virgin of the Evangelization, Cathedral, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Escultura en el Perú*, p. 63.



Figure 1.13: Juan Simón (under Martín Alonso de Mesa), *Visitation*, 1617-1627, polychrome high relief wood sculpture. Palace of the Archbishop, Lima, Peru.

Photo: author.

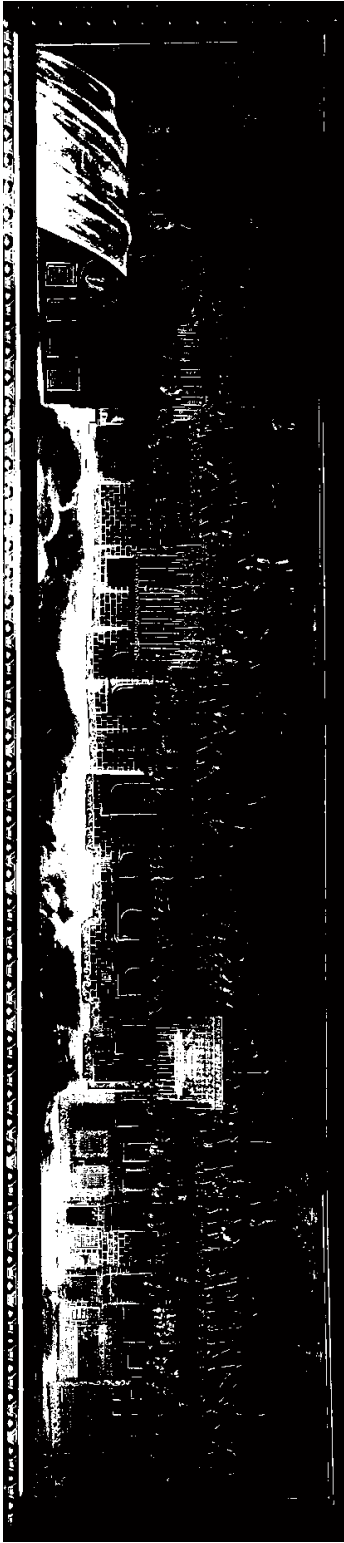


Figure 2.1: *Procesión del Santo Entierro*, c. 1660, oil on canvas. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Courtesy of the Cathedral of Lima.

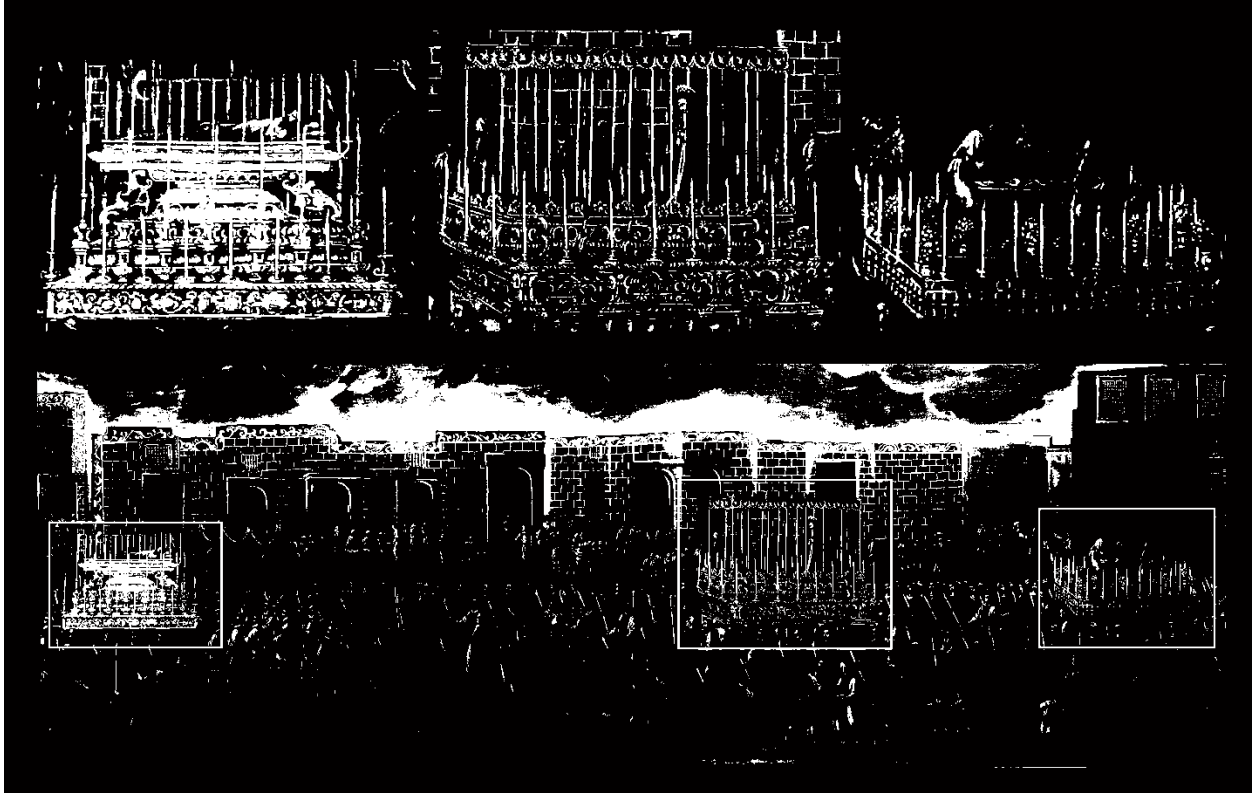


Figure 2.1a: *Procesión del Santo Entierro*, c. 1660, oil on canvas. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Lima, Peru.



Figure 2.2: *Cristo*, 1619, polychromed wood. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Lima, Peru.

Photo: http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-RAL_b5F_t5k/U4TMfYVaXHI/AAAAAA AABAo/MkhhYvECcI/s1600/dESCENDIMIENTO+1.jpg.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.3: *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, c. 1660, polychromed wood. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Escultura en el Perú*, p. 122.



Figure 2.4: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Capítulo de los ídolos”, in *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (p. 263), 1615, pen and ink. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Photo: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/263/en/text/>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.5: “The burning of idols in Congo”, engraving, in *Relazione del Reame di Congo* by F. Pigafetta, 1598.

Photo: Blier, “Capricious Arts,” fig. 1.3.



Figure 2.6: Sapi *nomoli* figure from Sierra Leone or Guinea, 15th-17th century, carved steatite. National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.

Photo: <https://africa.si.edu/collections/view/objects/asitem/6522/6/displayDateasc;jsessionid=D424F78CE922F83CBB5DD6484B777F27?t.state:flow=8a4cc37b-2141-416e-9e1a-dc849fff9f9e>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.7: Kissi *pomdo* figure from Sierra Leone, 15th century, carved steatite. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England.

Photo: Lamp, "House of Stones," p. 225.



Figure 2.8: Kissi diviner supporting a “bier” containing a stone figure.

Photo: Denise Paulme, in Lamp, “House of Stones,” p. 230.



Figure 2.9: Ritual washing of the face of the *Virgin of Copacabana*, (December 28, 2016).

Photo: author.



Figure 2.10: Detail of the face of the *Virgin of Copacabana*, (2017).

Photo: author.



Figure 2.11: Devotees kneeling under the mantle of the *Virgin of Copacabana* (December 28, 2015).

Photo: Rubén Cabello.



Figure 2.12: Detail of the discoloration of the hem of the *Virgin of Copacabana* (2017).

Photo: author.



Figure 2.13: *Virgen de la Gracia*, polychromed wood. Iglesia de San Agustín, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Escultura en el Perú*, p. 31.



Figure 2.14: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Fiesta de los Collasuios”, in *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (p. 326), 1615, pen and ink. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Photo: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/326/en/text/>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.15: Miniature dressed Inca female figurine, early-16th century. Museo de Túcume, Túcume, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni.



Figure 2.16: *Virgen de Pomata with Saint Nichols of Tolentino and Saint Rose of Lima*, 1700-1750, oil on canvas. Brooklyn Museum, New York.

Photo: <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/687>.
Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.17: Bernardo Lorente Germán (painter), *Guion (simpecado) Concepcionista*, 1734, oil on canvas and gold embroidery on velvet. Cathedral, Seville, Spain.

Photo: author.

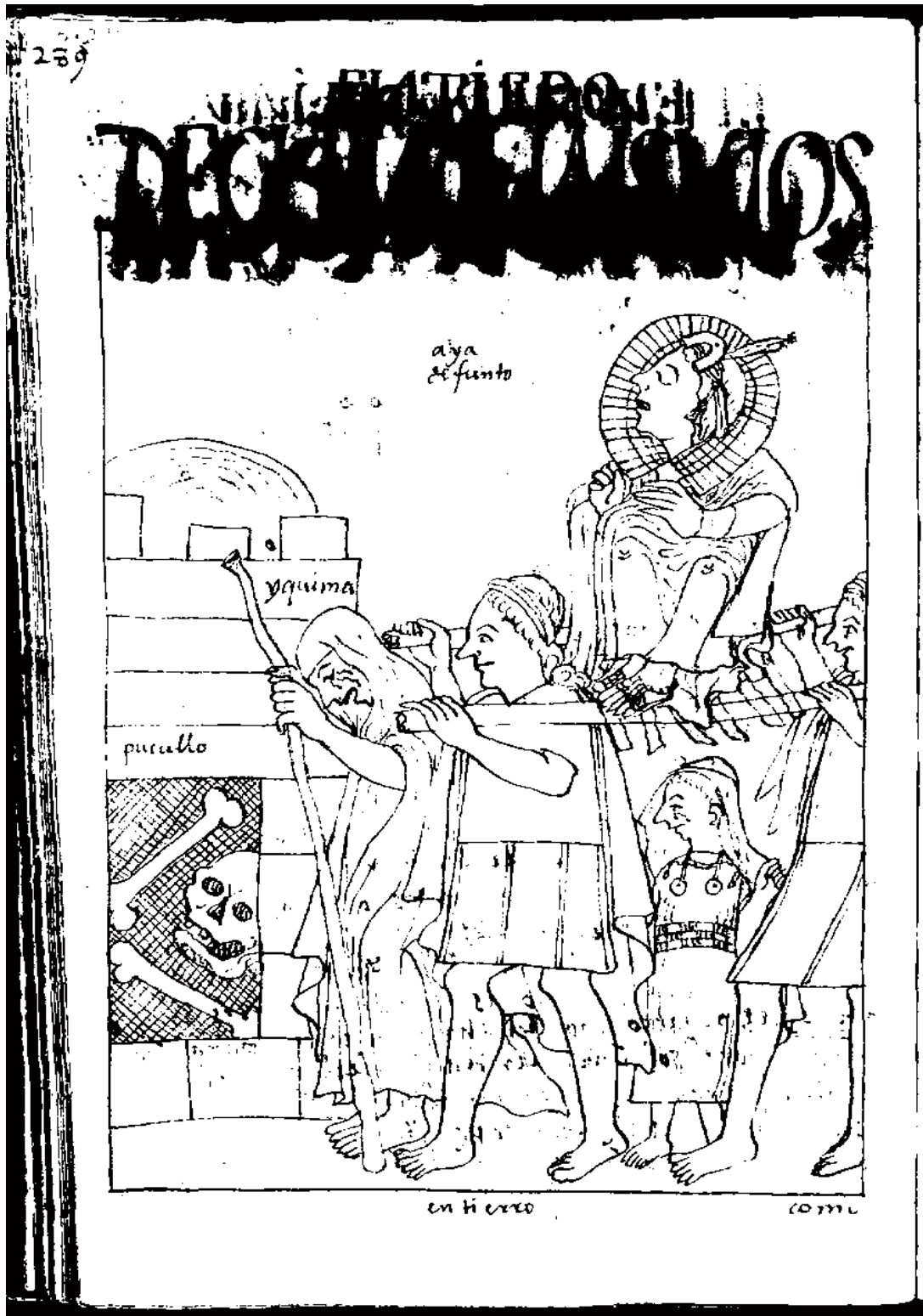


Figure 2.18: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Entierro de Chinchisuios”, in *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (p. 291), 1615, pen and ink. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Photo: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/291/en/text/>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.19: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Andas del Inga”, in *Nueva cónica y buen gobierno* (p. 333), 1615, pen and ink. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Photo: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/333/en/text/>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.20: Pancho Fierro, *Procesión del Jueves Santo (Garden of Gethsemane)*, c. 1830, watercolor. Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Photo: (detail) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Procesión_del_Jueves_Santo_por_la_Calle_de_San_Agust%C3%ADn_\(fragmento\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Procesión_del_Jueves_Santo_por_la_Calle_de_San_Agust%C3%ADn_(fragmento).jpg).

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 2.21: Pancho Fierro, *Procesión del Jueves Santo (Raising of the Cross)*, c. 1830, watercolor. Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Photo: https://elpais.com/cultura/imagenes/2017/04/05/actualidad/1491394254_654024_1491402818_sumario_grande.jpg.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.1: Diego Rodríguez de Celada and Cristóbal de Ortega, *Virgin of Copacabana*, c. 1588, polychromed wood. Beaterio de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Courtesy of the Franciscan sisters of the Virgin of Copacabana.



Figure 3.2: *La milagrosa y imagen de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana...*, 1778. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

Photo: <https://archive.org/details/lamilagrosaymage00cofr/page/n1>.
 Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.3: Chachapoya Mantle or Tunic, c. 800-1532, woven cotton (plain weave, tie dyed, brocade). Museo Leymebamba, Leymebamba, Peru.

Photo: Bjerregaard and von Hagen, *Chachapoya Textiles*.



Figure 3.4: Reconstruction of Chachapoya home. Kuelap, Peru.

Photo: author.



Figure 3.5: Domestic architecture, 700-900. Kuelap, Peru.

Photo: author.



Figure 3.6: Frieze with anthropomorphic figures on a circular building, c. 1470-1532. Gran Pajatén, Peru.

Photo: <https://images.perutelegraph.com/media/reviews/photos/original/b7/81/a3/gran-pajaten-4-71-1507655060.jpg>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.7: Friezes with zigzag (left) and rhombus (right) motifs on the base of circular buildings, 700-900. Kuelap, Peru.

Photo: author.



Figure 3.8: Church, c. 1538 with reconstructions. La Jalca Grande, Peru.

Photo: author.



Figure 3.9: *Chullpas*, 700-900. Revash, Peru.

Photo: author.



Figure 3.10: *Purun machu* tombs, 1400-1520. Karajía, Peru.

Photo: https://wetraveltheworld.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/IMG_5881.jpg

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.11: Mummy bundles found at Laguna de los Cóndores, 1470-1532. Museo Leymebamba, Leymebamba, Peru.

Photo: Bjerregaard and von Hagen, *Chachapoya Textiles*.



Figure 3.12: *Corpus Christi (Return of the Procession to the Cathedral)*, c. 1675-80. Museo Arzobispal de Cusco, Cusco, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Pintura cuzqueña*, fig. 85.

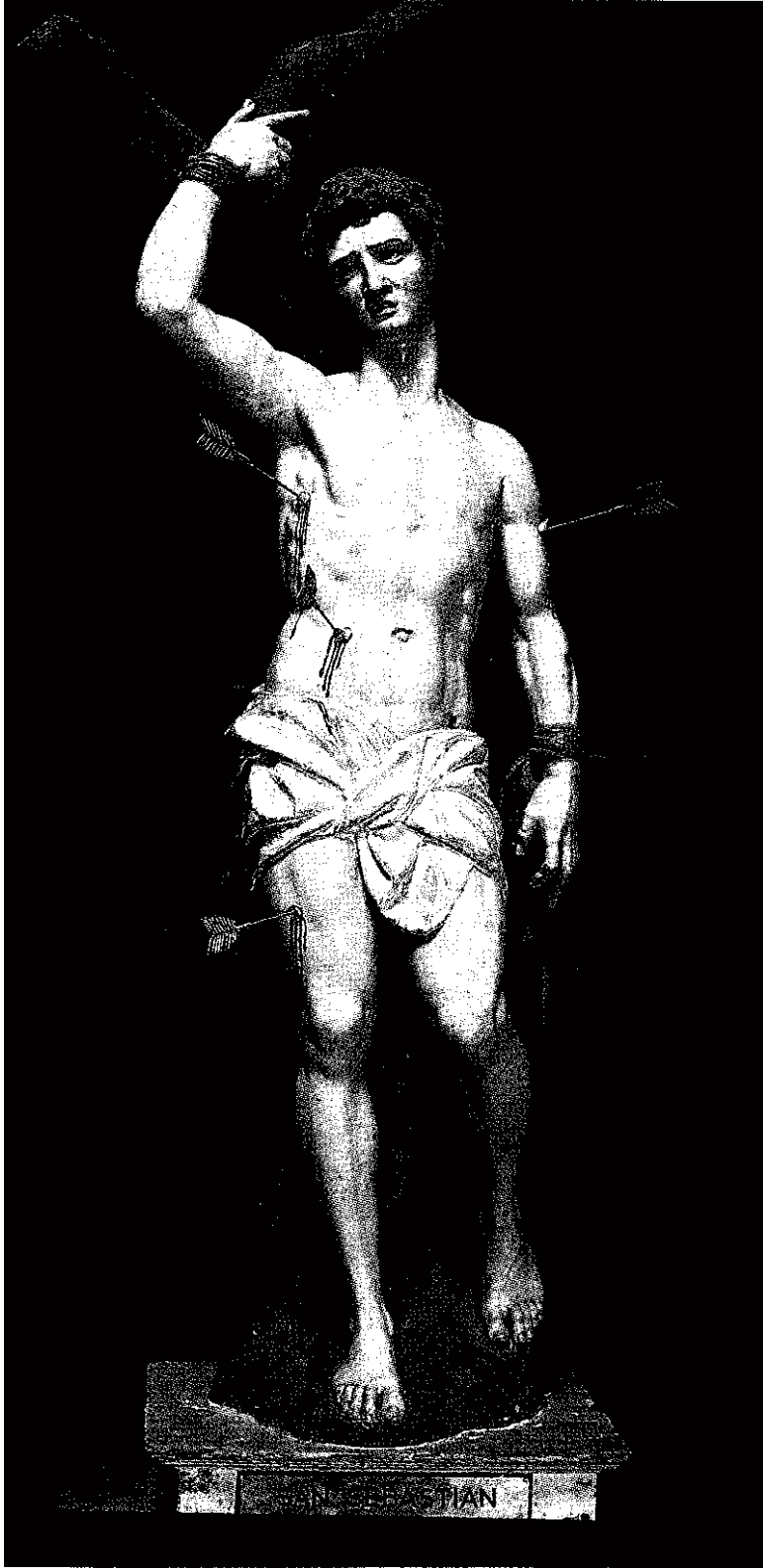


Figure 3.13: Diego Rodríguez de Celada, *Saint Sebastian*, 1590, polychromed wood. Iglesia de la Compañía, Arequipa, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Escultura en el Perú*, p. 282.

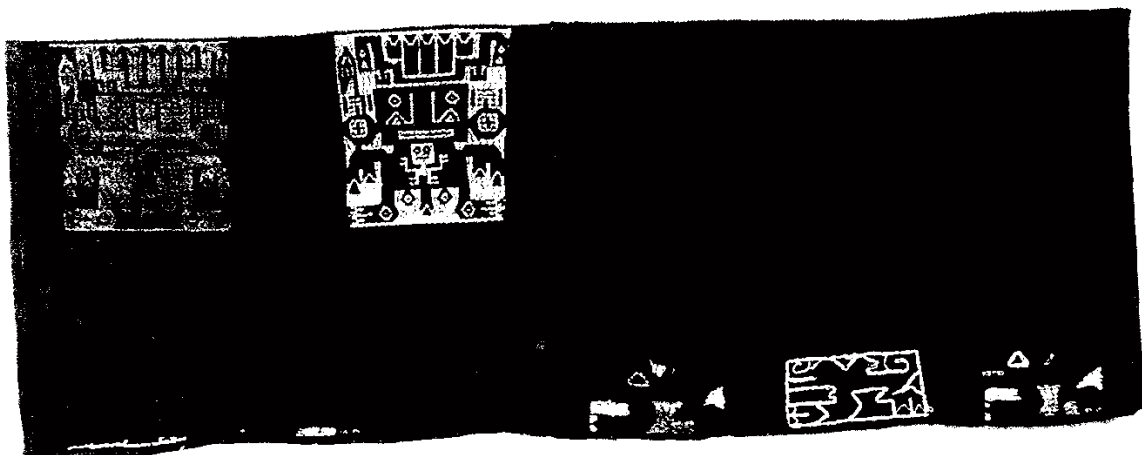


Figure 3.14: Chachapoya tunic, c. 800-1532, woven cotton and camelid fibers. Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Photo: Bjerregaard and von Hagen, *Chachapoya Textiles*.



Figure 3.15: Roque de Balduque, *Virgin of the Assumption*, 1551-1554, polychromed wood. Cathedral, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Courtesy of the Cathedral of Lima.



Figure 3.16: Roque de Balduque, *Virgin of the Rosary*, c. 1560, polychromed wood. Santo Domingo, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Courtesy of the Cathedral of Lima.



Figure 3.17: Bernardo Bitti, *Virgen de la Candelaria*, c. 1576-1582, oil on canvas. San Pedro, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni.



Figure 3.18: *Marriage of Martín de Loyola to Doña Beatriz Ñusta and Don Juan Borja to Princess Lorenza*, 18th century, oil on canvas. Iglesia de la Compañía, Cusco, Peru.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Pintura cuzqueña*, fig. 82.



Figure 3.19: Miguel Perrin, *Virgin of the Rest*, c. 1540. Cathedral, Seville, Spain.

Photo: <https://www.archisevilla.org/imagenes/recursos/4/45.jpg>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.20: Sebastián Santos Rojas, *Virgen del Reposo*, 1940. Church of the Virgen del Reposo, Valverde del Camino, Spain.

Photo: <http://cofrades.sevilla.abc.es/photo/virgen-del-reposo-valverde-4>.
Accessed: April 28, 2019.

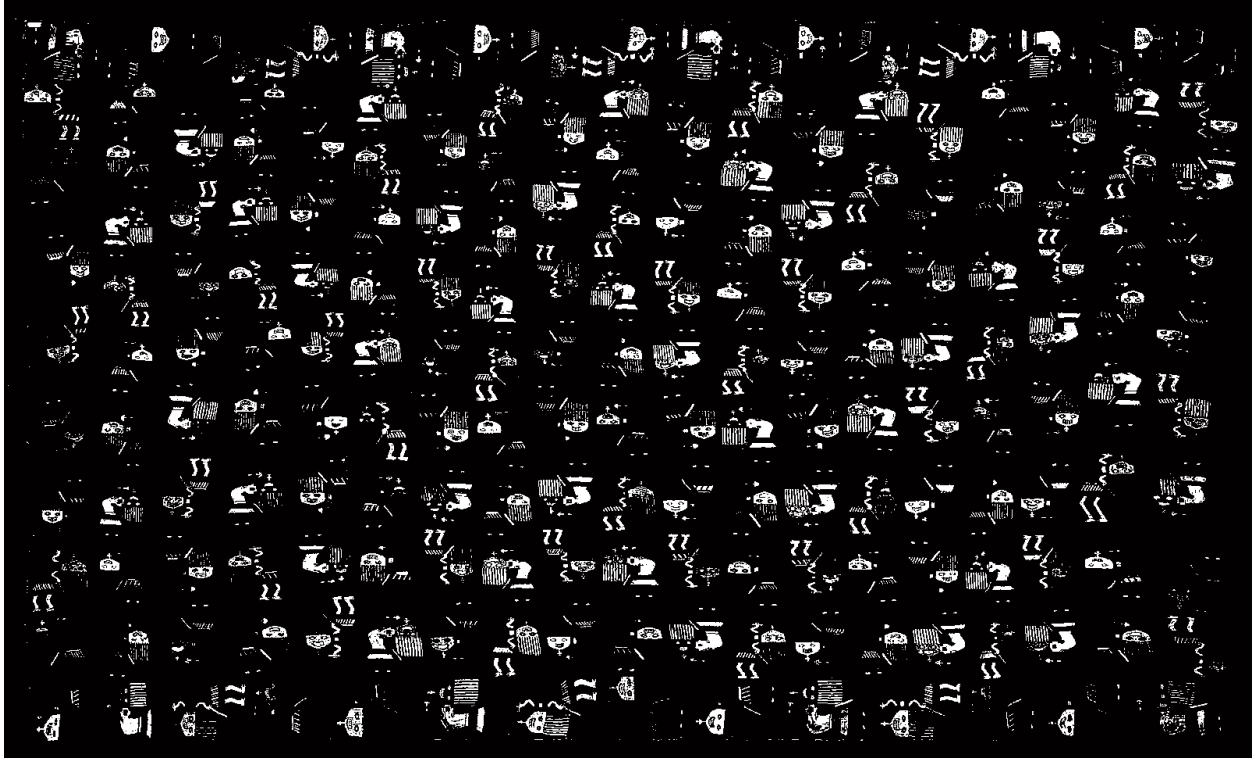


Figure 3.21: Paracas mantle, 0-100 CE, wool plain weave embroidered with wool in stem-stitch. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Photo: <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/mantle-36603>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.

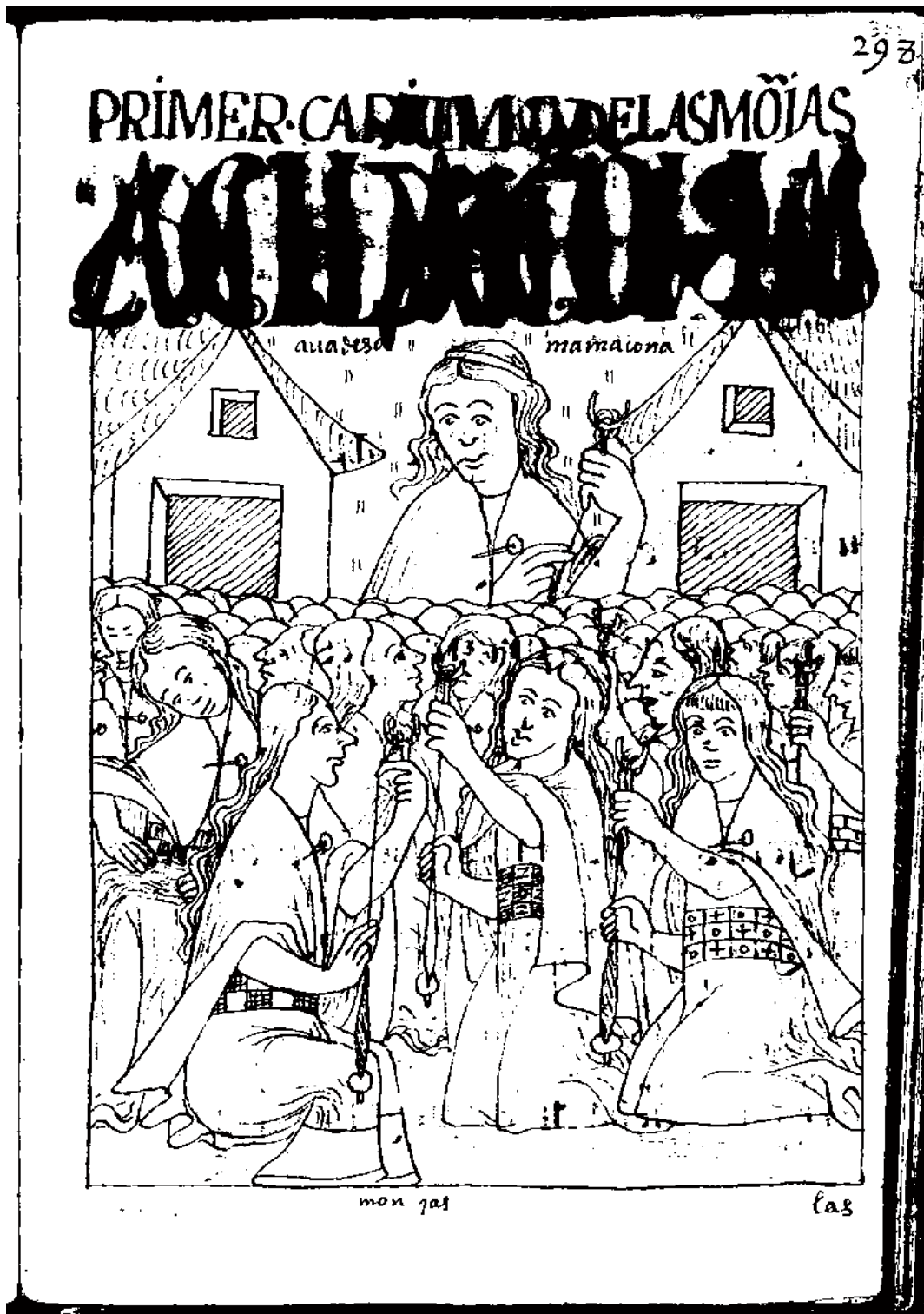


Figure 3.22: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Primer capítulo de las monjas acllaconas”, in *Nueva cónica y buen gobierno* (p. 300), 1615, pen and ink. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Photo: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/291/en/text/>.
Accessed: April 28, 2019.

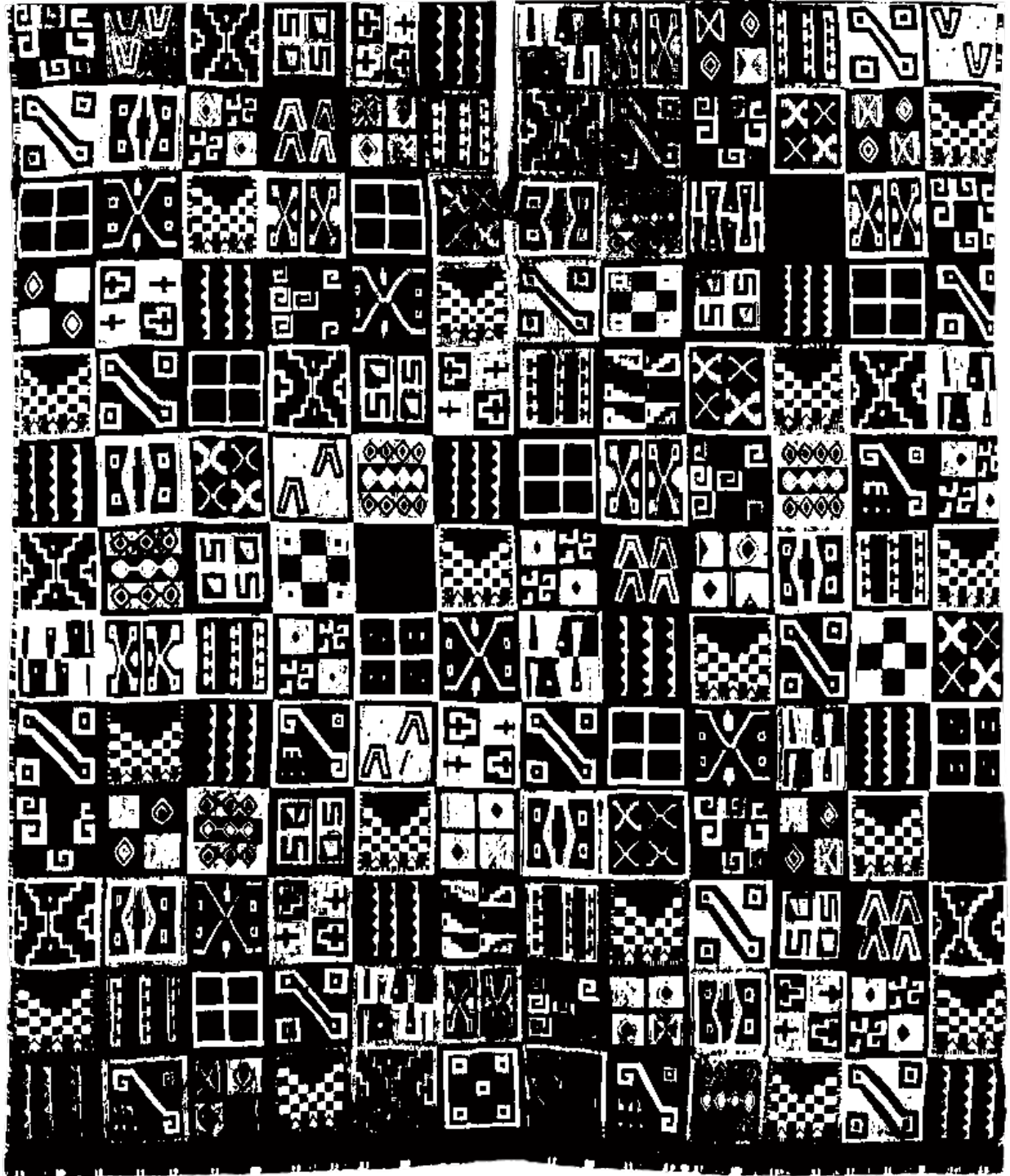


Figure 3.23: Inca *Unku*, 1430-1534, cotton and camelid fibers. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.

Photo: http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/golden_kingdoms/images/landing/3_EX.2017.2.346_x1024.jpg
Accessed: April 28, 2019.

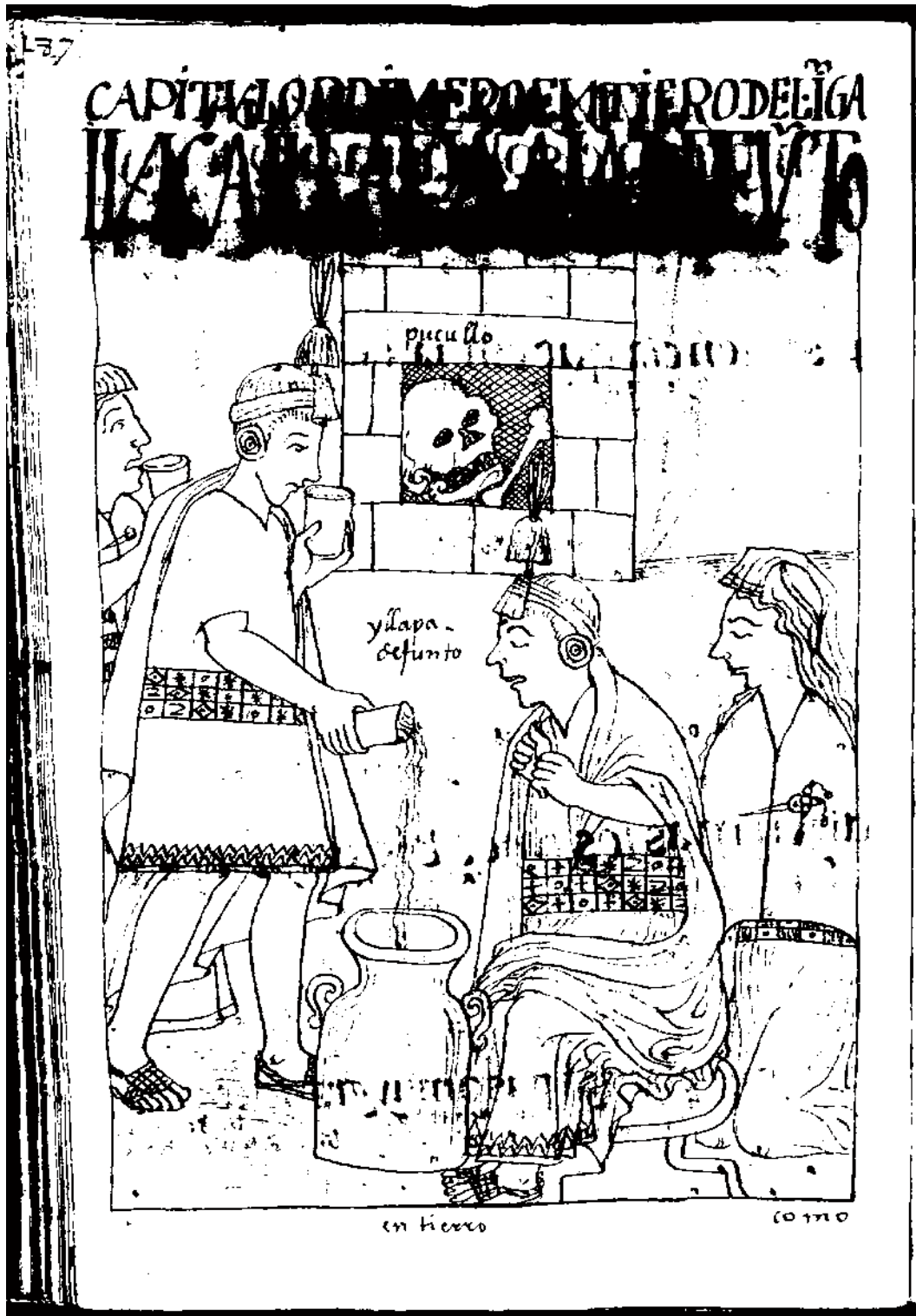


Figure 3.24: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Capítulo primero, entierro del Inga, Inca Illapa Aia”, in *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (p. 289), 1615, pen and ink. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Photo: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/289/en/text/>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.

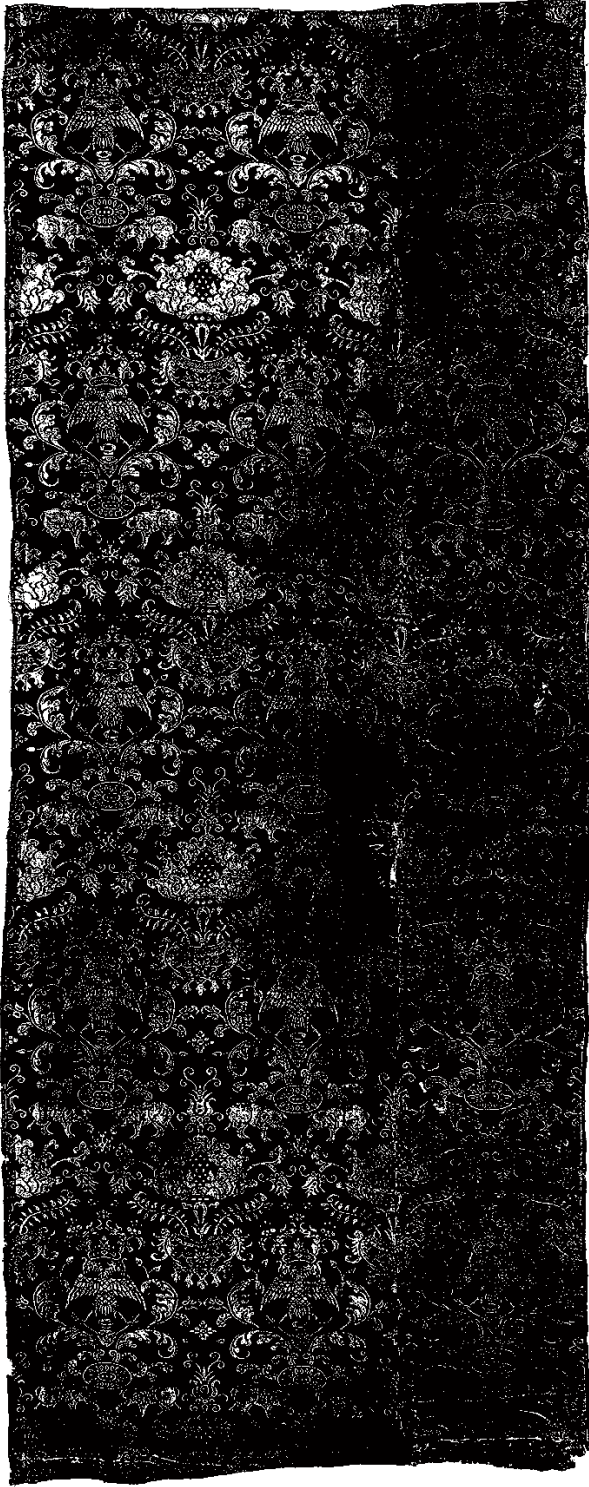


Figure 3.25: Chinese textile for Iberian market, *Textile with Elephants, Crowned Double-Headed Eagles, and Flowers*, second half of 16th century, silk damask. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Photo: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/226463>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.

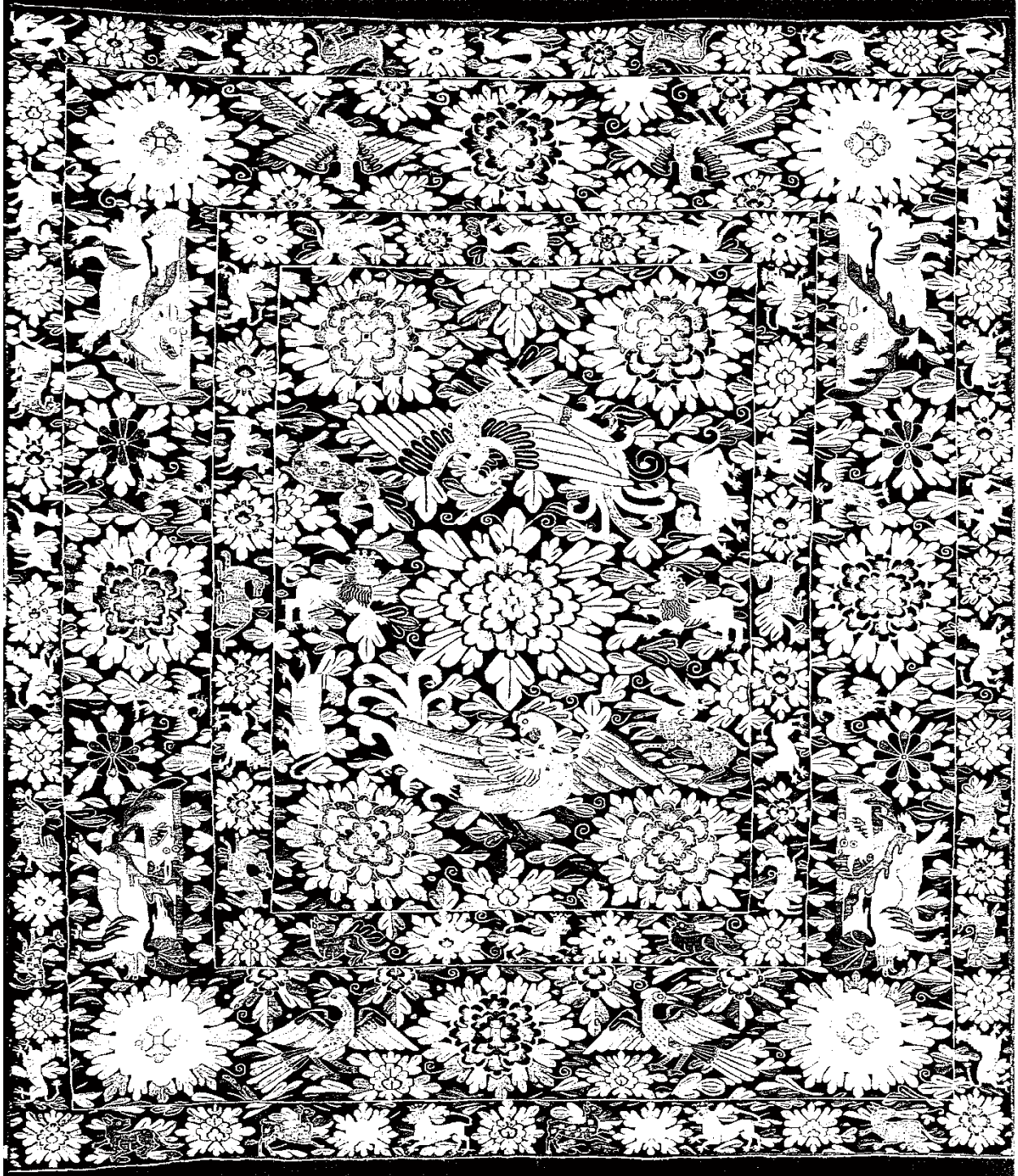


Figure 3.26: Colonial Andean tapestry with Asian designs, late-17th to early-18th century, cotton, silk, and camelid fibers. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Photo: Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," fig. 84.



Figure 3.27: Francisco Tito Yupanqui, *Virgin of Copacabana*, 1582, polychromed maguey. Sanctuary of Our Lady of Copacabana, Copacabana, Bolivia.

Photo: Daniel Giannoni.



Figure 3.28: Monolith of Pumachaca, 800-1532. La Jalca, Peru.

Photo: Arturo Ruiz Estrada, "La litoescultura Chachapoyas," fig. 5.



Figure 3.29: Inca fountain, 15th century. Tambo Machay, Peru.

Photo: Diego Delso. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tambomachay#/media/File:Tambomachay,_Cuzco,Perú,_2015-07-31,_DD_89.JPG.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.

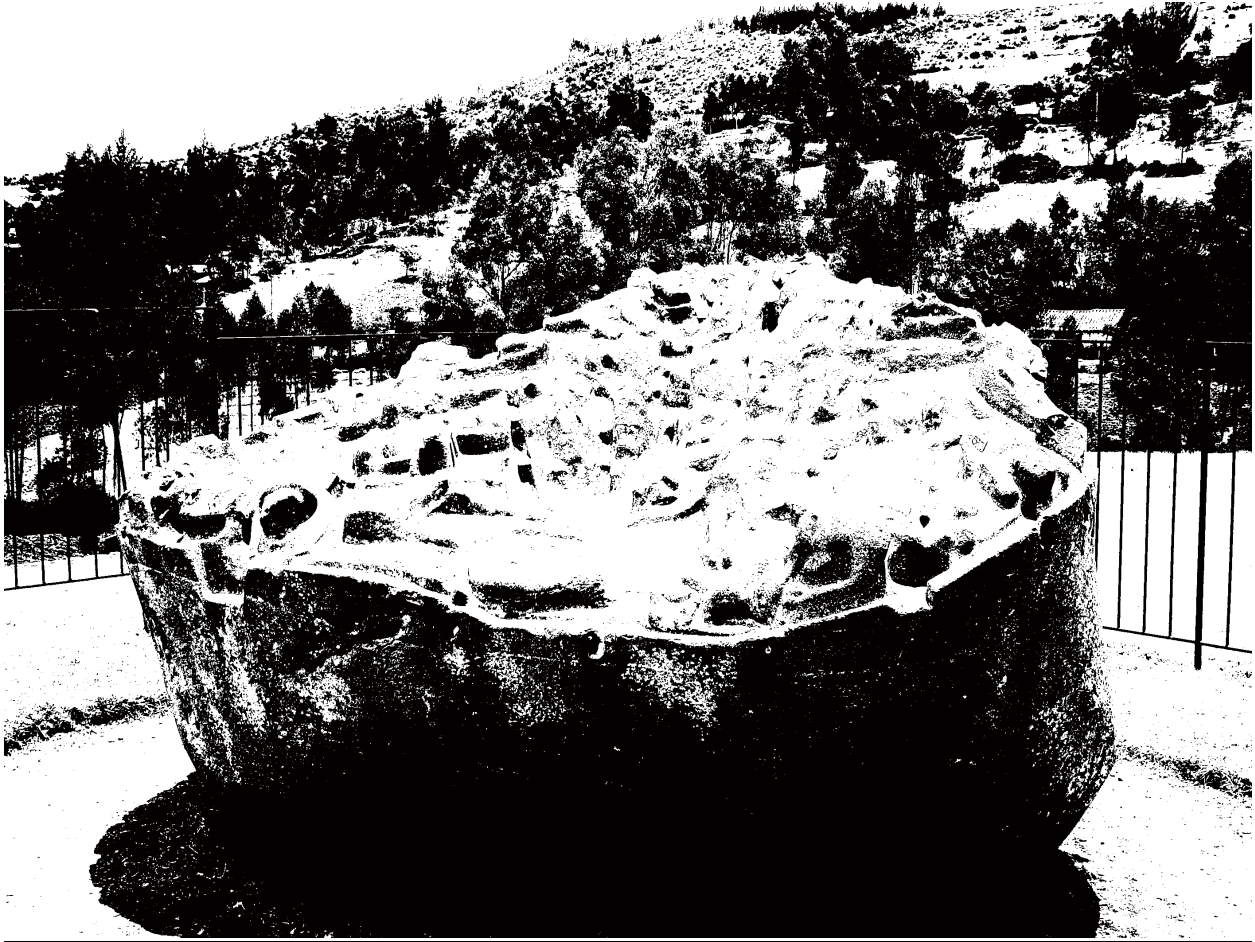


Figure 3.30: Inca petrous *phaqcha*, 15th century. Saywite, Peru.

Photo: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?search=saywite&title=Special:Search&go=Go&ns0=1&ns6=1&ns12=1&ns14=1&ns100=1&ns106=1#%2Fmedia%2FFile%3APiedradesaywite.JPG>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.31: Circular Plaza, Old Temple, 900-200 BCE. Chavín de Huántar, Peru.

Photo: <https://portal.andina.pe/EDPfotografia2/Thumbnail/2011/06/14/000158016W.jpg>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.

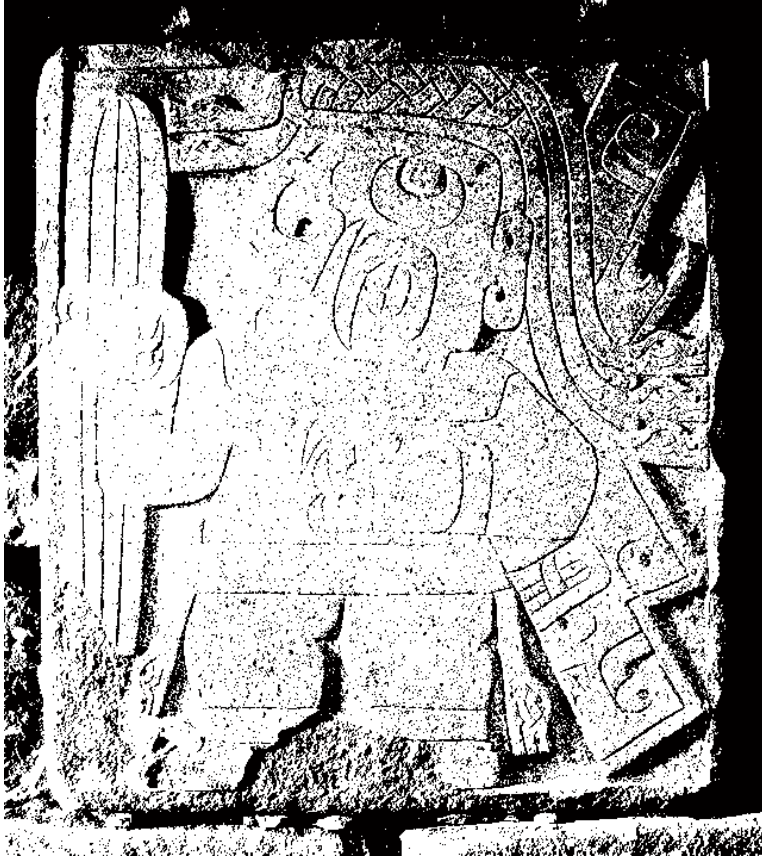


Figure 3.31a: Detail of anthropomorphic figure in the Circular Plaza.

Photo: <http://theappendix.net/images/issues/1/3/large-Kolar7.jpg>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.31b: Detail of the procession of jaguars in the Circular Plaza.

Photo: Richard Burger, in Burger, *Chavín de Huántar and Its Sphere of Influence*, fig. 35.5.



Figure 3.32: Tenoned heads from the Old Temple, 900-200 BCE. Chavín de Huántar, Peru.

Photo: <http://theappendix.net/images/issues/1/3/large-Kolar8.jpg>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.33: Pyro-engraved gourd recovered from Laguna de los Cóndores, 800-1532. Museo Leymebamba, Leymebamba, Peru.

Photo: Bjerregaard and von Hagen, *Chachapoya Textiles*.



Figure 3.34: Rollout drawing of pyro-engraved gourd

Photo: Bjerregaard and von Hagen, *Chachapoya Textiles*, drawing by Cécilia Núñez.



Figure 3.35: Chachapoya tunic, c. 800-1532, woven cotton and camelid fibers. Museo Leymebamba, Leymebamba, Peru.

Photo: Bjerregaard and von Hagen, Chachapoya Textiles.

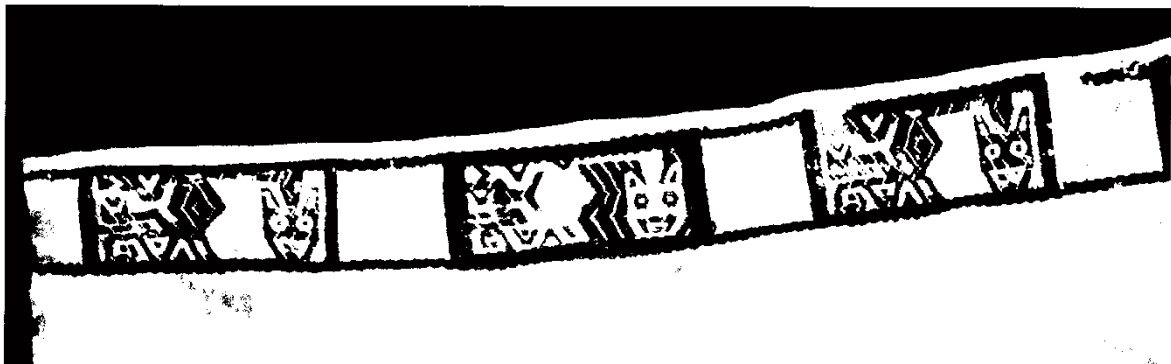


Figure 3.35a: Chachapoya tunic, detail.



Figure 3.36: Islands off the coast of Pachacamac, Peru, said to be the transformed bodies of Cahuillaca and her son.

Photo: author.

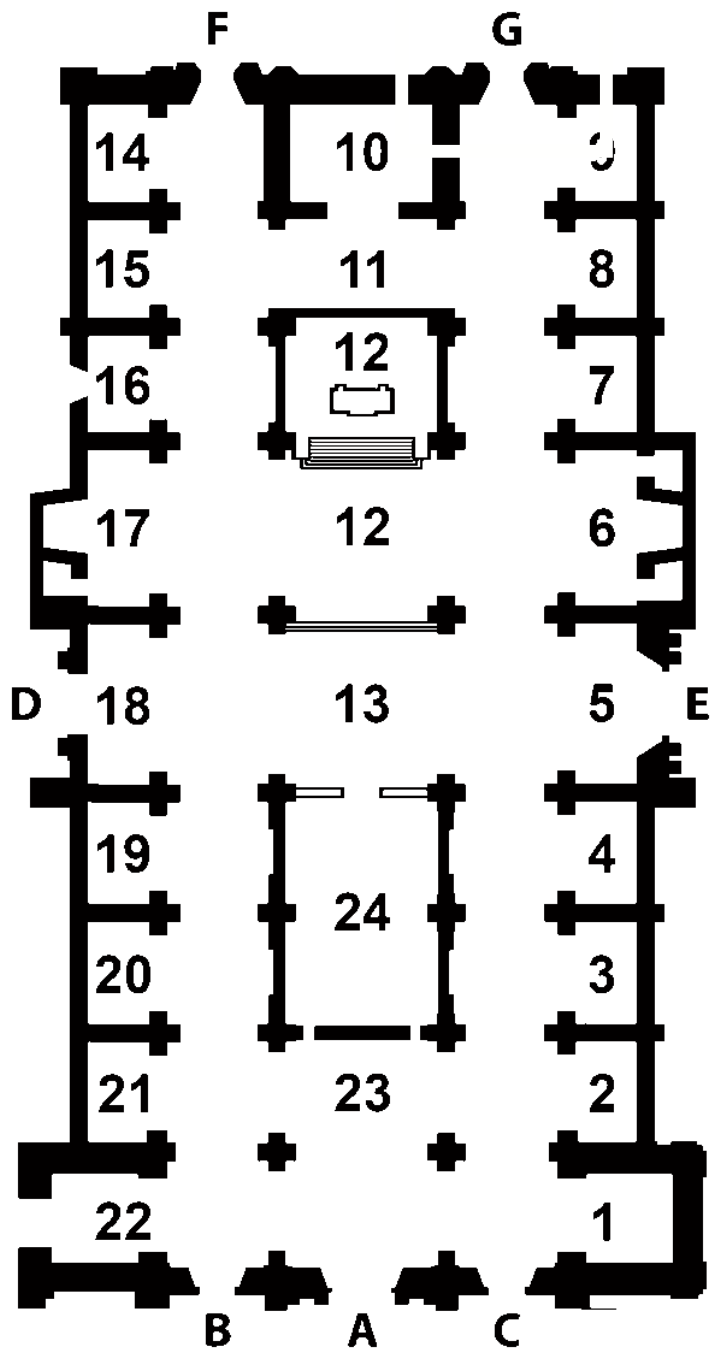


Figure 3.37: Plan of the Cathedral of Lima.

Photo: Courtesy of the Cathedral of Lima.



Figure 3.38: *Virgin of Copacabana with Saint Joseph and Saint Peter*, early-17th century, oil on canvas. New Mexico History Museum, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Photo: Courtesy of the New Mexico History Museum.

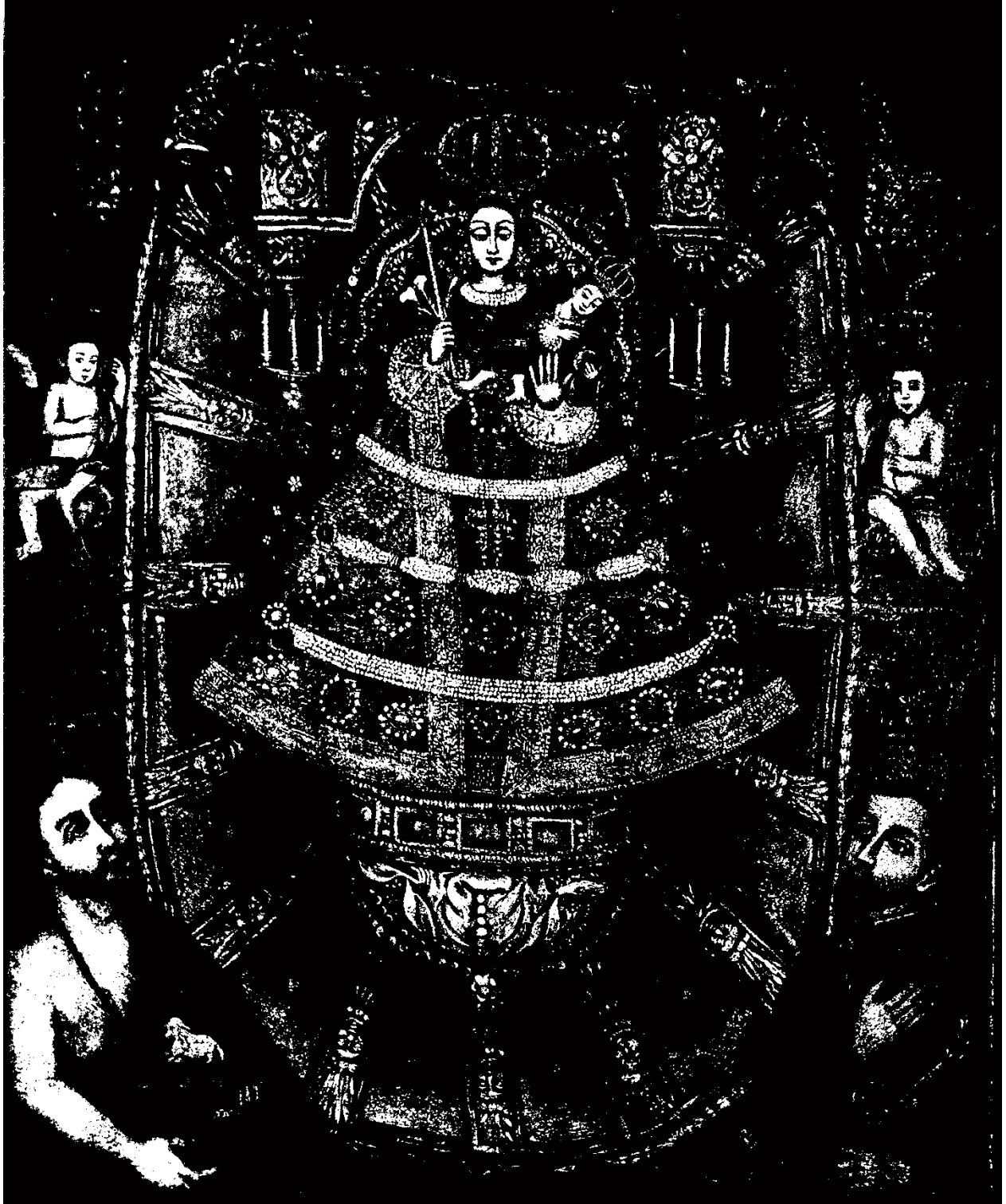


Figure 3.39: *Our Lady of Copacabana with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Thomas Aquinas*, late-17th or early-18th century, oil on canvas. New Mexico History Museum, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Photo: Courtesy of the New Mexico History Museum



Figure 3.40: *Inca Christ Child*, late-17th century, oil and gold leaf on canvas. Private Collection.

Photo: Photo: Daniel Giannoni, in *Pintura cuzqueña*, fig. 74.



Figure 3.41: Mica-tempered sherds, 1000-1470. Monte Viudo, Peru.
Photo: Guengerich, "Monte Viudo," fig. 5.20.



Figure 3.42: Mica-tempered pot made by contemporary Southwestern artisan that demonstrates the surface quality of the Chachapoya vessels.
Photo: Guengerich, "Monte Viudo," fig. 5.20.



Figure 3.43: *Virgin of the Miracle*, c. 1535, polychromed wood. San Francisco, Lima, Peru.

Photo: <https://forosdelavirgen.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Nuestra-Señora-del-rosario-02.jpg>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 3.44: *Our Lord of the Miracles*, 1651, fresco. Santuario de las Nazarenas, Lima, Peru.

Photo: Miguel Chong, <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6e/SeñordelosMilagrosNazarenas.jpg>. Accessed: April 28, 2019.

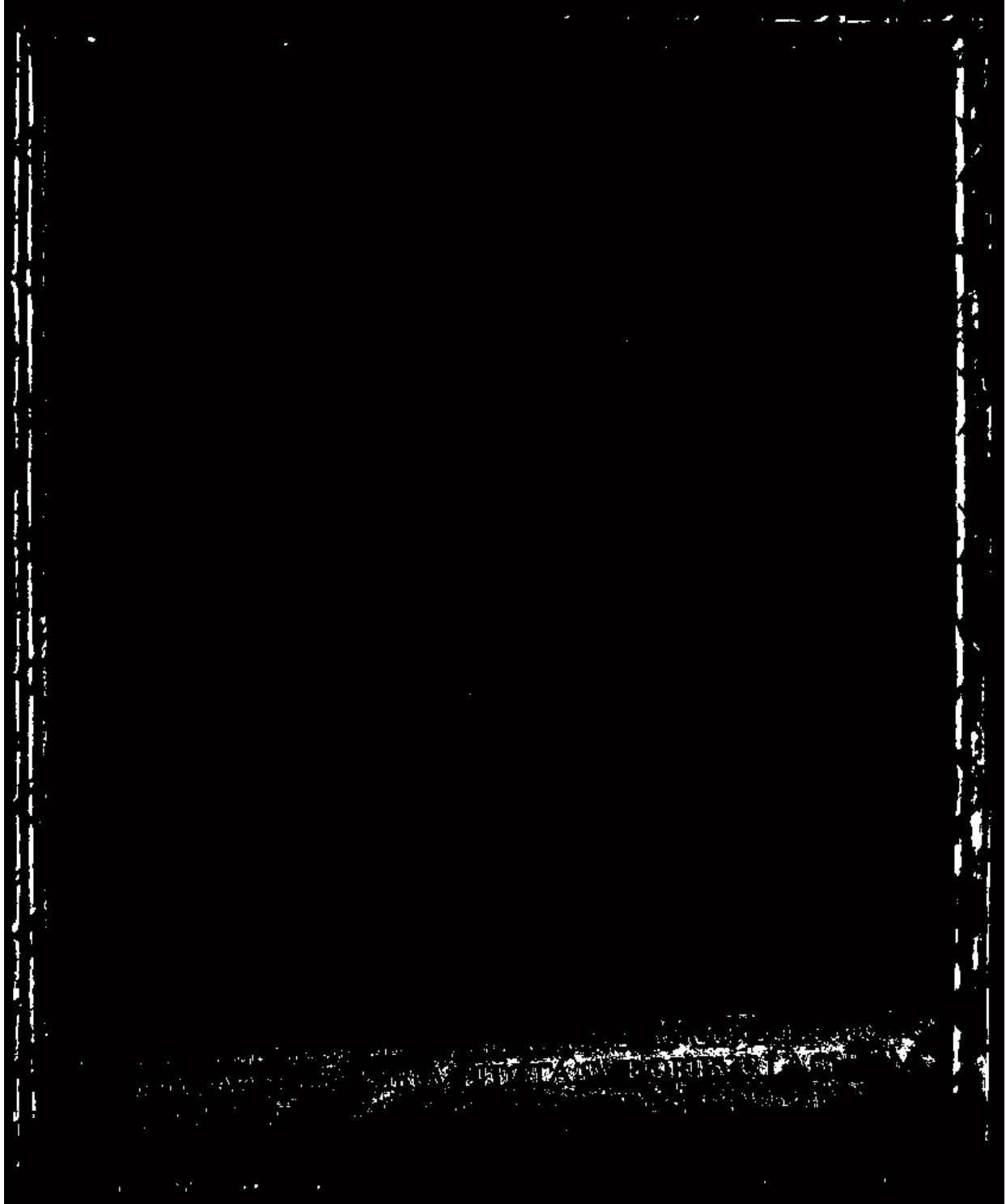


Figure 3.45: *Virgen of the Mercy* (copy), c. 1675, oil on canvas. Museo Colonial de Mérida, Venezuela.

Photo: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_UCJ7jUYNiJk/TJavoYsbkTI/AAAAAAAAHVk/GB8yxO0HpKM/s1600/DSC00225.JPG.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 4.1: *Virgin of the Antigua*, c. 1544?, oil on canvas, mounted on wood. Cathedral, Lima, Peru.

Photo: author.

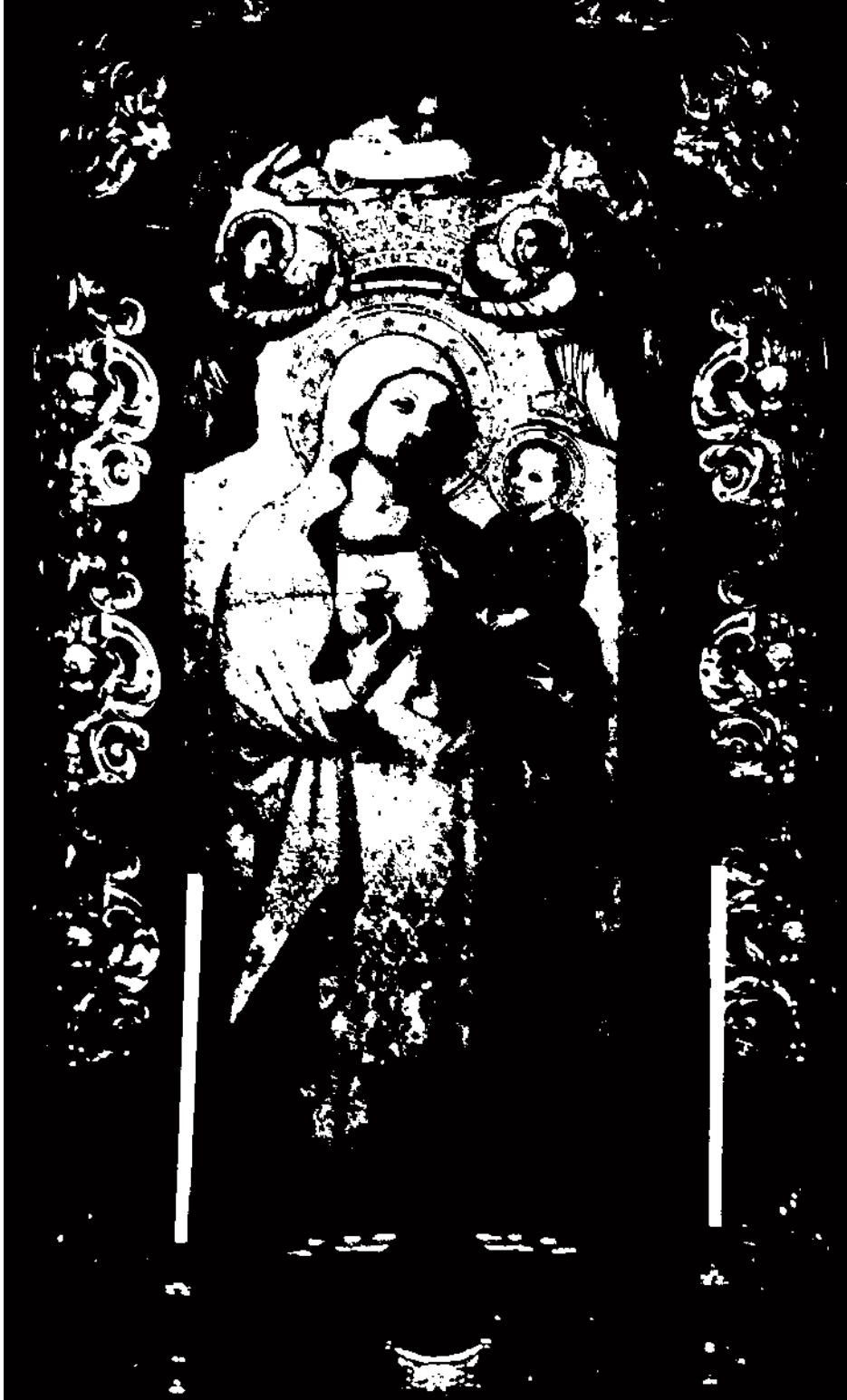


Figure 4.2: *Virgen de la Antigua*, before 1450, wall painting. Cathedral, Seville, Spain.

Photo: José Luiz Bernardes Ribeiro (detail). https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/00/Chapel_of_la_Virgen_Antigua_-_Cathedral_of_Seville.JPG

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 4.3: Altar of the Virgin of the Antigua (detail). Cathedral, Seville, Spain.

Photo: author.



Figure 4.4: Hieronymus Wierix, *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua*, c. 1597, engraving, published by Philip Galle.

Photo: <https://colonialart.org/artworks/3689a/@images/89bb1d96-1648-4a21-be09-90ee79823e3d.jpeg>. Accessed: April 28, 2019.

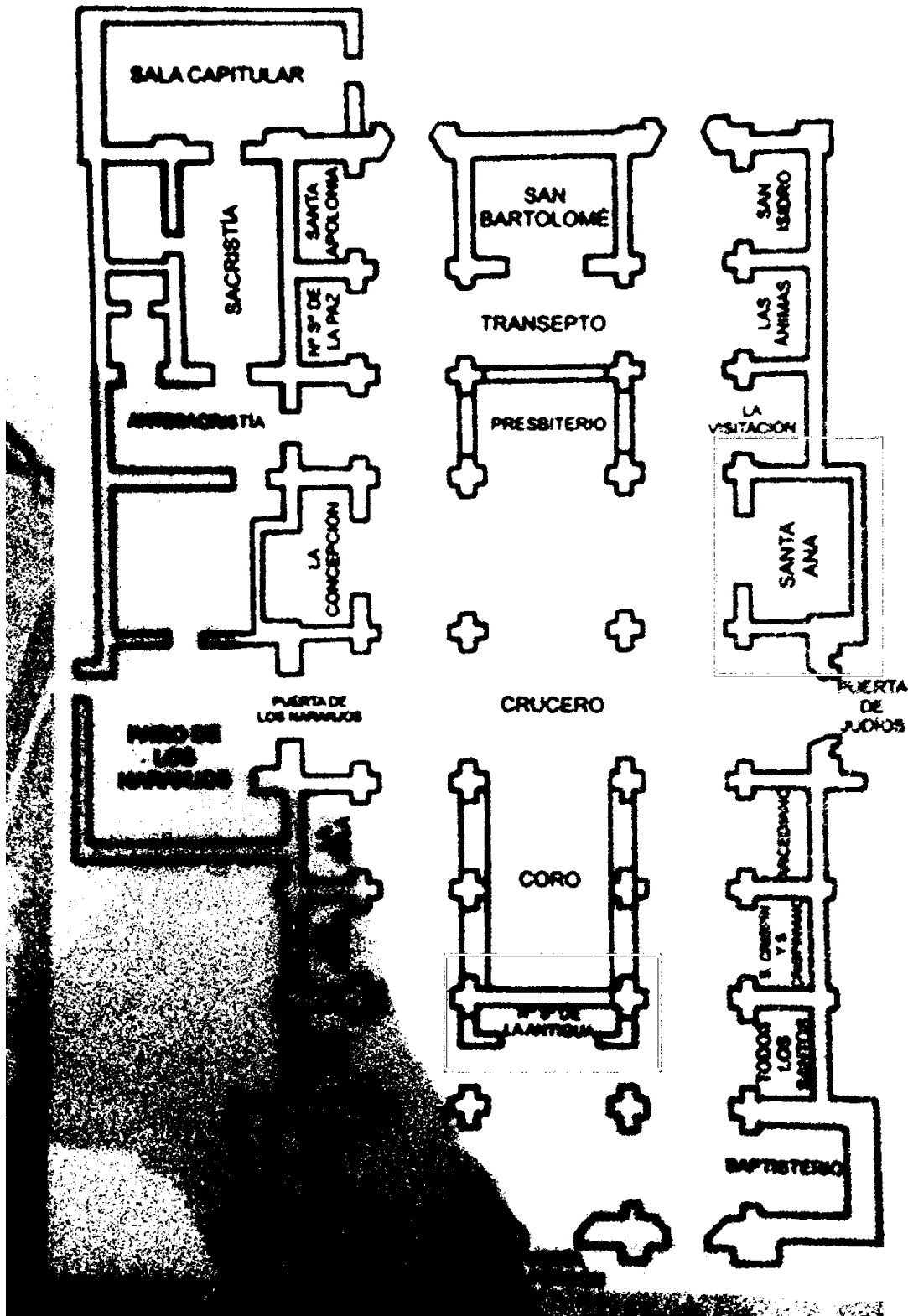


Figure 4.5: Plan of Lima Cathedral, 16th-19th century.

Photo: Courtesy of the Cathedral of Lima.



Figure 4.6: *Imagen de Vestir* and processional image. Church of the Virgin of Copacabana, Lima, Peru.

Photo: author.

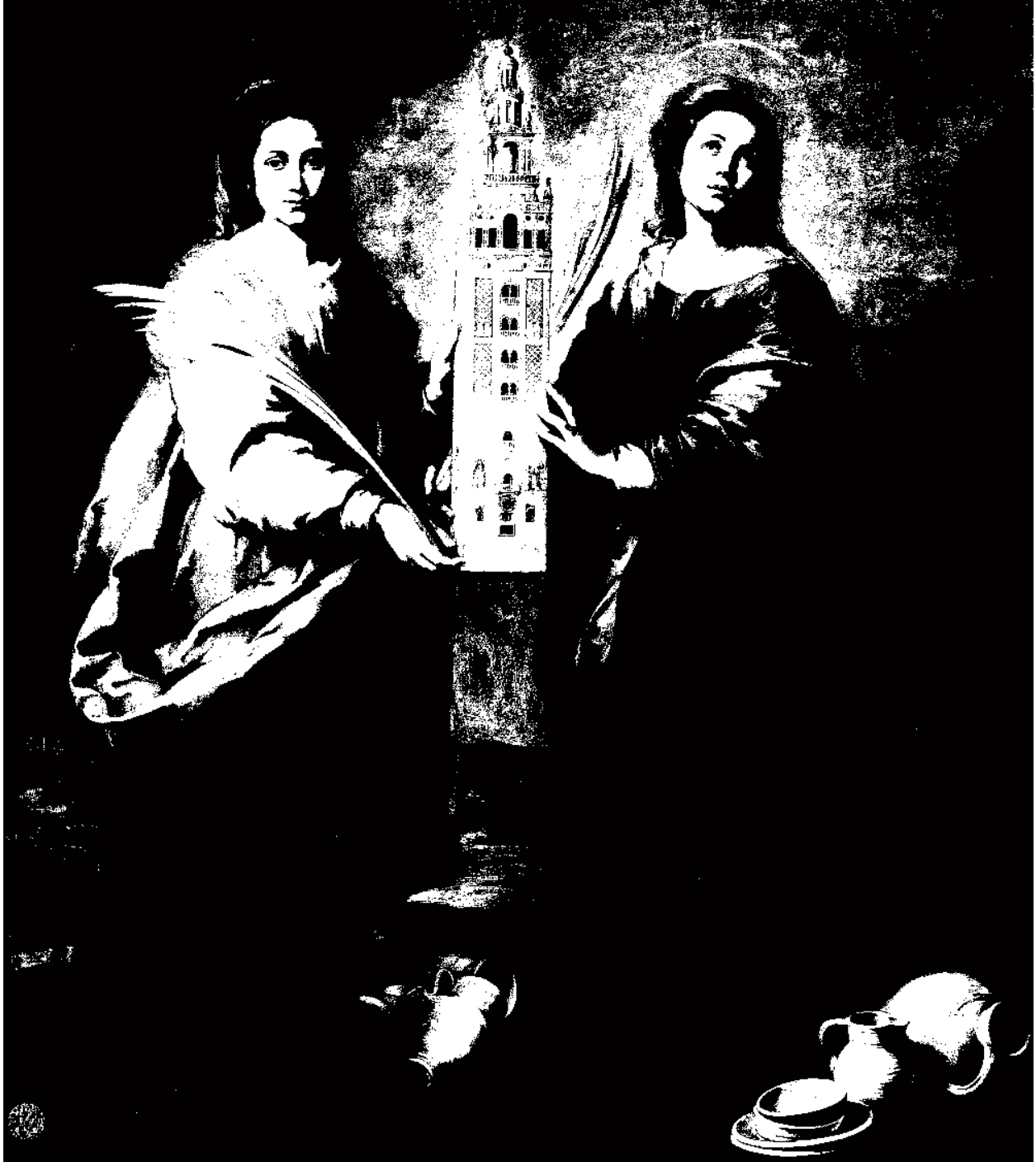


Figure 4.7: Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Santas Justa y Rufina*, c. 1666, oil on canvas. Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville, Spain.

Photo: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9f/Murillo_St_Justa_and_St_Rufina_2.jpg
Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 4.8: “Habillage des Circoncis; Comme les Singes portent des Enfants sur les Arbres; Negre jouant du Balafon,” in *Relation d’un Voyage fait en 1695, 1696, 1697 aux côtes d’Afrique*, Francois Froger, 1698.

Photo: https://ia801206.us.archive.org/BookReader/BookReaderImages.php?zip=/31/items/relationdunvoyag00frog/relationdunvoyag00frog_jp2.zip&file=relationdunvoyag00frog_jp2/relationdunvoyag00frog_0078.jp2&scale=8&rotate=0.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 4.9: *Iran* from Caravela Island, Guinea-Bissau, 18th-early 19th century, wood and red ochre. Louvre, Paris, France.

Photo: author.



Figure 4.10: *Iran*, 19th or 20th century, wood with fibrous encrustation, traces of eggshells, knotted vegetable matter encircling neck.

Photo: Helmholz, "Traditional Bijago Statuary," p. 55.



Figure 4.11: *Iran* from Bubaque Island, Guinea-Bissau, 1978, wood, tissue, metal.

Photo: Gallois Duquette, "Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands," p. 33.



Figure 4.12: *Iran*, 19th or 20th century, wood with aluminum encrustation, traces of eggshells.

Photo: Helmholz, "Traditional Bijago Statuary," p. 52.

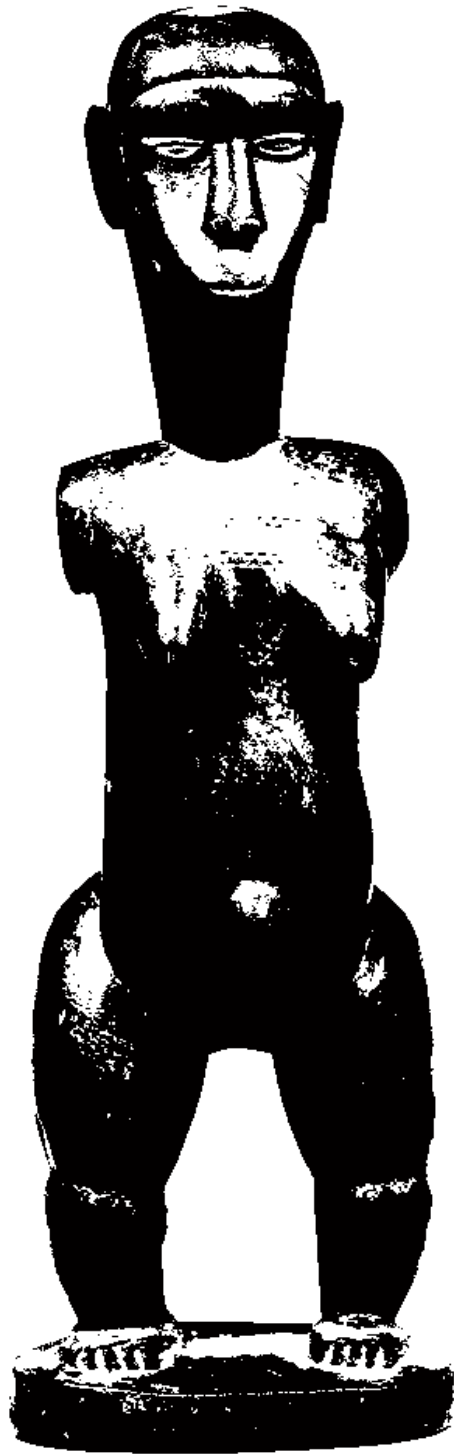


Figure 4.13: *Iran*, before 1986, wood. University of Iowa Stanley Museum of Art, Iowa City, Iowa.

Photo: <https://africa.uima.uiowa.edu/assets/STANLEY-COLLECTION/CMS228.jpg>.
Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 4.14: Bijagó Ceremonial Spoon, early-20th century, wood. Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.

Photo: <https://africa.si.edu/collections/view/objects/asitem/Objects@19629/0?t:state:flow=335f0f36-3246-42c0-964f-55190bee9b63>

Accessed: April 28, 2019.

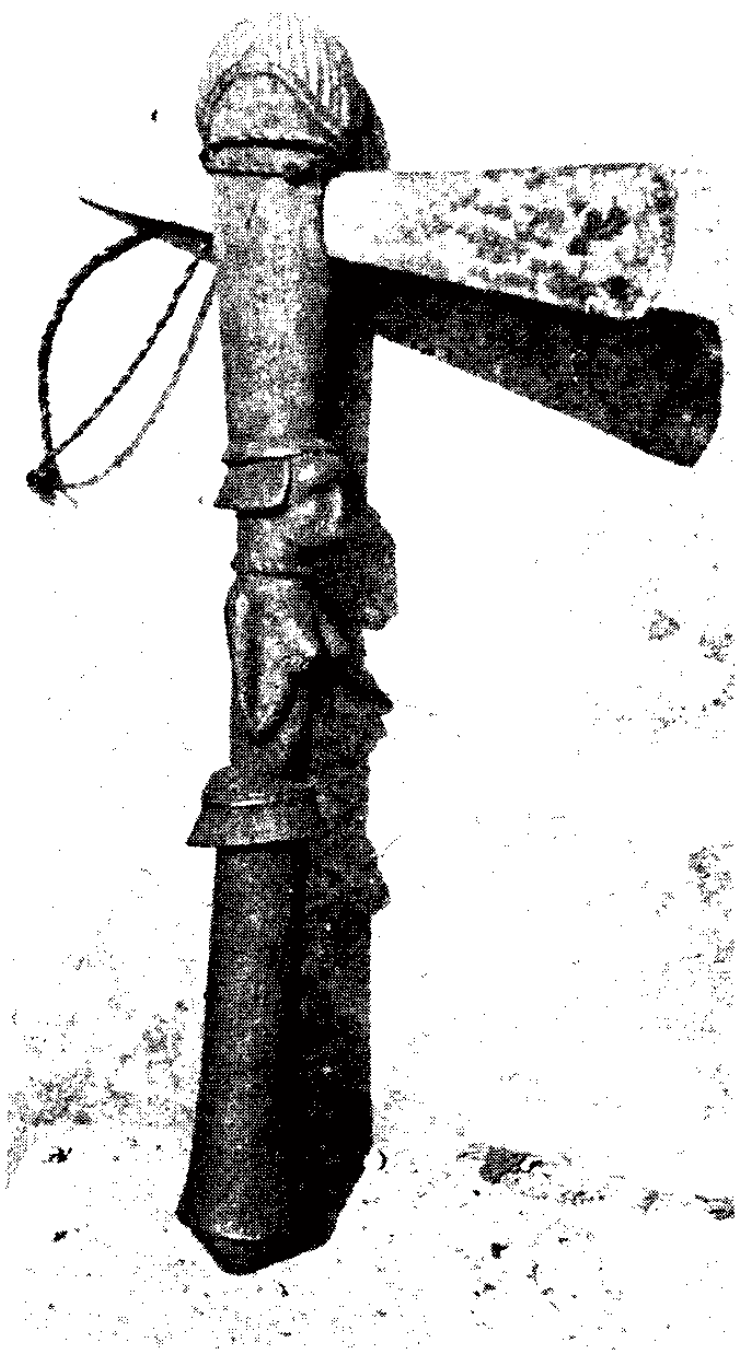


Figure 4.15: *Defunto* hatchet from Orango Island, Guinea-Bissau, 1972, wood and metal. Private Collection.

Photo: Gallois Duquette, "Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands," p. 34.



Figure 4.16: After the *fanado grande* the *defuntos* are initiated men, Uraçan Island, Guinea-Bissau, 1978.

Photo: Gallois Duquette, "Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands," p. 32.



Figure 4.17: *Defunto* headdress with crocodile jaws, Uraçan Island, Guinea-Bissau, 1978.

Photo: Gallois Duquette, "Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands," p. 34.



Figure 4.18: *Defunto* headdress with sea porcupine and bovine horns, Uraçan Island, Guinea-Bissau, 1978.

Photo: Gallois Duquette, "Woman Power and Initiation in the Bissagos Islands," p. 34.

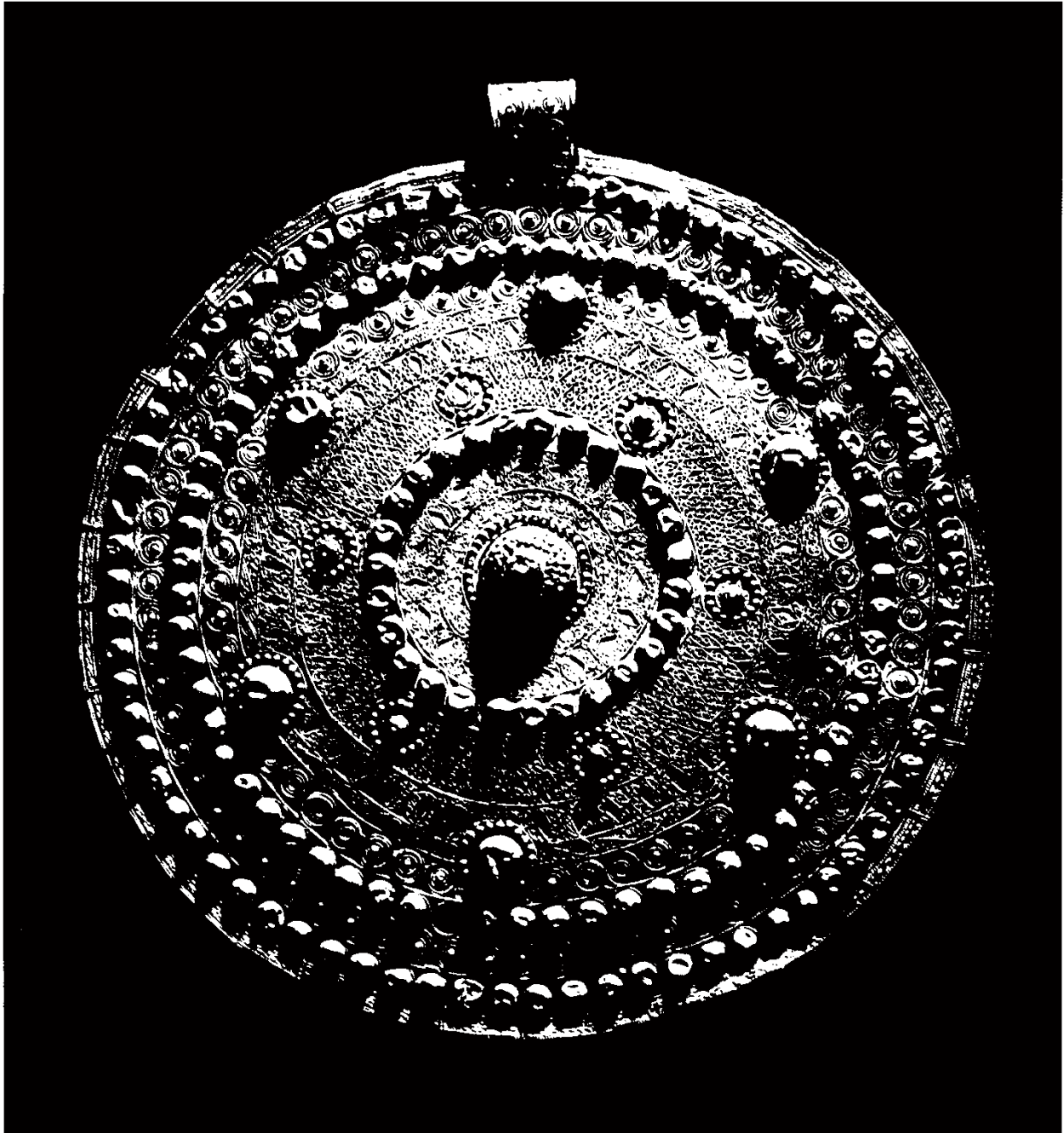


Figure 4.19: *Rao pectoral*, c. 14th century. IFAN Collection, Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, Senegal.

Photo: Ashby Johnson, "Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukolor," p. 37.



Figure 4.20: Wolof woman wearing beads and pendants across the forehead and suspended from the hair.

Photo: Garrard, "Gold of Africa," p.33.

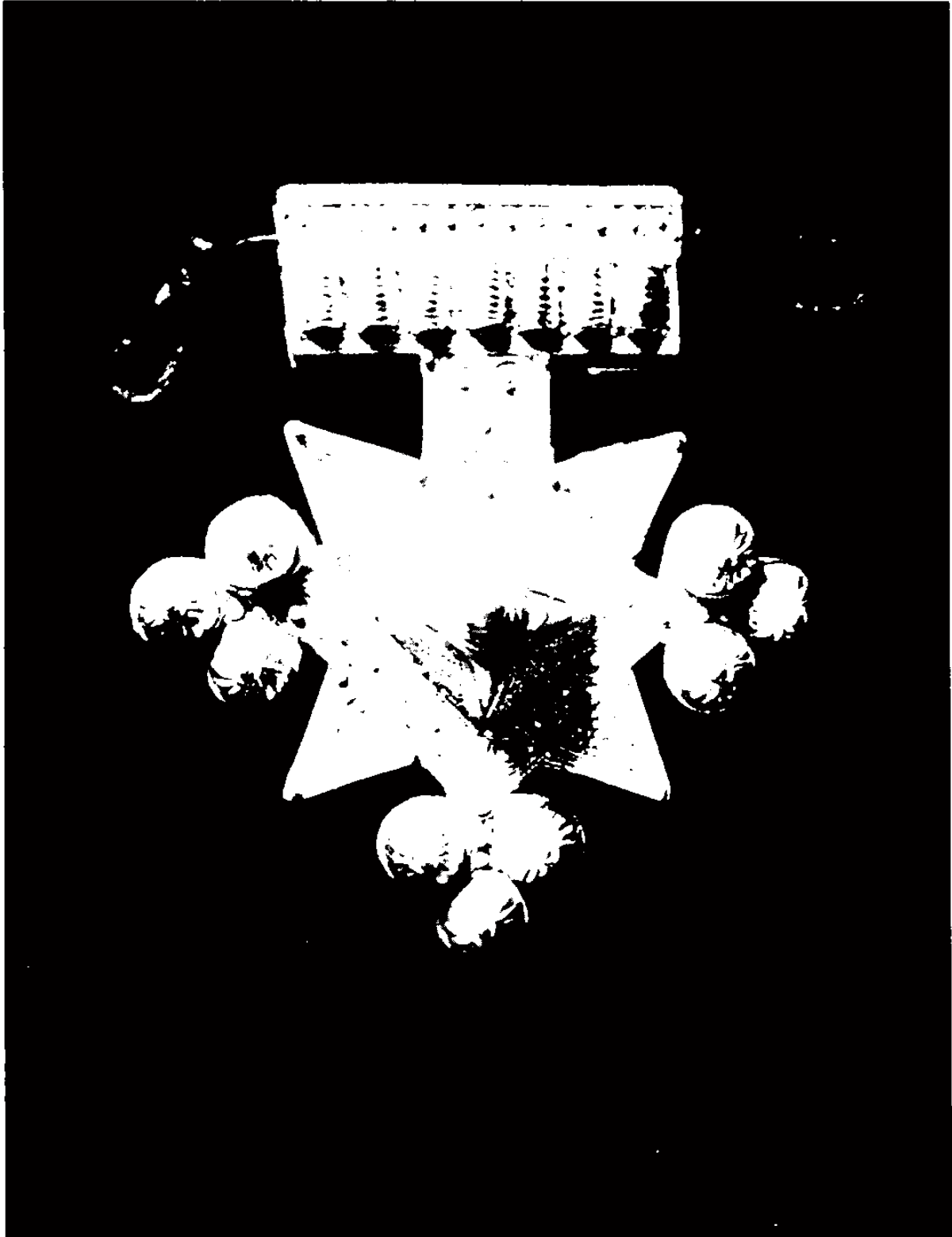


Figure 4.21: Tukulor *san u sébé* pendant, gold. IFAN, Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, Senegal.

Photo: Ashby Johnson, "Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukulor," p. 39.

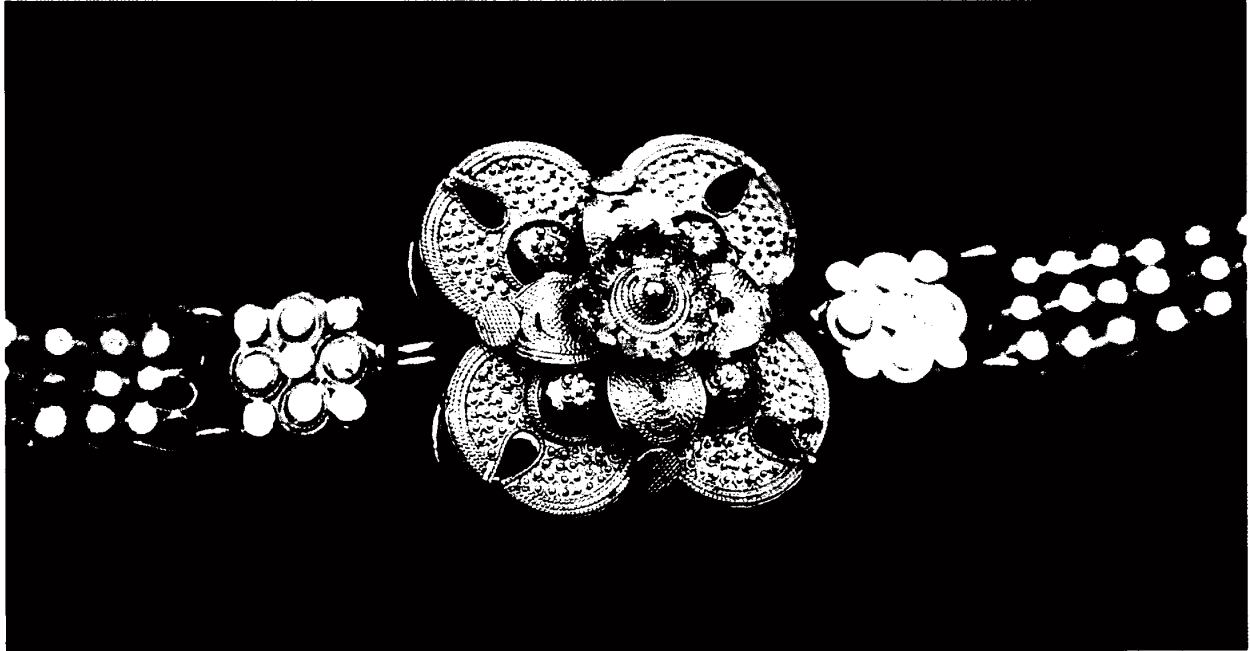


Figure 4.22: Tukolor choker with *coloni* pendant, gold. Ashby-Johnson private collection.

Photo: Ashby Johnson, "Gold Jewelry of the Wolof and the Tukolor," p. 41.



Signar ou Femme de couleur du Sénégal.

Figure 4.23: “Signar ou Femme de couleur du Sénégal,” in *L’Afrique, ou histoire, moeurs, usages et coutumes des africains: le Sénégal*, René Claude Geoffroy de Villeneuve, 1814.

Photo: <https://www.vianolavie.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/141/2017/04/Signare.jpg>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Figure 4.24: An initiate with his aunt at the compound of his maternal kin in Batine Ward, 1994. Thionk-Essyl, Senegal.

Photo: Peter Mark, in Mark et al., "Ritual and masking traditions in Jola Men's initiation," p. 38.

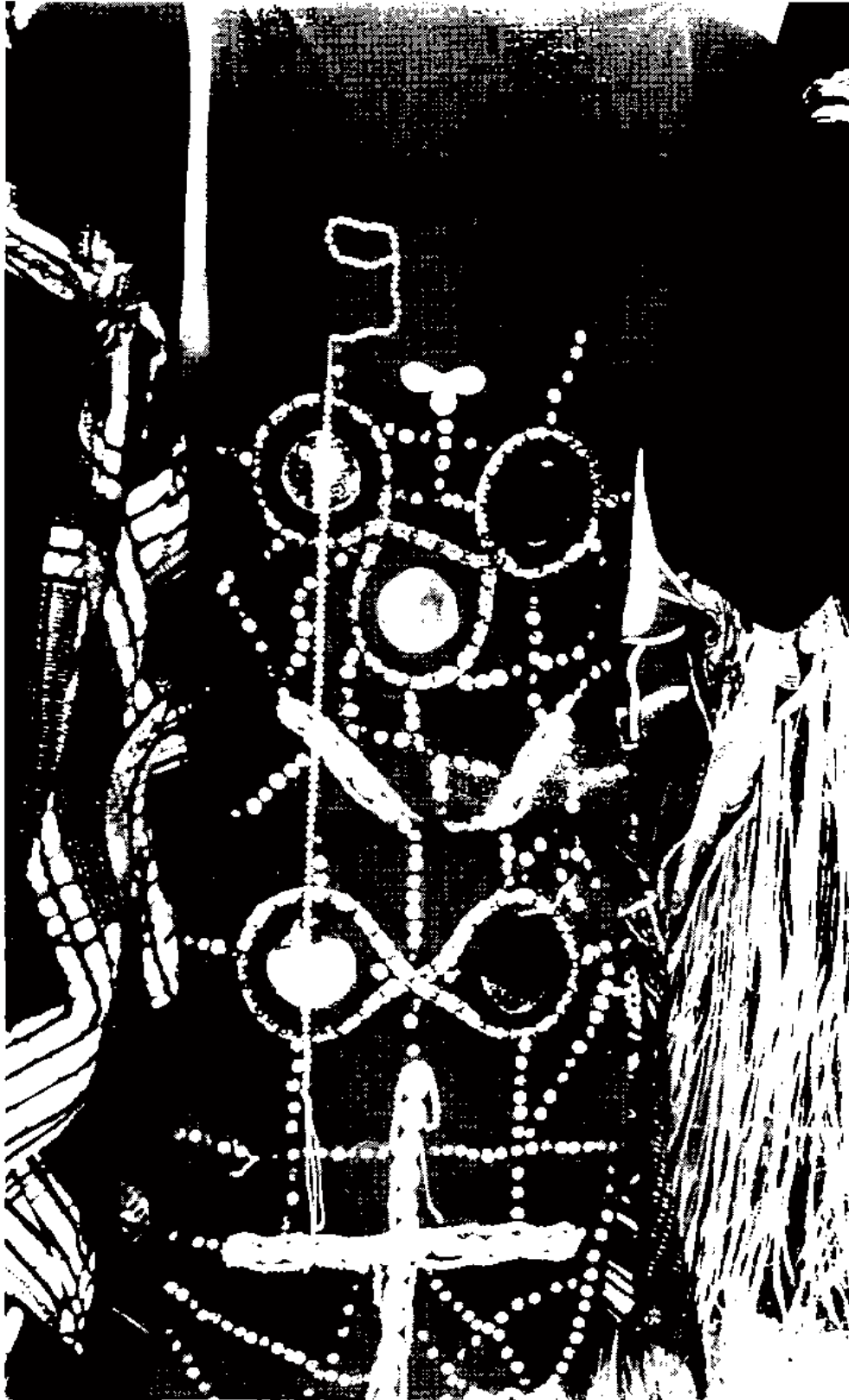


Figure 4.25: An initiate wearing *fulundim* in Batine Ward, 1994. Thionk-Essyl, Senegal.
Photo: Peter Mark, in Mark et al., "Ritual and masking traditions in Jola Men's initiation," p. 40.

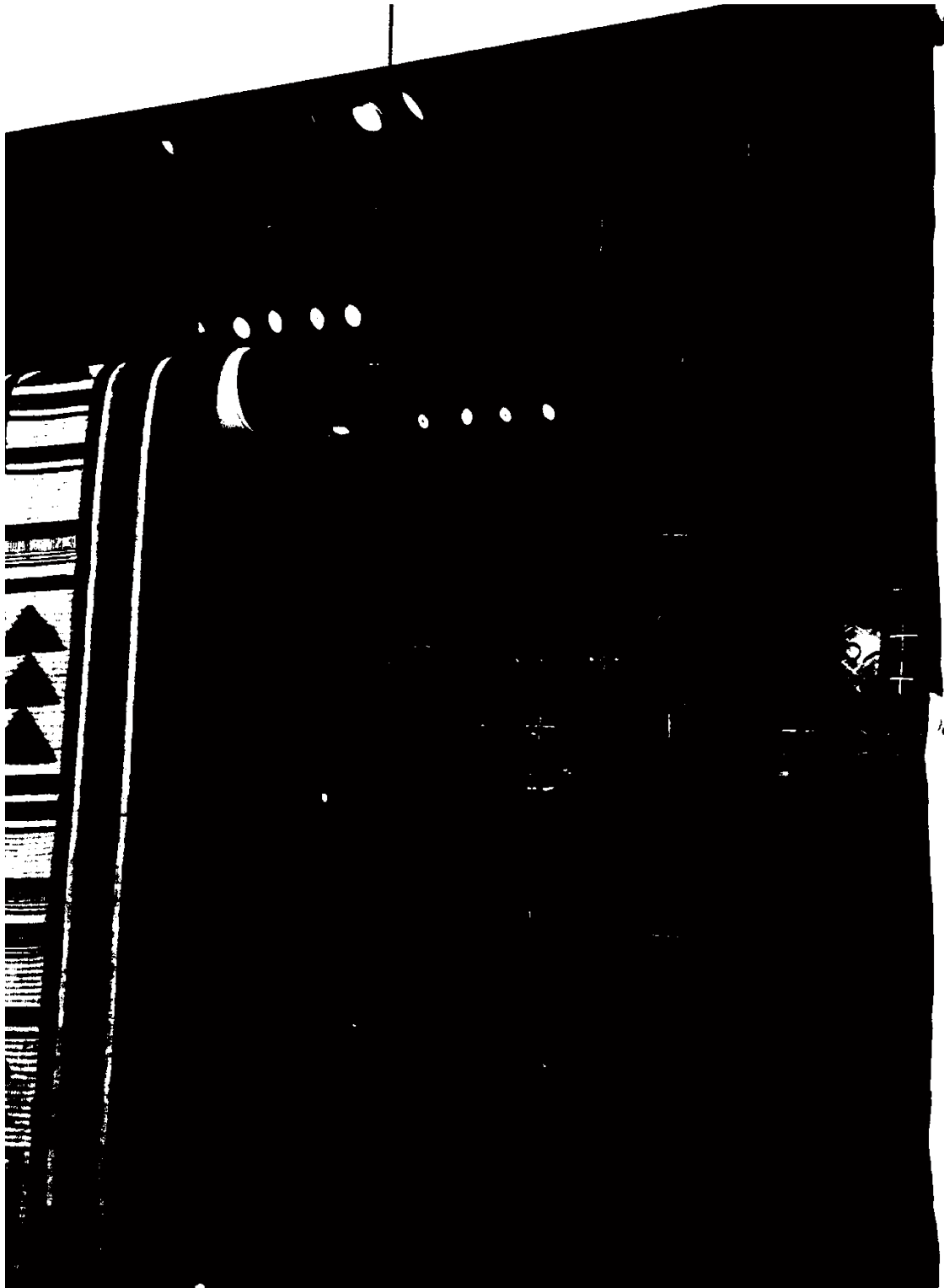


Figure 4.26: Indigo resist-dyed cotton textile, Senegal, late-19th to early-20th century. British Museum, London, England.

Photo: author.



Figure 4.27: An initiate wearing a woven usikoi cap in Batine Ward, 1994. Thionk-Essyl, Senegal.

Photo: Peter Mark, in Mark et al., "Ritual and masking traditions in Jola Men's initiation," p. 40.

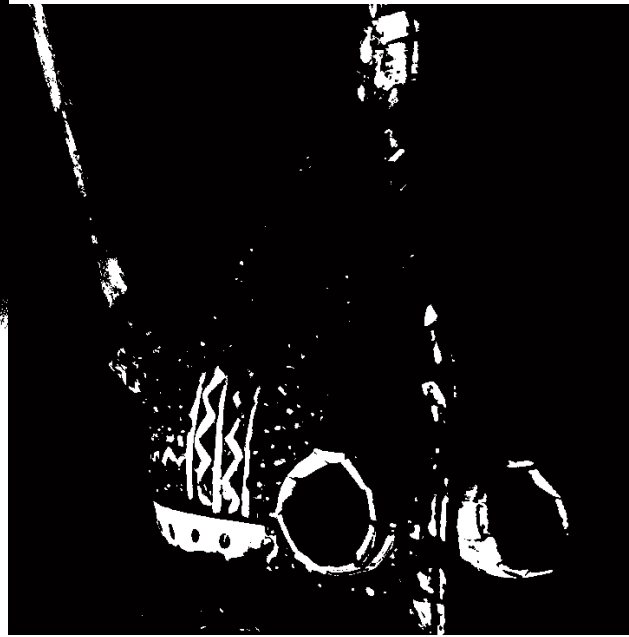


Figure 4.28: Diola or Balanta *ejumba* from Casamance, Senegal, 20th century, woven, wood, raffia, abrus seeds. Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France.

Photo: author.



Figure 4.29: Initiation mask in the form of a buffalo from the Bijagós Islands, Guinea-Bissau, 20th century, wood, pigment, vegetable fiber. British Museum, London, England.

Photo: author.



Figure 4.30: Bijagó initiation involving bull mask.

Photo: Gallois Duquette, in *Le Musée de Dakar*, p. 27.



Figure 4.31: Diola *ejumba* from Casamance, Senegal, c. 1880, vegetable fibers, bull horns, cowrie shells, abrus seeds. Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France.

Photo: author.



Figure 4.32: Recreation of the altar of the Virgin of the Antigua. Lima, Peru.

Photo: author.

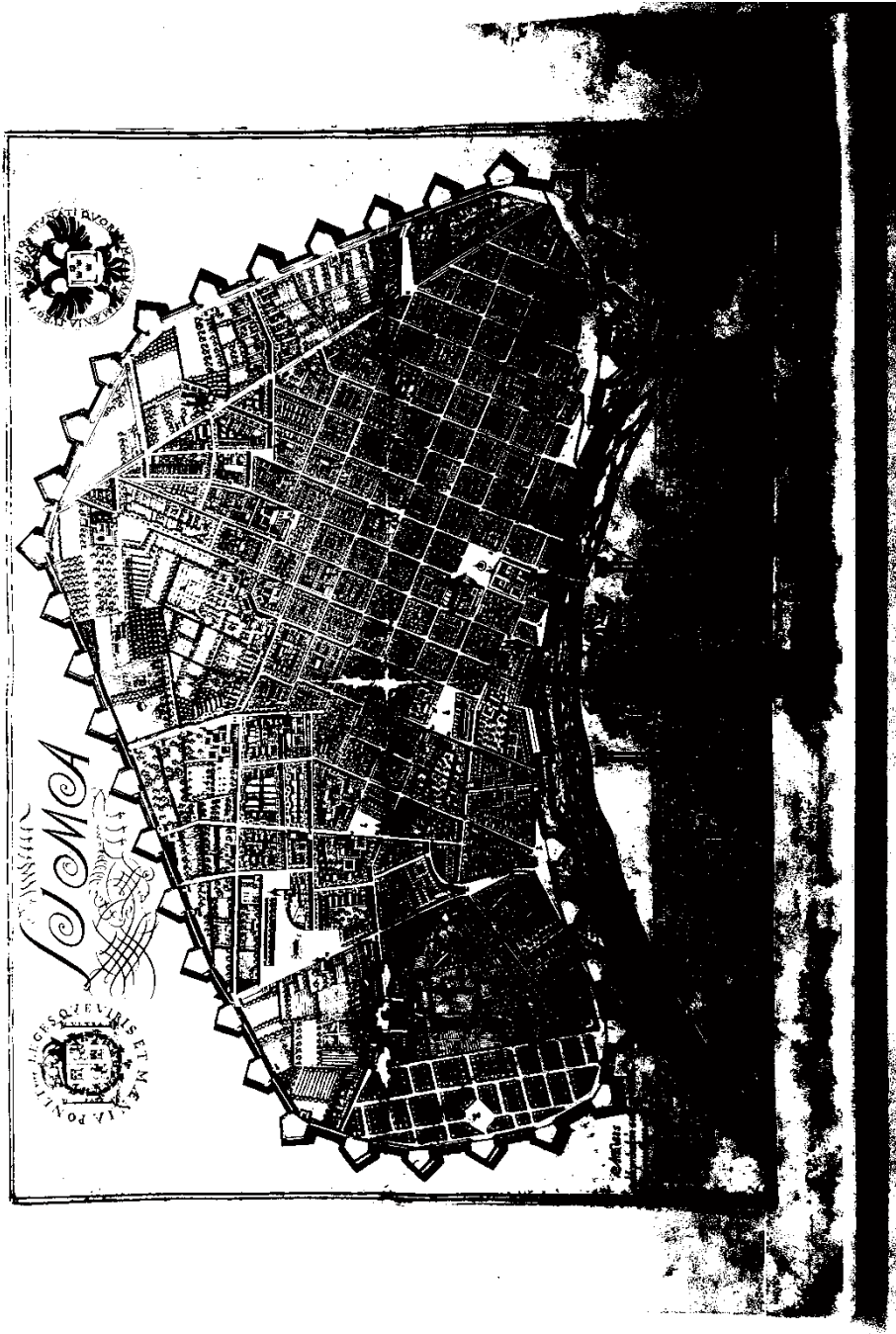


Figure 5.1: Firelei Báez, *For Améthyste and Athénaïre (Exiled Muses Beyond Jean Luc Nancy's Canon)*, Anaconas, 2018, mixed media. Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

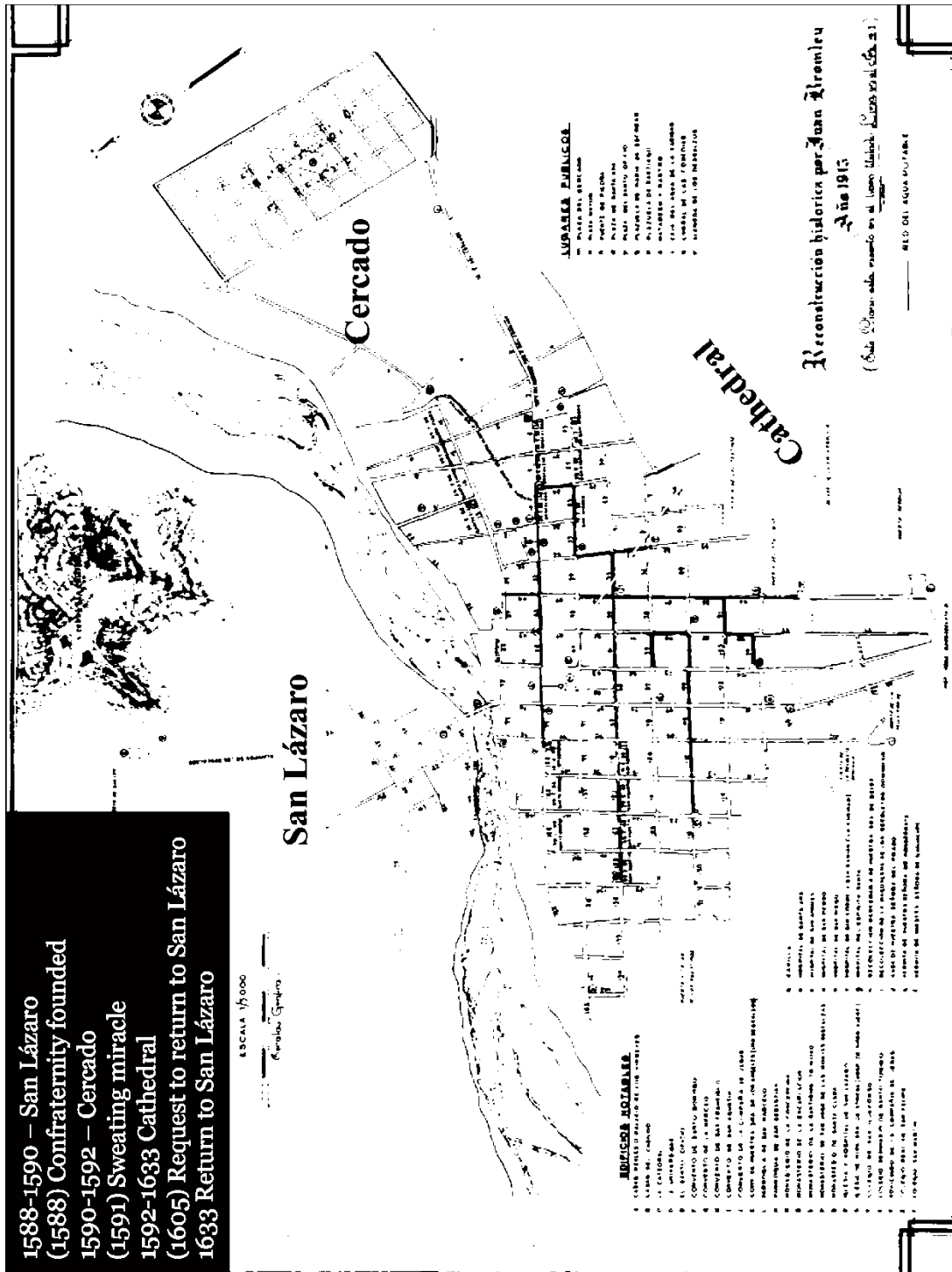
Photo: <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/5028?locale=en>.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.

Maps



Map 1.1: Juan Ramón Connink (designer) and Pedro Nolasco (drawn and engraved), *Plano de la Ciudad de Lima*, 1687, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. AGI, MP-Perú y Chile,13.



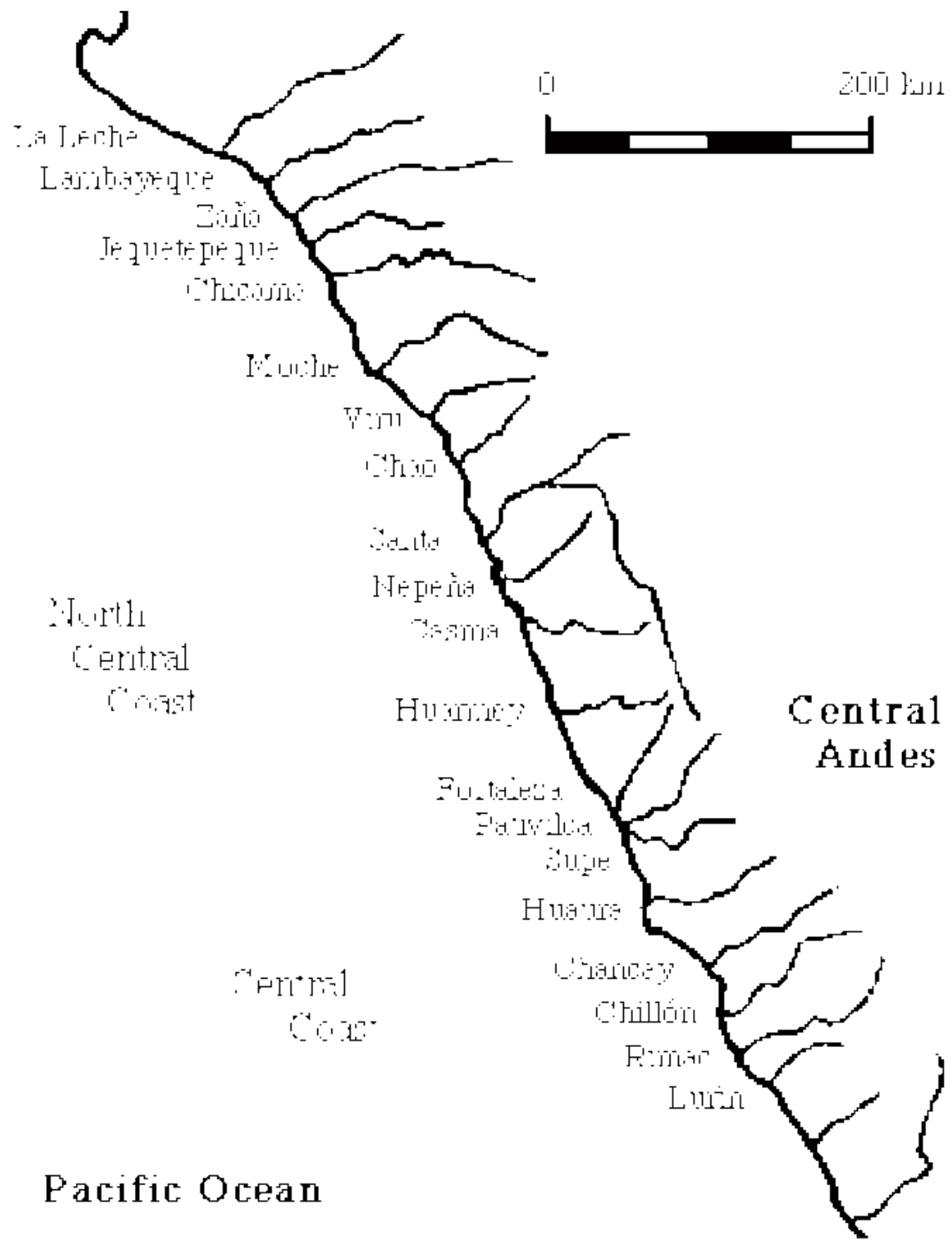
Map 3.1: Reconstructed map of Lima in 1615 by Juan Bromley with locations and dates for the Copacabana confraternity.

Source: Juan Bromley and Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima* (Lima: Lumen, 1945), Plan de la Ciudad de los reyes o de Lima en el año 1613.



Map 3.2: Western South America with archaeological sites.

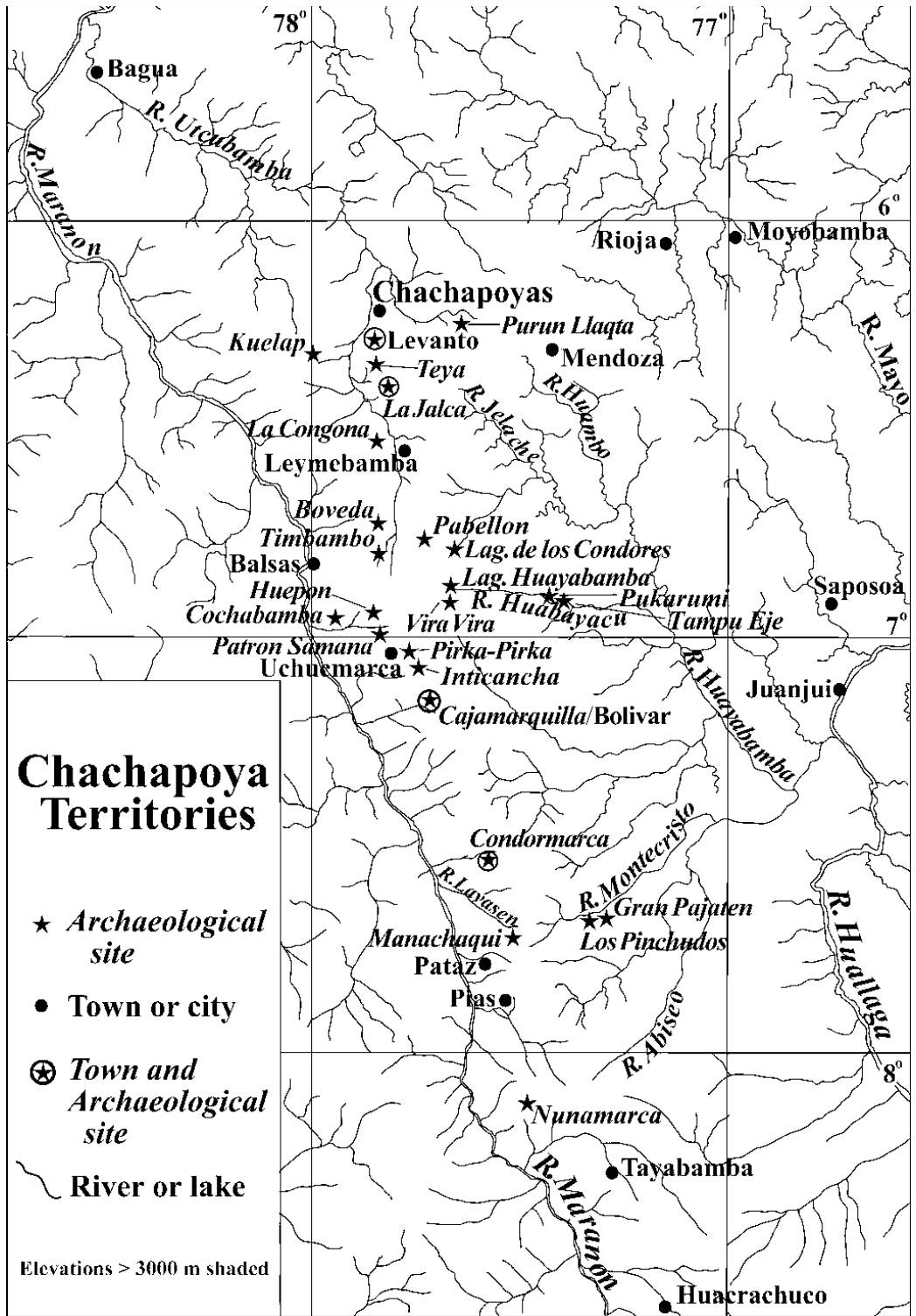
Source: Lau, "Ancestor Images in the Andes," figure 51.1.



Map 3.3: Coastal river valleys of Peru.

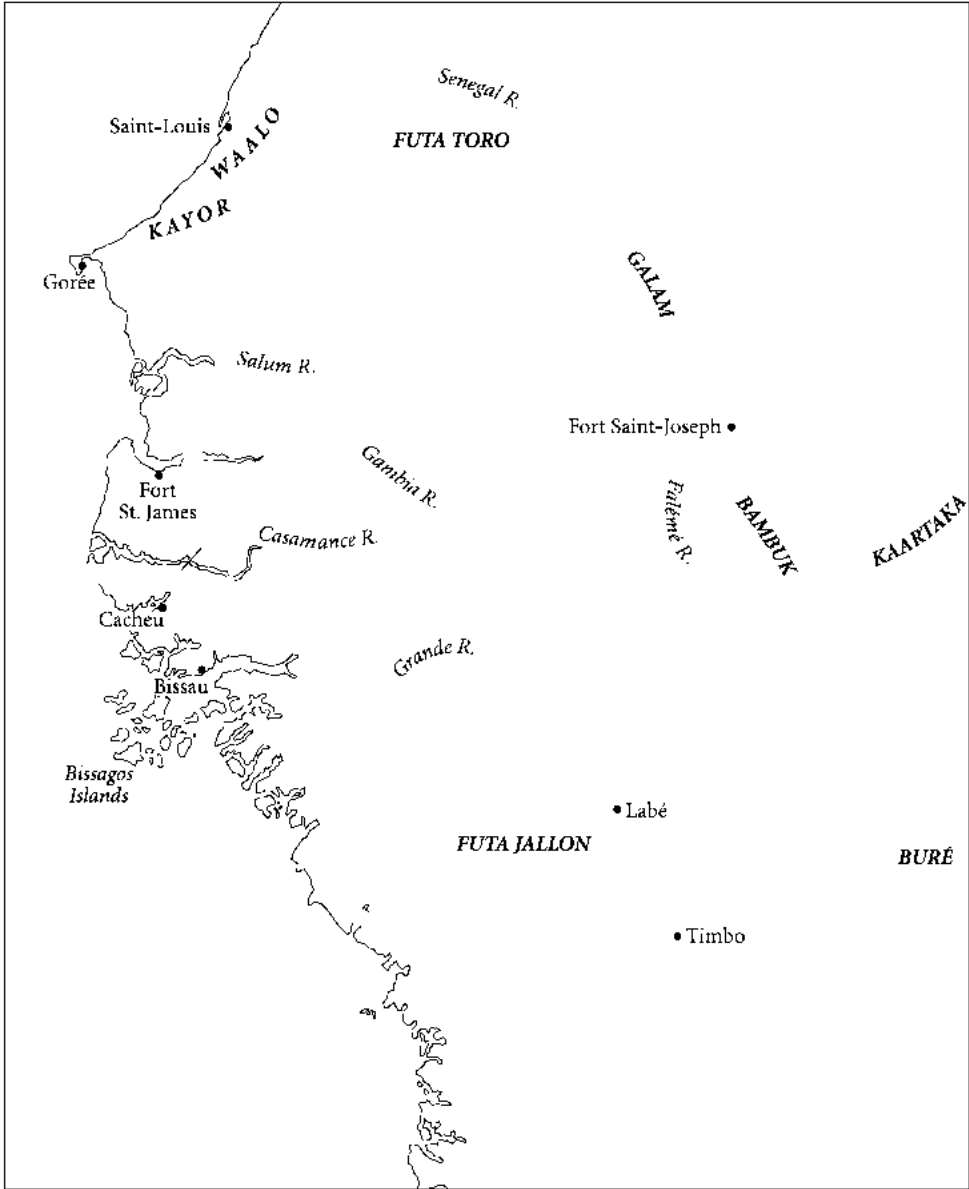
Source: http://www.jqjacobs.net/andes/images/coast_rivers.gif.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



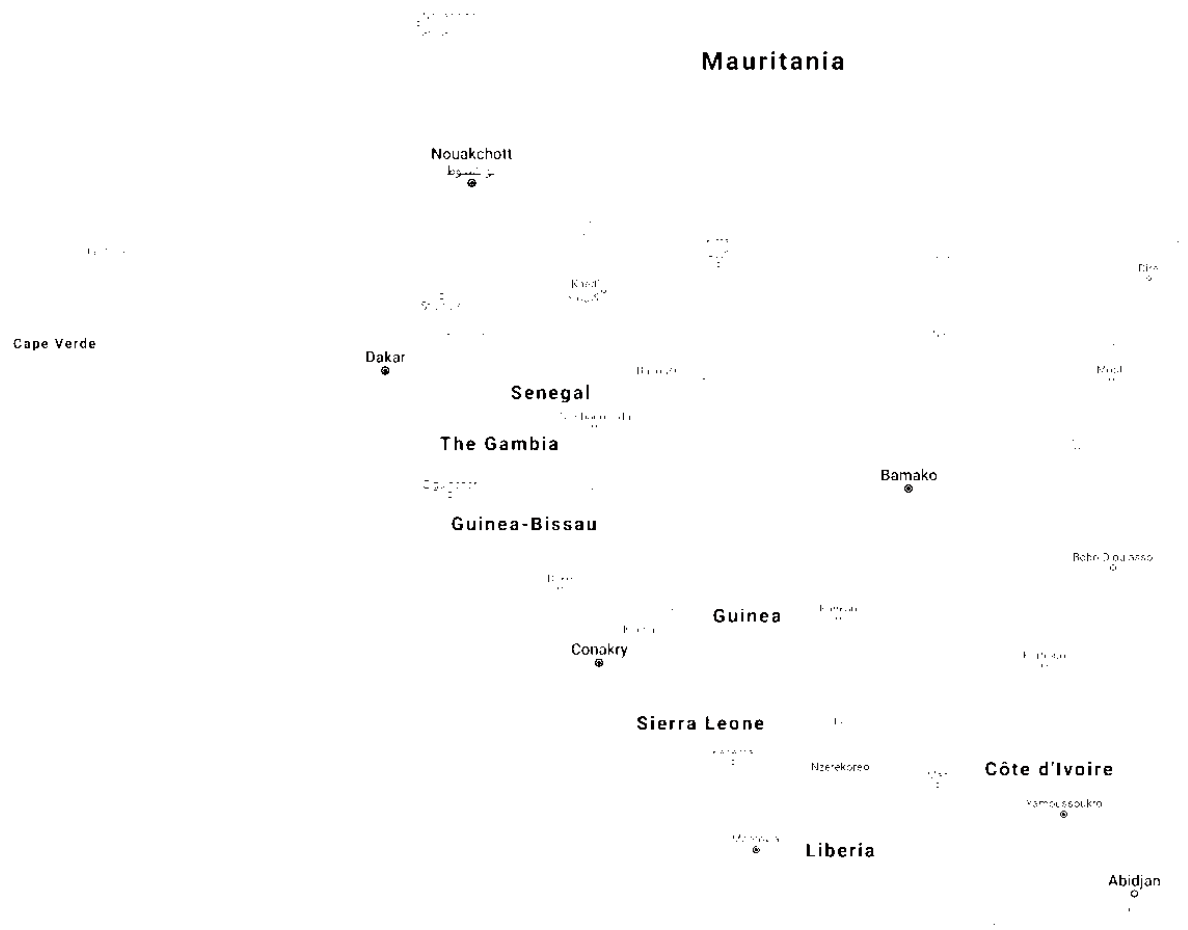
Map 3.4: Chachapoyas region in the Central Andes of Peru.

Source: Warren and Church, "Chachapoyas," fig. 45.1.



Map 4.1: Greater Senegambia.

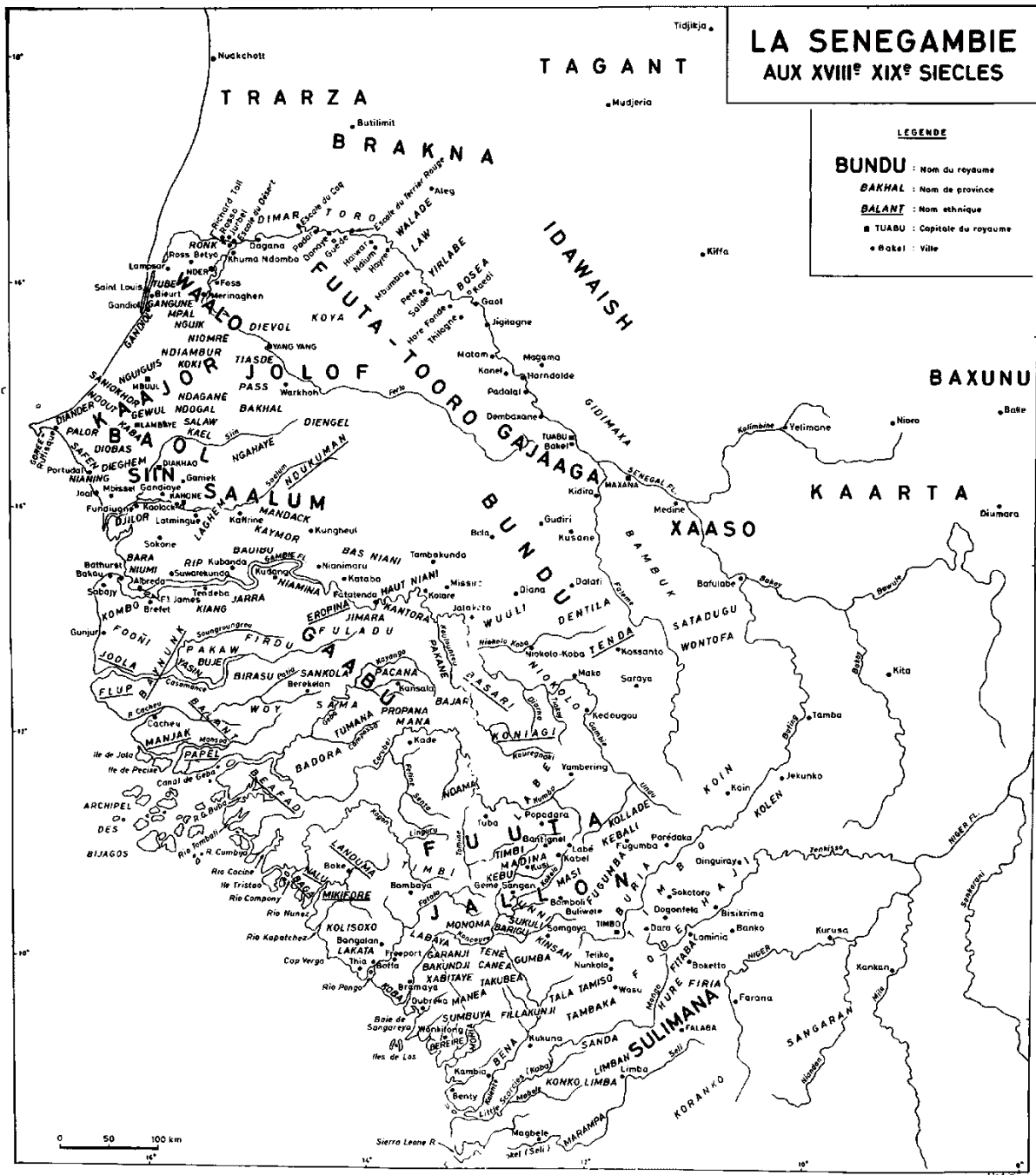
Source: Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, map 4.1.



Map 4.2: Detail of West Africa with the Cape Verde Islands.

Source: Google Maps.

Accessed: April 28, 2019.



Map 4.3: Ethnic groups of Greater Senegambia in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Source: Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, xxii.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: *Auto* with procession order for Lima's confraternities (1585)

AAL, Cofradías, Legajo 64, Expediente 2, fols. BDr-BEr

BDr

Auto

En la çiuudad de los rreyes a diez E nueve dias del mes
De junio de mill e qui^os y ochenta y çinco años el Ill^o
y muy rr^{do} señor doctor ant^o de valçaçar proc^{or} e vic^o
general en esta dha çiuudad y su arçobispado por el Ill^{mo}
y R^{mo} señor don torivio alfonso de mogrovejo arço
bpo dest dha çiuudad del [?] dixo q por
quanto pobre los lugares que las andas y pendones
de las cofradias de yndios negros y mulatos an de
tener En la proçession general del dia y fiesta de cor
pus xpi ay muchas diferenças y alborotos de
tal manera que no se puede rremediar como conviene
y para obiar lo susodho y proveer q todo lo susodho ce
se y el señor se sirva En toda unidad y conformidad
y por q a su mrd perteneçe provecher de rremedio
mandava y mando que en la dha procession des
pues de los españoles se tengya y guarda de la forma
siguiente

nra s^a del rrosario

porq la cofradia del rrosario es tan antigua y por
tantos sumos pontifiçes confirmada en la iglia de
dios y atento al rreverençia q se deve a la yma
gen de nra señora del rrosarios q sale del m^o
de santo dgo q sacan los naturales cofrades de la
dha cofradia -

santiago de surco

y luego consecutibam^{te} tenga lugar las andas de la
comunidad del pueblo de santiago de surco - y
atento a q las andas de nra señora del rrosario y
santiago suelen sacar ynsignia y pendon delante
por causas q asu mrd mueben mandava y mando
q en el ynterin ques otra cosa se provee, el pendon

de nra señora del rosario no vaya junto a la
ymagen antes vaya delante del pendon q sacan
los dhos yndios de surco

Santana
y luego consecutibam^{te} vayan las andas de la cofra
dia de señora santana sacandolas en la dha proçession

BDv
y no sacando andas les suçeda En el lugar las andas de
santiago del çercado y el pendon de señora santana vaya delante
Santiago del çercado
y luego vayan las andas de santiago del çercado - con
su pendon

San laçaro
y luego consecutibam^{te} vaya el pendon de sant lazaro

San Sebastian
y luego vaya el pendon de sant sebastian -

El n^o de Jesus
y luego el pendon del nonbre de jesus - qriendo gozar
de yr En el dho lugar y no queriendo vaya en el primero
y delante de toda la dha proçession como lo a hecho

Negros
y atento a quenta las cofradias de los negros y mula
tos ay ansy mesmo diferençias sobre los dhos lugares
mandava y mando q en tocante a la cofradia de nra
señora del antigua fundada en esta santa iglia y la co
fradia de nra señora de los rreyes q esta fundada en el m^o
de san fran^{co} se guarde y cunpla lo proveydo por el rr^{mo}
señor don ger^{mo} de loaysa de buena memoria arçobpo
q fue desta santa iglia en tal manera que los unos cofra
des vayan un año atras y otro adelante con que
los cofrades de nra señora de los rreyes saquen an
das en la dha proçesion y no las sacando no gozen
del dho lugar - y atento a que la cofradia questa
fundada en esta santa iglia tiene preheminencia
en la eleçion mandava y mando que el primer
años mas çercana a las andas del santisi
mo sacramento

- y luego consecutibam^{te} vayan las andas y cofrades
de las virgenes questa fundada En el m^o de nra
señora de las mrds - q es de los mulatos

- y luego vayan los herm^os morenos de la cofradia de sant sebastian - sacando andas y no las sacando vaya el pendon delante de los pendones de las cofradias q sacaron andas
- y luego vaya la cofradia de señor sant anton questa fundada en la parrochia de sant marcelo
- y luego vaya la cofradia de san br^{mc} que esta fundada en la parrochia de santa ana

BEr

- y luego vaya la cofradia de los morenos questa fundada En el m^o de santo dgo
- y luego vaya la cofradia de los morenos questa fundada en el colegio de la conpanya de jesus
- y luego vaya la coradia de morenos qsta fundada en al m^o de sant agustin -
- y luego vaya la cofradia de morenos de nra s^{ra} de aguas santas questa fundada en el m^o de n^{ra} s^a de la mrd
- La qual dha orden mandava y m^{do} se guarde y cumpla y execute como En ella se contiene y no la en la qbran ten En manera alguna so pena que se proçedera con tra ellos y seran castigados por todo rrigor y ansi lo proveyo mande y firmo y para q tenga Efecto lo de susco probehido se pida el auxilio la just^a rr^{al}

El doctor Valcazar

Appendix 2: Letter with procession order for Lima's confraternities (1639)

AAL, Cofradías, Legajo 32-A, Expediente 8, fols. 2r-3v

2r

El Doctor Don Juan de Cabrera thesorero de la sancta yglesia metropolitana desta ciudad de los Reyes del Piru Provisor y Vicario general deste arçobispado y juez ordinario en el tribunal del sancto oficio de la inquisicion por su señoria dean y cavildo en sede vacante Ex^a Por quanto ha havido algunas diferencias en las procesiones general de corpus christi de otras que se hazen entre años se an proveydo çiertos autos señalado, el lugar que a de tener cada qual de los que pretendian ser antepuestos unos a otros. y porque conviene que conforme a los dichos autos y a las demas memorias que otros años se han hecho y la pocesion y costumbre en que estan algunas de las cofradias se haga lista señalando en ella los lugares para que çesen las competencias que ordinario suele aver en esta raçon Por tanto por la presente ordeno y mando que las dichas procesiones el dia de corpus christi de su octava sancta ysabel y en las demas generales que se hizieron donde huvieren [rip] curso de las dichas cofradias se guarde y cumpla el orden siguiente

Cofradias de Españoles

- Despues de la Cofradia que ha de ir alumbrando el ss^{mo} sacram^{to} iran en primero lugar la cofradia de nra s^{ra} de la limpia concepcion de la Yglesia mayor Y en el mismo lugar la de nra s^{ra} del Rosario de Santo Domingo haziendo dos chros desverte que los cofrades de la concepcion vayan a mano derecha y los del Rosario a mano izquierda
- Y luego la cofradia de la santa vera cruz con andas pendon sera y ceptros
- luego la cofradia de nra s^{ra} de la concepcion de sant francisco
- luego la de nra señora de la piedad de la merçed
- luego la de sant Joseph de a Yglesia mayor
- luego la de sant Crispin de la misma yglesia
- luego la de sant sebastian
- luego la de señora sancta ana
- luego la de sant marçelo
- luego la de s^{ta} cat^a de sena de s^{to} Domingo
- luego la del s^{to} crucifixo de burgos de s^t Agustin
- luego la de sant lorenço de la merçed
- luego la de sant Roque de Sant Sebastian
- luego la de sant nicolas de tolentino de s^t Agustin
- luego la de la soledad de sant fran^{co}
- luego la de Redempcion de captivos de la merçed
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de Regla de los niños huerfanos
- luego la de nra s^{ra} del carmen de la Trinidad
- luego la del ss^{mo} sacram^{to} de los niños huerfanos
- luego la de las animas de purgatorio de sant sebastian
- luego la del ss^{mo} sacram^{to} de señora sancta ana
- luego la de sant Bernardino de sant fran^{co}
- luego la de los niños del Rosario de s^{to} Domingo

Cofradias de Indios

- En prim^o lugar la cofradia de sanctiago del pueblo de surco
- luego la de nra s^{ra} del Rosario de sancto Domingo
- luego la del pubelo de la magdalena
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de la candelaries de s^t franc^{co}
- luego la de s^r San Joachin de s^{ra} sancta ana
- 3 - luego las tres cofradias del çercado de sanctiago, nra s^{ra} del pilar y sant marçelo
- luego la de nra señora de Copacavana de Sant lazaro

2v

- luego la del niño Jesus de la Compañia de JHS
- luego la de sant miguel de sant augustin
- luego la de nra s^{ra} del Rosario del pubelo de lurigancho
- luego la de sant Pedro del pueblo de caravayllo
- luego la de sant Pablodel pueblo de late
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de loreto de señora sancta ana
- 2 - luego las dos cofradias del pueblo del çercado de sant Joseph y el angel de la guarda
- luego la de nra señora de consolacion de la merçed
- luego la de sant Crispin y Crispiniano de sant lazaro

Cofradias de morenos y mulatos

- En primero lugar la de la antigua de la Yglesia cathedral
- luego la del Rosario de los negros de santo Domingo
- luego la de s^{ta} Justa y Rufina de los mulators de la merçed
- luego la de nra señora de los Reyes de sant fran^{co}
- luego la de sant anton de sant marçelo
- luego la de sant Bartholome de señora sancta ana
- luego la de la victoria de sant sebastian
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de guadalupe de sant augustin
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de los mulatos de sancto Domingo
- luego la de sant Benito de palermo de sant fran^{co} sera y ceptros y pendon
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de loreto de la merçed
- luego la de nra s^{ra} del prado
- luego la de sant salvador de la compañia
- luego la de s^t Ju^o bap^{ta} de s^{ta} Ana de los mulatos
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de los angeles de la merçed
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de los Remedios de la mrd
- luego la de s^t ger^{mo} de s^{ra} sancta ana
- luego la de los criollos de s^t Ju^o Capistrana de s^t fran^{co}
- luego la de sant agaton de sant augustin
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de la concepcion de sant lazaro
- luego la de sant niculas de los Recoletos de sancto Domingo
- luego la del angel sant gabrial de la merçed
- luego la de sancta Elena de la merçed
- luego la de nra s^{ra} de los huerfanos
- luego la de sant luis beltran de sancto Domingo
- [left] luego la de s^{ta} ursula de s^t P^o // luego la de s^t Jacobo de la marca de sant fran^{co}
- luego la da la Trinidad
- luego la de sant Bicente ferrer de sancto Domingo

- luego la de sant Ramon de la merçed
 - luego la de las lagrimas de s^t P^o de la ygelsia mayor
 - luego la de sant onofre
 - luego la de sant Rafael de sant Diego
 - luego la de nra s^a de alta gravia de sant augⁿ
 - luego la de sant nicolas de la penitencia de sant augⁿ
 - luego el baptiso de s^t Ju^o de los niños huerfanos
 - luego la de nra s^{ra} de la peña de françia de s^{ta} Clara
 - luego la de s^a m^a mag^{na} de sant lazaro
 - luego sancta ynes de la concepcion
 - luego la de nra s^a de velen y sant Joseph de los Recoletos de velen +
- Y en la forma dicha mando a los mayordomos diputados veinte y quatro y demas cossas[?]

3r

de las dichas cofradias salgan en las procesiones este preste año de mill y seys çientos y treinta y nueve con las andas pendones sera y ceptros y demas insignias sin escusas ningunas y de la forma y manera que por autos por mi proveydos de pedimiento del fiscal deste arçobispado y otros de pleyto que se an tratado en esta audiència metropolitana esta mandado y ordenado tomando los dichos lugares sin contravenir a ello y sin dejar de asistir a las dhas proçesiones en manera alguna lo qual cumplen asi los españoles y mulatos en virtud des^{ta} obediència y so pena de excomunion mayor late sententie trina canonica monition e premisa y los dichos españoles de veinte pesos - Y mulators de dis y Yndios y negros cada qual de seis pesos aplicados conforme a el nuebo orden q se mag^d tiene dado de mas de que seran presos y se proceden a con tra ellos conforme a el exxeso que hubieren tenido y exhorto y suplico a los alcaldes ordinarios y demas justiçias de su mag^d impartan el auxilio Real para que tenga cumplido efecto y doy comission a el fiscal alguacil y demas ministros desta audiència arçobispal metropolitana para que lo notifiquen a las personas a quien toca lo aqui contenido y den testimonioa dello fecho en los Reyes en veinte de Junio de mill y seys cientos y treinta y nueve años

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