

MURAL PAINTING AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE COLONIAL ANDES,  
1626-1830

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
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## Abstract

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Ananda Cohen

Adviser: Professor Eloise Quiñones Keber

Mural painting in colonial Peru (1534-1824) grew out of both indigenous Andean and European pictorial traditions that coalesced into a hybrid art form deployed to serve a variety of functions. Unlike paintings on canvas and panel, for which there existed no precedent in the Pre-Columbian Andes, mural painting was practiced in South America for at least 2,000 years before the Spanish invasion in 1532. Murals produced in the post-conquest period retained continuity with pre-Columbian traditions in terms of their technical aspects, while their iconography and style shifted dramatically to suit the needs of the Spanish colonial enterprise. First and foremost, colonial Andean mural painting served as an important visual tool in the religious conversion of indigenous peoples by encasing the interiors of churches with didactic illustrations of Catholic doctrine. In addition to their religious aspect, however, murals also transmitted social and political values to their local communities.

This dissertation thus focuses on the intersections of mural painting and social transformation in the highland Cuzco region of Peru. It offers case studies of several Cuzco-area mural programs that span from the mid colonial period to the early years of independence: the churches of Andahuaylillas (ca. 1626), Urcos (mid-17<sup>th</sup> century), Pitumarca (18<sup>th</sup> century), Huaró (1802), and the wheat mill murals of Acomayo (1830s).

Despite their wide temporal distribution, the murals under discussion are united in their intimate engagement with their local contexts. The present study examines subtle shifts in iconography, style, and the creation of multivalent religious imagery as important strategies undertaken by muralists to obliquely reference the sociopolitical issues with which indigenous communities were engaged. It draws on field research, archival documents, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century religious texts, and secondary source materials from art history, anthropology, and ethnohistory in order to offer new interdisciplinary perspectives for the study of colonial Andean mural painting.

## PREFACE

The Andean region of South America boasts a rich mural tradition spanning thousands of years from the pre-Columbian period to the present day. Murals of the colonial period developed a highly nuanced visual vocabulary that traveled rapidly and widely throughout the cities and towns spread along the mountain chain. One can find similarities in style, color palette, and iconography among colonial murals distributed across vast terrains, from Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. For this dissertation, however, I focus specifically on murals located in the Cuzco region of Peru.

Cuzco, a Hispanicized spelling of the Quechua term Qosqo, originally served as the capital of the Inca empire (1438-1532). The former Inca capital remained an important administrative, political, and artistic center throughout the colonial period. The colonial arts of Cuzco were strongly tied to the indigenous communities that viewed and commissioned them, and a specific Cuzco style reverberated throughout the region. This dissertation does not focus on the city itself, however, but the rural satellite towns located within the Cuzco diocese.<sup>1</sup> In the colonial period, Cuzco was comprised of eleven provinces, including Anta, Calca, Canas y Canchis, Chumbivilcas, Cuzco (city limits), Espinar, La Convención, Paruro, Paucartambo, Quispicanchis, and Urubamba. All of the case studies presented in this dissertation are located within the provinces of Quispicanchis and Canas y Canchis as they were delimited in the colonial period.<sup>2</sup> Quispicanchis province borders the city of Cuzco at its southeastern limits, extending

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<sup>1</sup> By the late eighteenth century, the Viceroyalty of Peru was divided into five dioceses: Lima, Arequipa, Trujillo, Huamanga, and Cuzco. The territory covered by the diocese became reclassified into *departamentos*, or departments, during the Republican period.

<sup>2</sup> The region of Acomayo was part of Quispicanchis until 1861, when it was declared a separate province encompassing the districts of Acos, Acopia, Pomacanchi, Rondoncán, and Sangarará.

eastward toward the Puno region. It borders the provinces of Paucartambo and Madre de Dios to the north, Canas and Canchis to the south, and Paruro to the west. Urcos served (and continues to serve) as the capital of the province as well as the parish center for the area, maintaining jurisdiction over the parishes of nearby Huaró and Canincunca. I make sure to specify whether I am referring to the city of Cuzco or its rural environs on each instance of usage.

I retain all original spelling and orthography of Spanish primary sources. I retain all original abbreviations in archival sources and write out the full word in brackets if the abbreviation is not obvious. In instances of the use of superscript in handwritten archival sources, I place a period before the superscripted letters (i.e., S<sup>r</sup> is transcribed as S.r). All foreign words are italicized and defined at their first appearance in the text. All Spanish originals can be found in the footnotes, except in rare instances when I wish to emphasize a certain aspect of the untranslated passage in the body of the dissertation. For early printed materials and archival documents, I place “v” following a page number to signify “verso,” or the reverse (obverse) of a page. All other pagination refers to recto or conventional pages.

Transliteration of Quechua, an oral language until the Spanish invasion, remains heterogeneous with no fixed rules.<sup>3</sup> I retain Hispanicized spellings of words (i.e.,

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<sup>3</sup> Attempts at establishing a standardized Quechua alphabet and orthography began in the colonial period and continue to be made into the present day. The meeting of the III Congreso Indigenista Interamericano (3<sup>rd</sup> Interamerican Indigenist Conference), which convened in La Paz in 1954, established a standard Quechua and Aymara alphabet. Nevertheless, the language has undergone a series of modifications in written form over the past five decades. In 1975, the Peruvian government of Juan Velasco instituted a new standardized alphabet currently recognized by the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua. This new orthography moved away from Hispanicized spellings of Quechua words through the use of consonants not commonly found in Spanish orthography such as *k* and *h* instead of *c*, *qu*, or *j* (i.e., *kero* over *quero*, or *kamay* over *camay*). Nevertheless, linguists and language activists continue to debate the utility of this system. One camp calls for further “Andeanization” of written Quechua by implementing a three-vowel alphabet (*a*, *i*, and *u*) over a five vowel one. The “Hispanicization” camp argues that the new spellings appear too foreign and difficult to comprehend, and will inhibit easy acquisition of bilingualism

*Viracocha* over *Wiraqocha*) because they are the most commonly recognized. I retain Hispanicized pluralization of Quechua terms through the use of *s* rather than the Quechua *kuna* or *cuna* (i.e., *curacas* instead of *curacacuna* or *kurakakuna*), again, in order to achieve greater recognition among readers unfamiliar with Quechua spellings. When there are several commonly recognized spellings of a word, I refer to alternate spellings in the text. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

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among Quechua-speaking children. For an overview of this debate, see Nancy H. Hornberger, “The First Workshop on Quechua and Aymara Writing,” in *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The “First Congress” Phenomenon*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 233-56; and Serafín H. Coronel-Molina, “Sociohistorical Perspective of Quechua Language Policy and Planning in Peru,” in *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity: The Success-Failure Continuum in Language and Ethnic Identity Efforts*, ed. Joshua Fishman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 126-36.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

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*Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), pl. 2.

- 3.1 Mural of the baptism of *cacique* Fernando Siñani, church of Carabuco, Bolivia, 18<sup>th</sup> century. *Source*: Ramón Mujica Pinilla, ed., *El barroco peruano* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003), 238.
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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	Archivo Arzobispal de Cuzco
AAL	Archivo Arzobispal de Lima
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
ARC	Archivo Regional de Cuzco

## INTRODUCTION

### Subject and Project Rationale

Ornament, religious primer, historical document, and painted theater: mural painting in the colonial Andes fulfilled all of these roles, and more.<sup>1</sup> This study is concerned with the intersections of mural painting and social transformation in the Cuzco region of Peru from the mid-seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. Cuzco served as the capital of the Inca empire and remained a chief center of indigenous culture in the Andes throughout the colonial period. Murals encased the interiors of cathedrals, churches, chapels, and private residences throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru (1542-1824), providing viewers with visual propaganda championing the so-called “spiritual conquest” of Christianity over indigenous religions.<sup>2</sup> As such, mural painting served as an important visual tool in the evangelization of native peoples throughout colonial

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<sup>1</sup> The colonial Andes refer to the area in and alongside the Andes mountain chain in western South America during the period of Spanish colonialism (1534-1820s/30s). By the fifteenth century, the Inca Empire had extended its territory to encompass the entire vertical expanse of the Andes, from the Ecuadorian city of Quito to the Maule River in Chile. This area became subsumed administratively into the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will use the term “colonial Andes” when speaking generally about institutions and cultural practices that affected the region as a whole. Although admittedly anachronistic, I employ the term “Peru” as shorthand for the territory encompassed by the modern-day nation state. When using the term “Cuzco,” the former capital of the Inca state called Tawantinsuyu, I will differentiate if I am referring to the city proper or the diocese of Cuzco, which also included rural *doctrinas*, or indigenous parishes located on the outskirts of the city.

<sup>2</sup> The Viceroyalty of Peru was an administrative district founded in 1542, eight years after the formal conquest of Peru in 1532-1534. At its height, it encompassed modern-day Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina, although by the late colonial period, all of the territories except for Peru and Bolivia were further subdivided into the Viceroyalties of Nueva Granada (founded in 1717) and Rio de la Plata (founded in 1776). A number of art historians employ the term “viceregal” over “colonial” to describe the works of art produced in post-conquest Latin America prior to the Independence period. I prefer the latter, however, because of the dangers of using value-reduced terminology associated primarily with administration and bureaucracy. As a dissertation concerned with the sociopolitical contexts within which murals were produced, an emphasis on the conditions produced by colonialism is of paramount importance. I therefore prefer the term “colonial Andean art” for its refusal to ignore the structures of control and oppression that impacted every area of society, from politics to religion to the visual arts.

Spanish America.<sup>3</sup> Didactic images depicting key biblical scenes and religious personages facilitated the transmission of Catholic doctrine to indigenous Andeans,<sup>4</sup> the majority of whom were not literate in Spanish.

An uninterrupted visual tradition for nearly three millennia before the Spanish invasion in 1532, mural painting was by no means a colonial “invention.” Indeed, the technical aspects of mural painting in the colonial Andes owe a large debt to pre-Columbian methods employed by the Inca empire (ca. 1438-1532) and their predecessors. In the pre-Columbian Andes, mural paintings decorated religious structures and elite residences. The driving force behind the production of mural painting during the colonial period, however, corresponded to a unique set of concerns brought on by the Spanish colonial enterprise. Mural paintings were intended to instruct parishioners on the tenets of the faith, as well as to reinforce certain codes of conduct in an effort to cultivate good Christians. Although some murals survived the ravages inflicted by the Cuzco earthquake of 1650, the vast majority has since been destroyed. We can thus only speculate on the appearance of sixteenth-century murals based on a few descriptions by

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<sup>3</sup> Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, mural painting held a similar function throughout the viceroyalties of Latin America. Unlike Peruvian murals, mural paintings of colonial Mexico have received substantial scholarly attention. See in particular Serge Gruzinski, *El águila y la sibila: frescos indios de México* (Barcelona: M. Moleiro Editor, 1994); Samuel Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004); and for a more focused study, see Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation, I have chosen to use the terms “Andean,” “indigenous,” and “indigenous Andean” interchangeably as a means of referring to the native inhabitants of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Terming them “Incas” lacks precision because whatever was left of the Inca empire ceased to exist by 1572 with the execution of Tupac Amaru, the last ruler of the neo-Inca state. Moreover, not all indigenous people of the Andes were ethnically Inca. With the imposition of colonial rule in the Andes beginning officially in 1534 and driving its final nail into the coffin in 1572, indigenous communities that once belonged to the socially and culturally complex Inca empire became lumped by Spaniards into the singular category of “Indios.” I avoid the term *Indio* or “Indian” because of its racist connotations. While the terms I have chosen are problematic for their tendency to elide differences among different indigenous groups, I make an effort throughout the dissertation to use specific language when the context allows for it.

contemporaries. I therefore begin my study in 1626, the approximate date marking the completion of the murals at the church of Andahuaylillas, one of the first extant mural programs to demonstrate clear associations with its immediate cultural and historical context.

This study concentrates primarily on murals located within churches out of an attention to scope (it does not purport to survey the entire mural tradition of colonial Cuzco) and methodological interest. I focus on church murals in order to address the function of religious images within social spaces. Colonial churches served as the veritable locus of Andean social and spiritual life, given their spatial centrality in colonial Andean towns and cities. Both metropolitan centers and rural *pueblos de indios* (nucleated indigenous villages located on the outskirts of major towns) contained at least one church at their center. Indeed, when traveling through the Andean highlands, the first thing one sees when approaching a new town is a church bell tower looming above the built landscape. Murals located in Andean churches were uniquely poised to disseminate religious, social, and cultural values to local populations, similarly to their pre-Columbian counterparts. With their large and diversified viewership in mind, I explore the means by which murals engaged in active dialogue with the local concerns of the communities within which they were situated.

This dissertation offers case studies of a group of Cuzco-area murals that spanned from the mid-colonial period into the early years of independence, including the diocesan churches located in the rural towns of Andahuaylillas (ca. 1626), Urcos (early 17<sup>th</sup> century), Pitumarca (18<sup>th</sup> century), and Huaro (1802) as well as the privately commissioned murals adorning a series of mills in the town of Acomayo (1830s) (fig.

1.1). The murals were chosen for their visual legibility as well as their social significance. The Cuzco region boasts a number of compelling murals, but many are poorly preserved. Some survive only in a fragmentary state and others have received unprofessional restoration jobs. I have carefully selected a sample of significant murals that are moderately to well-preserved and whose compositions have remained relatively intact. They evenly span the enormous 200-year expanse that this dissertation covers. I also chose iconographically rich murals that would permit an analysis of their social and cultural relevance through the visual evidence they provide. While the criteria guiding the sample are mildly systematic at best, the selection of murals affords a nuanced understanding of large-scale transformations in Andean mural painting through time.

As a visual system situated at the interface of artistic decoration, didactic instruction, and cultural expression, mural painting in the colonial Andes urges us to employ interdisciplinary methodological frameworks in its interpretation. A purely formal analysis of colonial Andean mural painting would reveal very little about this artistic tradition other than its failure to fully replicate European models. Conversely, a reading of murals that exclusively considers their sociohistorical significance would ignore the diverse ways by which visual languages can illuminate and interact with the social and historical contexts in which they are embedded. The present study therefore strikes a careful balance between ethnohistorical, art historical, and literary analysis to gain a comprehensive understanding of the mural programs under consideration.

## Murals as Evidence: The Ethnohistorical Approach

Ethnohistory refers to the study of native cultures from the perspective of colonial-era documentary materials.<sup>5</sup> With connections to archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, history, and literary analysis, it occupies an important position in Latin American studies because of the continent's history of conquest and colonization. Ethnohistorical approaches to colonial Latin America utilize a variety of sources including conquest narratives, inventories, court documents, European accounts of native beliefs and customs, as well as testimonies written by native authors as a means of understanding indigenous histories both before and after the Spanish conquest. Given the zealous campaigns among Spanish priests and colonizers to destroy indigenous forms of recording knowledge such as Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts or Inca *quipus*,<sup>6</sup> scholars have adopted alternative ways of reading archives to recapture the histories of indigenous peoples and other racial minorities in the Americas. Some of the U.S. pioneers of Inca archaeology such as John Howland Rowe and John Murra employed ethnohistorical analysis of the Incas even before the term began to gain currency in academia in the 1970s. Pairing colonial documents with archaeological evidence, they produced some of the most important foundational texts for the study of the Incas, including Rowe's "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest" published in the

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<sup>5</sup> For one of the earliest assessments of the state of the field, see James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint," *Ethnohistory* 26, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 1–13; for a brief historiography of the field, see Shepard Krech III, "The State of Ethnohistory," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20 (1991): 345–75.

<sup>6</sup> The *quipu* was an Andean notational system that consisted of multicolored knotted strings. It was used for recording the census, tribute obligations, history, and even poetry.

*Handbook to South American Indians* (1946), and Murra's "Cloth and its Functions in the Inca State" (1962).<sup>7</sup>

Over the past the past twenty years, colonial Latin American scholarship has exhibited an increased interest in mining colonial documents for their insights on the transformation of indigenous identities in the postconquest era rather than simply using them as a means of projecting back onto the pre-Hispanic past.<sup>8</sup> Anthropologists and historians working in the colonial Andes such as Bruce Mannheim, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Susan E. Ramírez, Irene Silverblatt, and Gonzalo Lamana, to name a few, analyze colonial sources as far-ranging as wills to Inquisition documents as a means of understanding cultural practices among Andean peoples.<sup>9</sup> These authors provide excellent strategies for drawing such information out of the seemingly unyielding and inherently biased Spanish documentary record. Their valuable contributions have helped to deconstruct problematic binary constructions of Indian/Spanish and

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<sup>7</sup> John Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian Haynes Steward and Jay I. Kislak, vol. 2: The Andean Civilizations (Washington, DC: U.S. G.P.O, 1946), 183–330; John Murra, "Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State," *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4 (1962): 710–28.

<sup>8</sup> One of the most emblematic examples in the field of colonial Andean studies on this shift in focus can be found in the scholarship on the native Andean chronicler, Guaman Poma de Ayala. See, for instance, the differences in approach suggested by the titles of R. Tom Zuidema's article and Rolena Adorno's edited volume: R. Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: Toward an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 151–202; Rolena Adorno, ed., *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author* (New York: Americas Society, 1992). Although these works were published within one year of each other, they demonstrate the origins of this scholarly divide between using colonial sources for reconstructing the Pre-Columbian past versus seeing them as testaments to the birth of new colonial identities.

<sup>9</sup> For some outstanding recent examples of ethnohistorical approaches to the colonial Andes, see Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka Since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1999); Susan E. Ramírez, *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Irene Silverblatt, "Colonial Conspiracies," *Ethnohistory* 53, no. 2 (2006): 259–80; and Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination Without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

colonized/colonizer that had dominated much of the discourse. A few scholars working in ethnohistory and its related fields have also begun to employ the visual record as a viable point of departure for the study of colonial Latin American societies and cultures.<sup>10</sup> This study expands on this recent trend in ethnohistorical discourse through its treatment of murals as legitimate and invaluable forms of evidence, and as visible interlocutors in the shaping of community identities.

As such, my interpretation of murals as a type of visual document benefits from one of the most basic elements of ethnohistorical discourse: the broadening of our definition of what constitutes a historical “document” to gain a more nuanced understanding of the past. Indigenous methods of recording history have long preoccupied pre-Columbian scholars. The scholarship is rife with discussions concerning indigenous writing systems and the role of objects and images as expressions of myth, history, and empire. Early Mesoamerican scholars such as George Kubler, Mary Elizabeth Smith, Donald Robertson, and Michael Coe were instrumental in decoding Mesoamerican manuscripts and Maya glyphs to uncover highly sophisticated writing systems that relied on a combination of pictograms, logograms, and numerical

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<sup>10</sup> For instance, Catherine Julien’s article on the objects and images collected by viceroy Francisco de Toledo during his tenure in Peru (1569-1581) offers an exemplary framework for integrating literary and documentary analysis with art historical methods. See “History and Art in Translation: The Paños and Other Objects Collected by Francisco De Toledo,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 8, no. 1 (1999): 61–89. Peruvian scholars have paved the way for disciplinary fluidity; as I will discuss later, the principal publications on colonial Andean mural painting are written by anthropologists (Jorge Flores Ochoa and Elizabeth Kuon Arce), architects (Roberto Samanez Argumedo), and historians (Pablo Macera). Another important indication of the field’s growing acceptance of visual approaches can be found in the 2010 special issue of *Colonial Latin American Review* entitled “The Power of Images: Visual Representation in New Spain and Peru,” which contains articles by ethnohistorians working with visual culture, including Andean specialists Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs and Gabriela Ramos as well as Alejandro Cañeque, a Mexican specialist.

notations.<sup>11</sup> The pioneering studies by L. Leland Locke, Robert and Marcia Ascher, and Gary Urton have advanced *quipu* studies to reveal the enormous possibilities for record keeping and knowledge transmission in the pre-Columbian Andes.<sup>12</sup> Such scholarship laid essential groundwork for the important 1994 volume, *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, co-edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone and literary scholar Walter Mignolo.<sup>13</sup> This volume urged me to reframe my understanding of murals not simply as a category of the fine arts, but as a form of visual literacy for indigenous Andeans in the colonial period. Alphabetic literacy among indigenous populations remained low throughout the colonial period, and even knowledge of written Quechua, the dominant indigenous language of Peruvian highland peoples, was generally reserved for native elites.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, almost all of the murals under consideration contain textual glosses, many of which are in Latin—a language unfamiliar to the vast majority of indigenous (and probably Spanish) congregations

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<sup>11</sup> For example, see George Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, 1st ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1962); Mary Elizabeth Smith, *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico: Mixtec Place Signs and Maps* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974); Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools*, 1st ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959); and Michael D. Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code*, 1st ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> See L. Leland Locke, “The Ancient Quipu, A Peruvian Knot Record,” *American Anthropologist* 14 (1912): 325–32; Marcia Ascher and Robert Ascher, *Code of the Quipu: A Study in Media, Mathematics, and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); Gary Urton, “A New Twist in an Old Yarn: Variation in Knot Directionality in the Inka Khipus,” *Baessler-Archiv* 42 (1994): 271–305; and Gary Urton, *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo, eds., *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> Alan Durston, “Native-Language Literacy in Colonial Peru: The Question of Mundane Quechua Writing Revisited,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (February 2008): 41–70.

coming into contact with the images.<sup>15</sup> At the same time that I consider mural images as a form of visual language that acquired its own codes of intelligibility, I also posit the role of text as a form of artifice. In many cases, the Latin or Spanish glosses are carelessly transcribed from print source to mural wall, riddled with spelling and typographical errors. In these cases, we witness a fascinating role reversal of image and text, with primacy accorded to the image while the text serves as mere ornamentation—a proverbial nod to (or perhaps defiance of) the authority of the Spanish culture of letters.

Throughout the course of the colonial period, mural painting developed its own codified visual language that began as a primer for the newly converted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It evolved from its didactic religious foundations into a highly nuanced language through the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One's degree of access to indigenous and local knowledge could influence one's reading of murals, which were almost always ambiguously coded to generate a wealth of interpretations, both conventional and provocative. This ultimately raises issues of intentionality and artistic freedom available to Andean artists in the colonial period, which I discuss next.

### **Cross-Cultural Exchange and Questions of Agency**

One of the most long-standing and contentious debates in colonial Latin American art history concerns the nature of artistic exchange between Europeans and indigenous peoples. Scholars have used an array of terminology to label the artistic fruits

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<sup>15</sup> The reason for the inclusion for such glosses is likely twofold. A number of the Flemish prints that served as models for murals contain biblical passages in Latin and were merely recopied. Moreover, the priests would have learned Latin as part of their seminary training and as their primary liturgical language.

of this encounter, including “mestizo,” “hybrid,” “Indo Christian.” They have described the artistic process in varying ways as well. Terms such as “cross-cultural exchange,” “appropriation,” “influence,” “confluence,” and “convergence” pepper the literature, each carrying its own set of associations and prejudices. Early scholarship on colonial Latin American art is rife with problematic misapprehensions. George Kubler and Martín Soria, considered by many to be the founding fathers of colonial Latin American art history in the United States, were among the first to characterize colonial art as derivative and rudimentary. In their 1959 survey text on Spanish and Latin American art, the authors state, “even the best Colonial artists, painters, and sculptors, remained far below the best European standards. In comparison with Europe, a greater proportion of painting and sculpture is to be considered folk art, which is often expressive and interesting.”<sup>16</sup> Other scholars have largely eschewed this Eurocentric approach, calling for a more nuanced understanding of colonial Latin American art that highlights its inventiveness and uniqueness rather than its “failure” to replicate European models.<sup>17</sup> The

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<sup>16</sup> George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), 164. This is not to imply, however, that their perspectives formed a monolithic paradigm for interpreting colonial Latin American images during the early decades of the field’s development. Indeed, the Argentine historian Ángel Guido coined the term “estilo mestizo” or “mestizo style” in 1925, indicating the establishment of a unique discursive space for colonial Latin American art at very early point in the field’s historiography. See *Fusión hispano-indígena en la arquitectura colonial* (Rosario, Argentina: Editorial “La Casa del Libro,” 1925); see also “El estilo mestizo o criollo en el arte de la colonia,” in *II Congreso internacional de historia de América*, vol. 3 (Buenos Aires: Casa Jacopo Peuser, 1937), 581–91. Pál Kelemen also emphasized the cultural distinctiveness of colonial Latin American art without deliberate emphasis on the superiority of European prototypes in his important survey text, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York: Macmillan, 1951). He argues, “Until recently the art of colonial Latin America has been treated in a most perfunctory manner, merely as an appendix to that of the Iberian Peninsula, or ignored. As a rule, the more a building, statue, or canvas resembled a European prototype, the greater reverence it was accorded” (ix).

<sup>17</sup> But it should also be added that despite Kubler and Soria’s negative appraisal of colonial Latin American art from the perspective of connoisseurship, their work was instrumental in laying the foundation for more advanced studies of colonial Latin American art. Their painstaking classification and attribution of Latin America’s colonial architecture, painting, and sculpture made it possible for later scholars to embark on more focused studies. The work of their contemporaries working both in the U.S. and Latin America remain equally important as foundational texts. Aside from the survey texts mentioned above, see

historiographical tradition in Peru and Bolivia diverges considerably from the early U.S. scholarship. Art historians influenced by the prevailing *indigenista* (indigenist) school of thought of the 1920s-1940s set the tone for a scholarly tradition that privileged indigenous contributions to colonial Andean art.<sup>18</sup> The early work of South American scholars such as Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva, Emilio Harth-Terré, and José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert largely anticipated more recent attempts to explore the complexities of indigenous-European artistic exchange.<sup>19</sup> Art historians such as Leopoldo Castedo, Claire Farago, and others working in early modern studies have approached the historiography with greater finesse as well.<sup>20</sup>

The current scholarship on colonial Latin American art reflects a trend in assigning agency to indigenous artists despite the asymmetrical power structures within which they worked. Rather than depict indigenous artists as slavish copyists working under categorically oppressive Spanish overlords, scholars have sought to emphasize the

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also Manuel Toussaint, *Arte colonial en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1949); Felipe Cossío del Pomar, *Arte del Perú colonial* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958); and Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño. Datos para una historia del arte en el Perú*. (Cuzco: Editorial Garcilaso, 1960).

<sup>18</sup> See José Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1980).

<sup>19</sup> See Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva, *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII. Los maravillosos lienzos del Corpus existentes en la iglesia de Santa Ana del Cuzco* (Lima: Alma Mater, 1951); Emilio Harth-Terré, *El indígena peruano en las bellas artes virreinales* (Cuzco: Editorial "Garcilaso," 1960); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1st ed. (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, 1962); and José de Mesa, "Determinantes del llamado estilo mestizo: Breves consideraciones sobre el término," *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas, Universidad Central de Caracas* 10 (1968): 93–119.

<sup>20</sup> See Leopoldo Castedo, "Sobre el arte 'mestizo' hispano-americano," *Arte y Arqueología* 3-4 (1975): 39–66; Claire Farago, "Introduction: Reframing the Renaissance," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 1–20; and 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): 1–60.

complexities of indigenous-Spanish artistic exchange. This shift in scholarship must be understood within the context of emerging discourses on power, hegemony, and postcolonialism that sent powerful reverberations throughout the humanities and social sciences over the past four decades. Frantz Fanon and Edward Said were instrumental in theorizing the insidious ways in which Europe constructed its “others.” Fanon speaks directly to the violence of assimilation experienced by the African diaspora while Said examines the literary construction of the Orient as a place of unmitigated fantasy and exoticism.<sup>21</sup> In his later publication, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said broadens his scope beyond the realm of literature. He argues:

When it came to what lay beyond metropolitan Europe, the arts and the disciplines of representation—on the one hand, fiction, history and travel writing, painting; on the other, sociology, administrative or bureaucratic writing, philology, racial theory—depended on the powers of Europe to bring the non-European world into representations, the better to be able to see it, to master it, and above all, to hold it.<sup>22</sup>

Said acknowledges the role of visual representation as an extension of colonial power to control and “domesticate” non-Western cultures. Fanon, Said, and a host of other theorists initiated a crucial conversation on the nature of colonialism not only as a capitalistic enterprise, but as an instrument of social and cultural oppression.

Scholars of the ensuing decades began to question the other side of the colonized/colonizer equation: how did colonized people respond to and challenge colonialism’s systems of control? Perhaps most pertinent to this discussion is the work of Homi Bhabha, who is referenced frequently in scholarship on colonial Latin American

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<sup>21</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

<sup>22</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 99.

art. Bhabha's writings on hybridity and mimicry offer a framework for interpreting colonial Latin American images with greater nuance. He sees the hybrid as located within a "third space" from which it wields the uncanny power of mimicking colonial authority, while by that very process, threatening to undermine the power structures that created the colonizer.<sup>23</sup> Through mimicry, Bhabha argues, the power and authority of the dominating culture becomes relativized, and ultimately destabilized.<sup>24</sup>

Art historians working on colonial Latin America freely employ Bhabha's ideas and terminology in their discussions of indigenous-European interchange.<sup>25</sup> Few have employed his concept of hybridity with the notion of destabilization embedded within it, however. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, for instance, argues that "views such as Bhabha's about cultural 'hybridity' tend to be too exclusively negative, centering on its ability to disrupt and weaken authority..."<sup>26</sup> This problematic reluctance among some art historians to acknowledge the negative aspects of colonialism speaks to a widespread tendency to avoid issues of power and domination that play a critical role in artistic production in colonial Latin America. Bailey's attempt to "level the playing field" as a means of granting equal agency to European and indigenous populations unwittingly erases the inherently unequal power dynamics at play between the indigenous and invading Spanish groups under whom they worked.

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<sup>23</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), esp. 37–41.

<sup>24</sup> Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (1984): esp. 126–27; 132.

<sup>25</sup> Indeed, Claire Farago states that one of the guiding principles of her important edited anthology, *Reframing the Renaissance*, was to provide an art historical dimension to some of the questions raised by Bhabha and other theorists. See "Introduction: Reframing the Renaissance," 8.

<sup>26</sup> Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 23.

What is at stake here is how to reconcile the concept of agency with historical realities of colonial control. That is, how can we posit colonial Andean artists as agents without doing a disservice to the historical circumstances that framed their experience? Anthropologist Laura Ahearn defines agency as “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act.”<sup>27</sup> Ahearn’s definition can help guide us through the complexities of colonial Andean muralism produced by artist agents operating at the fluctuating interfaces of creation and negation; resistance and compliance; freedom and control; and singularity and excess of meaning. I see colonial Andean murals as hybrid works of art that brought together formerly disparate techniques, representational systems, and symbols into an innovative art form that neither pre-Hispanic Inca nor continental European muralists could have anticipated. The case studies provided in this dissertation aim to offer new models for conceptualizing cross-cultural exchange in colonial Latin American art. As Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn have argued in their article, “Hybridity and its Discontents,” scholars have tended to fetishize the surface appearance of images—their overtly visible hybridity—rather than examine the circumstances of their production. By focusing exclusively on the visible, they argue, we inevitably render invisible other aspects of the artwork that emerge out of circumstances of cultural exchange. An attention to materiality, techniques, and workshop structures can often reveal more to us about colonial Latin American art than a cursory glance at its appearance. Following Dean and Leibsohn’s call, the case studies offered here add a lesser-explored historical dimension to artistic hybridity. While their article laid important groundwork for further discussions of cultural exchange, I believe that their analysis lacked an acknowledgment

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<sup>27</sup> Laura M. Ahearn, “Language and Agency,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 112.

of historical change. How, for instance, can we understand hybridity as a process punctuated by specific historical and cultural concerns? Through a consideration of how murals appealed to local congregations within distinct and varied historical contexts, this study problematizes models that treat colonial Latin American visual culture as an undifferentiated corpus of hybrid art. Examining the specific sociohistorical conditions under which muralists asserted agency, to take Ahearn's terminology, allows us to better grasp the local relevance of Andean mural paintings. A corresponding attention to Andean viewing practices offers insights into issues of reception. In the following section, I discuss how culturally coded "ways of seeing" impacted the ways that local audiences interpreted murals.

### **Toward an Andean Understanding of Murals**

Mural paintings participate in a unique dialectic between their architectural setting and the viewer. Mural programs are experienced through one's movement within an architectural space, creating an intimate relationship between image and viewer. Murals require both a spatial reading (understanding an image through bodily movement) and a pictorial one (understanding an image's compositional and symbolic value). Scholars have touched briefly on the importance of a spatial understanding of Andean murals.<sup>28</sup> I wish to amplify the discussion, however, to better elucidate Andean mural painting as an art form intimately wedded to the architectural spaces in which they are located. Even

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<sup>28</sup> See, for instance, José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982), 246; Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1993), 37–38; and Teresa Gisbert, "La pintura mural andina," in *Catastro, evaluación y estudio de la pintura mural en el area centro sur andina*, ed. Juan Carlos Jemio Salinas (La Paz: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes, Viceministerio de Cultura: Organización de los Estados Americanos, 1998), 17.

though the murals under consideration here postdate the Spanish conquest by a century or more, I view colonial Andean murals as deeply entrenched in ways of seeing established by mural traditions of the pre-Columbian period.

My understanding of colonial Andean murals is informed by the Quechua concept of *camay*. *Camay* was understood as the vital inner substance of a given object that was not always seen but still retained its presence. In her discussion of the relationship of *camay* to pre-Columbian systems of alloying metals, Heather Lechtman states,

*Camay* refers to the domain of the material and of the concrete, to the domain of people and of the natural and cultural objects they fashion and use. Perhaps the notions of “technological essence”—of the visually apprehended aspect of an object as revealing its inner structure—are related to these fundamental Andean concepts of the divine animation of all material things.<sup>29</sup>

*Camay* thus signified the essence of an object that remained indivisible and indestructible, endowing it with a life force. In addition to metallurgy, scholars have applied this Andean concept to an array of Andean cultural phenomena, from archaeology<sup>30</sup> to architecture<sup>31</sup> to literature.<sup>32</sup> In their analysis of the seventeenth-century

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<sup>29</sup> Heather Lechtman, “Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy,” *Technology and Culture* 25, no. 1 (1984): 33.

<sup>30</sup> Tamara L. Bray, “An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of *Camaquen*: Thinking Through Late Pre-Columbian *Ofrendas* and *Huacas*,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009): 357-66.

<sup>31</sup> Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 4–5.

<sup>32</sup> While art historians and archaeologists have applied this term retroactively as a means to understand the guiding principles behind Andean cultural production, historians and literary scholars have examined actual invocations of *camay* in indigenous literature of the seventeenth century. See Gerald Taylor, “Camay, camac, et camasca dans le manuscrit quechua de Huarochiri,” *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* 63 (1976): 231–43; and Regina Harrison, “Modes of Discourse: The Relación De Antigüedades Deste Reino Del Pirú by Joan Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua,” in *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Colonial Period*, ed. Rolena Adorno (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1982), 65–191. For a more recent study, see Frank Salomon, “How the Huacas Were: The Language of Substance and Transformation in the Huarochirí Quechua Manuscript,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 33 (1998): 7–17.

Huarochirí Manuscript, anthropologists Frank Salomon and Jorge Urioste translate *camay* as “to charge,” “to make,” “to give form and force,” or “to animate,” depending on the context in which it is used.<sup>33</sup> Art historian Rebecca Stone argues that throughout the pre-Columbian period, Andean artists created objects and images that were heavily process-oriented, even if the complexity of the process was not always revealed in the external appearance of the work of art. Echoing Lechtman’s reflections on Andean metallurgy, Stone states,

The concept that ties together all these tenets of worldview is that of ‘essence over appearance.’ Andean art favored the symbolic reality, the inner core, over outward appearance. This guided metallurgists to allow precious alloys to gild themselves, sculptors to emphasize interiors, and weavers to explore illegibility but stay true to their subject. Essence explains how the Nasca Lines are too large to be seen; it is not necessarily important that an image be visible for its essence to be conveyed.<sup>34</sup>

In fact, the nature of Andean visual and material production matched the title bestowed on Inca image-makers. As anthropologist Catherine J. Allen notes, the Inca term for master artist or artisan, *camayoc*, roughly translates to “possession creation” or “creation holder.”<sup>35</sup> The artist was therefore granted the privileged position of breathing life into material goods through the act of creation.

The notion of an indivisible essence found in Andean objects and structures pervades Spanish accounts during the reconstruction of the former Inca capital of Cuzco into a Spanish settlement. The *haucaypata*, or the main plaza of Cuzco under the Incas, was originally filled with sands brought all the way from the coast as a means of

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<sup>33</sup> Frank Salomon and Jorge Urioste, eds., *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 45.

<sup>34</sup> Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes from Chavín to Inca*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 16.

<sup>35</sup> Catherine J. Allen, “When Utensils Revolt: Mind, Matter, and Modes of Being in the Pre-Columbian Andes,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 33 (1998): 21.

harmonizing the geographical reaches of the vast Inca empire. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century chronicler Juan Polo de Ondegardo noticed that indigenous Andeans continued to worship the sands left in the newly configured Spanish *plaza de armas*. Given the substantial costs that a full removal of the sands would have incurred, he ordered for the sands to be used as mortar for laying the foundation of the Cuzco Cathedral.<sup>36</sup> Tom Cummins notes that Polo's reassignment of the sands from sacred substance to building material exhibited a misunderstanding of Andean ritual belief.<sup>37</sup> A substance could undergo any number of permutations and reconfigurations without losing its power or life force. As the following accounts will reveal, Spanish religious officials began to recognize the difficulty of eradicating Andean ritual through traditional methods of iconoclasm and idol destruction.

The Jesuit Pablo José de Arriaga recounts the story of friar Francisco, who undertook a diligent campaign to destroy Andean *huacas*, or sacred shrines, in 1575:

The other day we went to the seat of Hunoyan, which is over a league and a half away. A few stone structures were half ruined, like the buildings of Cuzco. This is where Fray Francisco had removed two famous *huacas*, and they [the Indians] were scared for having sacrificed men and children, because they said that they [the *huacas*] fed off of human flesh. But after Fray Francisco left, the Indians gathered the pieces of the *huacas*, and brought them back to the exact same place where they had been taken.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Juan Polo de Ondegardo, *El mundo de los Incas*, ed. Laura González Pujana and Alicia Alonso (Madrid: Historia 16, 1990), 98.

<sup>37</sup> Tom Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 160–61.

<sup>38</sup> "Otro día fuimos al asiento de Hunoyan, que está más de legua y media. Estaban aunque medio arruinados unos aposentos de piedra de encaje, como los edificios de Cuzco, de adonde había sacado el dicho Fray Francisco, dos famosas Huacas, y tan temidas, que les sacrificaban muchachos, y niños, porque dicen que se sustentaban de carne humana. Pero los Indios después que pasó Fray Francisco, recogieron los pedazos de las Huacas, y las volvieron al mismo puesto de donde se sacaron ahora." Pablo José de Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria del piru* (Lima: Geronimo de Contreras, 1621), 65–66.

Because of the difficulty that Spanish authorities faced in effectively destroying elements of what they considered Andean idolatry, they devised more aggressive systems of evangelization. The Spaniards faced a daunting task because of the seemingly endless litany of things that could be defined as *huacas*. A *huaca* could be a man-made object, a hill, or a stream; it could be as evanescent as a flash of lightning or as permanent as a mountain or mummified corpse.<sup>39</sup> Spaniards eliminated Andean *huacas* through the most destructive means possible that produced the least amount of material residue: burning. The Jesuit Francisco de Avila recounts one particular event that took place in the *plaza de armas* of Lima on July 28, 1646, in which over one thousand *huacas* and *malquis* (mummified ancestors) were publicly burned.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, Arriaga asserts in his treatise that priests should burn whatever idols they can, and those that could not be burned should be cut up into pieces.<sup>41</sup> By dissolving ritual objects into thin air, Andeans would be unable to utilize any remaining vestige of the object to salvage its *camay* for future devotion.

In tandem with these aggressive acts of extirpation, Spanish religious officials called for a thorough spiritual conquest of the heart and soul. Faced with the impossibility of burning every single *huaca*, and recognizing the obvious fact that

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<sup>39</sup> For a thorough discussion of *huacas* within the context of Inca pilgrimage, imperial landscapes, and social organization, see chapters three and four of Brian S. Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 23–48.

<sup>40</sup> “...vino a esta ciudad trayendo mas de mil Idolos, con sus ornamentos. Dió cuenta de todo a los Señores Arçobispo Loboguerrero, y virrey Marques de Montes Claros, que cumplidamente se enteraron, y satisfizieron de la miseria, y mal estado de los Indios, y mandaron, que en la plaça desta ciudad entre Palacio, y Cabildo se leuantasse vn terrepleno, y aparte vn tablado con passadiso, y que en el tablado asistiese el dicho Doctor acompañado de los Alcaldes, Corregidor de Naturales, Cabildo, y Regimiento, y que se conuocasse todos los Indios, de quarto leguas alrededor, y en el terrepleno donde se pusieron los Idolos se quemassen...” Francisco de Avila, *Tratado de los euangelios*, vol. 1 (Lima: Pedro de Cabrera, 1648), n.p.

<sup>41</sup> Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria*, 9.

elemental forces of nature could not be destroyed, Catholic priests promulgated a more intangible process of persuasive evangelization. The Jesuit Pedro de Villagómez states:

All of the above stated things are huacas, which they worship as if they were God, and since they can't be distanced from their eyes, because they are fixed, and immobile, they must be removed from their heart, and [they must] be taught the truth, and made to see the lies for what they are; and it is also necessary to teach them very forcefully the origins of springs, and of rivers, and how lightning comes from the clouds, and how water freezes, and other natural things...<sup>42</sup>

If the Spaniards could not remove these immobile *huacas* from the view and experience of Andeans, then their unclean associations with them would need to be removed from their inner substance: their *camay*. It should thus come as no surprise that in the early colonial period, Spanish priests often translated *alma*, the Spanish word for soul, into *camac* or *camay* for Quechua-speaking parishioners.<sup>43</sup>

My understanding of the interpretive process of “reading” murals in the colonial period benefits tremendously from the notion of *camay*, both for its applicability to Andean visual production as well as its use within colonial Christian contexts. In the “spiritual conquest” of the Andes, priests sought to penetrate the souls of indigenous peoples with forceful sermons, performative acts of iconoclasm, and persuasive visual imagery. Unlike a painting on canvas that contained an illusionistic image superimposed onto a three-dimensional object, mural paintings were “locked” into the wall itself. In

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<sup>42</sup> “Todas las cosas sobredichas son huacas, que adoran como a Dios, y ya que no se les pueden quitar delante de los ojos, porque son fixas, e imouibles, se a de procurar quitarselas del coraçon, enseñandoles la verdad, y desengañandoles de la mentira; y assi es necessario enseñarles muy de proposito las causas de las Fuentes, y de los rios, como se fraguan los rayos en las nuues, y se congelan las aguas, y otras cosas naturales...” Pedro de Villagómez, *Carta pastoral de exortacion e instruccion contra las idolatrias de los indios del arcobispado de Lima* (Lima: Jorge Lopez de Herrera, 1649), 39.

<sup>43</sup> Gabriela Ramos, *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532-1670* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 72. For instance, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás translates the Spanish *ánima* as *camay*, *camaquenc*, or *songo* in his 1560 dictionary. See Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Lexicon o vocabulario de la lengua general del Peru*, ed. Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1951), 40, 246.

other words, like the sands of the Cuzco Cathedral, murals were literally built *into* rather than on top of the architectural structure. They were permanent, immovable, and inextricably linked to the sacred space that they occupied. Although colonial mural paintings bear little resemblance to their Inca forebears, their structural properties as images built into walls remained the same. Moreover, the majority of the pigments used in the creation of colonial murals derived from *tierras de colores*, or colored clays mixed with water and binding agents to produce natural pigments.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the actual substance for adorning the walls of local churches derived from the local environment, endowing the image with the same kind of material essence captured in a *huaca*. Moreover, a great number of colonial churches were built upon the foundations of pre-Hispanic structures. The Coricancha, which rests under the church of Santo Domingo, perhaps serves as the most emblematic example of this practice. In many cases, archaeologists have been unable to determine whether the Inca substructures of colonial churches are the remains of temples, elite residences, or administrative buildings. Nevertheless, the mere presence of Inca stone foundations alludes to Inca notions of sacredness and power.

When we consider the objectives of local Spanish priests to bring Christian doctrine into the souls, or *camay*, of Andean subjects, the utility of mural paintings as images that encode these very properties of essence becomes clear. There exists a direct correspondence, then, between the aims of the priests and the medium of the image. The visual and material alchemy of murals produced an indivisibility between the wall and the image. Though one cannot actually see these points of adhesion between adobe and paint, they were nevertheless present and understood by the viewer to be buried in the act of creation. But the act of cultural and linguistic translation—trying to establish

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<sup>44</sup> A more thorough discussion of mural pigments and techniques can be found in Chapter 1.

commensurability between a Spanish *alma* and an Andean *camay*—is bound to produce some messiness. Murals likewise participated in the murky arena of propagating Christian concepts through an Andean vehicle of expression whose conceptual frameworks were not always compatible with the messages they were intended to transmit. My dissertation is dedicated to navigating these disjunctures between message and medium. Grounding this study in the pre-Columbian period enables us to more fully grasp the embeddedness of murals in the Andean context and consciousness. While I do not posit a direct trajectory between pre-Columbian and colonial mural painting, I believe that pre-Columbian traditions offer an essential point of departure for interpreting later colonial manifestations.<sup>45</sup> The next section offers a historiography of colonial Andean murals in order to place this dissertation within a broader scholarly context as well as to point out the gaps in the literature that it aims to fill.

### **Historiography of Colonial Andean Mural Painting**

Scholars have produced surprisingly little published research on the rich tradition of mural painting in colonial Peru. Among the earliest art historians to bring murals into a broader discussion of colonial Latin American art were Pál Kelemen in his survey on colonial Latin American art, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (1951) and George Kubler and Martin Soria's seminal publication, *Art and Architecture of Spain and*

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<sup>45</sup> Jeffrey Quilter provides a very compelling response to Kubler's seminal 1961 essay, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art," in which he argues for a sensitive exploration of both continuities of style and form as well as disjunctions, both within the Pre-Columbian period and across the colonial divide. His discussion of the relative universality of the Moche "Revolt of the Objects" theme across the ancient Americas and its survival through the colonial period provides an interesting case study in the potential for drawing out "the short and the long threads of history, the unique from the general, the long-standing" (314). See "Continuity and Disjunction in Pre-Columbian Art and Culture," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 29/30 (1996): 303–17.

*Portugal and their American Dominions* (1959) on the arts of Spain and Spanish America. Even if their discussions on the subject are relatively limited, these publications have been instrumental in legitimizing colonial Latin American art as a field of study in its own right, thus paving the way for more focused research.

The groundbreaking work carried out by Bolivian art historians José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert in their *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, first published in 1962 with an expanded second edition published two decades later, was the first to venture serious iconographic and stylistic analysis of mural paintings in Andean Peru and Bolivia.<sup>46</sup> Diverging from their scholarly predecessors of the early twentieth century, they group murals into a separate category from paintings on canvas while still acknowledging the interconnections between the two art forms. To supplement the substantial foundations laid by Mesa and Gisbert, I pursue more extensive analysis of the murals under consideration in an effort to flesh out their cursory formal descriptions as well as to connect the works to social and political conditions surrounding their production.

Building from the initial advances made by Mesa and Gisbert, the renowned Peruvian social historian Pablo Macera published a series of articles between 1974 and 1975 on the work of muralist Tadeo Escalante (the subject of Chapters 4 and 5). He also published an article entitled “El arte mural cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX,” which offered the first critical overview of Andean mural painting.<sup>47</sup> His more comprehensive work, *La*

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<sup>46</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982).

<sup>47</sup> See “Los murales de Acomayo,” *El Diario la Prensa*, December 20, 1974, sec. Siete días del Perú y del mundo, n.p.; “Otro mural de Tadeo Escalante: La Creación del Mundo,” *La Prensa*, January 1975, sec. Siete días del Perú y del mundo, n.p.; “Otro mural de Tadeo Escalante: La Pobreza,” *La Prensa*, November 1975, sec. Siete días del Perú y del mundo, n.p.; and “El arte mural cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX,” *Apuntes* 2 (1975): 59–113.

*pintura mural andina siglos XVI-XIX*, published in 1993, provides an introductory essay and photographic documentation of over a dozen colonial-period murals located in and around the Cuzco region.<sup>48</sup> The text repeats almost verbatim the arguments put forth in his 1975 overview, but the photographs included offered some of the earliest color reproductions of murals. He was the first to interpret colonial Andean murals through a critical lens, seeing them as the result of a complex process of visual mediation between indigenous and European aesthetic systems. Macera sees colonial Andean art, and particularly murals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as responses to local realities, whose distance from the metropole played a negligible role in defining its character.<sup>49</sup> While Macera offers compelling interpretations of colonial Andean murals, they tend to exhibit a disengagement from the actual images themselves, since his interpretations often lack adequate visual evidence to sustain his claims.

In 1993, the same year as the publication of Macera's book, Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo published *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, an extensive survey of Peruvian mural paintings from the pre-Columbian era to the twentieth century.<sup>50</sup> The abundantly illustrated text is organized thematically, associating murals with a diverse array of subjects, from the iconography of evangelization to the depiction of Marian themes. This work and Macera's stand as the first and last scholarly publications to present colonial Andean mural painting as a cohesive artistic genre rather than as epiphenomena of free-standing paintings. They are

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<sup>48</sup> Pablo Macera, *La pintura mural andina, siglos XVI-XIX* (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1993).

<sup>49</sup> Macera, "El arte mural cuzqueño," 94–95.

<sup>50</sup> Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*.

also the only publications that survey colonial murals of the Cuzco region as part of a cohesive and interconnected artistic tradition.<sup>51</sup> While granting exposure to the richness and diversity of mural painting traditions in the colonial Andes, their broad scope limits in-depth analysis of any single mural program or of interrelationships between contemporaneous murals executed at different churches.

Other recent publications problematically place murals within an uninterrupted continuum of colonial Andean painting. For instance, Ramón Mujica Pinilla's important two-volume anthology, *El barroco peruano*, groups together all types of paintings, murals and otherwise, into a cohesive tradition of Andean Baroque artistic expression across three centuries.<sup>52</sup> While significant in its own right for its advancement of critical scholarship on colonial Andean art, little effort is made to differentiate mural painting as a related but largely separate artistic tradition with a distinct audience and unique set of visual conventions.

Museum catalogues constitute some of the most important publications on colonial Latin American art with essays by renowned scholars in the field. These include the Brooklyn Museum's *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (1994), Madrid's Centro Cultural de la Villa exhibit *Iberoamérica Mestiza* (2003), the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-*

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<sup>51</sup> Other publications take a broader approach. For instance, Rodolfo Vallín Magaña's survey of Colombian murals (originally part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada) includes a discussion of Cuzqueñan murals as components of a larger pan-Andean artistic tradition. His approach is valuable for its ability to draw sweeping comparisons between murals throughout Andean South America, although as mentioned above, surveys inevitably must sacrifice specificity for the sake of scope. See Rodolfo Vallín Magaña, *Imágenes bajo cal & pañete: pintura mural de la colonia en Colombia* (Bogotá: Museo de Arte Moderno de Bogotá, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> Ramón Mujica Pinilla et al., *El barroco peruano*, 2 vols. (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003).

1830 (2004), the Philadelphia Museum of Art's *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820* (2006), Madrid's Museo del Prado's blockbuster show, *Pintura de los reinos. Identidades compartidas en el mundo hispánico* (2010), and the recent LACMA exhibition, *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (2011).<sup>53</sup> Given their emphasis on portable objects located in museums and private collections, these seemingly encyclopedic catalogues omit an entire genre of colonial Latin American visual art. Survey texts on colonial Andean architecture, where one might expect to find discussion of mural painting, also tend to omit mural paintings in favor of a discussion of building materials, floorplans, and architectonic features.<sup>54</sup> With the exception of the two 1993 survey books from Peru mentioned above, colonial Andean murals have fallen through the cracks of art-historical discourse. This dissertation hopes to reclaim murals as a vital component of Andean art, culture, and history. By focusing on a smaller sample of murals, it will build on the existing literature to offer more context-specific interpretations that will enrich our understanding of this underexplored art form.

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<sup>53</sup> Diana Fane, ed., *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996); Víctor Mínguez, ed., *Iberoamérica mestiza: encuentro de pueblos y culturas* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural, 2003); Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín, eds., *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004); Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, eds., *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006); Jonathan Brown, ed., *Pintura de los reinos: identidades compartidas. Territorios del mundo hispánico, siglos XVI-XVIII* (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2010); Ilona Katzew, ed., *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>54</sup> For instance, Harold E. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1949); Ramón Gutiérrez, *Arquitectura y urbanismo en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1983); and Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Arquitectura andina, 1530-1830* (La Paz: Embajada de España en Bolivia, 1997).

## Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 1, “Overview of Mural Painting in the Andes from the Pre-Columbian to Colonial Period,” surveys the evolution of mural painting in the Andes, from the earliest archaeologically documented pre-Columbian remains (ca. 2000 BC) to the early nineteenth century. Drawing from secondary art historical and anthropological literature, archaeological remains of Inca ceramic architectural models, and colonial descriptions of Inca murals, it tracks the broad stylistic and iconographical transformations that murals underwent during this extended period. It also provides the first discussion to date of the dissemination of colonial mural traditions from sixteenth-century Lima into the highland region of Cuzco. A section dedicated to techniques offers insights into the encounter between Italian émigré painters and local artists in the creation of new mural painting practices. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how murals were described by contemporaries in colonial inventories and account books.

Chapter 2, “Spanish Theatrics and Idolatrous Indians in the Mural Paintings at the Church of Andahuaylillas,” focuses on the church’s entrance wall mural featuring the wide and narrow roads to Heaven and Hell. It offers new interpretations of the mural based on consultation of seventeenth-century religious manuals for priests, the Netherlandish print on which it is based, and a Spanish *auto sacramental* (one-act allegorical Corpus Christi play). A close examination of the life and writings of Juan Pérez Bocanegra, the parish priest installed at Andahuaylillas at the time in which the murals were executed, allows a closer association between the entrance wall mural and the contemporary concerns of the local clergy. This interdisciplinary exploration reveals

the symbolic complexity of colonial Andean murals and their potential to communicate different messages depending on the viewer's subject position and cultural vocabulary.

Chapter 3, "The Transfigured Savior: The Transformation of Christ Murals from Urcos to Pitumarca, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries" explores the processes of imitation, transfer, and innovation in representations of Christ across space and time at three Andean churches. The baptistery of the church of Andahuaylillas contains a painting on canvas by Luis de Riaño from 1626. At the church of Urcos, the indigenous muralist Diego Cusi Guaman likely drew from both Riaño's image as well as a Netherlandish print of the same subject based on Mateo Pérez de Alesio's mural at the Grand Master's Palace in Malta for his work. An anonymous mural of the same subject was painted in the baptistery of the church of Pitumarca in the eighteenth century, but diverged significantly from its seventeenth-century models. Through an analysis of the Pitumarca murals, this chapter explores how eighteenth-century muralists employed strategies of abstraction and flatness as an act of cultural self-determination. This return to the visual language of the Inca empire during a time of increased social unrest speaks to the innovative ways that murals responded to the social climate of their time. This chapter also considers the implications of rendering Christ's baptism within an Andean landscape as an attempt to localize the settings for important biblical events.

Chapter 4, "Earthly Violence/Divine Justice: Murals of the Great Rebellion in the church of Huaró," focuses on depictions of political violence in a late colonial mural by the artist Tadeo Escalante. The church features highly allegorized images of the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion (1780-1781), an anticolonial uprising that fought for the reinstatement of Inca rule. It examines how Escalante employed strategies of allegorical

depiction and multivalent iconography as a means of addressing trenchant political issues. The contemporaneous social climate of censorship and repression required artists to devise new ways to depict political violence through the re-purposing of religious iconography to convey new meanings.

Chapter 5, “Tadeo Escalante and the Murals of Acomayo,” examines Escalante’s late career in his hometown of Acomayo, looking specifically at his murals adorning the interiors of three mills. I consider their symbolic value as a unified narrative that attempts to resituate Christian, Inca, and colonial histories in a shared Andeanized space. This chapter also brings to light the artistic freedom afforded by private, non-ecclesiastical commissions.

Through these case studies, the dissertation highlights mural painting as a flexible medium for articulating active visual responses to religious and cultural ideologies imposed on colonial Andean societies. It interrogates Spanish colonial policies from a “bottom up” approach through a consideration of how artists modified Christian iconography for local purposes, and in turn, how indigenous communities received and interpreted these modifications. It posits murals as visual “documents” that transformed standard European religious iconography into nuanced expressions of highland Andean society and history. Murals possessed the tremendous capacity to operate on multiple registers of meaning, which viewers accessed based on the varying epistemological frameworks within which they operated. This dissertation offers original research and new interpretations of select mural programs that will lay the foundation for further studies of this overlooked genre of colonial Andean visual culture.

## CHAPTER 1

### OVERVIEW OF MURAL PAINTING IN THE ANDES FROM THE PRE-COLUMBIAN TO COLONIAL PERIOD

#### Definition and Origins of Mural Painting in the Andes

Mural painting in the pre-Columbian Andes has been defined in a variety of ways. Some scholars include rock painting when tracing its historical lineage, which would push back the artistic tradition to at least 8,000 BC.<sup>1</sup> Others, such as Duccio Bonavia, a leading scholar on pre-conquest murals of Peru, define mural painting more specifically as “the decoration applied to building walls using several specific and specialized techniques.”<sup>2</sup> Following Bonavia’s lead, in this dissertation I reserve mural painting as the application of painted imagery and ornamentation to a treated wall surface. I would thus place rock painting and wall paintings devoid of decoration outside the scope of this study. The earliest surviving mural paintings in pre-Columbian Peru can be found on the north coast, where the extremely dry desert climate provides ideal preservation conditions. Murals excavated at the site of Ventarrón on the north coast of Peru have

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<sup>1</sup> Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1993), 25–27; see also David S. Whitley, *Handbook of Rock Art Research* (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 707–59.

<sup>2</sup> A significant portion of this chapter draws from the work of archaeologist Duccio Bonavia, whose important book, *Ricchata quellccani: pinturas murales prehispánicas* (1974), was the first to document and analyze extant pre-Columbian mural programs in Peru. I rely here on the 1985 English edition of his original book, translated by Patricia J. Lyon. Not merely a translation, Bonavia’s later work also offers an expanded and updated version of *Ricchata Quellccani*, making it a more accurate and reliable source. See Duccio Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, trans. Patricia J. Lyon (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 6.

pushed back the date for the earliest wall paintings to 2000 BC.<sup>3</sup> Thus began a rich and variegated Andean mural tradition that would endure for the next four centuries.

As stated in the introduction, I do not propose any direct correlations between pre-Columbian and colonial murals, but I do believe that an understanding of pre-Hispanic murals can offer cues to the visual, material, and sensory worlds within which pre-conquest Andean people and artists operated. This brief survey seeks to piece together the visual language of Inca murals as testimonies of imperial presence and power. Attention to the ideological aspects of Inca murals will help set the stage for understanding how colonial period murals would be visually and conceptually processed by Andean viewers. Since few Inca murals survive archaeologically, I supplement my discussion with ethnohistorical references to Inca and early colonial murals described by both Spanish and Andean authors. In so doing, I wish to call attention to the evolution of mural painting in the colonial Andes as the result of a negotiation between both Andean and European traditions, a point only briefly touched on by previous authors.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Kelly Hearn, "Oldest Temple, Mural in the Americas Found in Peru", November 12, 2007, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2007/11/071112-peru-temple.html> (accessed February 9, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Andean specialists working in recent decades have tended to remain in separate camps divided by the pre-Columbian and colonial eras. This was not always the case. Some of the pioneering father (and mother) figures of the field published extensively in both pre-Columbian and post-conquest topics, such as John Murra, John Howland Rowe, Teresa Gisbert, and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco. Although some Andeanists do publish on subjects that cross the pre-Columbian/colonial "chasm" (in particular, the work of R. Alan Covey, Jorge Flores Ochoa, Adam Herring, and Stella Nair), we do not see this reflected in the literature on Andean mural painting, or Andean painting in general. This division is partly attributed to the structure of university departments. Some US institutions require Latin Americanists to acquire training in the pre-Columbian, colonial, and modern eras, whereas others only emphasize the colonial and modern period. In Mexico, art historians focusing on colonial and modern Latin American art belong to the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas of UNAM whereas pre-Columbian art historians work in the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. In Peru, similar divisions occur in which art historians focus on the colonial period and later while archaeologists are trained in pre-Columbian art and architecture. As scholarship becomes increasingly specialized, we find less attention paid to long-term transformations or comparative studies in pre-Columbian and colonial artistic phenomena. This dissertation, in its own small contribution, seeks to fill in this lacuna.

The next section of this chapter offers an overview of materials, techniques, and models in both pre-Columbian and colonial Andean mural painting. It offers new perspectives on the role of muralists within a wider context of artistic production in colonial Cuzco. Following that is a discussion of how archival sources such as inventories, account books, and artists' contracts can augment our understanding of colonial murals. The chapter concludes with a survey of mural painting in the colonial Andes from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, using representative examples gleaned from Lima and the Cuzco region to illustrate transitions in style and content. This will provide a broader artistic lineage within which to place the case studies provided in this dissertation. While a number of works have treated these issues in separate studies of Andean murals, conservation reports, and artists' biographies, this dissertation is the first to bring them into dialogue for a more comprehensive understanding of the evolution of Andean mural painting from the pre-Columbian to the colonial period.

### **Pre-Columbian Murals: Archaeological Evidence**

A wealth of archaeological sites boast remains of exquisite polychrome murals adorning temples and elite residences. The dry north coast of Peru contains the greatest concentration of surviving murals due to favorable preservation conditions. The so-called "oldest mural of the Americas" is located at the site of Ventarrón in the Reque river valley of Lambayeque, dating to around 2000 BC. It is part of a triumvirate of archaeological zones situated within five kilometers of one another, including the sites of Collúd and Zarpán. The mural that has bestowed international fame on the site is located in the Templo de los Venados, or the Temple of the Deer (fig. 1.2). The mural depicts

two deer caught in a webbed trap. The figures are rendered with heavy black outlines and upturned tails with flexed hind legs and front legs raised, as if attempting to flee. Perhaps the mural's most remarkable aspect is the almost psychedelic color palette, consisting of bright yellows, blues, pink, and red hues to create a type of rainbow effect streaming through the holes of the crisscrossed web. The archaeological findings at Ventarrón remain regrettably under-published.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the mural offers visual evidence of the continuity in style and iconography between the earliest north coast civilizations and their later Moche successors.

The most impressive pre-Columbian murals of the Moche culture (AD 100-800) can be found at the temples of Pañamarca, Huaca de la Luna, Huaca Cao Viejo, Huaca El Brujo, and others.<sup>6</sup> Moche murals tended to resemble the narrative pictorial traditions found in fine-line ceramics, offering large-scale representations of religious ceremonies, ritual sacrifice, and lively mythological scenes (fig. 1.3). Murals typically consisted of polychromed reliefs that stretched across the walls of temples. North coast societies dominated by the Chimú empire (AD 1000-1470) began to produce more geometric, patterned wall decorations that would anticipate the abstracted mural programs of the Incas. The painted reliefs of birds, plants, and fish at the Chimú capital of Chan Chan

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<sup>5</sup> The only major scholarly publication on the site to date is Ignacio Alva Meneses, "Los complejos de Cerro Ventarrón y Collud-Zarpán del Precerámico al Formativo en el valle de Lambayeque," *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, no. 12 (2004): 97-118.

<sup>6</sup> For a nuanced discussion of the intersections between murals, religion, and power in the Moche world, see Margaret A. Jackson, *Moche Art and Visual Culture in Ancient Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 19-36. For more extensive discussions of specific Moche murals, see Duccio Bonavia, "A Mochica Painting at Pañamarca, Peru," *American Antiquity* 26, no. 4 (1961): 540-43; Christopher B. Donnan, "Moche-Huari Murals from Northern Peru," *Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1972): 85-95; Izumi Shimada, *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); and Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 47-64.

were originally decorated with paint (fig. 1.4).<sup>7</sup> The late-nineteenth-century North American traveler Ephraim George Squier mentions that the walls of Chan Chan retained traces of color.<sup>8</sup> Following the Inca conquest of the Chimú in 1470, Chimú artisans were brought to the Inca capital of Cuzco to produce wares for the new imperial state.<sup>9</sup> We can thus imagine that painters may have also been transported to the highland capital.

Mural painting traditions continued under the Inca empire (ca. 1438-1532) centered in the Andean highlands, but little archaeological evidence exists of mural paintings adorning Inca structures. Two factors account for this lack of evidence. First, preservation conditions in the highlands are not ideal for murals, given the heavy rains that occur from October to March of each year. Moreover, given that the roofs of Inca buildings were made of perishable materials such as straw and thatch that rarely survive into the modern era, interior murals would not have been protected from the elemental forces of rain, wind, and frost. Second, the majority of Inca imperial structures were constructed of ashlar masonry that was occasionally adorned with precious stones and metals, but not typically covered with painted decorations. Nevertheless, some highland Inca palaces and temples were decorated with polychrome murals.<sup>10</sup> Coastal Inca sites, most of which were constructed from adobe, also retain vestiges of mural paintings.

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<sup>7</sup> Roberto Samanez Argumedo, "Mural Painting on Adobe Walls During Peruvian Colonial Times - Its Restoration and Conservation," in *Case Studies in the Conservation of Stone and Wall Paintings: Preprints of the Contributions to the Bologna Congress, 21-26 September 1986*, ed. N. S. Brommelle and Perry Smith (London: The International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1986), 75.

<sup>8</sup> Ephraim George Squier, *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877), 154.

<sup>9</sup> Laura Laurencich Minelli, Cecilia Bákula, and Mireille Vautier, *The Inca World: The Development of Pre-Columbian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*, trans. Andrew Ellis, James Bishop, and Mercurio Ciampi (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 118.

<sup>10</sup> See Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 29–34.

Below, I discuss key Inca-period murals, notable either for their present significance as archaeological remains or for their reference within nineteenth-century travel and archaeological texts.

### *Huaca la Centinela*

Located in the Chincha Valley in the south coast of Peru, Huaca la Centinela was first constructed around 1100-1350, with subsequent modifications made in the 1470s under the Incas, who conquered the site. The site served as an Inca administrative center in the south coast and featured extensive murals in its southern sector (fig. 1.5).

Although much of the original mural program has since deteriorated, early-twentieth-century accounts provide a clearer picture of its original character. Max Uhle, an important early figure in Peruvian archaeology, describes it as follows in his 1924 publication:

Its southern part is elevated and shows wall painting on three sides. The painting, which is of pure Incaic character in every sense, forms a strip continued from the first wall, over the second, to the third, and is similar to the designs frequently met with on Inca vessels of the amphora or aryballos type. The colors are red, black and green (the latter nearly faded away) on white. The pattern consists of rhomboid figures cut in triangles as well as the spaces left between them. Each triangle of a pair shows the same color, either red or green, while the confining triangles are of opposite color. Within each triangle a maeander-like hook is spaced out in white, in such a way that the hooks of the confining triangles are turned in opposite directions.<sup>11</sup>

The murals of Huaca la Centinela blend coastal step fret motifs with highland Inca styles of repeating rhomboid and triangular patterns. Scholars have explored the role of abstraction and geometricism as an Inca imperial strategy manifested in portable goods,

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<sup>11</sup> Max Uhle, "Explorations at Chincha," *University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology* 21, no. 2 (1924), 77-78, quoted in Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 155. See also Dorothy Menzel, "The Inca Occupation of the South Coast of Peru," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (1959): 130.

such as *keros* (wooden ritual drinking vessels), *aquillas* (drinking vessels crafted of gold or silver),<sup>12</sup> and textiles.<sup>13</sup> As we can see from the description of Huaca la Centinela, Inca murals utilized similar strategies. Administrative buildings, which were emblematic of Inca imperial dominance and control over regions spread across a far-flung empire, may have contained murals like the ones at Huaca la Centinela that de-emphasized the cult of the ruler. The imperial geometric style developed by the Incas became almost a form of “branding”—such designs attained legibility across the entire expanse of the 3,000-mile-long empire as signifiers of the new political order without the use of figural representation. The abstract forms adorning the walls of the building complex would have evoked an Inca presence to the local coastal population without recourse to more conventional strategies of imperial rule. Similar features can be found at the nearby site of Tambo Colorado.

### *Tambo Colorado*

Tambo Colorado, also known as Pucallacta or Pucahuasi, is a southern coastal Inca site located in the Pisco valley and dating to the early fifteenth century. It served as an important coastal administrative center, likely constructed under the reign of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (1438-1471) during the Inca conquest of the coast around 1465-1470.

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<sup>12</sup> For instance, see Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Qeros, arte Inka en vasos ceremoniales* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1998); and Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> See John Howland Rowe, “Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics,” in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference, May 19th and 20th, 1973*, ed. Ann Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer (Washington, DC: The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), 239-64; and Rebecca R. Stone, “‘And All Theirs Different from His’: The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Tunic in Context,” in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 18 and 19 October 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), 385-422.

The site exhibits a hybridization of coastal and highland architectural features. Trapezoidal windows and double-jamb doorways bestow the site with an Inca architectural signature, while the adobe construction conforms to preexisting coastal traditions. At the beginning of the twentieth century every structure of the site contained vestiges of mural paintings, as Max Uhle noted during his 1901 expedition.<sup>14</sup> Today, the most well-preserved murals can be found in the Northern Palace, where the wall decorations consist of horizontal bands of yellow, red, and white (fig. 1.6). María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco has postulated that the different colors represent different strata of Inca society based on a myth recorded by the Augustinian monk and scholar Antonio de la Calancha: the yellow representing elite men, white representing elite females, and red signifying commoners.<sup>15</sup> While it is difficult to verify the applicability of Calancha's recorded myth to the context presented at Tambo Colorado, we can certainly deduce from other colonial sources that color symbolism occupied an important place in Inca belief systems.<sup>16</sup> Tambo Colorado provides an exceptional example of coastal mural traditions under the Incas, giving a sense of the design and color scheme that contemporaneous murals may have possessed. With Huaca la Centinela, it becomes

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<sup>14</sup> Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 153.

<sup>15</sup> Antonio de la Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru, con sucesos egenplares en esta monarquia* (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1639), 371-72. See also The Tambo Colorado Archive, <http://www.tambocolorado.com/archive/exhibits/colors/colors> (accessed December 22, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> The seventeenth-century Jesuit priest Pedro de Villagómez, for instance, lists different types of *polvos*, or colored dusts, that were blown into the air at sites of ritual sacrifice: *binzo*, a fine blue powder; *paria*, a vermilion-colored powder that comes from the mines of Huancavelica; and *llacsa*, a green-colored powder. See Pedro de Villagómez, *Carta pastoral de exortacion e instruccion contra las idolatrias de los indios del arcobispado de Lima* (Lima: Jorge Lopez de Herrera, 1649), 45v. Gabriela Siracusano has compiled a list of similar references in the seventeenth-century extirpation of idolatries literature. See Gabriela Siracusano, *El poder de los colores. De lo material a lo simbólico en las prácticas culturales andinas. Siglos XVI-XVII* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica de Argentina, 2005), 304-9.

evident that geometric mural programs executed in simplified color schemes were a typical feature of coastal Inca administrative and palace architecture. The same colors that dominate the murals at Tambo Colorado and Huaca la Centinela—white, black, yellow, and red—also appear in imperial textiles, suggesting that a cohesive color symbolism was employed across the empire.

### *Paramonga*

Coastal Inca fortresses contained extensive murals similar to the ones found at the administrative sites of Centinela and Tambo Colorado. Paramonga is located in the Fortaleza Valley in the province of Chancay on Peru's central coast. It was built in the Late Intermediate period (AD 1200-1400) when the region was under the control of the Chimú empire of the north coast, and later modified under the Inca occupation.<sup>17</sup> Scholars remain divided on the original function of Paramonga; original Spanish accounts describe it as a fortress, but Bonavia, following the suggestion of Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello, sees it as a temple.<sup>18</sup> Although the murals are badly deteriorated today, descriptions from early Spanish chroniclers Pedro Cieza de León and Miguel de Estete enhance our understanding of their original form. Cieza de León reports: "The rooms and halls were very fine and have painted on the walls many wild animals and birds, everything enclosed by strong walls and well fashioned."<sup>19</sup> According

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<sup>17</sup> Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 172.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

to Bonavia, it was among the first major pre-Columbian monuments the Spanish invaders witnessed and referenced during their initial incursions in coastal South America.<sup>20</sup>

The Paramonga mural featured simple geometric patterning executed with contrasting colors (fig. 1.7). The high walls of the site were covered in a checkerboard pattern of red and white and red and yellow. Although now deteriorated, the nineteenth-century scientist-traveler Charles Wiener noted that representations of llamas with attenuated limbs separated the two checkerboard color schemes.<sup>21</sup> Based on the scant textual documentation of Paramonga, there seems to have existed a more figural mural style, but it was conceived within a larger abstracted framework of checkerboard patterning. The reasons offered by archaeologists for the category of structure are based on the design and appearance of the site. If more attention were granted to the murals in conjunction with the structure, we would be able to make more educated guesses about its original purpose. The checkerboard design closely parallels that of the traditional Inca military uniforms, which consisted of a tunic covered in black and white checkerboard squares (fig. 1.8).<sup>22</sup> This pattern also found its way into the *tocapu* (squares inscribed with geometric patterns) of royal Inca tunics. This particular design correlates with a *tocapu* containing what is known as the *collocapata* motif, observable in a number of surviving Inca tunics. Given that the finest royal Inca tunics were entirely covered in *tocapu*, the overall effect of the tunic as a checkerboard of *tocapu* mirrored the format of the military uniform itself, perhaps suggesting military strength as a metonym of imperial

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>22</sup> Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 242–43.

power. The appearance, then, of such patterning on the walls of a fortress was eminently appropriate and by no means an instance of casual ornamental design. While the royal tunic can be seen as an ephemeral index of the king's presence, visible to the public only when graced with the presence of the Inca sovereign, the checkerboard mural can be interpreted as a concrete and unmovable marker of the king's omnipresence.

### *Raqchi*

Raqchi, also known as the Temple of Viracocha, is located within the town of San Pedro de Cacha in the Vilcanota Valley of the highland Cuzco region and dates to the fifteenth century. Peruvian chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, "El Inca," claims it was commissioned by Viracocha (also Wiraqocha) Inca, the eighth Inca king,<sup>23</sup> although Pedro Cieza de León attributes it to Topa Inca Yupanqui.<sup>24</sup> The central wall of the Temple of Viracocha consists of a stone base topped with an adobe wall that towers at a height of over eighty feet, and was likely even taller in Inca times. A design consisting of red inverted triangles can still be detected on the lower portion of the central wall.<sup>25</sup> Squier also provides testimony of mural decorations at the site of Raqchi. He notes that "the fronts had two entrances, and the interior of every apartment was ornamented with niches—within some of which the fine stucco is still perfect—brilliant with the purple color with which they had been painted."<sup>26</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies also

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<sup>23</sup> Manuel Chávez Ballón, "El sitio de Raqchi en San Pedro de Cacha," *Revista Peruana de Cultura* 1 (1963): 109.

<sup>24</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, trans. Patricia J. Lyon (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 253.

<sup>25</sup> Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 174.

<sup>26</sup> Squier, *Peru: Incidents of Travel*, 411.

noted traces of mud plaster covered with red paint on the stone dividing wall,<sup>27</sup> suggesting that the entire structure may have been originally painted, not just the adobe gabled walls. Although Raqchi is one of the few documented highland sites adorned with mural painting, Susan Niles and Ann Kendall note that a number of highland Inca structures such as those found at the sites of Quispiguanca, Huch'uy Qozqo, and Callachaca contain vestiges of paint, suggesting extensive mural decorations in their heyday.<sup>28</sup>

### *The Coricancha*

The stone monuments of Cuzco, the Inca capital, may have also originally featured murals. As Niles notes, the Spanish chronicler Pedro Sancho de la Hoz commented on the brightly painted walls of the Inca capital.<sup>29</sup> More specifically, Pedro Cieza de León noted in his description of the Coricancha, “There were great quantities of jars made of gold, silver, and emeralds, vases, pots, and every kind of vessel, all of fine gold. Other walls were sculpted and painted with other larger things.”<sup>30</sup> Remains of early colonial mural painting in this religious temple offer a compelling indication of how Inca stone structures may have originally been adorned. An interior room at the Coricancha that served as a chapter house for the Dominican order during the colonial

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<sup>27</sup> Gasparini and Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 253.

<sup>28</sup> Ann Kendall, *Aspects of Inca Architecture: Description, Function, and Chronology*, vol. 1, International Series no. 242 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985), 52; Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 289-90.

<sup>29</sup> Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, 290.

<sup>30</sup> “Había muchan cantidad de tinajas de oro y de plata y esmeraldas, vasos, ollas y todo género de vasijas, todo de oro fino. Por otras paredes tenían esculpidas y pintadas otras mayores cosas. En fin, era uno de los ricos templos que hubo en el mundo.” Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1989), 177.

period contains a preserved mural from the seventeenth century consisting of Flemish or mudéjar-style strapwork (fig. 1.9). To create the mural, artists simply covered the stone wall with a thin layer of plaster onto which they applied pigments. We can imagine, as Ann Kendall and others have suggested, that the Incas may have decorated the stone walls of their buildings in much the same way, whether applied directly onto the stone or with a layer of stucco. The effect of such a technique is a patterned surface that still reveals the texture and shape of the stone substratum. This practice would have been a fitting aesthetic choice, given the symbolic capital the Incas attached to stone. Applying the pigment as a thin veneer of ornamentation or as a means of highlighting a special architectural feature while at the same time showcasing the virtuosic masonry techniques of the Inca stonecutters is akin to the Inca practice of juxtaposing artificially manipulated stones with naturally occurring stones at a number of sacred sites.<sup>31</sup>

Descriptions by Spanish chroniclers and evidence at sites like Raqchi suggest that a number of Inca structures were stone and adobe composites; the stone served as the foundational base, supported by adobe walls to provide added height. For instance, the Coricancha's curved stone wall originally supported an adobe wall that has since deteriorated.<sup>32</sup> Based on what we have seen from coastal traditions, we can presume that these adobe walls were not left plain, but brightly decorated with murals. It is thus important to understand Inca murals as part of a larger visual system that metaphorically echoed more well-documented aesthetic practices. Its interconnected relationship to Cesar Paternosto's evocation of the "stone and the thread," the material cornerstones of

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<sup>31</sup> See Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 3 (2007): 502-18.

<sup>32</sup> Gasparini and Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 309.

the Andean aesthetic world,<sup>33</sup> place mural painting in a privileged position at the nexus of sensory perceptions of objects and images.

### *Chullpas of the Southern Andes*

Another line of inquiry into the history of Late Horizon highland mural painting lies in the painted chullpas of the Aymara peoples of southern Peru and Bolivia. Chullpas (also known as *pucullos*) are burial vaults that contained the bodies and grave goods of the deceased. Chullpas could be circular, rectangular, or square-shaped, depending on the region, with vaulted or flat roofs. They were often located on the outskirts of town and varied in size from a small human-sized structure to a thirty-foot-tall monument.<sup>34</sup> The chullpas of the Cuzco region tend to be made of stone and contain only some vestiges of paint. The archaeological remains of chullpas in the Collasuyu<sup>35</sup> region, however, provide material documentation of a rich funerary mural tradition in the Andes. Ann Kendall has noted that the Inca conquest of the Collas (ethnic Aymaras of the Collasuyu region) resulted in the increased presence of painted adobe architecture in the Inca heartland.<sup>36</sup> Painted chullpas of the southern Andes thus merit consideration as components of an imperial Inca mural tradition.

Chullpas were frequently painted with checkerboard patterns, rhomboid shapes, triangles, or stepped diamonds, conceived as both pigments applied to a treated adobe

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<sup>33</sup> See César Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, trans. Esther Allen (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 3-13.

<sup>34</sup> Gasparini and Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 147-54.

<sup>35</sup> The Inca empire was subdivided into four quadrants that emanated from Cuzco toward the four cardinal directions: Chinchaysuyu (north), Antisuyu (east), Cuntisuyu (southwest), and Collasuyu (southeast). Collasuyu encompassed much of modern-day southern Peru and Bolivia.

<sup>36</sup> Kendall, *Aspects of Inca Architecture*, 1:49-52.

surface, or in some cases, colored adobes were adhered to the surface of the structure, as Martti Pärssinen notes.<sup>37</sup> Teresa Gisbert's fieldwork in the Carangas region of Bolivia offers exceptional insights into the chullpa tradition and their painted decorations. Carangas was conquered under the reign of Topa Inca Yupanqui, who established it as a base for subsequent conquests of the Aymara territory.<sup>38</sup> Out of a survey of sixty chullpas located near the Lauca River, thirty-six contained decorations.<sup>39</sup> The prevailing color palette, in keeping with other Late Horizon murals of the Andes, is red, black, white, and green. Gisbert convincingly argues that the checkerboard designs of the chullpas parallel the designs of the textiles with which members of Inca royalty would be entombed.<sup>40</sup> Whether the Carangas chullpas contained the remains of ethnic Incas or of local officials legitimized by the Inca state, they visually communicated notions of Inca hegemony by their exterior designs.

One of the most impressive chullpas in terms of the execution of the painted design is located at the site of Willa-Kollu, located en route to the Sacabaya lagoon. The site consists of ten funerary vaults, all of which contain vestiges of similar geometric painted decorations. One particularly well-preserved structure gives a better sense of the designs that would have been employed throughout the entire necropolis. A rectangular chullpa at Willa-Kollu features a frieze of four black diamonds surrounded by small

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<sup>37</sup> Martti Pärssinen, "Torres funerarias decoradas en Caquiaviri," *Pumapunku* 5, no. 6 (1993): 9-31; see also Risto Kesseli and Martti Pärssinen, "Identidad étnica y muerte: torres funerarias (chullpas) como símbolos de poder étnico en el altiplano boliviano de Pakasa (1250-1600 d. C.)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 34, no. 3 (2005): 400-1.

<sup>38</sup> Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes: la imagen del otro en la cultura andina*, 2nd ed. (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2001), 22.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

white jutting triangles set on a red background (fig. 1.10). The adjacent chullpa contains an X-shaped design consisting of red and white triangles, also set on a red background. Gisbert draws a fascinating visual parallel between a black diamond motif from the Willa-Kollu chullpa and an Inca tunic at the Textile Museum containing a similar design.<sup>41</sup> In her essay on the relationship between textiles and Inca cosmological principles, Marianne Hogue references a Late Horizon woven waistband bearing a similar design to the chullpa, arguing that the design scheme incorporates the three fundamental building blocks of the Inca visual system—the step, rectangle, and zigzag—resulting in a snake-like undulating design that recalls the zigzag designs carved into Inca stone monuments used for water rituals.<sup>42</sup> Such serpentine patterning may subtly reference the transformative properties of water (or serpents themselves) as a parallel to the deceased’s transition from the world of the living to that of the dead. Like Paramonga, the Willa-Kollu *chullpa* designs and many others possessed clear ties to Inca textiles, and, by extension, to stone carvings. They were entrenched in an Inca system of imperial signs and symbols that freely crossed boundaries of medium and geography.

While the significance of Inca murals will grow with further research, at this point, we can deduce the following: first, the few surviving murals are likely representative of a much more widespread artistic practice than the current archaeological data suggests. The wealth of ethnohistorical references to Inca wall painting (discussed below) further supports this point. Secondly, murals of the Late Horizon period, both on the coast and in the highlands, conform to Inca design principles and color schemes.

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Marianne Hogue, “Cosmology in Inca Tunics and Tectonics,” in *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Symposium*, ed. Margaret Young-Sánchez and Fronia W. Simpson (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 109.

Geometric designs derived from the basic building blocks of the imperial Inca visual repertoire—triangles, squares, rhombuses, diamonds, and zigzags (rarely circles, which coincidentally, are difficult to achieve through weaving)—were typically laid out in bipartite or quadripartite schemes that presumably held deep cosmological and political associations. And finally, Inca murals bear great visual affinity to other more well-researched art forms such as textiles, *keros* (ritual drinking cups), and ceramics. Such equivalences beg further exploration.<sup>43</sup> But we can state with certainty that Inca murals, bound up most perceptibly in the visual and material language of textiles, transmitted imperial ideologies and religious and symbolic concepts through their profusion on the surfaces of important Inca structures.

### *Inca Ceramics*

In addition to archaeological remains of the sites themselves, other examples of Inca material culture may provide a point of entry for reconstructing mural traditions of that era. A number of museums house ceramic architectural models that may have served as scaled-down prototypes for Inca builders. The Museo Inka in Cuzco and the Museo Larco in Lima house small collections of such models, which may shed some light on the presence of mural painting in Inca architecture.<sup>44</sup> A ceramic model of an Inca *cancha* (a cluster of buildings centered around a plaza), is decorated with criss-crossed designs

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<sup>43</sup> Tom Cummins lays the important groundwork for interpretations of Inca visual culture across media in “*Queros, Aquillas, Uncus, and Chulpas: The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power*,” in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 18 and 19 October 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), 267-311.

<sup>44</sup> I draw my inspiration here from Niles, *The Shape of Inca History* (289), and Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru* (152), who both commented on the utility of ceramic architectural models for approximating the color scheme of Inca buildings.

along the façade, suggesting that structures of its kind may have contained similar mural adornments (fig. 1.11). One could argue that the design merely conforms to the conventions of ceramic decoration and does not bear any direct relationship to the actual exterior of the *cancha*. Given the fact, however, that other architectural models in the collection were only decorated with colored slips suggests that additional decoration was only included to display a necessary aspect of the structure. The repeating rhomboid motif on the exterior of the *cancha*, a common Inca design scheme, further suggests that it could have represented a mural.

A double spout and bridge vessel housed at the Museo Larco features a pair of houses that double as twin containers (fig. 1.12). Two spouts emerge from the center of their roofs, connected by a bridge. The houses are painted in a cream slip while their gabled roofs are a rust color. Thin red lines delineate the double-jambled doorways and a thin black line runs along all four sides of the houses, just below the roof. The Jesuit chronicler Bernabé Cobo mentioned of Inca houses, “they were not in the habit of whitewashing them as we do. However, the main houses of the *caciques* usually had the walls painted with a variety of colors and crude drawings.”<sup>45</sup> Squier’s observations of Inca domestic architectural remains corroborates with that of Cobo and the ceramic examples: “The residences of the people, built of rough stones laid in clay, were probably stuccoed and painted yellow and red.”<sup>46</sup> The archaeological, ceramic, and textual evidence indicates that Andean villagers encountered mural painting in their everyday

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<sup>45</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 193.

<sup>46</sup> Squier, *Peru: Incidents of Travel*, 453.

lives; its appearance on house exteriors would have therefore constituted a larger visual vocabulary with which both common and elite Andeans would have been familiar.

### **Inca and Early Colonial Murals: Ethnohistorical Evidence**

Several scholars, most notably Teresa Gisbert and Duccio Bonavia, have compiled a list of references to mural painting in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historical accounts. Such testimony substantially enhances our understanding of Inca and early colonial mural practices, given the fact that so few exist today. I will briefly review the sources already laid out by previous scholars and add additional references that I have discovered.

Raqchi was apparently not the only Inca royal palace adorned with murals. In Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru*, he mentions that Coya Chuqui Huipa, the wife of Huascar Inca,<sup>47</sup> “had the walls of her palace painted with different types of paintings, because she was extremely fond of them.”<sup>48</sup> The Spanish naturalist and historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo also compares the palaces of Cuzco with those of Europe:

As in the sacred temples of the Christians, and in the Apostolic Palace of the Pope of Rome, the royal or imperial palaces were commonly whitewashed with gesso or lime, and during solemn festivals they were accustomed to adorning

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<sup>47</sup> Huascar was the half-brother of Atahualpa and son of Huayna Capac, the penultimate ruler of the Inca empire. At the time of the Spanish conquest in 1532, Huascar was engaged in a bitter struggle with Atahualpa over possession of the royal crown.

<sup>48</sup> “Las paredes de su palacio tenían pintadas con diferentes modos de pinturas, porque fue extremadamente aficionada a ello.” Quoted in Teresa Gisbert, “La pintura mural andina,” in *Catastro, evaluación y estudio de la pintura mural en el area centro sur andina*, ed. Juan Carlos Jemio Salinas (La Paz: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes, Viceministerio de Cultura: Organización de los Estados Americanos, 1998), 20.

them with beautiful and rich tapestries, and for those of the greatest solemnity they would add brocades and fabrics of gold.<sup>49</sup>

The Venetian geographer and travel writer Giovanni Battista Ramusio similarly describes Inca palaces: “On the sides of the plaza one finds large palaces of the principal lords of the city, constructed with carved and painted stones.”<sup>50</sup> Such testimonies call into question our assumption that Inca stone buildings were the pristine, unadorned constructions that we see today. Perhaps the most convincing evidence comes from Viceroy Francisco de Toledo’s famous reference to Inca murals in his 1572 *Ordenanzas*:

...because of the ancient custom the Indians have of painting idols and figures of demons and animals to which they have been accustomed to offer worship on their stools, seats, cups, staffs, *walls and buildings*, mantles, tunics, spades, and on almost everything they need, it seems that they somehow preserve their ancient idolatry, you will see to it, on entering each tax district, that from this time on, no craftsman will carve or paint said figures, under [pain of] severe penalties, which you will carry out on their persons and goods should the contrary occur. *And the paintings and figures that they may have on their houses and buildings, and on the other implements that may be removed reasonably and without much harm and you will order them to place crosses and other insignia of Christians on their houses and buildings.*<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> “y así como en los templos sagrados de los cristianos, y en el palacio apostólico del Sumo Pontífice de Roma, e los palacios reales o imperiales suelen estar comúnmente blanqueados de yeso o cal, y en fiestas solemnes acostumbran adornarlos de lindas e ricas tapicerías, e a mayor solemnidad interponen brocados e telas de oro.” Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las indias*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, vol. 5, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959), 103.

<sup>50</sup> “Sobre los lados de la plaza se encuentran grandes palacios de los Señores principales de la ciudad, construídos con piedras talladas y pintadas.” Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle navigatione e viaggi raccolto da M. Gio Battista Ramusio* (Venice, 1554). Translated from Italian to Spanish and excerpted in Luis E. Valcárcel, “Los trabajos arqueológicos en el departamento del Cuzco. Sajsawaman redescubierto. (IV),” *Revista del Museo Nacional* 4, no. 2 (1935): 171. Such testimony, of course, must be considered carefully. Ramusio never set foot in the New World and based his information on firsthand accounts offered by explorers and *conquistadores*. These individuals frequently employed European constructs for understanding and describing pre-Columbian cities. Nevertheless, when considered in conjunction with other more reliable accounts by indigenous authors and Spanish missionaries who observed the architecture of Cuzco firsthand, such descriptions can be ascribed greater reliability.

<sup>51</sup> “...Porque de la costumbre envejecida que los indios tienen de pintar ídolos y figuras de demonios y animals a quien solían mochar en sus duhos, tianas, vasos, báculos, paredes y edificios, mantas, camisetas, lampas y casi en todas cuantas cosas les son necesarias, parece que en alguna manera conservan su antigua idolatría, proveeréis, en entrando en cada repartimiento, que ningún oficial de aquí adelante, labre ni pinte las tales figuras, sobre graves penas, las cuales ejecutaréis en sus personas y bienes lo

Toledo grouped Inca mural painting into a larger corpus of “idolatrous” art that possessed the ability to undermine the aims of the Spanish evangelical enterprise. The Franciscan Laureano de la Cruz observed similar practices in the modern-day Colombian districts of Popoayán and Antioquía where “some *caciques* used to have tablets on their doors, with sculpted or painted animal figures, so that the people (*pueblo*) could venerate them.”<sup>52</sup> We can deduce from both of these descriptions that wall painting and house painting were widely practiced across the Andean region, and that the iconography contained both political and religious import. Strategically, the Spaniards promoted mural painting, an artistic medium with explicit ties to Inca religion, as one of the earliest and most prolific tools for the conversion of native Andeans.

While the majority of sixteenth-century Cuzco murals were destroyed in the earthquake of 1650, textual descriptions can help to give us a sense of their religious content in the immediate post-conquest years. Antonio de la Vega describes some of the earliest now-vanished murals produced in Cuzco, which he attributes to Bernardo Bitti:

and there have been notable conversions among the indians after considering the [last] judgment and glory and the pains suffered by the condemned, all of which are painted on the walls of this Church and chapel [the Capilla de Indios next to the Compañía de Jesús in Cuzco], and particularly with the sufferings and

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contrario haciendo. Y las pinturas y figuras que tuvieran en sus casas y edificios, y en los demás instrumentos que buenamente y sin mucho daño se pudieren quitar y señalaréis que pongan cruces y otras insignias de cristianos en sus casas y edificios.” Francisco de Toledo, *Fundación español del Cusco y ordenanzas para su gobierno: restauraciones mandadas ejecutar del primer libro de Cabildos de la Ciudad por el Virrey del Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos Sanmartí, 1926), 171. Quoted in Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 152-53. Emphasis mine.

<sup>52</sup> “Algunos caziques usavan tener a sus puertas unas tablas, y en ellas esculpidas o pintadas algunas figuras de animales, para que las adorase el pueblo...” Fray Laureano de la Cruz, *Descripción de la América Austral o reinos del Perú con particular noticia de lo hecho por los franciscanos en la evangelización de aquel país* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999), 107.

punishments in Hell caused by the Indians' vices and sins, which are all well drawn there.<sup>53</sup>

The seventeenth-century indigenous author Guaman Poma de Ayala makes similar mention of images of the *Postrimerías* (the Last Things) displayed in churches of the early colonial period, although it is not clear whether he is referring to paintings on canvas, murals, or both: “and in each church there is a painted image of the [last] judgment, showing the arrival of the Lord to the Judgment, the heavens and earth, and the pains of hell.”<sup>54</sup> These early descriptions of colonial murals indicate that the medium was deployed as a tool for inducing fear of punishment among indigenous viewers.

### **Materials and Techniques**

Mural paints in the pre-Hispanic period derived primarily from mineral sources, including malachite (green), argentite (blue), calcite (white), hematite (red), yellow ochre (yellow), and graphite (black).<sup>55</sup> Pre-Inca coastal cultures such as the Moche and Chimú produced murals through the application of a thin clay mortar over the adobe wall. While the mortar was still wet, artisans would whitewash the wall with limestone. Once it had dried, incised outlines were then made using a sharp wooden tool, and the outlined

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<sup>53</sup> “y ha avido notables mudanzas y conversions de yndios con la consideración de juicio y gloria y penas de los condenados, que está todo pintado por las paredes de esta Yglesia y capilla, y particularmente con las penas y castigos que en el infierno tienen los vicios y pecados de los yndios que están allí bien dibujados,” Antonio de la Vega, *Historia y narración de las cosas sucedidas en este Colegio del Cuzco desde su fundación hasta hoy, 1 de noviembre Día de los Santos, año de 1600* (Lima: Editorial Vargas Ugarte, 1948), 42–43.

<sup>54</sup> “y en cada iglesia haya un juicio pintado allí muestre la venida del Señor al Juicio, el cielo y el mundo y las penas del infierno,” Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. 3 (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1980), 883. Quoted in Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes*, 209.

<sup>55</sup> Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 179–181.

images were subsequently filled in with pigment.<sup>56</sup> In some cases the incised outlines themselves would be filled in with black paint for greater emphasis. Scholars believe that *zapote* (*Capparis angulata*) or *huarango* gum (*Acacia macracantha*) may have served as the primary agents for binding ground pigments to the wall during the pre-Columbian period.<sup>57</sup>

Highland Inca muralists employed similar techniques using locally accessible materials. They first treated the adobe wall with *ccontay*, or white earth. In order to prevent cracking, artisans would coat the *ccontay*-covered wall with a special cactus sap derived from the *Trichoreus pachanoi* (a blanket term for cactus, termed *Gigantón* in Spanish and *Aguacollay* or *Aguacolla quizca* in Quechua). The *gigantón* coating was created by soaking the cactus in water for several hours so that the sap would get released from the leaves to create a viscous fluid.<sup>58</sup> Inca pigments derived from either minerals ground into a fine powder and mixed with binding agents or from *tierras de colores*, or “earth colors.” As Fernández de Oviedo noted of the Andean landscape, there are “veins of earth of all colors, and especially yellow, green, red and a very fine blue: the green is [from a] plant and the others, as noted, are earths.”<sup>59</sup> One can easily witness the same thing today when traveling along mountain passes that have been bulldozed to make room for the highway. The soil profiles reveal layers of colored earth of green, red, and yellow tones that closely resemble the color schemes of pre-Columbian murals.

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<sup>56</sup> Samanez Argumedo, “Mural Painting on Adobe Walls,” 77.

<sup>57</sup> Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 182.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-181. See also Pablo Macera, “El arte mural cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX,” *Apuntes* 2 (1975): 66; and Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 10.

<sup>59</sup> Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia General y Natural De Las Indias*, 5:105. Quoted in Bonavia, *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*, 180.

Muralists in the colonial period used strikingly similar procedures to their pre-Hispanic predecessors. Roberto Samanez Argumedo succinctly describes the preparation of the wall surface:

A plaster of fine mud with vegetable fibres added was prepared and allowed to stand for four or five days before its application to the wall. The layer of plaster spread on the adobe wall is generally 2-3 cm thick. On top of this plaster was spread a layer of pre-screened mud with clay mixed 50:50 with hydrated lime. Then a layer of hydrated lime was spread on the surface and used as a primer. Cactus juice [*gigantón*] was again used as binder for the hydrated lime.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to vegetable fibers derived from local plants, evidence exists of artists mixing mud plaster with human hair.<sup>61</sup> Almost all colonial Andean muralists employed the *fresco secco* technique, in which they applied pigments to a dry wall surface.<sup>62</sup> Such a technique served the needs of the colonial state to promote quick execution of murals for the education and indoctrination of indigenous congregations.<sup>63</sup>

Muralists continued to use *tierras de colores* and local minerals as their base pigments, but utilized new European agglutinates such as egg whites or yolks, casein, and animal gum,<sup>64</sup> along with the *gigantón*, which continues to be used in the present day.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Samanez Argumedo, "Mural Painting on Adobe Walls," 77.

<sup>61</sup> Julio Ninantay Loayza, personal communication, January 2011.

<sup>62</sup> A few exceptions exist. The church of La Merced Cuzco, the church of San Pedro in Lima (personal observation), and the church of Azángaro feature small areas of mural paintings executed with oil painting. For discussion of Azángaro, see Rodolfo Vallín Magaña, "La pintura mural en hispanoamérica," in *Pintura, escultura y artes útiles en iberoamérica, 1500-1825*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1995), 200-1.

<sup>63</sup> See Samanez Argumedo, "Mural Painting on Adobe Walls," 77; and Rodolfo Vallín, *Imágenes bajo cal y pañete: pintura mural de la colonia en Colombia* (Bogotá: El Sello Editorial: Museo de Arte Moderno de Bogotá, 1998), 49.

<sup>64</sup> Macera, "El arte mural cuzqueño," 66; Samanez Argumedo, "Mural Painting on Adobe Walls," 77; Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 11; Vallín Magaña, "La pintura mural en hispanoamérica," 201; Vallín, *Imágenes bajo cal y pañete*, 49.

<sup>65</sup> Francisco Puma, personal communication, November 2009.

They also introduced new pigments including lapis lazuli, carmine, Prussian blue, azurite, and vermillion, of which the latter two were indigenous to the Andes, discovered during the Spanish exploitation of the Huancavelica mines.<sup>66</sup>

Little documentation exists about the techniques painters used to produce images on the walls of churches, although unfinished remains of mural images may offer some insight into the technical process. An incomplete grotesque frieze in the Hospital de la Almudena in Cuzco, for example, exhibits empty black outlines of figures that were probably once intended to be filled in with color (fig. 1.13). Although we do have evidence of grisaille friezes intended to be left in black and white, this image differs in that it only contains black outlines; there do not exist areas filled in with black. From this image and others like it, we can imagine that artists (like their counterparts in Europe) would have produced a cartoon sketch on the wall, perhaps in charcoal, that was based on an original preparatory sketch (or in the case of the colonial Andes, on an engraved print source). They would have then filled in the outlines with color. Ornamental friezes tend to contain more black outlines, indicating that the charcoal may have been overlaid with black paint, while figural scenes tend to lack obvious outlines.

### **Questions of Authorship and the Organization of Labor**

Little is known about the largely anonymous mural painters who decorated the walls of Cuzco's churches. Even less is known about the organizational structure of the

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<sup>66</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of pigments used in colonial Andean painting, see Chapter 1, "Moliendo y revolviendo sutiles elementos," in Gabriela Siracusano's *El poder de los colores*, 37–130. See also Alicia M. Seldes et al., "Blue Pigments in South American Painting (1610-1780)," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 38, no. 2 (1999): 100-23; and Alicia Seldes et al., "Green, Yellow, and Red Pigments in South American Painting, 1610-1780," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 41, no. 3 (2002): 225-42.

workforce. The principal reason for our lack of knowledge on colonial muralists is that the vast majority of them did not sign their works. The only signed murals in the Cuzco region are those of Diego Cusi Guaman at the church of Urcos (early seventeenth century) and Tadeo Escalante at the church of Huaro (1802).<sup>67</sup> Several mural programs have been attributed to named artists based on stylistic similarities to signed works in other media. For example, the murals at the church of Andahuaylillas (discussed in Chapter 2) are commonly attributed to the Lima-born painter Luis de Riaño, a student of the Italian émigré painter Angelino Medoro, based on their stylistic affinities to a painting on canvas signed and dated by him in the baptistery of the same church.<sup>68</sup> A recent study has postulated that the famous Andean chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala, who penned a 1200-page letter containing 398 illustrations to King Philip III protesting the abuses of Spanish colonialism in the Andes, was responsible for the seventeenth-century mural paintings at the church of Oropesa to the south of Cuzco.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Mesa and Gisbert make the argument that Cusi Guaman also executed a mural depicting the coronation of the Virgin on the triumphal arch of the church of Chinchero based on a cartouche painted on the arch stating that the *cura* of the church commissioned paintings by “the hand of don Diego,” but the area where his last name would have appeared is damaged beyond legibility. They reason that since the principle *cacique* of Chinchero was D. Martín Guamán Cusi Sallo, that Cusi Guaman could have been a relative of his, further supporting the attribution. The dates provided in the cartouche of 1603-1607 also correspond to the dates during which Cusi Guaman was active, making the attribution even more tempting. However, upon consideration of the vast stylistic differences between his securely attributed work at Urcos with the murals at Chinchero, I cannot support this attribution. The flattened and awkwardly rendered figures on the triumphal arch bear little to no resemblance to the attenuated figures and compositional layout of the Urcos mural. The portraits of saints in the presbytery would be more likely candidates as the work of Diego Cusi Guaman, but again do not bear a strong resemblance to his work at Urcos. See José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982), 236-237.

<sup>68</sup> See José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “El pintor y escultor Luis de Riaño,” *Arte y Arqueología*, no. 3-4 (1975): 145-58; Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:237-38; and more recently, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, “Del manierismo al barroco en murales cuzqueños: Luis de Riaño,” in *Manierismo y transición al barroco. Memoria del III encuentro internacional sobre Barroco* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005), 105-14.

<sup>69</sup> See Augusta E. Schröder de Holland, “El Dibujante de la Nueva Corónica,” in *Guaman Poma and Blas Valera: Tradición Andina e Historia Colonial. Actas del Coloquio Internacional Instituto Italo-*

Aside from these isolated incidents of attribution, some of which are secure but most of which are quite tenuous, the majority of colonial Andean murals remain anonymous.<sup>70</sup> The absence of names, however, may shed light on the nature of colonial mural production. Rodolfo Vallín Magaña has argued that murals were executed by a team of artisans led by a master painter who directed the design and composition of the general program. He also makes the claim that members of painters' guilds did not have the luxury of choosing between mural painting and painting on canvas, and would have participated freely in both types of activities.<sup>71</sup>

While I agree that murals were executed in teams, I believe that such claims can be tempered with greater specificity through an intensive examination of stylistic diversity evident within an individual mural program. The murals at Andahuaylillas, for example, have been convincingly attributed to Luis de Riaño, but were likely executed by several hands. As Mesa and Gisbert have amply demonstrated, Riaño's hallmark style of flattened, angular figures with oval faces and sharply pointed chins remains consistent across his signed canvas paintings and the Andahuaylillas murals. It appears in the delineation of some of the primary figures in the entrance wall mural, such as the group seated at the banquet table, the standing male figure behind them, and the female figure leaning toward the young boy to the left of the entrance portal (fig. 1.14). Even a cursory

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*Latinoamericano*, ed. Francesca Cantù (Rome: A. Pellicani, 2001), 51-56. Her primary evidence for the attribution derives from a comparison of Guaman Poma's script with painted inscriptions along the arches of the church of Oropesa. Her study lacks any kind of secure archival or historical documentation to support such an attribution, however. Until more archival research is conducted, such arguments remain unconvincing.

<sup>70</sup> To a degree, one could argue that colonial Andean painting as a whole remains largely anonymous, although there are far more examples of signed canvases than signed murals.

<sup>71</sup> Vallín Magaña, "La pintura mural en hispanoamérica," 201.

comparison between Riaño's signed and dated *St. Michael Archangel*, also located in the church, demonstrates that he executed parts of the mural (fig. 1.15). The patterning of St. Michael's tunic and feathered hat closely matches that of the male figure standing behind the group of feasters. Moreover, the representations of *putti* on the painted arched doorways leading to the baptistery (fig. 1.16) closely resemble those encircling the rays emanating from the dove in Riaño's *Baptism of Christ* located in the baptistery, which, like *St. Michael*, dates to 1628 (fig. 1.17).

Other aspects of the murals, however, indicate the presence of different hands with varying levels of skill. The small details in the entrance wall mural of individuals falling off the paths leading to Hell and the Heavenly Jerusalem appear less detailed and lack the same precision and sophistication as the larger compositional elements (fig. 1.18). Some of the details almost seem cartoonish, such as the skeleton on the road leading toward Hell in comparison with the more academically conceived aspects of the composition. We can imagine that Riaño served as the master painter who directed a team of indigenous artists to complete the mural, as Vallín Magaña's model suggests. But perhaps what is most interesting is that the smaller, less visible, and less finely executed elements of the composition are precisely those that include references to local indigenous life. In some cases, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 2, this inclusion of symbols of Inca religion and culture, such as we see in the entrance wall mural at Andahuaylillas, reveals acts of indigenous agency embedded in otherwise overpowering statements of Christian hegemony.

The decorative murals along the nave of Andahuaylillas, consisting of saints' portraits in medallions flanked by cornucopias and angels, seem to exhibit the

collaboration of multiple artists. For instance, the nave portrait of Saint Barbara (fig. 1.19) bears no resemblance to Luis de Riaño's canvas painting of Saint Catherine executed at around the same time (fig. 1.20). Its flatter forms and softer colors differ from any of the Riaño-like figures in the entrance wall mural, suggesting that the nave paintings were carried out by assistants. We can detect different hands in the execution of the medallion portraits of the saints along the nave wall, the ornamental frieze on which the medallions are set, the principal figures of the entrance wall mural versus the ancillary ones, the exterior murals set in niches and on the balcony of the triumphal arch façade, and the decorative murals in the baptistery lining the upper walls. Although it is difficult to try to come up with a definitive number of participating artists, I would estimate that at least five, if not more, were involved in the creation of the extensive mural program. Thus to attribute sole authorship to Luis de Riaño seems inaccurate, because it does an injustice to the contributions of the anonymous, probably indigenous painters that worked alongside him. This stylistic diversity across a single mural program is by no means context-specific to Andahuaylillas. Almost every mural painting I observed in the Cuzco region (upwards of twenty churches and private residences) indicates the presence of multiple hands. Not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries do we begin to see a rise in the status of mural painter as an individual artist responsible for nearly the entirety of the execution of a given program. Chapters 4 and 5, which focus on the work of the late colonial muralist Tadeo Escalante, explore this phenomenon in greater detail.

Vallín Magaña's other claim that painters worked indiscriminately on both paintings on canvas and murals requires further consideration. Workshop structures in

colonial Cuzco were more fluid than their Spanish or Italian counterparts, and indeed, for some artists we have evidence that they worked across an array of media.<sup>72</sup> Luis de Riaño, for instance, painted both murals and paintings on canvas. In the latter part of his career, we also have evidence that he worked in carpentry. In 1643, he was commissioned by the *cura* of Huaru and Urcos to construct a *retablo* of cedar that was to be decorated with relief sculptures of the three virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity as well as a canvas painting of Saint Joseph. His contract stipulates that the entire *retablo* was to be gilded and painted, and that he would be paid a total of 300 *pesos*.<sup>73</sup> Tadeo Escalante, a prominent muralist who executed works throughout the Cuzco area and in his hometown of Acomayo, also dabbled in carpentry toward the end of his career. In the account book for the church of Huaru, where Escalante completed an extensive mural program in 1802, he was commissioned by the priest in 1803 to build and paint two *confesonarios* (confessionals) for a total of eight *pesos*.<sup>74</sup>

Despite isolated documentation of artists working freely in both media, I am inclined to believe that greater overlap in the fields of wall painting and church construction existed than between wall painting and painting on canvas. One line of evidence comes from the images themselves. Colonial Andean mural painting exhibits a number of unique iconographical features that are rarely, if ever, found in paintings on

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<sup>72</sup> Although it does not deal with mural painters specifically, Carol Damian offers a well-researched study of painter workshops in Cuzco in the context of the formation of the Cuzco School of painting. See “Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco: Workshops, Contracts, and a Petition for Independence,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 4, no. 1 (1995): 25-53.

<sup>73</sup> Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño. Datos para una historia del arte en el Perú*. (Cuzco: Editorial Garcilaso, 1960), 143.

<sup>74</sup> AAC, Huaru, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario (1788-1862), fol. 83r.

canvas. Ornamental friezes of undulating vines interspersed with a breathtaking array of *grotteschi* and local flora and fauna lay exclusively in the domain of wall decoration.

Another common mural-specific convention is *trompe l'oeil* architecture intended to give the appearance of more complex architectonic spaces. Most rural Andean churches are of single nave construction and lack the architectural complexity of churches and cathedrals found in major cities. Perhaps in an effort to compensate for their spatial simplicity, artists would adorn churches with painted Salomonic columns, coffered ceilings, arches, pillars, and volutes, derived from prints. Because of the inherent material differences between murals and canvas paintings—the latter are portable flat surfaces that offer the illusion of three-dimensional space—faux architectural adornment only appears in mural painting.

Murals also differ from canvas paintings in terms of scale. For a canvas painter, the composition is delimited to the edges of a square or rectangular piece of fabric. For the muralist, the canvas becomes the entire interior of a church (or a specific section of it), where in many cases, no wall surface was left untouched. Murals acted as multi-compositional constructions stretching from wall to ceiling that included ornamental friezes, architectural detailing, ceiling decorations, floral and vegetal motifs, and large-scale religious or allegorical scenes. The sheer magnitude and comprehensive nature of church murals necessitated large workforces that would have borne a closer resemblance to a construction team than a painting workshop. Moreover, wall painting necessitated a different skill set than painting on canvas. Muralists attained virtuosity in the application of tempera paint across expansive wall surfaces. The treatment of the adobe wall, the preparation of pigments, and the application of tempera paint differed dramatically from

the technical skills of an artist using oil paints, glazes, and varnishes on a treated canvas. In fact, the *mudejar*-style wooden painted ceilings (often referred to as *artesonado pintado* in Spanish) gracing most colonial Andean churches bear greater stylistic, technical, and iconographical affinity to murals than to painting on canvas. Yet no one, to my knowledge, has claimed that ceiling painters belonged to the same camp as canvas painters.

Further archival research needs to be done to uncover the finer details of workshop structures in colonial Cuzco and to determine whether or not mural painters belonged to the same guild as canvas painters, or as I suspect, were considered an autonomous group trained in both painting and construction techniques. In church account books from the colonial period, painters almost always remained anonymous and undifferentiated. One entry may read that the priest paid the painter (*el pintor*) to paint five *lienzos* depicting scenes from the life of Christ and another may state that the priest paid the painter to paint the baptistery. No term such as muralist (*muralista*) existed in the colonial period, so all painters were lumped into the categories of *maestro pintor* (master painter) or *pintor* (painter). Nevertheless, I believe that further archival research will allow us to define the role of the muralist and his training in the colonial period with greater precision and nuance.

### **Models and Iconography**

Muralists in the colonial Andes drew from a wealth of iconographical sources to create their compositions. The most well documented and direct source of murals were prints, primarily Flemish, Italian, and Spanish, which were imported to the Americas in

large quantities throughout the colonial period. Cheap, lightweight, and easily portable, prints could be used as didactic primers or as devotional images to be tacked on to the wall. But perhaps most significant is the role they played as models for paintings, both in portable and mural form.

The relationship between colonial Andean paintings and European prints has received ample scholarly attention.<sup>75</sup> The most widely utilized prints for Andean painting were those by Antwerp master engravers Maarten de Vos, the Wierix brothers, Raphael Sadeler, and the Galle brothers.<sup>76</sup> Art historians have moved far beyond earlier characterizations of colonial Latin American artists as slavish, second-rate copyists of metropolitan printed models. Instead, the focus now centers on the creativity that artists exercised despite the constraints of printed models. For instance, Clara Bargellini argues that practices of imitation and transfer that characterized image-creation in colonial Mexico did not greatly differ from what Spanish artists were doing in the metropole. The only difference was the geographical limitation faced by New World artists; they could not easily travel to Rome or other major artistic centers for training and exposure to original Greco-Roman and Renaissance sculptural models.<sup>77</sup> In a different vein, Gabriela Siracusano posits that the relative standardization of colonial Andean paintings according

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<sup>75</sup> Some notable studies include José de Mesa, "La influencia de Flandes en la pintura del area andina," *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 117 (1994): 61-82; Carolyn Dean, "Copied Carts: Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (1996): 98-110; José Enrique Torres and Fernando Villegas, "The Influence and Uses of Flemish Painting in Colonial Peru," *CODART Courant* 7 (December 2003): 12-14; and most recently, Cécile Michaud and José Torres de la Pina, eds., *De Amberes al Cusco. El grabado europeo como fuente del arte virreinal* (Lima: Colección Barbosa-Stern, 2009).

<sup>76</sup> Almerindo Ojeda di Ninno, "El grabado como fuente del arte colonial: Estado de la cuestión," in Michaud and Torres della Pina, 15-16.

<sup>77</sup> 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 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 83.

to the dictates of pre-determined monochromatic print sources opened up spaces of creativity for artists to invent a complex color symbolism that imbued paintings with a culturally-specific sacredness at the material level.<sup>78</sup>

We know that muralists drew liberally from printed models in their compositions, since specific religious scenes were often copied faithfully from their engraved prototypes. For floral and vegetal ornamentation, it appears that artists followed printed models more loosely. Such models likely did not come from single-sheet prints, but rather from the frontispieces and marginalia of printed books. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, artists drew from an increasingly diverse array of printed sources. The murals at the church of La Merced in Cuzco, for instance, derive from two different editions of a European emblem book that illustrated the virtues one must embody in order to follow the path to Heaven. Muralists of the late colonial period had the added benefit of choosing image sources across a wider temporal expanse. Church inventories from the eighteenth century indicate that ancient Antwerpian missals were still in use, demonstrating that older images were still accessible to artists.<sup>79</sup> Neoclassical prints from France also began to gain popularity with the transition to the French-controlled Bourbon dynasty that took control of Spain and its colonial possessions in 1700.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Siracusano, *El poder de los colores*, 161.

<sup>79</sup> Several inventories from Cuzco-area churches include references to Antwerp missals, which likely contained illustrations. An inventory from the church of Huaró from 1792 mentions an old unbound Antwerp missal. AAC, Huaró, *Libro de Fábrica e Inventario* (1788-1862), fol. 34v. The inventory of the church of Urcos likewise mentions possession of an old Antwerp missal that was falling apart. See Urcos, *Libro de Fábrica e Inventario* (1788-1872), n.p. In a 1795 will for Don Marcos de Tapia, a doctor and *cura rector* of the parishes of Belén and Santiago, we find listed “a group of Antwerpian breviaries, printed in [17]52” (un juego de breviarios antuerpianos, su impresion del año sinquenta y dos). ARC, *Inventario de Protocolos*, Sección Notarial, Escribano Agustin Chacon Becerra, Prot. 81 (1794-1795), fol. 50r.

<sup>80</sup> See Agustina Rodríguez, “De París a Cuzco: Los caminos del grabado francés en los siglos XVII y XVIII,” *Goya* 327 (2009): 132-42.

It is important to note that prints did not serve as the only models for colonial Andean murals. While it is tempting to assume that Andean image creation followed a linear and uncomplicated trajectory from print to painting, the situation, particularly in the case of murals, was far more complex. In addition to prints, muralists also drew from material culture such as textiles or ceramics, pre-existing paintings on canvas, and other murals for compositional and iconographical inspiration. Nor can we discount the power of imagination and local knowledge that manifested itself on the picture plane. One of my principal aims here is to analyze how muralists across the colonial period manipulated religious imagery as a means of commenting on contemporaneous social conditions that could not be expressed through direct representation. I thus place great emphasis on sources and attempt to locate all of the sources for the mural images under consideration. By doing so, we can analyze the specific visual departures exercised by muralists in the act of image transfer from the original source to the painted product. It is in these areas of departure, however slight, that I examine the creative maneuvers that artists made to layer their compositions with social and cultural meaning.

### **Archival Documentation of Colonial Andean Murals**

To date, very little archival work has been undertaken on Andean mural painting. Mesa and Gisbert occasionally cite archival sources, but much of the citations are incomplete, which makes it nearly impossible to relocate the unpublished sources they consulted.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, many of their archival sources are culled from published

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<sup>81</sup> Poor citation of Peruvian archival sources also has to do with the state of the archives at the time in which the authors were writing. Both the Archivo Arzobispal and Archivo Regional of Cuzco have undergone extensive reorganization and cataloging over the past decade.

anthologies of archival documents rather than from original research.<sup>82</sup> Flores Ochoa, Samanez Argumedo, and Kuon Arce also rely on published anthologies of archival sources in their interpretations of Andean murals. While their work offers a much needed synthesis of mural styles and traditions, it lacks rigorous historical analysis.<sup>83</sup> Pablo Macera's work, though insightful and convincing in a number of areas, does not make use of any archival documents, and indeed, hardly relies on any outside sources at all.<sup>84</sup> Such studies are missing a critical component of art-historical scholarship, however, which my study aims to expand: the means by which Andean murals were commissioned, described, and understood by contemporaries.

References to mural paintings in the archival record are disproportionate to the frequency with which they appear in churches, even accounting for the fact that many mural programs have not survived into the present day. Nevertheless, a careful combing of colonial archives would shed light on mural patronage and the terms under which they were conceived and categorized with respect to church decoration as a whole.

The Archivo Arzobispal and the Archivo Regional of Cuzco serve as the primary repositories containing information on mural painting in colonial Cuzco and its outlying regions. The *libros de fábrica* (books documenting purchases and renovations) and *inventarios* (inventories) of parish churches contain detailed information on the material conditions of parish churches. The *libros de fábrica* document the yearly expenditures of the parish, often in the most minute detail, even including information such as the amount

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<sup>82</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:232–55.

<sup>83</sup> Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, “De la evangelización al incanismo. La pintura mural del sur andino,” *Histórica* 15, no. 2 (1991): 165-203; Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*.

<sup>84</sup> Macera, “El arte mural cuzqueño”; Pablo Macera, *La pintura mural andina, siglos XVI-XIX* (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1993).

spent on wax for candles, or the woman who washed the clothes of the clergy. Slipped into these lists of expenditures are occasional references to mural paintings, although in many cases the entries are fraught with ambiguity. For instance, in the 1758 account for the Church of Catca (also spelled Ccatca and Ccatcca), located in the province of Quispicanchis, one of the entries reads, “And I record fifteen *pesos* that I paid to the painter for painting the two chapels, and who will return to renovate the entire church.”<sup>85</sup> It is unclear, however, whether the painter was contracted simply to apply a layer of paint to the wall or to adorn the wall with decorations. For the purposes of accounting, such details were unnecessary—what mattered most was keeping a running (and ostensibly accurate) list of church expenses. Despite the opacity of the archival record, cross-referencing archival documents with relative dates of murals based on stylistic evidence or historical content can enable us to more accurately interpret otherwise ambiguous entries. The mural paintings that survive to the present day typically correspond to the final phase of mural decoration of the church, thereby effacing earlier manifestations.<sup>86</sup> Account books and inventories, however, allow us to recapture this lost sense of continual repaints, touch ups, and renovations that characterized most colonial Andean mural decoration.

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<sup>85</sup> “Ytt. Doy en Data quinze pesos que pague al Pintor p.r que pintase las dos capillas, y bolbiese a renovar toda la Yglesia.” AAC, Libro de Fábrica, San Juan Bautista de Ccatca (1718-1764), fol. 88v.

<sup>86</sup> One notable exception can be found at the church of Andahuaylillas. The excellent restoration campaign undertaken by the World Monuments Fund (2010-2012) has managed to preserve small sections of mural programs spanning nearly the entirety of the colonial period, giving us a sense of the church as a “living” monument that underwent several phases of renovation. While the majority of the church contains murals preserved from the seventeenth century, the restorers have also preserved vestiges of eighteenth and nineteenth-century mural painting located in the presbytery. Diana Castillo Cerf, head architect of the Andahuaylillas renovation project, personal communication, November 2010.

The *libros de fábrica* can give us important timelines for the execution of murals in a church. For instance, the priest of Marcapata noted in his expenditures for the year 1798 that in the baptistery, “the [baptismal] font was painted and cleaned, with fine paintings, as well as the walls and door, which cost 10 *pesos*.”<sup>87</sup> In that same year he ordered the painter to “paint the walls, and doors of the church, which cost 25 *pesos*.”<sup>88</sup> In 1795, the priest of the Church of Anta “paid for the painting in the lower choir with all of the arches, and paid the painter 12 *pesos*.”<sup>89</sup> In 1793, Pedro de Santistevan y Cano, *cura* of the Church of Urcos, noted “7 *pesos* that I spent in ordering the painting of the walls of the triumphal arch and presbytery.”<sup>90</sup> The painters obviously did not do a flawless job, because three years later he noted the “2 *pesos* that I paid to the painter, who repaired a piece that broke off of the triumphal arch near the pulpit, for his work and the cost of the colors.”<sup>91</sup> In most of the entries, the person logging the expenditures only refers to the chief painter, although in an 1802 entry for the Church of Huaroc, the priest notes, “for 56 [*pesos*] and 7 [*reales*] I paid for the roof to be covered in mud and whitewashed of the church of the viceparish of Guaroc [Huaroc]; twenty-six days were

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<sup>87</sup> “Yt. se Pintó y aseó, con pinturas finas, la Pila, sus paredes y puerta que costó dies p.s.” ARC, Inventario de Iglesias, Legajo 25, Expediente 26 (1786-1820), Inventario de Marcapata, n.p.

<sup>88</sup> “Yt. mandé pintar las paredes, y puertas de la Yg.a que costó veinte y cinco pesos.” Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> “Yt. por doce p.s q. pagué p.r la pintura del coro vajo con todos los Arcos, y paga del Pintor doce p.s.” ARC, Inventario de Iglesias, Legajo 25, Expediente 26 (1786-1820), Inventario de Anta, n.p.

<sup>90</sup> “Yt. por 7 p.s que gasté en mandar pintar las paredes del Arcotal y Presbiterio.” AAC, Inventario e Fábrica de Iglesias, Urcos (1788-1872), fol. 44v.

<sup>91</sup> “Por dos p.s que pague al Pintor, q compuso un pedaso que se desgajo del Arcotal junto al Pulpito por su trabajo y colores que costeo.” Ibid., fol. 67v.

occupied in this job, each day there were three masons, and ten laborers who received one *real* each day.”<sup>92</sup>

The account books reveal little to no information about the appearance of the murals, but they do give a sense for the conditions under which muralists worked. In the twenty-six *libros de fábrica* consulted for this study, most in the Archivo Arzobispal of Cuzco and dating to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the vast majority of painters mentioned in the accounts were paid low wages and commissioned to paint large spaces that far exceeded the size of canvases or panels. As a point of comparison, Maya Stanfield-Mazzi notes that a large painting with a gilded frame produced in eighteenth-century Cuzco would have been worth between twelve and seventy *pesos*.<sup>93</sup> Mural painters appear to have occupied the lower rung of the artistic hierarchy, receiving equivalent or lower pay for larger compositions than their contemporaries producing freestanding paintings. Based on the account books alone, it is difficult to tell the difference between a fee paid to a painter commissioned to adorn the walls with decorations versus a simple coating of paint. Nevertheless, I believe we can assume that the majority of references were describing murals because contemporaries employed the term *blanquear*, to whitewash, when referring to the simple application of paint to a wall.

*Inventarios*, or church inventories, shed further light on the history of mural production in a given parish. Churches generally produced annual inventories at around

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<sup>92</sup> “Por cinquenta y seis y siete de que parté en mandar embarrár y blanquear el techo de la Yglesia ViceParro. de Guaroc; en esta forma veinte y seis días que se ocuparon en este trabajo, cada día tres Albañiles, y dies peones ganan estos a real p.r dia.” AAC, Inventario e Fábrica de Iglesias, Huaró (1788-1862), fol. 82r. One *real* is equivalent to eight *pesos*.

<sup>93</sup> Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, “The Possessor’s Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 3 (2009): 355.

the same time every year, following a relatively standardized formula.<sup>94</sup> The first items listed are always those made of silver (likely because they were of the greatest monetary value), followed by white,<sup>95</sup> red, green, and black ornaments, sacred vestments, images,<sup>96</sup> books, and usually close to the end of the list, an optional section entitled *cuero de la iglesia*, or body of the church. It is in this section, which is not always included in every inventory, where we tend to find information on mural painting. The term *pintura mural* was not employed in Peru until the twentieth century. Instead, murals were usually referred to as *pinturas en la pared*, or wall paintings. Descriptions of mural paintings in church inventories, while often vague, are instrumental in helping us to date murals as well as to gain a clearer understanding of the ways in which murals were categorized and conceived.

The inventory of the chapel of Canincunca, located in the province of Quispicanchis between the towns of Huaró and Urcos, provides one revealing example of the appearance of mural paintings in church records. The previously mentioned *cura* Pedro de Santiestevan y Cano records in a 1788 inventory that “the chapel is painted in the form of tapestries.”<sup>97</sup> Indeed, the entire interior of the church is adorned with mural decorations that imitate the appearance of textiles hanging on the walls. Scholars have assigned the murals of Canincunca to the eighteenth century, but with this new archival

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<sup>94</sup> Although depending on the preferences of the parish, some inventory categories were further subdivided into objects made of wood and metal, with additional sections on mirrors and paintings on canvas. In my research I have found that the categorization of church holdings depended more on the preferences of the different *curas* drawing up the inventories than any other historical or geographical factor.

<sup>95</sup> *Ornamentos* (also spelled *hornamentos*) refer to fabrics.

<sup>96</sup> *Imágenes* refer to sculptures of saints.

<sup>97</sup> AAC, Huaró, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario (Canincunca included within) (1788-1862).

data, we can more securely date the murals to before 1788 (unfortunately, an earlier inventory does not exist).

Additional historical data can help to establish more secure parameters for the popularity of “textile” murals. Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo, arguably one of the most important patrons of religious art in late-seventeenth-century Cuzco, wrote a series of reports on churches of the Cuzco diocese in the aftermath of the great earthquake of 1650. His reports provided descriptions of Cuzco-area churches as well as mandates for works to be completed. Although he does not directly reference the chapel of Canincunca, in his 1687 mandate for the church of Laca in the town of Aiapata, he states, “all of the church, with its chapels and baptistery, is to be painted with *cenefas* and tapestries....”<sup>98</sup> Similarly, Teresa Gisbert notes that Mollinedo commented that “In Yanaoca 27,000 pesos have been spent and with that they have embellished the church and painted it in the form of damasks.”<sup>99</sup> We can thus deduce that Mollinedo introduced (or at least promoted) murals in the style of textiles, and that this tradition continued up through the late eighteenth century, with representative examples at the chapel of Canincunca and the church of Huaró.

Artists’ contracts also provide invaluable information on the patronage of murals. Referred to as *conciertos* or *contratos*, they were typically written up by the parish priest, who stipulated the time frame, pay, and content of the mural program. Such documentation can be found in the notarial archives, nestled within an array of legal

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<sup>98</sup> “...toda ella [la iglesia] con sus capillas y baptisterio, se pinte con cenefas y colgaduras....” Pedro Guibovich Pérez and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Sociedad y gobierno episcopal: las visitas del obispo Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (Cuzco, 1674-1694)* (Lima: Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2008), 211.

<sup>99</sup> “En Yanaoca se ha gastado 27.000 pesos y con ello se ha aderezado la iglesia y se ha pintado en forma de damascos.” Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:241.

proceedings, from wills to house sales to the apportioning of loans. Contracts for works of art abound in the late seventeenth century, at which time Cuzco was engaged in a frenzy of reconstruction after the devastation of the 1650 earthquake.<sup>100</sup> Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists' contracts are few and far between. Occasional documents appear in the notarial archives consisting of contracts for the production of clothing, or for silver items destined for a church, but over the course of three months of archival research at Cuzco repositories, focusing specifically on late-eighteenth-century documentation, I was unable to locate a contract for a mural painting. By comparing account books, inventories, and notarial archives of the same period, I have found that the majority of expenditures by priests detailed in church accounts are not accompanied by legal contracts. It is impossible to ascertain whether such contracts ever existed, or if mural commissions were instead drawn up through informal channels, the contracts have been lost, or they simply remain hidden among the hundreds of thousands of pages of notary documents in Cuzco's regional archive.

### **Overview of Mural Painting Styles in the Colonial Andes**

Mural painting in colonial Peru emerged as the result of a confluence of artists, materials, and techniques along global and local networks. Local practices came into contact with imported European traditions through institutions (workshops and guilds) and human agents (master artists, apprentices, and materials specialists). The relationship between artists and the colonial establishment determined the ways that European and Andean artistic systems became intertwined. A greater degree of collaboration occurred

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<sup>100</sup> The most comprehensive compilation of seventeenth-century Cuzco artists' contracts can be found in Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño*.

at the material level rather than the iconographical one because Spanish officials were far more concerned with appearances than essences. That is, Andean murals had to appear as faithful illustrations of Christian doctrine, but the materials and technical practices that went into their construction hovered below the radar of Spanish censorship.

While this dissertation is not explicitly focused on issues of materiality in Andean murals, it is important to acknowledge that artistic exchange occurred on a number of different levels, even those that may not be detectable to the human eye.<sup>101</sup> At the material level, European and Andean artists would have instructed one another in their respective painting strategies to create a material system that freely utilized local and foreign materials in the execution of a new mural tradition. Local pigments became enhanced by new solvents and binding agents brought from Spain, and new imported colors were added to the palette. As far as we can tell, these material exchanges were not fraught with ideological conflict<sup>102</sup> and could perhaps even be seen as a “happy marriage” of European and Andean traditions, enriching both systems with greater technical range and depth.

The development of a mural painting aesthetic, on the other hand, was not always a seamless union between Andean and European artistic conventions. In a number of mural programs we witness a degree of incommensurability between the pictorial agenda being put forth and the constituent parts forming the whole. Small details worked into

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<sup>101</sup> Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn discuss this point at length in their important article, “Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): especially 13-19.

<sup>102</sup> In *El poder de los colores* (167-216), Siracusano suggests that knowledge of pigments among colonial Andean artisans was considered a privileged, almost occult form of scientific knowledge analogous to the status of alchemists in contemporary Europe. Nevertheless, such knowledge did not seem to engender antagonism among Spanish artists or with the larger colonial bureaucracy.

the composition often endow the mural program with additional meanings that extended the signifying capacity of the image into new realms. Perhaps aware of the evocative power of images to both inspire religiosity, or conversely, espouse false doctrine, colonial officials actively policed artistic expression in the Andes throughout the colonial period. Murals were perhaps even more subject to censorship than paintings on canvas, given their prominent location on the walls of churches and their relative sense of permanence. For instance, the seventeenth-century author Fray Juan Meléndez proclaimed,

it is mandated, that not only in the Churches, but no place, not in public nor hidden in Indian towns that neither the sun, the moon, the stars be painted; and in many places neither land or sea animals, especially some of the species, in order to avoid the chance of returning (as is said) to their former delusions and follies.<sup>103</sup>

It is almost certain that Meléndez refers here to mural painting because of the way in which the statement is phrased, as he states specifically that such images are not to be painted in churches.<sup>104</sup> What is revealing in this statement is the disconnect between prescription and practice. Religious officials called for the elimination of any pictorial elements that could be falsely interpreted and worshiped by indigenous congregations.

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<sup>103</sup> “tiene mandado, que no solo en las Yglesias, sino que en ninguna parte, ni pública, ni secreta de los pueblos de los Yndios, se pinte el Sol, la Luna, ni las Estrellas; y en muchas partes, ni animales terrestres, volátiles ni marinos, especialmente algunas especies de ellos, por quitarles la ocasión de volver (como está dicho) a sus antiguos delirios, y disparates.” Juan Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias: en la historia dela gran Prouincia de San Iuan Bautista del Peru de el Orden de Predicadores al reuerendissimo padre F. Antonio de Monroy mexicano, general del dicho orden* (Rome: Nicolas Angel Tinassio, 1681), 62.

<sup>104</sup> The type of language employed in the discussion of images in seventeenth-century religious texts was fairly precise. For instance, in a 1613 diocesan synod, it states, “Because in the Churches it is not proper that there be any profane thing that could cause distraction in the eyes of the faithful. We prohibit the *hanging of images* in them, portraits of gentiles, and other figures that are not of Christ, our Lord, or Our Lady, or their saints...” (emphasis mine). (Porque en las Yglesias no es justo, que aya cosa profana, y que pueda causar distraccion en los ojos delos fieles. Prohibimos que en ellas no se puedan colgar Ymagine, ni retratos de gentiles, ni de otras figuras, que no sean de Christo, nuestro Señor, o de Nuestra Señora, o sus sanctos). See *Constituciones synodales del Arçobispado de los reyes en el Piru* (Lima: Francisco Del Canto, 1614), 57v. Here we can see that there was specific emphasis placed on the hanging of images to the wall.

Yet a number of churches throughout rural Cuzco contain prominent depictions of the sun, moon, and stars on their walls and arches. When we look at the history of mural painting in the colonial Andes, we must keep in mind the ideological tensions that existed between artists and colonial officials, and perhaps even among members of a painting team in charge of different aspects of a given mural program. Shifts in representational practices and the introduction of new iconographies cannot be seen as value-free. They merit closer consideration as pictorial interventions tempered both by the artistic and social climate of the era.

The current scholarship relies heavily on European stylistic categories as a means of constructing a general chronology of mural practices in the colonial Cuzco region. Mesa and Gisbert thus divide mural traditions into the categories of Renaissance and Mannerist, Baroque, *Mestizo* Baroque, Neoclassicism, and “Popular” Painting.<sup>105</sup> Pablo Macera constructs an elaborate chronology that traces murals from Mannerism and *Mudéjar* styles to Baroque, Neo-Mannerist-Rococo, Andean *Mestizo* Style, the “New Art,” and the style of “Provincial Liberation.”<sup>106</sup> Mesa/Gisbert’s overreliance on European stylistic categories forces Andean mural traditions into a set of terms and practices that do not adequately represent their pictorial characteristics or the historical contexts within which they were conceived. It also imposes a Eurocentric model onto colonial Andean image production that evaluates it on the basis of its conformity to metropolitan traditions, regardless of whether contemporary muralists were aware of or concerned with such traditions. Macera’s approach also employs European stylistic categories for constructing a chronology of Andean mural traditions, albeit with greater

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<sup>105</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:232–54.

<sup>106</sup> Macera, *La pintura mural andina*, 21.

sensitivity and sophistication. However, some of his categories are so specific that they only refer to one mural program, and do not possess utility for application across a variety of murals executed in the same time period. Rather than use terms such as Mannerist, Baroque, and Neoclassical to describe colonial Andean paintings, I group them by century, highlighting stylistic breaks and continuities across time. By breaking away from this arguably inhibiting and deterministic vocabulary, we can focus more on the trajectories that Andean mural painting took in its own right, with a closer attention to the changing historical contexts that guided these transformations. I thus propose an alternative overview of mural traditions in the Andes from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century that draws from existing scholarship charting their stylistic shifts, while also calling attention to the changing socio-historical contexts within which they were conceived.

### *The Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*

The earliest surviving examples of colonial mural painting can be found in Lima, the Spanish capital founded in 1535. It served as an early arrival point in Latin America for a special group of Italian émigré artists that brought European fresco practices to South America. While Bernardo Bitti (1548-1610) and Angelino Medoro (1567-1633), two Italian artists who traveled to Peru in the sixteenth century by way of Rome and Seville, may have also received training in fresco painting, the most well-documented introduction of Italian mural techniques into Peru comes from Mateo Pérez de Alesio (1547-c. 1616). Alesio's career was truly transnational; he worked in the Vatican, Rome,

Malta, and Seville before arriving in Lima between 1588 and 1590.<sup>107</sup> Aside from his prolific career in Peru, Alesio is perhaps best known for his execution of paintings at the Sistine Chapel located directly across from Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. Alesio's fresco depicts an obscure Biblical story: *St. Michael and Lucifer Struggle over the Body of Moses* (fig. 1.21). Located on the entrance wall of the chapel and serving as the culmination of a series of paintings depicting the life of Christ and the life of Moses,<sup>108</sup> they were completed between 1571 and 1574.<sup>109</sup> During his time in Seville from 1583 to 1587, he completed an important fresco of Saint Christopher at the Seville Cathedral.<sup>110</sup> He produced the mural in the span of about six months using a technique that was popular in Spain at the time, in which he painted the mural *al fresco* but added lights and shadows in *secco*. This technique also allowed for the efficient retouching of errors committed in the original painting process.<sup>111</sup>

The needs of Peruvian congregations differed enormously from those of his Spanish and Italian patrons. The esoteric subject matter of Alesio's Sistine Chapel frescoes would have had no place in a New World context, where religious art was to be accessible and highly legible for those newly introduced to the faith. Alesio executed several murals in the churches of the capital city, where he spent the rest of his career

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<sup>107</sup> Emilio Harth-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, *Pinturas y pintores en Lima virreinal* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1964), 127.

<sup>108</sup> Francisco Stastny, "A Note on Two Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel," *The Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 921 (1979): 777.

<sup>109</sup> Antonio Palesati and Nicoletta Lepri, *Matteo da Leccia. Manierista Toscano dall'Europa al Perú* (Pomaranace, Italy: Associazione Turistica Pro Pomerance, 1999), 48.

<sup>110</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio* (La Paz: Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, 1972), 51-53.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

until his death around 1616. The frescoes at the Capilla Villegas at the Church of La Merced, completed at some point before 1614, stand as his most important surviving mural program in the capital city.<sup>112</sup> They are located in the funerary chapel of Captain Bernardo Villegas, which is situated directly behind the main altar and presbytery of the main church.<sup>113</sup> The images in the cupola feature the Passion of Christ, represented by eight celestial nymphs holding symbols of his martyrdom (fig. 1.22). Images framed in roundels along the pendentives depict the Creation, the Temptation of Eve, the Expulsion from Paradise, and the story of Cain and Abel (fig. 1.23). Textual descriptions of the period reference a mural program featuring similar themes at the Church of Santo Domingo, which was unfortunately destroyed in an earthquake in 1746.<sup>114</sup>

There is no documentary evidence that Alesio traveled to Cuzco; nevertheless, a number of early colonial murals of the Cuzco region emulate the iconography and style exhibited at the Capilla Villegas. Alesio's style traveled to the highlands through a number of different channels. For one, his Italian contemporary, Bernardo Bitti, also painted a mural at the Capilla de los Indios next to the Compañía de Jesús, a description

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<sup>112</sup> Scholars remain divided on both the attribution and the dating of the Capilla Villegas. Héctor Schenone and Mesa/Gisbert believe that the murals were completed by Alesio himself before his death around 1616. See Héctor Schenone, "Una pintura en Lima atribuída a Pérez de Alesio," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas* 16 (1963): 28-33; Mesa and Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio*, 54. Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, on the other hand, dates the murals to 1628 and attributes them to one of Alesio's disciples. See Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Las escuelas pictóricas virreinales," in *Perú indígena y virreinal*, ed. Rafael López Guzmán and Miguel Angel Sorroche Cuerva (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2005), 81. Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas also argues for an attribution to one of his disciples. See Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, "Influencia Italiana en la Pintura Virreinal," in *Pintura en el virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1989), 138.

<sup>113</sup> Jorge Bernal Ballesteros, "Mateo Pérez de Alesio, pintor romano en Sevilla y Lima," *Archivo Hispalense* 56, no. 171-173 (1973): 263.

<sup>114</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:234; for a thorough description of Alesio's Santo Domingo murals by a contemporary of the period, see Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias*, 55.

of which I provided in the section on ethnohistorical evidence of Inca and early colonial murals. Though now destroyed, Bitti's mural likely possessed many of the stylistic characteristics of Alesio's work, given their similar background and training. Another route by which Alesio's mural style appeared in the Andean highlands was through the work of his followers as well as those of his Italian émigré contemporaries. Luis de Riaño, the artist responsible for the Andahuaylillas murals, was a student of Angelino Medoro, another of Alesio's contemporaries known to have completed murals at the Convent of Santa Clara.<sup>115</sup> Finally, Diego Cusi Guaman's mural of the *Baptism of Christ* at the Church of Urcos derives from a painting of the same subject by Alesio at St. John's Cathedral in Valetta (see Chapter 3 for further discussion).<sup>116</sup> We know that in 1580, Alesio commissioned the Antwerp engraver Pieter Perret to produce a series of prints based on his paintings in Malta, including one on this very painting.<sup>117</sup> We thus have evidence that prints of Alesio's works made it to the hands of Cuzqueñan muralists. Such information also alerts us to the vast, complex networks along which people and images traveled, both between and within Europe and South America.

Very few murals exist in the Cuzco area that date to the sixteenth century because of the destructive impact of the 1650 earthquake. However, a few churches in rural indigenous towns contain vestiges of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century murals that can offer a window into the pre-1650 visual landscape. These include the churches of San Jerónimo, Chinchero, Checacupe, Urcos, and Andahuaylillas. We do not have

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<sup>115</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:234.

<sup>116</sup> See *Ibid.*, 233; Mesa and Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio*, 38.

<sup>117</sup> Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 232.

precise dates for the completion of the murals in the churches, but the oldest of these is San Jerónimo, dating to around 1572.<sup>118</sup> In each of these churches we find decorative motifs that bear resemblance to the ornamental program of the Capilla Villegas murals and give us an idea of the appearance of early seventeenth-century churches of the Cuzco region. The predominance of black pigment in the background of Alesio's Lima murals becomes translated in Cuzco into black and white ornamental friezes like those found at the Church of San Jerónimo (fig. 1.24). Another striking similarity can be found in the *grotteschi* ("grotesque" ornamental decoration) of Alesio's murals with their Cuzqueñan incarnations, particularly in the depiction of angels whose torsos terminate in foliated curls. The cupola of the Capilla Villegas contains eight of them surrounding the oculus and several more on the pendentives. This type of decorative motif became very popular in Cuzco-area churches, with examples at the Church of Santo Domingo in Cuzco proper as well as the churches of the nearby towns of Oropesa and Andahuaylillas. In this early period it is difficult to determine the direction and nature of artistic exchange, given the dearth of surviving murals in Lima and Cuzco. It appears that the iconography of the grotesque flowed from Lima into Cuzco, since the colonial capital served as the initial entry point for goods from Europe such as prints and portable artworks. Lima also served as an important center for the training of artists in the early colonial period, whereas Cuzco became the artistic center of gravity in the eighteenth century with the development of the Cuzco School of Painting.

In sum, the murals of pre-1650 Cuzco feature a number of decorative elements that pay homage to the Italianate styles introduced primarily by Mateo Pérez de Alesio,

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<sup>118</sup> Harold E. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1949), 65.

and secondarily by his contemporaries Bernardo Bitti and Angelino Medoro. These include grotesque friezes featuring arabesques, acanthus leaves, and intertwined vines bearing an array of fruits. Fanciful angels that terminate in curled foliage accompanied by an array of fauna both local and foreign populate the churches, typically located along the nave, and along the upper perimeters of the church walls, ceilings, lintels, or pendentives. The early Cuzco churches contain mural programs that depict New Testament stories in a clear, concise manner. Such themes include the Baptism of Christ, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Annunciation, and portraits of saints. Each mural component is treated as a discrete entity, and often delimited by a painted frame as if to imitate the appearance of a painting hung on the wall. The earliest colonial murals take on an almost exclusively Europeanizing visual vocabulary, both in terms of iconography and stylistic conventions.<sup>119</sup> As Chapter 2 discusses, murals of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were bound up in the process of evangelization, produced with the intent of instructing indigenous congregations in the basic elements of Catholic doctrine.

The early murals bear visual testimony to the concerns of priests to effectively uproot any traces of ancestral Andean beliefs.<sup>120</sup> This is perhaps best reflected in the aforementioned entrance wall mural of Andahuaylillas. A considerable portion of the mural is dedicated to issues of idolatry; the text below the scene mentions the worship of false idols among the Israelites. In addition, the left-hand portion of the mural depicting

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<sup>119</sup> Although beyond the scope of the present study, this phenomenon stands in stark contrast to the sixteenth-century Mexican context. Murals adorning the interiors and exteriors of *conventos* (mission churches) of central Mexico contain numerous pictorial references to Nahua culture, a practice that largely died out by the mid-colonial period. Interestingly, in Peru we see the opposite; overt references to Andean local culture did not begin to appear until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

<sup>120</sup> For a sensitive discussion of the relationship between religious conversion and the visual arts in the colonial Andes, see Kenneth Mills, "Religious Imagination in the Viceroyalty of Peru," in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton Pruitt (Milan: Skira, 2006), 26-39.

the road to Hell shows indigenous Andeans drinking *chicha*, a corn beer used in Andean ritual and ceremonial practice (fig. 1.25). Such references reflect the concerns of priests of the time to correlate Christian concepts of Hell with Andean practices. In these paintings indigenous subjects and themes are marginalized in the small details, ornamental sections, and the margins of larger compositions which may, in fact, have paralleled the hierarchy of the workforce. This aspect is captured quite vividly at the Church of Oropesa, where one finds a *retablo* painted on the wall of a subsidiary chapel. A lone indigenous Andean, hands clasped in prayer, is represented outside of the painted *retablo*, which takes on the doubled appearance of a church in an outdoor setting surrounded by rolling hills (fig. 1.26). As Chapter 2 reveals, these early murals were certainly evocative of a local society in conflict over issues of religious conversion, but coded in subtle and often contradictory ways.

#### *The Late-Seventeenth to Mid-Eighteenth Century*

Few murals remain from this period in the Cuzco region. After the 1650 earthquake, the vast majority of churches were rebuilt under the tutelage of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo during his tenure from 1673-1699. Mollinedo sought to reconfigure the Andean visual landscape with images of great religious fervor that glorified the cult of the Eucharist and introduced a new devotion of the Virgin of Almudena from Spain.<sup>121</sup> From records of Mollinedo's intervention in the reconstruction of over fifty churches in the Cuzco region, it appears that the majority of churches in

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<sup>121</sup> Guibovich Pérez and Wuffarden, 42. See also Mario Avila Vivar, "Acerca de un cuadro del Entierro del Conde de Orgaz en el Cuzco (Perú)," *Archivo Secreto*, no. 4 (2008): 93.

Cuzco proper were refitted with paintings on canvas while rural churches were mandated to adorn the interiors of their churches with wall paintings.<sup>122</sup>

In these rural churches the predominant style was what art historians refer to as the *mural-textil*, or “mural-textile.” As discussed above in the section on archival documentation of colonial Andean murals, Mollinedo mandated several rural parishes to decorate their walls in the form of *colgaduras* (hangings; tapestries) or *damascos* (damasks). The churches of Canincunca, Pitumarca, and Cay-Cay contain such decorations throughout their interiors (fig. 1.27). Wall surfaces are treated with dense and uniform patterning to give the impression of sumptuous tapestries hanging down from the ceiling. What is perhaps most fascinating about this shift is that nearly 150 years after the conquest, the murals of this era emulate those of their Inca forebears. The “textile primacy” that characterized the art of the Andes reappears in the late seventeenth century in an entirely new context.<sup>123</sup> The murals of the early seventeenth century had made subtle references to the cultural backdrop within which they participated through the inclusion of local iconography in small, overlooked spaces. Their late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century counterparts, however, contain politically neutral, secular images of abstracted textile designs that seem to be devoid of any real ideological agenda. One reason for this may be that mural paintings in this period were considered more as decorative backdrops for religious canvas paintings or *retablos* than as narrative programs in and of themselves.

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<sup>122</sup> For my assessment of Mollinedo’s patronage, I consulted the two most comprehensive collections of primary sources associated with his life and work: Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, *Cuzco 1689: informes de los párrocos al obispo Mollinedo: economía y sociedad en el sur andino* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos, 1982); and Guibovich Pérez and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y gobierno episcopal*.

<sup>123</sup> Rebecca Stone (formerly Stone-Miller) was the first to coin this term, which has gained great currency in Andean scholarship. See Rebecca Stone-Miller, *To Weave for the Sun: Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 13-18.

One of the few surviving mural cycles in Cuzco proper from this period, located at the Convento de la Merced, contains a much different decorative scheme but nevertheless retains some stylistic continuity with murals of rural churches. Murals in the Convento basement, coined the *Celda del Padre Salamanca* (Cell of Father Salamanca), feature a comprehensive program of scenes of the Life of Christ, Purgatory, and a collection of *emblemata* depicting the virtues that one must possess in order to follow the path of righteousness (fig. 1.28). Despite their disparate content, what unites the Salamanca murals with the textile-style murals of rural diocesan churches is their ability to simulate the dissolution of architectural space. Both the painted textiles and the *horror vacui* of the Salamanca murals complicate and even defy the architectonic contours of the spaces they cover. The murals of the *Celda Salamanca* cover nearly every paintable surface of the room. Unlike at Andahuaylillas, where each mural composition comprised a discrete component delineated by corners and the termination of walls, the *Celda Salamanca* murals fluidly crossed architectural boundaries, wrapping around corners, extending to the ceiling, and making their way into small niches. Both the textile-style murals and the Salamanca mural cycle give the impression of being surrounded and wrapped by the space, endowing it with an intimacy not before seen in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century murals.

Generally speaking, murals of the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century evince a distinct shift from earlier compositions in terms of style and their placement within architectural space. That is, the more academic style exhibited at the churches of Andahuaylillas and Urcos gives way to exuberant profusions of ornament, *trompe l'oeil* architectural detailing, and more complex multifigural religious scenes. We begin to see

a lack of concern for creating the illusion of spatial depth. Instead, background settings loom above the foreground figures as if stacked on top of them. Space is rendered anecdotally rather than through measurements, endowing images with a layer of artifice, as if to further emphasize their paintedness. The textile murals privilege flatness through the application of patterning intended to convey not the illusion of an image, but a material.

These murals do not permit easy association with their immediate social contexts, namely because the vast majority of rural churches from this period do not contain a great deal of representational content. Mural painting becomes transfigured in the realm of ornament—seemingly innocuous profusions of decontextualized flora and fauna. As stated above, one practical reason for this is that murals of this period may have acted as backdrops for paintings on canvas, the new medium of choice. The iron fist of Mollinedo also impacted the form and content of murals from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and its reverberations were felt long after the completion of his tenure in Cuzco in 1699. Mollinedo arrived in Cuzco with the attitude of eliminating any remaining traces of idolatry that were not already wiped out with the extirpation of idolatries campaigns of the early seventeenth century. Indeed, he is famously known for his order to the priest of Andahuaylillas in 1687 to “remove the *mascapaycha* and [replace it with] rays or an imperial crown on the Jesus Child on an altar of the church.”<sup>124</sup> No longer simply moved to the margins of larger compositions, references to local history or

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<sup>124</sup> “al Nino Jesús que está en un altar de la yglesia se le quite la *mascapaycha* y se le pongan o rayos o corona ymperial.” Guibovich Pérez and Wuffarden, *Sociedad y gobierno episcopal*, 146. He also made the same request at the nearby Church of Oropesa. *Ibid.*, 150. The *mascapaycha* is a red-fringed royal Inca headdress worn by the *Sapa Inca*, or Inca sovereign. In the colonial period it could only be worn by direct male descendants of an Inca king. For a discussion of its role among indigenous elites in the colonial period, see Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 122-59.

indigenous culture were completely eradicated from the mural programs of this period, at a time when the Cuzco region sought to rebuild itself, both literally and spiritually, in the wake of its devastating earthquake.

Mural painters thus responded to this attitude of distrust and orthodoxy by relying on abstracted forms that are not easily interpreted. But as the Incas demonstrated in their own use of symbolic forms, abstraction in the Andes was by no means ideologically neutral. The application of flat, abstracted ornamental forms on the interiors of churches can be seen as both a response to Mollinedo's reforms as well as a radical move to create new visual languages that reinforce the importance of textiles (whose manufacture lay predominantly within the domain of indigenous females) as modes of symbolic communication. The *groteschi* that once figured into decorative friezes now become integrated into textile-style murals, replete with sinuous monsters, masked figures, and a variety of anthropomorphic forms. Such images do not bear any strict visual narrative as understood by Western artistic canons; for local Andeans, however, they likely contained a number of recognizable motifs woven into an overlapped and esoteric visual language. This idea receives further exploration in Chapter 3, which examines strategies of flatness and abstraction at the eighteenth-century church of Pitumarca.

### *The Late-Eighteenth Century to Early-Nineteenth Century*

Mural paintings of the late colonial period and the early years of independence began to return to their representational roots. Unlike the murals of the seventeenth century, however, they began to take on complex allegorical themes rooted equally in the religious and secular worlds. Murals offered forceful, albeit heavily coded,

documentation of social and physical violence inflicted on the local population. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Peru and Bolivia entered a period of violent conflict. In protest against increasingly exploitative labor regimes, indigenous rebellions began to shake the faltering foundations of colonial rule with increasing vigor. The Tupac Amaru II rebellion of 1780-1783 marked the culmination of a growing pan-Indian resistance to Spanish and *criollo* colonial oppression. In response to the ideological foundations upon which indigenous and *mestizo* insurgents were mobilized—a return to Inca rule—Spanish colonial officials policed indigenous expression to unprecedented degrees. A *real cédula* (royal edict) of 1781 issued by *Visitador General* Antonio de Areche called for the eradication of all images and objects related to the Incas. Muralists in the years following Areche's decree demonstrate creative maneuvers to reference local indigenous themes through ambiguous symbolism.

During this period mural painting in the rural parishes of Cuzco reached its apogee. A practice that had seemed to decline in popularity under the reforms of Mollinedo suddenly reached new heights in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But why the sudden surge in mural production so late in the colonial period, when new evangelizing images were of little need to a thoroughly Christianized population? Scholars have overlooked the fact that similar to the post-1650 recovery after Cuzco's earthquake, the destruction caused by the Tupac Amaru rebellion also ushered a wave of rebuilding and renovation in the late eighteenth century. Insurgent forces set some churches on fire and destroyed many others, attested by the wealth of late-eighteenth-century inventories, account books, and letters between rural priests and

the Archbishop of Cuzco that indicate the imperative for architectural repair and reconstruction.<sup>125</sup>

We witness the resurgence of mural painting in churches located throughout the provinces of Quispicanchis and Canas y Canchis, where Tupac Amaru II had his strongest base of support. Significantly, a number of mural programs in this area reference the rebellion through apocalyptic and allegorical imagery. The churches of Chinchero, Huaró, and Catca (the latter two located in Quispicanchis) contain graphic depictions of violence through distinct pictorial strategies. The murals of the church of Chinchero are prominently located on the portico of the church and depict loyalist troops of Mateo Pumacahua, an indigenous elite of Chinchero and eventual victor over Tupac Amaru's forces (fig. 1.29). Hovering above the scene are figures of the puma and *amaru* (an Andean mythological dragon) waged in battle, serving as symbolic stand-ins for the political figures. While the Chinchero murals explicitly reference the rebellion, as Pumacahua fell on the side of victor, the murals at Huaró employ a different pictorial strategy for the depiction of the event. Tadeo Escalante, the painter who composed the Huaró murals, chose to represent the battle through images of the apocalypse and allegories of the Tree of Life and the transposed worlds of Death in the House of the Rich and Death in the House of the Poor (fig. 1.30). In light of Areche's new law, Escalante was not able to express his sympathies toward Tupac Amaru's forces in the same way that we see Pumacahua's army extolled at Chinchero. Instead, he employs a fascinating

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<sup>125</sup> See AAC, XXII, 1, 13, 1789, fols. 1-11 (Alejandrino Caveró, *cura* of the Church of Langui, gives 727 *pesos* to Juan Bautista Aranzabal to reconstruct the destroyed church); AAC, XX, 3, 60, 1786 (Don Pedro Salazar y Rupillos relates the situation of the *doctrina* of Checacupe after the rebellion of Tupac Amaru); and AAC, XIX, 2, 37, 1781, fols. 1-9 (Don Francisco Antonio Pérez de Oblitas requests permission to be discharged from his parish after witnessing the devastation wrought by the Tupac Amaru rebellion).

balance of overtly violent images and dense allegories as a means of relating to the rebellion itself and the societal ills that instigated it.

The baptistery mural at the church of Catca takes on the theme of violence through a distinctly different lens. Painted in the late eighteenth century, the mural depicts the ravages of the great plague of 1720. Cuzco's *plaza de armas* is filled with dead and dying bodies hauled off in sacks carried by donkeys (fig. 1.31). In this case, the artist of the Catca mural seems to use the safe distance afforded by the passage of time as a means of conflating bodily violence inflicted on Andeans of the past with the present.

The murals of this period take on a distinct stylistic vocabulary that applies the flatness of the textile compositions to the realm of figural representation. Attempts at illusionistic rendering of space are all but abandoned in the late colonial murals; all of the compositional features – figures, landscape, foreground, and background – are collapsed into a single plane. Pictorial elements are delineated with thick black outlines and the color palette takes on a brighter hue. As Pablo Macera points out, the murals of this epoch take on a “popular” style that would anticipate the trajectory of rural Andean art of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>126</sup> They exhibit a unique blend of standard religious iconography and genre scenes, while at the same time also reviving earlier traditions, such as the textile-style murals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Murals of the colonial Andes underwent enormous stylistic and iconographical shifts throughout nearly three hundred years of colonial rule. But despite their wide-ranging differences, we can see that they retained intimate and brilliantly conceived connections to their respective sociohistorical environments. Whether through

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<sup>126</sup> Macera, *La pintura mural andina*, 41–44.

iconography and its infinite manipulations, the spatialization of mural imagery, or strategies of flatness or abstraction, artists sought to make murals meaningful and relevant to local congregations. The mere act of artistic improvisation, however slight, can signify much larger acts of self-determination. The case studies offered in the following chapters illuminate these shifts and the myriad cultural and historical forces behind them with greater specificity. By reorienting our understanding of murals as social documents equipped to communicate ideas about religion, local society, and their interrelationships, I move away from current models that merely categorize them into a stylistic lineage of Renaissance, Mannerist, Baroque, and Neoclassical. In so doing, we can appreciate the immense capacities of mural paintings to function in multiple spheres of human experience, from works of art to social documents.

## CHAPTER 2

### SPANISH THEATRICALS AND IDOLATROUS ANDEANS IN THE MURAL PAINTINGS OF THE CHURCH OF ANDAHUAYLILLAS

This chapter explores the complex relationships between mural painting, religious theater, and the repression of Andean “idolatry” at the church of San Pedro Apóstol de Andahuaylillas.<sup>1</sup> Founded in the late sixteenth century, Andahuaylillas is a rural Indian parish, or *doctrina*, located about twenty miles to the south of Cuzco in the modern-day province of Quispicanchis. The church of Andahuaylillas, coined the “Sistine Chapel of the Americas” because of its lush interior decorations, contains murals throughout the nave, choir loft, and subsidiary chapels dating to the early seventeenth century (fig. 2.1).<sup>2</sup> I focus primarily on the entrance wall mural as a point of departure for examining the various religious and cultural discourses within which the parish was invested. I argue that the entrance wall mural, which represents an allegory of good and bad faith,

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<sup>1</sup> I place idolatry in quotes because Andeans certainly did not view their own religious practices as idolatrous. I use the term, however, for its allusion to the Spanish campaigns of the seventeenth century dedicated to *extirpaciones de la idolatría*, or extirpations of idolatry, which are of great relevance to this chapter. Led by several Jesuit priests including Francisco de Avila, José de Arriaga, Pedro de Villagomez, and Fernando de Avendaño, the extirpation of idolatries movement operated under the contention that indigenous Andeans had not been properly evangelized, and thus continued to practice their pre-Hispanic traditions through the guise of Christian worship. This group of priests and their disciples conducted a number of *visitas* (visits) to towns throughout the archdiocese of Lima, in which they destroyed *huacas* (sacred shrines) and published reports on Andean ritual practice to guide other priests in their own extirpation projects.

<sup>2</sup> The church of Andahuaylillas has undergone several phases of restoration. The Cuzco earthquake of 1950 wrought considerable damage on the structure, necessitating emergency repairs in its immediate aftermath to reinforce the crumbling walls and ceiling by the Corporación de Fomento del Cuzco. In 1979, the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (National Institute of Culture) under the auspices of Copesco (Comisión Especial para Supervigilar el Plan Turístico Cultural PERU-UNESCO), began restorations to the paintings on canvas and murals, with particular emphasis on the entrance wall mural of the church. See Roberto Samanez Argumedo, “La pintura mural cusqueña y su conservación” (n.d.): 3-7. Most recently, the church has received considerable funding for restoration projects through the World Monuments Fund in an effort to reverse the deleterious effects of poorly executed structural repairs of previous decades. See <http://www.wmf.org/project/san-pedro-ap%C3%B3stol-de-andahuaylillas-church> (accessed April 2011). The restorations are to be completed in July 2012, in tandem with the opening of a new local museum featuring some of the church’s recently restored sculptures, silverwork, and paintings on canvas.

strategically features liminal acts that spoke to both Spanish and Andean value systems. Encoding dreams, pilgrimages, performances, and boundary crossings into a cohesive symbolic language, the entrance wall image participated in the project of evangelization in unconventional ways. At once didactic and esoteric, this mural demonstrates the vast signifying capacity of seventeenth-century mural painting.

I also examine the life and work of Juan Pérez Bocanegra (?-1645), the parish priest of Andahuaylillas at the time that the murals were executed. An analysis of the contemporary religious texts with which Pérez Bocanegra would have been familiar will shed light on the mural's historical relevance. Rather than simply view the mural as a vague response to indigenous idolatry, as previous authors have proposed,<sup>3</sup> I wish to situate the mural within more precise local and temporal parameters. Seventeenth-century sermons, extirpation of idolatry treatises, and manuals for priests reveal the entrance wall mural's participation in pressing dialogues on the nature of indigenous religiosity. I begin with a visual analysis of the mural by identifying the Flemish print on which it is based. I also propose additional sources for the mural beyond the realm of the visual record. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the legacy of the Andahuaylillas murals and their impact on subsequent artistic production in the Cuzco region.

### **Overview of Andahuaylillas, *Reducción* and Church**

The town of Andahuaylillas was founded in accordance with Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's 1572 decree to organize indigenous populations into *reducciones* (also

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<sup>3</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982), 238; Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 41.

known as *doctrinas*), or small villages laid out on a centralized grid plan. Indigenous populations were consolidated as a means of facilitating their conversion to Christianity and exacting tribute through labor regimes. By “reducing” indigenous peoples into small villages, Spaniards were able to more effectively exploit their labor and distance them from their place-based Inca *huacas*, or sacred shrines.<sup>4</sup> *Reducciones* fundamentally altered and eroded indigenous social organization by disrupting extended kin groups and dislocating communities from their ancestral lands. At the center of each *reducción* was a small plaza surrounded by the priest’s house, a prison, a hospital, and a church.<sup>5</sup> Established as a farming district, Andahuaylillas specialized in the cultivation of maize and wheat.<sup>6</sup> Variations existed of the town’s name, including Antahuayla la Chica, Antahuaylla, and Antahuaylla. The latter two were occasionally a source of confusion, as Andahuaylas is also the name for a province and town in the Apurímac region of the southern Andes.

The church was constructed in the early seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> The identity of the architect remains unknown, but the design of the church reveals its reliance on Renaissance architectural models. The church, like the majority of those built in Cuzco-area *reducciones*, consists of a single nave with a polygonal apse and an elevated choir

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<sup>4</sup> See Sabine MacCormack, “‘The Heart Has Its Reasons’: Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in Early Colonial Peru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65, no. 3 (1985): 453–54.

<sup>5</sup> Ramón Gutiérrez provides a useful overview of the development of *reducciones* in Peru under the reforms of Toledo. See Ramón Gutiérrez, “Las reducciones indígenas en el urbanismo colonial. Integración cultural y persistencias,” in *Pueblos de indios. Otro urbanismo en la región andina*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1993), particularly 21–35.

<sup>6</sup> Diane Elizabeth Hopkins, “The Colonial History of a Hacienda System in a Southern Peruvian Highland District” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1983), 12.

<sup>7</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:237.

loft at the front of the church. It rests on an Inca stone foundation, suggesting that it was constructed on the remains of a pre-Hispanic temple.<sup>8</sup>

The triumphal arch façade of the church extends upward to a second story balcony from which the priest would deliver sermons to parishioners standing outside in the atrium. This architectural feature is known as a *capilla abierta* (open chapel), an architectural phenomenon specific to colonial Latin America for the accommodation of large crowds of indigenous parishioners. The niches flanking the doorway are decorated with mural paintings depicting Saint Paul and Saint Peter, the patron saint of the church. The martyrdom of Saint Peter is depicted at the balcony level of the façade. This tradition of adorning the triumphal arch and balcony with mural painting was common throughout Indian parishes in the Cuzco region, with representative examples found at the churches of the southern Peruvian towns of San Jerónimo (a neighborhood of Cuzco), Oropesa, Urcos, Huasac, and Cay-Cay.<sup>9</sup>

### **Description of the Mural Program**

The interior of the church contains an ornate decorative program. Friezes along both sides of the nave depict saints flanked by cornucopias filled with grapes and pomegranates (fig. 2.2). The murals feature female saints, including Saint Cecilia, Barbara, Lucy, and Apollonia. Alternating between the saint portraits are images of mermaid-like figures with torsos culminating in splayed acanthus leaves. These

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<sup>8</sup> Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America*, 31.

<sup>9</sup> Ramón Gutiérrez, *Arquitectura y urbanismo en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1983), 61; Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Arquitectura andina, 1530-1830* (La Paz: Embajada de España en Bolivia, 1997), 84.

composite figures also take on the guise of angels with outstretched wings hoisting baskets of fruit on their heads. Lining the top of the frieze are painted spikes of alternating color and height, giving the appearance of a wrought iron fence or similar type of protective barrier.

One of the most notable aspects of the church's mural program are two painted arched doorways bearing inscriptions: one leading to the baptistery (see fig. 1.16) and the other leading to the stairs of the choir loft (fig. 2.3). Identical in design, the arches are differentiated only by the inscriptions painted along the perimeter of the doorway and lintel. Doubled lines around the inner and outer edges give the arch the appearance of being slightly recessed. Cherub heads decorate the spandrels and at the top of each arch are two candlestick-wielding *putti* flanking a medallion.

The painted entranceway to the baptistery is the more widely discussed of the two arches because of the significance of its inscription.<sup>10</sup> Written along the lintel is the baptismal formula written in Spanish, “Te bautizo en el nombre del padre y del hijo y del espíritu santo, amen” (I baptize you in the name of the father, the son, and the holy spirit, amen). The phrase is then repeated in Latin, Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina, earning it the title of “pentalingual doorway.” Since the indigenous inhabitants of Andahuaylillas spoke Quechua and not Aymara or Puquina, the decision to render the baptistery doorway with five languages has been attributed to master linguist and parish priest Juan Pérez Bocanegra.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:238; Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1993), 80–81.

<sup>11</sup> For commentary, see Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka Since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 47–48; and Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of*

An inscription in Latin decorates the doorway leading to the choir loft, which translates to “Let us bless the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit. Let them praise the name of the Lord in the choir.”<sup>12</sup> The choir loft has likewise received considerable scholarly attention for its unconventional combination of mural painting, windows, and natural light (fig. 2.4). The northeast wall (the interior pediment) features a mural of the Annunciation, with the Virgin Mary seated to the right and the Angel Gabriel at left. Situated between the two figures is an oculus surrounded by seven roundels. Each roundel contains a different word, which when read together state, “[S]an[ctus] Adonai Radix Emanuel Clavis Rex Oriens,” or “Holy, Adonai, Root, Emmanuel, Key, King, The One Who Rises.” Each of these words is an invocation of the persons of the Trinity.

Sabine MacCormack explains that

subsuming the cluster of inscriptions in and around the skylight into a single whole, they describe the Trinity: The Holy Ghost by whom Mary conceived; God the Father referred to by the Old Testament title of Adonai; and Jesus, referred to as Emmanuel and as ‘He who rises’ like the sun at his nativity.<sup>13</sup>

The inclusion of *Adonai*, the Hebrew word for God, has caught the attention of many scholars because of its rarity in colonial Latin America. References to Judaism or other religions were strictly prohibited so as to avoid any heretical interpretations of Christian doctrine. Moreover, the bibles used in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish

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*Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550-1650* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 123–24.

<sup>12</sup> Translation from Sabine MacCormack, “Art in a Missionary Context: Images from Europe and the Andes in the Church of Andahuaylillas Near Cuzco,” in *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600*, vol. XXVIII, Fenway Court (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 108.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

America never employed the term *Adonai*, calling into question the source from which this text could have derived.<sup>14</sup>

In fact, the most likely explanation for its inclusion at Andahuaylillas can be found in northern European print culture. A 1610 print by Hendrick Goltzius entitled *Mercy Conducting the Sinner to Penitence*, for instance, depicts Penitence under a ray of light. At the center of the sun are the Hebrew letters spelling out *Adonai*.<sup>15</sup> Situating the oculus between the Virgin and Gabriel is also unusual for its compositional importance to the scene.<sup>16</sup> Rather than rendering God the father in paint, the rays of light streaming in through the window serve as a stand-in for him. Again, a Netherlandish precedent exists, since several sixteenth-century prints indicate the presence of God through a beam of light falling from Heaven.<sup>17</sup> The difference in Andahuaylillas is that the muralists chose to integrate natural sunlight into the composition, providing a creative interpenetration of architecture, painting, and the natural environment. Such achievements mirrored the dazzling multimedia effects produced by Baroque masters working an ocean away in Italy and Spain.

The entrance wall mural below the choir serves as the focal point of this study. At about twenty feet high and thirty feet wide, the imposing image transmits an important culminating message to parishioners as they exit the church, serving as a final reminder

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<sup>14</sup> Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 113.

<sup>15</sup> John B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth*, vol. 1 (Nieuwkoop: De Graff, 1974), 313.

<sup>16</sup> In "Art in a Missionary Context," 117-18, Sabine MacCormack draws a fascinating parallel between the spatial organization of the choir loft mural and the indigenous chronicler Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui's cosmological diagram. The placement of the Virgin, Gabriel, and the skylight mimic Pachacuti Yamqui's placement of woman, man, and the creator Viracocha in his diagram. Her analysis underscores the important role that Andean cosmology played in the organization of mural imagery, a similar point that I will further explore in the entrance wall mural.

<sup>17</sup> Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation*, 1:244.

of the moral decisions with which they will be confronted in their spiritual journey (see fig. 1.14). The mural is divided into two components: the path to Heaven is located to the right of the main doorway (fig. 2.5), and the path to Hell is depicted to the left (fig. 2.6). The two paths refer to the passage from Matthew 7:13-14, which states, "Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it / But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it." A nude figure with only a white sheet around his waist walks cautiously up the narrow and thorny path to the Heavenly Jerusalem; emanating from his head are three lines that lead to the Holy Trinity depicted as three identical males (fig. 2.7). A thick rope connects the traveler's back to the composition on the left of the doorway, where the Devil attempts to pull him over to his side (fig. 2.8). In the foreground of the scene, four individuals attend a banquet, feasting on wine, fish, bread, pie, and fruits. To the left of the entrance portal the path to Hell is a wide, rust-colored path filled with flowers and populated by richly clad individuals and demons. A Hell mouth rears its head to the left of the path as a naked sinner falls into his maws. In the foreground of the same scene, an allegorical female figure guides a young man standing directly below the rope held by the Devil. At the end of the path to Hell flames engulf a castle guarded by deer poised on the roof with bows and arrows.

Below each of the two scenes is a key that provides a biblical passage for each of the alphabetical designations dispersed throughout the composition. Although some of the inscriptions have deteriorated, the print on which the mural is based provides us with

the missing passages.<sup>18</sup> The letters, with their inscription as they appear on the mural, the corresponding biblical passage, and an English translation are as follows:

A: *Decalo respexit Dominus, vidit omnes filios hominum. Psal. 32.*  
 Psalm 32:13: *De cælo respexit Dominus: vidit omnes filios hominum*  
 The Lord hath looked from heaven: he hath beheld all the sons of men.

B: *Quis sapiens & custod'et hec? Psal. 106.*  
 Psalm 106:43: *Quis sapiens et custodiet hæc et intellegent misericordias Domini*  
 Who is wise, and will keep these things; and will understand the mercies of the Lord?

C: *Tria Vota*  
 Three vows.

D: *Tuniculus triplex, difficile Rumpitur.*  
 Ecclesiastes 4:12: *Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur*  
 And if a man prevails against one, two shall withstand him: a threefold cord is not easily broken.

E: *Video aliam legem in membris meis.*  
 Romans 7:23: *Video autem aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captivantem me in lege peccati quae est in membris meis*  
 But I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members.

F: *Intrate per agustam portam.*  
 Matthew 7:13: *intrate per angustam portam quia lata porta et spatiosa via quae ducit ad perditionem et multi sunt qui intrant per eam*  
 Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it. But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it.

G: *Arcus eorum confringatur.*  
 Psalm 36:15: *Gladius eorum intret in corda ipsorum: et arcus eorum confringatur.*  
 Let their sword enter into their own hearts, and let their bow be broken.

H: *Venite, & fruamur bonis.*

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<sup>18</sup> My dissertation is the first study to transcribe all the inscriptions accurately and in full. Mesa and Gisbert identify letter A as a reference to Psalm 32 and B as a reference to Psalm 106, but do not venture identification of the other letters in Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:238. Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo attempt to reproduce the Latin passages, but their transcription is riddled with errors. See *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 139.

Wisdom 2:6 (Book of Apocrypha): *venite ergo et fruamur bonis quae sunt et utamur creaturam tamquam in iuventute celeriter*

Come, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that exist, and make use of the creation to the full as in youth.

J: *Caro.*

Flesh.

K: *Vecors locuta est. siquis est paruulus decl' met adme.*

Proverbs 9:4: *Si quis est parvulus veniat ad me et insipientibus locuta est*

Whoever is a little one, let him come to me. And to the unwise she said...

L: *Gens absq' consilio est, & sine prudentia; utinam saperent, & intelligerent, acnovissima prouiderem.*

Deuteronomy 32:28-30: *Gens absque consilio est et sine prudentia: utinam saperent et intellegent: ac nouissima prouiderent*

They are a nation without sense, there is no discernment in them. O that they would be wise and would understand, and would provide for their last end!

M: *Quasi vinculum plaustrum peccatum.*

Isaiah 5:18: *vae qui trahitis iniquitatem in funiculis vanitatis et quasi vinculum*

Woe to those who draw sin along with cords of deceit, and wickedness as with cart ropes.

N: *finis illorum inferi*

Psalm 48:15

O: *In puncto ad inferna descendunt.*

Job 21:12-13: *Gaudent ad sonitum organi, et ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad inferna descendunt*

They rejoice at the sound of the organ. They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell.

P: *Sagittat in obscuris r..., corde...Ps...*

Psalm 10:3: *quoniam ecce peccatores intenderunt arcum paraverunt sagittas suas in faretra ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde*

for, lo, the wicked have bent their bow; they have prepared their arrows in the quiver; to shoot in the dark the upright of heart.

Each tableau in the composition illustrates its corresponding biblical passage. The letters are intended to guide the reader as if reading a book. The placement of the letters, however, defies traditional linear modes of reading. Their erratic placement requires the

reader's eye to spiral around the composition, engendering a unique viewing practice that requires constant alternation between text and image.

The passages associated with letters D and M are particularly relevant to the imagery in the entrance wall mural. The three cords emanating from the man's head walking down the spiny path toward heaven are labeled D, referencing Ecclesiastes 4:12, "And if a man prevails against one, two shall withstand him: a threefold cord is not easily broken." This unorthodox rendering of the Trinity seems to be a leitmotif at Andahuaylillas, found both in the choir loft with the oculus and in the entrance wall mural. Several authors have commented on the ubiquity of three identical Christ portraits in eighteenth-century Andean painting, but this is one of the earliest documented examples of the phenomenon.<sup>19</sup> The divinity of the Holy Trinity is thus reinforced through three separate means: the three figures provide the visual dimension, the ropes serve as abstract symbols, and the biblical passage employs the literary device of allegory. The Devil pulling the thick rope attached to the man's back is labeled M, corresponding to Isaiah 5:18, "Woe to those who draw sin along with cords of deceit, and wickedness as with cart ropes." The scene thus gives tangible form to Catholic doctrine, encoding information both visually and linguistically in order to increase its potential for legibility among parishioners.

With the general structure and iconography of the mural program at Andahuaylillas established, next I discuss the life and writings of Juan Pérez Bocanegra and other ecclesiastical officials active in the area. In so doing, I hope to underscore the

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<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. (La Paz: Editorial Gisbert, 2004), 88–90.

relevance of the entrance wall mural to contemporary religious discourses on the evangelization of indigenous Andeans.

### **Juan Pérez Bocanegra and his *Ritual formulario***

Little is known about the details of Juan Pérez Bocanegra's life, but his name appears in the Andean historical record throughout the seventeenth century. He spent over forty years in Cuzco working with indigenous populations in several different capacities.<sup>20</sup> Pérez Bocanegra's birthdate is not known, but he began his career in Lima as professor of Latin grammar at the Universidad de San Marcos.<sup>21</sup> He was living in Cuzco as early as January 27, 1617, when he was named *Examinador General* (General Examiner) of Quechua and Aymara.<sup>22</sup> He also served as a choir book corrector, choir master at the Cuzco Cathedral, and *cura* of the church of Our Lady of Bethlehem in Cuzco.<sup>23</sup>

Pérez Bocanegra, a third-order Franciscan, began his tenure as parish priest, or *párroco*, of Andahuaylillas at some point before 1621; the exact date remains unknown. We can pin down his presence by this date because of a skirmish between the Jesuits and the secular clergy regarding jurisdictional rights over Andahuaylillas. In 1621, the King

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<sup>20</sup> Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 201.

<sup>21</sup> Bruce Mannheim, "Pérez Bocanegra, Juan (?-1645)," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 3 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 516.

<sup>22</sup> Diego de Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*, ed. Félix Denegri Luna, Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, and César Gutiérrez Muñoz, vol. 2 (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), 31.

<sup>23</sup> Diego de Mendoza, *Chronica de la prouincia de S. Antonio de los charcas del orden de n[uest]ro seraphico P.S. Francisco* (Madrid, 1665), 551. See also Ernesto Cucho Dolmos, "Juan Pérez Bocanegra, cura de Andahuaylillas y su obra (Cuzco)," *Revista Peruana de Historia Eclesiástica* 11 (2008): 105.

of Spain, at the suggestion of Viceroy Francisco de Borja, ordered the Jesuits to take over Andahuaylillas under the presumption that they would convert it into a language training center for the teaching of Quechua to missionaries. It was also believed that the Jesuits would use it as a rest stop during trips between the town of Quiquijana and Cuzco because of its favorable en route location. The secular *cabildo* of Cuzco intervened on Pérez Bocanegra's behalf, arguing that the Jesuits were only interested in taking over the parish so that they could use the Indians of Andahuaylillas to work their *haciendas* in Quiquijana. Pérez Bocanegra managed to delay the Jesuit presence for a few years, but on December 31, 1628, Andahuaylillas was placed under Jesuit control by royal decree.<sup>24</sup> It passed back into the hands of the secular clergy on April 4, 1636, and Pérez Bocanegra was reinstated until his death in 1645.<sup>25</sup>

It was in Lima in 1631, during the years of his exile from Andahuaylillas, that Pérez Bocanegra published his manual, officially entitled *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este Reyno los santos sacramentos del bautismo, confirmacion, eucaristia, y viatico, penitencia, extremauncion, y matrimonio, con aduertencias muy necessarias* (Ritual formulary and institution of priests, to administer to the Indians of this kingdom the holy sacraments of the baptism, confirmation, eucharist and viaticum, penitence, extreme unction, and marriage, with very necessary warnings). He actually completed the book in 1622, but for reasons not

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<sup>24</sup> Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, vol. 3 (Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1960), 368–69.

<sup>25</sup> Mannheim, “Pérez Bocanegra, Juan (?-1645),” 516. Although he was a third-order Franciscan, Pérez Bocanegra was assigned to Andahuaylillas by the Diocese. See Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka Since the European Invasion*, 250–51n17.

fully known, it was not published for another nine years.<sup>26</sup> *Ritual formulario* is a 720-page instruction manual for priests in administering the seven sacraments to indigenous Andeans. As Pérez Bocanegra mentions in the *epistola* (epistle) to *Ritual formulario*, he follows the rubrics laid out in the Tridentine Office Book for parish priests, published in Antwerp in 1620.<sup>27</sup>

The text is written in Spanish and Quechua, although unlike most seventeenth-century bilingual texts published in Peru in which the Spanish and Quechua sections are printed side by side in double columns, Pérez Bocanegra structures his text differently. The Spanish precedes the Quechua, with entire sections printed together, followed by a full Quechua version of the section. Although it is made to look as though the Quechua passages are faithful translations of the Spanish, linguistic anthropologist Bruce Mannheim has noted that the primary language of the text is actually Quechua, with basic interpretive glosses in Spanish. Mannheim argues that Pérez Bocanegra may have structured his text as such in order to escape suspicion among censors.<sup>28</sup> This

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<sup>26</sup> Inspection of the licenses provided at the beginning of the book reveals that only two individuals granted a license for *Ritual formulario* in 1622: Don Lorenzo Pérez de Grado, Bishop of Cuzco, on October 26, and Maestro Fray Luys Corneio [Luis Cornejo] on November 22. The four other licenses were provided between 1626 and 1628. This suggests that Pérez Bocanegra may not have been able to secure sufficient funding in 1622, and sought additional licenses in the subsequent years. Of the thirteen known copies of the book located in public libraries, only a handful contain an additional leaf with the licenses of Fernando de Avendaño, a revered Jesuit priest who executed several extirpation of idolatry campaigns, and the Ordinario, both dating to 1631. Kenneth Ward, curator of Latin American books at the John Carter Brown Library, suggested that there may have existed two editions of the book, with the version containing the licenses from Avendaño and the Ordinario comprising the second edition (personal communication, August 2010).

<sup>27</sup> MacCormack, "Art in a Missionary Context," 106; see also José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)*, vol. 1 (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico de José Toribio Medina, 1965), 279.

<sup>28</sup> Bruce Mannheim, "Gramática colonial, contexto religioso," in *Incas e indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, ed. Jean-Jacques Decoster (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 2002), 215.

interpretation is consistent with the subtle accommodation of Andean value systems in the church's mural paintings, as is shown throughout this chapter.

### **Structure of *Ritual formulario***

Pérez Bocanegra's text begins with a short introduction to the meaning and importance of the seven sacraments and then continues with separate sections on each one. His section on confession is by far the most extensive, laying out the necessary types of questions, organized by their relevance to each of the Ten Commandments. A number of the questions relate to practices of idolatry, described with a level of detail unparalleled in other *confessionarios* of the period. For instance, the 1585 *Tercero catecismo y exposición de la doctrina christiana por sermones*, a trilingual catechism printed in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara (and the first book published in Peru), provides only three admonitions to be delivered to confessors: against idolatry and superstition, drunkenness, and dishonesty.<sup>29</sup> Pérez Bocanegra, on the other hand, provides twenty-nine admonitions in total, including idolatry, witchcraft, dream interpretation, rancor, drunkenness, sodomy, and bestiality.<sup>30</sup> These half-to page-length admonitions are of particular interest to Andahuaylillas because they give us a sense of the framework through which local Andean beliefs and practices were understood by Spanish religious authorities.

For example, he asks, "Have you worshiped certain *huacas* because you believe that they will make you a good spinner or weaver?" He also makes explicit reference to

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<sup>29</sup> See *Tercero catecismo y exposicion de la doctrina christiana, por sermones* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585), 23v–26v.

<sup>30</sup> Juan Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas* (Lima: Geronymo de Contreras, 1631), 386–445.

the Inca past, reflected in the question, “In the *Capac Raimi*, *Inca Raimi*, and the other festivals of your past, have you performed dances, adoring the *huacas*, that in the time of the Incas you used to adore? Or in these celebrations have you drunk until inebriation, in honor of the *huacas*, with the other Indians?” He also makes more general references to local ritual practices, such as, “Do you cure using herbs, seeds, or powders, first invoking the Devil, or saying some words that your ancestors taught you without your understanding them, thinking that you could cure the sick with them?”<sup>31</sup>

The text continues with a discussion of the remaining four sacraments and concludes with selections from the *Doctrina christiana*. The final sections of the book are considerably shorter, given the book’s primary purpose as a confession manual. Economic considerations may also explain why the sacrament of confession was so much longer than the subsequent sections. The Franciscan chronicler Diego de Mendoza mentions that Pérez Bocanegra wrote a total of six volumes on administering of the sacraments, but only the *confessionario* was published because of the high costs of printing.<sup>32</sup>

### **Knotted “Cords of Deceit”: Evidence of Juan Pérez Bocanegra’s Patronage of the Andahuaylillas Murals**

The correspondence between the mural image and Pérez Bocanegra’s text is one of several examples to suggest his patronage of the mural program, a point on which

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<sup>31</sup> “Has adorado algunas huacas, porque te hagan buena hilandera, y texedera?”... “En las fiestas del *Capacraimi*, *citua*, *Incaraimi*, y en las demas fiestas de tus pasados, has hecho danzas, y bailes, adorando las huacas, que en tiempo del Inca solias adorar? O en tales fiestas, has bebido hasta emborracharte, en honra de las huacas, con los demas Indios?”... “Curas con algunas yerbas, o semillas, o polvos, invocando primero al Demonio o dices algunas palabras, que te enseñaron tus antepasados, sin las entender tu, pareciendote, que sanas los enfermos con ellas?” Juan Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas* (Lima: Geronymo de Contreras, 1631), 129, 133–34, 198.

<sup>32</sup> Mendoza, *Chronica de la prouincia de S. Antonio*, 551.

scholars have only speculated.<sup>33</sup> The absence of known archival documents to secure this attribution has necessitated other methods of inquiry, including comparative analysis of texts and images.

Pérez Bocanegra took a less polemical stance than his contemporaries involved in extirpation of idolatry campaigns such as José de Arriaga, Francisco de Avila, Fernando de Avendaño, and Don Pedro de Villagómez.<sup>34</sup> His interest in incorporating Andean language and cultural beliefs into the evangelization process differed from the attitudes of other priests, whose sole objective was to eradicate idolatry at its root and destroy all visible signs of it. Yet at the same time that Pérez Bocanegra valorized certain Andean cosmological concepts—for instance, likening the Virgin Mary to the Pleiades, an important star cluster associated with the Inca agricultural calendar<sup>35</sup>—he also denounced others.

For example, his disdain for the *quipu* set Pérez Bocanegra apart from his contemporaries, who found it to be a useful tool in confession as well as in legal

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<sup>33</sup> There exist roughly two “camps” regarding the patronage of the murals. Mesa and Gisbert, based on Pérez Bocanegra’s erudition and humanistic sensibilities, argue that he handpicked all of the mural imagery for the church. See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:237. Several scholars have followed this line of thought, including MacCormack, “Art in a Missionary Context,” 111–21; and Elizabeth Kuon Arce, “Del manierismo al barroco en murales cuzqueños: Luis de Riaño,” in *Manierismo y transición al barroco. Memoria del III encuentro internacional sobre Barroco* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005), 112. The Vargas Ugarte “camp” attributed the church decoration to the Jesuits during their takeover of the parish from 1628-1636. See Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 3:368–69; Hopkins, “The Colonial History of a Hacienda System in a Southern Peruvian Highland District,” 186–87; and Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka Since the European Invasion*, 48, although Mannheim does attribute the pentalingual doorway to Pérez Bocanegra.

<sup>34</sup> Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 400–4; for a discussion of the transformation in tactics for dealing with idolatry from the early years of the Spanish conquest to the time of Avila, Avendaño, and Villagomez, see Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 16–38; see also Regina Harrison, “Doctrinal Works,” in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 224–26.

<sup>35</sup> MacCormack, “Art in a Missionary Context,” 112.

proceedings.<sup>36</sup> The First Lima Council (1551-1552) advocated the use of the *quipu* as a means for Andeans to literally “count” their sins.<sup>37</sup> Ecclesiastical officials continued to support the use of the *quipu* for confessions through the 1580s. Finally, the Third Council of Lima (1582-1583) officially denounced the *quipu* because of its potential to conserve “ancient superstitions,” although its use in Christian confessions continued through the seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> Pérez Bocanegra believed that native Andeans, and particularly females, used the *quipu* to make false confessions. He argued that women used the *quipu* as a means of listing generic sins that could be repeated by all women regardless of whether or not they committed them.<sup>39</sup>

Returning to the entrance wall mural, the image of the devil pulling on a rope while attempting to drag the faithful pilgrim toward the path to Hell gains an additional layer of meaning. The passage from Isaiah 5:18, “Woe to those who draw sin along with cords of deceit, and wickedness as with cart ropes,” can thus be dually interpreted as a reference to the *quipu* cords that Pérez Bocanegra regarded with such disdain. It is also significant that the Devil holds this “cord of deceit” in his hands, grasping the rope between his fingers in much the same way that one would hold a *quipu*. The tactility of the *quipu*, transmitting information through the sense of touch, provided another source

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<sup>36</sup> John Charles, “Unreliable Confessions: Khipus in the Colonial Parish,” *The Americas* 64, no. 1 (2007): 11–33.

<sup>37</sup> Regina Harrison, “Pérez Bocanegra’s *Ritual formulario*: Khipu Knots and Confession,” in *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu*, ed. Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 268.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 268–69.

<sup>39</sup> Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual Formulario*, 111–13.

of suspicion among Spanish authorities, who frequently likened Andean sensory experiences to idolatry.

In the pre-Columbian period, many of the prized objects through which the Incas reinforced social relationships and transmitted information involved the sense of touch. *Keros*, wooden ritual drinking vessels for the consumption of *chicha*, or corn beer, along with *aquillas*, silver drinking vessels used for the same purpose, involved holding the vessel, bringing it to one's lips, and passing it to others in attendance.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, finely woven cloth, known as *cumbi*, was worn on the body, provided as offerings to *huacas* (sacred shrines), or ritually burned as an offering to the sun.<sup>41</sup> Spanish officials denounced the use of such objects, reinforcing their message both through sermons and the visual arts. For example, in the 1739 *Postrimerías* series at the Church of Caquiaviri in La Paz, Bolivia, a winged demon grasps a *kero* in his hand, serving as a dual symbol of both idolatry and drunkenness (fig. 2.9).<sup>42</sup> Unlike European paintings, which feature religious figures to be gazed at to serve as a visual representative of that which cannot be seen, Inca ritual objects contained that very essence of divinity in itself, activated through

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<sup>40</sup> Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

<sup>41</sup> 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* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 50-66; 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, Joanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 2-15; Elena Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition," in *The Colonial Andes*, 72-99.

<sup>42</sup> See Teresa Gisbert, "La muerte en el arte virreinal andino," in *Al final del camino*, ed. Luis Millones and Sidea Moisés Lemlij (Lima: Sidea Fondo Editorial, 1996), 105; and Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes: la imagen del otro en la cultura andina*, 2nd ed. (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2001), 209.

touch.<sup>43</sup> The Spaniards recognized this cognitive chasm that existed between Inca and Christian forms of worship, referencing it frequently in religious tracts. In his 1648 book of sermons, the Peruvian Jesuit Fernando de Avendaño states in his tenth sermon on witchcraft and superstition,

My children, it is a very different thing that Christians do from what you do. Christians don't adore or kiss images for what they are, nor do they adore that stick, or piece of metal, or painting, but instead they adore Jesus Christ in the image of the Crucifix, and the Mother of God, our Lady the Virgin Mary in her image, and also the saints in their images; and the Christians know well that Jesus Christ, and our Lady, and the Saints are alive in Heaven, full of glory, and are not in those sculptures or images, which are only painted.<sup>44</sup>

It was thus not just the objects themselves that provoked cause for suspicion, but the ways in which they were handled. The *quipu*, a seemingly innocuous collection of knotted strings, could be activated, through touch, to transmit “false” messages. Perhaps the opacity of the *quipu* lay at the root of Spanish anxieties about its use; the notational system under which it operated was unknown to most Spaniards, and it bore no resemblance to the written word to which they ascribed such great prestige.<sup>45</sup>

A nave mural previously covered by a canvas painting until the recent UNESCO restoration project of 2010-2012 also provides a crucial slice of evidence for Pérez

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<sup>43</sup> See Constance Classen, “Sweet Colors, Fragrant Songs: Sensory Models of the Andes and the Amazon,” *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 4 (1990): 722-35.

<sup>44</sup> “Hijos míos, muy diferente cosa es lo que hacen los Christianos, y lo que hazéis vosotros. Los Christianos no adoran, ni besan las imagines, por lo que son, ni adoran aquel palo, o metal, o pintura, mas adoran a Iesu Christo en la imagen del Crucifijo, y a la Madre de Dios nuestra Señora a la Virgen Maria en su imagen, y a los Santos también en sus imágenes, y bien saben los Christianos, que Iesu Christo, y nuestra Señora, y los Santos están en el cielo vivos, y gloriosos, y no están en aquellos bultos, o imágenes, sino solamente pintados.” Fernando de Avendaño, *Sermones de los misterios de nuestra santa fe catolica, en lengua castellana, y la general del inca*, vol. 2 (Lima: Iorge Lopez de Herrera, 1648), 35v.

<sup>45</sup> See Thomas B. F. Cummins, “Representation in the Sixteenth Century and the Colonial Image of the Inca,” in *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 188-219; Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 83-87.

Bocanegra's patronage of the mural program.<sup>46</sup> A decorative program similar to the lower nave murals lines the upper portion of the left nave wall (fig. 2.10). In the area right before the altar, elaborate strapwork encircles two areas of text that read like a rebus. The first circle spells "edi" "fi" when read from bottom to top, likely an abbreviation for "edificó," or built. The next circle to the right of it contains the inscription "boca," or mouth. To the right of this decorative frieze an archangel protects a young boy from the gaping jaws of a dark greenish-black Hell mouth. The dark color of the demon helps complete the rebus as "negra" (black), crediting Bocanegra with the edification of the church. Pérez Bocanegra's interest in linguistic creativity is amply demonstrated in the pentalingual doorway and inclusion of text in the entrance wall mural. But we also know from a poem written by Dominican priest Adrián de Alesio (Mateo Pérez de Alesio's son) in the opening pages of *Ritual formulario* that Pérez's unique maternal last name was fodder for witty wordplays. The last lines of the poem read, "Pues tu pluma le dà lengua / Y tu nombre le dà boca" (For your quill endows it with tongue / And your name gives it a mouth). Alesio's poem is followed by a sonnet that continues this theme. The first four lines read: "Boca de oro esmaltada [h]a de llamarse / Trocando Bocanegra a su apellido / Qu' el oro de quilates mas subido / De esmaltes negros puede perfilarse" (Enameled mouth of gold has to be called / Changing Bocanegra for his surname / That gold with the most carats / And black enamels could appear.).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> I thank Diana Castillo Cerf and the Andahuaylillas restoration team for bringing this mural to my attention.

<sup>47</sup> Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual formulario*, n.p. I thank Miguel Arisa for this translation.

The image of the young boy closely resembles the child in the foreground of the path to Hell (see fig. 2.8) and the Hell mouth of this scene bears a striking resemblance to its entrance wall mural counterpart. This indicates that these mural sections are contemporaneous and provides further support for Pérez Bocanegra's patronage of the entire mural program. The clever integration of text and image remains consistent with his interest in linguistics and also provides us with a clear example of colonial mural painting as a visual conversation between artists and religious patrons. In the following pages, I discuss Pérez Bocanegra's connections to concurrent religious debates on Andean idolatry to better understand the entrance wall mural's historical significance.

### **The Religious Panorama of Mid-Seventeenth-Century Peru**

Conversion efforts in mid-seventeenth-century Peru differed from those conducted in the prior decades. In the early years of evangelization, priests incorporated aspects of Andean religious practice and belief into their sermons as a means of attracting the greatest numbers of converts. Inca deities were conflated with Christian ones: *Illapa*, the Inca god of lightning, fused with Santiago, the patron saint of Spain; while the Virgin Mary became associated with Pachamama, the Andean earth goddess.<sup>48</sup> Incaic cults thus lived on, but were often substituted or intertwined with new Christian representatives. This is not to imply, however, that early conversion activities in Peru were any less

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<sup>48</sup> Countless art historians, anthropologists, and historians have written on the syncretism of European and Andean belief systems. Sabine MacCormack's *Religion in the Andes* stands as one of the most significant general studies on the topic. For specific studies on the examples cited above, see Irene Silverblatt, "Political Memories and Colonizing Symbols: Santiago and the Mountain Gods of Colonial Peru," in *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*, ed. Jonathan David Hill (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 174-94; Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco* (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995); and her more recent study, "The Virgin of the Andes: Queen, Moon and Earth Mother," *Southeastern College Art Conference Review* 14, no. 4 (2004): 303-13.

dogmatic or forceful than they were in the seventeenth century.<sup>49</sup> In the earliest years of evangelization, the primary goal was mass conversion. In fact, several priests' accounts from the mid-sixteenth century boast of the thousands of baptisms conducted within a year, providing a sense of all-out victory in the spiritual conquest over Andean souls.<sup>50</sup>

Several developments in the intervening decades, however, began to erode the crown's confidence in the church's success in the Andes. The *taki onqoy* movement, or "dancing sickness," took hold of several indigenous communities in the 1560s and 1570s. Indigenous Andeans fell into trance-like dancing states, believing that they could summon the *huacas* of their Inca ancestors to overthrow Christianity and Spanish rule.<sup>51</sup> Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's arrival in 1572 to depose Tupac Amaru, the leader of the rebel neo-Inca state (1535-1572), precipitated an aggressive policy of missionization. In addition to his administrative reforms, Toledo supported the destruction of Andean shrines in order to further disassociate indigenous peoples from their ancestral religions. It was within this context that the seventeenth-century extirpation of idolatry campaigns emerged.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, 20.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>51</sup> For one of the most comprehensive sources on the subject, see Luis Millones, ed., *El retorno de las huacas: estudios y documentos sobre el taki onqoy, siglo XVI* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos y Sociedad Peruana de Psicoanálisis, 1990); Gabriela Ramos, "Política eclesiástica y extirpación de la idolatría: discursos y silencios en torno al Taqui Onqoy," *Revista Andina* 10, no. 1 (1992): 147-69; Jeremy Mumford, "The *Taki Onqoy* and the Andean Nation: Sources and Interpretations," *Latin American Research Review* 33, no. 1 (1998): 150-65; Jaymie Heilman, "A Movement Misconstrued? A Response to Gabriela Ramos's Interpretation of *Taki Onqoy*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 11, no. 1 (2002): 123-38; and Gabriela Ramos, "Política eclesiástica, cultura e historia: Cristóbal de Albornoz y el Taqui Onqoy, otra vez," *Colonial Latin American Review* 11, no. 1 (2002): 139-45.

<sup>52</sup> It is important to keep in mind that extirpation of idolatry campaigns undertaken in the New World emerge out of a larger tradition of Spanish Christian attempts at wiping out witchcraft and the practice of Islam among its *morisco* (converted Spanish Muslim) populations. Inquisitional trials brought against sorcerers, witches, and practitioners of various superstitions throughout the early modern period in Spain loosely correlate with Spanish attempts to wipe out "idolatrous" practices among the recently

Known both as *visitas de idolatrías* and *extirpaciones de idolatrías*, campaigns against indigenous idolatry were conducted primarily in the archdiocese of Lima, leaving behind a rich documentary record in the form of published reports. The Jesuits were the principal agents of the extirpation campaigns. Some of the most well-known texts on idolatry include Pablo José de Arriaga's *Extirpacion de la idolatria del piru* (1621), Francisco de Avila's *Tratado de los evangelios* (1648), Fernando de Avendaño's *Sermones de los misterios de nuestra santa fe* (1648), and Pedro de Villagómez's *Carta pastoral* (1649).<sup>53</sup> In these texts, the authors offer lengthy expositions on the nature of Andean idolatry, providing lists and descriptions of different deities and the types of offerings provided to *huacas*. The level of detail present in these texts was enormous; for instance, Arriaga states that during his investigations from 1617-1618, he counted 5,694 people who confessed to idolatry, 679 "ministers of idolatry," and he destroyed 653 *huacas*, 3,418 *conopas* (ritual figurines), 617 *mallquis* (mummified human remains), and 477 bodies that had been stolen from church cemeteries.<sup>54</sup> These reports, all printed in Lima, were widely circulated and tied up in a web of ecclesiastical relationships. Pérez Bocanegra's place within this matrix of idolatry discourse, a topic scarcely touched on by historians, plays out in revealing and unexpected ways.

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converted indigenous peoples. Although few studies exist that compare the two contexts, for a discussion of Spanish inquisitional trials, see Gunnar W. Knutsen, *Servants of Satan and Masters of Demons: The Spanish Inquisition's Trials for Superstition, Valencia and Barcelona, 1478-1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Pablo José de Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria del piru* (Lima: Geronymo de Contreras, 1621); Francisco de Avila, *Tratado de los euangelios*, 2 vols. (Lima: Pedro de Cabrera, 1648); Avendaño, *Sermones de los misterios*; Pedro de Villagómez, *Carta pastoral de exortacion e instruccion contra las idolatrias de los indios del arzobispado de Lima* (Lima: Jorge Lopez de Herrera, 1649).

<sup>54</sup> Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria*, 9.

### **Influences, Confluences, and Conflicts: Pérez Bocanegra's Religious Contemporaries**

One of the first strategies for locating Pérez Bocanegra's *Ritual formulario* within a larger framework of seventeenth-century religious discourse in Peru lies in identifying sources shared by him and his contemporaries. His most frequently acknowledged source of inspiration is the Franciscan Luis Geronymo [Jerónimo] de Oré, bishop of Concepción, Chile, and author of several multilingual religious tracts. Oré's *Symbolo catholico indiano* (1598) heavily influenced Pérez Bocanegra's writings, a fact that he himself acknowledges in his text.<sup>55</sup> Born in Huamanga (present-day Ayacucho) in 1554 to a prominent creole family, Oré was a central figure in late-sixteenth-century evangelization efforts. A great linguist like his successor, Pérez Bocanegra, Oré was fluent in Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, and Latin. For the Third Council of Lima (1582-1583), he was granted the task of translating key religious texts into Quechua and Aymara.<sup>56</sup> In addition to *Symbolo catholico indiano*, he also published *Ritvale, sev Manvale Pervanum* in Naples in 1607.

Both Oré and Pérez Bocanegra were committed to the notion of appealing to indigenous congregations through the aural and visual arts. In his twelfth chapter on the ornamentation of churches and altars, Oré states,

it is very necessary that in the Indian towns and churches that there be pulpits in order to preach the word of God, and in order to preach from them the doctrine and catechism, since the Indians set their eyes on these exterior things, allowing them to achieve greater reflection. And having gained the appropriate decency, they will become more useful, edified, and devoted.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual Formulario*, 469–70.

<sup>56</sup> Luis Enrique Tord, "Luis Jerónimo de Oré y el Symbolo Catholico Indiano," in *Symbolo Catholico Indiano*, ed. Antonine Tibesar, facsimile ed. (Lima: Australis, 1992), 25.

<sup>57</sup> "es muy necessario que en los pueblos e yglesias de indios, aya pulpitos para predicar la palabra de Dios, y para dezir en ellos la doctrina y cathecismo: pues en estas cosas exteriores ponen los indios los

The use of images, sculpture, and other ornamentation as vehicles for enlivening one's faith was an important element of the Council of Trent (1545-63), as well as the Third Lima Council (1581-83). In the latter, priests were encouraged to appeal to indigenous audiences with emotional sermons and visual images.<sup>58</sup> Although Pérez Bocanegra does not write explicitly on the visual arts, it is clear from the magnitude of the church's decorative program that he modeled his parish on the dictates furnished by Oré and the Third Lima Council.

Aside from their shared linguistic talents and humanistic perspectives on native evangelization, Oré and Pérez Bocanegra may have known each other personally. Oré was intimately acquainted with ecclesiastical officials in the Cuzco region, having represented the bishop of Cuzco, Antonio de la Raya, at the Council of the Indies in Lima regarding the drawing of jurisdictional limits for the Cuzco and Charcas dioceses.<sup>59</sup> Although no known documentary confirms a personal relationship, the historian David Noble Cook mentions that Pérez Bocanegra revised parts of Oré's *Ritvale, sev Manvale Pervanum* in Quechua and Aymara in 1601.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, Fray Luis Cornejo, in his

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ojos, y hazen mayor reflexion. Y estando con la decencia que conuiene, les causara mayor aprouechamiento, edificacion, y deuocion." Luis Geronymo de Oré, *Symbolo catholico indiano, en el qual se declaran los mysterios dela fe contenidos en los tres Symbolos Catholicos, Apostolico, Niceno, y de Athanasio* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1598), 51v.

<sup>58</sup> Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "'Reading Without a Book'—On Sermons, Figurative Art, and Visual Culture in the Viceroyalty of Peru," in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton Pruitt (Milan: Skira, 2006), 40–65; Harrison, "Doctrinal Works," 222.

<sup>59</sup> David Noble Cook, "Luis Jerónimo de Oré: una aproximación," in *Symbolo Catholico Indiano*, 45.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 48. Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, close comparative analysis of the work of Oré and Pérez Bocanegra would yield fascinating insights on the intellectual world of seventeenth-century Cuzco.

*aprobación* printed in the preliminary pages of *Ritual formulario*, mentions that the same Antonio de la Raya played a role in the formation of the text.

In addition to Oré, whose wide-ranging influence was acknowledged in the work of other great colonial Andean authors, including Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Garcilaso de la Vega,<sup>61</sup> Pérez Bocanegra appears to have had connections to several Jesuit extirpators of idolatry. In the opening of Pablo José de Arriaga's treatise on the extirpation of idolatry, he states:

to satisfy serious and erudite people...not only did they doubt what they clearly saw, but contradicted in many cases, the fact that there are idolatries among Indians, claiming that they are all good Christians.<sup>62</sup>

Keeping in mind that Arriaga's text was published in 1621, precisely one year prior to Pérez Bocanegra's completion of his manuscript, he states in his *Ritual formulario*,

The First Commandment of the law of God states: Love God above all things. The following [confessional] questions include all of the rites, ceremonies, and devotions that the Indians had. Along with their auguries and witchcraft, although now through the mercy of God there is not much of this in this city of Cuzco. There are those who deceive our lord and Majesty King Don Felipe with falsehoods that there are idolatries, they say so out of their own interests and ambitions and not because there are, or at the least, publicly none of this or anything outside of it [Cuzco], and only rarely.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> See MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 316; Cook, "Luis Jerónimo de Oré: una aproximación," 49–50.

<sup>62</sup> "Y lo que más importa, se satisfará a personas graves, y doctas, que no solo han dudado, de lo que aquí verán claramente, sino contradicho en muchas ocasiones, que hay Idolatrías entre los Indios, diciendo, que todos son buenos Christianos." Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria*, n.p.

<sup>63</sup> "El primer Mandamiento de la ley de Dios, dize: Amaras a Dios sobre todas las cosas. En las preguntas siguientes, se contienen todos los ritos, cerimonias, y adoraciones, que antiguamente los Indios tenían. Iuntamente con sus agujeros, y hecizerias, que aunque ahora por la misericordia de Dios, no aya mucho desto en esta ciudad del Cuzco, y aya personas que digan, y engañen a su Magestad del Rey Don Felipe nuestro señor con falsedad, que ay idolatrias, dizenlo por sus intereses, y ambiciones y no porque aya, a los menos, con publicidad nada desto ay algo fuera del, y en raras partes." Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual Formulario*, 146 [126].

It almost seems as if the authors were engaged in direct dialogue with one another, pitting secular and Jesuit struggles through the disseminated world of print. What is most interesting about Pérez Bocanegra's statement is that despite the fact that he denies the existence of idolatry in and around Cuzco, he dedicates a considerable portion of the book to confessional questions and reprehensions associated with idolatrous practices. What this suggests is that his denial of the existence of idolatry in Cuzco has more to do with his bitterness over the Jesuit takeover of his parish, which was possibly carried out under false pretenses, than a genuine belief that Andean ritual practice had truly ceased to exist.

Pérez Bocanegra's defiant rejection of claims made by Arriaga and his contemporaries thus emerges out of a larger struggle between Jesuits and secular authorities. According to historian Rubén Vargas Ugarte, the poor instruction accorded to indigenous congregations in the tenets of the faith led to comprehensive action undertaken by Viceroy Francisco de Borja. He was guided by the belief that the secular clergy lacked adequate language skills to preach to their constituents, thus resulting in a failure to control rampant idolatrous practice among indigenous Andeans. Borja received approval from Madrid in the form of a royal *cédula* (edict) in 1618 to dispatch the Jesuits to parishes in the Lambayeque region of the north coast, where indigenous communities were allegedly in dire need of religious instruction.<sup>64</sup> The linguistic skills and persuasive missionization practices of the Jesuits enabled them to extend their sphere of influence even beyond their original marginal outposts in the Lake Titicaca region. The objective

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<sup>64</sup> Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 3:362–68.

of language instruction also guided Jesuit interests in Andahuaylillas, though their true intent was justifiably questioned by secular authorities, for reasons stated previously.<sup>65</sup>

A sustained examination of shared sources and personal connections among the Jesuits and Pérez Bocanegra reveals that he was well-acquainted with extirpation activities undertaken throughout his stay in the Cuzco region. For instance, Francisco de Contreras, the rector of the *colegio* of the Compañía de Jesús in Cuzco provided an *aprobación* for Bocanegra's *Ritual formulario* in 1627, for Francisco de Avila's *Tratado de los euangelios* in 1646, as well as for Fernando de Avendaño's *Sermones de los misterios de nuestra santa fé* in 1648. Avendaño himself also provided an *aprobación* for Bocanegra's work, but for reasons still unknown, that particular leaf is missing in about nine of the thirteen known copies of the book located in public libraries in the United States and Europe.<sup>66</sup> In addition, Geronimo de Contreras, a prominent printer in Lima, was responsible for the printing of both Arriaga's and Pérez Bocanegra's texts, published within a decade of one another. We can thus begin to gain a sense for the interconnectedness of mid-seventeenth-century religious circles, revealing the ways in which secular and mendicant authorities were placed at odds with one another. We also see how the culture of print engendered coastal-highland relationships; although the Jesuit extirpators worked primarily in the Lima diocese, Pérez Bocanegra likely became exposed to their work in the capital city while attempting to publish his own manuscript.

Having established Pérez Bocanegra's position within the larger context of seventeenth-century religious activity in Cuzco and Lima, we can now better analyze the

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 368-69

<sup>66</sup> This is an approximation; I came to this estimate based on WorldCat searches ([www.worldcat.org](http://www.worldcat.org)) corroborated by correspondence with several US university libraries in possession of the book.

historical specificities that guided his choice of subject matter for the entrance wall mural.

### **Print Sources for the *Camino del Cielo e Infierno***

Several scholars have cited a Flemish source print in their discussions of the entrance wall mural of Andahuaylillas without reproducing the source nor dedicating any discussion to the print in question.<sup>67</sup> Martín Soria was the first to attribute the entrance wall mural to a Wierix print in his 1956 publication, dating it to 1590-1600.<sup>68</sup> In his subsequent 1959 publication with George Kubler, they established a broader date of pre-1650.<sup>69</sup> All subsequent scholars have supported this attribution except for Pablo Macera, who remained skeptical of the print's existence given the fact that previous scholars had only alluded to it in vague terms.<sup>70</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, like Soria, attribute the print to a generic "Wierix" without distinguishing which family member was involved in the production of the print.<sup>71</sup> In a recent publication, Ramón Mujica Pinilla correctly names

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<sup>67</sup> As I discovered at the time of the final editing of this dissertation manuscript, Teresa Gisbert and her son, Andrés de Mesa, recently published an essay that reproduces the print alongside a photograph of the entrance wall mural. They do not reserve any discussion of the print in the essay, however, other than provide basic identifying information. See Teresa Gisbert and Andrés de Mesa, "Los grabados, el 'Juicio Final' y la idolatría indígena en el mundo andino," in *Entre cielos e infiernos. Memoria del V Encuentro Internacional sobre Barroco* (La Paz: Fundación Visión Cultural, 2010), 17-42.

<sup>68</sup> Martín Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano, 1956), 103.

<sup>69</sup> George Kubler and Martín Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), 323.

<sup>70</sup> Pablo Macera, *La pintura mural andina, siglos XVI-XIX* (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1993), 25.

<sup>71</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:238.

the print, but erroneously attributes it to Johan Wierix,<sup>72</sup> most likely because art historian John Knipping attributes a similar version of the print to him.<sup>73</sup>

This study is the first to analyze the mural in light of its source print by Hieronymus Wierix entitled *The Narrow and Wide Path* and dating to about 1600 (fig. 2.11).<sup>74</sup> Riaño and his assistants reproduced the original print with relative fidelity. The painted figures maintain the same positioning, although they are rendered with a greater degree of flatness and angularity in contrast to the finely modulated anatomy found in the original. They retain the same Flemish style of dress, lending the Andahuaylillas murals an archaic quality in the disjuncture between the costumed mural characters and the kind of clothing Spanish or *criollo* contemporaries would have worn. Some aspects of the print are copied with painstaking precision, such as in the flaming palace of Hell, surmounted by deer bearing bows and arrows, as well as in the depiction of *Caro*, the personification of flesh leading a young boy astray in his spiritual journey.

A few key modifications of the original source, however, reveal meaningful adaptations undertaken by the Andahuaylillas muralists. The feasting scene below the path to Heaven features a different configuration of characters and foodstuffs than those

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<sup>72</sup> Mujica Pinilla, "Reading Without a Book," 45.

<sup>73</sup> John B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth*, vol. 2 (Nieuwkoop: De Graff, 1974), 70.

<sup>74</sup> I am indebted to Jason Lafountain of Harvard University, whose indefatigable efforts eventually led to the secure identification of the elusive Wierix print during our fellowship term at the John Carter Brown Library in the summer of 2010. I also wish to extend my thanks to the Department of Prints and Photographs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for allowing me to view and photograph the original print. For basic information on the content and authorship of the print, see Louis Alvin, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre des trois frères Jean, Jérôme & Antoine Wierix* (Brussels: T.J.I. Arnold, Libraire-Éditeur, 1866), 238; Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix: conservées au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier: catalogue raisonné, enrichi de notes prises dans diverses autres collections* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1978), 198; and F. W. H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700*, vol. 66 (Roosendaal, Netherlands: Koninklijke van Poll in co-operation with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, 1993).

depicted in the print (fig. 2.12), and the table is tipped forward to reveal the vast array of culinary items enjoyed by the participants (fig. 2.13). Bearing little resemblance to the square table featured in the print, the table in the mural takes on an amorphous shape in order to reveal each individual item of food, drink, and utensil. We can easily identify apples, a plate of fish, a round cake or piece of bread, and what appears to be a fruit tart, interspersed with a fine drinking glass, forks, and knives. The female figure leaning to the left of the table in the print is transformed into an indigenous servant slicing bread. In place of the tree located behind the feasting scene is a large basket overflowing with fruits.

Another significant modification can be found in the representation of the entry portal to the heavenly Jerusalem. In the Wierix print, the arched entranceway is tall and wide, depicted as a rusticated arch under which a group of angels congregate (fig. 2.14). In the mural version the actual arch is small in proportion to the rest of the façade (fig. 2.15). While the arch in the print appears open, the mural entryway is depicted with a closed door. In fact, the portal bears a close resemblance to the painted portals leading to the baptistery and choir loft (see figs. 1.16 and 2.3). In both the mural and the painted portals, the arched doorway is flanked by pilasters topped with a heavy entablature. But perhaps the closest visual source for the mural doorway can be found in the entry portal to the church of Andahuaylillas itself (fig. 2.16). The white pilasters and entablature represented in the mural echo the white paint encasing the church's entrance, which itself is decorated with mural painting. The clever self-referentiality at play is even further underscored by the close correspondence between the mural's wooden door and that of the church.

The depiction of a firmly shut door at the end of the path to salvation should not be seen as a mere compositional idiosyncrasy. References to such iconography abound in the contemporary religious literature of the Andean region. For instance, Francisco de Avila, in opening lines of his sermon for the first Friday of Lent, states,

The door to Heaven, its entry is straight and narrow, and the path leading to that life is the same, and very few make it. Don't you know how narrow it is? Listen. If you came to this Church now, and you saw that its doorway was too small for even a little child to enter, and that the path to it was scattered with thorns, wouldn't you be afraid to take it? And although you see it this way, you will be motivated, and say, I will arrive there anyway: How would you do it? By having strength, continuing on, finding the thorns although they puncture you, stripping yourself of your clothes so that they don't impede the entry through such a small door in order to enter inside; this is what you must do before, and if you don't, you won't enter.<sup>75</sup>

Indigenous Andeans were warned of the possibility of being refused entry to Heaven if they failed to follow the example of Christ's faith and virtue. In light of seventeenth-century anxieties about the effectiveness of early evangelization efforts, a greater sense of urgency accompanied the use of forceful iconography detailing the arduous journey to becoming a true Christian. Moreover, the individual standing at the doorway gesturing toward the lock likely represents Saint Peter the Apostle, the patron saint of Andahuaylillas. As the universal head of the church, Saint Peter held the keys to the kingdom of Heaven, as expressed in the passage from Matthew 16:18-19: "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on

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<sup>75</sup> "La puerta del cielo su entrada es estrecha, y angosta, y el camno para llegar a aquella vida lo proprio, y son muy pocos los que dan con el. No sabeis quan angosta es? Oyd. Si nos vinierais a hora a esta Iglesia, y vierais que su puerta no era bastante para que entrase mas que vn niño pequeño, y que el camino para llegar a ella estaba sembrado de espinas, no temierais al llegar a ello? Y si aunque lo vierais assi, os animarais, y dixerais; sin embargo he de llegar allá: Como os vbierais para ello? Haziendoos fuerza, alentandoos, hallando las espinas aunque punzaçen, desnudandoos el vestido, para que no impida la entrada por tan pequeña puerta para poder entrar dentro; assi antes de hazer, y sin esto, no entrarais." Avila, *Tratado de los euangelios*, 1:173.

earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.” The conflation of Andahuaylillas with the kingdom of Heaven further emphasizes the mediating role of mural painting in the Andeanization of Christianity. Parishioners were given the implicit message that the church of their very community constituted a New Jerusalem on Andean soil. Indeed, the act of entering and exiting the church left congregations with a palpable reminder of the spiritual pilgrimage necessary for attaining salvation—and one that could be understood within the immediate parameters of their existence rather than as a place only to be visualized and imagined.

Finally, the most obvious modification of the print is in its lateral reversal of the Christian spatial hierarchy. The path to Hell is positioned to the right of Jesus, who hovers over the central doorway, while heaven is positioned to his left. This unorthodox inversion violates Christian conceptions of the cosmic order, and is rarely found in contemporary European paintings of the Last Judgment or similar allegorical paintings. The very obvious rotation of the spatial relationships inscribed in the print, in fact, points to a significant intervention to facilitate Andean readings of the mural image.<sup>76</sup> I argue that the composition follows an Andean conception of the universe as divided into two complementary oppositions known as *hanan* and *hurin*. *Hanan* is associated with masculinity and dominance, spatially expressed as up, above, or to one’s right. *Hurin*, in contrast, represents femininity and subordination, spatially corresponding to notions of down, below, or to the left. These spatial concepts infused many aspects of Andean life

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<sup>76</sup> There also exists the possibility that the print may have arrived in the Andes already reversed if it was a copy derived from the printed engraving. The fact that the text in the mural remains properly oriented, however, suggests that it was not a reversed copy.

throughout the pre-Columbian period, from social relations to the built environment.<sup>77</sup>

Several scholars have examined the preponderance of Andean spatial hierarchies in the visual arts of the colonial period, and particularly in the richly illustrated manuscript, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615) by the indigenous Andean author, Guaman Poma de Ayala. Mercedes López-Baralt argues that Guaman Poma's drawings encode Andean spatial hierarchies through the compositional distribution of Spanish and indigenous figures. She demonstrates that Indians placed in a compromised or humiliated state by Spaniards often occupy the *hanan* position of the composition (at the bottom or internal right of the picture plane), while their oppressors are frequently situated in the opposing *hurin* position.<sup>78</sup>

My spatial interpretation of the Andahuaylillas mural builds on the work of Mercedes López Baralt, Rolena Adorno, and Raquel Chang-Rodríguez.<sup>79</sup> However, I see the placement of *hanan* and *hurin* components at Andahuaylillas as corresponding to the literal right and left relative to an individual's location at the entrance portal, rather than to the internal mechanics of the image. If we are to understand the entrance wall mural as indissolubly engaged with the architecture of the church, then we can see the deployment

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<sup>77</sup> See, for instance, David Woodward, *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Maarten van de Guchte, "The Inca Cognition of Landscape: Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and the Aesthetic of Alterity," in *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Wendy Ashmore and Arthur Bernard Knapp (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999); and for an interesting application of this cosmological concept to Inca drinking vessels, see Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*.

<sup>78</sup> Mercedes López-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing: The Image as Text and the Author as Artist," in *Guaman Poma De Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, ed. Rolena Adorno et al. (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 14-31; Valerie Fraser attempts an unconvincing critique of her interpretations in "The Artistry of Guaman Poma," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 29/30 (1996): 269-89.

<sup>79</sup> See Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); and Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, *La palabra y la pluma en "Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno"* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2005).

of *hanan* and *hurin* components as determined by architectonic rather than pictorial space. As parishioners face the mural and literally walk under and through it when exiting the church, the dominant component representing the path to Heaven would then be located to one's right and the weaker and subordinate *hurin* section to one's left. The human body thus served as an important guiding metaphor for the expression of these Andean spatial concepts.<sup>80</sup> If we thus understand the reading of murals as an embodied experience, activated by movement through architectural space, then this curious positioning of Heaven and Hell begins to attain greater significance. Moreover, if we consider the performative dimensions of the image, the intentionality behind its compositional organization becomes even more evident. Murals in the colonial Andes, and indeed throughout the Americas, offered persuasive religious and allegorical images intended to invigorate one's personal commitment to the faith. The two paths beckon the viewer to imagine him or herself walking *into* the composition, experiencing the trials and temptations offered by each route. The composition encourages a personal connection to the scene, orienting the viewers' experience toward divine pilgrimage and its potential dangers. The viewer, positioning him/herself relative to the figures on the paths, with backs turned, would have thus interpreted *hanan* and *hurin* relative to his or her point of entry into the scene rather than from the central position of Christ, facing the viewer from above the doorway. In effect, indigenous parishioners would have recognized Heaven as residing in the dominant *hanan* sector of their universe, further

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<sup>80</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 12-15. Some have warned against the use of such a deterministic approach, however, arguing that notions of Inca dualism emerge through social relations that go beyond the conceptual parameters of the human body. See in particular Juan M. Ossio, "Review: Inca Cosmology and the Human Body," *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 3 (1995): 667-68. While I do not ascribe to the notion that Inca cosmology and duality derived solely from the human body, I do agree that the human body served as an important component in the articulation of Inca cosmological concepts.

emphasized by the Quechua translation of Heaven as *hanacpacha*, or “upperworld,” while Hell would reside in the left-hand *hurin* sector, appropriately termed *hurinpacha* or *ucupacha*, which translate to underworld or lower world. Further, the depiction of a colonial *curaca*, or local ruler, bedecked in Inca-style garb traversing the waters of Hell, along with other figures engaged in acts of Andean ritual visually solidified the conflation of Hell with idolatry and the Inca past (see fig. 1.25). Indigenous parishioners would have thus understood the significance of Heaven and Hell with greater conceptual clarity, albeit deployed in a way that undermined the integrity of their own cosmological schema for organizing the world.

Even a cursory comparison of the mural with *The Narrow and Wide Path* indicates that this Flemish print served as the primary visual source for the entrance wall mural at Andahuaylillas. Certain incongruities between the print and the mural, however, suggest that other sources may have played a role in its inception. For instance, the path to Heaven in the print appears as a clear, unadulterated path, while the corresponding mural image depicts a narrow plank elaborately decorated with intertwined vines of thorns. The heavily improvised banquet scene and entry portal to Heaven remain unexplained; and perhaps of greatest interest, the waters of Hell feature small vignettes of indigenous Andeans engaged in acts of idolatry. How, then, do we account for these seemingly extraneous compositional details? And why would Pérez Bocanegra have chosen this kind of individualistic allegorical scene of redemption rather than a more generic Last Judgment scene that would speak to the entire congregation as a whole? An examination of the role of religious theater in the colonial Andes may help to answer some of these questions.

### **The *Auto Sacramental* in the Andes**

The dramatic arts developed quickly in colonial Peru, and documentation exists of theatrical performances as early as a decade after the Spanish conquest of the 1530s. One of the earliest known theatrical performances in the Andes was a medieval mystery play that took place on January 6, 1548 at the Cuzco Cathedral.<sup>81</sup> *Comedias* and *autos* were the most popular forms of early theater practiced in colonial Peru. The institutionalization of the theater is evidenced by the founding of *corrales de comedias* and the development of theater guilds.<sup>82</sup> The arrival of the Jesuits in 1568 also helped to stimulate theatrical activity in the viceroyalty. According to theater historian Guillermo Lohmann Villena, the Jesuits promoted a scholastic form of theater promulgated by the *colegios* associated with the Compañía de Jesús, in which students acted out scripture in the form of tragedies or dialogues as a means of bringing their studies to life.<sup>83</sup> Pre-Hispanic modes of performance, such as dances, processions, and ritual pilgrimage, came into contact with Spanish dramatic expression to produce a wide variety of colonial theatrical manifestations. European plays were often translated and performed in Quechua or Aymara;<sup>84</sup> indigenous Andeans often “played” their royal Inca ancestors

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<sup>81</sup> Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato* (Madrid: Estades Artes Gráficas, 1945), 7.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-25.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>84</sup> For an excellent analysis of the collision of Spanish and indigenous performative traditions in the Andes, see Margot Beyersdorff, *Historia y drama ritual en los andes bolivianos, siglos XVI-XX* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 1997); for a discussion of theatrical manifestations in the visual arts, see Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes*, 238–54.

during Corpus Christi performances;<sup>85</sup> and in some cases, hints of indigenous cultural resistance can be found in the dramatic texts of the colonial period.<sup>86</sup>

*Autos sacramentales* (sacramental plays) gained considerable popularity in the colonial Andes by the mid sixteenth century. The *auto sacramental* is a one-act allegorical play performed in conjunction with Corpus Christi to celebrate the sacrament of the Eucharist. *Autos* often dealt with man's struggle to forgo worldly pleasures in order to attain a higher spiritual awareness. As theater historian Melveena McKendrick notes,

Calderón defined them as 'sermons in verse', as theology translated intoactable ideas. It is no coincidence that the Corpus plays began really to flourish in Spain at the start of the Counter-Reformation, the period when Catholic Europe, particularly Spain, sought an answer to the wave of reform that was sweeping Europe in a concerted, militant reassertion of its own beliefs. The *auto* was both a lesson in which the tenets of Catholic belief were explained and reaffirmed in an effort to deepen public understanding of them, and an act of faith and devotion in which the enemies of God—Protestant and Moslem—and their ways were symbolically confounded.<sup>87</sup>

The *auto* enjoyed a lengthy career in Spain, reaching its peak of popularity in the mid-seventeenth century with the rise of the great Spanish Golden Age playwrights Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón de la Barca.<sup>88</sup> *Autos* reached Peru through a number of different routes. Printed copies of plays arrived en masse from Seville, included in large-scale shipments of books to the colonial Americas. Documentation of these commercial

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<sup>85</sup> Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

<sup>86</sup> Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, *Hidden Messages: Representation and Resistance in Andean Colonial Drama* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1999).

<sup>87</sup> Melveena McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain, 1490-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 244.

<sup>88</sup> Norman D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times Until the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Ricardo Arias, *The Spanish Sacramental Plays* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980); McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain, 1490-1700*, especially Chapter 9; Ignacio Arellano and J. Enrique Duarte, *El Auto Sacramental* (Madrid: Ediciones del Laberinto, 2003).

exchanges is available to us both in the form of library inventories<sup>89</sup> and shipping manifests.<sup>90</sup> Plays also reached the Andes through human agents such as newly arrived missionaries and bureaucratic officials who often brought copies of important texts from Spain for either personal use or to aid in evangelization efforts.

The *auto sacramental* genre of theater was widely disseminated in Peru, seen as an important component in the celebration of Corpus Christi. As early as 1563, *autos* were incorporated into Corpus Christi festivities in Lima,<sup>91</sup> and they became part of Cuzco celebrations by the seventeenth century. *Autos* were performed outdoors in the atrium of the church to allow for mass spectatorship on the adjoining plaza. In Cuzco, *autos* and *comedias* were infused with a renewed vigor with the appointment of Don Nicolás de Mendoza Carvajal as *corregidor* (magistrate) in 1620.<sup>92</sup> Mendoza, often coined the “Corregidor de las comedias,” found that the quality of Corpus Christi celebrations in Cuzco had deteriorated, and called for mandatory participation in the festivities among all parishes and guilds of both dances and performances.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Teodoro Hampe-Martínez, “The Diffusion of Books and Ideas in Colonial Peru: A Study of Private Libraries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 2 (1993): 211-33.

<sup>90</sup> Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005).

<sup>91</sup> Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato*, 17; José A. Rodríguez Garrido, “Teatro y fiesta de la Eucaristía en Lima durante el virreinato,” in *Teatro y fe: Los autos sacramentales en el Perú*, ed. Luis Peirano Falconí and Lucila Castro de Trelles (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008), 28–29.

<sup>92</sup> Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, 2:39.

<sup>93</sup> Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 39.

### José de Valdivielso's *El peregrino*

It was within this context of renewed theatrical fervor that the *auto* under consideration entered the colonial Andean scene. José de Valdivielso (1560?-1638), a Toledan playwright, enjoyed a prolific career writing *autos* and *comedias* throughout the first third of the seventeenth century. He wrote seventeen surviving *autos*, some of which traveled far beyond the borders of Toledo and Madrid, where he spent the bulk of his career.<sup>94</sup> I propose that one of his *autos* in particular, entitled *El peregrino*, likely served as a theatrical source for the Andahuaylillas entrance wall mural. *El peregrino* was published in Toledo in 1622 and made it to the Andes by 1623, when it was performed to inaugurate the newly consecrated sanctuary of Our Lady of Cocharcas, an important Marian devotion in the province of Andahuaylas.<sup>95</sup> It was performed in the atrium of the sanctuary of Cocharcas on September 10, 1623. Twelve priests of the surrounding areas attended, along with the *corregidores* of Andahuaylas and Vilcashuamán, not to mention the thousands of pilgrims who trekked to Cocharcas from far flung towns to pay their respects.<sup>96</sup>

*El peregrino* is an allegory of man's struggle to forgo worldly pleasures and choose the path of God. The main character falls into a slumber, and in his dream, he encounters two paths: one that leads to heavenly Jerusalem and the other that leads to Hell. He is guided by Truth, but encounters Delight, Falsehood, and Lucifer, who attempt to derail his journey toward righteousness and bring him into the realm of vice.

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<sup>94</sup> Arias, *The Spanish Sacramental Plays*, 111–12.

<sup>95</sup> Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato*, 153.

<sup>96</sup> Lack of historical documentation about this event has prevented me from determining whether Pérez Bocanegra was in attendance, but the chances are certainly likely.

The stage directions for *El peregrino* provide us with the most salient evidence that the *auto* reached Andahuaylillas. The opening scene of the play was to be staged as follows:

Two paths will descend from the two carts, like raised bridges. One will be wide and full of flowers and herbs, and festivities: and above will sound music, and there will be a mouth of Hell. The other path will be very narrow, and full of brambles, thistles and spines, crosses, skulls, etc. And above will sound music...<sup>97</sup>

The *carros*,<sup>98</sup> or carts, from which the two paths descend could thus represent the palaces of Heaven and Hell that we see in the entrance wall mural. The detailed description of the narrow path of Virtue as “full of brambles, thistles and spines” correlates with the path in the mural image in contrast to the bare path provided in the print. On several occasions throughout the play, the Pilgrim complains of the thorns puncturing his feet; a scene in which he is accompanied by a personification of Truth, the Pilgrim states, “Ay! A strong thorn has entered my foot,” to which Truth replies, “the thorn of death was always profitable.”<sup>99</sup> Theater historian Ricardo Arias interprets the prick of a spine that the Pilgrim suffers as a symbol of sin and death, highlighting the depravity of earthly desires.<sup>100</sup>

The banquet scene in the *auto* adds another dimension to our interpretation of the feast featured below the path of Virtue. Richly bedecked with an array of drinks and

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<sup>97</sup> “De los dos carros se descolgarán dos escalas, como puentes leuadizas. La vna será ancha, llena de flores, y yeruas y galas; y arriba aurá música y vna boca de infierno. La otra escala será muy angosta y llena de zarças, abrojos y espinas, cruces, calaberas, &c. Y arriba, música...” Ricardo Arias y Arias and Roberto V. Piluso, *José de Valdivielso, Teatro completo*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Isla, 1975), 387.

<sup>98</sup> The *carros* are wheeled platforms that could unfold into elaborate stage sets, setting the *auto* apart from other genres of Spanish theater. The *carros* were positioned at opposite ends of the stage, and often represented complementary opposites, such as the cradle and the grave, the earthly and celestial worlds, or the paths of Virtue and Vice. See McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain, 1490-1700*, 247.

<sup>99</sup> “Mas, ¡ay!, que vna espina fuerte / se me ha entrado por el pie. / Siempre prouechosa fue / essa espina de la muerte.” Arias y Arias and Piluso, *José de Valdivielso, Teatro completo*, 1:397; lines 413–15.

<sup>100</sup> Ricardo Arias, “Reflexiones sobre El peregrino de José de Valdivieso,” *Criticón*, no. 56 (1992): 154.

foodstuffs, the banquet scene bears little resemblance to its printed counterpart. In fact, the recurring trope of the feast can be found in *El peregrino*, given its express connection to the Feast of Corpus Christi. The play has two distinct feasting scenes: in the first, the Pilgrim attends a banquet hosted by Delight and Falsehood celebrating a false Eucharist; and in the second, he celebrates the True feast on the day of Corpus, attended by Saint Peter, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint James. The banquet in the mural features an ornate glass cup on the table, which could represent the sacred wine-filled chalice of Corpus Christi representing the blood of Christ. The bread on the table completes the miracle of transubstantiation, by which the wine and bread become the blood and body of Christ. The ornamentation of the banquet scene can thus be interpreted not solely in light of artistic license, but as a visual accommodation to the *auto*'s theme. In light of Nicolás de Mendoza Carvajal's reforms of 1620, the performance of Corpus Christi *autos* and their glorification in painted form would have marked Andahuaylillas as a commendable parish within the Cuzco diocese.

The small vignettes of Andean idolaters traversing the waters of Hell also speak to the mural's theatrical source. Three barely visible figures are seated in a devil-driven canoe beneath the mouth of Hell (fig. 2.17). The central figure wears an Inca-style *uncu*, or tunic, with a checkerboard pattern around the collar. Such regalia would have been worn by *curacas*, or local indigenous leaders. Another nearby indigenous figure ingests liquid from an Inca-style aryballos vessel called an *urpu*, probably filled with *chicha*, a type of corn beer used in Inca religious rituals (fig. 2.18). The figures differ dramatically from the rest of the mural in both content and style. They are painted using rougher strokes, indicating the hand of an assistant to Riaño. Moreover, the cultural specificity of

the figures, linking them directly to the Inca past through objects and regalia, suggest that the assistant was of indigenous background. Although such characters are not featured in *El peregrino*, these individuals could certainly represent actors in the play, serving as culturally-specific stand-ins for evil and idolatry. The famous Corpus Christi series painted about fifty years after these murals also depicts *curacas* bedecked in Inca garb participating in the procession through the streets of Cuzco (fig. 2.19). I suggest that the similarity between the nearby Andahuaylillas murals and associated performances may have set an important precedent for Cuzco's Corpus Christi celebrations documented in a series of paintings produced around 1680.<sup>101</sup>

And finally, the conflation of the portal to Heavenly Jerusalem with the entrance to Andahuaylillas itself gains greater significance when considered in a theatrical context. Throughout the colonial period, performances of *autos* and *comedias* were conducted in the atria of churches; extensive documentation verifies the specific staging of *autos* in the atrium of the church of San Francisco in Lima.<sup>102</sup> The performance of *El peregrino* at Cocharcas in 1623 was likewise staged and performed in the atrium to allow for mass spectatorship among the hordes of pilgrims gathered at the site to honor the Virgin. The inclusion of this small detail in the rendering of the doorway thus picks up where the documentary record left off. We can imagine the church itself as part of a larger stage set, serving as the backdrop for this Corpus Christi *auto*. The mural's affinity to both the Wierix print and Valdivielso's play firmly anchors it in overlapping spheres of evangelization in the colonial Andes.

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<sup>101</sup> See Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.

<sup>102</sup> Rodríguez Garrido, "Teatro y fiesta de la Eucaristía en Lima durante el virreinato," 28–37.

### **The Spanish *Camino* Meets the Quechua *Ñan*: The Mural as Mediator**

Now that the existence of visual, textual, and performative sources for the entrance wall mural has been established, we turn to its broader relevance to a seventeenth-century Andean audience. The paths to Heaven and Hell were familiar tropes in medieval Christianity, with frequent representations in paintings, manuscript illuminations, and stage sets.<sup>103</sup> Despite a decline in popularity in Europe by the Renaissance, this type of allegorical imagery continued to carry great import in the colonial Andes. The arrival of printed and literary sources in the Americas helped facilitate its presence in rural places like Andahuaylillas. The didactic iconography, painstakingly labeled with relevant biblical passages, was ideal for preaching Catholic doctrine to Andean parishioners. But why would Pérez Bocanegra have chosen this particular theme to decorate the walls of his church? In light of the strategies of accommodation present in the choir loft murals and baptistery doorway, one can assume that the entrance wall mural similarly reflects, in Sabine MacCormack's words, Pérez Bocanegra's consideration of "the communicability of Christianity in the Andean world."<sup>104</sup> In fact, several aspects of the two paths theme open up spaces for cross-cultural communication between Spanish and Andean worlds.

In the first scene of *El peregrino*, the pilgrim tries to break away from the grasp of the personification of Mother Earth, a woman covered in flowers and herbs, wearing a

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<sup>103</sup> Samuel C. Chew's seminal text still stands as one of the most authoritative studies on the iconography of pilgrimage in European art. See Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), especially 175-81; for a general discussion of the theme of the two paths in European stage sets, see Oscar G. Brockett and Franklin J. Hildy, *History of the Theatre*, 9th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003); and for a discussion of the theme's relevance in the staging of Spanish plays, see William Shoemaker, *The Multiple Stage in Spain During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 91-92.

<sup>104</sup> MacCormack, "Art in a Missionary Context," 106.

castle on top of her head. He tells her that he wishes to leave her so that he can find the sacred land of Heaven. In a spirited exchange, Mother Earth pleads with the Pilgrim, “Son, can I not give you life?” to which he responds, “Mother, towards eternity I go,” and in a later passage he continues, “All that you have lent to me, I must return to you. Give me bread of pain among thorns and thistles, purchased at the price of anger and drops of my sweat.”<sup>105</sup> Although Mother Earth is reluctant to part with the Pilgrim, she bids him well on his journey. After he finally gets away, the Pilgrim falls into a deep slumber, at which point the two carts roll out with the two paths, prompting the aforementioned stage directions.

Right from the start, the two major elements that set off the play bear great significance to Andean religious practice. The pilgrim’s rejection of the earthly realm in favor of the celestial realm of heaven could be dually interpreted as a rejection of Pachamama, the Andean earth goddess to whom indigenous peoples provided offerings and respects. Pre-Columbian Andean religions centered on earth-based deities such as mountains, stones, hills, and other features of the natural landscape. Several anthropologists and art historians have commented on conflations of the Virgin Mary and Pachamama in religious practice and in visual representations of the Virgin. Subtle instances of religious syncretism between Andean beliefs and Catholicism were generally tolerated, but rituals geared toward express worship of the natural world received strong opposition from religious authorities. Priests often reproached indigenous Andeans for worshipping Pachamama in both their sermons and religious texts. Fernando de

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<sup>105</sup> “Hijo, ¿yo no te la doy? / Madre, tras la eternal voy / ...Dísteme pan de dolor / entre espinas y entre abrojos, / comprador a precio de enojos / y gotas de mi sudor.” Arias y Arias and Piluso, *José de Valdivielso, Teatro completo*, 1:388 (lines 14–15; 49–52).

Avendaño, for instance, includes it within an exhaustive list of what he believed to be false gods worshiped by Andeans:

The first [commandment] is that you worship and honor above all the true God, which is only one, and that you do not worship nor possess other gods, nor idols, nor *huacas*...nor do you speak to the Sun, nor thunder, nor pachamama, asking for them to give you livestock, or corn, or health, or to free you from work, or sickness.<sup>106</sup>

The Pilgrim's act of falling into a dream state would not have been lost on Pérez Bocanegra and the indigenous parishioners. Dreams were a major preoccupation among priests working with Andean communities because of their perceived association with idolatry. In Pérez Bocanegra's *Ritual formulario*, he generates a series of questions related to dreams:

When you are sleeping do you dream of crossing a bridge in order to escape from a certain person?

In your dreams when you see falcons or vultures, do you say that you're going to have a son? Or if you are a woman, that you have to give birth to a son?

If in your dreams you see the sun or moon, do you say that a relative is going to die?

If you see in your dreams a person covered up with a cloak, do you say that it is a sign that you are going to die?

Do you believe everything you dream and say that it has to be true? Tell me, what do you say about your dreams when you wake up?<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> "La primera es, que adores, y honres sobre todo al verdadero Dios, que es uno solo, y no adores, ni tengas otros dioses, ni idolos, ni huacas...ni habléis al Sol, ni al trueno, o a la pachamama, pidiendo os den ganado, o maíz, o salud, o os libren de vuestros trabajos, y enfermedades." Avendaño, *Sermones de los misterios*, 1:29r-29v.

<sup>107</sup> "Quando durmiendo pasas entre sueños alguna puente, sueles dezir, que es para apartarte de alguna persona?...Viendo en sueñoalcones, o bueitres, dizes, que as de tener algun hijo? (y si es mugger) hijo tengo de parir?...Si entre sueños ves el sol, o luna, dizes, que se te a de morir algun pariente?...Viendo entre sueños alguna persona arregoçada con manta, sueles dezir que es señal que te as de morir?...Todo lo que as soñado, y sueñas, sueles creerlo, y dizes, que a de ser verdad? Dime, que sueles dezir quando despiertas acerca de lo que sueñas?" Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual Formulario*, 147 [127].

Alonso de Peña y Montenegro, in his publication outlining guidelines for priests working in Indian parishes, identifies three types of dreams:

It is very common among Indians to believe in dreams, and to divine using them, a type of divination that they use commonly...some dreams come naturally, or are preceded by some thought, or by the disposition of the body, and in this case it is lawful to give credit to dreams, in order to conserve the health of the body, or to fear an illness, for if one dreamed that he saw fire, one could conjecture that he has a lot of choleric humor....There are dreams which come from God, like those of Gideon, Daniel, Jacob, Nebuchadnezzar, Joseph, and others; and these dreams, when they clearly show a certain thing, concurring circumstances are enough to believe that the dreams are caused by God....The last are the dreams that come from the Devil, exciting the fantasy of men...it is a grave sin in itself, and belongs to the superstition of divination.<sup>108</sup>

Drawing on the work of the great Jesuit historian José de Acosta, both Peña y Montenegro and Pérez Bocanegra recognized the importance of directing Indians away from the third type of dream. While not eradicating dream interpretation altogether, these priests advocated for the divine dream as a vehicle by which one could get closer to God.<sup>109</sup>

In addition to dreams, priests in the colonial Andes also frequently evoked the trope of the two paths in their sermons to indigenous congregations. What is most

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<sup>108</sup> “Mvy ordinario es entre los Indios creer en sueños, y adiuinar por ellos, del qual genero de adiuinacion vsan comunmente...vnos que prouienen naturalmente, ò sea por auer precedido antes algun pensamiento...ò por la disposicion del cuerpo, y en este caso es licito dar credito a los sueños, para conseruar la salud del cuerpo, ò para temer alguna enfermedad, como si vno soñasse que veìa fuego, puede conjeturar, que tiene mucho humor colerico....Otros sueños ay, que prouienen de Dios, como fueron los de Gedeon, Daniel, Iacob, Nabucodonosor, Ioseph, y otros; y a estos sueños, quando claramente muestran alguna cosa, concurriendo circunstancias bastantes para creer que son sueños causados de Dios....Los vltimos son los sueños, que prouienen del demonio, excitando la fantasia del hombre...es grauissimo pecado de suyo, y que pertenece a la supersticion de adiuinacion.” Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parochos de indios, en que se tratan las materias más particulares, tocantes à ellos, para su buena administración* (Madrid: Joseph Fernández de Buendía, 1668), 200.

<sup>109</sup> For a comparative analysis of Pérez Bocanegra’s and Peña y Montenegro’s manuals for priests, see Jaime Valenzuela Márquez, “Confesando a los indígenas. Pecado, culpa y aculturación en América colonial,” *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 37, no. 2 (2007): 39-59.

interesting, however, is the way some of the authors superimposed the Christian paths onto Andean histories and landscapes. Francisco de Avila, for instance, states:

Christ our Lord came, my children, to this world solely from his immense piety, and compassion, and being God he tried to become Man at the same time, to show us the path toward heaven, and how we can arrive there. And this he did with his works, and his words. But look, first you have to know that the True path, which goes right toward heaven is only one path, just as long ago in this land there was a Royal road that allowed the Incas to travel from one town to the other. Well, the path to Heaven is to love God above all things, and to love thy neighbor as much as yourself.<sup>110</sup>

Fernando de Avendaño even goes further to include *tambos*—way stations situated at different points on the Inca road to provide respite for travelers—into his discussion. He states,

Haven't you seen on many occasions, when a Spaniard travels from here to Cuzco, or to Potosí, that he asks at the *tambo* for an Indian to guide him and show him the path until he gets to the next *tambo*, so that he doesn't get lost and take the wrong path and end up down a precipice, fallen from a cliff and smashed into pieces? In the same way that we walk from the *tambo* in this mortal life to the other *tambo* of the immortal life, we never should never let go of this guide, who we call Faith, because this is how God shows us the true way for the good of our souls, which teaches us the truth without deceiving us and committing errors; because God knows a lot and knows the truth, and he advises men that if they break away from the path they will go to Hell, which is a twisted path, and that they must go on the right path of the Commandments of God.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> “Christo Señor nuestro vino hijos míos al mundo por sola su inmensa piedad, i misericordia, i siendo Dios quiso hazerse Hombre juntamente, para solo mostrarnos el camino del cielo, i como gemos de llegar a el. I esto lo hizo con obras, i palabras. Pero mirad, primero aveis de saber que el camino Real que va derecho al cielo es vno solo, assi como antiguamente en esta tierra a auia vn camino real, que era por donde los Ingas iuan de un pueblo a otro. Pues el camino real para el cielo es amar a Dios sobre todas las cosas, i luego a nuestro proximo como a nosotros mismos.” Avila, *Tratado de los euangelios*, 1:81.

<sup>111</sup> “No aueis visto muchas vezes, quando vá vn chapeton de aquí al Cuzco, o a Potosi, que pide en el tambo vn Indio que le guie, y enseñe el camino, hasta llegar al otro tambo, porque no se pierda, y tuerça el camino, y vaya a dar en algun despeñadero, y se haga pedaços? Pues de la misma manera la Providencia de dios, dio a los hombres que caminamos desde el tambo de esta vida mortal al otro tambo de la vida inmortal, que nunca se ha de acabar esta guía, que llamamos Fé: porque está por ser donde dios nos enseña el camino verdadero, para el bien de nuestras almas, y nos enseña la verdad sin engañarnos, y errar; porque sabe mucho, y dice verdad: por eso avisa, y advierte a los hombres, que se aparten del camino que va al infierno, que es camino torcido, que vayan por el camino derecho de los Mandamientos de Dios.” Avendaño, *Sermones de los misterios*, 1:2r–2v.

The notion of traversing paths was also very prominent in Inca religion. For instance, the deceased were required to cross a treacherous bridge in order to enter into *Ucupacha*, the underworld. The bridge was called *Achacaca* and was made of prickly human hair.<sup>112</sup> Sabine MacCormack draws a parallel between the bridge to the underworld and Inca bridges made of *ichu* grass, which may further explain the above references to the Inca road system. In addition, the path along which the Inca king made his royal entry into the city of Cuzco was coincidentally strewn with flowers, coca leaf, and feathers,<sup>113</sup> not unlike the path to Hell in the mural. This convergence of Christian and Inca paths of pilgrimage is most interestingly encapsulated in the way that seventeenth-century priests translated *camino del cielo* into Quechua. Termed *hanaccpachaman ñan*, it compresses concepts of *hanan*, the dominant upper cosmological component; *pacha*, the world; and *capac ñan*, the word for the royal Inca road.<sup>114</sup>

I contend that the entrance wall mural at Andahuaylillas serves as one of the earliest surviving examples of the role that colonial Andean murals played in the localization of Catholic doctrine. The highly mobile media of engravings and texts traveled to Andahuaylillas to participate in the process of fusing a part of the town's history into sacred architectonic space. The broad and narrow roads to Heaven and Hell signified far more than a purely formalist reading would suggest. Spanish and Andean notions of pilgrimage and divinity crossed, converged, and often clashed, loading the entrance wall mural with a plurality of meanings. Despite the fact that Andean ritual

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<sup>112</sup> Antonio de la Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru, con sucesos egenplares en esta monarquia* (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1639), 379.

<sup>113</sup> MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 180.

<sup>114</sup> For example, see Avila, *Tratado de los euangelios*, 1:174.

underwent what Kenneth Mill terms a “diabolical inversion”<sup>115</sup> through the depiction of Andean ritual practices in association with the Christian concept of Hell, it was granted visibility in a religious arena that sought to will Andean ancestral cultures into nonexistence. An interdisciplinary approach to the Andahuaylillas mural demonstrates the strides that can be made when we use the visual record as a point of departure for uncovering the subtleties of Spanish-Andean exchanges in seventeenth-century Peru. Moreover, this case study illuminates the role of mural painting in the articulation of history itself; it serves not simply as a passive imitation of a European print, but as a sophisticated visual document poised to communicate ideas about liminality, death, moral choices, and the ongoing tensions between Catholic and Andean belief systems during the tumultuous historical moment of its inception.

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<sup>115</sup> Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, 218.

### CHAPTER 3

#### THE TRANSFIGURED SAVIOR: THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHRIST MURALS FROM URCOS TO PITUMARCA, SEVENTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The seventeenth-century church of Andahuaylillas set an important precedent for the elaboration of complex mural programs in churches throughout rural Cuzco. Few mid-century murals survived the 1650 Cuzco earthquake, but comparisons between early colonial murals and their eighteenth-century counterparts allow us to reconstruct their stylistic and iconographical trajectories in the intervening years. Murals of the early seventeenth century retained a faithful adherence to European models. This is not to imply, however, that they were devoid of local significance. As we saw in Chapter 2, Luis de Riaño and his presumably indigenous assistants expanded the entrance wall mural's interpretive capacity through subtle artistic maneuvers, such as the lateral reversal of the source print and the inclusion of local motifs in marginal spaces.

By the eighteenth century, however, the artistic scene had changed dramatically. The establishment of guilds dominated by indigenous artists laid the groundwork for a distinctively highland Andean style. Artists began to experiment with more provocative strategies for bringing local references into their compositions. No longer relegated to the margins, indigenous motifs and local references proliferated across architectural facades, canvases, and the walls of highland Andean churches. A number of art historians have examined this transition with respect to architecture<sup>1</sup> and paintings on

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<sup>1</sup> Gauvin Alexander Bailey's recent work offers a comprehensive account of this very phenomenon with respect to the colonial churches of the Arequipa region of southern Peru and the Lake Titicaca and Collao regions of western Bolivia. See *The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), especially 303–38.

canvas.<sup>2</sup> Little attention, however, has been paid to the way that such shifts played out in the context of colonial mural production.<sup>3</sup> This chapter aims to fill in this gap in the literature by comparing images of Christ's baptism across three Andean churches: Andahuaylillas (1626), Urcos (mid seventeenth century), and Pitumarca (eighteenth century). By focusing on three images of the same subject matter, I wish to provide a compelling case study on the transitions mural paintings undertook to encode local and political meaning into Biblical themes. Such an analysis also raises questions about artistic agency and the transfer of images across space, time, and media. I thus interpret the visual qualities of abstraction and flatness found in the Pitumarca murals as indicative of a larger historical process at play in the colonial Cuzco region, by which the Andes as a place and concept gained unprecedented recognition and valorization. I also consider the social and cultural implications of rejecting Europeanized visual conventions in favor

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<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "Identidades alegóricas: lecturas iconográficas del barroco al neoclásico," in *El Barroco Peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla, vol. 2 (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003), 251–335. The proceedings from an annual symposium on the Baroque in colonial South America also offer essays on an array of topics and artistic genres. See *Manierismo y transición al barroco: memoria del III Encuentro Internacional sobre barroco* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005); and *Memoria del II Encuentro Internacional sobre Barroco. Barroco y fuentes de la diversidad cultural* (La Paz: Viceministerio de Cultura, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> This transition did not go wholly unnoticed in the literature, however. Some scholars couched it in stylistic terms. For instance, Mesa/Gisbert discuss eighteenth-century murals in terms of their exuberant Mestizo Baroque flavor. See José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982), 243. Flores Ochoa and his colleagues, however, note that "in the last decade of the eighteenth century until the period of independence from Spanish dominion, mural painting is oriented around *costumbrista* themes, as a reflection of their own world and of the search for their roots, such as the case of themes related to the Incas" ("En la última década de siglo XVIII y hasta el periodo de la independencia del dominio español, la pintura mural se orienta a temas costumbristas, al reflejo de mundo propio y a la búsqueda de sus raíces, como en el caso de los temas referidos a los incas"), see Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, "De la evangelización al incanismo. La pintura mural del sur andino," *Histórica* 15, no. 2 (1991): 171. Pablo Macera makes the strongest case for their relation to local histories and themes, perhaps given his training as a social historian. See *La pintura mural andina, siglos XVI-XIX* (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1993), 19–23, 35–40. Following suit from Macera, I hope to draw hitherto unexplored historical dimensions to the paintings under consideration in this chapter. While all of the authors discussed above acknowledge the social and political relevance of late eighteenth-century murals produced after the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, this chapter intends to push that date back to the seventeenth century, where we already see evidence of artists drawing vital connections between mural imagery and local histories.

of pictorial styles that recall Inca aesthetics. This will set the groundwork for an analysis of the provocative compositions completed by Tadeo Escalante and his contemporaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries discussed in Chapter 4.

As the most important sacramental rite of admission into the Catholic Church, baptism held special meaning in the colonial Americas. Sixteenth-century priests administered baptisms en masse to admit indigenous Andeans of all ages into the faith.<sup>4</sup> Baptism marked the first symbolic step in the “spiritual conquest” of Peru, and as such, took on enhanced relevance as a symbol of the territory’s transition from a pre-Columbian, pagan empire to Christian colony. Paintings abound with depictions of indigenous converts clad in Inca regalia undergoing the act of baptism. Such images often stage the conversion process as an exchange between a Spanish priest and a supplicating Inca king—the spiritual embodiments of their respective empires. One notable example can be found in the Bolivian church of Carabuco. A late eighteenth-century mural in the baptistery features the *cacique* Fernando Siñani being baptized by an officiating priest (fig. 3.1). Bedecked in an Inca-style *uncu* (tunic) decorated with *tocapu* (geometric motifs) and a sun pectoral, the representation of Siñani forges a level of compatibility between Inca culture and Christianity. Siñani positions himself as mediator between pre-Columbian and colonial, Inca and Christian worlds. But curiously, this mural was painted in the late eighteenth century at a time when the baptism of former Inca subjects was a thing of the distant past. What would be the purpose of such a representation at this time? While the focus of this chapter is on images of the baptism of

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<sup>4</sup> This practice, of course, did not guarantee full conversion of indigenous peoples. As we have seen from the extirpation of idolatry campaigns that spanned the seventeenth century, many baptized Andeans continued to practice ancestral beliefs despite their “official” status as Christians.

Christ, I use the Carabuco mural as a point of departure to address how muralists of the Cuzco area visually negotiated increasingly antagonized entities of Inca/Andean and Christian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In short, this chapter examines the shifting means by which muralists “Andeanized” Christ’s baptism through a number of different pictorial strategies.<sup>5</sup> Cuzqueñan muralists began to adopt the type of iconography found at the church of Carabuco, which offered equal legitimacy to Inca and Christian pasts. But when dealing with images of Christ’s baptism, muralists were challenged to integrate local elements while still retaining the image’s legibility as an important scene from the life of Christ. Therefore, while Christ himself is not transformed into an Andean *cacique*, other pictorial elements positioned him within a distinctively Andean *milieu*. The following sections explore the complexities of this process manifested in the early seventeenth-century paintings by Luis de Riaño and Diego Cusi Guaman.

### **Luis de Riaño’s *Baptism of Christ***

Luis de Riaño, the primary author of the Andahuaylillas murals, also produced a signed canvas painting of Christ’s baptism in 1626, located in the church’s baptistery (see fig. 1.17). As one of its models, José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert cite an undated painting executed by his master, Angelino Medoro, located in the Convento de los Descalzos in Lima (fig. 3.2).<sup>6</sup> Both paintings depict a hunched over Christ in the act of

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<sup>5</sup> I take my cue here from Charles Dibble’s essay on Indian-Spanish religious exchanges in colonial New Spain, “The Nahuatlization of Christianity,” in *Sixteenth Century Mexico: The Work of Sahagún*, ed. Munro Edmonson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 225–33.

<sup>6</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:80. For a biographical sketch of the artist and a discussion of his major works, see José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, “El pintor Angelino Medoro y

being baptized by St. John, who wears a red robe slung over the left shoulder and holds a wooden cross. They both contain a brilliant sky bursting with light with a dove at its center, reflected in the biblical passage, “the heavens opened, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and lighting upon him” (Matthew 3:16-17). Riaño, a *criollo* born and raised in Lima, trained under Angelino Medoro in the capital city from 1611 to 1617.<sup>7</sup> It was under his apprenticeship that Riaño was introduced to the Mannerist style that would characterize much of Peruvian art for the remainder of the century.<sup>8</sup> Riaño clearly inherited the elongated limbs and angular faces of his master. Moreover, in both compositions we witness a stark contrast between light and dark tones, although Riaño lacks the extreme tenebrism favored by Medoro.

Despite their stylistic similarities, the paintings diverge significantly in terms of compositional organization. Medoro’s highly compressed composition endows a heightened sense of intimacy between Christ and Saint John, a common baroque feature. Riaño’s rendition of the scene, in contrast, establishes a greater distance between the principal figures. Saint John faces the viewer frontally, and with an outstretched arm pours the baptismal water over Christ’s head. Rather than depicting Christ as hunched over, with face downturned, Riaño renders him upright with his head lifted up, turned to

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su obra en Sudamérica,” *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 18 (1965): 23–47.

<sup>7</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:79.

<sup>8</sup> The use of the term “Mannerist” to describe colonial Andean painting was the focus of substantial debate in the 1970s and 1980s among Peruvian scholars. Perhaps the most compelling argument is that put forth in 1981 by Francisco Stastny, who argues that the pictorial features most emblematic of Mannerism—serpentine figures and overly complex and paradoxical compositions—were actually rejected by artists working in the colonial Andes in favor of clear spatial organization and stiff, attenuated figures. Stastny proposes the use of the terms *contra-maniera* or *anti-maniera* as more accurate descriptors of the Europeanized style adopted by seventeenth-century Peruvian painters. See *El manierismo en la pintura colonial Latinoamericana. Con 2 cuadros y 20 láminas* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1981).

the viewer at a three-quarter angle. Overall, Riaño's painting seems less cluttered; the figures are evenly spaced throughout the canvas rather than stacked on each other, as we see in Medoro's rendering of the angels to Christ's right. Riaño's figures seem in conversation not with one another, but with the viewers of the image. Indeed, the entire composition, not unlike the entrance wall mural of Andahuaylillas, seems to beckon to the viewer to imagine him or herself as a participant in the scene. Medoro's composition, on the other hand, is drawn inward, made meaningful through the internal dynamics of the painting.

In a 1975 publication, Mesa and Gisbert also suggest another source for Riaño's painting: Bernardo Bitti's painting of the same subject at the church of San Juan de Juli near Lake Titicaca (fig. 3.3).<sup>9</sup> Bitti's canvas originally served as the central image of the main *retablo* of the church.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Riaño's composition closely echoes that of Bitti. The depiction of Christ and Saint John on a diagonal axis creates a triangulation between the two figures and the Holy Spirit at the apex found in both Bitti and Riaño's compositions. As Mesa and Gisbert note, the angels featured behind Christ in Bitti's painting wear vestments almost identical to those in Riaño's painting.<sup>11</sup> The defined musculature of Riaño's figures and the geometric folds of their garments also echo Bitti's style. Though he was Medoro's disciple, we can see that Riaño departs substantially from Medoro's softly modulated figures and naturalistic depiction of Christ's loincloth.

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<sup>9</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, "El pintor y escultor Luis de Riaño," *Arte y Arqueología*, no. 3-4 (1975): 147.

<sup>10</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Bitti, un pintor manierista en Sudamérica* (La Paz: Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, 1974), 55.

<sup>11</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, "El pintor y escultor Luis de Riaño," 147.

It would not be unreasonable to assume that Riaño was exposed to Bitti's work in Juli, whether in person or through a copy. Although a considerable distance separated Andahuaylillas from the Jesuit outpost of Juli on the shores of Lake Titicaca, the Jesuits established substantial links between the Cuzco and Lake Titicaca regions during this period. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Jesuits were engaged in a dispute with the secular clergy of Cuzco in 1621 to convert Andahuaylillas into a language-training center to teach priests Quechua. It was to have served as a counterpart to the Aymara language school that the Jesuits established in Juli, although the plan never came to fruition.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, if the lives of Bernardo Bitti, Mateo Pérez de Alesio, and Angelino Medoro offer any indication, artists in seventeenth-century Peru traveled extensively throughout the viceroyalty.<sup>13</sup> Medoro began his South American career in modern-day Colombia (originally encompassed by the Viceroyalty of Peru and later by the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada), settled briefly in Ecuador, arrived in Lima around 1600, and then returned to Seville around 1624.<sup>14</sup> Riaño also traveled considerably throughout his own career; he began his training in Lima and settled in Cuzco by the 1620s, where he completed commissions throughout the region. In addition to his work at Andahuaylillas, Riaño produced works in Cuzco proper as well as in the rural towns of Huaró, Urcos,<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, vol. 3 (Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1960), 368–69.

<sup>13</sup> For one of the earliest comprehensive studies of Bitti, Alesio, and Medoro, see Emilio Harth-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, *Pinturas y pintores en Lima virreinal* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1964).

<sup>14</sup> For further discussion of Medoro's itinerant artistic career in South America, see Mesa and Gisbert, "El pintor Angelino Medoro y su obra en Sudamérica"; and Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, "Influencia Italiana en la Pintura Virreinal," in *Pintura en el virreinato del Perú*, ed. Luis Nieri Galindo (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1989), 145–58.

<sup>15</sup> Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño. Datos para una historia del arte en el Perú*. (Cuzco: Editorial Garcilaso, 1960), 138, 143.

and Callapujyo.<sup>16</sup> A consideration of Riaño's canvas painting in light of the work of his Italian contemporaries indicates that Riaño built his career on a rich foundation of Mannerist works produced to inspire religious fervor among their Peruvian audiences. The next section considers the role that Riaño's *Baptism of Christ* (and its source images) played in the conceptual and stylistic development of Diego Cusi Guaman's mural at the nearby church of Urcos.

### **Diego Cusi Guaman's *Baptism of Christ***

Diego Cusi Guaman (also spelled Cusihuaman) was an indigenous painter who worked throughout Cuzco in the first few decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> Scholars have speculated that he was of noble blood due to the fact that he ranked as a master painter at such an early date. Moreover, Cusi Guaman's use of Latin in his signature (discussed below) further indicates access to a formal education that would have only been reserved for high-ranking indigenous men. A document housed in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville references another Don Diego Cusihuaman, *indio noble* and *Alférez Real de los yndios del Cusco* (noble indian and Royal Ensign of the Indians of Cusco), who petitioned for special privileges in 1791 for his active service during the Tupac Amaru rebellion.<sup>18</sup> Undoubtedly his great-grandson, we can see that the

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<sup>16</sup> Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1993), 66; Elizabeth Kuon Arce, "Del manierismo al barroco en murales cuzqueños: Luis de Riaño," in *Manierismo y transición al barroco. Memoria del III encuentro internacional sobre Barroco* (La Paz: Unión Latina, 2005), 112–14.

<sup>17</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:233; Teófilo Benavente Velarde, *Pintores cuzqueños de la colonia* (Cuzco: Municipalidad del Qosqo, 1995), 106.

<sup>18</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/22.9.1060/LIMA, 698, n. 44, fols. 641-43. An *Alférez Real* was one of the highest titles one could attain as a member of the Indian nobility. *Alférezes* served as the official standard bearers for formal ceremonies.

Cusihuaman family produced a long lineage of prominent indigenous Cuzqueños throughout the colonial period. Mesa and Gisbert have speculated that he produced mural paintings at the churches of Chinchero and Sangarará,<sup>19</sup> but only his composition at the church of Urcos bears his signature.<sup>20</sup> The mural depicts the baptism of Christ encased in a painted frame extending from floor to ceiling (figs. 3.4 and 3.5).<sup>21</sup>

The town of Urcos is located in Quispicanchis, about five miles east of Andahuaylillas and twenty miles southeast of Cuzco proper. Both of these towns are located on the former Inca Collasuyu road that connected Cuzco with the western side of Lake Titicaca. This main thoroughfare served as an artery that facilitated the movement of people and resources across southeastern Peru. The proximity of Urcos to Andahuaylillas undoubtedly enabled artistic exchange between the two parishes. The exterior of the late sixteenth-century church of Urcos consists of a three-arched narthex

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<sup>19</sup> See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:236–37; and Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 64, 138. See my discussion in Chapter 1 regarding the attribution of these murals.

<sup>20</sup> Signed and dated works of art by indigenous artists were exceedingly rare in seventeenth-century Cuzco. Indigenous painters received less recognition than their creole and Spanish counterparts. They were often barred from important commissions reserved for the overwhelmingly Spanish *maestros pintores* (master painters). Moreover, few indigenous artists were literate, making it impossible for them to sign their works. Diego Cusi Guaman was one of the few indigenous artists of his time to sign his work, aside from the earliest works by Diego Quispe Tito. We can assume that Diego Cusi Guaman may have ascended to the ranks of *maestro indio* (Master Indian [Artist]) and was likely of noble indigenous blood. For a discussion of workshop and guild organization in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Cuzco, see Carol Damian, “Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco: Workshops, Contracts, and a Petition for Independence,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 4, no. 1 (1995): 25–53.

<sup>21</sup> The church of Urcos has undergone extensive restoration under the auspices of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC). Unfortunately, a faulty restoration of the baptism mural has fundamentally altered the painting. When conservators attempted to liberate the mural from the wall in order to restore it, parts of the adobe crumbled, leaving large cracks throughout the composition. While I provide a recent image of the mural to show its current state, I rely on Pablo Macera’s pre-restoration photograph for visual analysis of the painting.

and balcony constructed entirely of brick.<sup>22</sup> Most of the interior decorations were destroyed in a fire in the early twentieth century. A description of the church provided in a 1788 inventory, however, suggests that it was once richly decorated with mural paintings: “the entire church is painted, the ceiling is painted with gesso and the body [of the church] is painted in the form of [textile] hangings.”<sup>23</sup> Luckily, the baptistery mural remained relatively unscathed.

We can detect traces of Bitti’s influence in Cusi Guaman’s composition. The slender limbs of the figures as well as the angularity of the drapery pay homage to Bitti, although Cusi Guaman’s work lacks the crisp delineation and planar forms so characteristic of Bitti’s *oeuvre*. Like Riaño, Cusi Guaman was likely exposed to Bitti’s painting either directly or via a copy. Mesa and Gisbert argue that Diego Cusi Guaman served as an assistant to Bitti in Juli before returning to Cuzco in the early seventeenth century.<sup>24</sup> If so, the possibility exists that Cusi Guaman produced a drawing of Bitti’s painting of the baptism of Christ that he subsequently shared with Riaño to serve as an image source for their compositions at Urcos and Andahuaylillas. A comparison of Riaño’s canvas painting of the baptism of Christ and Cusi Guaman’s mural at the church of Urcos offers a crucial slice of the development of a mural painting aesthetic in colonial Cuzco. Chapter 2 considered the impact of Flemish prints and literary sources on the murals of Andahuaylillas. Here, we follow another important trajectory of the history of muralism in the colonial Andes: the role of canvas paintings in mural production.

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<sup>22</sup> Harold E. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1949), 65.

<sup>23</sup> “Toda la yg.a esta pintada p.r el techo con sobrepuestos de pasta: y p.r el cuerpo pintada en forma de colgadura.” AAC, Urcos: Libro de Fábrica e Inventario, 1788-1872, fol. 22r.

<sup>24</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Bitti, un pintor manierista en Sudamérica*, 62.

In order to achieve a sufficient comparison between these two images, we must first bypass the image and focus our attention on the frame. Riaño's scene of Christ's baptism is surrounded by an elaborate framing device painted in tempera on the wall (see fig. 1.17). When considered as a unit, Luis de Riaño's *Baptism of Christ* is actually a mixed-media piece, set between two double pilasters topped with Corinthian capitals painted to imitate real architectural detailing. The painting and the elaborate frame that surrounds it serve as an ideal backdrop for the baptismal font. Indeed, it is so precisely positioned that the font hits the exact midpoint of the composition (fig. 3.6).

The baptistery mural at the church of Urcos features a similar layout. Diego Cusi Guaman also painted the scene at the center of the facing wall of the baptistery, making it the first image one sees upon entering the room. Two Corinthian columns flank the scene of the baptism of Christ—a simplification of the double pilasters found in Andahuaylillas. The upper portion of the painting is badly deteriorated, but it appears that the scene of the baptism was topped with a lunette. Like Andahuaylillas, a decorative frieze extends from both sides of the painting of the baptism, covering the entire upper portion of the wall up to the ceiling. The gabled roof of the baptistery creates a triangular-shaped space at the top of the wall. Cusi Guaman made ample use of the architectural space, covering the negative space with flowers and *putti*. He also decorated the ceiling with repeating columns, strapwork, and cornucopia inspired by a seventeenth-century print by the Flemish architect Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>25</sup>

Diego Cusi Guaman's adoption of the same framing device as Luis de Riaño for the execution of his mural reveals much about the predominant artistic preferences and

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<sup>25</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:104.

values of mid-seventeenth-century Cuzco. His Urcos mural served as a proxy for a painting on canvas. Cusi Guaman even painted a thin beige border around the painting outlined in brown and black as if to imitate the appearance of a wooden frame. The practice of painting elaborate borders in tempera around a canvas was quite common in Andean churches of that period. For instance, a niche in the cloister of the Church of La Merced in Cuzco contains a canvas painting of Our Lady of Mercy fit into a painted border of green drapery (fig. 3.7). Above the curtain hovers God the Father set within a stylized cloud. Here we witness a clever interplay between the canvas painting and the mural that frames it. In the canvas painting, two angels flank the Virgin, lifting up her mantle to reveal her outstretched arms. Similarly, the painted curtain that frames the canvas mimics the form of the Virgin's mantle. Angels positioned at the top corners hold the curtain up to reveal its green interior. A floral decoration surrounds the bottom half of the canvas, now badly deteriorated.

Framing devices functioned to draw attention to the central image. They fill in the surrounding architectural space with color and ornament in the places that a canvas painting cannot reach. In the examples described above, the frames complete the painting through the inclusion of God the Father at the apex. The frames could thus endow the paintings with additional meanings and symbolism that were perhaps unintended by the original artist. They give the central painting a sense of weight, as we see in the architectural details surrounding the *Baptism of Christ* at Andahuaylillas. Or alternatively, they lend a sense of weightlessness, as exhibited in the flowing drapery that seems to lift the portrait of the Virgin to the sky. Despite their marginal location along

the perimeter of a canvas painting, these “frame murals” asserted a sense of primacy, directing the eye centrifugally from the canvas to the frame and beyond.

Unlike Riaño, Diego Cusi Guaman transformed the canvas and the frame into a single orchestrated piece. In so doing, he managed to eliminate the jarring interplay between the dark, rich sheen of oil paint with the more chalky and pastel effect of tempera. The scene of the baptism blends effortlessly from center to margin, maintained through uniformity of color and medium. This shift from the use of a canvas painting to the privileging of a mural to render Christ’s baptism was of no small consequence. Perhaps the most obvious explanation lies in the fact that mural commissions offered inexpensive alternatives for cash-strapped priests or the *cofradías* (lay brotherhoods) that commissioned them. As discussed in Chapter 1, paintings on canvas garnered higher prices than murals, despite the fact that mural paintings were often much larger in scale.

This shift also demonstrates a growing preference for murals in rural churches. Diego Cusi Guaman’s work set an important precedent for the use of murals to replace canvas paintings, architectural details, and even whole *retablos* (altarpieces). Mural painting began to acquire its own visual lexicon that continued to evolve in evocative ways into the eighteenth century. A comparison between Cusi Guaman’s mural of Christ’s baptism with Riaño’s painting at Andahuaylillas will help to elucidate some of these early transformations.

Diego Cusi Guaman emulated a number of basic characteristics found in Riaño’s painting. Perhaps the closest parallel can be found in the representation of Saint John the Baptist. In both images St. John the Baptist rests his right knee on a log jutting out from the river. This is a detail we do not see in the paintings of Bitti or Medoro, and seems to

have been an invention by Riaño that Cusi Guaman emulated in his own work. Christ's crossed arms in Cusi Guaman's composition also bear close resemblance to Riaño's painting. In both compositions we witness a slight awkwardness in the attempt at foreshortening of Christ's left arm; Riaño partially succeeds by casting it in a dark shadow. Cusi Guaman, in contrast, paints his left arm even larger than the right, giving the illusion of Christ simultaneously leaning forward and receding into space.

The transfer of an image from oil paint on canvas to tempera on a wall requires a number of technical modifications. Fluidity of line and smooth transitions from light to shadow often become sacrificed in mural paintings. The hard and often uneven surface of a treated adobe wall does not allow for the same kind of technical maneuvering as a pliable canvas. Indeed, a comparison between the key compositional elements of the Andahuaylillas entrance wall mural that were likely executed by Riaño with his *Baptism of Christ* indicates that the rigidity of the figures were more a product of the limitations of the medium than his lack of skill. Pablo Macera argues that "the mural of Urcos demonstrates the difficulties that the artist had in learning European styles. Cusi-Guamán was correct in [his use of] color, but he struggled with the musculature of the nude and with problems of foreshortening."<sup>26</sup> Rather than view this deviation from European norms as a "struggle," I believe we can see it more as an adaptation to the limitations posed by the medium. This, in turn, gave rise to a new mural aesthetic that privileged those very technical aspects originally considered archaic or lacking in sophistication; namely, flatness, idiosyncratic rendering of pictorial space, and a restricted color palette.

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<sup>26</sup> "...el mural de Urcos evidencia las dificultades que su autor tuvo para aprender los dictados europeos. Cusi-Guamán acertó en el color, pero luchó con la musculatura del desnudo y los problemas del escorzo," Macera, *La pintura mural andina*, 33.

### Color Symbolism in the Work of Diego Cusi Guaman

Indeed, Cusi Guaman's *Baptism of Christ* differs most significantly from Riaño's painting in terms of color. Riaño employs a wide range of pigments, from deep reds and browns to a rich aquamarine to depict the River Jordan and its surrounding landscape. The light flesh tones of Riaño's canvas contrast strongly with the background, which allows the figures to "pop" out towards the viewer. They also give the figures a sense of dynamism and palpability amplified by the layers of varnish applied to the canvas. By contrast, only two colors dominate Cusi Guaman's composition: bright red and a deep, vibrant blue. Murals of the colonial Andes tend to possess limited color palettes consisting of muted earth tones, given that most of the pigments came from natural soils and minerals found in the local environment. The source of the red tones in Cusi Guaman's mural remains unknown. It could have derived from local red *tierras de colores* (colored earth) or imported mineral and organic pigments such as vermillion, hematite, cochineal, or red lake.<sup>27</sup> Regardless of the source, red clearly served as an important accent color. It creates a strong triangulation in the composition between Saint John's cloak, the puffed breast of the parrot in the bottom right corner, and the cloak of one of the angels positioned to the left of Christ. The predominance of red in Cusi Guaman's *Baptism of Christ* would have resonated with the indigenous congregations of Urcos, as it figured strongly in Inca color symbolism. We need only recall the prized *mascaypacha* (royal Inca red fringed headdress) to ascertain the political and religious significance of red in Inca aesthetics.

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<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of red pigments in colonial Andean painting, see Alicia Seldes et al., "Green, Yellow, and Red Pigments in South American Painting, 1610-1780," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 41, no. 3 (2002): 233-37.

Blue also figures prominently in Cusi Guaman's painting. The blue pigment draws the viewer's attention to the scene's most significant symbolic element: the waters of the River Jordan with which Jesus receives the Holy Sacrament. The deep blue tones lend the water an aura of sacredness—a fitting choice for instructing new converts on the significance of the site in the Christian tradition. Cusi Guaman further emphasizes the water through the depiction of s-shaped waves that begin in the foreground and continue up to Christ's figure. These waves, which we do not find in Riaño's painting or in those of his predecessors, draw our attention to the experiential properties of water: its movement and texture. This close attention to the water inevitably places great emphasis on the space *between* Christ and Saint John; that is, the watery surface is not mere negative space, but a space in and of itself.<sup>28</sup>

Access to blue pigments in the seventeenth-century Andes was limited. The pigment could have come from azurite, smalt, or indigo.<sup>29</sup> Indigo was produced in Nicaragua and Guatemala, where it was then distributed to the rest of the Americas and Europe. Andean artists working in the highland Cuzco region would have received shipments of indigo from Lima.<sup>30</sup> Smalt came primarily from the region of Saxony, and probably made its long journey to the Americas through Spanish traders.<sup>31</sup> Azurite is a more likely candidate for the source of the blue pigment in Cusi Guaman's painting. The

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<sup>28</sup> For more on the symbolic import of water in Inca mythology and imperial strategy, see Jeanette E. Sherbondy, "Water Ideology in Inca Ethnogenesis," in *Andean Cosmologies Through Time: Persistence and Emergence*, ed. Robert V. H. Dover, Katharine E. Seibold, and John H. McDowell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 46–66.

<sup>29</sup> Alicia M. Seldes et al., "Blue Pigments in South American Painting (1610-1780)," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 38, no. 2 (1999): 100–23.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

deep blue tone of the pigment most closely matches with the blue hue in the mural. Azurite was locally available in the Andes up through the late seventeenth century.<sup>32</sup> It also possessed deep pre-Hispanic roots; archaeologists have discovered azurite beads in Northwestern Argentina<sup>33</sup> as well as in the Inca heartland. The early Peruvian archaeologist Luis Valcárcel discovered a number of mineral deposits in the Muyujmarka sector of the Inca site of Sacsayhuaman, including malachite, cinnabar, and azurite. He notes that a small alabaster vessel excavated in this sector contained geometric motifs in red, green, and blue, the latter of which derived from azurite. Valcárcel also suggests that the mineral would have been ground and combined with sap to decorate *keros*.<sup>34</sup> The shade of blue in Cusi Guaman's mural, along with its known availability and resonance with the pre-Columbian world strongly suggests the use of azurite in the depiction of the River Jordan.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Luis E. Valcárcel, "Los trabajos arqueológicos en el departamento del Cuzco. Sajsawaman redescubierto. (IV)," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 4, no. 2 (1935): 167–68; see also Georg Petersen G., *Mining and Metallurgy in Ancient Perú*, trans. William E. Brooks (Boulder, CO: Geological Society of America, 2010), 9.

<sup>35</sup> In fact, the reason why Riaño's painting has such a green hue may stem from his own use of azurite. The pigment tends to turn green when it is mixed with oil and applied in thick layers. See Rutherford J. Gettens and Elizabeth West Fitzhugh, "Azurite and Blue Verditer," in *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*, ed. Ashok Roy, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 27. In the absence of published reports on any physical analysis that may have been conducted on the murals at the church of Urcos during its restoration, we can only speculate on the pigment sources. Nevertheless, my interpretation of the compatibility between the water and its materiality is largely indebted to Gabriela Siracusano's *El poder de los colores* in the context of the Andes as well as Diana Magaloni Kerpel's work on Mesoamerican painting before and after the conquest, particularly "Real and Illusory Feathers: Pigments, Painting Techniques, and the Use of Color in Ancient Mesoamerica," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, Coloquios (2006): n.p.

## Local Histories and Diego Cusi Guaman's Mural

The emphasis on the body of water in which Christ receives the baptism may also relate to the location of the church of Urcos. A large lake located to the northwest of the town's colonial center serves as the town's most prominent geological feature (fig. 3.8). Urcos was an important Inca settlement and figured into some Inca origin stories, particularly the version related by the sixteenth-century Spanish chronicler Juan de Betanzos. According to him, the creator god Con Ticci Viracocha (also spelled Contiti Viracocha) passed through Urcos on his travels from Lake Titicaca to Cuzco. When he arrived in Urcos he climbed to the top of a mountain and ordered all of the ancestors of that region living in mountain peaks (*apu*) to emerge. The people of Urcos subsequently built a shrine (*huaca*) to honor Viracocha and placed it on the stone where he had once sat. Betanzos describes the *huaca* as a bench of fine gold on which they placed a statue of Viracocha.<sup>36</sup> Urcos was the last site that Viracocha passed through before arriving in the Inca capital of Cuzco. Although Lake Urcos is not specifically mentioned in this variant of the Inca creation story, the reference to this settlement carries an implicit association with the lake.

Other stories place Lake Urcos firmly into the context of Inca history. Some early chronicles mention a 700-foot gold link chain<sup>37</sup> made for Huascar<sup>38</sup> that was deposited

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<sup>36</sup> Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, ed. María del Carmen Martín Rubio (Cuzco: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad, 1999), 14.

<sup>37</sup> While most English sources translate the Spanish and Quechua terms to "chain" or "cable," it may not have been a chain at all. Huascar was allegedly named in honor of this great golden ornament. The Quechua word for the chain is *huasca*, which actually translates to the Spanish word *maroma*, or rope. Samuel K. Lothrop argues that the so-called chain would have more likely been a gold-plated rope based on testimony by the chronicler Sarmiento de Gamboa. See *Inca Treasure as Depicted by Spanish Historians* (Los Angeles: The Southwest Museum, 1938), 45.

into a lake in the Cuzco environs toward the end of the Spanish conquest. Huascar's father, Huayna Capac, had ordered the chain to be built in honor of the birth of his first son and apparent heir to the throne. The Spanish chronicler Agustín de Zárate was the first to mention the famed gold chain in his *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, originally published in 1555 in Antwerp. In his chapter on the deeds of Huayna Capac, he states,

At the time of the birth of his first son, Guaynacaua ordered that a rope of gold be made so thick (according to the many living Indians that say so) that more than two hundred Indian nobles [*orejones*]<sup>39</sup> could not carry it very easily, and in memory of so remarkable a jewel, he named the son Guasca, which in their language means 'rope...'<sup>40</sup>

The *mestizo* author Garcilaso de la Vega draws liberally from Zárate's early account while also adding some of his own testimony. Garcilaso notes that the gold chain was intended to imitate the linked arms of the rows of dancers that performed at royal ceremonies: "The men took one another's hands, but each dancer gave his hand not to the one immediately in front of him but the next one. They all did this, thus forming a chain."<sup>41</sup> Once Huascar found out about Atahualpa's death, he ordered that all of the gold pieces being sent to Cajamarca for his ransom be hidden away from the Spaniards.

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<sup>38</sup> Huascar was the half-brother of Atahualpa who vied for the Inca throne at the time of the Spanish invasion.

<sup>39</sup> The Spaniards commonly referred to elite Incas as "orejones," which translates to "big ears" because of the large earspools that they wore.

<sup>40</sup> "Al tiempo que le nació el primer hijo mandó hazer Guaynacaua vna maroma de oro, tan gruessa (según ay muchos indios biuos que lo dizen) que asidos a ello más de dozientos indios orejones no la reuantauan muy fácilmente; y en memoria desta tan señalada joya llamaron al hijo Guasca, que en su lengua quiere dezir 'soga.'" Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, ed. Franklin Pease G. Y. and Teodoro Hampe Martínez (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1995), 59–60.

<sup>41</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold V. Livermore, vol. 1 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 544.

As for the fate of Huascar's golden chain, Garcilaso writes, "This superb and valuable piece was hidden by the Indians with the rest of the treasure which was spirited away as soon as the Spaniards came in, to such purpose that no trace of it has been found."<sup>42</sup> He recounts that in 1557 the Spaniards ordered the draining of the lake in order to find the treasure, but quickly gave up when they encountered bedrock:

In the valley of Orcos, six leagues south of Cuzco, there is a small lake less than half a league round, but very deep and surrounded by high hills. The story is that the Indians threw a great part of the treasure from Cuzco in it as soon as they knew about the approach of the Spaniards, and that one of the treasures was the gold chain Huaina Cápac had ordered to be made, of which I shall speak in due course. Twelve or thirteen Spaniards dwelling in Cuzco, not settlers who possess Indians but merchants and traders, were stirred by this report to form a company to share the risk or profit of draining the lake and securing the treasure. They sounded it and found it was twenty-three or twenty-four fathoms of water without counting the mud which was deep. They decided to make a tunnel to the east of the lake, where the river Y'úcy passes and the land is lower than the level of the lake: they could thus run off the water and leave the lake dry... They began work in 1557 with great hopes of getting the treasure, but after tunneling fifty paces into the hillside, they struck a rock and though they tried to break it, they found it was flint, and when they persisted, they found they struck more sparks than stone. So having wasted many ducats of their capital, they lost hope and gave up. I went into the tunnel several times while they were working.<sup>43</sup>

If we are to rely on Garcilaso's testimony, we can imagine that such an event would have remained fixed in the minds of local Urqueños and passed down orally as a significant event in the town's history. Local residents would have likely been aware of this story when Cusi Guaman's mural was completed about seven decades after the event. A postconquest *keru* (ritual wooden drinking vessel) points to the maintenance of the legend of the golden chain in the collective memory of colonial Cuzqueños. It contains a scene in which a ruler on a canopied litter is met by a procession of men carrying a long yellow

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 545.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 190–91.

object. Samuel Lothrop has argued that the scene represents Huascar and his golden “chain.”<sup>44</sup> *Keros* produced in the colonial period frequently depicted Inca themes as a way for Andeans to remember, reenact, and reconstruct indigenous history through the ritual action of communal drinking. Late colonial genealogical portraits of the Inca kings also encode the legend of the golden chain. For instance, an early nineteenth-century painting depicts a defeated looking Huascar carrying a gold chain in his left hand (fig. 3.9).

The legendary golden chain was also evoked in religious processions. In a 1692 procession honoring Our Lady of Loreto, an important Marian cult in Cuzco, a participating indigenous noble by the name of Don Diego Sicos Inga donned a costume reminiscent of his Inca ancestors. According to the notary who provided a full account of the festivities, Sicos Inga wore a bejeweled *mascapaycha* as well as two chains of gold that hung from his neck and right shoulder. Historian David Cahill points out that his decision to wear the gold chains was most likely an allusion to Huayna Capac’s chain.<sup>45</sup> This episode in late seventeenth-century Cuzqueñan history demonstrates the persistence of Inca legends and conquest narratives through the colonial period. Moreover, it reveals the intersections of literature and material culture in the construction of colonial Inca identities.

The archaeologist-traveler Ephraim George Squier recounts the legend, testifying to its survival through the late nineteenth century:

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<sup>44</sup> Samuel K. Lothrop, “Peruvian Pacchas and Keros,” *American Antiquity* 21, no. 3 (1956): 236, fig. 65a.

<sup>45</sup> David Cahill, “The Virgin and the Inca: An Incaic Procession in the City of Cuzco in 1692,” *Ethnohistory* 49, no. 3 (2002): 612.

[Lake Urcos] is most famous because of the tradition that its yellow waters hide the great golden chain of Huayna Capac, which was the thickness of a man's arm, and extended twice around the great square of Cuzco. It was thrown into the lake to save it from the Spaniards. This tradition was fresh and current in Garcilaso's days, for he gives us the names of the men who undertook to carry a drift through the ridge to drain the lake, and who only desisted, after spending all their money, on striking the *peña viva*, or living rock.<sup>46</sup>

The legend of the golden chain has persisted for so long that even contemporary archaeologists have undertaken excavations to ascertain the historical validity of the legend. Johann Reinhardt led a team of archaeologists in 2002 to complete an underwater survey of Lake Urcos and nearby Lake Huacarpay. No archaeological remains were found, however.<sup>47</sup>

Questions of historical veracity aside, the prominent depiction of the body of water in Christ's baptism would have urged contemporary viewers to draw an association with the nearby lake—the conceptual center of their territory. Like the River Jordan, Lake Urcos marks a site of legend, religious power, and transformation. It was layered with meaning composed of the bookends of Inca history, from its murky origins to its chaotic and contested capitulation. Such associations were alive and well in the colonial period, as the texts and images described above indicate. When taken together, it seems undeniable that Cusi Guaman drew from this local repository of myth and knowledge in his creation of the image of Christ's baptism. To place such a pivotal biblical event in an arguably Andean space was to assert a compatibility between Christian and Inca origins.

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<sup>46</sup> Ephraim George Squier, *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877), 416.

<sup>47</sup> For an overview of the archaeological project, see [http://www.mundoazul.org/deutsch/expedition\\_cusco.htm](http://www.mundoazul.org/deutsch/expedition_cusco.htm) (accessed June 22, 2011).

**The Chuncho and the Parrot:  
Representations of Otherness in Diego Cusi Guaman's Mural of the Baptism**

Diego Cusi Guaman integrates other aspects of indigenous history and culture in his *Baptism of Christ* mural that further demonstrate the pains he took to create a register of legibility among the local parishioners. In the lower right hand corner of the composition Cusi Guaman depicts a parrot hovering over a banner that reads, “Don do. Cusi Guaman Me Fecit.” Mesa and Gisbert have argued that the depiction of birds as signature-carriers was something that Cusi Guaman would have copied from Mateo Pérez de Alesio, whose most famous usage of a parrot can be found in his fresco of St. Christopher in the Seville Cathedral (fig. 3.10). Alesio, in turn, emulated Albrecht Dürer's famous engraving of Adam and Eve, which contains an image of a bird perched on a branch supporting a cartouche with his name and the date (fig. 3.11).<sup>48</sup> Most important to our discussion, however, is the parrot's symbolic weight within the context of the composition as a whole. Parrots served as important symbols of the Americas, frequently populating European cartographic and allegorical representations of the newly “discovered” territory. As art historian Hiroshige Okada notes, parrots, monkeys, and mermaids formed a triumvirate of visual stereotypes for representing America.<sup>49</sup> Their location in tropical environments contributed to the conflation of parrots with the “exotic” American landscape.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> See José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio* (La Paz: Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, 1972), 89–90; and Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:236.

<sup>49</sup> Hiroshige Okada, “Inverted Exoticism? Monkeys, Parrots, and Mermaids in Andean Colonial Art,” in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825, from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Milan: Skira, 2006), 74.

<sup>50</sup> See Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from The Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 34–37.

Parrots also occupied a distinct role in the Andean imagination. Parrots are indigenous to the eastern slopes of the Andes and the Amazonian basin. The Incas referred to this region as Antisuyu, which made up the eastern quarter of the empire. Colonial-period writings often frame the people of Antisuyu as culturally backwards, primitive, and savage. They served as cultural barometers for the civility of the Incas, in much the same way that Europeans conceived of Amerindians as culturally and technologically inferior. Guaman Poma described them as follows:

They [people of Antisuyu] were infidels until the present time, although they were at peace and friends of the Inca. Later the Indians here are warlike, Indians of the jungle; they eat human flesh. In their lands there are animals, serpents, jaguars, mountain lions, poisonous snakes, caiman, cows, wild donkeys, and other animals, many macaws, parrots, birds, monkeys, wild pigs, and many warlike Indians, some naked and others use loincloths, while others wear an *anaco* [tunic-like garments], both men and women.<sup>51</sup>

As we can see from Guaman Poma's passage, parrots were frequently associated with the people of Antisuyu. The various cultural groups of this region were given the catchall term of Chunchu, a label that seems to have been invented in the colonial period.<sup>52</sup>

Chunchos paid tribute to the Inca crown in the form of wood, tropical foodstuffs, coca

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<sup>51</sup> Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 55.

<sup>52</sup> According to Thierry Saignes, Chunchu is an Aymara term employed by missionaries and other colonial-period writers roughly translated to mean savage. See *Los Andes orientales: historia de un olvido* (Cochabamba: Ediciones CERES, 1985), 51–54. The term does not appear in Ludivico Bertonio's 1612 dictionary, *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara*, however. It does appear in Diego González Holguín's 1608 Quechua dictionary, spelled *Chhunchu* and defined as "a province, or Andes of war" ("vna prouinvia, o de Andes de Guerra"), probably meant to invoke an association of Chunchos as war-like people. See Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru llamada lengua quichua, o del inca* (Lima: Instituto de Historia, 1952), 121. The term seems to have been devoid of any specific ethnic or geographic affiliation other than somewhere east of the Andes. In fact, in one eighteenth-century publication describing missionary efforts in the early colonial period, "Chunchu" was used to describe indigenous people in Paraguay. See Pedro Lozano, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en la provincia del Paraguay, escrita por el padre Pedro Lozano*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de M. Fernández, 1754), 568.

leaves, and feathers. The traditional iconography of the Chuncho Indian included a sparsely clothed individual, usually befitted with no more than a loincloth, wearing a feather headdress. As Lee Anne Wilson notes, representations of Chunchos wearing feathered crowns abounded on *kero* vessels and in the drawings of Guaman Poma de Ayala.<sup>53</sup> The feathers serve as stand-ins for the rich ornithological diversity of Antisuyu and call to mind the brilliantly colored parrots and macaws from which they derived.

Returning to Cusi Guaman's image, we can see that a parrot rests directly below the left foot of Saint John. The position of its head creates an unbroken line with Saint John's leg, drawing the viewer's attention to his figure. He wears a tattered loincloth around his waist that bears little relation to the more polished robes with which he is depicted in the sister images of the *Baptism of Christ* mentioned above.

I believe that Cusi Guaman employed the visual iconography of the Chuncho in an effort to visually characterize John as a true ascetic. In this respect, he diverges from the compositions of Riaño, Bitti, and Alesio, all of which heavily aestheticize John's robes. Riaño's composition in particular adds a component of elegance to his clothing. He transforms the loincloth into a tunic that covers one shoulder and depicts John with a red shawl that cascades down his left arm in billowing folds. In Cusi Guaman's image, John wears a tattered brown loincloth that takes on the appearance of ripped leather torn up the sides to reveal his thighs. Indeed, Cusi Guaman's rendering of Saint John's robes actually corresponds more closely to the biblical passage describing the baptism than in

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<sup>53</sup> Lee Anne Wilson, "Nature Versus Culture: The Image of the Uncivilized Wild-Man in Textiles from the Department of Cuzco, Peru," in *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An Anthology*, ed. Margot Schevill, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward Bridgman Dwyer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 209.

any of the other images: “Now John was clothed with camel’s hair, and had a leather girdle around his waist, and ate locusts and wild honey” (Mark 1:6).

This representation of a semi-nude figure clothed in tattered rags dovetails with the textual descriptions and visual iconography of the Chuncho. For instance, Guaman Poma depicts the second wife of an Inca captain from the Antisuyu quarter named Capac Mallquima wearing nothing but a skirt with exposed breasts and bare feet (fig. 3.12). A parrot, with its right eye cocked toward the viewer, stands to her left side, mirroring the compositional organization of St. John and the parrot in Cusi Guaman’s painting. In another drawing depicting the feast of the Antisuyus, the male participants wear feathered headdresses, recalling the parrots and other exotic birds that served as the sources for these vestments (fig. 3.13). St. John’s tattered robes make this an even more “orthodox” painting than the others that preceded it, yet it is marked as different because of its failure to follow its immediate models. But this can also serve as a source of agency for Cusi Guaman, who can capitalize on the symbolic synchronicity between St. John the Baptist and the Chuncho Indian, demonstrating how new visual languages develop new codes of legibility. This is but one example in which colonial Andean images can carry radically opposed, yet not necessarily contradictory meanings.

Cusi Guaman managed to bring together two prominent symbols of Cuzco’s “others”—the parrot and tattered loincloth—as a means of bestowing local legibility to a biblical figure. Andean viewers would have been able to better understand John’s historical role as a religious ascetic who relinquished his material possessions and lived a humble life. By equating him with a Chuncho devoid of elaborate clothing or man-made possessions, Cusi Guaman offers a recognizable analogue through which John’s role

could be understood. In his stoic and rather dignified representation of Saint John, Cusi Guaman was able to remove the negative aspects associated with the Chuncho as it was understood in the highland Andean imagination. He thus engaged in a strategic act of adding and peeling away pervasive symbols embedded in Andean and Christian spheres of knowledge and myth; Saint John the Baptist is shed of his normative identity and traditional iconography, which is replaced with symbols of the Chuncho located at the margins of the Inca empire. If taken from a different perspective, the Chuncho is emptied of his otherness, of his “primitive” nature, and cast as a central figure in the biblical tradition. But regardless of the position from which we interpret this figure, we can see that Cusi Guaman has invented his own set of mixed symbols and metaphors in order to deepen the signifying capacity of Christian subjects.

To take this a step further, we can employ the same concepts of spatial hierarchy and duality manifested in the entrance wall mural of Andahuaylillas to Cusi Guaman’s mural. If we are to map out the image based on the spatial coordinates of the Inca empire, Saint John represents the eastern Antisuyu quarter. Christ occupies the dead center of the composition—a subtle but significant shift from Riaño’s and Bitti’s compositions that place Christ slightly left of center. We can thus interpret Christ as an axis mundi, the conceptual center of the new spiritual map of the Andes. This subtle repositioning of Christ carried great symbolic weight. In the Inca period, Cuzco was considered the navel of the universe and the center point from which all territorial divisions emanated. Christ joins Cuzco/Urcos as the center of gravity, bridging together geography with religion, imperial cosmology with colonial spirituality.

An alternative, but not necessarily mutually exclusive reading would posit St. John as a dualistic counterpart to Christ. The Incas framed Chunchos as their ontological opposite. The Incas possessed laws and reason; the Chunchos lacked government. Incas of high standing wore finely woven tunics and sandals; Chunchos wore little clothing and walked barefoot.<sup>54</sup> These dualities provided a framework through which the Incas could define themselves. Such efforts at delineating these social boundaries extended into the arena of ritualized warfare. The Incas frequently staged battles with the Chunchos as a means of maintaining strict moiety divisions and hierarchies. These battles form an important category of *kero* decoration, in which the ethnic Incas are depicted to the left and the Chunchos to the right, again in exactly the same positioning as we see in Cusi Guaman's painting (fig. 3.14). As Tom Cummins argues,

The ritual battles do not only represent aspects of agriculture. They are a tacit acknowledgment of the competition and antagonism existing at the moiety level because one is always symbolically subordinate to the other. The ritual battles therefore controlled hostility by permitting the expression of this antagonism while at the same time reuniting the two moieties at the end through reciprocal drinking and feasting as well as the exchange of females.<sup>55</sup>

This is not to imply, of course, that Saint John was likewise staged in a ritual battle with Christ. But we can say with relative certainty that Cusi Guaman may have staged these two figures as complementary opposites through the structural paradigm offered by the Inca/Chuncho division. Christ as the axis mundi and central figure of the composition becomes conflated with "us," that is, with the parishioners of Urcos. St. John assumes a

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<sup>54</sup> For further discussion on the construction of Inca identities vis-à-vis the *chuncho*, particularly in terms of gender, see Carolyn Dean, "Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men," in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, ed. Cecelia F. Klein and Jeffrey Quilter (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 143–82.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 256–57.

similar role that the tribute-paying Chunchos would have assumed under Inca rule; he bestows Christ with the sacrament of Baptism in order for him to cultivate a life of ultimate sanctity. That is, he granted Christ the raw material—baptismal water—to become the savior of humankind, just as the Chunchos offered tribute of feathers and other goods to be utilized by the divinely ordained Sapa Inca. Placing them in this complementary, dualistic relationship appealed to pan-Andean understandings of reciprocity that continued to permeate social relations well into the colonial period.<sup>56</sup> Cusi Guaman’s subtle use of color, symbolism, and composition communicated Christ’s primacy through mutually reinforcing local channels of knowledge.

### **Additional Sources for Diego Cusi Guaman’s Painting**

Now that I have underlined the aspects of Diego Cusi Guaman’s mural that distinguish it from earlier paintings of Christ’s baptism, let us return to the larger question of image sources and their various trajectories. I have suggested above that Cusi Guaman drew inspiration from Luis de Riaño’s 1626 painting at Andahuaylillas based on compositional similarities. Significant differences between Cusi Guaman the paintings suggest an additional source, however. Though Mesa and Gisbert cite Bitti’s painting at

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<sup>56</sup> The literature on duality in the Andes is vast. For an archaeological perspective, see Jerry D. Moore, “The Archaeology of Dual Organization in Andean South America: A Theoretical Review and Case Study,” *Latin American Antiquity* 6, no. 2 (1995): 165–81. For broader discussions of its role in state formation and the delineation of moieties, see Patricia J. Netherly, “The Nature of the Andean State,” in *Configurations of Power: Holistic Anthropology in Theory and Practice*, ed. John S. Henderson and Patricia J. Netherly (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 11–35; and R. Tom Zuidema, *Inca Civilization in Cuzco*, trans. Jean-Jacques Decoster (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990). For a discussion of duality and its intersections with Inca material culture, see Maarten van de Guchte, “Sculpture and the Concept of the Double Among the Inca Kings,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 29/30 (1996): 256–68. And for a discussion of these concepts as they relate to modern Andean societies, see Salvador Palomino, “Duality in the Sociocultural Organization of Several Andean Populations,” *Folk* 13 (1971): 65–88; and Tristan Platt, “Mirrors and Maize: The Concept of Yanatin Among the Macha of Bolivia,” in *Anthropological History of Andean Polities*, ed. John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 228–59.

the Church of San Juan in Juli as the primary source for Cusi Guaman's painting in their publication, they offer an additional possibility in their second edition of *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* published six years later: Mateo Pérez de Alesio's painting of the same subject in the Cathedral of San Giovanni in Valetta, Malta.<sup>57</sup> The painting was completed between 1577 and 1579.<sup>58</sup> While Mesa and Gisbert do not cite him, they likely changed their position on the issue after Pablo Macera argued in his 1975 article that the model for Cusi Guaman's painting can be found in a painting or print based on Alesio's composition in Malta.<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, Macera formed his hypothesis around an image that Mesa and Gisbert themselves published in their 1972 book on Mateo Pérez de Alesio.<sup>60</sup> In this book the authors mention the fact that the Italian artist Antonio Francisco Luccini produced a series of prints in 1631 based on Alesio's frescoes at the Master's Palace in Valetta. Indeed, they also reference a number of prints executed by the Antwerp engraver Pierre Perret of Alesio's paintings, including his *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* and the *Conversion of Saint Paul*.<sup>61</sup>

At the time of Macera and Mesa/Gisbert's publications, they lacked one piece of the puzzle that would have answered some of their questions on the relation between Alesio's painting and Cusi Guaman's mural. The same Pierre Perret also produced an engraving of Alesio's *Baptism of Christ* in 1582 based on his painting in the Valetta

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<sup>57</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:234.

<sup>58</sup> Antonio Palesati and Nicoletta Lepri, *Matteo da Leccia. Manierista Toscano dall'Europa al Perú* (Pomaranace, Italy: Associazione Turistica Pro Pomerance, 1999), 78.

<sup>59</sup> Pablo Macera, "El arte mural cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX," *Apuntes* 2 (1975): 78.

<sup>60</sup> Despite its poor image quality and accidental lateral reversal, Macera still managed to correctly base his argument on a small black-and-white photograph of the painting reproduced in their publication on Alesio. See Mesa and Gisbert, *El pintor Mateo Pérez de Alesio*, 38, fig. 10.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 39–45.

Cathedral, which was dedicated to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (fig. 3.15).<sup>62</sup> As Macera predicted, Cusi Guaman would have had access to a print based on Alesio's painting of the same subject in Malta. Andean artists would have most likely acquired this print from Alesio's workshop in Lima through either direct travel or through the hands of his highland disciples.

The print helps fill in some of the compositional inconsistencies evident in Cusi Guaman's use of the model offered by Riaño. The position of Christ's legs matches perfectly with Alesio's print; in both images he kneels on a flattened rock with his right leg slightly flexed and wading in the water. Christ's hunched shoulders in Cusi Guaman's painting also more closely parallel Alesio's composition to that of Riaño. Nevertheless, a consideration of all three images indicates that Cusi Guaman drew from both Riaño's painting and Alesio's print in the creation of the Urcos mural. Note that while Christ's knees imitate the stance taken in Alesio's print, Cusi Guaman's depiction of St. John's stance follows Riaño's painting. Riaño introduced a new compositional element to the scene—the jutting log on which St. John rests his right knee—which Cusi Guaman integrates into his own composition. This detail in particular leads me to believe that Cusi Guaman produced his mural after 1626, the date Riaño provided in his signature on the Andahuaylillas canvas. The level of detail and technical virtuosity evident in Riaño's painting suggests its utility as a model for Cusi Guaman rather than the other way around. Cusi Guaman's painting bears a rougher quality that places greater emphasis on color and symbolism than on technical detail. It is less likely to me, then,

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<sup>62</sup> Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 232.

that Riaño would have looked to Cusi Guaman's painting as a model since it lacks the attention to the fine modulation that plays such an important role in Riaño's *oeuvre*.<sup>63</sup>

This evidence for the use of multiple sources in the creation of a single mural program speaks to the innovation of mural artists to weave together images gleaned from a variety of media. Cusi Guaman's mural presents us with an interesting case study on the processes of transfer and innovation at play in what at first glance may have seemed a rather unremarkable image. Visual evidence found in the mural itself tells us that he possessed a copy of Pieter Perret's 1582 engraving. We can also argue that Cusi Guaman saw Riaño's painting at the church of Andahuaylillas, perhaps creating a sketch of it as a visual reference during the painting process. This signifies a new turn in colonial Andean mural painting, in which artists drew not only from print sources, but from local works of art as well. Discussion of an eighteenth-century mural depicting Christ's baptism at the church of Pitumarca will reveal the next trajectory of colonial Andean mural painting: the role of pre-existing murals as visual sources for eighteenth and nineteenth-century artists.

### **Christ Imagery at the Church of Pitumarca**

The town of Pitumarca is located in the province of Canchis, which borders Quispicanchis to the east.<sup>64</sup> Pitumarca is located in the northwestern corner of the

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<sup>63</sup> Scholars remain unclear on the chronology of Cusi Guaman's work in the Cuzco area. Pablo Macera notes that the most immediate local reference to his *Baptism* can be found in Riaño's painting at Andahuaylillas ("El arte mural cuzqueño," 78), implying that Riaño's work came first. Flores Ochoa, Samanez Argumedo, and Kuon Arce date Cusi Guaman's painting to the early years of the seventeenth century, implying that Riaño's canvas came later (*Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 80). Mesa and Gisbert (*Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* 1:236) remain mum on an exact date for Cusi Guaman's mural, but seem to imply that it was executed sometime between 1607 and 1630, the approximate dates of his alleged murals at the churches of Chinchero and Sangarará, respectively (see my earlier discussion of this attribution in Chapter 1). In their 1975 publication on Luis de Riaño, however, they state that his painting directly influenced Diego Cusi Guaman ("El pintor y escultor Luis de Riaño," 148). The literature seems to suggest a rough date of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but for reasons described above, I argue for a later date of 1630s to 1640s.

province, surrounded to the south and east by the towns of Checacupe and Combapata. Pitumarca is situated about 50 miles south of Cuzco, making it considerably isolated from the city and its immediate orbit of *doctrinas*. The church of Pitumarca dates to the late sixteenth century, but the surviving murals date to the seventeenth and eighteenth.<sup>65</sup> It is a single-nave church of adobe construction with two lateral chapels and a bell tower (fig. 3.16).<sup>66</sup> The church contains extensive mural decorations along the nave, ceiling, interior arches, lateral chapels, and baptistery (fig. 3.17). The mural program as a whole has received little scholarly attention; the principal publications on painting and architecture of the colonial Andes grant it only passing reference, if any.<sup>67</sup> The majority of the mural decorations seem to date to the late seventeenth century based on stylistic evidence. For example, in the lateral chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the mural-retablo features a rich color palette and baroque architectural detailing of Solomonic columns topped by leaves arranged to simulate a Corinthian capital (fig. 3.18). The columns suggest a post-1630 date, while the color palette and style ground the image in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.<sup>68</sup> The mural of the baptism of Christ, however, clearly

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<sup>64</sup> In the colonial period, Canas and Canchis were lumped together into a single province known interchangeably as Canas y Canchis and Tinta.

<sup>65</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:244.

<sup>66</sup> Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 204.

<sup>67</sup> Perhaps given its isolated location, Pitumarca does not make it to any of the early surveys on the art and architecture of colonial Latin America by Kelemen (1951), Kubler and Martin Soria (1959), or Bayón and Murillo Marx (1992). Even books focusing specifically on Andean architecture such as Harold Wethey's *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (1949) and Gisbert and Mesa's *Arquitectura andina* (1997) do not include any references to the church.

<sup>68</sup> The use of the Solomonic column reached an unprecedented florescence in Gianlorenzo Bernini's *Baldachin* at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome (1623-1634). This European architectural trend quickly spread to cosmopolitan centers throughout the Americas. As Kelly Donahue-Wallace points out, Solomonic columns began to appear on retablos and church facades in New Spain within a few years. See *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 106-7. Pitumarca's isolation from the metropolitan centers of Cuzco and Lima suggests that

postdates the rest of the mural program by several decades. Shades of pink, yellow, and green dominate the baptistery mural, perhaps signaling a Rococo influence. The painting is heavily outlined in black and set against a white background. This stylistic transition became a hallmark of eighteenth and nineteenth-century mural decoration. The resultant effect is a total acknowledgment of the “paintedness” of the wall and a rejection of material verisimilitude.

The account book for the church verifies the late date of the baptistery mural. Parish priest Don Antonio Joseph Villavicencio notes that in 1777, “I bought three large and thick sticks that cost a *peso* each to re-roof the Baptistery that collapsed. I did not spend anything on the roofing because the people did it, and it’s ridiculous what I gave them for their coca [leaves] to plaster and whitewash it. I paid the mason for eight days at three *reales* per day, which amounts to six *pesos*.<sup>69</sup> In the following entry in the account book, he states, “*Yten*, in returning to paint [the baptistery], the Painter brought colors and [extra] hands, [which cost] twenty-five *pesos*.”<sup>70</sup> Although he does not mention the identity of the painter in this particular entry, we know from a previous page that his name was Don Pablo Gamarra (we can assume that it is the same painter because the entry notes that he “returned” to paint the baptistery after his previous project).<sup>71</sup> The account book entry from 1777 verifies that Gamarra almost certainly painted the baptism

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this kind of baroque imagery would not have made it to the area until the second half of the seventeenth century.

<sup>69</sup> “*Yten* el Bautisterio que se caio lo volvia techar “compre tres palos grandes, y gruesos...en techarlo nada gaste por que lo hiso la gente, y es cosa ridicula lo que les di para su coca en embarrarlo y blanquearlo pague el Albañil ocho dias hornal de tres r.s cada dia tres p.s son seis p.s.” AAC, Pitumarca, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario, 1744-1784, n.p.

<sup>70</sup> “*Yt*, en bolberlo a pintar por colores, y manos llevó el Pintor veinte y sinco pesos.” Ibid., n.p.

<sup>71</sup> In this entry, Villavicencio does not describe the nature of the project, simply stating “*Yten* the Painter Don Pablo Gamarra brought colors and extra hands [which cost] 150 *pesos*” (“*Yt*. El Pintor D.n Pablo Gamarra llevó por colores, y manos ciento cincuenta p.s”). Ibid., n.p.

image we see today, as its style, color palette, and use of indigenous references all resonate with a late eighteenth-century Andean aesthetic tradition. Furthermore, no additional entries mentioning the baptistery exist in the inventory or account books, which extend to 1784.

Gamarra decorated the baptistery with an elaborate painted *retablo* that contains a central image of the baptism of Christ flanked by St. Peter on the left and St. Paul on the right (fig. 3.19). The use of murals to imitate *retablos* and other types of architectural sculpture was common in the Cuzco region. For instance, a painted *retablo* in the church of Oropesa dating to the late sixteenth century bears some similarities with the Pitumarca image (see fig. 1.26). In this image, the *retablo* is painted around a central niche in which a statue of a saint would have been placed. Murals of this type offered inexpensive alternatives to contracting the various laborers and purchasing the materials necessary for carving, assembling, and gilding a *retablo*, not to mention the acquisition of painted and clothed saints to be placed in each niche.

The painted *retablo* in the Pitumarca baptistery takes up the majority of the facing wall, serving as the room's visual focal point. The scene of the baptism of Christ is set within a fictive Rococo-style altarpiece. Four Corinthian columns enveloped in twisting vines of flowers divide the altarpiece into three sections. An image of God the father framed within a decorated arch serves as the attic. Goblets of flowers, birds perched on orbs, and bundles of feathers line the top of the *retablo*. The entire composition is executed in shades of light blue, pink, and green. Like the Urcos mural, the Pitumarca image possesses a limited color scheme. Nevertheless, the artist manages to offer the impression of tonal variety through the interplay of color against the white background.

The mural carries a light and evanescent quality that differs substantially from the dark, shadowy image produced by Diego Cusi Guaman.

The *Baptism of Christ* features a kneeling figure of Jesus being baptized by St. John (fig. 3.18). A triangular-shaped body of water bisects the scene, filled with small fish, aquatic mammals, and fishermen in boats made of Andean *totora* reeds. A pair of male and female onlookers clad in Inca-style vestments accompanies Christ and St. John. A brilliant sunray with a dove surrounded by stylized spiral clouds hovers over the scene. Divine rays of red and yellow light emanate from the heads of both Christ and St. John the Baptist.

Despite Pitumarca's isolation from Cuzco, the church's imagery indicates that the artists commissioned to paint the church must have been exposed to images of the baptism of Christ at the church of Urcos and perhaps Andahuaylillas as well. The similarities between the two images suggest that the Urcos image of the baptism may have served as an important source of inspiration for Gamarra. They do not offer any evidence of direct copying, however. The most obvious similarity between the two images is the emphasis on the body of water in which Christ receives the baptism. What Cusi Guaman alludes to in his emphasis on the brilliant blue becomes exploited to its fullest potential in the Pitumarca image. The body of water contains fisherman in boats navigating a sea teeming with fish and aquatic mammals. I will return to this aspect of the image shortly. For the time being, it is important to note the potential conceptual impact of Cusi Guaman's image on the depiction of the waters of Christ's baptism at Pitumarca.

The same print that served as the basis for Diego Cusi Guaman's *Baptism of Christ* also served as a direct source for the Pitumarca mural (see fig. 3.15).<sup>72</sup> The artist pared down the image to its basic elements, eliminating many of the subsidiary figures found in Perret's print. Nevertheless, the basic compositional format of the painting matches that of the print. Like the print, the Pitumarca mural contains two figures standing slightly behind Christ to witness the scene. The manner in which Christ's left foot rests atop the right in the print can also be found in the Pitumarca mural, albeit of somewhat awkward execution. Finally, the concentric circles of radiating sunlight that emanate from the dove at the top of the Pitumarca composition resemble the model offered by the print.

The circulation of a single engraving unites all of the paintings discussed thus far. The incompleteness of the documentary record prevents us from tracking the precise means by which Perret's print traveled. The mural paintings offer us material manifestations of its movement through space and time, but we must rely on reasoned speculation to fill in those gaps. We can hypothesize that Luis de Riaño acquired the print from Alesio's Lima workshop during his training under Angelino Medoro. Diego Cusi Guaman, in turn, may have obtained the print from Riaño in Cuzco. As far as Gamarra is concerned, the print could have remained in a Cuzqueñan workshop where he received his training or the priest of the church may have possessed a copy. Regardless of the exact trajectory that the print took, what is most remarkable about this scenario is the fact that the same print informed mural programs separated in time by nearly a

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<sup>72</sup> Palesati and Lepri are the first scholars to successfully identify Perret's print as the source for the Pitumarca murals (*Matteo da Leccia*, 79) but mistakenly refer to it as the church of Catca and mis-date it to the seventeenth century.

century. This testifies to the longevity of prints and the great pains taken to conserve them for generations after their initial arrival in the Americas.

The role of the print as a point of origin for these three images also demonstrates the diverse trajectories that paintings could take despite their allegiance to the same print source. The *Baptism of Christ* at the church of Pitumarca diverges most dramatically from the print in terms of both style and iconography. The figures of Christ and St. John the Baptist defy the rules of proportion, scale, or the modulation of forms that had characterized colonial Andean art for much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The heavily outlined figures do not give the illusion of three-dimensionality. The color palette bears no relation to that of Riaño or Cusi Guaman as black, white, red, blue, and yellow dominate the composition. The artist applied the colors lightly, imbuing the composition with highlights of color but gone are the deep, rich tones of the previous images. Iconographically speaking, the River Jordan takes on a completely different appearance from the print. And in the place of the two angels, a pair of indigenous onlookers wearing traditional Inca dress witness the baptism of Christ. What are we to make of these changes? I would argue that they are involved in a larger dialogue of resistance and cultural agency that coincided with a number of local developments in eighteenth-century Cuzco.

### **The Artistic Climate of Eighteenth-Century Cuzco**

In 1688, a group of indigenous artists initiated a legal battle that would change the course of artistic production for the rest of the colonial period. The famous 1688 document was a petition drawn up by a group of Spanish painters directed to the

*corregidor* of Cuzco in rebuttal of a (now lost) request made by indigenous artists to withdraw from participation in the creation of a triumphal arch for the 1677 Corpus Christi procession. The Spaniards countered the claims made by their indigenous associates of mistreatment and discrimination, instead claiming that it was the Indians themselves who were drunk and malicious towards them.<sup>73</sup> As a result of this legal battle, Spanish and indigenous painters formed separate, independent workshops. The popularity and enormous output of newly established Cuzco School ultimately led to the near disappearance of Spanish guilds in Cuzco by the eighteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

The legal success of the indigenous painters liberated them from the strict dictates of the Europeanizing styles they were expected to emulate. The Cuzco School developed a unique artistic signature that was quickly emulated by legions of artists throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Characterized by a bright color palette, flattened forms, indigenous symbolism, and a profusion of gold ornament, Cuzco School paintings acquired a palpable “Andeanness” never before seen in Peruvian painting. The links between the Cuzco School artists specializing in paintings on canvas or panel with those with a specialty in mural painting are yet unclear. While a full consideration of this facet of Cuzqueñan art history remains beyond the scope of this dissertation, we can say with certainty that this new wave of artistic activity reverberated across a variety of media, including mural painting. Muralists, like their colleagues working in oil paint, began to exhibit a preference for flattened and geometricized forms.

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<sup>73</sup> The original document is located in the Archivo Regional de Cuzco. For an English translation of the document, see Damian, “Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco,” 53. For a full transcription see Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, “Nacimiento de la escuela cuzqueña de pintura,” *Boletín del Archivo Departamental del Cuzco* 1 (1985): 11–13.

<sup>74</sup> See Damian, “Artist and Patron in Colonial Cuzco,” 46.

To take one iconic example, a 1765 Cuzco School painting of Our Lady of Cocharcas contains a depiction of the Virgin set within an elaborate baldachin (fig. 3.19). She wears a conical dress typical of representations of the Virgin at the time.<sup>75</sup> The dress appears as a flat triangle decorated with floral and beaded appliques. The artist does not attempt to make the ornaments appear as if they wrap around the body; the Virgin looks stiff and one-dimensional. This does not by any means take away from the vibrancy of the composition, however. The scene teems with life, populated by hordes of pilgrims paying their respects to the Virgin. The mountains looming in the background seem as if they could topple forward onto the Virgin at any given moment because the artist gives little indication of the recession of space. These stylistic elements resonate strongly with the Pitumarca mural, where the River Jordan seems to move upward into an oddly shaped triangle, appearing more like a watery mountain rather than a river meandering off into the distance. In similar fashion to the depiction of the Cocharcas pilgrims, the artist of the Pitumarca mural renders the figures with little attention to anatomical proportion or foreshortening. As we can see from the comparison with the painting of Our Lady of Cocharcas, the emphasis on planar forms along with anecdotal representations of space was a shared stylistic feature of both oil paintings and mural paintings of the same period.

Nevertheless, mural paintings of the eighteenth century developed their own visual language that was not fully wedded to the Cuzco School aesthetic. The Pitumarca baptistery mural, along with mural programs at the churches of Huaró, Catca, and Chinchero, contained figures heavily outlined in black set against light-colored backdrops. This feature does not appear in oil paintings from the same time period. The

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<sup>75</sup> The work of Carol Damian, Teresa Gisbert, and others has argued that such representations of the Virgin conflate her with the pre-Columbian earth goddess, Pachamama. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of the literature.

color palette of murals differs substantially from canvas paintings as well. Blacks, reds, blues, greens, and yellows tend to dominate murals of the eighteenth century. Cuzco School painters, in contrast, utilized a variety of pigments, glazes, and varnishes afforded by the medium with which they worked. Perhaps most significantly, mural paintings, by virtue of their fixed location within rural churches, tend to contain direct references to the local history of the area within which they are situated. Canvas paintings involved a different mode of manufacture in which dozens of relatively standardized paintings were churned out for various patrons, whether religious institutions or private buyers.<sup>76</sup> Cuzco School paintings were exported to areas as distant as Chile and Argentina. Mural paintings, on the other hand, were created with their specific location in mind. Because there was a clear understanding of the painting's ultimate destination and the congregation that would view it, artists could make more explicit references to local myth, history, or culture. With this in mind, I explore the cultural climate of eighteenth-century Cuzco and its intersections with the unique iconography found at Pitumarca.

### **The Cultural Climate of Eighteenth-Century Cuzco**

Any attempt at a comprehensive account and analysis of the cultural climate of eighteenth-century Cuzco would prove futile in the short space allotted here. What I would like to do instead is offer a broad sketch of contemporaneous cultural and literary developments that are of great consequence to the visual record. I will revisit these developments in my analysis of the baptism of Christ mural at the church of Pitumarca.

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<sup>76</sup> This is not to imply, of course, that Cuzco School paintings did not contain indigenous symbolism. On the contrary, we can find innumerable references to Andean life in such images, from women bedecked in traditional Andean dress to the inclusion of local flora and fauna. The distinction I am trying to draw is between indigenous symbolism and direct references to local sites and histories.

The eighteenth century ushered in what John Rowe famously referred to as an era of “Inca Nationalism.”<sup>77</sup> With the Spanish conquest buried safely in the past by nearly two centuries, indigenous Andeans enjoyed relative freedom to reconstruct and reenact Inca history through literature, performance, and the visual arts. Indeed, Inca history occupied an important space in the collective memory of indigenous Andeans. Oral history offered Andeans a vital link to the pre-Columbian past, even if stories became heavily modified over the course of the colonial period. But one of the most important developments in the resurrection of an “authentic” Inca identity was the publication of the second edition of Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Comentarios Reales* in 1723. This particular edition enjoyed wide readership throughout the Peruvian viceroyalty, particularly among indigenous elites.<sup>78</sup> This book offered Andeans an official repository of Inca history and culture that held cachet in a society that attached such great value to the written word.<sup>79</sup>

With this in mind, let us return to the Pitumarca mural image. A heavily stylized body of water separates Christ from St. John the Baptist, teeming with life and activity. The boats depicted inside of it fashioned from *totorá* reeds immediately identify the body

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<sup>77</sup> John Howland Rowe, “El movimiento nacional inca del siglo XVIII,” *Revista Universitaria* 43, no. 107 (1954): 17–47.

<sup>78</sup> Pedro Guibovich Pérez, “Lectura y difusión de la obra del Inca Garcilaso en el virreinato peruano (siglos XVII-XVIII). El caso de los *Comentarios Reales*,” *Revista Histórica* 37 (1990-1992): 110.

<sup>79</sup> Angel Rama’s groundbreaking work, *La ciudad letrada* (1984) argued that the written word served as a powerful tool of legitimacy in the Spanish Americas, which was largely controlled, bureaucratized, and shaped by powerful Spaniards and creoles. Recent works, however, have begun to complicate the picture, pointing out the role of *mestizo* and indigenous writers in the quest for power through the production of texts. See, for instance, Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the Lettered City: Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010). Other authors, such as Roberto Echevarría, have focused on the legacy of the Spanish legal culture in the New World. His oft-repeated phrase, “America existed as a legal document before it was physically discovered,” (46) points to the primacy of the written word in the conquest, as well as in the perpetuation of the colonial state. See Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

of water as Lake Titicaca, which straddles the modern-day border between Peru and Bolivia (fig. 3.20). In fact, the indigenous residents of the area continue to fashion boats in similar style to those of their pre-Columbian ancestors. Lake Titicaca held enormous significance for pre-Columbian Andean peoples. It served as a sacred site or *huaca* to which pilgrims would pay their respects each year.<sup>80</sup> It is located in the heartland of the Aymara-speaking peoples, but despite its location on culturally foreign territory, the Incas considered the lake an important place of origin.

Several variants of the Inca origin myth circulated throughout the pre-Columbian and colonial periods. One version to which Garcilaso de la Vega dedicated substantial attention recounted Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo's emergence from the Island of the Sun on Lake Titicaca. Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo (also known as Mama Huaco) were the son and daughter of *Inti*, the sun god, and eventually became the mythical founders of the Inca empire. They were both siblings and a married couple, establishing a precedent for Inca policies of royal consanguinity. Garcilaso recounts the myth as follows:

Our father the Sun set these two children of his in Lake Titicaca, eighty leagues from here, and bade them go where they would, and wherever they stopped to eat or sleep to try to thrust into the ground a golden wand...when this wand should sink into the ground at a single thrust, there our father the Sun wished them to stop and set up their court.<sup>81</sup>

The golden wand with which the sibling couple were equipped eventually led them to found the city of Cuzco.

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<sup>80</sup> For a discussion of the significance of Lake Titicaca as a pilgrimage site from the pre-Columbian to the colonial period, see Verónica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

<sup>81</sup> Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*, 1:bk. 1, ch. XV, 42.

The artist inserts a male/female couple to the right of Christ in the space occupied by a pair of angels in all of the previous images. The muralist depicts the pair with indigenous physiognomy and skin color, marking them as ethnically Andean whereas the figures of Christ and St. John the Baptist have more Europeanized features and facial hair. I argue that the figures represent Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo themselves, witnessing the scene of Christ's baptism. The depiction of the female figure resembles colonial portraits of the founding mother of Inca civilization. For example, an eighteenth-century portrait of Mama Ocllo similarly depicts a woman with her hair down wearing a white dress and shawl, or *lliclla* (fig. 3.21). The white color of the dress may have been a colonial modification to suggest her purity.<sup>82</sup> In fact, this particular portrait of Mama Ocllo was likely commissioned by her direct descendants (or at least, those who claimed to be) who describe her in the cartouche as the first Inca Christian who beheaded an indigenous man who did not accept her vow of chastity.<sup>83</sup> This kind of revisionism became increasingly widespread in the late colonial period as a way for Andeans to claim

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<sup>82</sup> I am not trying to suggest here that colonial-period representations of Mama Ocllo are uncorrupted, authentic portrayals of her original likeness. Visual and textual representations of Inca historical figures were continually reinvented through the vicissitudes of the colonial period, as I hope to have indicated in the discussion above. For a sampling of the literature on colonial portraits of Incas, see John Howland Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," in *The Civilizations of Ancient America*, ed. Sol Tax (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1967), 258-68; Tom Cummins, "We Are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial *Kurakakuna*," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 203-70; Carol Damian, "Inka Noble Portraits: The Art of Renewal," *Secolas Annals* 28 (1998): 13-20; and Carolyn Dean, "Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru," in *Exploring New World Imagery: Spanish Colonial Papers from the 2002 Mayer Center Symposium*, ed. Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005), 80-103.

<sup>83</sup> For an extended discussion of this painting, see Bill Kelley Jr., "Analysis of a Peruvian Princess" (MA Thesis, University of New Mexico, 2001). The Denver Art Museum website also provides a short description of the painting: [http://www.denverartmuseum.org/explore\\_art/collections/objectDetails/objectId--107996](http://www.denverartmuseum.org/explore_art/collections/objectDetails/objectId--107996) (accessed July 15, 2011).

both Christian and Inca roots. Garcilaso set the stage for such conflations in his description of the origin of the Inca kings, in which he states,

While these peoples were living or dying in the manner we have seen, it pleased our Lord God that from their midst there should appear a morning star to give them in the dense darkness in which they dwelt some glimmerings of natural law, of civilization, and of the respect men owe to one another. The descendants of this leader should thus tame those savages and convert them into men, made capable of reason and of receiving good doctrine, so that when God, who is the sun of justice, saw fit to send forth the light of His divine rays upon those idolaters, it might find them no longer in their first savagery, but rendered more docile to receive the Catholic faith and the teaching and doctrine of our Holy Mother the Roman Church...It has been observed by clear experience how much prompter and quicker to receive the Gospel were the Indians subdued, governed, and taught by the Inca kings than the other neighboring peoples unreached by the Incas' teachings.<sup>84</sup>

Garcilaso follows a similar formula to that of his contemporary, Guaman Poma de Ayala, who conceives of Andean history in two parts. The first is characterized by savagery and lawlessness perpetuated by pre-Inca cultures. The second is the time of the Incas, who prepare the groundwork for the eventual salvation of Andean peoples through their implementation of civility and order. This historical construction posits the Incas as critical intermediaries in the transmission of Christianity to the Andes. Indeed, Garcilaso seems to imply that conversion would have failed altogether had it not been for the Incas.

If we are to accept this image as a direct reference to the Lake Titicaca origin story of Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, then what are the implications of such a representation? By integrating the mythical couple into Christ's baptism at this important lake of origin, the artist makes the claim that the Incas were witnesses and perhaps even predecessors to the birth of Christianity. It grants legitimacy to Inca mythohistory by bringing both the sacred site and the key figures associated with it into alignment with the Christian timeline. It demonstrates an effort to establish commensurability between two

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<sup>84</sup> Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*, 1:bk I, ch. XV, 40.

pasts previously considered at odds with one another. So much so, in fact, that visual references to Inca cultural practice, as seen in the Andahuaylillas murals, had been relegated to the category of devil worship. The artist of the Pitumarca mural exercised agency not only in the choice of symbolism but also in the manner in which he painted it. The disavowal of European conventions of three-dimensionality and proportion in favor of flatness and exuberant decorative flourishes harks back to Inca visual conventions. The composition contains elements that resemble the design and figural motifs found in colonial textiles and *keros*—two categories of material culture reserved almost exclusively for indigenous consumption. The mural contains elements of an Inca visual language that would have likely reached the artist not through Inca images themselves, but through colonial objects caught up in a complex process of preservation and invention of “Incaness.” Nevertheless, what sets this mural apart from its material culture analogues is its scale and permanence. To paint Christ’s baptism in such an explicitly Andean mythical landscape and in the visual language (as it was understood in the colonial period) of the Incas was a remarkable act of agency. Such bold acts did not emerge from a vacuum. The cultural climate of Inca Nationalism offered opportunities for artists to explore the intersections of Inca and European origins in an era of increased artistic opportunity for indigenous painters. Evocations of Incaness, whether in the realm of material culture, literature, or painting, were not practiced on a mere whim. As Alcira Dueñas notes, “These practices were institutionally promoted through royal decrees recognizing the noble privilege of those who demonstrated Inca ancestry and were also sought by Indian intellectuals and nobles who believed these practices would foster their struggles for political and cultural survival.”<sup>85</sup> In other words, there was a great deal at

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<sup>85</sup> Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the Lettered City*, 175.

stake in the creation of such an image, which participated in a larger ideological battleground for the political primacy and recognition of indigenous Andeans.

If we return to the mural of the *cacique* Siñani, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, we can see that the Pitumarca mural is involved in a similar project. While the figure of Christ himself does not wear an Inca tunic or bear any visual markers of an Inca sovereign, the compositional elements work together to place Christ within Inca space and time. It is not a full conflation of Christ with a *Sapa* Inca or Manco Capac. Instead, the figures co-mingle in a wholly Other space that could only exist in the collective imagination of Andeans entrenched in both mytho-theological traditions. We can posit the Pitumarca and the Carabuco murals as participating in a shared dialogue on how Inca and Christian stories could approach, overlap, and ultimately, redefine one another.

The three images of the baptism of Christ discussed in this chapter demonstrate the trajectory mural painting took as a medium and as a visual system equipped to participate in dialogues that are at once intensely local and universal. Such dialogues involved the negotiation of Christian and Andean origins and cross-cultural notions of sacredness and the divine. The mural images demonstrate the different means by which artists coded Christ's baptism with a diverse set of local references from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. While united in their reliance on Pieter Perret's print, the murals take on dramatically different appearances as a result of the availability of visual source materials and the historical circumstances in which they were conceived. At the same time, however, it is important to understand the images as part of a sequence. Each image could not have existed without reference to the one that preceded it. The visual evidence offered here points to a sophisticated system of transmission and exchange of

source images. In none of the cases presented do we witness a simple process of direct, literal copying. Artists traveled to different churches and gained access to prints in order to develop their own compositions.

The next chapter will extend our discussion of the two main themes elucidated in this chapter: the processes of exchange, adaptation, and creativity in the creation of mural images and the localization of religious themes. It will explore the brutal suppression of the Inca Nationalist movement in the aftermath of a monumental indigenous uprising that erupted in the late eighteenth century. As a result, muralists were no longer able to play freely with themes of Inca and Christian origins because of their potentially subversive content. As Chapter 4 will reveal, murals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century made extensive use of Christian eschatological imagery as a means to comment on contemporaneous social conditions. Murals tended to contain more politically charged imagery than their predecessors, but through the exclusive use of Christian iconography. The murals of Urcos and Pitumarca set an important precedent for the symbolic capacity of mural paintings to transmit local history, myth, and lore. The following discussion will examine how subsequent artists drew on this tradition in the visual articulation of their own mural programs, conceived in the smoldering ashes of unparalleled social upheaval.

## CHAPTER 4

### EARTHLY VIOLENCE/DIVINE JUSTICE: IMAGES OF THE GREAT REBELLION IN THE CHURCH OF HUARO

Chapter 3 offered perspectives on the shift in visual strategies undertaken by seventeenth and eighteenth-century muralists to assign local meanings to their compositions. The exclusive focus on Christ's baptism allowed for a nuanced analysis of subtle iconographical changes across time that can clue us in to the broader cultural and historical impulses that underlay these visual transformations. This chapter follows the eighteenth-century trajectory that mural painting took from localized renditions of Christian scenes to evocative responses to contemporary political movements. It focuses on one particularly enigmatic mural program produced in the aftermath of the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion (1780-1782), a violent anticolonial movement that sought to overthrow the Spanish and reinstate Inca rule. The murals of the church of Huaro depict a series of apocalyptic images executed by the *mestizo* artist Tadeo Escalante that seem to criticize the Spaniards as sinners blinded by their earthly excesses. While the previous chapters demonstrated that religious murals served as a flexible medium for communicating local histories and myths, the murals of Huaro were constrained by a new censorship campaign that prohibited Inca and indigenous content in the visual arts.

This chapter focuses on the struggle for mural artists to transmit sociopolitical messages within a context of acute censorship and iconoclasm. It begins with an overview of the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, focusing specifically on the kinds of social and cultural capital upon which Tupac Amaru's forces drew to foment support for their cause. It then discusses the impact of censorship campaigns and legal efforts to curtail

the rights of indigenous elites on mural paintings and the visual arts at large. I follow this historical overview with an art historical analysis of the Huaro murals and their attempt to reference the rebellion through coded imagery while foregrounding it within the context of redemption and divine justice.

## **The Tupac Amaru II Rebellion: Its Causes and Consequences**

### *The Bourbon Reforms*

Eighteenth-century Peru was marked by unprecedented social unrest. The turn of the century ushered in a major regime change, with the transfer of imperial power from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons. The Bourbon monarchy gained control over Spain and its colonial possessions in 1700 when King Charles II failed to produce an heir to the throne. In an effort to streamline colonial bureaucracy and increase profits, the monarchy implemented a series of measures known as the Bourbon Reforms. These reforms had wide-ranging consequences for the political, economic, and social landscape of the Spanish viceroyalties. Perhaps one of the most devastating measures was the institution of the *repartimiento de mercancías* (also known as the *reparto*), which had been banned under the Habsburgs but was reinstated in the 1750s. This system allowed for the forced sale of goods to indigenous communities at heavily inflated prices (at double or triple their market value), leaving them in a crippling cycle of debt.<sup>1</sup> In many cases, the

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to keep in mind, however, that the *reparto* did not create a strict division between *criollos* and Indians/*mestizos*, since *criollos* of humble means sometimes became the target of these harsh economic measures. Indeed, some *criollos* even sided with Tupac Amaru II's forces during the great rebellion. Conversely, many loyalists were of indigenous extraction. By and large, however, the divisions fell along racial and ethnic lines. For a focused discussion of the tensions that arose between the *corregidores* and indigenous peasants under the *reparto*, see Alfredo Moreno Cebrian, *El corregidor de indios y la economía Peruana del siglo XVIII (los repartos forzosos de mercancías)* (Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1977).

products were of no use to native peoples but they were forced to purchase them anyway. The measure was put in place to revitalize the dwindling Spanish economy through the creation of a near monopoly on products imported from the Iberian peninsula. *Corregidores* (chief administrative officers) would also offer raw materials to indigenous Andeans on credit, and would then pay for the finished product at low rates that incorporated the interest incurred on the credit.<sup>2</sup> Indigenous peasants were expected to pay off their debts through increased participation in the system of rotational labor known as the *mita*. The *reparto* intensified social inequalities between indigenous peasants and the Spaniards. Even *mestizos* and *criollos* felt the reverberations of the shifts in colonial administration that began to place *peninsulares* in coveted bureaucratic positions rather than their Peruvian-born counterparts. The *curacas* were often caught in the crosshairs of these reforms. As ethnic intermediaries, they were required to collect tribute from the indigenous peasants under their jurisdiction for submission to the *corregidor*. This new system thus exploited the already fragile divisions between high-status *curacas* and their dispossessed indigenous subjects.<sup>3</sup>

The Bourbons sought to increase the ascendancy of the colonial state by restricting the powers of the church. The Jesuits, one of the most economically and ideologically powerful religious orders in the Americas, were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767. The issuing of a *real cédula* in 1765 marked a major shift in the crown's relationship to the church. The decree stated that the king would confer jurisdiction over nearly all ecclesiastical matters. The king essentially superseded papal

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<sup>2</sup> Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 6th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 143–44.

<sup>3</sup> See Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of a Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 22–24.

authority to become the highest decision-making entity in the Americas.<sup>4</sup> By the 1770s, the crown had reduced the number of dioceses in the Viceroyalty of Peru to five, whose expanded territories and populations proved increasingly difficult to manage. Moreover, the reduction of the *fuero eclesiástico*, or legal privileges that exempted church officials from civil courts, fueled dissent among the clergy toward the Spanish crown.

### *Prophecies*

The radically altered economic and political landscape of Peru under the Bourbons played into the development of several apocalyptic prophecies in the late eighteenth century. One of the earliest was the widespread belief that the end of the world would occur in 1777. According to the believers of the prophecy, St. Rose of Lima (the patron saint of Lima and the first canonized saint in the Americas) and St. Francisco Solano (1549-1610) predicted that in the “year of three sevens” the Indians would have their kingdom returned to them.<sup>5</sup> This prophecy spread widely among highland indigenous and *mestizo* communities, who believed that Inca rule would be restored along with the preservation of Catholicism. Word of this prophecy and many others spread quickly throughout *chicherías* (*chicha* taverns) and other places of social congregation. As historian Sinclair Thomson observes, the unstable political climate likely fueled support for cataclysmic prophecies.<sup>6</sup> Stories of apocalypse began to materialize into human action. For instance, the *mestizo* Juan de Dios Orcoguaranca

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<sup>4</sup> John Robert Fisher, *Bourbon Peru, 1750-1824* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 37–40.

<sup>5</sup> Jorge Hidalgo Lehuède, “Amarus y cataris: aspectos mesiánicos de la rebelión indígena de 1781 en Cusco, Chayanta, La Paz y Arica,” *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena*, no. 10 (1983): 120–22.

<sup>6</sup> Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 164.

attempted to stage an uprising in Cuzco on January 1, 1777.<sup>7</sup> Another prophecy that began to gain currency during the time of Tupac Amaru's uprising was the myth of *Inkarri*. Believers of this myth claimed that the body and decapitated head of Tupac Amaru I had begun to slowly regenerate underground.<sup>8</sup> Tupac Amaru II, they believed, was the reincarnated Inca born out of this regenerated body and equipped to fulfill his rebel ancestor's mission to reclaim Inca power.<sup>9</sup> These prophecies held great cultural relevance for indigenous and *mestizo* people as grassroots attempts to make sense of the difficult changes imposed on Peruvian society.

### *The Rebellion*

By 1780, mounting discontent with the crown's radical restructuring of Andean life converged with prophecies of the return of the Inca to incite the most violent and widespread rebellion in colonial South America. José Gabriel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru (1738-1781), the leader of the rebellion, was a muleteer and *curaca* of Tungasuca in the province of Quispicanchis.<sup>10</sup> He came from an elite indigenous family and claimed

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<sup>7</sup> Jan Szemiński, "Why Kill the Spaniard? New Perspectives on Andean Insurrectionary Ideology in the 18th Century," in *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 179–80.

<sup>8</sup> Tupac Amaru was the final ruler of the Neo-Inca state in Vilcabamba that lasted from 1535-1572. He was publicly beheaded in Cuzco's central plaza under the orders of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572.

<sup>9</sup> See Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere, *De Adaneva a Inkarri: una visión indígena del Perú* (Lima: Retablo de Papel, 1973).

<sup>10</sup> The literature on the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion is vast. This chapter draws from foundational texts such as Boleslao Lewin's *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los orígenes de la independencia de hispanoamérica*, 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Editora Latino Americana, 1967); *Tupac Amaru, su época, su lucha, su hado* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Siglo Veinte, 1973); Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, *Túpac Amaru, precursor de la independencia* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1977); and Lillian Estelle Fisher, *The Last Inca Revolt* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966). The single most important anthology of documentary sources culled from Peruvian archives and the Archivo General de Indias in Seville is Luis Durand Florez, ed., *Colección documental del bicentenario de la revolución*

ancestry from Tupac Amaru. He trained at the Colegio San Borja, a prestigious Jesuit school for the Indian nobility in Cuzco and was fully bilingual in Spanish and Quechua. Tupac Amaru married Micaela Bastidas in 1760, a *mestiza* from a noble indigenous family in Pampamarca. Bastidas would play a central role in the rebellion as adviser and organizer. Tupac Amaru experienced his first major conflict with the colonial bureaucracy in 1776. During this time, he was stationed in Lima petitioning for legal status as a legitimate descendant of Tupac Amaru. He also petitioned to have the *mita* labor obligation lifted from his community of Tungasuca due to the dangerous conditions in the Potosí mines. His request was rejected by the newly appointed *visitador general* José Antonio de Areche. Tupac Amaru returned to the highlands undoubtedly frustrated by the negative outcome of his appeal.

The rebellion began with an innocent dinner party. On November 4, 1780, Tupac Amaru and the *corregidor* of Tungasuca, Antonio Arriaga, attended a banquet in the town of Yanaoca hosted by the local priest. Tupac Amaru had a fairly antagonistic relationship with Arriaga. As *curaca*, Tupac Amaru served as an intermediary between the indigenous inhabitants and the *corregidor*. He became increasingly frustrated by Arriaga's apparent lack of concern for the welfare of his people. Tupac Amaru left the banquet early, feigning illness. He camped out on the road to Tinta until he and his attendants witnessed Arriaga en route. They ambushed Arriaga and brought him back to Tungasuca in chains. During his imprisonment he was forced to write letters to his

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*emancipadora de Túpac Amaru*, 5 vols. (Lima: Comisión Nacional del Bicentenario de la Rebelión Emancipadora de Túpac Amaru, 1980-1982). Another important collection of documents related to the affairs of the church during the rebellion can be found in Comité Arquidiocesano del Bicentenario Túpac Amaru (Arzobispado del Cusco), *Túpac Amaru y la iglesia. Antología* (Lima: Unidad de Comunicaciones del Banco Continental, 1983). None of these anthologies has been translated into English, although a small collection of representative documents are included in Ward Stavig and Ella Schmidt, eds., *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008).

assistants in Tinta requesting arms and money under the false pretense that he needed supplies to fight off pirates on the coast. Although Arriaga managed to collect the arms and money Tupac Amaru needed to wage his insurgency, Tupac Amaru still issued for Arriaga's execution on November 10, 1780.<sup>11</sup> Arriaga was brought to the gallows in the plaza of Tinta and presented with a false proclamation penned by Tupac Amaru himself that he was to be hanged under the orders of King Charles III.

Arriaga's execution set off a domino effect of insurgent activity and counterinsurgency. The next major violent confrontation occurred at the church of Sangarará near Tinta. Tupac Amaru went head to head with Tiburcio Landa, who had gathered a loyalist force composed of about 1,000 Indians and *mestizos* from the Cuzco area. Landa and his troops took refuge in the church due to an impending snowstorm. When Landa refused to evacuate his forces, Tupac Amaru and his troops set fire to the church and a bloody battle ensued. The accounts vary widely, but the battle cost the lives of about 500 troops and several women and children were raped and murdered. The battle of Sangarará sent a forceful message to the loyalists that the rebels possessed tremendous military strength and ideological unity. The desecration of a holy space also provided the fodder for the church to unequivocally demonize Tupac Amaru. Cuzco's Bishop Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta immediately excommunicated Tupac Amaru on these charges.

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<sup>11</sup> The story of Arriaga's capture, ransom, and eventual execution bears striking similarities to the conquest narrative of Atahualpa. Pizarro ordered Atahualpa to ransom himself by providing enough gold and silver to fill up an entire room. Atahualpa miraculously managed to accumulate the materials but the Spaniards nevertheless executed him based on trumped up charges of idolatry and the murder of his half brother, Huascar. Having read Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales*, Tupac Amaru was certainly aware of the conquest narrative and may have staged Arriaga's capture and execution as an Inca-inspired counter-conquest. The "staging" of the conquest through a contemporary lens would not have been a culturally alien practice. *La muerte de Atahualpa* and other plays that theatrically reenacted scenes from the Spanish encounter were widely performed in the Andes throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Tupac Amaru began signing his name “Inca” on all official documents and correspondence and claimed to act on direct orders from King Charles III. Indeed, it is certainly telling that Tupac Amaru decided to cut out the middlemen in light of his negative experiences dealing with higher-level bureaucrats. A reincarnated Inca who practiced Christianity and upheld the orders of the Spanish king may strike us as something of a paradox. Tupac Amaru, however, saw no such contradictions. As I discussed in Chapter 3, evocations of Incaness converged with Christianity with relative ease by the eighteenth century. Campaigns to extirpate idolatry had become a thing of the past as even remote communities professed Christianity, albeit a heavily Andeanized version of it. Although Moscoso sought to paint Tupac Amaru as a heretic for the destruction incurred on the church of Sangarará, all of the documents associated with the rebellion indicate his intense Catholic devotion. Indeed, texts like Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Comentarios reales*, which Tupac Amaru references frequently in his letters, positioned the Inca monarchs as proto-Christians.<sup>12</sup> Garcilaso argues that the Incas brought civilization and monotheism to a territory previously run by savages. Their enlightened perspective, shaping the former “savages” into civilized Inca subjects facilitated the spread of the gospel when the Spaniards arrived in Peru. Tupac Amaru may have seen his mission as the ultimate fulfillment of an ideal Garcilaso could never experience: to create a new enlightened Inca empire united by a shared Christian faith. The second edition of Garcilaso’s text also recounts a prophecy by Sir Walter Raleigh that the Andeans would overthrow the Spanish to usher in a return to the Inca empire with the

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<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the publication of the second edition of Garcilaso’s *Comentarios reales* in 1723.

help of the British.<sup>13</sup> Tupac Amaru's claims toward an Inca revival were buttressed not only by oral prophecy but also by widely circulated texts.

The hotbed of activity centered in the southern provinces of Canas y Canchis and Quispicanchis. Tupac Amaru had plans to attack Cuzco but for reasons unknown, he delayed his attack until January 1781. On January 8, he waged an attack on the predominantly loyalist city with an army of 400 men. The royalist forces, aided by reinforcements from Lima, led a violent counterattack. Tupac Amaru retreated back to Tinta. His forces were defeated at the Battle of Tinta by a group of heavily armed royalists who surrounded their encampment and attempted to starve them out. Tupac Amaru fled but a traitor from his army alerted the authorities to his whereabouts. He and his wife, Micaela Bastidas, were captured on April 14, 1781. While the rebellion continued in the Lake Titicaca area until 1783, the Cuzco region declared the rebellion over with their capture and bloody execution of Tupac Amaru, his family, and his most loyal supporters.

The estimates vary widely, but most place the death toll at around 100,000 indigenous Andeans and about 10,000 Spaniards and *criollos*.<sup>14</sup>

### **Crackdown: The Reforms of José Antonio de Areche**

José Antonio de Areche was appointed as *visitador general* of the Viceroyalty of Peru from 1777-1782.<sup>15</sup> The title roughly translates to royal inspector; his role was to

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<sup>13</sup> Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 25.

<sup>14</sup> While documents of the period quote about 100,000 deaths, scholars today believe that the number may be exaggerated. In any event, the death toll was the highest for any indigenous rebellion in the history of Latin America. See Roger Neil Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power Among an Andean People* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 138–41.

<sup>15</sup> For a short biography of Areche's life and work, see Fisher, *Bourbon Peru*, 162–63.

evaluate and oversee the public administration of the new Bourbon Reforms. One of Areche's most significant post-rebellion reforms banned all types of Andean cultural expression he deemed subversive. In his sentencing of Tupac Amaru, he states:

To this end, it is prohibited that the Indians wear heathen clothes, especially those who belong to the nobility, since it only serves to symbolize those worn by their Inca ancestors, reminding them of memories which serve no other end than to increase their hatred toward the dominant nation; not to mention that their appearance is ridiculous and very little in accordance with the purity of our relics, since they place in different parts images of the sun, which was their primary deity; and this prohibition is to be extended to all the provinces of this southern America, in order to completely eliminate such clothing, especially those items which represent the bestialities of their heathen kings through emblems such as the *unco*, which is a kind of vest; *yacollas*, which are very rich blankets or shawls of black velvet or taffeta; the *mascapaycha*, which is a circle in the shape of a crown from which they hang a certain emblem of ancient nobility signified by a tuft or tassel of red-colored alpaca wool, as well as many other things of this kind and symbolism. All of this shall be proclaimed in writing in each province, that they dispose of or surrender to the magistrates whatever clothing of this kind exists in the province, as well as all the paintings or likenesses of their Incas which are extremely abundant in the houses of the Indians who consider themselves to be nobles and who use them to prove their claim or boast of their lineage. These latter shall be erased without fail since they do not merit the dignity of being painted in such places, and with the same end in mind there shall also be erased, so that no sign remains, any portraits that might be found on walls or other solid objects; in churches, monasteries, hospitals, holy places or private homes, such duties fall under the jurisdiction of the reverend archbishops or bishops of both viceroyalties in those areas pertaining to the churches; and in their place it would be best to replace such adornments with images of the king and our other Catholic sovereigns should that be necessary.<sup>16</sup>

Areche's original proposal was streamlined into a *real cédula* (royal decree) on April 27, 1782.<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, Areche's proposal mirrors the restrictions imposed by ecclesiastical authorities in the preceding centuries. The extirpation of idolatry

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<sup>16</sup> José Antonio de Areche, "All Must Die!," in *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. and trans. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 170–71.

<sup>17</sup> David Cahill, "El Visitador General Areche y su campaña iconoclasta contra la cultura andina," in *Visión y Símbolos: del virreinato criollo a la República Peruana*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2006), 90.

campaigns waged by the Jesuits in the first half of the seventeenth century similarly banned the representation of Inca-related imagery for its potential to incite sacrilegious behavior. As discussed in Chapter 2, the entrance wall mural of the church of Andahuaylillas signals the extent to which idolatry was perceived as a grave threat to the successful transmission of Christianity to the Peruvian Andes. These concerns resurfaced with the arrival of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Ángulo in Cuzco (1673-1699). His order to remove the *mascapaycha* from statues of the baby Jesus at the churches of Andahuaylillas and Oropesa in 1687 signals a second wave of Andean cultural suppression, this time initiated by the secular clergy.<sup>18</sup>

Areche instigated a third wave of iconoclasm that perhaps confirmed the suspicions of the previous reformers: the Andean past held the potential to destroy the colonial present. His experience of the rebellion undoubtedly confirmed the belief that Inca culture could be mobilized to unite contemporary Andeans, particularly through the visual arts, performance, and literature. The rebellion also contradicted the beliefs of past reformers. While the extirpators and Mollinedo's supporters saw the Inca past as a threat to Peru's religious landscape, Areche discovered that it held an even greater danger. The memory of the Inca could fuel political movements that sought to destroy the entirety of Spanish colonialism, not just the religious ideologies it imposed. In fact, Tupac Amaru and his supporters professed to be good Catholics. The Inca past was reconceptualized to meet the needs of a thoroughly Christianized indigenous population that had no intention of returning to "pure" paganism, but to an Andean-inflected Catholicism that had developed over two centuries of colonial rule.

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<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 1 for a discussion of Mollinedo's religious reforms in late-seventeenth-century Cuzco.

Areche refers to murals when he prohibits “any portraits that might be found on walls or other solid objects”; we can interpret his reference to portraits on solid objects as paintings on canvas, panel, or decorative objects. As noted in Chapter 1, the term *pintura mural* was not used in the colonial period, when it was commonly described as *pintura en la pared* (wall painting). His decree expressly bans the likeness of the Inca in public and private spaces, but one could argue that a representation of the rebellion would not necessarily merit censorship. It is important to keep in mind, however, that Tupac Amaru came to be considered an incarnation of the royal Inca by his supporters. Therefore, any representation of the rebellion that featured his likeness would provide grounds for confiscation or destruction.<sup>19</sup>

As large-scale images infused into architectural space, murals posed a unique set of concerns to censors. Small-scale pieces such as canvas paintings and sculptures could easily be seized or modified to remove “offensive” elements. Muralists, particularly those working in churches, created public works of art subject to great scrutiny by colonial officials. Their work possessed a double-edged quality that granted it wide and sustained viewership with the potential to instruct and influence an entire community. Thus, these sacred images would have merited even greater attention by the very fact of their scale, power, and location. Perhaps to avoid the possibility of an entire mural program becoming whitewashed, mural artists carefully constructed their compositions to

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<sup>19</sup> This is not to say that direct representations of the rebellion did not exist. A few surviving canvases depict battles that took place in Tinta, Oruro, and La Paz. See José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 2 (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982), figs. 241, 243, and 245. As Juan Carlos Estenssoro notes, however, they were executed in a didactic manner, emphasizing the military aspect of the rebellion over its social or political facets. It is important to note as well that these scenes did not depict individual likenesses of the rebels or loyalist forces; they feature legions of troops from a birds-eye perspective, thereby circumventing any possibility of censorship. See Juan Carlos Estenssoro, “La plástica colonial y sus relaciones con la gran rebelión,” *Revista Andina* 9, no. 2 (1991): 430.

escape censorship while still actively documenting aspects of the rebellion in their compositions. The discussion to follow on the murals of Huaro examines how these negotiations played out in the visual realm.

### **Historiography of the Huaro Murals**

Scholars have written extensively about Huaro's provocative mural program. The Peruvian historian José Uriel García was the first to write about Escalante and his authorship of the Huaro murals in a 1934 newspaper article published in Buenos Aires.<sup>20</sup> In a later scholarly publication he supplemented his original findings with information about Escalante's life and its supposed impact on his artwork. Uriel García asserts:

As a child in 1781, [Escalante] witnessed in the Cuzco *plaza* the cruel scenes of the execution of Tupac Amaru, the family of this heroic champion and his most loyal henchmen, as they say. He also witnessed the execution of his own parents, who were men of [Tupac Amaru's] class and town. Therefore, to become undoubtedly the most revolutionary artist of the early nineteenth century, in an era of political movements that sought emancipation from Spanish rule, he expressed in his mural decorations of this church hidden feelings of his social conscience, while making his art compatible with theology and catechesis, with religion and the Church, so that the landlords did not warn locals, the Counts, and Marquises, that they were falling apart economically in favor of the middle class, the revolutionary bourgeoisie.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> José Uriel García, "La plástica popular peruana," *El Diario la Prensa* (Buenos Aires, February 18, 1934). Huaro also received brief mention in survey texts such as Pál Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 176.

<sup>21</sup> "Estando niño, en 1781, presencié en la plaza del Cuzco las crueles escenas de la ejecución de Tupac Amaru, de los familiares de este heróico adalid y de sus secuaces más leales, como quien dice, presencié la ejecución de sus propios padres, pues eran hombres de su clase y de su pueblo. Por eso, al llegar a ser sin duda el pintor más revolucionario de comienzos del siglo XIX, de la etapa de los movimientos por la emancipación política del dominio de España, expresé en sus decoraciones murales de esta iglesia esos sentimientos recónditos de su conciencia social, haciendo compatible su arte con la teología y la catequización, con la religión y la Iglesia, en tal forma que no lo advirtieran los terratenientes lugareños, los condes y marqueses que económicamente, eso sí, se iban derrumbando en favor de la clase media, de la burguesía revolucionaria." José Uriel García, "Escuela cusqueña de arte colonial. La iglesia de Huaroc," *Revista del Instituto Americano del Arte* 9, no. 11 (1963): 367.

He sees the murals as intensely political statements made by an artist with familial ties to the Tupac Amaru movement who witnessed the violence firsthand as an impressionable young child. Uriel García spares not an ounce of praise for the artistic and social value of Escalante's murals, likening them to Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel frescoes and Francisco Goya's *caprichos* series.<sup>22</sup> He reserves his most impassioned analysis for the scene of Hell located at the entrance to the choir loft. Uriel García interprets the scene as a "symbolic and vengeful representation of Escalante's memories of those macabre and truly hellish scenes of execution and martyrdom that they made Tupac Amaru, his family, and the accomplices of his insurrection suffer."<sup>23</sup> He bases a great deal of his interpretations on conversations he had with Victoriano Yábar, a resident of Huaro who recounted oral traditions about Tadeo Escalante preserved by his descendants.

Uriel García's work serves as the foundational text from which subsequent scholars developed their own arguments about Escalante's artistic contributions. His work provided an important point of departure for Pablo Macera's analysis of Escalante, which he laid out in a series of articles including "Tadeo Escalante y los murales de Acomayo" (1974) and "Otro mural de Tadeo Escalante: La Creación del Mundo" (1975). He devotes substantial attention to Escalante's Huaro murals in his article "El arte mural Cuzqueño" (1975) as well as his survey text, *La pintura mural andina. Siglos XVI-XX*, published in 1993.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 368–69.

<sup>23</sup> "...representación simbólica y vengadora de los recuerdos que mantenía Escalante en su memoria sobre aquellas macabras y realmente infernales escenas de la ejecución y martirio que se les hizo sufrir a Tupac Amaru y a sus familiares y cómplices de su insurrección." Ibid., 374.

Macera cites Uriel García's biographical interpretation of Escalante's scene of Hell as inspired by the events he witnessed as a child, although he does not personally weigh in on the issue.<sup>24</sup> In the first comprehensive description of Escalante's mural program, Macera devotes the bulk of his attention to a consideration of the compositional mechanics of Escalante's Hell scene. He focuses specifically on the triangulation created by the placement of the Devil at the top center portion of the scene, the Hell mouth in the lower left, and a scene of a person being hanged in front of a tower spewing fire. While Uriel García's article was the first to acknowledge the symbolic value of the Huaró murals, Macera was the first to put Huaró on the "map" as a topic worthy of scholarly inquiry.

José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert briefly discuss the Huaró murals in the first edition of their survey text, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, published in 1962. They identify Escalante as a follower of Marcos Zapata, best known for a series of oil paintings he completed for the Cuzco Cathedral. They liken Escalante's work to the seventeenth-century Andean artists Diego Quispe Tito and Melchor Pérez de Holguín for their shared affinity to the works of Bosch and Brueghel.<sup>25</sup> Mesa and Gisbert draw liberally from Macera's scholarship in their own analysis of Escalante's Huaró murals in the second edition of their survey text, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (1982). They offer a comprehensive description of the entire mural program that identifies all of the major biblical figures and scenes painted throughout the church.<sup>26</sup> Teresa Gisbert provides a

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<sup>24</sup> Pablo Macera, "El arte mural cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX," *Apuntes* 2 (1975): 99.

<sup>25</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1st ed. (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, 1962), 182–84.

<sup>26</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982), 248–51.

brief discussion of Escalante's images of the *Tree of Life* and *Death in the House of Rich and Poor* within a larger chapter on Andean images of death in her publication *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes* (1999). Her analysis, however, does not advance our understanding of the images beyond a general acknowledgment of their relevance to a society recently confronted with excessive death and violence during the Tupac Amaru rebellion and its aftermath.<sup>27</sup>

The renowned Peruvian historian Alberto Flores Galindo also wrote on Escalante's Huaru murals in *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes* (1986), a seminal publication on the history of utopian thought in the Andes from the colonial period to the twentieth century.<sup>28</sup> He discusses them alongside a series of apocalyptic dreams recorded by Gabriel Aguilar, a native of Huánuco who was hanged in 1805 after a failed attempt to stage an anticolonial rebellion in Cuzco in the years following the brutal suppression of Tupac Amaru II's movement. Offering an important contribution to our understanding of the murals as engaged in active visual dialogue, Flores Galindo posits Escalante's mural program as a prophetic visual precursor to Aguilar's conspiracy carried out just a few years later.<sup>29</sup> Flores Galindo places particular emphasis on the scenes of Hell and the Last Judgment, which directly face each other in the entrance area of the church (see figs. 4.3 and 4.17). Located at the center of Escalante's *Hell*, a green demon

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<sup>27</sup> Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes: la imagen del otro en la cultura andina*, 2nd ed. (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2001), 210–11.

<sup>28</sup> A long-awaited English translation of Flores Galindo's text was published by Cambridge University Press in 2010. Unfortunately, the chapter containing his analysis of the Huaru murals, entitled "Los sueños de Gabriel Aguilar," was omitted from the English translation. The editors provide no explanation for this omission.

<sup>29</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo, *Obras Completas III (I)*, ed. Cecilia Rivera (Lima: Sur Casa de Estudios de Socialismo, 2008), 211.

holding a pitchfork and chain directly faces on the adjacent wall God the Father, who hovers atop a globe and rainbow. Directly below the scene a Franciscan monk holds a cross and two crossed arrows, and below him St. Michael valiantly slays a demon. Flores Galindo concedes that images of the Last Judgment are frequently paired with images of Hell. But Escalante's composition is unique because, he argues, "it is a counterposed duality. A disjunction, an alternative: Heaven opposite Hell, God against the devil."<sup>30</sup> He concludes that in both Aguilar's dream and Escalante's murals, "Apocalypse is ambivalent: the condemnation of some and the salvation of others, fear and hope, end and beginning, angel and demon. Just like Aguilar's soul: fulfillment of desires and anguish, dream and nightmare."<sup>31</sup>

Jorge Flores Ochoa, Roberto Samanez Argumedo, and Elizabeth Kuon Arce frame the murals under a slightly different rubric. They see Escalante's murals at Huaro as part of a larger trend in late colonial Andean mural painting to offer reaffirmations of the faith in the face of an increasingly secularized society.<sup>32</sup> The authors put forth two possible readings of the Huaro murals. The first and obvious one is the importance of Catholicism and its major principles. The second reading involves a more thorough consideration of Escalante's use of certain symbols throughout the mural program such as the hourglass and bishop's mitre and crown found in an allegorical scene of Death.<sup>33</sup> The

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<sup>30</sup> "una dualidad contrapuesta. Una disyunción, una alternativa: el cielo frente al infierno, Dios frente al demonio." *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>31</sup> "El apocalipsis es ambivalente: condenación de unos y salvación de otros, miedo y esperanza, fin y comienzo, ángel y demonio. Al igual que en el alma de Aguilar: realización de deseos y angustia, sueño y pesadilla." *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>32</sup> Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1993), 142.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 151–52.

authors allude to the fact that Escalante must have had access to esoteric knowledge not available to the average painter in late colonial Peru.<sup>34</sup> They do not push the argument further, although Teresa Gisbert picks up where the authors left off in a 2006 essay on mythological and masonic iconography in late colonial and early Republican art of the Andes. She sees the presence of certain symbols in Huaró as precedents for Escalante's full expression of his Masonic knowledge in the *molino* (mill) series he painted three decades later in his hometown of Acomayo (the subject of Chapter 5).<sup>35</sup>

The existing scholarship on Huaró reveals a general divide in the interpretive models applied to Escalante's mural program. The anthropologists (Flores Ochoa et al.) and art historians (Mesa/Gisbert) interpret the murals in light of their unconventional iconography, emphasizing their connections with contemporary mystical and esoteric texts. The authors generally acknowledge that they were produced under the conditions of a society radically altered by government and politics, although they do not claim any specific connection to the Tupac Amaru II rebellion. The historians (Uriel García, Macera, Flores Galindo), perhaps predictably, place the Huaró murals within the historical framework of the rebellion and its aftermath.

My own research on Huaró gravitates toward the latter camp, a strand of interpretation that began to fall out of favor by the 1990s with the introduction of new theories focused on the messianic qualities of the murals. I recognize that there exist a number of gaps in the historical scholarship on Huaró. For instance, how are we to

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 209–15. Elizabeth Kuon Arce (personal communication) believes that Escalante must have been part of a Masonic organization or had access to their literature through familial connections.

<sup>35</sup> Teresa Gisbert, "Iconografía mitológica y masónica a fines del virreinato e inicios de la República," in *Visión y Símbolos: del virreinato criollo a la República Peruana*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2006), 187–91.

believe the testimony of one Huaro resident living in the twentieth century claiming Escalante's intentions behind painting a mural that was executed 200 years prior? Where is the evidence demonstrating Escalante's ties to the indigenous elite? And perhaps most importantly, how can we associate the Huaro murals with the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion if they do not contain any direct visual references to it? The scholarship on Huaro reveals a tendency to defer to the work of previous scholars without interrogating the original sources from which he or she drew. The resultant effect is, as we see in the Huaro scholarship, a mythohistory built around the figure of Escalante that rests solely on oral tradition recorded in the early twentieth century. While a number of authors have cited one another to produce a modestly sized body of scholarship, it becomes evident that everyone relies on the same limited set of sources. Nevertheless, I find the historical relevance of the Huaro murals a subject worth revisiting. In the section to follow I will introduce new archival and primary sources that can help to reinvigorate the debate.

### **New Contributions to Tadeo Escalante's Biography**

Tadeo Escalante remains an enigmatic figure in Peruvian art historical scholarship as well as in the Cuzqueñan imagination. During my research trips in Peru, nearly every individual I came across had heard of Tadeo Escalante, and each had a different story to tell about him. A discourse of Escalante materialized into a shape-shifting web of family history, local lore and hearsay, and competing claims over his authorship of a great number of unsigned church murals throughout the Cuzco region. We do know that Escalante enjoyed a prolific artistic career that spanned from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. He painted murals at the Sala Capitular of the Convent of Santa

Catalina in Cuzco (late eighteenth century), the church of Huaró (1802), and the interiors of three wheat mills located in his hometown of Acomayo (1830s), earning him the title of “the last great painter of the Cuzco School.”<sup>36</sup> His exact birth and death dates remain unknown, but Mesa and Gisbert have estimated that he was born around 1770 and died around 1840, based on the relative dates of his mural compositions.<sup>37</sup> Although he may have also painted on canvas, his only surviving work survives in mural format. Escalante grew up in Acomayo, located about 80 miles east of Cuzco in the province of Quispicanchis. A *mestizo* who allegedly claimed descent from Atahualpa, Escalante also had familial ties to the indigenous elite of the nearby town of Acos.<sup>38</sup> He possessed blood relations with the *cacica* Tomasa Tito Condemayta, whose public beheading he allegedly witnessed as a child in the plaza of Acos during the rebellion.<sup>39</sup> Gisbert claims that Escalante’s family also had ties to the wife of Tupac Amaru II, Micaela Bastidas, although this remains uncorroborated by archival evidence.<sup>40</sup>

I began my search in Cuzco’s ecclesiastical archives in an effort to flesh out Escalante’s spotty biography, looking at legal documents and church records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths in order to piece together his family history.<sup>41</sup> I found that the

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<sup>36</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:248.

<sup>37</sup> Macera, “El arte mural cuzqueño,” 99.

<sup>38</sup> Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. (La Paz: Editorial Gisbert, 2004), 174.

<sup>39</sup> Natalia Majluf, “De la rebelión al museo: Genealogías y retratos de los Incas, 1781-1900,” in *Los Incas, reyes del Perú*, ed. Thomas Cummins et al. (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2005), 289.

<sup>40</sup> Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas*, 174.

<sup>41</sup> I also corroborated my archival findings with information provided to me by the anthropologist Carmen Escalante, a direct descendant of Tadeo. I met with Carmen in December 2010 and she graciously showed me their family tree, newspaper clippings, and other documentation concerning the family lineage.

Escalante family possessed deep roots in Acomayo as well as Cuzco proper. The earliest reference I located related to the Escalante family concerns a Dorotea Trivino de Escalante, who filed a complaint about thieves on her property in 1703. The “de Escalante” (of Escalante) suggests that she married into the family, although the legal document contains no reference to her husband’s full name.<sup>42</sup> The Cuzco records demonstrate that Tadeo Escalante emerged from an illustrious lineage of religious officials and entrepreneurs. His name does not appear in any non-religious legal documentation that I have encountered, however.<sup>43</sup> The Escalante family married into the Tito Condemayta family, a noble indigenous *ayllu* (kin group) of the Acomayo/Acos region, by the late eighteenth century. Born in 1729, Tomasa Tito Condemayta Hurtado de Mendoza was the daughter of Sebastián Tito Condemayta, a *curaca*, and Doña Alfonsa Hurtado de Mendoza. Tomasa Tito Condemayta was one of the most important female participants in the rebellion after Micaela Bastidas. She married Faustino Delgado and gave birth to a son, Ramón Delgado.<sup>44</sup> Julian Escalante Tito Condemayta,

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<sup>42</sup> AAC, XXV, 3, 41, f. 4.

<sup>43</sup> This may also stem from the fact that Escalante drew up his contracts, inventories, wills, and other documents in his hometown of Acomayo rather than in Cuzco. The majority of colonial documents produced in Acomayo were moved to Cuzco repositories in the mid-twentieth century, when the Archivo Regional and Archivo Arzobispal began to consolidate their collections. It is also possible that some documents got lost or ended up in private hands. The public archives currently in the town of Acomayo only date back to the early twentieth century.

<sup>44</sup> For documentation on charges against Ramón Delgado and Tomasa Tito Condemayta, see Luis Durand Florez, ed., *Colección documental del bicentenario de la revolución emancipadora de Tupac Amaru*, vol. 3, bk. 5 (Lima: Comisión Nacional del Bicentenario de la Rebelión Emancipadora de Tupac Amaru, 1982), 557–601.

who may have been her nephew, received authority from Tupac Amaru to help lead the cause.<sup>45</sup> Julian and his wife, Teresa Farfán, may have been the parents of Tadeo.<sup>46</sup>

Other Escalantes abound in the archival records. In 1780, Ramón Escalante drew up a petition justifying his holding of the titles for a chaplaincy in the town of Pomacanchi, located near Acomayo.<sup>47</sup> Domingo Escalante, a cleric, was tried in 1781 for suspected support of Tupac Amaru.<sup>48</sup> A Mariano Escalante lived in Acomayo in the early years of the nineteenth century, indicated by a suit filed against him for tithes he owed to Doctor Manuel de la Sota in the form of cattle and fruit produced in the nearby town of Rondoncan in 1803-1804.<sup>49</sup> On June 8, 1816, Juan Escalante, son of Julián Escalante and Teresa Farfán, married Gregoria Peso, a Spaniard.<sup>50</sup> He was the widower of Ancelma Sinayuca y Ccama, who came from a prominent indigenous elite family in Lampa.<sup>51</sup> Another Juan Escalante, presumably the son of the elder Juan, was a local Judge of the Peace (Juez de Paz local) of Acos in 1848.<sup>52</sup> A Santiago Escalante served as

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<sup>45</sup> See Luis Durand Florez, ed., *Colección documental del bicentenario de la revolución emancipadora de Tupac Amaru*, vol. 4 (Lima: Comisión Nacional del Bicentenario de la Rebelión Emancipadora de Tupac Amaru, 1982), 12–13.

<sup>46</sup> Natalia Majluf suggests their parentage of Tadeo based on the letter between Julián Escalante and Micaela Bastidas along with personal correspondence with historian David Garrett. See Majluf, “De la rebelión al museo,” 289, 319.

<sup>47</sup> AAC, XXVIII, 4, 74. f. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los orígenes de la independencia de hispanoamérica*, 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Editora Latino Americana, 1967), 234–35.

<sup>49</sup> ARC, Inventario de Protocolos, Sección Notorial, Escribano Mariano Melendez Paez, 180.

<sup>50</sup> AAC, Acomayo, Libro de Matrimonios (1813-1860), 38v.

<sup>51</sup> AAC, Acomayo, Libro de Matrimonios (1813-1860), 53r. See also Majluf, “De la rebelión al museo,” 289.

<sup>52</sup> AAC, Acomayo, Libro de Fábrica (1833-1869, Acos y Huaqui), 22v-23r.

*cura* of Guayopata, Acos in the 1860s.<sup>53</sup> The final entries for members of the Escalante clan with potential immediate connection to Tadeo are Acomayo residents Gregorio Escalante, husband of Ysabel Luna, who died in 1843, and Juana Escalante, who died in 1867.<sup>54</sup> We can assume that Tadeo Escalante must have died before 1838, the starting date of the only surviving Libro de Defunción (Death Ledger) for Acomayo.

The inventory for the church of Huaró yields additional information about Escalante's participation there. The ledger includes inventories recorded between 1788 and 1862.<sup>55</sup> Pedro Santistevan y Cano was *cura* of Urcos and Huaró from 1788 to 1792 and maintained a resolutely loyalist stance during the rebellion.<sup>56</sup> He was succeeded by Tomás Collado, who maintained jurisdiction over the parishes in the 1790s, and followed by Clemente Enriquez, who served during the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Huaró inventory offers an interesting narrative of the rebellion and its aftermath from a material perspective. The earliest surviving inventory dates to 1788. Like other inventories of Cuzqueñan churches, *plata labrada* (silverware) is listed first, perhaps because of its high monetary value. At the end of an extensive list of silver objects, however, Santistevan inserts a short paragraph asking the *Vistador General* Don José Gallegos y Legarra to “note that with the motive of transferring all of the silverware to Cuzco, in order to secure it in the time of the rebellion (which was done under fire and with orders to hurry, obligated by fear), some pieces were lost of the said lamp including

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<sup>53</sup> AAC, XLV, 2, 35, f. 4.

<sup>54</sup> AAC, Acomayo, Libro de Defunción (1838-1861), 45r; AAC, C-XXIX, 1, 7. ff. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Curiously, the entries for 1803 to 1836 were visibly ripped out from the book.

<sup>56</sup> Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru*, 250.

four links, three brackets, [and] two burners...”<sup>57</sup> This annotation offers a material analogy to the extreme duress under which Huareños lived during the rebellion years, in a society divided by loyalists overseen by Santistevan himself and rebels who supported Tupac Amaru’s cause.

The inventory also builds on our understanding of the chronology of the church’s mural program, which has until now only been hypothesized by scholars based on stylistic features. Santistevan describes the ceiling of Huaro as “of carved and painted wood” and the walls “painted in the form of hangings [*colgaduras*], with glazed *galones*.”<sup>58</sup> Writing in 1788, this indicates to us that Huaro underwent at least two phases of mural decoration in the late eighteenth century. Unfortunately, given that an earlier inventory of the church does not exist, we do not know whether Escalante himself was responsible for the earlier murals. We also do not know whether the murals to which Santistevan refers were overpainted by Escalante and his assistants in 1802 or if the originals remained untouched. Given the visual cohesiveness of the mural program, I believe that these original tapestry-style murals were either repainted or heavily modified in the intervening decades. By 1792, the church seems to have been in a state of disrepair. The *cura* states that there are areas of the church “with braces in the parts without adobe or whitewash with a slight fall toward the choir, and several holes in the

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<sup>57</sup> “nota q.e con motivo de trasladar toda la plata labrada al Cuzco, para asegurarla en tiempo de la revelion (lo q.e se hizo con fuego y de orden p.r la prisa, a q.e obligo el temor) se perdieron alguna pzas. de la dha lampara q.e fueron quarto esclavones tres cartelas, dos mecheros...” Huaro, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario, n.p.

<sup>58</sup> “el techo de madera tallada y pintada, y las paredes pintadas en formas de colgaduras, con galones esmaltados.” Huaro, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario, n.p. *Galón* refers to a strong fabric woven from gold or silver threads. See *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1791), 445.

roof.”<sup>59</sup> A 1796 version of the inventory reveals that the church remained in an unadorned state for at least four years. This suggests that the choir area was in need of a fresh coat of paint, and it was precisely this area where Escalante made his most substantial artistic contribution. Curiously, the inventory contains no mention whatsoever of Escalante’s mural, despite careful documentation of expenses and renovations made to the church. In the account ledger from 1803, however, *cura* Clemente Enrique records: “eight *pesos* that I paid to Tadeo Escalante, *maestro pintor*, for the two confessionals that he repaired and painted, which were practically rubbish”<sup>60</sup> (fig. 4.1). This entry is the first and only known archival reference to Tadeo Escalante, offering us secure historical documentation of his position as master painter and his activity in Cuzco beyond his signatures at Huaró and at the church of Belén in Acomayo. It is the sole documentary evidence of his existence upon which earlier scholars have based his entire career.

The documentary record in the colonial Andes is perhaps most notable for its inherent incompleteness, and the Huaró records are no exception. The evidence presented raises more questions than answers. If the priests of Huaró were so meticulous in their record keeping, how is it that Escalante’s murals were left completely unmentioned, yet a seemingly minor job—repairing and painting two confessionals—receives ample attention? Escalante signed and dated the Huaró murals in 1802. Given their immense proportions and level of detail, we can assume that he began the murals a

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<sup>59</sup> “y tirantes por partes sin embarro, ni blanqueo con una ligera caída así (sic; hacía) al coro, y varios agujeros en el techo.” Huaró, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario, n.p.

<sup>60</sup> “ocho p.s que pagué a Tadeo Escalante Maestro Pintor, p.r los dos Confesonarios q. compuso y pinto q estaban quasi desechos.” Huaró, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario, fol. 83.

few years prior, or in the late 1790s at the very earliest. We can certainly assume that Escalante began painting them at some point after 1788, the earliest surviving entry in the Huaro inventory. The possibility does exist, however, that the murals were commissioned immediately after the rebellion when Escalante was a young artist, and that the project was postponed due to lack of funds or more pressing issues taking priority. If this were indeed the case, reference to the mural program would have appeared in the now-lost earlier inventories. Additional archival research in the Archivo Regional may uncover the original contract negotiated between Escalante and the *cura* of Huaro. This uncertainty also raises questions about the level of cooperation and understanding between Escalante and the *cura* under whom he worked. Both Santistevan y Cano and Clemente Enrique were staunch supporters of the loyalists and would not have tolerated religious imagery that conveyed any sympathy for Tupac Amaru and his forces. Escalante, then, may have found tacit support under Tomás Collado, the *cura* of Huaro in the 1790s about whom little documentation exists. Regardless of which *cura* ultimately commissioned the mural program, I assert that Escalante's murals possessed such a subtlety in their political content that the commissioning priest would not have picked up on their anti-Spanish and pro-Amaru subtext.

### **Huaro and Quispicanchis in the Context of the Great Rebellion**

Tupac Amaru II drew his largest base of support in the districts of Canas y Canchis (also known as Tinta) and Quispicanchis, the former of which was home to his native village of Tungasuca. These districts were the rural outposts of Cuzco, composed mainly of indigenous farmers and herders. Their location in southern Peru positioned its

inhabitants as most vulnerable to the increased labor obligations imposed by the Bourbon Reforms. Villagers were forced to work in the Potosí mines through the increasingly exploitative *mita* rotational labor system. These provinces, like many others in southern Peru, were hard hit by the legalization of the *repartimiento de mercancías* in 1754.<sup>61</sup> Ward Stavig also argues that the subdivision of the southern sector of the Peruvian Viceroyalty in 1776 into the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata resulted in fragmentation of trade networks, which catapulted these districts into further economic marginalization.<sup>62</sup>

Huaro in particular served as an important support base for Tupac Amaru and his rebel forces. Though it is located a mere twenty miles southeast of the city of Cuzco, Huaro (along with its neighboring town of Andahuaylillas) serves as the entry point into the province of Quispicanchis, and marks an important geographical and ideological boundary separating the largely loyalist Cuzco from the rebellious rural provinces. Indeed, the church itself served as a site of political indoctrination during the rebellion. José Esteban Escarcena de Villanueva provided a lengthy account of the movement of the rebels in the Huaro region during his 1781 confession of criminal acts conducted with Mariano Banda during the rebellion. In it, he recounts that Tupac Amaru entered into the church of Huaro and made an important announcement to the community members.

Escarcena de Villanueva recounts his speech as follows:

until now they had not known God, nor had they known who he was; they only had as God the thieves [who called themselves] *corregidores* and the priests, and that he came to remedy all this, and from now on there would no longer be

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<sup>61</sup> For a discussion of the impact of the *reparto* on these two regions, see Ward Stavig, "Ethnic Conflict, Moral Economy, and Population in Rural Cuzco on the Eve of the Thupa Amaro II Rebellion," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 4 (1988): 737–70.

<sup>62</sup> Ward Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru: Conflict, Community, and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 120–21.

*repartos acabalas*, Potosí *mitas*, allowances, nor customs and that they would live free and only need to pay tribute to him.<sup>63</sup>

When considering the political content of Escalante's murals, it is important to keep in mind the local significance of producing such imagery a mere twenty years after the rebellion.

### **Analysis of the Huaro Murals**

The church of San Juan Bautista de Huaro was founded by the Jesuits in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It is a single-nave church of adobe construction with a pitched roof. A true artistic tour de force, the church contains over a dozen distinct sections depicting religious scenes along the nave (see fig. 1.30). The church contains murals that were probably concurrent with its original construction. Escalante's murals cover almost all vestiges of an earlier mural program, but restorations have revealed small patches of painting that correspond with seventeenth-century styles based on color palette and style.<sup>64</sup> The church was declared a historical monument by the local government in December of 1972, and received restorations under the auspices of the World Monuments Fund in 2003.<sup>65</sup>

A comprehensive analysis of Huaro's mural program remains beyond the scope of this chapter. The paintings merit substantial attention as an artistic *tour de force*,

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<sup>63</sup> "hasta ahora no había conocido a Dios, ni sabían quien era, que sólo tenían por dioses a los ladrones de los corregidores y a los curas, y que el venía a poner remedio en ello, que en adelante no había de haber repartos alcabalas, mitos de Potosí, obvenciones, ni aduana y que habían de vivir libres y sólo le habían de pagar a él los tributos." Durand Florez, *Colección documental*, 3:126.

<sup>64</sup> Julio Ninantay Loayza, conservator for the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura (INC), personal communication, January 2011.

<sup>65</sup> Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, *Huaro. Proyecto de restauración de obras de arte del Templo de San Juan Bautista* (Lima: Cimagraf, 2005), 1.

covering nearly every paintable surface of the church's interior, from nave to ceiling. The left nave wall (*nave de evangélica*) contains the following scenes leading toward the altar: Death, Pietà, St. John, St. Francis Xavier, and the Holy Family with St. John. The right nave wall (*nave de epístola*) contains the following murals: Heaven, St. James the Moorkiller at the Battle of Clavijo, St. Jerome, St. Martin of Tours, and the Life of St. Albert the Confessor. The Tree of Life scene flanks the right side of the church's interior doorway, while scenes of the Death of the House of the Rich and Poor adorn the left side of the entrance (fig. 4.2). Escalante certainly enlisted the help of numerous indigenous artists to complete this extensive mural program, which reveals the work of different hands. This chapter offers new interpretations of four scenes securely attributed to Escalante: *Hell*, *Death in the House of the Rich and Poor*, the *Tree of Life*, and the *Last Judgment*, all located in the vestibule beneath the large choir gallery at the interior entrance of the church. The existing literature provides little analysis of the vestibule murals other than brief visual descriptions of their content and unclear references to the rebellion and Escalante's interests in freemasonry, as discussed previously. My interpretations of Escalante's murals are the first to exhibit a rigorous engagement with the images themselves in conjunction with the historical context in which they were conceived.

### *Hell*

The scene of Hell at Huaro has attracted a great deal of scholarly and popular attention for its immense size and detailed visual account of horrendous tortures suffered by sinners (fig. 4.3). Indeed, the scene has almost become a metonym for Huaro as a

whole. Textbooks often include the scene cropped and decontextualized from the rest of the church,<sup>66</sup> and the parish itself sells a series of postcards that capture different details from the composition. The scene is divided into two registers delimited by banners containing two texts. The top banner reads “Ay de nosotros para que pecamos ya no ay remedio en el Ynfierno, adonde no ay que ber algun orden sino eternal confusion” [Woe to us that we sin and now there is no remedy in Hell, where you will see no order but eternal confusion]. The lower banner reads “Ay de mi que ardiendo quedo ay que pude ya no puedo ay que por siempre he de arder ay que a Dios nunca he de ver” [Woe is me that I remain on fire, woe that what I could I no longer can, woe that forever I burn, woe that never will I see God]. I include the Spanish originals in the text to give a sense of the rhythmic nature of the statements, offering a stylized structure that evokes the repetitive moaning of the damned.

The figures in the lower register endure a series of torments. At the far left of the composition a group of figures burn inside a bubbling cauldron, beaten with spiked clubs while awaiting entry into the roaring maws of a Hell mouth (fig. 4.4). Among the sexless naked bodies crammed into the cauldron we see an individual wearing a red hat with a wide brim known as a *galero*, likely referring to his status as a cardinal, and another wearing a bishop’s mitre. Such iconography pays homage to medieval images of Hell such as a detail from the French manuscript *La vigne de nostre seigneur* [The Vineyard of our Lord] from 1450-1470 at the Bodleian Library (fig. 4.5). When transferred to an

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<sup>66</sup> See, for instance, Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín, eds., *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 106; María Tausiet and James S. Amelang, eds., *El diablo en la edad moderna* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2004), figs. 27–29; and Rosa Giorgi and Stefano Zuffi, *Angels and Demons in Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005), 92.

Andean context, however, the iconography can double as a reference to local creoles and religious officials that would have worn such headgear.

To the right of the lower register a brown demon grips the noose of a hanging man holding papers and a plume (fig. 4.6). His body is framed by the doorway of a small tower spewing flames out its windows. As the only figure holding a text in the scene, the man is immediately differentiated from the others as an individual with access to the art of letters. It is also significant that the book is not a thin one but a thick and hefty stack of papers that do not appear to be bound into a traditional book. Such detail was not likely erroneous or incidental. When considered in the context of the rebellion, I argue that this scene may in fact refer to Antonio de Arriaga's fateful death in the town of Tungasuca that initiated a domino effect of violence inaugurating the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in November of 1780. Once ambushed by Tupac Amaru and a group of local Andeans, Arriaga was dragged to the town center in chains where Micaela Bastidas ordered for him to write to his assistants in Tinta asking for money and provisions.

I argue that the scene dramatizes Arriaga's hanging by compressing two elements of the event—his forced letter writing campaign and the moment of his raising to the gallows—into a single image. The stack of papers, whose thickness extends from his wrist to elbow, may refer to the dozens of letters of convocation Arriaga was forced to sign requesting silver and firearms.<sup>67</sup> A brown-skinned demon may serve as a stand-in for Arriaga's former slave Antonio Oblitas, who carried out the actual hanging. It also plays into popular tropes of depicting devils and demons as dark-skinned individuals, a

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<sup>67</sup> For a detailed description of Arriaga's execution by a contemporary, see Stavig and Schmidt, *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions*, 61–66.

niche into which Oblitas fit seamlessly.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, while Escalante's draws on preexisting tropes for rendering demons, he departs significantly from other Andean representations of sinners damned to Hell. At Andahuaylillas, for instance, sinners navigating the waters of Hell possess distinctly indigenous features and are depicted with Inca-style costumes engaged in acts of Andean ritual (see Chapter 2). Escalante's sinners are conspicuously white with rust-colored hair that echoes the backdrop of flames. They read as European in both skin color and physiognomy. The profusion of these interlocked white bodies receive a vast array of punishments inflicted by club-wielding demons, flying bird demons and snakes.

Herein lies what I see as one of Escalante's strongest political critiques: the Spaniards writhing in Hell arrived there as a result of the unthinkable tortures they inflicted on indigenous bodies through brutal colonial policies. Their pale bodies accentuated by red shadows cast by the flames allude to the derogatory Quechua term, *puka kunka*, or "red neck," used to describe Spaniards in the eighteenth century.<sup>69</sup> The images of Spaniards suffering the consequences of flagrant sin and vice closely correspond with an unforgiving literary record that cast them as depraved and degenerate souls living a life devoid of purity. Alcira Dueñas notes that eighteenth-century texts such as *Representación verdadera* (1748), an anonymous text later attributed to the *mestizo* author Fray Calixto de San José Túpac Inca, employed derogatory language toward Spaniards to highlight their hypocrisy in denying indigenous-descended Andeans

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<sup>68</sup> Further discussion of the racialization of demons in the colonial Latin American imaginary can be found in Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 36–40; and Rachel Sarah O'Toole, "Danger in the Convent: Colonial Demons, Idolatrous Indias, and Bewitching Negras in Santa Clara (Trujillo Del Peru)," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 1 (2006): n.p.

<sup>69</sup> Szemiński, "Why Kill the Spaniard?" 167.

entry into the priesthood. Dueñas argues that texts like Calixto's "portrayed colonial officials in unequivocally negative terms, equating them with the most vicious animals and deadly diseases and highlighting their corrupt, violent, and non-Christian behavior—casting them as 'sinners.'" <sup>70</sup> In a edict written by Tupac Amaru II himself that was found in his pocket at the moment of his capture, he describes Spanish secular and ecclesiastical officials as people who "without fear of God, harmed the *naturales* [indigenous people] of this Kingdom like they were beasts." <sup>71</sup> Escalante's scene thus does not emerge from a vacuum, but rather participated in a web of literary discourses whose meaning became amplified by the palpability of recent historical memory. That is, the violence captured in the scenes of Hell calls to mind the kinds of gruesome scenes Andeans would have witnessed during the rebellion. Indeed, just as the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion garnered a wide base of support by cultivating a collective political memory of an idealized Inca past through the visual, literary and performative arts, Escalante also utilizes the visual record to construct collective memories of the rebellion.

Escalante's "theater of memory" is promulgated by the dynamic interaction of painted bodies, religious imagination, and historical fact. Parishioners viewing the pen and paper-wielding sinner would perhaps recall the specific aspects of Arriaga's execution. <sup>72</sup> In the moments before his death, the local priest Antonio López de Sosa

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<sup>70</sup> Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the Lettered City: Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 205.

<sup>71</sup> Stavig and Schmidt, *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions*, 121.

<sup>72</sup> Although the majority of Cuzqueños would not have witnessed the execution firsthand, news of it spread textually (through a proclamation of war issued by the Spanish government) and orally. The impact of oral tradition and communication in the mobilization of troops remains a fascinating and relatively underexplored facet of the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion. For a brief discussion of the political relevance of orality in late colonial Peru, see Sara Castro-Klarén, "The Nation in Ruins: Archeology and the Rise of the Nation," in *Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century*

handed Arriaga a picture of Christ to hold in his hands while he read his death sentence.<sup>73</sup> The bodily violence inflicted on Arriaga, coupled with the oral proclamation of the priest and presentation of visual images evoking Christ's martyrdom for his sins transformed the event into a multimedia spectacle of overlapping sights and sounds. The commingling of sensory associations that took place at Arriaga's execution is given visual form in the rhythmic act of perpetual torture illustrated in Escalante's Hell.

*Death in the House of the Rich and Poor*

The scene contiguous with *Hell* located to the left of the entrance portal continues the thread of theatricality that runs through Escalante's mural program at Huaró. *Death in the House of the Rich and Poor* is divided into two sections (fig. 4.7). The top section, labeled "La muerte benigna en la Casa del Pobre" (Benign death in the house of the poor) features a somber scene of public mourning in which an individual lying in his/her deathbed placed in Cuzco's main plaza is received by a procession of praying mourners. The scene possesses an artificial, if not jarring quality; the bed, for instance, rivals the cathedral in size, appearing almost as a stage prop. The privileging of the dying through amplified scale emphasizes the dignity of the mourning ritual and its recognition by the Catholic Church. Such imagery certainly advocates for the pious life free of worldly pleasures supported by the church. It also appears to serve an alternative political agenda.

Escalante locates the scene in Cuzco's main plaza, a place of tremendous ceremonial significance. Since the Inca period, the plaza served as an important

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*Latin America*, ed. Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 173–78.

<sup>73</sup> Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru*, 207.

centralized public space for celebrations, processions, royal entries, military triumphs, and most recently in the minds of local Huareños, gruesome executions. On May 18, 1781 Tupac Amaru and his family were executed in Cuzco's plaza. After witnessing the death of his family, the executioners attached each of Tupac Amaru's limbs to horses in order to quarter him. After many failed attempts at ripping apart his body, José Antonio de Areche ordered that they behead him and cut off his tongue. His body was subsequently butchered and his body parts were distributed to the towns in which he maintained his broadest base of support. His head was sent to Tinta, his arms to Tungasuca and Carabaya, and his legs to Livitaca and Lampa. The arm of Antonio Bastidas, Tupac Amaru's brother-in-law, was taken to nearby Urcos.<sup>74</sup> The plaza thus served as a powerful site of political violence, a spectacle that surely would have remained in the minds of locals who witnessed the event or heard of it from community members.

Escalante's composition directly represents the plaza in perhaps one of the only known images of the site painted within two decades of Tupac Amaru's execution. He similarly marks the plaza as a public site of death. Yet the violence inextricably tied to the 1781 event remains notably absent in this representation. Perhaps Escalante wished to re-stage the plaza as a witness to a just and noble, or simply "benign" death. A group of what appears to be military personnel stand in front of the Cuzco Cathedral (fig. 4.8), perhaps representing a group of troops from the rebellion. Their dress resembles that of the soldiers represented in a now-lost painting of the rebellion formerly located in the

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<sup>74</sup> *Documentos para la historia de la sublevacion de José Gabriel de Tupac-Amaru: cacique de la provincia de Tinta, en el Perú* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Estado, 1836), 54–57.

church of Tinta.<sup>75</sup> Locating the sober throngs of mourners on the most prominent landmark of bodily violence offered an opportunity for Escalante to reenact the course of events through the vantage point of divine justice, memorializing Tupac Amaru and his supporters as deserving of a dignified death and funeral.

The scene below, by contrast, reveals the consequences of a life lived in excess. Sumptuously clad dinner guests sit around a long table filled with platters of meat, fruits, and bread. Each diner is crystallized in the act of touching something, whether a plate of food, utensils, a drinking vessel, or one's own collar or jacket. These acts serve as visual shorthand for indulgence in worldly pleasures, in those things that can be touched or consumed. The overindulged feasters contrast sharply with the plainly dressed mourners whose hands do not hold objects, but are tightly clasped in prayer. The dinner party remains completely oblivious to the fact that one of their guests has been snatched by death, hanging upside down in the grip of a skeleton. While virtuous poor bestow the dying and deceased with the dignity of a funeral procession, the rich fail to acknowledge the gravity of death. Their oblivion likewise suggests a lack of concern for human life. This representation seems to directly critique the excesses of the wealthy *peninsulares* and *criollos* that profited from the increasingly impoverished indigenous populations.

Escalante's images of death mark an important shift in mural painting of the late eighteenth century. While the churches of Andahuaylillas, Urcos, and Pitumarca contained murals that bore varying levels of adaptation from a European source print, the Huaro murals introduce an unprecedented level of artistic improvisation. I believe the deathbed located in Cuzco's plaza likely derives from an early seventeenth-century print

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<sup>75</sup> See Pablo Macera, *La pintura mural andina, siglos XVI-XIX* (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1993), 112.

by Johan Wierix entitled *All is Vanity* (fig. 4.9). The scene provides an allegory of worldly pleasures through a depiction of the personification of Vanity lounging in a large bed, surrounded by a demon and other allegorical figures partaking in food and wine. The print bears loose relationship in its content to Escalante's scenes, but he has in fact appropriated Vanity's bed to serve an opposing function—as the deathbed of a pious Cuzqueñan. The canopy and bedframe become reinterpreted as a marker of glorified poverty and simplicity, placed into a small house-like structure with room for nothing else but a nightstand and a cross.

*Death in the House of the Rich* bears resemblance to another engraving I located by Johan Wierix from 1602 depicting a party of food and music (fig. 4.10). A woman at the center of the composition falls to her death as a skeleton pierces her with a spear. The majority of the partygoers appear either wholly unaware or unfazed by the spectacle of death occurring in their company. Only one figure appears visibly distressed by the scene—a woman to the right of the scene gesturing toward the fallen woman in an act of prayer. Despite the mural's slight resemblance to the print, Escalante has completely reformulated the composition. The small dinner table in the Wierix print becomes amplified and elongated in the Huaró mural to fill up nearly the entirety of the composition.<sup>76</sup> To add to the drama of the event, Escalante has flipped the woman captured by death upside down, falling headfirst toward a compositional netherworld.

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<sup>76</sup> As Pablo Macera argues (*La pintura mural andina*, 73), Escalante may have borrowed this compositional detail from Riaño's mural of a feasting party at the church of Andahuaylillas completed over a century and a half prior. What is most fascinating about this visual exchange is that Riaño, too, adapted his composition from a Wierix print, but decided to augment the feasting scene for specific purposes, as I discussed in Chapter 2.

The angel of death visited by the dinner party in Wierix's print makes no such appearance in the mural.

Escalante's improvisational use of prints is also significant when considered in light of Cuzco's artistic *milieu*. By the early nineteenth century, artists began to move away from the Mannerist and Baroque imagery that had dominated much of Cuzqueñan religious painting. The popularity of the famed Cuzco School of painting that took the Andes by storm in the late seventeenth century began to wane. In its place a new popularized Neoclassical-Rococo hybrid style began to take root. Artists such as Marcos Zapata and Cipriano Gutiérrez introduced a new aesthetic to Cuzco patrons characterized by thickly outlined figures, a profusion of white and pastels marked by a corresponding absence of gold leaf, and flattened compositions devoid of excessive modulation of forms or the illusion of perspectival space.<sup>77</sup> The print sources for such paintings often came from France rather than the Low Countries.<sup>78</sup> This was in large part facilitated by the newly reigning Bourbon Dynasty (1700-1824),<sup>79</sup> whose connections to France led to the exportation of French prints, paintings, and other goods into the Spanish colonies. Escalante emulates his contemporaries in color palette and a number of his figures appear distinctively French (see, for instance, the hairstyles and flared overcoats of the men in the feasting scene). He departs from them, however, in his decision to use 200-year-old

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<sup>77</sup> José de Mesa, "La pintura cuzqueña (1540-1821)," *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* 4 (May 1988): 25-42; Macera, *La pintura mural andina*, 40-42.

<sup>78</sup> See Agustina Rodríguez, "De París a Cuzco: Los caminos del grabado francés en los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Goya* 327 (2009): 132-42.

<sup>79</sup> I agree with historian John Fisher's point, however, that despite official date of 1700 as marking the transfer of power from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons, these changes were not felt in the Spanish viceroalties until around 1750. See Fisher, *Bourbon Peru*, 1-4. See also Peter F. Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 101.

print sources even when more contemporary models were surely available. While some may be inclined to thus characterize Escalante's style as archaic, I see it as a conscious effort to craft a trenchant social critique through the visual language of religious allegory. Escalante powers his critique of Spanish policy through images that safely, yet powerfully lambast the morality of the rich. By dressing the characters in French-style costume, he heightens their association with contemporary Peruvian *criollos* who emulated the fashion of their peninsular Spanish and French contemporaries. The placement of *Death in the House of Rich and Poor* on the wall contiguous with *Hell* offers a compelling narrative of the tortures that await the rich, whose table is cleverly placed on the same level as the representation of Arriaga burning in Hell.

Escalante also appears to maintain continuity with earlier muralists in his spatial organization of the scene. While a number of scholars have considered the impact of Andean spatial categories on the arts of the colonial period, few have considered their longevity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Notice that *Death in the House of Rich and Poor* maintains a strict bipartite schema of upper and lower components. Similarly to Luis de Riaño's entrance wall mural at Andahuaylillas (see fig. 1.14), Escalante divides his composition into *hanan* and *hurin* components. The dignified poor occupy the upper and dominant *hanan* sector while the wealthy feasters are relegated to the subordinate *hurin* position. Drawing from centuries-old Andean cosmological precepts most cogently illustrated in the work of Guaman Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, Escalante asserts continuity with early colonial visual traditions entrenched in Inca systems of thought.<sup>80</sup> *Hanan* and *hurin*

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<sup>80</sup> For a discussion of Guaman Poma's use of *hanan* and *hurin*, see Chapter 2. Pachacuti Yamqui's cosmological diagram of the Coricancha has also received ample scholarly attention. See Billie

become mobilized to endow piety and vice, poverty and wealth, public space and private property, and Heaven and Hell into locally-understood dualistic components. This spatial division also furnished the conditions for Escalante's powerful polemic in the decades after the rebellion. His political message was securely nestled within an impenetrable shield created by the concentric discourses of Christianity and Andean spatial organization. Areche's decree would collapse on itself if applied to Huaro's mural program, with nothing that unequivocally criticized the loyalists or glorified the rebels. Escalante's recourse to deliberate ambiguity merely strengthened his ideological message.

### *Tree of Life*

The *Tree of Life* (also known as the *Tree of Vanity*), located to the right of the entrance portal, features a large tree containing a festive group of elites dining and playing music in its canopy (fig. 4.11). Death (personified as a skeleton), Mary, Jesus, and a demon stand below the tree. Death threatens to chop down the tree with an axe, while Mary beseeches Jesus, who is about to ring the bell to announce the moment of truth. Meanwhile, the demon holds a taut rope, preparing to send the tree crashing down once it has been chopped.<sup>81</sup> Tree of Life imagery became a popular subject in New World religious painting by the seventeenth century. Stripped of its Edenic antecedents

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Jean Isbell, "La otra mitad esencial. Un estudio de complementaridad sexual en los Andes," *Estudios Andinos* 5, no. 1 (1976): 37–56; Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 41–47; and Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 156–59.

<sup>81</sup> Macera, *La pintura mural andina*, 74.

as the source of Eve's temptation, the Tree of Life in a New Testament context demonstrates the triviality of human life on earth.<sup>82</sup>

Iconographically, the scene draws from a number of sources. Zapata's paintings of the Tree of Life and the Last Supper from the 1750s in the Cuzco Cathedral serve as an important precedent.<sup>83</sup> Zapata's *The Last Supper*, which famously inserts a cooked *cuy*, or guinea pig (an Andean delicacy) into the table's centerpiece, loosely resembles the dining table perched atop the Tree of Life at Huaru (fig. 4.12).<sup>84</sup> In both compositions, the table awkwardly slopes downward in order to reveal its contents to the viewer. This would have been of particular necessity at Huaru, where the image is positioned far above eye level. The drama in Zapata's canvas centers on the table itself, with Judas seated in the foreground clutching a small bag in his right hand while staring directly at the viewer. At Huaru, however, Escalante has situated the drama below the dining party, which seems completely unaware of the fate about to befall them.

The original source that almost certainly informed Zapata and Escalante's composition comes from a sixteenth-century print by Hieronymus Wierix (fig. 4.13). Coincidentally, this print also served as a prototype for a painting by the Spanish artist Ignacio de Ríes at the Cathedral of Segovia in 1653 (fig. 4.14).<sup>85</sup> All three images contain the same basic elements: Jesus stands poised to ring the bell of death hanging

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<sup>82</sup> See Santiago Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y barroco: lecturas iconográficas e iconológicas* (Madrid: Alianza, 1981).

<sup>83</sup> Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas*, 172; Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:250.

<sup>84</sup> Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, "De la evangelización al incanismo. La pintura mural del sur andino," *Histórica* 15, no. 2 (1991): 181.

<sup>85</sup> Santiago Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y barroco* (Madrid: Alianza, 1981), 123.

from the tree's branches, a skeleton personifying death wields an axe or scepter, and a demon pulls a taut rope. The Wierix composition, however, lacks any inclusion of the tree's canopy. The compositions of Escalante and Ríes, then, must have drawn from other prototypes that included the feasting scenes that figure so prominently in their paintings.

Medieval images of the Tree of Life often contained groups of people populating the tree's canopy. The fifteenth-century German engraving *Wheel of Fortune and the Tree of Life* by the Master with the Banderoles, for instance, features a group of priests, bishops, lay clergymen, and commoners huddled together while a skeleton points his bow and arrow toward the top of the tree (fig. 4.15). This theme even made its way into some secular images. An image from Theodore de Bry's *Historia Americae* entitled *How the Spaniards Fought with the Indian Tree Dwellers* (1590-97) illustrates an inversion of typical Tree of Life imagery (fig. 4.16). The tree dwellers aggressively point arrows, throw stones, and even pour a bucket of water onto the Spanish troops below them. Aside from its exclusion of any religious overtones, the tree itself is almost identical to that of Ignacio de Ríes, bearing even the same hatchet mark at the bottom of the trunk.

While it is clear that Escalante and Zapata's iconography drew most perceptibly from these European sources, the Tree of Life at Huaro acquires its own identity that transcends the prototypes. Escalante's version grants the Virgin Mary a central position in the foreground, a variation not commonly found in the European versions, where she is relegated to the sidelines. This decision could be attributed to the popularity of the cult of the Virgin Mary in colonial Latin America. By placing Death and the demon opposite one another, something that we do not see in the Spanish examples, Escalante establishes

a visual parallelism between the two figures that reveals the dangers of placing sin and death in mutual cooperation. This strategic placement of the figures adds a sense of symmetry to the composition while sending a didactic visual message to viewers.

Escalante's *Tree of Life* also differs from the aforementioned prototypes in its visual parallelism with the *Death in the House of the Rich* featured on the lower register of the mural program decorating the interior wall to the left of the entrance portal. Escalante repeats the extravagant diners in the *Death in the House of the Rich* almost verbatim in his depiction of a feasting scene nestled atop the tree. In both scenes a group of wealthy *criollos* partakes in food and drink around a long rectangular table filled with heaping plates of food. Round loaves of bread decorated with small puncture holes accompany each diner. These loaves closely resemble the round flat breads produced in the nearby town of Oropesa. This indigenous town, located less than ten miles west of Huaro, contains special bread ovens in existence since the colonial period. While it is difficult to ascertain whether the bread was intended to recall the locally available bread produced by indigenous Oropesanos, it would fit in with Escalante's larger ideological message.<sup>86</sup> It should also be noted that despite the resemblances between Escalante's composition and Zapata's *The Last Supper*, Escalante's depiction of bread bears no similarity to Zapata's thick loaves. Bread, a European importation kneaded and baked by a steadily marginalized indigenous labor force, becomes consumed by members of the white upper classes. When considered in light of the prominent jugs of wine resting at each table, we detect a similar message to that of the Andahuaylillas feasting party discussed in Chapter 2. The wine and bread serve as a false Eucharist consumed for

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<sup>86</sup> And even if Escalante was not referring specifically to the bread of Oropesa, the representation maintains a strong local orientation given the fact that *pan serrano* (highland bread) is flat by nature because the altitudinal conditions do not allow for high-rising breads.

fulfillment of worldly pleasures rather than as sacramental rite. Another concurrent meaning may also be at play, however. By depicting a local food marked by its association with indigenous production, Escalante may be staging the symbolic “consumption” of the product of indigenous labor. The Spaniards, who remain wholly decontextualized from the manufacturing process, reinforce colonial social hierarchies through the act of feasting. Indigenous bodies have thus become dematerialized and transubstantiated into bread meant to symbolize their sacrifice of labor and life during the tumultuous years surrounding the rebellion.

Both feasting scenes possess an air of theatricality through Escalante’s inclusion of curtained backdrops. The curtains, particularly in the Tree of Life scene, are draped in such a way that one simple pull on the tassel could bring down the entire curtain. The scenes appear as two acts in a morality play that stages iterations of vice against a series of dramatic backdrops. Escalante places the Spaniards in a simulacrum of sin. The scene of Hell reinforces the idea of eternal suffering through the text banners and seemingly endless array of tortures. *The Tree of Life* and *Death in the House of the Rich*, on the other hand, present sin and its corresponding punishment of death as a cycle that continually perpetuates itself through the rhythmic rise and fall of stage curtains.

The placement of the tree feasters on the upper right of the entrance portal and their counterparts on the lower left creates a strong diagonal axis guiding the viewer’s eye across the entrance wall. The axis also contains strong Andean spatial connotations. Diagonals that run from upper left to lower right signify *hanan*, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, tends to be conflated with divinity and social balance in the colonial period. In Guaman Poma de Ayala’s illustrations, compositional diagonals running along this

axis tend to feature positive associations of power or morality. The frontispiece to his manuscript, for instance, depicts a strong diagonal running from upper left to lower right between the pope and a supplicating Guaman Poma.<sup>87</sup> The Huaru murals abide by the same moralizing spatial format. The axis running from upper left to lower right connects the pious mourners in Cuzco's *plaza de armas* with Christ and Mary standing below the Tree of Life, while the intersecting diagonal connects the feasting sinners. If we are to interpret *Death in the House of the Rich and Poor* as an opportunity for the restaging of Tupac Amaru's gruesome death into a dignified event, then the *hanan* diagonal axis begins to accrue political meaning. The parishioner crossing through the entry portal of the church stands at the intersection of these four spatial components, standing as the fifth cardinal direction: center.<sup>88</sup> The X-axis held great significance for Andeans well into the late colonial period. Mary Louise Pratt argues that Areche's sentencing for Tupac Amaru's body to be quartered by four horses unwittingly reproduced the symbolic territorial division of Tawantinsuyu. His body's refusal to tear apart, then, merely reaffirmed the power of the reincarnated Inca.<sup>89</sup> Escalante has carved out a liminal center for the visitor to stand at and contemplate the intersections of good and evil and their numerous iterations. While the Andahuaylillas entrance wall encouraged viewers to choose one of two paths that beckoned the viewer to walk into the composition, at Huaru

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<sup>87</sup> See Rolena Adorno, ed., *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author* (New York: Americas Society, 1992). I would like to thank my student Hailee Hallahan for pointing out this detail.

<sup>88</sup> The fifth direction of center served as an important pre-Columbian directional unit throughout the Americas. It reflected cosmological concepts of a multilayered universe composed of four directions and connected at the center through a world tree or axis mundi.

<sup>89</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, "The Traffic in Meaning: Translation, Contagion, Infiltration," *Profession* (2002): 31–32.

Escalante arrests the viewer at the empty center, perhaps as a reminder of the intersecting oppositional forces that inhabit all men.

Escalante's decision to allegorize modern-day issues through religious imagery was certainly not unprecedented in colonial Peru, but the means by which he visually accomplished such goals represented a new milestone in the history of Andean muralism. The local and the universal become fused; the *Tree of Life* at Huaró makes an unmediated statement about a contentious social issue through religious imagery. This preliminary experiment in the negotiation of previously irreconcilable entities of local and universal reached their fluorescence in Escalante's later work at the *Molino de Incas*, in which Inca imperial history becomes resituated in an Andean Christian past rather than a pagan one, a topic to be further explored in Chapter 5.

### *The Last Judgment*

Escalante's painting of the Last Judgment completes his eschatological program of the Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. The entire composition encompasses all four themes while Escalante's murals of *Hell*, *Death in the House of Rich and Poor*, and the *Tree of Life* place emphasis on each one.<sup>90</sup> The painting crowns the doorway leading to the baptistery, contiguous with the wall on which the *Tree of Life* is painted (fig. 4.17). It retains a relatively standardized iconographical and compositional format for depicting the Last Judgment. Christ hovers over a globe at the

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<sup>90</sup> Both the *Tree of Life* and *Death in the House of Rich and Poor* represent Death, while the scene of Hell provides an eschatological image unmediated by allegory. The scene of Heaven is located on the right nave wall immediately past the vestibule. It shares the same wall as Hell but an arcade supporting the choir loft separates the scenes. The iconographically rich image merits substantial scholarly attention, but unfortunately remains beyond the scope of this chapter.

top center of the composition, surrounded by four registers of angels, ecclesiastics, saints, and secular individuals floating in the heavens. Skeletons and lifelike bodies emerge from underground tombs awaiting resurrection. Hordes of the faithful holding palm fronds line up to enter the gates of heaven, depicted as a white domed tower located at the viewer's left. On the right, a menacing Hell mouth swallows up those who have been judged unfavorably.

Escalante based his painting on an engraving by Philippe Thomassin (1562-1622) of the same subject from 1606 (fig. 4.18). Thomassin was a French-born engraver who spent the majority of his life in Rome.<sup>91</sup> He enjoyed a prolific career producing engraved copies of drawings by master Roman artists such as Antonio Tempesta and Giulio Romano.<sup>92</sup> His engravings also inspired a great number of important New World masterpieces. For instance, *Jesus at the Age of Twelve* and *Weeping Virgin*, both based on the work of the Italian miniaturist Guilio Clovio, served as prototypes for two of the most outstanding examples of colonial Mexican feather paintings.<sup>93</sup>

Thomassin's engraving of the Last Judgment also played a significant role in the New World evangelization project. It inspired several large-scale paintings produced

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<sup>91</sup> Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 150.

<sup>92</sup> Edmond Bruwaert, *La vie et les oeuvres de Philippe Thomassin, graveur troyen: 1562-1622* (Troyen, France: Societe Academique de L'aube, 1914).

<sup>93</sup> While they look like paintings, their method of manufacture falls closer in line with textiles or mosaics. See Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, eds., *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 102–105. Feather painting was a unique artistic genre that developed in the years immediately following the Spanish conquest of Mexico in 1521. Aztec featherworkers, known as *amanteca*, produced exquisitely detailed featherworks of religious subjects to be sent to Spain for its growing royal collection. The “paintings” served as material propaganda testifying to the successful conversion process of former Aztec subjects to Christianity. See Alessandra Russo, “Plumes of Sacrifice: Transformations in Sixteenth-Century Mexican Feather Art,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 42 (2002): 226–50.

across the colonial Americas, including Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia. Antonio de Santander was one of the earliest artists to make use of the engraving for a seventeenth-century painting located in the church of Totimehuacán in Puebla, Mexico.<sup>94</sup> A number of Cuzco School painters produced localized renditions of the Last Judgment following Thomassin's compositional format such as Diego Quispe Tito's painting from 1675 located in the Convento de San Francisco in Cuzco (fig. 4.19). Escalante was the last known artist to utilize the engraving for the creation of a large religious painting. His predecessors in both Peru and Bolivia actively modified their compositions to introduce local themes. For instance, José López de los Ríos's canvas painting of the Last Judgment in the church of Carabuco, Bolivia from 1684 (fig. 4.20) features a profusion of richly clad angels that bear close resemblance to the famous series of harquebus-wielding archangels that have since become a hallmark of colonial Bolivian painting. López de los Ríos significantly altered the layout of the original print to include fewer figures, which each receive extensive modulation and individualization. Moreover, the artist vertically compressed the composition so that the Hell mouth and the resurrected dead occupy the same horizontal plane, while Thomassin's engraving contains three distinct registers.

While López de Ríos's painting reveals extensive modification of the original print source, he faithfully transcribes the original Latin inscriptions interspersed throughout Thomassin's engraving. The manner in which he arranges the words in the composition, however, reveals another creative intervention. For instance, in the original

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<sup>94</sup> *PESSCA: Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art*, an online photographic archive of European prints and their corresponding Latin American paintings, has served as an instrumental source for tracing the wide-ranging impact of Thomassin's print. See [www.colonialart.org](http://www.colonialart.org) (accessed December 3, 2011). The archive accession numbers showing Thomassin's *Last Judgment* and its various New World correspondences are as follows: 939A/939B, 939A/940B, 939A/941B, 939A/942B, 939A/943B, 939A/944B, 939A/946B, 939A/997B, 939A/1001B, and 939A/1002B.

engraving a four-line caption located to the right of St. Michael reads: “Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternvm qviparatvs est diabolo, et angelis eivs. Matt. 25,” a biblical passage from Matthew 25:41 that translates to “Then he shall say to them also that shall be on his left hand: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels” (fig. 4.21). López de Ríos transformed the text into a three-dimensional winding scroll that emanates from Jesus’s left side and undulates around the body of the praying figures of St. John the Baptist and Mary (fig. 4.22). His painting serves as a stunning example of the agency and artistic license that many Andean artists took in the creation of artworks intended to reach a largely indigenous audience. Indeed, his artistic interventions recall many of the same strategies undertaken by the muralists discussed in this dissertation, particularly in the work of Diego Cusi Guaman and Don Pablo Gamarra discussed in Chapter 3.

Escalante’s painting of the Last Judgment employs none of these strategies. In fact, at first sight, it appears that Escalante has included very little in the composition to indicate any significant cultural or ideological deviation from the original source. Unlike the previous murals under discussion, the painting does not seem to contain any apparent pictorial references to the rebellion. The profusion of bodies gravitating toward Heaven and Hell appear as undifferentiated masses with no discernable allusions to Cuzco’s recent history or contemporary context. What remains striking about Escalante’s mural requires closer inspection. While López de Ríos rearranged the original Latin text found in the engraving into unique artistic configurations, Escalante translated the passages into vernacular Spanish. While translation may not seem particularly significant, examination of the translated passages suggests otherwise.

The original print contains a series of glosses that associate specific scenes with biblical passages extracted from the books of Matthew, Job, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes. The glosses likely held a didactic function and became a common inclusion in mass-produced engravings illustrating biblical subjects. When prints arrived in the Americas, local artists dealt with the texts in different ways. As we saw in the Andahuaylillas mural, Riaño (or his assistants) copied the Latin passages into keys at the bottom of each scene. The transcriptions are now badly deteriorated but from the vestiges that remain, it appears that the painters were unconcerned with textual accuracy, as a number of the passages contain spelling errors. Nevertheless, the use of Latin held great cultural cachet for Andean artists and patrons, even if most could not understand it. Diego Cusi Guaman, for instance, signed his name in Latin, “Do. Diego Cusi Guaman me fecit,” as a way of aligning himself with other accomplished artists like the Italian émigré painter Mateo Pérez de Alesio. Escalante purposely translated the passages into Spanish rather than leaving them in a pristine Latin. Indeed, he was not the first to translate the original glosses in this engraving, as Diego Quispe Tito’s *The Last Judgment* contains fully translated passages from the original (fig. 4.23).

Both Quispe Tito and Escalante omitted a few of the original passages and removed the name of the biblical text and verse number included at the end of each passage. Escalante probably viewed Quispe Tito’s canvas and may have even copied the translations from him. The text that frames the top of Escalante’s Hell scene (fig. 4.24) can be found prominently written verbatim across Quispe Tito’s canvas to demarcate the boundary between Hell and earth (fig. 4.25). Nevertheless, I believe that Escalante still had access to Thomassin’s original print because of certain features found in his mural

that do not appear in Quispe Tito's painting such as the sun and the moon that appear in the upper left and right corners of the composition.<sup>95</sup> At the lower right both Escalante and Quispe Tito include a passage on the torments of Hell taken from Matthew 13:42. In Quispe Tito's painting the passage reads: "Arrojanlos a la / guerra del fuego eternal / alli sera el llanto a / el crugir de dientes" [Throw them into the / furnace of eternal fire / where there will be weeping to / the gnashing of teeth] (fig. 4.26). Escalante's text reads slightly differently: "Arojaranlos ala ho [sic] guerra / Alli el cruger de dientes eternal / Alli sera el llanto / los Poderosos Padeseran Poderosos tormentos" [Throw them into the furnace of fire / where there will be the eternal gnashing of teeth / where there will be weeping / the powerful will suffer powerful torments] (fig. 4.27). Escalante takes poetic license in his rearrangement of the text to begin consecutive refrains with "Allí." His placement of the text also reveals conscious consideration of its potential meanings. Whereas Quispe Tito places the text in the register depicting the earth immediately above the Hell mouth (similarly to its placement in Thomassin's engraving), Escalante places it in the maws of its vicious jaws. The "gnashing of teeth" therefore takes on additional metaphorical significance. The text and the mouth, placed side by side, mutually reinforce the dual primacy of written and pictorial communication.

Moreover, Escalante tacks on a final additional sentence that does not appear in Diego Quispe Tito's composition: "The powerful will suffer powerful torments." This phrase, which comes from Wisdom 6:7, is printed in Latin along the lower edge of Thomassin's engraving: "Potentes Potenter Tormenta Patientur" (fig. 4.28). Escalante's

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<sup>95</sup> Quispe Tito may have refrained from including the sun and the moon because of seventeenth-century religious dictates that prohibited the representation of sun, moon, and stars in religious painting due to their perceived association with Andean "idolatry." For further discussion, see Chapter 1 as well as earlier discussion of Areche in this chapter.

decision to combine the biblical phrases at such a key location in the composition further strengthens his message of divine justice. The once mighty bodies falling into the maws of Hell mouth are sucked in against their will by a powerful wind. Escalante visually renders their punishment as an inevitability. The scene offers a striking counterpoint to the depiction of souls admitted to Heaven who patiently wait in line as they file through the gates. While subtle, Escalante's manipulation of biblical texts continues the thread of social critique that runs through his compositions. He clearly identifies the types of individuals who will finally receive their ultimate fate on Judgment Day as individuals who abused their power in life. The wealthy sinners featured in their moments of death are ultimately brought to justice by the hand of God.

Again, Escalante's message does not deviate from the tenets of Christianity, which further complicates the picture when attempting to tease apart the specificities of his visual polemic. The current paradigm guiding scholarship on colonial Latin American art privileges contradictions between imposed orthodoxy and local practice; scholars often investigate the "slippages" that can be found in this misalignment, whether manifested in text or image. Indeed, throughout this dissertation I have examined the divergences between mural paintings and their source prints as means to uncover artistic agency. While art historians working on this kind of material can navigate ruptures, slippages, and contradictions with relative ease, we seem less equipped to handle points of seamless parallelism. How can we believe that Escalante was perpetuating an alternative message if his imagery does not seem to depart in any substantial way from the standard Christian source materials from which he drew? I would argue that Escalante saw no contradiction. His piety and knowledge of Christian teachings are

evident in the extensiveness and complexity of his murals. As the vestibule murals have revealed, the tenets of Christianity have triumphed over all manifestations of sin. What makes his imagery subversive, then, is not in the framework within which evil is couched, but in his belief of who embodies it.

The previous murals under discussion revealed a number of provocative confluences of local history and tradition with Christian doctrine. Escalante's murals, by comparison, seem fairly unremarkable. They emulate medieval eschatological imagery of good and evil that had all but fallen out of favor by the early nineteenth century. At first glance, they provide an uncompromising, heavily moralizing message that fails to resonate with Peru's increasingly secularized population. A consideration of the nuances of his paintings, however, reveals Escalante's uncompromising radicalism. In a time of rampant censorship and continued social unrest in the aftermath of a brutally and violently suppressed anticolonial rebellion, Escalante produced a trenchant attack on the rebellion's victors on the walls of a church once associated with Tupac Amaru and his rebel forces. And he did so fluently in the language of Christianity. Unlike previous mural programs that inserted local indigenous themes through symbolism or compositional adjustment, Escalante narrated a grassroots history of native insurgency in an entirely Christian framework. While the outcomes of the rebellion did not fall in favor of the rebels, Escalante has managed to impose divine retribution through the painted image.

## CHAPTER 5

### TADEO ESCALANTE AND THE MURALS OF ACOMAYO

Tadeo Escalante's career did not end with his completion of the Huaro murals in 1802. While the details of his later artistic trajectory remain incomplete, Escalante spent the last years of his life in his hometown of Acomayo, where he completed a series of enigmatic murals in the aftermath of Peruvian Independence in 1821.<sup>1</sup> Coined the *Molino de la Creación* (Mill of Creation), *Molino de los Negros/Molino de la Pobreza* (Mill of the Blacks/Mill of Poverty), and *Molino de los Incas* (Mill of the Incas), Escalante's Acomayo murals differ most perceptibly from the murals discussed throughout the dissertation because of their location in secular spaces. The *Molino de la Creación* and *Molino de los Incas* functioned as water and wheat mills, respectively. The *Molino de la Pobreza*, despite the misleading name, was once a *panadería* (bakery) located near the center of town that produced bread from the wheat harvested from local fields.<sup>2</sup>

The Acomayo murals depart significantly from the scope of this dissertation on a number of criteria. First, their location in secular spaces distances the murals from a clear association with the original evangelizing mission of colonial Andean mural painting. While one of the three murals (*Molino de la Creación*) contains explicit Biblical references, they are all located in spaces associated with labor and economic production. Second, unlike the church murals discussed in previous chapters, we can

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<sup>1</sup> Although Peruvian Independence was officially declared by José de San Martín on July 28, 1821, Peru did not gain full emancipation from Spain until December 1824. The Peruvian victory over its Spanish colonizers was officially secured by Venezuelan Marshall Antonio José de Sucre at the Battle of Ayacucho.

<sup>2</sup> José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Banco Wiese, 1982), 254.

assume that the Acomayo mill murals did not attract a wide viewership. They most likely appealed to a restricted audience, given their small size and location on private property.<sup>3</sup> And finally, they postdate the colonial period by several years. The murals were painted around 1830, nearly a decade after Peruvian independence.<sup>4</sup> While the mill murals of Acomayo are wedded to an aesthetic tradition initiated in the colonial period, their relevance within the context of early Republican Peru remains undeniable. The murals approach themes of racial oppression (*Molino de la Pobreza*) and the primacy of the Inca past (*Molino de los Incas*) that would have been harshly censored had they been produced during the colonial period. Moreover, they make explicit references to post-Independence Peru through inclusion of certain symbols such as cannons and the Peruvian flag depicted in the *Molino de los Incas* that firmly place them outside of the colonial context.

Nevertheless, the Acomayo murals deserve mention for a number of reasons. They fit comfortably into the stylistic conventions set by Escalante and his contemporaries in the late colonial period of a flattened, “popular” aesthetic.<sup>5</sup> They also continue the dissertation’s narrative of mural production and social change, offering provocative statements on the intersections of Inca and Christian pasts with local post-colonial realities. The murals also complicate strict stylistic periodization as works of art situated at the interface of colonial/post-colonial worlds, executed by an artist who experienced both. But most importantly, the Acomayo murals drive our narrative of art

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<sup>3</sup> The Escalante family possesses ownership of the mills to this day.

<sup>4</sup> Mesa/Gisbert and others have proposed an estimated date of 1830 based on Escalante’s self-portrait bearing the same date in the church of Nuestra Señora de Belén, discussed below. See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:252.

<sup>5</sup> For further discussion of the development of a late colonial painting style in the Andes, see Chapters 1, 2, and 4.

and social change in the colonial Andes to a resounding crescendo; their provocative and polemical content accentuates the tremendous transformations murals underwent from tools of conversion to platforms for social critique. This chapter does not attempt a comprehensive analysis of Escalante's mill murals. Instead, I wish to flesh out his poorly understood late career by drawing connections between his work at Huaro and his later Acomayo commissions.

### **Tadeo Escalante's Career in Acomayo**

The town of Acomayo is located about 85 miles southeast of Cuzco in a temperate fertile valley ideal for the cultivation of wheat and corn. Acomayo is the name of a province and its capital nestled between the provinces of Quispicanchis to the east and Paruro to the west. In the colonial and early Republican period, Acomayo was a *doctrina* of the Quispicanchis province. In 1861 it was declared a separate province encompassing the districts of Pomacanchi, Sangarará, and Rondoncán. Tadeo Escalante was allegedly born in Acomayo and left his hometown to work in the city of Cuzco and its surrounding towns during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He returned to his hometown by the 1830s, where he died about ten years later. The archival evidence discussed in Chapter 4 offers persuasive links between the Escalante family and the indigenous elite of Acos and Acomayo, and Acomayo itself contains compelling visual evidence of Escalante's late career.

*Church of Nuestra Señora de Belén*

The church of Nuestra Señora de Belén is located near the center of the town of Acomayo (fig. 5.1). It is a small, humble church of simple construction made of adobe with a gabled tiled roof and a single bell tower. The interior of the church is whitewashed but one mural image remains on the left nave wall. The image features a self-portrait of Escalante rendered in profile, kneeling in prayer (fig. 5.2). His white ruffled shirt, black pants, and heeled boots suggest a desire to represent himself as man of high status and wealth. Above the image reads, “Se reedifico esta Capilla de Nuestra S.a de Belen, la rnto. y aliñ[ó]<sup>6</sup> El Maestro D.n Tadeo Escalante el año 1830.” (This Chapel of Our Lady of Belén was rebuilt, it was rented and adorned by the Master Don Tadeo Escalante in the year 1830). This caption suggests that Escalante was responsible for the decoration of the church. His supplicating position and signature draw from a long-standing tradition of donor portraits in the Andes, whereby the patrons of a painting or religious devotion pose with hands clasped in prayer. Such portraits often contain glosses describing the altruistic activities of the donors.<sup>7</sup>

This image speaks to the Escalante family’s economic powers, which allowed them to commission public works projects to beautify their hometown; in fact, in Tadeo’s case, it is an instance of self-commission as donor and artist. Although the rest of the

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<sup>6</sup> Although the current meaning of “aliñar” is to season or dress, according to the 1791 edition of a Spanish dictionary published by the Royal Academy of Madrid, it was defined as “adornar, hermosear, aderezar, componer” (adorn, beautify, garnish, compose). See *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1791), 54.

<sup>7</sup> For a recent study of donor portraits in colonial Peru, see Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, “Cult, Countenance, and Community: Donor Portraits from the Colonial Andes,” *Religion and the Arts* 15, no. 4 (2011): 429-59.

interior of the church is whitewashed,<sup>8</sup> the church likely once contained an extensive mural program.<sup>9</sup> Escalante's self-portrait in the church of Belén serves as an important key to delineating his later career in Acomayo. It establishes that Escalante was back in Acomayo and working there as a painter as early as 1830, providing us with proximate dates of his *molino* murals.<sup>10</sup>

### *Church of Nuestra Señora de la Natividad*

The church of Nuestra Señora de la Natividad is located on the main plaza of Acomayo, and serves as the principal parochial church for the town (fig. 5.3). The church contains vestiges of bright polychrome murals on the interior and exterior walls. Curiously, the church has not received any scholarly attention whatsoever despite its centrality within the town and decorative features that bear remarkable likeness to Escalante's *oeuvre*. A plaque on the exterior of the church reveals that it received renovations under the auspices of the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura (INC) in 2006. It

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<sup>8</sup> The whitewashing may have occurred in 1951, indicated by the label at the bottom of the image that reads, "Se reconstr[uyó] año 1951" (It was reconstructed in 1951). We can hypothesize, based on the early date and Acomayo's geographical isolation from major cities, that the renovations were conducted by local amateur artisans. Even today, towns outside of Cuzco's immediate orbit tend to receive a disproportionately low share of governmental and private funding for renovation of cultural patrimony because of their distance from the tourist circuit.

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, the ecclesiastical archives for Acomayo are incomplete. The Archivo Arzobispal of Cuzco possesses inventories and account books for the parishes of Acos and Huaqui, which are both located in the province of Acomayo, but not the churches of the town itself. Mesa and Gisbert attribute the murals of the church of Acos to Escalante based on stylistic similarities to his work at Huaró (*Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* 1:255). Their description of the church's mural program coincides perfectly with the inventory's description of the church's paintings of saints and the Doctors of the church from the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, the inventory states that the entire church of Acos was refabricated in 1833, which matches the chronology of Escalante's later career in the Acomayo region. See AAC, Acomayo, Libro de Fábrica e Inventario (1833-1869), n.p.

<sup>10</sup> A number of scholars have commented on Escalante's self-portrait at the church of Belén, usually as a point of comparison with his alleged self-portrait at Huaró integrated into the nave mural of Heaven. See Pablo Macera, "El arte mural cuzqueño, siglos XVI-XX," *Apuntes* 2 (1975): 99; and Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:252.

may have been at this time that the mural fragments were uncovered. Nevertheless, no publication produced between 2006 and the present has made mention of the murals. This omission from the scholarly literature underscores the necessity for further research on Acomayo's artistic patrimony.

While the majority of the church's interior is whitewashed, one of the church's side chapels contains a mural fragment of the Eye of Providence. Commonly known as the "all-seeing eye," the Eye of Providence consists of a human eye encased within a triangle (fig. 5.4). The Eye of Providence doubles as a Biblical and Masonic symbol related to the omnipotence of God.<sup>11</sup> In the Christian tradition, the triangle serves as a stand-in for the Holy Trinity. The symbolism holds a similar meaning in the Masonic tradition, with the eye representing the Great Architect of the Universe. The same symbol appears in Escalante's Huaró mural, *Allegory of Death* (fig. 5.5). Moreover, the red curtains flanking the Eye of Providence resemble those featured in the *Death in the House of Rich and Poor* and *Tree of Life* scenes at Huaró (see figs. 4.7 and 4.11). The visual resemblance of these symbols suggests Escalante's authorship of the Acomayo church murals. Moreover, the use of Masonic symbolism carries over into Escalante's *molino* murals, which I will discuss shortly.

The church also contains a mural on the exterior wall of the lateral entrance (fig. 5.6). Though it is badly deteriorated, one can discern three registers of indigenous elites, commoners, and ecclesiastics flanking each side of the entryway. The figures bear a likeness to Escalante's style in the color palette, use of black outlines, and the flatness and angularity of figures whose clothing falls stiffly and geometrically around their

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<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of Escalante's use of this symbol at Huaró, see Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes: la imagen del otro en la cultura andina* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 1999), 280.

bodies. The composition does not correspond precisely to the prevailing style at Huaro of undifferentiated masses of figures, however. The figures in the Acomayo mural are much larger in scale than their Huaro counterparts. At Huaro, Escalante seemed to prefer large multifigural compositions that provided the illusion of expansive interior and exterior spaces. A preference in Acomayo for spatially compressed compositions populated by large figures may not indicate a different hand, however. As an older man working at the end of his life, Escalante may have preferred larger figures that were easier to see and delineate. This preference extends to his *molino* murals as well (particularly at the *Molino de los Incas*, discussed below), further strengthening the likelihood of his authorship of the Acomayo church murals.

Vestiges of three figures at the apex of the composition are almost completely worn away, but the blue and white robe of the figure to the far right reveals her identity as the Virgin Mary. We can assume that the central figure was Jesus and the figure to the left would have been St. Joseph. Given that the Virgin of the Nativity serves as the patron of the church, it would have been appropriate to depict the Holy Family surrounded by local devotees. The praying faithful are all depicted with indigenous features and a rich brown skin tone, leaving no ambiguity as to their racial and ethnic identity. Several individuals are labeled by name, but unfortunately, all but one remains illegible due to the far distance from which I was required to take the photograph (the area remains inaccessible to visitors). One individual to the right side of the entrance is identified as Don Y. P. Valle. His hair is long and pulled back, indicative of his indigenous heritage, and he wears black trousers, a white overcoat and striped shawl (fig. 5.7). It appears that a prominent indigenous family of Acomayo with the surname Valle

may have commissioned the mural. The individuals represented may, in fact, be related to the Field Marshall José del Valle, an important royalist leader who proved instrumental in capturing and imprisoning Tupac Amaru.<sup>12</sup> Further investigation of the names printed on the mural and archival research on the history of the Valle family in Acomayo could yield interesting insights on the intersections of power, patronage, and the aftermath of the Tupac Amaru Rebellion in rebel-dominated towns.

### **Molino de la Creación**

The *Molino de la Creación* is a former water mill located on the outskirts of town containing Old Testament scenes of creation. The left wall contains five narrative panels illustrating the following scenes, from the entrance to the back wall: the creation of Adam, God showing paradise to Adam and Eve, original sin, and expulsion from paradise (fig. 5.8). The right-hand wall contains scenes of Noah's Ark, Noah's sacrifice after the flood, the burning bush, and the sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 5.9). The facing wall of the mill features portraits of the four cardinal virtues: Justice, Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance (fig. 5.10).<sup>13</sup> The portraits are grouped in pairs that flank a large empty space which may have originally contained a canvas painting, textile hanging, or a now-lost mural.

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<sup>12</sup> See Peter F. Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 119. For a compilation of documentary sources related to del Valle's activities during the Tupac Amaru Rebellion, see *Documentos para la historia de la sublevación de José Gabriel de Tupac-Amaru: cacique de la provincia de Tinta, en el Perú* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Estado, 1836), 153–55.

<sup>13</sup> See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:253. In a later publication, Teresa Gisbert assigns them different identities. She proposes that the two figures on the left represent Life and Death while the figures on the right represent Knowledge and Philosophy. See Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes*, 170. Flores Ochoa et al. argue that the figure Mesa/Gisbert cited as Prudence is actually Fortitude and that the figure they identified as Temperance represents Aristippus, an important follower of Socrates based on its similarity to a mural of philosophers at the University of San Antonio Abad in Cuzco that dates to around 1760. See Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1993), 265.

The Old Testament scenes are set within an exuberant landscape of rolling green hills, lush trees, multicolored birds, horses, mules, and elephants. The color palette consists mostly of greens, browns, and reds—natural pigments that derived from the local soils of Acomayo. The right wall features an especially dynamic image of Noah’s Ark with a diagonal ramp descending into the foreground surrounded by pairs of birds, llamas, guinea pigs, tapirs, vizcachas, sheep, and lizards waiting to board (fig. 5.11). Representations of Biblical scenes of creation are rare in colonial Andean art, which places far more emphasis on New Testament stories narrating the life of Christ. An acknowledgment of Christianity’s Jewish foundations would have been inappropriate within the context of colonial Latin American evangelization efforts. Moreover, far fewer prints featuring Old Testament themes were exported to the Americas to serve as models for paintings. Nevertheless, some examples exist in colonial Andean painting, particularly from the late colonial period. Escalante’s contemporary and possible master, Marcos Zapata, produced a painting of Adam and Eve located in the Cuzco Cathedral (fig. 5.12).<sup>14</sup> Escalante’s inclusion of Andean fauna such as llamas and vizcachas into a foundational Old Testament story demonstrates a desire to extend Andean history deep into a Judeo-Christian past. While the murals of Pitumarca discussed in Chapter 3 stage an encounter between an Inca creation myth and Christ’s baptism, Escalante pushes the encounter even further into the annals of history.

Genre scenes of locals dancing, feasting, riding horses, fighting bulls, and playing instruments form a small register running along the bottom of the Creation scenes on both walls of the mill (figs. 5.13a and 5.13b). Flores Ochoa and his colleagues have managed

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<sup>14</sup> Alba Choque Porras, “El Molino del Génesis Cristiano. Tadeo Escalante,” *Forma: Cultura Andina* 2 (2009): 51.

to identify some of the genre scenes with even greater specificity, pointing out that some of the dances depicted resemble that of the famous Peruvian *marinera* popular on the north coast as well as the *huayno* dance of the Andean region.<sup>15</sup> These scenes add an additional layer of local flavor to the mural program and provide a co-narrative to the religious scenes above. The genre scenes offer a sense of movement and activity, as if to provide visual evidence of the vibrancy of life that emerged as a result of God's divine creation. They contain few references to the death or destruction that featured so prominently in Escalante's Huaro murals produced about three decades prior. Despite the recent wars of Independence that threw the Viceroyalty of Peru into military chaos and instability, the mill provides idyllic scenes of economic productivity and social order.

### **Molino de la Pobreza**

If the *Molino de la Creación* focused on the beauty of creation and the societal order that ensued from it, the *Molino de la Pobreza* provides us with creation's ontological twin: destruction and disorder. The murals depict the mistreatment and dehumanization of enslaved blacks—a subject rarely, if ever, represented in colonial Andean art.<sup>16</sup> The establishment of an independent Peruvian nation did not bring about the immediate abolishment of slavery. Slavery continued to be practiced in Peru for another thirty-three years after independence until it was officially abolished in 1854 under president Ramón Castilla. Highland Peru did not have a large slave presence

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<sup>15</sup> Jorge Flores Ochoa, Elizabeth Kuon Arce, and Roberto Samanez Argumedo, "De la evangelización al incanismo. La pintura mural del sur andino," *Histórica* 15, no. 2 (1991): 186.

<sup>16</sup> There do exist a few exceptions, however. Pablo Macera discusses images of slavery in a later colonial church mural in rural Bolivia. See *Arte y lucha social: los murales de Ambaná (Bolivia)* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Dirección de Proyección Social, Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, 1980).

compared to the coast, and by the mid-nineteenth century the slave population had dwindled considerably. In 1850, the total number of slaves living in Peru amounted to 19,000.<sup>17</sup> We can assume that the Cuzco region, which traditionally relied on indigenous peasants to carry out agricultural labor, contained only a fraction of that population. Nevertheless, Escalante may have encountered Afro-Peruvians living in the region. Antonio Oblitas, a *zambo*<sup>18</sup> slave living in Tungasuca, for instance, played a critical role in the Tupac Amaru Rebellion.<sup>19</sup> The original purpose of the *Molino de la Pobreza* also may provide insight into Escalante's choice of subject matter. *Panaderías* were often run by slaves in nineteenth-century Peru. Historian Christine Hünefeldt discusses the role of *panaderías* in colonial and Republican Lima as makeshift prisons that doubled as labor camps for slaves and free blacks. She notes that they were subjected to harsh working conditions, forced to produce bread around the clock with severe repercussions for leaving the premises.<sup>20</sup>

The *Molino de la Pobreza* is currently in a state of total disrepair and can no longer be viewed by the public.<sup>21</sup> Pablo Macera and Mesa/Gisbert published a few images of the mill's interior, which serve as some of the only surviving records of

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<sup>17</sup> Carole Boyce Davies, "Abolitionism in the African Diaspora," *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 6.

<sup>18</sup> *Zambo* was a term used in the colonial period to refer to individuals of mixed African and indigenous descent.

<sup>19</sup> Oblitas was Antonio de Arriaga's slave responsible for his capture and hanging under the orders of Tupac Amaru's wife, Micaela Bastidas. See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

<sup>20</sup> Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor Among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854*, trans. Alexandra Stern (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 187–97.

<sup>21</sup> Flores Ochoa et al. note that the mill is greatly deteriorated due to years of neglect and mistreatment on the part of the local community. See Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 258.

Escalante's work there (fig. 5.14).<sup>22</sup> Access to unpublished photographs taken of the mill would prove instrumental in fully reconstructing the mural program. With the little photographic documentation currently available to us, we can at least deduce that the murals conform to Escalante's style and participate in a broader narrative initiated across the mills of Acomayo. The murals depict Afro-Peruvians engaged in various tasks of labor. The mere fact that themes of exploitation are illustrated in the very locus of black enslavement and punishment in colonial Peru speaks to Escalante's commitment to addressing social issues through the painted image. We do not know for certain whether black Peruvians were placed into forced labor regimes at the Acomayo *panadería* as were their Limeñan counterparts. The theme, however, carries great local relevance, as Acomayo was a major producer of wheat in the colonial and Republican periods. Grain and bread from the town were exported throughout the Cuzco region. Escalante's access to such a facility implies that it was family-owned. A legal document from 1804 states that Juan de Escalante, relative of Mariano Escalante and native of Acomayo, owned a *panadería* in the city of Cuzco.<sup>23</sup> This suggests that the Escalante family was involved in a regional bread-making business. Further archival research could help to uncover the Escalante family's ownership of the *panadería* to clarify the specific circumstances under which Tadeo was commissioned to paint the murals.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Pablo Macera published a short introductory article on the *Molino de la Pobreza* in *Siete Días*, a Sunday supplement of the Lima newspaper, *La Prensa*. While back issues of the newspaper itself are relatively easy to access, I have not encountered any institutions or individuals in possession of this obscure magazine. The citation for the article is as follows: Pablo Macera, "Otro mural de Tadeo Escalante: La Pobreza," *La Prensa*, November 1975, sec. Siete días del Perú y del mundo.

<sup>23</sup> ARC, Inventario de Protocolos, Sección Notorial, Escribano Mariano Melendez Paez (1802-1805), Prot. 180, n.p.

<sup>24</sup> Alternatively, he may have painted the Acomayo murals under his own accord. Jorge Flores Ochoa and his collaborators have proposed that the *molinos* may have been used as meeting spaces for

## Molino de los Incas

The *Molino de los Incas* completes the triumvirate of mill murals in Acomayo, featuring full-sized portraits of the Inca monarchs. It has received a disproportionate share of scholarly attention for its level of preservation, accessibility,<sup>25</sup> and subject matter. The *Molino de los Incas*, by its very subject matter, has often become decontextualized and inserted into a larger narrative of Inca portrait painting rather than as part of a triad of related murals.<sup>26</sup> Treating the murals in isolation, I believe, does a disservice to Escalante's capacity for constructing complex metanarratives both within and across murals.<sup>27</sup> Much of the iconography found in Huaró such as the Eye of

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local Freemason-esque secret societies to which Tadeo belonged. See Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 267–68. Teresa Gisbert has made a similar proposition regarding the mill murals, arguing that they served as “patriotic loggias.” She compares the painted altar in the *Molino de los Incas* containing a cross and flanked by two attendants bearing ladders with an unpublished manuscript by the Bolivian president and Freemason José Ballivián (r. 1841–1847) that describes a Masonic meeting that took place in La Paz in 1820. According to his account, the Freemasons used an altar adorned with similar details and members of the secret society took on pseudonyms of former Inca and Aztec monarchs. This led her to conclude that Escalante's mural in the *Molino de los Incas* staged a similar kind of event in which local initiates dressed up as Inca alter egos. See Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes*, 275–76; 279–81. See also her more recent writings on the topic: “Iconografía mitológica y masónica a fines del virreinato e inicios de la República,” in *Visión y Símbolos: del virreinato criollo a la República Peruana*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2006), 187–91. While I find Gisbert's argument to be compelling, I believe that we can extract additional layers of meaning from the murals that transcend a purely Masonic interpretation. Additional research on the spread of secret societies and Freemasonry in the Cuzco region would also help add historical weight to the arguments put forth by Flores Ochoa and Gisbert.

<sup>25</sup> The *Molino de la Creación* is owned by a family that travels regularly between Acomayo and Cuzco, making it difficult to coordinate visits to the site. The *Molino de los Incas*, on the other hand, is owned by Harry Flores Escalante, a full-time resident of the town.

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, Miguel León-Portilla, Edna Acosta-Belén, and J. Jorge Klor de Alva, *De palabra y obra en el nuevo mundo. Tramas de la identidad* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1995), 113; Ramón Gutiérrez and Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales, *América y España, imágenes para una historia: independencias e identidad, 1805-1925* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 2006), 14; and Natalia Majluf, “De la rebelión al museo: Genealogías y retratos de los Incas, 1781-1900,” in *Los Incas, reyes del Perú*, ed. Thomas Cummins et al. (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2005), 254-316.

<sup>27</sup> Flores Ochoa et al. and Santiago Sebastián have called for the importance of studying the murals as a group, although their urgings have remained relatively unheeded by subsequent scholars. See Flores Ochoa, Kuon Arce, and Samanez Argumedo, *Pintura mural en el sur andino*, 258; Santiago Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y barroco* (Madrid: Alianza, 1981), 355.

Providence and the Tree of Life resurface in his later work at Acomayo. Tracing these continuities allows us to gain a better understanding of the development of Escalante's artistic career. The *molino* murals should be treated with a similar attention to their intervisual relationships.

On the exterior of the mill is a representation of Saint Christopher, who probably served as its patron saint (fig. 5.15a). On the interior, the first image one confronts upon entering the space is an altar with a cross accompanied by instruments of the passion (figs. 5.15b and 5.16). To the left and right of the altar are personifications of the four elements: wind, fire, water, and earth (fig. 5.17). On the left and right walls are fourteen portraits of Inca rulers from the first mythical king, Manco Capac, to Atahualpa and Huascar, the half-brothers who competed for the throne in the years preceding capitulation of the Inca empire (fig. 5.18). On the interior pediment is a representation of the Tree of Life, threatening to be hacked down by the skeletal personification of death holding an axe (fig. 5.19).

The genealogy of Inca rulers along both walls of the mill loosely corresponds to a print engraved by the Limeño Alonso de la Cueva based on a drawing by Miguel de Adame from 1728, which features half portraits of the Inca rulers followed by their Spanish successors (fig. 5.20).<sup>28</sup> The print, in turn, is based on a painting of the same subject located in the Lima Cathedral. Two major elements from Cueva's print informed Escalante's depiction: the headdresses and the axe-like implements that the Inca rulers hold in their hands. The odd-looking black hat is a spin-off of a Muslim turban with a feather coming out to add an "Amerindian" touch. The axe likely came from the Cueva

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<sup>28</sup> Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 2nd ed. (La Paz: Gisbert y Cía-Fundación BHN, 1994), 173.

portrait, and resembles the same axe that the personification of death uses both in the Acomayo mural and at Huaro.

Given that Cueva's print lacks color and only features half-length portraits, it is evident that Escalante must have used other sources to complete his Inca figures.<sup>29</sup> The inspiration for the stance and clothing of the Incas likely came from eighteenth century portraits of Inca nobles circulating throughout Cuzco, particularly among members of the indigenous elite.<sup>30</sup> In the aftermath of the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, almost all public works featuring Inca subject matter were destroyed or confiscated under the orders of the Royal Inspector José Antonio de Areche.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, noble portraits and genealogies were safeguarded in private residences. Escalante was probably exposed to these images due to his familial connections with the indigenous elite of Acos. The lion-faced masks placed at the knees and shoulders and sun pectorals display clear connections with noble portraits such as the iconic painting of Alonso Chiguan Topa (fig. 5.21). Moreover, the decorative registers and pastel color schemes of the *uncus* that Escalante's Incas wear resemble colonial tunics much more closely than their pre-Hispanic counterparts.

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<sup>29</sup> Nenita Ponce de León Elphick raises the possibility that Escalante modeled his Inca portraits on carved statues, which would account for why they are depicted standing on bases labeled with their names and a short description. I agree that multiple sources may have informed Escalante's Inca series, and hope that further investigation will help to verify these connections. See Nenita Ponce de León Elphick, "Memory, Presence, and Power: The Social Life of Peruvian Portraits" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007), 68.

<sup>30</sup> Scholars have published widely on colonial-era portraits of the Inca monarchs and their descendants. See John Howland Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," in *The Civilizations of Ancient America*, ed. Sol Tax (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1967), 258-68; Tom Cummins, "We Are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial Kurakakuna," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 203-70; Carol Damian, "Inka Noble Portraits: The Art of Renewal," *Secolas Annals* 28 (1998): 13-20; and Carolyn Dean, "Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru," ed. Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2002), 80-103.

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter 4 for further discussion of Areche's decree.

Significantly, Escalante chose to apply to his historical Inca portraits precisely the aspects of the noble portraits that corresponded to the postconquest period. Lions are Old World animals, and did not feature in Andean art until the sixteenth century. Teresa Gisbert argues that they are a distinctly colonial development with no true correspondence to pre-Hispanic Incas; sun pectorals didn't make their way into representations of Incas until the seventeenth century, and masks placed onto the joints until the eighteenth.<sup>32</sup>

Although Escalante conforms to some of the conventions set by late colonial portraiture, he also breaks them to meet his own ideological agendas. For example, in almost every extant painting of the Inca dynastic lineage, Atahualpa is shown in profile, passing his scepter to Charles V (fig. 5.22; see also fig. 5.20). This visual strategy of placing Atahualpa in an offering gesture served to normalize the conquest as a natural transfer of power. This convention was followed in almost all representations of the dynastic lineage until the mid-to late-nineteenth century. Escalante instead chose to depict Atahualpa without any reference whatsoever to the Spanish monarchs who would succeed him. Instead, Atahualpa stands next to a special coat of arms with Inca, Spanish, and Republican symbolism.

And instead of being represented behind an empty frame, Atahualpa hovers above an identifiably colonial landscape consisting of houses and a group of men on horseback (fig. 5.23). Though deteriorated, the reference to uniformed men on horseback, as Gisbert and others have observed, could easily serve as a reference to the Tupac Amaru

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<sup>32</sup> Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas*, 120–24.

Rebellion or the recent wars of Independence.<sup>33</sup> Escalante also juxtaposes pre-Hispanic Inca with contemporary symbolism through his two depictions of the *castillo* (fig. 5.24). This somewhat elusive symbol has been interpreted as a metonymic representation of colonial Cuzco, as Sacsayhuaman, or the Sunturhuasi.<sup>34</sup> The *castillo* was often featured in miniature form atop the Inca royal crown and in colonial-period indigenous family crests. Two of the most historically significant Inca rulers, Pachacuti and Viracocha Inca, are shown flanking the castle with tattered flags hanging down. Pachacuti pokes at it using the pointed end of his axe, wearing a slight grimace on his face. Viracocha appears equally ambivalent, with the sharp side of the axe pointing dangerously close to his face. Why would the individuals responsible for the consolidation and expansion of the Inca empire be represented with such a forlorn looking symbol of Cuzco?

In striking contrast, Atahualpa and a *coya* stand next to a monumental coat of arms that contains a depiction of the same type of *castillo* in the lower left quadrant (fig. 5.25). But this time it is represented with proudly outstretched flags and an even larger sun at the top. Located at the center point of the coat of arms we find a miniature portrait of Escalante himself. This triumphant depiction of Atahualpa in contradistinction to a somewhat pathetic-looking Viracocha and Pachacuti could be, perhaps, due to Escalante's personal connection to Atahualpa, from whom he allegedly claimed direct descent.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo," 288.

<sup>34</sup> Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 130–34.

<sup>35</sup> Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:249.

This depiction could also point to a larger issue of repositioning Inca history into a new narrative, in which Atahualpa does not pass the reins of power onto a Spanish monarch, but initiates a new era of the Inca into the Independence period. Although the Tupac Amaru rebellion was ultimately quelled by the Spanish with the aid of royalist *curacas*, Escalante uses imagery of rebellion here as a reinforcement of the primacy of the Inca over a 300-year time span. We thus see a fascinating juxtaposition of representations that bridge two different worlds: Atahualpa straddled the pre-Hispanic Inca and the postconquest world; the Tupac Amaru II rebellion sought to resurrect Inca power from the ashes of conquest; while Escalante has just experienced the transition from colonial rule to independence.

The scenic imagery that accompanies Mama Huaco and Mama Ocllo similarly mimics the Andeanized Eden found in the *Molino de la Creación*, with lush vegetation, a llama, and a large sculptural rock that appears to represent a *huaca* (fig. 5.26). We also see the imposition of subtle Inca overtones in Christian scenes. For example, the Tree of Life scene is an adaptation of his earlier one at Huaro (see fig. 4.11), with a few modifications. While the Huaro scene features a background cityscape, it is almost completely covered up by figures and vegetation in the foreground. The Acomayo version, in contrast, is much more stark, with the figures more spaced out, allowing for the display of an entire scenic panorama. Behind the figures in the foreground, we see a conglomeration of tower-like buildings, many with domed roofs, bearing little resemblance to the cityscape of colonial Cuzco or its environs. Although the inspiration for the architectural forms may have come from a European source, another compelling possibility lies in their potential relation to Inca storage houses. As we can see from

Guaman Poma's drawing, "Storehouses of the Inka: *Collca*," Escalante's backdrop for the tree of life scene could have derived from an Inca source (fig. 5.27). Escalante is attempting to relocate biblical scenes against an Inca backdrop to provide an image of Inca civilization as timeless and transcendent.<sup>36</sup> If we consider the significance of the scene in relation to its visual construction, we may obtain yet another clue to Escalante's *modus operandi*.

Unlike the tree of life at Huaro, the example at Acomayo features an entire community, with the implication that death threatens to destroy all of humanity, not just the sinners (fig. 5.28). Other images throughout the mill function to visually allude to a sense of universality and infinitely deep, interlocking time spans. For example, Teresa Gisbert has argued that the images of the four elements—earth, water, wind, and fire—serve to encompass the whole of the world, in all of its essences. But this is clearly a universe turned inside out; one in which Viracocha and Pachacuti govern a failing empire, yet Atahualpa stands triumphant, with a mixed emblem of an independent, Christian, and Inca Peru, in which pre-Hispanic Incas exist in an eternal present while the population at large faces their untimely death. Although this juxtaposition of scenes seems contradictory, there is an internal logic to it.

While Inca only existed as an identity and an empire for less than 100 years, at the tail end of an Andean prehistory that spanned millennia, its cosmology, like any other, traces its history to the beginning of time. It was not until the years immediately following Independence, when Escalante created this mural, that Inca history could reclaim its universality, and share a conceptual space with the Christian world. Instead of attempting to mediate between two potentially oppositional identities through the creation

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<sup>36</sup> Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas*, 173.

of a “third space,” or a hybrid product, the Christian Inca operates as a unitary being. It is firmly entrenched in two worlds that have finally found the opportunity to collapse into one another. The return to origins—granting legitimacy not to Inca descendants who attempt to bridge the colonial present with the Inca past, but to the pre-Hispanic lineage—went hand-in-hand with the aims of the Inca nationalist movement, which sought to resurrect the glories of a fallen empire.

In a period of transition from colonial rule to Independence, and in the aftermath of rebellions that impacted towns like Acomayo with indomitable force, Escalante devised a new formula for visualizing Peru’s past, present, and future. He established a new symbolic space for the Inca while drawing from traditions for representing him established in the sixteenth century. It is important to realize, however, that these “traditions” were also colonial inventions, whose permutations respond as much, if not more, to contemporary concerns than to the pre-Hispanic past. Escalante’s double recontextualized Inca, then, visually responds to nineteenth-century anxieties about the role of the past during a momentous era of transition by inserting himself into a new version of history that would secure his primacy into the future.

When taken together, the *Molino de la Creación*, *Molino de la Pobreza*, and *Molino de los Incas* participate in an enigmatic narrative that endeavors to encompass all aspects of Andean existence: the creation of man; the rise, fall, and resurrection of the Inca empire; the oppression of man; and man’s ultimate death. The mills lend themselves to metaphors of creation and its undoing. The *Molino de la Creación*, as stated previously, functioned as a water mill. Water is a powerful elemental force associated with transcendence and movement. Water also merges with wheat, the grain milled at the

*Molino de los Incas*. The dough created through the union of water produces bread, the staple food produced and sold in the *Molino de la Pobreza*. Escalante seems to be making the claim that the backbones of Andean civilization—the Christian story of creation (water) and the foundational Inca empire (wheat)—ultimately produce the vehicle of oppression (bread). Chapter 4 highlighted Escalante’s use of bread as a symbol of a false Eucharist and indicator of worldly excesses. In his *molino* series, he continues this thread not through direct representation in the murals, but in his strategic choice of locale. It is curious, however, that Escalante would choose to couch a societal critique in the guise of bread in light of the fact that wheat was Acomayo’s staple crop. The murals raise a number of unanswered questions, but what we can discern is that Escalante pushed the practice of mural painting to unimaginable heights. No longer destined for religious spaces, his murals tackle fundamental questions of human origins and its ultimate destiny through a dynamic mixture of religious, popular, and Masonic iconography. The *molino* series offers a final chapter on a rich history of Andean mural painting that remains wedded to its origins yet fixes its gaze firmly on an uncertain postcolonial future.

## CONCLUSION

This dissertation has sought to demonstrate the social, political, and art historical relevance of colonial Andean mural painting over a period of nearly 200 years.

Ambitious in scope, it does not, however, attempt to replicate the existing surveys by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, Pablo Macera, or Jorge Flores Ochoa, Roberto Samanez Argumedo, and Elizabeth Kuon Arce. Rather, it supplements the broad strokes sketched out by previous scholars with in-depth analysis of specific mural programs adorning the Cuzco-area churches of Andahuaylillas, Urcos, Pitumarca, and Huaró. The choice to “connect the dots” between murals disparate in time produced large historical gaps that were difficult to overcome. Nevertheless, whatever shortcomings surfaced as a result of the project’s extensive timeline were offset by the benefits reaped from a perspective that alternated between micro and macro analysis of specific mural programs, their interrelationships, and large-scale changes over time. Attention to the subtleties of a given mural program yielded insights regarding its broader sociocultural relevance and the agency exercised by the artist(s) who created it.

One of the dissertation’s primary objectives was to carve out a discursive space for colonial Andean muralism. Murals defy easy insertion into histories of painting or architecture; while they incorporate aspects of both, they form a third category guided by a separate set of conventions for viewing and experiencing them. The murals of Andahuaylillas and Huaró demonstrated the importance of the human body as an axis from which viewers interpreted pictorial space. The *Camino del cielo e infierno* of Andahuaylillas was organized into *hanan* and *hurin* sectors according to one’s point of entry into the scene rather than the internal dynamics of the composition. The entrance

wall murals of Huaró consisting of *Death in the House of Rich and Poor* and the *Tree of Life* similarly operate along diagonal axes that intersect in one's body as s/he stands within the liminal space of the church's entryway. Andean murals engage with the viewer at a visceral level. Through their simultaneous immensity and intimacy, they are able to project images on walls that far outsize the human body, yet also envelop and shelter it. Victor Turner's ideas on liminality and the anthropology of performance are particularly apt here. He writes:

Public reflexivity is also concerned with what I have called 'liminality.' This term, literally 'being-on-a-threshold,' means a state or process which is betwixt-and-between the normal, day-to-day cultural and social states and processes of getting and spending, preserving law and order, and registering structural status.<sup>1</sup>

Turner defines "public reflexivity" as acts of human communication that include performance, dance, and gesturing, along with "painting, sculpture, and the fashioning of symbolic objects."<sup>2</sup> In other words, artistic practices should be understood as endeavors whose creation and consumption involve deliberate human action rather than passive contemplation. Murals of the colonial Andes command public reflexivity through their associations with various cognitive processes.

First and foremost, murals engage with their audience at the visual level.

Throughout this dissertation I have highlighted the cultural specificity—the "Andeanness"—of mural viewing practices through a consideration of essence (*camay*), materiality, and the intersections of viewership and collective memory. The evangelizing content of religious murals and the types of social codes they attempted to enforce at

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<sup>1</sup> Victor Turner, "Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6, no. 4 (1979): 465.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

times ran counter to Andean modes of visual consumption. For example, the depictions of Andeans engaged in idolatrous acts (according to Christian precepts) in the Andahuaylillas murals were created using local *tierras de colores* (colored earth)<sup>3</sup> and likely painted by the hand of an indigenous assistant to Luis de Riaño. The image is thus made up of intersecting and even contradictory components that were comprehended differently (or overlooked altogether) depending on the cultural perspective informing one's gaze. Deborah Poole's attention to the reflexivity of the Andean gaze with respect to modernity and early photography also bears relevance for murals produced in the preceding centuries. She argues,

it is necessary to abandon that theoretical discourse which sees 'the gaze'—and hence the act of seeing—as a singular or one-sided instrument of domination and control. Instead, to explore the political uses of images—their relationship to power—I analyze the intricate and sometimes contradictory layering of relationships, attitudes, sentiments, and ambitions through which European and Andean peoples have invested images with meaning and value.<sup>4</sup>

Poole asserts that the direction and means by which one asserts his/her gaze can be an empowering act, and one that emerges as the result of different forms of engagement with an image.

Murals were not passively and silently viewed, but were often integrated into oral discourse. Ramón Mujica Pinilla notes that priests would use paintings of Hell to visually punctuate their sermons on the tortures that awaited the unfaithful.<sup>5</sup> As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, sermons frequently evoked vivid imagery whose painted

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<sup>3</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, *tierras de colores* had special ceremonial significance among Andeans and were often blown into the air as ritual offerings.

<sup>4</sup> Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7–8.

<sup>5</sup> Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “‘Reading without a Book’—On Sermons, Figurative Art, and Visual Culture in the Viceroyalty of Peru,” in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton Pruitt (Milan: Skira, 2006), 46–47.

analogues could easily be found within the churches where priests delivered them. Moreover, prints by the Wierix brothers and Father Jerónimo Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagenes* (1593), which formed the basis of numerous colonial Latin American religious compositions, served as memory aids; each scene was labeled with a letter that corresponded to a specific biblical passage listed in a key at the bottom of the image. The use of the senses in conjunction with viewing religious images possesses deep roots in European spiritual discourse.<sup>6</sup> St. Ignatius of Loyola was the first to introduce these techniques to private devotion in his famous *Spiritual Exercises* written in 1522-1524 and published in 1548. But when these prints arrived in the Americas, private devotion transformed into public instruction. Perhaps the most famous example of the use of devotional prints to inculcate religious memory in colonial Latin America is the Franciscan missionary Pedro de Gante, who founded the school of San José de los Naturales in Mexico City for the instruction of indigenous Mexicans. His student Diego Valadés, a Mexican-born Franciscan monk, illustrated Gante's use of images in the instruction of natives, which he cogently illustrated in a pair of engravings included in his publication *Rhetorica Christiana*, published in 1579.<sup>7</sup> We lack comparable historical documentation for the Andean context, but the writings of priests such as Juan Pérez

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 45–47; and Christine Göttler, *Last Things: Art and the Religious Imagination in the Age of Reform* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 13–15.

<sup>7</sup> Scholars have published widely on the contributions of Gante and Valadés. For a sampling of publications that provide an art historical perspective on their use of images in religious instruction in colonial Mexico, see Thomas Cummins, "From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Crosscultural Translation," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 158–66; Samuel Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 114–16; and Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Picturing Prints in Early Modern New Spain," *The Americas* 64, no. 3 (2008): 328–35.

Bocanegra suggest that this practice was equally pervasive in the Viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>8</sup> The murals of Andahuaylillas and Huaro contain texts that were almost certainly integrated into sermons. These texts would likely have been read aloud by a priest or a literate religious layman to facilitate the viewing experience of non-literate congregations.

It is important to consider, however, that at the same time that texts accompanying mural images were integrated into oral discourse initiated by clergymen, some murals also recalled Andean oral traditions through pictorial references. The murals at the churches of Urcos and Pitumarca offer vivid depictions of Lake Urcos and Lake Titicaca that held great mythical and historical relevance for their respective local communities. As pointed out in Chapter 3, the rich aquamarine pigment used in the depiction of the River Jordan in Diego Cusi Guaman's *Baptism of Christ* could have inspired an association with Lake Urcos, a place of mythical significance as a site visited by the Inca creator god Con Ticci Viracocha. It was also a site of recent history, where treasure hunters had attempted to excavate the lake in search of Huascar's fabled golden chain in the decades prior to Cusi Guaman's completion of the mural. This demonstrates the power of color and materiality in creating associations between images and oral histories.

Murals such as Cusi Guaman's *Baptism* provide a useful counterpoint to prevailing theories on the crosscurrents between orality, writing, and image-making in colonial Latin America. Walter Mignolo describes post-conquest Aztec manuscripts containing both picture writing and textual glosses as "indicative of the fractures of

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 2 for further discussion of Juan Pérez Bocanegra's writings and activities at the church of Andahuaylillas.

colonial semiosis in the transition from oral narratives...to an alphabetic written prose.”<sup>9</sup> Rather than see texts as corrosive destroyers of oral tradition, we must take a corresponding look at the unique spaces in which oral traditions were preserved, recalled, and reinvented. Mural painting of the colonial period carved out new possibilities for the mutual reinforcement of image and oral history. A reductive view of colonial Latin American art would posit Europeanized images as silencers of indigenous modes of knowledge. It is important, however, to also understand the capacity of colonial images to offer new possibilities of viewership and reception that reformulate indigenous knowledge through a new skill set of pictorial strategies. Mural painting in particular participated in the negotiation of visual, written, and oral literacy through recourse to a mixed set of Spanish, indigenous, local, and hybridized signifiers.

Murals of the colonial Andes also participated in the process of narrating and memorializing recent histories of colonial violence. Tadeo Escalante’s murals at the church of Huaró reveal Peru’s evangelizing mission turned against itself through the deployment of eschatological imagery to condemn the behavior of royalist counterinsurgents during the Tupac Amaru Rebellion. Escalante’s murals stand in direct opposition to other murals of the period that allegorized the rebellion from the perspective of the victors, such as the narthex murals at the church of Chinchero. The Chinchero murals, commissioned by loyalist *curaca* Mateo Pumacahua, staged an allegorized battle between a puma (Pumacahua) and an *amaru* (Tupac Amaru), referencing the infamous Battle of Tinta in which Tupac Amaru’s forces were finally defeated. Escalante’s strategic use of Christian images during a period of censorship and

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<sup>9</sup> Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 92.

iconoclasm not seen since the early seventeenth century offers a compelling example of how artists could recoup a sense of creative autonomy even in the face of sweeping bureaucratic restrictions. Escalante managed to transform religious muralism into a platform for voicing a biting social critique. His murals dovetail with a rich body of literature on collective memory and the ritual “remembering” of trauma through visual images.<sup>10</sup> They articulate a history that had been systematically silenced, its memory policed. In his book on the impact of silencing in the production of Haitian revolutionary history, Michel-Rolph Trouillot states, “the very mechanisms that make any historical recording possible ensure that historical facts are not created equal. They reflect differential control of the means of historical production at the very first engraving that transforms an event into a fact.”<sup>11</sup> Perhaps cognizant of the mechanisms of the colonial state that drove recent history into a resounding silence, Escalante produced a counterhistory of the rebellion through an entirely different medium—one that relativizes fact and fiction into a play of religious metaphors that defy disentanglement.

Escalante’s murals signify a radical reconceptualization of mural painting that his sixteenth-century predecessors could have never dreamed of. Nevertheless, the murals of the intervening centuries furnished the conditions under which mural painting could reach these unprecedented transformations in the late colonial period. The case studies presented here have grounded murals in a sociohistorical context. They have considered

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<sup>10</sup> The field of memory studies has exploded in recent decades. Originally used as a sociological approach to the lives of Holocaust survivors, memory studies have been applied more broadly to encompass cultural groups across the world. Maurice Halbwachs is considered the father of memory studies with the publication of his seminal text, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, published in 1952 that was based on a 1925 text. The English translation published in 1992, *On Collective Memory*, resulted in a renewed popularization of Halbwachs’s text.

<sup>11</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 49.

the varied strategies artists employed to make their compositions meaningful to local communities. By charting the subtle yet remarkably revealing ways that murals responded to their local historical and cultural context, I demonstrated the unique trajectory mural painting took as an art form wedded to social change in the colonial Andes. Murals anticipated, precipitated, and documented societal transformations, serving as powerful barometers of Andean life under colonialism.

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