

# Localizing Sacredness, Difference, and *Yachacuscamcani* in a Colonial Andean Painting

*Stella Nair*

Nuestra Señora de Montserrat stands on a windswept pampa in the south-central Andes. This early colonial church is built on the remains of an imperial Inca royal estate in the town of Chinchero, Perú (Fig. 1). Its plain facade, as well as the modest houses of the local parishioners, masks the opulence of what lies within. Just beyond the massive seventeenth-century doors are walls made of imperial Inca stones and Spanish colonial adobe bricks along with extensive murals, paintings, and an intricate Mudejar ceiling. Even after centuries of neglect, the grandeur of the church's interior testifies to its prior significance.

One of the paintings, approximately nine by thirteen feet (three by four meters), depicts the titular saint of the parish set within an elaborate landscape (Fig. 2). Dating to 1693, this painting imaginatively represents the Virgin of Montserrat, a venerated Catalan figure, in an elaborate scene of religious figures and in a setting featuring the acclaimed Iberian mountain of Montserrat. The most intriguing aspect of this composition is how it conflates drastically different landscapes in the universal space of the Virgin of Montserrat's cult. The painting shows the Virgin foregrounded not only within a Spanish landscape but also within an Andean one filled with Inca elites, indigenous commoners, imperial Inca buildings, and a sacred Andean mountain.

The indigenous artist and Chinchero native Francisco Chivantito made the Virgin of Montserrat during a very vibrant and dynamic period in Andean painting, when indigenous artists trained in European artistic practices translated local traditions into their works, creating new forms, styles, and artistic practices.<sup>1</sup> This indigenous mediation of European pictorial traditions dramatically visualizes the complex cross-cultural negotiations that characterized the Andes during the Spanish occupation.

By illustrating how both indigenous and European artistic practices were critically engaged with and transformed in the Andean context, Chivantito's painting highlights the processes of dislocation and transculturation that characterized that colonial encounter. Through a careful analysis of the image, we will see the intricate and highly localized ways in which one community constructed, construed, and contested its landscape in the form of space, iconography, architecture, dress, status, and nature. The deeply meaningful and layered narrative exposes and interrogates issues of sacredness, difference, and the practice of indigenous traditions. In doing so, Chivantito's pictorial narrative both enunciates and moves beyond the colonial encounter. In the process, it presents one of the few known examples of local landscape painting in colonial Latin America.

## **The Virgin of Montserrat in Catalonia and the Andes**

During the colonial period in the Andes (approximately 1532–1824), painting made to commemorate Catholic prac-

tices and beliefs also became one way of visualizing and interpreting cultural change. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, indigenous artists worked fluidly in European styles and media, transforming European traditions to fit the Andean context. Francisco Chivantito, an important artist in the Cuzco region during the late seventeenth century, exemplifies this phenomenon. His portrait of the Virgin of Montserrat was hung in the nave of the church in Chinchero, an imperial Inca royal estate that came under Spanish control during the Viceroyalty of Perú.<sup>2</sup>

At first glance, the iconography of this painting appears to be strictly Spanish in origin.<sup>3</sup> The Virgin of Montserrat is a holy image from Catalan, a venerated sculpture associated with the mountain of Montserrat (Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> It represents a seated Virgin who holds the Christ Child, both of whom display an orb, in opposing hands. In subsequent versions, the Virgin and Child are depicted surrounded by religious patrons, young music-making acolytes, and an impressive mountainous backdrop (Fig. 4). The references to mountains and music refer to the legend that her icon was discovered when music was heard coming from a cave in a mountain called Montserrat. Music became an important aspect of the Virgin of Montserrat's community in Spain. Beginning in the thirteenth century, a school for boys called the *escolania* taught singing, instrumentation, and composition, and the young performers made a vital contribution to the basilica services for the Virgin and were integrated into her iconography.

The mountain of Montserrat, which came to play a central role in the iconography associated with this particular Madonna, is also very important to Catalan identity, as it can be seen from most places in the region. Therefore, the mountain of Montserrat in Spain served as not only a Christian symbol but also an emblem of regional identity. Since the name Montserrat is derived from the Latin word meaning "sawed mountain," the image of a saw was added to her iconography in Europe. In later images, hovering angels or the Christ Child (sitting in the Virgin's lap) are shown sawing a mountaintop.<sup>5</sup> Elements depicting life around the actual shrine of Montserrat, such as the Benedictine monastery, pilgrimage routes, and hermitages, entered into the saint's iconography as well (Figs. 5, 6).<sup>6</sup> The Virgin's reputed miracles turned the Virgin of Montserrat into one of the most important Marian shrines in Spain.

Bernat Boil, a Benedictine friar who was one of the first missionaries in the Americas, transported the Virgin's story and likeness to the New World. Despite his efforts, along with those of the friars and individual patrons, the cult of the Virgin never attained the popularity in the territories that it enjoyed in Spain.<sup>7</sup> This failure is surprising, particularly since some communities during the Spanish occupation associated the Virgin Mary with local sacred mountains.<sup>8</sup> For



1 Church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, Chinchero, Peru, with plaza and niched wall in the foreground (photograph by the author)



2 Francisco Chivantito, *Virgin of Montserrat*, 1693, oil on canvas, 9 × 13 ft. (3 × 4 m). Church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, Chinchero (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Richard L. Kagan)

example, in the highlands of the south-central Andes, special mountains were understood to be *Apus*, that is, places marked out as sacred and venerated. In addition, mountain peaks and unusual rock outcrops (*huacas*) became sites of private devotion, mass pilgrimage, and sacrifice. These sacred spaces were understood to be expressions of *Pachamama* (“earth mother”), revealing the Andean association of a sacred female with a venerated mountain. This association,

however, was not directly mapped onto Christian iconography. As historians of religion in the Americas have shown, ideas and practices of sacredness are rarely straightforward or easily transferable.<sup>9</sup> Chivantito’s painting of the Virgin of Montserrat against her mountainous landscape visualizes this complex process of religious integration, conflict, and evolution.

In the Chinchero painting, we see the standard Montserrat

iconography from Spain with few alterations (Figs. 2, 7). The seated Virgin holds an orb in one hand (from which a flower protrudes) and the Christ Child in another. The Child holds not an orb but a small saw. Acolytes playing music and friars surround the Virgin. God the Father and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove hover above the Christ Child. On either side of God the Father kneel supplicants, most likely the Apostles with Saint Joseph. In the mountainous landscape framing this central group, one peak is in the process of being sawed by angels and two additional scenes are shown. On the Virgin's right is an idealized pilgrimage scene with crosses and chapels dotting the mountaintops. On her left is the church and main square of Chinchero.

This painting was one of a series in the Chinchero church devoted to the life of Mary. Of the remaining paintings from the series, the Virgin of Montserrat image is the only one painted in detail, showing multiple scenes, or carrying Andean references. This series was probably commissioned by Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo, who in 1673 brought with him a large collection of paintings from Europe for copying and distribution among the local churches in the Cuzco region.<sup>10</sup> To encourage this dissemination, Mollinedo ordered that each church commission a series of paintings depicting the life of its titular saint.<sup>11</sup> As we shall see, the Chinchero painting was most likely based on a Spanish original.

### Andean Copies of European Prints and Paintings

Copying originals in the form of prints and sometimes paintings has a long history in Europe and became a common practice among artists in the colonial New World.<sup>12</sup> Artists could use prints and paintings as models from which to copy, either in part or in their entirety. Because they were easy to transport, moreover, prints were often employed in missionary work and religious instruction, and with the opening of the Americas to Christian evangelization, the demand for prints grew tremendously. Prints were even made specifically for export to the New World to serve as tools in the process of conversion, to be used either directly by priests or as sources of imagery for local artists.

Religious authorities in the New World believed that the practice of copying prints enabled local artists to learn the traditional iconography and European modes of representation that were expected in the sacred images of the Roman Catholic faith. It also gave the patrons some reassurance that the artists understood the desired outcome of the commissioned work. Nonetheless, the results varied, as local painters might respect, reinterpret, or even effectively reject the European original.<sup>13</sup> Through a process of mimesis that is particular to the colonial encounter, indigenous artists copied but did not completely replicate European originals.<sup>14</sup> It is in this "slippage" from the original that the European models became Andean.<sup>15</sup>

That the Chinchero painting of the Virgin of Montserrat derives from a European archetype becomes clear when we compare it with another from the Iglesia de Santiago, an indigenous parish in Cuzco (Fig. 8). Also depicting the Virgin of Montserrat, this painting by an anonymous artist shows a strikingly similar iconography and layout. While it is undated and unsigned, a different artist likely painted the Santiago canvas around the same time that Francisco Chivantito was



3 *La Moreneta* (the Virgin of Montserrat) (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

working in Chinchero.<sup>16</sup> The central image is of a seated Virgin who, like the one in the Chinchero image, holds in one hand an orb with a lily protruding and in the other hand the Christ Child, who holds a saw (Fig. 9). In both paintings acolytes playing music and kneeling members of the Roman Catholic clergy or a religious order surround the Virgin.<sup>17</sup> In the Santiago version only, one of the monks on the Virgin's right holds a staff; this detail may signify that a bishop may have been the patron.<sup>18</sup> In both versions, angels flank the Virgin and hold onto her throne with a single hand. Flying angels in both canvases crown the Virgin while the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, God the Father, and the kneeling faithful hover above. Other similarities can be found in the mountainous backdrops. Both paintings feature a mountain landscape with angels sawing a peak, a standard part of Montserrat's seventeenth-century iconography. In addition, the paintings depict a pilgrimage scene to the Virgin's right and a scene of the church in which the painting was hung to the Virgin's left.

It is in the background scenes that the similarities between the two images end. While the pilgrimage scene and townscape are distinct in the Chinchero painting, in the Santiago one the two sections are clearly joined in the background.



4 Juan Andrés Ricci, *Mare de Déu de Montserrat*, 1639. Museum of Montserrat, Montserrat, Spain (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Museu de Montserrat)

This variation is just one of many differences indicating that the artists of the two canvases had license to invent in these subsidiary sections. Here we begin to see how the artists used the landscape and architecture to articulate difference, sacredness, and tradition for their Andean audience. In the Virgin of Montserrat painting, Chivantito devoted a larger portion of his canvas to the regional church scene than did the artist of the Santiago painting. Furthermore, unlike the anonymous artist, Chivantito not only depicted the church in which the painting hung but also dedicated considerable detail to the documentation of indigenous life.

**Depicting Chinchero’s Built Environment: Architecture, Space, and Memory**

The background scenes, which are critical to understanding the larger narrative of Chivantito’s painting, would have been legible to its viewers. Although the painting was hung high in the nave, Chinchero residents would have easily made out the imposing figure of the Virgin and her mountainous backdrop. Given the painting’s large size, even the relatively smaller flanking scenes would have been visible to the congregants. In particular, the architecture of the townscape is clearly discernible, suggesting that this aspect of the painting



5 *Mont Serrat*, 1601, print inserted in P. Crusellas, *Nueva historia de Montserrat*, Barcelona: Tipografía Católica, 1896 (artwork in the public domain)

was intended to be seen—and understood—by the congregants of the colonial church.

This inclusion of a local townscape into a larger scene was common in early modern Europe, particularly in religiously themed images. Between 1500 and 1790 CE, city and town views constituted an important genre. Richard Kagan has discussed the great diversity in the ways cities were represented in Europe and the Americas, from the purely generic or symbolic “iconic” views to the more precise localized surveys, or “topographic descriptions.”<sup>19</sup> Most views fell somewhere in between, emphasizing either the *urbs*, the physical aspects of the city, such as its urban form and architecture, or its *civitas*, its human associations or local community. In paintings made by local artists in both Europe and the Americas could be seen a tendency to depict both the *urbs* as well as the *civitas* in a manner that was relatively accurate or “descriptive” (but not documentary), such that the local inhabitants would easily recognize features of their town and community that were important to them.<sup>20</sup> As we shall see in the Chinchero painting, the town’s built and human landscapes are represented in ways that spoke to the realities in which the residents lived.

The right-hand side of this painting portrays the plaza of Chinchero, revealing that the church exterior, tower, arches, plazas, and niched wall have not changed significantly in the several centuries since this painting was created (Figs. 1, 10). While Chivantito’s representation of the city is not a measured or exacting portrait of the town, it succeeds in describing the relative placement, shape, materials, and size of its major buildings and public space. The depiction of the town’s built environment permits us to date most of the surviving buildings and spaces to the time of the painting’s execution in 1693 or before. This descriptive approach to local townscape was especially common to the Cuzco region



6 Detail of Fig. 5

in which Chinchero is located. One of the most important examples of descriptive painting of the built environment in colonial Perú is the Corpus Christi series (1674–80).<sup>21</sup> In these, specific buildings in Cuzco were carefully illustrated, down to the details of construction materials, in a manner similar to the Chinchero painting.

Yet such paintings only selectively represented chosen aspects of the urban landscape. Chivantito’s painting of the Virgin of Montserrat manifests clear deviations from the physical remains. Descriptive representation, as in the Chinchero painting, gives the artist a certain freedom in visualizing key elements of an actual place or person such that the physical reality can be altered in the image but still convey a strong resemblance to what is being depicted. By contrast, in documentary illustration, the artist is restricted by the need to depict exclusively what physically exists. This critical difference between descriptive representation and documentary illustration has sometimes been overlooked in the study of



7 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail of the center showing the Virgin (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

colonial Andean paintings. Reading descriptive images as if they were documentary illustrations has allowed certain fictions to be read as fact, greatly muddying our understanding of Andean painting and history.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, in order to understand the Chinchero painting, we must carefully examine those elements in which Chivantito's painting clearly differs from the contemporary remains.<sup>23</sup> It is in these areas that we are given insights into the constraints of the painting process as well as the hierarchies being represented on the canvas. For example, in the Chinchero canvas, this limited freedom in composition can be seen in the painting of the niched wall that divides the atrium from the plaza. The wall is critical to the plaza scene, as it sets the stage for the people and actions before it. The look of the impressive painted Inca wall suggests that it reflects the approximate size, color, and materials of the actual wall. Niches are depicted in the typical standard Inca shapes, which, at first glance, appear to be in the locations corresponding to the surviving wall. Yet, on closer examination, one notices that only eight of the eleven niches are illustrated.<sup>24</sup> The foundation and bottom half of the niched wall date to before

the arrival of the Europeans, meaning that it always had eleven niches, and that Chivantito's eight niches had no basis in history.<sup>25</sup> This compositional change, however, does not alter one's reading of the space. The image illustrates a finely made, elite Inca niched wall, with Inca trapezoidal niches made of dark masonry blocks, describing but not documenting the physical remains. The difference in the number implies that numerical accuracy of the niches was not important for the painting to convey its message.<sup>26</sup>

Other alterations to the built environment in the painting disclose priorities in terms of which physical aspects to depict as well as the importance of spatial relations in Andean artistic traditions. One example is in the flattening of the two-tiered atrium and town plaza into a divided but almost planar, contiguous space. In the Chinchero painting, a staircase that in colonial times went from the bottom of the niched wall to almost its top is shortened to a mere few steps. The result is that instead of an atrium that would have been elevated predominantly *above* the town plaza, the space and accompanying scene lie unmistakably *behind* and *alongside* the town plaza. This subtle but effective change in layout sets up



8 *Virgin of Montserrat*. Iglesia de Santiago, Cuzco, Peru (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Melissa Chatfield)

a hierarchy that allows the plaza scene to take precedence in front of the receding atrium. As we shall see, the two scenes have dramatically diverse casts of characters and present distinctly different views of Chinchero's daily life.<sup>27</sup> In Chivantito's painting, a perspectival composition is abandoned for one that emphasizes spatial relations between elements, thus shifting the painting's focus to a very specific view of Chinchero life.

This compositional change reflects an artistic practice common among indigenous artists of the Cuzco school. Both European and indigenous artists inhabited the colonial Andes, particularly Cuzco. In the beginning, artists of various ethnicities worked together in a single guild, but increasing friction eventually led to a split, explicitly along ethnic lines. European artists complained vigorously of the lack of skill among indigenous artists, including their alleged inability to execute "proper" perspective techniques. Many European artists viewed indigenous artists as inferior and, therefore, did not wish to have them in the same guild.<sup>28</sup> As we shall see, the use of perspective techniques in painting was a complex issue in both the Andes and Europe.

The rejection of perspectival techniques by indigenous artists in specific situations may have been by choice rather than because of a lack of ability. Many indigenous artists, such as Chivantito, did not always follow European one- and two-point perspective in their compositions. Indigenous artistic practices in the Cuzco region were based on a distinctively local perception and manipulation of compositional space. This comes from an Andean—and specifically Inca— notion of space.<sup>29</sup> In the Andes, space was (as it still is) understood as relational, with urban, imperial, community, and sacred spaces each viewed as composed of essential and complementary parts that created a whole, a conception often expressed in terms of the duality *hanan* and *hurin*.<sup>30</sup> The Incas saw *hanan* (the upper part) and *hurin* (the lower part) as unequal but complementary divisions that belonged together, such

that one could not exist without the other. The concepts of *hanan* and *hurin* defined most aspects of Andean life, in particular, social and spatial relations, highlighting Andean understandings of reciprocity and complementarity.

This conception of space was mapped onto the landscape and built environment. The Incas considered the plaza a critical performative space in which imperial ideology was enacted.<sup>31</sup> In the imperial capital of Cuzco, most important royal and religious rites took place in the highly public central plaza. This huge space could be conceived of as two separate and distinct halves, each with its own functions and character. For example, *Huacaypata* accommodated religious rituals. *Kusipata* formed the setting for military exercises. Hence, the public plaza of Cuzco was understood as made up of two parts that formed a whole, each a distinct but essential and complementary component.<sup>32</sup> This concept was not restricted to the Inca capital but could be found in other imperial Inca settings. For the Incas, architecture and public space expressed the spatial ordering of the world, and duality, such as that expressed in *hanan* and *hurin*, was critical to that understanding.

The urban layout of imperial Inca Chinchero, too, was informed by Inca concepts of space such as duality. However, during the Spanish invasion, the old imperial Inca plaza was abandoned during a major reorganization of the town, at which time a new, and smaller, central plaza took shape. As depicted in the painting, this new plaza was situated next to a slightly smaller, elevated atrium, which fronted the church. Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa have argued that this new plaza and atrium should be seen as an expression of a double plaza, each with its own specific function, the atrium serving as the public space for the Catholic Church and the plaza hosting the public needs of the government.<sup>33</sup>

This division of function in public space reflects a particularly Andean method of ordering space.<sup>34</sup> Chivantito's depiction of the Chinchero plaza supports Gisbert and de Me-



9 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail of center showing the Virgin. Iglesia de Santiago, Cuzco (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Melissa Chatfield)

sa's understanding of the indigenous space. By flattening the difference in elevation between the atrium and the plaza, Chivantito turned a traditional church atrium–public plaza arrangement into a specifically Inca dual plaza. The figures and actions in the two plazas are drastically different, mirroring the distinct performances in imperial Inca plazas and providing more evidence that this space was understood in the Andean concepts of duality, perhaps even as *hanan* and *hurin*.

If this change in depicting the atrium was an attempt to convey Andean spatial conceptions, Chivantito would have been continuing a long Andean tradition of translating Andean three-dimensional spatial understanding into two-dimensional representational practices.<sup>35</sup> The criticism lodged against the indigenous artists that eventually led to the split-

ting of the guild appears to be based partially in misunderstanding. In looking for their own artistic priorities, Europeans misread Andean visual culture, denying its complexity and multiple meanings. They also denied the multiple pictorial traditions still practiced in Europe, where relational priorities, particularly in Christian art, sometimes trumped the execution of perspectival techniques.<sup>36</sup>

Knowledge of indigenous artistic practices is critical for an understanding of what meaning the descriptive representation of a town center conveyed. For example, Chivantito devoted considerable attention to the built environment of the town center. Did he do this in an attempt to provide a recognizable background for his local scene, or did the buildings themselves carry specific meaning? In the Andes—and for the Inca in particular—buildings served as important



10 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the Chinchero town scene (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Richard L. Kagan)

mnemonic devices. When relating oral histories, Quechua speakers (Quechua is the major language of the Andes) could use a specific building to remember people, places, or other aspects of an oral history.<sup>37</sup> Even ruined colonial buildings could serve as focal points of memory.

The Inca used various tools to remember the past. Imperial Inca songs, poetry, and associated performances would enact the memory of imperial persons and events.<sup>38</sup> Inca songs, which the Spanish referred to as *cantares*, were elements of commemorative ceremonies, mourning rituals, military celebrations, religious festivals, and many other official gatherings. Inca remembrance took a variety of forms and employed most—if not all—of the senses.<sup>39</sup> The emphasis on objects, senses, and experience as memory highlights the importance of material culture in Andean life, in particular, in Andean history. As Thomas Cummins has noted, Andeans did not record their histories in texts; instead, history was constructed, construed, and enacted with material remains and one's experience with it, in particular, the act of seeing.<sup>40</sup> In other words, seeing the material world of Chinchero, such as architecture and dress, could have been understood as an act of remembering.

One aspect of material culture, architecture, appears to have been a particularly important tool for Inca remembrance, demonstrated by the shrines of Cuzco, which commemorated holy places and events. The shrines not only celebrated important milestones in imperial history, they also

marked events in the everyday lives of important deceased rulers, such as where a ruler once bathed or even rested.<sup>41</sup> Inca architecture also served to pass on imperial remembrances to future sovereigns. Susan Niles points out that before assuming the title of *Sapa Inka*, the royal heir had to go on an architectural journey for instruction. For example, on the death of Thupa 'Inka, his son Wayna Qhapaq made a pilgrimage to several building complexes.<sup>42</sup> At each he would hear specific songs about his ancestors' accomplishments, and thereby learn of their great achievements. Religious figures, both men and women, would sing to the future sovereign the official stories of the people who once lived or passed through the specific buildings, in this way making imperial Inca architecture an important mnemonic device for teaching dynastic memories. For the Inca, memory was visualized and experienced in buildings, songs, poetry, performance, and ceremony. It was executed within families and also in large gatherings, fostering the creation of a collective imperial memory.

The important role of buildings as mnemonic devices for indigenous history—both before and after the European invasion—suggests an additional reason why descriptive representation of the built environment may have been ubiquitous in colonial Andean painting. Besides forming realistic backgrounds for a recognizable event, illustrated buildings could also have agency, functioning as the focal point of a narrative that complements or competes with the narrative

depicted in the event. Thus, while providing a backdrop for the pictured inhabitants, the architecture could act as a mnemonic device to evoke the memory of an action, event, ritual, or person not illustrated. This allowed multiple narratives to exist in a single painting.

The Inca wall depicted in the plaza scene, for example, has a complicated history, and its appearance was an important expression of Chinchero identity. Chinchero was originally built as the private royal retreat of the Inca ruler Thupa 'Inka. Construction at Chinchero began toward the end of his reign (late fifteenth or early sixteenth century). While the site took shape, Thupa 'Inka used the estate as a retreat to share with close friends and his favorite secondary wife, Mama Chiqui Ocllo. On his death, a battle over his succession resulted in the execution of Mama Chiqui Ocllo and the banishment of their son to Chinchero.<sup>43</sup> The architecture was little modified during this period of isolation. However, in the colonial period, the place underwent dramatic alterations, both in its layout and the standing buildings. The new town plaza became a focal point of change.

In the colonial period, the enormous imperial Inca plaza was abandoned and a new plaza constructed below the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat. To build this new center, old Inca buildings were filled in and others destroyed. Arches, a form foreign to the Inca, marked off the perimeter. While these drastic changes spoke to the destruction of the old imperial Inca fabric, there was one striking exception: the central niched wall. In imperial Inca times, this wall had been in midconstruction when it was abruptly abandoned (most likely due to the untimely death of Thupa 'Inka). The wall remained in its unfinished state until soon after the arrival of Spaniards in the Andes in 1532. Then, when the plaza became the heart of the new gridded town, the Inca wall was completed.<sup>44</sup> Rather than leaving it as a ruin among the new Spanish-style buildings, indigenous residents finished the wall in a manner that not simply preserved its Inca style and masonry but augmented and enhanced it; they took part of an adjacent destroyed imperial Inca building and transformed it into an additional niched wall for the plaza.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the focal point of the new Spanish-colonial town became the renovated and extended Inca niched wall. Given the importance of the wall in terms of local dynastic history and the way buildings were revered by Incas in general, this niched wall symbolized more than just a recognizable background. It likely represented a remembrance of Chinchero during the imperial Inca period when the royal center was a locus of imperial prestige and authority. Given this background, we can see the depiction of buildings and spaces in the Chinchero painting—besides as a continuation of a European pictorial tradition—as a highly symbolic element that articulated and embodied local cultural memory.<sup>46</sup>

#### Depicting the Community: Textiles, Gender, and Narrative

Considering the importance of buildings in indigenous narratives and memory, it makes sense that Chivantito chose to depict the Chinchero built environment in a size and level of detail that would make it easily legible to the church congregants. The figures and their actions in the background scenes can also be discerned, though one must look carefully to grasp the details. These figures animating the town scene

are painted in bright colors and sharp strokes against the muted colors of the architecture. Chivantito's efforts to make the individual figures legible indicate that they, too, were significant to the indigenous residents of the town. In fact, the narrative conveyed by these figures tells a distinct and complex story, albeit one that complements and elaborates on that told by the architecture.

As seen in the illustration of the built environment, local cultural memory can also be conveyed in the depiction of the human landscape.<sup>47</sup> The Corpus Christi scene in Chivantito's painting shows men and women from a variety of classes, as well as musicians and a priest, among others. During the midcolonial period, when this image was painted, it was typical to represent a local religious procession showing both the participants and onlookers ethnically marked by their clothing. In Cuzco, the numerous paintings of the Corpus Christi celebration bear a striking resemblance to contemporary written descriptions, which has granted us critical insights into the past.<sup>48</sup> But, as we have seen in the study of the representation of the built environment, this likeness has also fostered some confusion between descriptive verity and artistic invention.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, in looking at the Chinchero painting, we must acknowledge that while the image likely depicts an actual procession and relevant individuals, this depiction of an ephemeral event was crafted by the artist to reflect his own vision. Much in the painting echoes the physical realities of colonial Chinchero, informing us about class, gender, and performance at Chinchero. At the same time, the artist's manipulations and innovations highlight his important role as a cultural mediator as well as the dramatic and violent changes that characterized the Andes during the Spanish occupation.

#### The *Kuraka* as Cultural Mediator

The depiction of the Corpus Christi procession at Chinchero centers on an indigenous scene in the town plaza, showing a local leader surrounded by other elite men, women, and musicians. The secondary scene takes place in the church atrium behind the town plaza, in which indigenous men surround a Spanish priest, and a few individuals act out on the sidelines.<sup>50</sup> This representation of a Christian procession makes clear the importance of the Inca elite and their close relations with both Spanish and indigenous culture. In indigenous highland communities, the most powerful person was the local leader.

During imperial Inca times this was the *kuraka*, or hereditary chief, who served as mediator between the imperial state and the local community. After the Spanish invasion, the *kuraka* continued to serve this important function. In early colonial Perú, the Inca aristocracy was given the legal status similar to the *hidalguía* in Spain. Spanish law recognized the *kuraka* as the leader of indigenous communities and gave him some of the privileges of European nobility. During the early colonial period, Inca nobles were not subject to the labor tax, and, unlike indigenous commoners, who were considered little more than possessions of Spanish *encomenderos* (overlords), Inca nobles were given the right to own land, to have servants, and to transact business with their Spanish counterparts.<sup>51</sup> In return, the *kuraka* was expected to perform certain functions for the Spanish government such as collecting

taxes, providing indigenous people for labor, settling disputes, and maintaining Catholic religious ceremonies and rituals.<sup>52</sup>

However, as the Spanish grew in numbers and strength, the cacique's (*kuraka's*) power lessened. The Spanish government began to appoint local leaders who were more favorable to the will of the Spanish state. In addition, the Spanish referred to both the *kuraka* and the nonhereditary leaders as caciques, blurring the distinction between the two.<sup>53</sup> As early as 1567, the *kuraka's* authority began to erode, although he still played an important role in indigenous communities throughout the colonial period.<sup>54</sup> By contrast, indigenous commoners were categorized as legal minors, or children of the state, which left them at the mercy of the Spanish government.<sup>55</sup>

At Chinchero, the local leader was likely an Inca elite.<sup>56</sup> He is depicted in the center of the plaza, surrounded by other indigenous elites (Fig. 11). The inscription next to his image says "MD Pascual Amau," conveying that he was probably named Pascual Amau and held the Spanish title *majordomo*.<sup>57</sup> Elegantly dressed and gazing confidently back at the viewer, Amau stands at the center of the entire town scene. Three men flank Amau, two of whom hold staffs, indicating their special status.<sup>58</sup> In addition, four elite indigenous women move behind the men, two of whom also hold staffs. Together, this elite group awaits the Christian procession. With Amau in the forefront, the elite are portrayed as the locus of authority in the Chinchero town scene, even more so than the priest and his followers in the atrium behind.

In the early colonial period, the cacique was in charge of paying the priest and constructing churches.<sup>59</sup> In fact, the cacique often paid the church's daily expenses, such as furnishing, upkeep, and choir teachers.<sup>60</sup> At Chinchero, a cacique rather than a Spaniard may have played an important role in the construction and operation of the church; thus, the illustrated lesser status of the Spanish priest compared with that of the indigenous cacique may have reflected a historical dynamic of the sixteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

Yet when the Virgin of Montserrat was painted at the end of the seventeenth century, caciques had lost considerable power in the Viceroyalty of Perú. They continued to serve as important mediators between Europeans and indigenous populations, but they also served at the pleasure of the Spanish viceroy.<sup>62</sup> The image in the painting either represents the considerable power of the cacique that endured at Chinchero or, alternatively, envisions an idealized image that reflects on the elites' past authority.

The dramatic change in the status of indigenous elites from the early to the midcolonial period can readily be seen in another element of Chivantito's town scene. To the left of the gathering of indigenous elite men, the name of another *majordomo* was written on the canvas, below Pascual Amau's inscription.<sup>63</sup> This caption likely refers to the finely dressed man to Amau's right, whose Inca mantle is elegantly slung over his shoulder as he looks with assurance back at the viewer. What was to befall him after this painting was made is not clear. His name on the painting was defaced, suggesting that eventually this man fell out of official favor.<sup>64</sup> The pictorial change points to an intentional effort to forget the existence of the former *majordomo*—to physically erase his



11 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the *kuraka* (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

memory. Although we do not know the cause of this pictorial deletion, Andean leaders who acted contrary to Spanish desires, usually in defense of their indigenous communities, were often removed and replaced with indigenous leaders who were more favorable to the needs of the Spanish. This practice became increasingly prevalent during and after the period of this painting's creation. In Chivantito's painting, the representation of indigenous leaders at Chinchero both reveals their high status and points to their significant decline during the Spanish occupation.

The dramatically shifting status of indigenous people can be read in the depiction of clothing in the Chinchero painting. Descriptive representation of clothing is common in colonial Andean art since dress, like buildings, was highly symbolic in Andean society. Clothing highlighted the contested nature of the indigenous body, both before and after the European invasion. When the Inca began their campaign to conquer the western rim of South America, they enacted a variety of laws to regulate the newly conquered populace. One of those mandates was that people wear local dress so that they would be visibly identifiable (and therefore more easily controllable).<sup>65</sup> Later, when the Spanish took control of the Andes, they enacted sumptuary laws to control dress.

Although these laws changed over time and were sometimes contradictory, they had a profound impact on the material culture of the Andes.<sup>66</sup> Worried that Inca dress would instill pride and rebellion, the Spanish declared it illegal. Then, for fear that the conquered populace was becoming too European, the Spanish made it illegal for people of indigenous and mixed ethnicity to wear high-status European clothes.<sup>67</sup>

This ambivalent desire on the part of the Spanish can be found in other colonizing contexts. The slippage of mimicry was a tool employed by both the colonized and the colonizers to claim power. The European desire for mimicry was such that local populations were ordained to emulate but not actually become Spanish, thereby maintaining the colonized state. As Homi Bhabha argues, "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a *subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*."<sup>68</sup> For both the Inca and the Spanish regimes, the legislation of indigenous dress manifests a shared desire to mark and control the conquered populace by visualizing difference and subjugation through class and ethnicity. Likewise, indigenous populations under both Inca and Spanish imperial regimes developed counter-strategies to articulate their own desires and exert control, making the body a highly charged and contested landscape.

This dynamic can be seen most clearly in the clothing of the indigenous leader in the Chinchero painting. Amau, standing proudly in the center of the town plaza, wears a Spanish shirt, coat, cape, shoes, pants, and stockings.<sup>69</sup> He holds a Spanish hat in his hands, in respect for the approaching religious procession. Yet Amau also wears the traditional Inca tunic, *'unku*, over the Spanish shirt.<sup>70</sup> The design woven into the Andean textile appears to be European, but the edge bindings are typical of local Chinchero tunics.<sup>71</sup> The majority of Amau's clothing, thus, is of European derivation, but Inca influence is clearly visible. Borrowing from Spanish clothing styles is prevalent in many colonial Andean paintings. John Rowe studied the representation of indigenous and Spanish clothing in colonial portraits and found that the greater the prestige of the person, the fewer indigenous elements one sees.<sup>72</sup>

This marking out of class can be seen in the subtle but visible difference in the clothing of the elites surrounding Amau. For example, the other majordomo is dressed similarly to Amau, also with Spanish shoes, pants, shirt, and jacket, as well as an Inca tunic. However, the majordomo has an Inca mantle instead of the tailored Spanish cape Amau wears.<sup>73</sup> His clothing, with slightly fewer Spanish elements, thus discloses his less important status next to Amau.

The clothing style does not specify whether the indigenous elites were of mixed Spanish and Inca ethnicity but instead serves as a marker of authority within the Chinchero community. The increase of Spanish power in the Andes was expressed in the increase of Spanish influences in Amau's clothing. This, though, should be read not as a simple expression of indigenous acculturation to European practices but as an example of how external symbols of power are translated to proclaim indigenous authority; it highlights the latter's role as cultural mediator between progressively more powerful Spaniards and increasingly oppressed indigenous populations. At Chinchero, Inca elites found themselves in an oscillating codependent relationship with the Spanish, a

balance of power that would eventually tilt in favor of the Spanish. While the Spanish usurped the elites' traditional power, they also gave the Inca nobility what little power they had; subsequently, Inca elites had to work with the Spanish to retain that power while advocating indigenous causes. By contrast, indigenous commoners had very few opportunities to control their own lives.

### Musicians

In colonial Chinchero, residents were drawn from four main groups. First, there were the Incas, the descendants of primarily two Inca rulers, Wayna Qhapaq and Thupa 'Inka. Second, the Ayamarkas, a powerful local group and political rivals of the Inca for centuries. Eventually the Incas conquered the Ayamarkas, though the truce allowed the Ayamarkas to retain their ethnic distinction while becoming Incas by privilege.<sup>74</sup> Third, the Yanacona *ayllu*, or community group, who were the descendants of Inca elite servants from a variety of ethnic groups who were brought in to serve the Inca ruler during the imperial Inca period. And, finally, the locals, who were drawn from less powerful groups living in the regional countryside of the Pampa de Anta, who congregated at Chinchero during the Spanish occupation. When Chivantito's painting was made in the colonial period, Inca elites lived alongside nonelite rivals (Ayamarka), descendants of ex-servants (Yanacona), and an array of local commoners whom the Inca used to rule.<sup>75</sup> Notably, few, if any, Spaniards lived in Chinchero. The dichotomy lay between indigenous insiders and European outsiders, making the role of the cacique as cultural mediator particularly important. His position as mediator gave him scope to negotiate not only interactions among a large and diverse indigenous population but also critical Spanish-indigenous dialogue.

This varied indigenous population is represented in the painting, though, strikingly, we find difference articulated through class rather than specific indigenous ethnic affiliation.<sup>76</sup> Even Inca ethnic markers apparently have been used to define an elite status rather than ethnic ancestry. The clothing of the musicians, like that of indigenous elites in the painting, displays their status (Fig. 12). The musicians wear Spanish trousers along with indigenous-style tunics decorated with indigenous patterns.<sup>77</sup> None of the musicians sports Spanish stockings, and only one boasts Spanish shoes. Most of them wear Andean sandals or go barefoot, a practice common among central highland people.<sup>78</sup> All of the musicians wear a simple Spanish shirt under their indigenous tunics. The musicians' clothing shows more indigenous than Spanish influence, signifying fewer ties to Spanish authority and greater links to indigenous systems. The general lack of vibrant color and absence of elite Inca ornamentation, compared to that displayed by the elite indigenous men, denote the musicians' lower status in the Andean community.

The musicians are ostensibly performing for the Christian procession. As one group walks from the atrium into the plaza playing instruments, another stands in the plaza, preparing to begin. Several of the musicians in the plaza glance at the approaching procession; two singers point out the approaching instrumental group to the harp player, who is setting up, while two others hand out sheet music. The

depiction of the musicians in the paintings suggests that an *escolania*, a school that taught singing, instrumentation, and musical composition to young boys, may have existed at Chinchero.<sup>79</sup> In Spain, the *escolania* was associated with the cult of the Virgin of Montserrat, and the boys' performances formed an integral part of services held for the Virgin. The boys and young men in the painting are playing mainly European instruments and carry European sheet music. This musical performance for the Catholic procession also reflected the obligation of lower-class indigenous men in terms of labor and faith: indigenous commoners had to serve the Spanish government and the Catholic Church, as well as local indigenous community leaders.

The divided obligations of indigenous men can be seen in the dynamic positioning of the musicians. The attention of the musicians shifts away from the Christian procession in the atrium to the group of indigenous elite in the town plaza. The placement of the musicians facing the cacique echoes the placement of the music-playing acolytes facing the Virgin of Montserrat at the center of the painting. That is, the musicians are positioned as if they are performing *for* Amau and the other indigenous elites, rather than in advance of the priest and the holy procession. Even the second group of musicians, those leading the procession from the atrium to the plaza, are placed at a distance from the religious group and in such a position that they, too, seem to be playing primarily for the group of indigenous elites rather than for the Christian procession.

This juxtaposition of musicians and the cacique adds prestige to the cacique and underlines the important role of song in Inca ceremonies. As members of the *panaqas* sang the exploits of their ancestors during important ceremonies, the songs figured largely in a performed group memory.<sup>80</sup> During the colonial period, these songs became the foundation for the histories recorded by the Spanish. Music and song permeated all aspects of Inca life, so much so that the Spaniards tried to make use of this tradition in their efforts at conversion. For example, the Catholic Church commissioned a *haylli*, a song used in celebratory triumphs, such as in battle, for a Corpus Christi service.<sup>81</sup> As noted earlier, songs functioned as important mnemonic devices for the Incas, along with performance, ritual, and buildings, all elements of Inca public events. Hence, the act of singing in the Chinchero painting illustrates a celebration of the Virgin of Montserrat and Christianity as well as a commemoration of the indigenous elite and memory of the Inca past.

The positioning of the musicians also follows the Inca spatial division articulated by the architecture of the plaza. As he did with the dual plaza, Chivantito divided a single group of musicians according to space and activity. One group consists of singers and a musician playing a stringed instrument who are stationed in the plaza with the indigenous elites. The second group is composed entirely of musicians playing wind instruments positioned at the threshold between the atrium and the plaza, leading the religious festival to the indigenous community leaders. This arrangement parallels the functions of the dual plazas, such that the priest and acolytes occupy a religious space, while the indigenous civic authority claims the complementary civic space. Like the musicians, the religious and community leaders are essential



12 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the musicians (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

and complementary parts of a greater whole. Chivantito has recast his Christian festival in Inca conceptual terms, highlighting the coming together of both Christian and Andean understandings of space, artistic practice, and community organization in a single scene.<sup>82</sup>

In this representation of musicians, we see the artist's construction of convergent religious and ethnic readings and the visualization of community in terms of spatial relations. In the depiction of clothing, we see how access, or its lack, to centers of power are visualized. We also see how nonelite men and boys serve both the Spanish religious establishment and indigenous elites in town. Their twofold role is manifest in their illustrated action—the act of singing. With a slight compositional shift, Chivantito successfully created multiple readings of this scene, enabling the Catholic faithful to read a sacred Christian procession while the indigenous audience in Chinchero could view an image celebrating their own triumphal imperial Inca past. A Catholic indigenous viewer (perhaps the majority in Chinchero) could understand both narratives. Thus, viewers, depending on their ethnicity and religious beliefs, could have significantly different interpretations of the same scene. As he did with the depiction of architecture, Chivantito manipulated local history and indig-



13 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the women in the plaza (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

enous visual culture to produce a layered narrative that displays the realities of colonial Chinchero while celebrating indigenous memory.

#### Representing Gender at Chinchero

Indigenous memory could be recalled and celebrated in different ways and for a variety of purposes. In Chivantito's painting, this practice is particularly evident in the depiction of women, illustrating their unique status in the colonial period. Women could not take part in the *escolania*, nor were they allowed to participate in many aspects of the Roman Catholic Church and Spanish colonial government. This marginalization of women during the Spanish occupation, both publicly and privately, can be seen in the painting. Although the central figure is the Virgin of Montserrat, she is the only European-looking female portrayed in the entire canvas. Andean women are also largely absent from many of the scenes in the painting. For example, not a single woman is depicted in the pilgrimage scene. Similarly, only one indigenous woman appears in the gathering in the church atrium, and she is marginalized, watching the Christian procession as she stands alone. The only place where women have a presence is in the town plaza, which celebrates imperial Inca elites (Fig. 13). As noted earlier, two women are shown walking behind the cacique while two other women are portrayed as carrying large ceramic jars. Despite the Spanish presence in the region for one hundred and fifty years, their clothing shows few signs of Spanish influence.

The women wear a traditional Inca woman's dress, the *aqsu*,<sup>83</sup> a large textile that was wrapped around the woman's torso, its edges raised and pinned at the shoulders.<sup>84</sup> A belt called a *chumpi* helped to secure the dress.<sup>85</sup> The Spanish did not approve of this indigenous dress, as it was considered revealing. A slit sometimes formed where the textile came together on the side, presumably giving an occasional flash of naked legs when a woman walked or a wind blew.<sup>86</sup> In response, the Spanish mandated that Andean women wear a Spanish-style slip under their traditional dresses for the sake

of modesty. The women in the plaza have added a Spanish slip underneath their *aqsu*.<sup>87</sup> On their heads, two women wear a colorful band called a *wincha*.<sup>88</sup> On top of this they wear an Inca cloth called a *ñañaqa*.<sup>89</sup> However, in the painting, the cloth is draped in a European manner rather than folded in typical elite Inca fashion.<sup>90</sup>

The women in the painting also have on the traditional shawl or mantle, which the Inca called a *lliklla*.<sup>91</sup> The women in the painting wore the shawl, like the *aqsu*, in the traditional way, with the *lliklla* pinned across the chest with a *tipqui* and hanging down the leg.<sup>92</sup> And the *lliklla*, like the *aqsu* and the men's tunics, has Andean edge bindings that appear to be typical of Chinchero. The importance of the *lliklla* cannot be overstated, as Elena Phipps notes: "This mantle was the hallmark of an Inca woman's identity: its color, design, and patterning spoke to her position in society, including place of origin, region, clan (*ayllu*), and marital status."<sup>93</sup>

While the men's clothing can be divided between traditional Spanish and indigenous influences, the *lliklla* displays an evolution in traditional Andean techniques that does not seem to be the result of direct contact with Spanish culture. The *lliklla* depicted in the painting are not in the style or technique of the imperial Inca period. During the reign of the Inca, the *lliklla* was composed of a single panel, divided lengthwise in equal thirds and worn horizontally. A special shawl used in sacrifices had two panels with the design near but not at the edges. The middle color differed from that of the ends. The seam that joined the panels was not part of the design. By contrast, the modern (not colonial) style had two panels with patterns along both edges of each panel and was worn horizontally.<sup>94</sup> It is this latter style that is illustrated in the painting. Therefore, what appears to be imperial Inca is not, highlighting the fact that change in the Andes was not always the result of Spanish influence. The *lliklla* worn by the women in the painting are large, which is typical of Chinchero textiles both past and present.

This representation of women in the town plaza visualizes indigenous cultural evolution that occurred in the colonial

period but was not determined by the Spanish occupation. Indigenous culture was never stagnant; it continued to develop both before and after the European invasion. While it is critical to highlight the dramatic changes that took place because of the violence of the cultural encounter between the Andes and Europe, these transformations did not always define the period. The visualization of interindigenous change in this painting offers a critical reminder that indigenous culture was vibrant enough to evolve within itself—irrespective of direct contact with Europe and Europeans.

The elaboration of indigenous traditions along with the marginalization and sometimes rejection of Spanish culture can be seen not only in the elite indigenous women's dress but also in the actions of some of the women represented on the canvas. Instead of waiting for the Corpus Christi procession to come to the elite group of indigenous leaders, the two women whose heads are uncovered have focused their attention elsewhere. Depicted near the niched walls, one woman appears to be straining to catch water in a jar. This jar, with a flat bottom, flares on top and has a handle. It may be either Spanish or Inca. By contrast, the second woman, whose advancing age is etched on her face, walks away with a jar with a long neck and a pointed bottom. This was a common jar in the time of imperial Inca rule.<sup>95</sup> The woman, shown moving away from the elite men, other women, and musicians, appears to be talking to someone beyond the canvas. As the rest of the people gather to await the Corpus Christi procession, this woman turns her back to the procession, concentrating on another event not shown, reminding the viewer of the realities of Chinchero life not depicted in this scene.

The visualization of the female claim to the imperial Inca past and rejection of most things European make sense considering the changing historical status of women. Before the European invasion, women could play an important role in Andean society. Many women could inherit land, while a few ruled states and empires, and some served as priestesses of important shrines. This is not to suggest an idealized world for Andean women, as there were many instances of oppression, forced marriages, and violence against them, particularly by invading regimes such as the Incas. However, after the European invasion, traditional Andean avenues of independence and authority began to close, even for Inca elite women. Some women reacted to this oppression by rejecting Spanish influences and assuming a role as protectors of indigenous traditions and religion.<sup>96</sup> They became the most active practitioners of *Yachacuscamcani* during the Spanish occupation of the Andes.

*Yachacuscamcani* is the Quechua word for knowing the traditions of the Andean past. As Thomas Cummins has shown, trying to practice *Yachacuscamcani* in the colonial period involved a very delicate balancing act.<sup>97</sup> At Chinchero, Inca elites had the responsibility of *Yachacuscamcani* but were simultaneously engaged in a codependent relationship with the Spanish. While the Spanish usurped the elites' traditional power, the Spanish gave the Inca nobility what little power they had. Subsequently, Inca elites had to work with the Spanish in order to retain that power.

This depiction of elite indigenous women in Chinchero provides an important clue to the gendered act of *Yachacuscamcani* in a royal Inca center during the Spanish occupa-

tion of the Andes. At Chinchero, we see a very distinct local strategy developing, one likely begun in the late imperial Inca period, when Thupa 'Inka's son was banished to Chinchero. This fostered a strong local identity that drew from and celebrated a specific Inca ancestry, doing so in a unique way that enhanced and embraced an identity of place. In Chivantito's portrayal, we see difference mapped in unexpected ways in the clothing, such that the act of *Yachacuscamcani* incorporates change while celebrating very localized traditions. In the Chinchero painting, the women's practice of *Yachacuscamcani*, unlike that of the men, took the form of a visually pronounced, performed, and less European-mediated celebration of the Inca past.<sup>98</sup>

This representation of elite indigenous women drawing power from their imperial Inca past echoes a historical Chinchero figure discussed in two sixteenth-century written documents. A woman named Ana Guaco Ocllo was an important landowner. Although she had been married to an indigenous man, her vast landholding came not from him but from her grandfather, the ruler Thupa 'Inka. Her marriage to an indigenous man is particularly important, as most elite Inca women who gained land rights during the colonial period did so by marrying a Spaniard who could serve as her advocate in the Spanish judicial system. Despite lacking this support, Guaco Ocllo inherited Thupa 'Inka's lands around Chinchero as well as those throughout the Andes, including his royal residence in Cuzco, the sacred imperial Inca capital.<sup>99</sup> Thus, an indigenous woman—rather than a Spanish or indigenous man—was one of the most powerful people in early colonial Chinchero. Her authority was drawn from her Inca ancestry rather than from Spanish relationships.

We have neither image nor description of what Guaco Ocllo looked like or wore. But one can imagine that her clothing, like that of these women in the Chinchero painting, may have been primarily indigenous and Inca. The written texts describing Guaco Ocllo's family and landholding, along with the representation of elite women in Chivantito's painting, suggest that women in Chinchero used *Yachacuscamcani* as a local strategy to claim their ancestral Inca status and authority.

Indeed, the representation of women in the town plaza is a powerful one. Whether in dress or action, all four women display their close ties to the Inca past and their refutation of most things European. Here, difference is marked and, through *Yachacuscamcani*, local indigenous traditions are visualized as dynamic and vibrant sources of power. While unexpected influences from within Spanish culture are incorporated, they are translated into local material culture in a manner that enhanced the gendered power of local indigenous women. In the painting, Chivantito depicted a female space that accommodated radical interventions distinct from that of the men. Indigenous female authority and autonomy are enunciated by subverting European patriarchal representations and visualizing dynamic indigenous traditions.

### Liminal Space and the Representation of Europeans

Chivantito took unusual pains to capture the diversity of indigenous life in his painting, revealing the artist's priorities. His detailed portrayal of indigenous people contrasts sharply with his presentation of people of European descent, who



14 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the Christian procession in the atrium (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

occupy the periphery in this section of the composition. One is a Christian leader, possibly a priest or bishop, who stands under a canopy and is surrounded by indigenous worshipers (Fig. 14).<sup>100</sup> The priest's clothes are only minimally illustrated but he appears to be wearing a simple cleric's cloak. The acolytes wear Spanish shoes and brown indigenous tunics with only nominal decoration. Some are draped in plain, white religious dress. The priest and acolytes are painted with minimal detail and their faces and clothing are not well articulated but blurry.<sup>101</sup> In contrast to the individualized depiction of the indigenous elite men, women, and musicians, the acolytes remain undifferentiated. Chivantito treats the priest as a distant figure among nameless lower-class acolytes. This blurring of the atrium scene reflects a technique not unusual among painters of the time, as it is an effective strategy for focusing attention on the action in front, as well as emphasizing distance in the scene. The result is that Chivantito has made the indigenous space, the *hurin*, or lower space, the focal point of his town scene.

The depiction of the architecture in the atrium scene mimics the illustration of the figures in that the atrium is devoid of indigenous elites or imperial Inca architectural references. As opposed to the impressive backdrop of the Inca niched wall in the plaza scene, the buildings around the atrium are all Spanish in style. As this differs from the actual physical landscape, it appears to arise from a conscious decision on the part of the artist. For example, Chivantito chose to omit the imperial Inca bases of the wall of the church, nor did he illustrate the impressive northern facade, with its Inca stone entranceway (Fig. 15). While it is possible that the imperial Inca stones were stuccoed over at some point, the Inca north facade projects out from the rest of the building, enabling it to be read as a distinct feature. Yet Chivantito painted a plain, flat, and European-style church facade, devoid of any references to the Inca, even transforming the post-and-lintel structure of the Inca entrance to a European arch.<sup>102</sup> This is particularly significant, as the stones and

church foundations are believed to have belonged to the royal residence of Thupa 'Inka.<sup>103</sup> By eliminating this reference, Chivantito erased the imperial Inca history of this space. In sharp contradiction to the physical evidence, Chivantito transformed all Inca references in the atrium to European ones. In doing so, he rewrote the architectural narrative, transforming it into one very different from what a depiction of the actual Inca built environment would have conveyed to the audience. However, through this device, he reified an Inca spatial understanding of plazas.

The message conveyed in the painting of the town center is of two separate cultural landscapes, each with a distinct locus of authority. The plaza is manifestly an elite indigenous space, centering on an imperial Inca history. The atrium is clearly a Catholic space, one that allows indigenous participation but draws from a European authority. The distant Christian group procession in the atrium (which also incorporates scenes of everyday disorder)<sup>104</sup> represents the *hanan* space of religious authority, while the carefully detailed indigenous elites of the central plaza represent the *hurin* space. Although *hanan* was traditionally the upper or more powerful category, Chivantito gave pictorial precedence to the indigenous *hurin* scene in his painting, thereby celebrating indigenous life even as he acknowledged Spanish and Christian authority.

The figures in the two spaces of the town present the diversity and complementary roles of insiders, to which Chivantito added an image of one who does not belong. Below the town plaza, a lone figure stands in the shadows of an arch, dressed in dark pilgrimage clothing typical of contemporary European paintings (Fig. 16). He wears the standard Christian pilgrim hat, cloak, and stockings and carries the typical pilgrim's hiking stick. His skin is light, and he has a full beard and bushy eyebrows, signs that the pilgrim is not indigenous but of full or partial European ancestry. Oddly, the pilgrim is represented as having two right hands.<sup>105</sup> His thickly bearded

15 View of the projecting Inca-style entrance on the north facade of the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, Chinchero (photograph by the author)



face is shown in profile, and he appears to be inspecting the indigenous gathering with some suspicion.

The depiction of a pilgrim in the painting makes sense, as pilgrimage was an important part of the cult of the Virgin of Montserrat in Spain. Today, it is the most visited Marian shrine in Europe, as it has been for over a millennium. In Spain, visitors work their way through a sacred landscape dotted with chapels and shrines offering spaces for prayer. The question is how this practice was translated, both in physical and in conceptual terms, to the New World. Whether pilgrimage was continued at Chinchero is unclear.<sup>106</sup> But if Spanish pilgrims visited the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, Chivantito's painting suggests that they may not have been welcomed by the local indigenous inhabitants. Indeed, both the Catholic Church and indigenous leaders viewed unofficial European visitors to indigenous communities with suspicion, as their presence often led to various types of abuses of indigenous people.

In his translation to the New World context, the Spanish-looking pilgrim in Chinchero is marked as an outsider in the indigenous town, but he also is grounded in the Andean context by the addition of an indigenous bag and Inca tunic. In the Andes, both indigenous men and women carried similar bags, with different names. A woman's bag was called *'istalla* and a man's bag *ch'uspa*. Both were used primarily to carry coca leaves, an herbal antidote for altitude sickness and hunger that played an important role in Andean culture and rituals.<sup>107</sup> Europeans traveling in the Inca heartland adapted the indigenous bag for their own use, in this case, as an Andean version of a European pilgrimage satchel. From its shape, edge binding, and straps, the bag the pilgrim in Chinchero carries is clearly identifiable as Andean.<sup>108</sup>

Traditionally, scholarship has focused on the addition of European elements to representations of indigenous people, leaving little written about the visual transformation of Europeans in the Andes.<sup>109</sup> In Chivantito's image of the light-skinned pilgrim wearing some indigenous clothing (such as the Inca tunic and indigenous bag), we see the full process of

transculturation in the Andes, in which both European and indigenous people are transformed by contact with one another.

Interestingly, this transculturated pilgrim is the only figure to overtly occupy a liminal space in the painting. He does not stand with the European(s) in the Christianized space of the atrium, nor is he depicted in the indigenous space of the plaza. Instead, he is placed below the plaza, poised at the threshold, under the Spanish-style arch and at the edge of the painting itself. He belongs neither to the indigenous elite scene in the plaza nor to the Christian faithful in the atrium. This man is marked through his transculturated dress as being between worlds, standing between the edges of the canvas and the imperial Inca space. As depicted by Chivantito, the transculturated man belongs nowhere.

Why is the transculturated pilgrim placed in this liminal space while the indigenous elite men, also marked by transculturated dress, are located firmly and centrally in indigenous space? As Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn have pointed out, establishing elements of difference, as seen in hybrid or transculturated material culture, depends on interpretation.<sup>110</sup> Western scholars today can clearly read the Spanish roots of certain elements of the indigenous elite male dress. However, indigenous residents in Chinchero may not have read those elements as Spanish. These European-derived aspects may have been seen as a natural part of the dress of Amau and other elites, signifying authority rather than Spanishness.<sup>111</sup>

For indigenous elite men, the elements of European dress were translated into indigenous dress, thus becoming a part of indigenous material culture. In contrast, a man of full or partial European descent with indigenous elements in his clothing would likely have been read by Chivantito and the residents of Chinchero as a hybrid man, who belonged to neither European nor indigenous groups. Thus marked as different, not part of any clear community, the pilgrim hovers in the shadows of a liminal space, not belonging anywhere.<sup>112</sup>

This portrayal of a transculturated pilgrim, shrouded in



16 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the lone pilgrim (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

darkness and spying on an Andean scene, differs greatly from that of the idealized pilgrims on the other side of the painting, shown praying, bathed in light (Figs. 17, 18). The pilgrimage scene depicts both European and indigenous men. At the bottom of the scene, a graying bearded man of European descent in tattered pilgrim clothing prays to a cross (Fig. 18). Above him are two indigenous men in ethnically mixed clothing (Fig. 17). Like all the pilgrims in this group, they carry pilgrimage crosses. Above the indigenous men are more pilgrims, all Europeans. As stated earlier, there are no women on this side of the painting. The scene gives a paradisiacal impression of a heavenly male pilgrimage. Churches and crosses crown the surrounding mountains, indicating a thoroughly Christianized landscape. In the foreground a colorful bird sings above the pilgrims.<sup>113</sup>

#### Ambiguous Landscapes

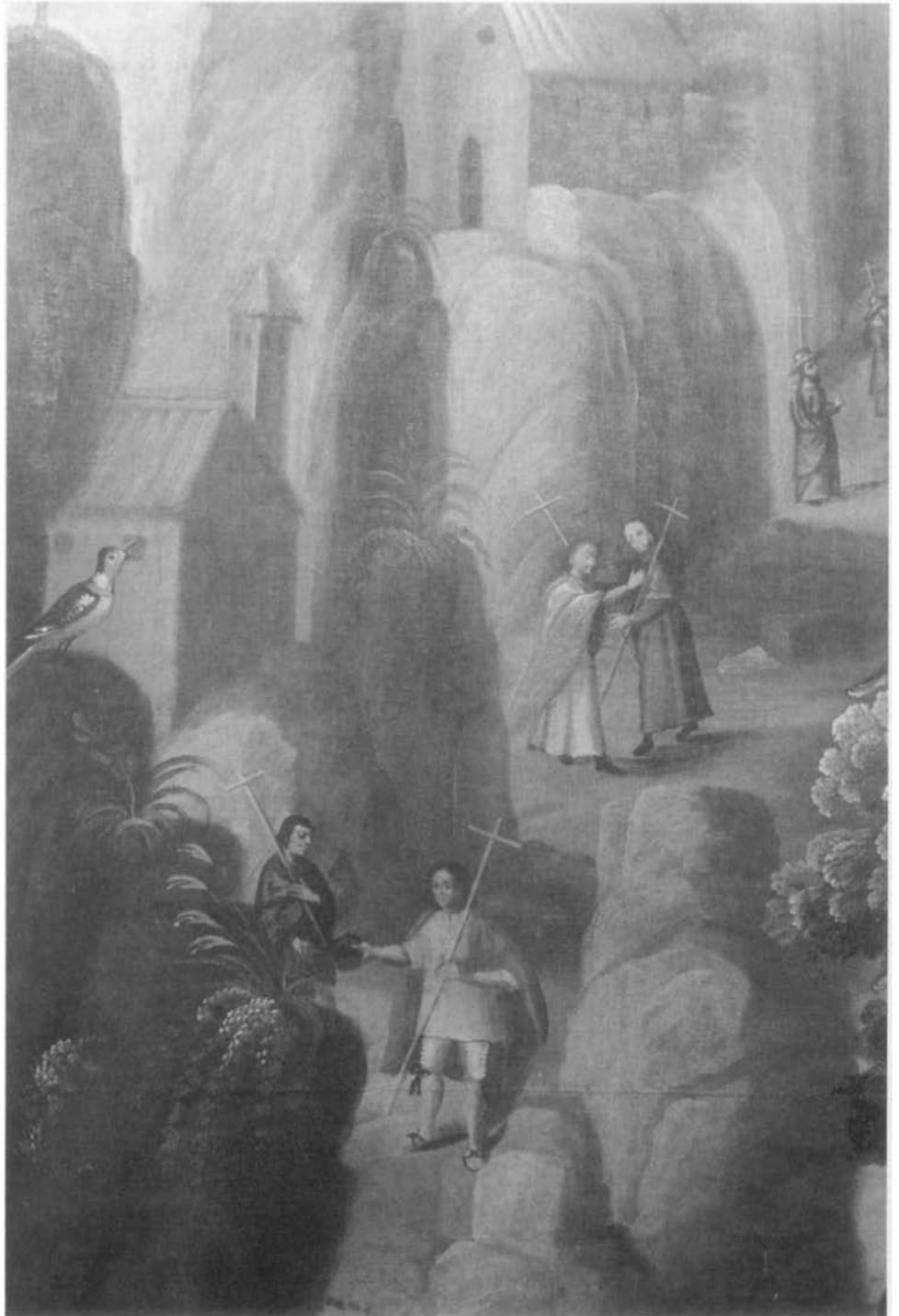
The celebration of the landscape in the pilgrimage scene points to a striking absence in the Chinchero town scene. What Chivantito excluded from the townscape is as telling as what he included. And what he excluded is the rich landscape beyond the town of Chinchero. Chinchero under im-

perial Inca rule was not an isolated royal residence but one element in a plan of deliberate architectural sequences that reflect Inca notions of hierarchy and control in a sacred environment of carefully choreographed spaces. For the Inca, the landscape itself was highly ritualized: *Apus* were venerated as sacred deities and unusual rock outcrops were worshiped as shrines for *Pachamama*. As described earlier, the Incas drew their ideas of the landscape from pan-Andean perspectives, which shared beliefs in *Apus* and *Pachamama* across the vast Andes (albeit with subtle regional variations). The landscape was viewed as alive, dynamic, powerful, and sacred, and how one changed, altered, or interacted with this landscape was highly charged.

The Incas took advantage of this view of the landscape by placing buildings, shrines, and terraces at critical and venerated locations. In transforming the sacred landscape, the Incas transferred the landscape's power to themselves. And by integrating sacred rock outcrops and mountain peaks into their structures, the Incas sent the message that they were physically and spiritually linked with the sacred places and pantheon. They then controlled access through a strictly regulated road system, which could be used only by those people traveling with official permission. Being caught on these roads without official permission was punishable by death. The imperial Inca state thus succeeded in controlling access to almost all the sacred sites in the Andes.

This articulation and regulation of the landscape can be seen at Chinchero. Here, architecture was built to mark important sites that were connected by an extensive road system. Several roads radiated out from Chinchero, linking it to the shrine at Cuper Bajo, the storage complex of Machu Colca, and the *tambo* (way station) of Peccacachu, all located within the landed estate. The roads also linked Chinchero to the greater landscape of the Urubamba Valley (where several of the Inca rulers, and most of the later ones, had their major private estates) and the capital and ceremonial center of the Inca Empire, Cuzco. Pan-Andean *Apus*, such as the sacred mountain Salcantay, as well as local ones, such as Antakilke, can be seen from Chinchero. The imperial Inca memory of Chinchero and its landscape is still felt many centuries after the arrival of the Europeans.

Perhaps because of the power of the landscape surrounding Chinchero, Chivantito chose to portray a very different, Christian version of the local Andean landscape. His painting contains no references to any of the related Inca sites beyond the town, or to the traditional sacred areas within it, such as the carved rocks. Only two buildings have been represented beyond the town. One, a small church to the Virgin's left, rests near the skirt of one of the angels.<sup>114</sup> The other is a house that appears to be in decay, with trees growing out of the adobe melt, a typical occurrence in abandoned highland homes (Fig. 19).<sup>115</sup> It also shows a rustic, European-style fence, further intimating that the past indigenous life of this landscape—one separate from the Christian present—is dead. Given the powerful role that buildings played in historical remembrance for the Incas, the elimination of much of the imperial Inca built environment around Chinchero suggests an intentional reimaging of the local landscape by Chivantito. This despoliation view of the Chinchero landscape contrasts sharply with the pilgrimage scene. While the



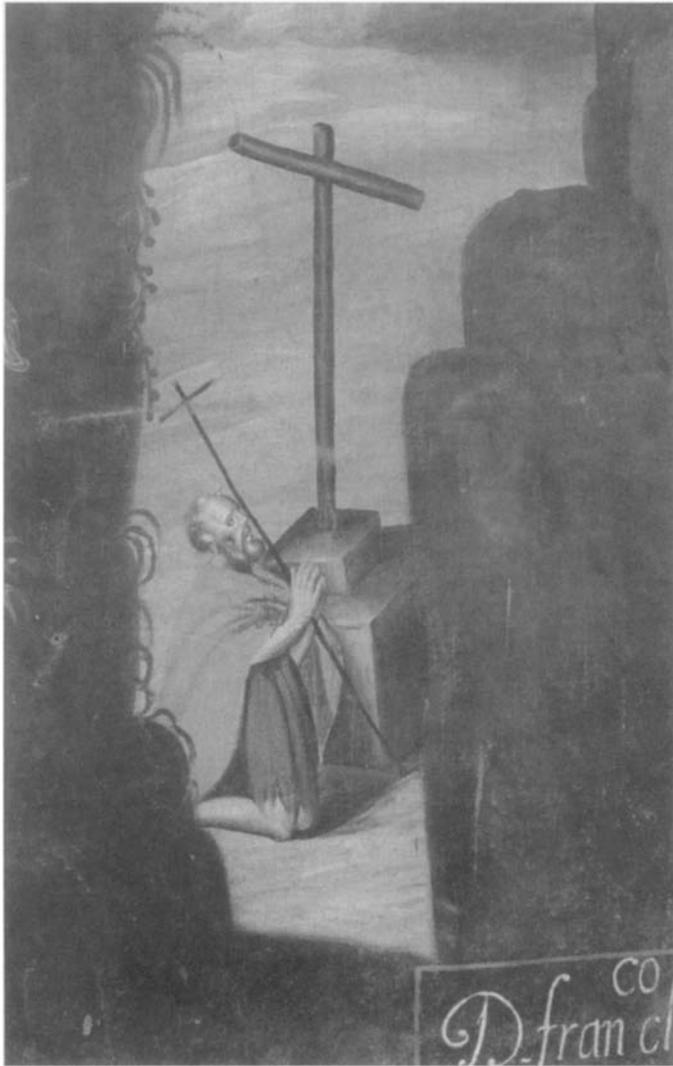
17 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the pilgrimage scene (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

Chincheró landscape looks dark, abandoned, and menacing, the Christianized landscape is light, open, and filled with holy figures, birds, and flowers.

In his large painting, Chivantito appears to have taken pains to distinguish the landscape around Chincheró as a local Andean landscape separate from the complementary Christianized European one. In the pilgrimage scene, the mountains resemble the sandstone landscape of Montserrat (Fig. 20). In other artwork depicting the Montserrat landscape, such as the Santiago painting, the mountains similarly display heavily eroded sedimentary formations (Fig. 8). In both the Santiago and Chincheró paintings, the Spanish

mountains are crowned with crosses and chapels—a detail that evokes a thoroughly Christianized landscape.

However, the mountains that Chivantito paints around Chincheró differ markedly from the peaks seen in the rest of the painting (Fig. 21). Such a change in the depiction of mountain type within a single painting cannot be found in any other Montserrat artwork, indicating that Chivantito must have added this alteration. In the Chincheró painting, the mountains around the town are rugged, with rough exterior surfaces following more closely the metamorphic formations that predominate in the region (Fig. 22). Chivantito's representation of Chincheró and its landscape in such



18 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing a pilgrim from the pilgrimage scene (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

a fashion reflects the growth of Christianity among the indigenous population and a strong intolerance of indigenous beliefs (such as the worship of sacred mountains) among Christians in the late seventeenth century.

Chivantito set these two distinct landscapes on opposite sides of the painting: one Christian and heavenly, reserved only for men, the other indigenous and dark, seemingly abandoned. Most important, he articulated the peak most sacred to the local population as being cut down and destroyed by angels.<sup>116</sup> Given that the audience for the painting would have been local indigenous people who would have readily recognized the *Apu* and its destruction, one must wonder how they reacted. In the same way that Chivantito created a convergent reading in the town scene, he took the iconography of the Virgin of Montserrat, her “sawed mountain,” and localized it. In the process, Chivantito gave the European iconography a distinctly Andean meaning. Rather than simply serving as a symbol of the site where the Virgin’s holy image first appeared, the saw and the mountain in the Chinchero landscape visualize and enact the destruction of the local sacred mountain by agents of the Christian god.<sup>117</sup>

The message of this representation would have resonated strongly with the indigenous audience as they gazed up at the image from the church’s nave.

In localizing European iconography, Chivantito also invented one of the few colonial landscape paintings known in the Andes today.<sup>118</sup> His model came from Flemish landscapes, the only European landscape tradition to have a significant impact on the emerging painting traditions of the colonial New World. Prints and paintings of Flemish landscapes, first introduced to Spain, became favored in Seville and subsequently were brought to the Americas in significant numbers. Hence, instead of painting local New World landscapes, indigenous artists copying European prototypes would paint Flemish landscapes as background for their scenes, no doubt an oddity in the Andes, where the environment looks strikingly different. Flemish-style landscapes were also used as a background for religious-themed paintings in Mexico during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>119</sup>

In the Andes, one painter who favored adding landscapes to his paintings was the indigenous artist Diego Quispe Tito, who is believed to have trained Chivantito. Quispe Tito was greatly influenced by the landscape paintings of Hans Bol, Joos de Momper, and Paul Bril. Quispe Tito was so enamored of Flemish landscapes that he often sacrificed the overt story conveyed by the characters in a religious scene in order to devote more space to the landscape behind the figures.<sup>120</sup> Quispe Tito’s focus on the landscape, albeit a Flemish one, may have been what led his student Chivantito to think of landscapes as a significant element of the painting.

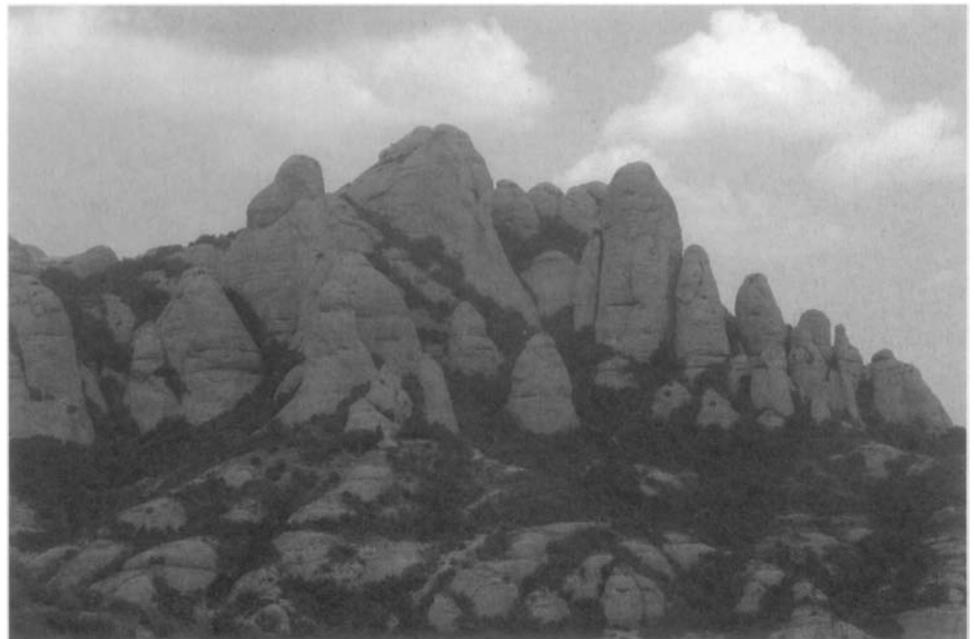
This emphasis, along with the split in the artists’ guild, which introduced a new local realism, may have given Chivantito scope to develop his unique depiction of a regional, religious, and highly charged local landscape. During the period in which Chivantito worked, indigenous painters conformed to artistic traits typical of Diego Quispe Tito while introducing a new concentration on life in the Cuzco region, such as on people and urban scenes.<sup>121</sup> Thus, Chivantito’s *Virgin of Montserrat* arose from four aspects: the influence of Quispe Tito’s emphasis on the (Flemish) landscape; a contemporary desire among indigenous artists to depict the realism of indigenous life (through its architecture and people); Chivantito’s own need to paint a local, recognizable Chinchero scene; and the importance of the landscape for the Andean audience.<sup>122</sup> The landscape in Chivantito’s painting was created by an indigenous artist—drawing from indigenous artistic practices and understanding of sacredness—depicting a local, highly charged environment. In the process, Chivantito pioneered a new artistic genre for the Andes.

While Chivantito’s desire to portray a potent vision of the local Chinchero landscape is evident, it remains unclear what specific message or meaning he intended that landscape to convey to his local indigenous audience. His depiction of the sacred Spanish landscape of Montserrat is idealized and celebratory, while his image of Chinchero’s cultural and architectural landscape is a complex but overall affirmative view of local indigenous life and history. These images stand in stark contrast to his illustration of a sacred Inca landscape that is either desiccated or erased from view. Indeed, the mountain

19 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the scene of the decaying house and overgrown vegetation behind Chinchero (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)



20 View of a portion of the mountain of Montserrat, Spain (photograph by the author)



most sacred to the indigenous residents of Chinchero is the one Chivantito represented as an Andean Montserrat landscape but also one that was under attack from the saw-wielding angels. There are two, perhaps three, potential readings of this portrayal of the indigenous landscape. It is possible that the artist wished to express an indictment of the Christian destruction of indigenous sacred landscapes, a view that was meant to galvanize the indigenous audience that worshiped in the church but still venerated the sacred *Apu* (a practice that continues today). Another possibility is that Chivantito saw the image as a celebration of Catholic success in transforming non-Christian religious practices and places, thus serving as a cautionary tale for those not willing to give up their traditional non-Christian religious beliefs. Or perhaps Chivantito was commenting on the violent changes he

witnessed during this struggle to Christianize and conquer the Andes. For modern-day viewers of the painting, the question remains unanswered as to whether Chivantito's message is subversive, triumphal, or even ambivalent.

#### **The Artist, the Audience, and the Painting as Cultural Mediators**

The *Virgin of Montserrat* by Francisco Chivantito serves as an example of how artistic traditions are mimicked, transformed, and translated while subject to extended colonial redefinition. In his depiction of buildings, people, and the performance of Corpus Christi at Chinchero, Chivantito portrayed one reality of the midcolonial period on his canvas. He imported European prototypes into the Andean context and translated Old World symbols and artistic practices into a



21 *Virgin of Montserrat*, detail showing the angels seeing the mountain behind the town (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)



22 View of the mountain and the local *Apu*, Antakilke, as seen from Chinchero (photograph by the author)

localized visual vocabulary. The built environment not only set the stage but also became a vehicle for remembrance and forgetting. In this way, Spanish colonial places were understood through Andean spatial and spiritual conceptions, making possible the imagination of new transculturated spaces.

In the process, the painting exposed the divergent lives of the residents and articulated the complex entanglements that characterized the midcolonial period. Over one hundred and fifty years after the arrival of Europeans in the Andes, Chinchero society was greatly affected—but not defined—by the Spanish invasion. As a local indigenous artist painting for his hometown audience, Chivantito managed to capture and address the nuanced, local ideas of sacredness,

difference, and *Yachacuscacmcani* in his painting. In addition to describing an actual event, the celebration of Corpus Christi, he visualized the past in such a way that it would be recognizable and meaningful to his audience. Yet by adding images of despoliation and transformation to the traditional iconography of the Virgin of Montserrat, Chivantito invited the viewer to reflect on the cost of violent cultural change.

Chivantito's complex and highly localized depiction also underscores the issue of methodology in the study of paintings. To examine the *Virgin of Montserrat* largely in terms of a regional painting tradition or a visual expression of colonization is to miss most of Chivantito's narrative. Instead, one must understand the complex visual, physical, spatial, and conceptual worlds shared by the artist and the residents of

the town in order to perceive the intricate narrative so skillfully composed in this painting. This has required a variety of research methods, from iconographic and archival to archaeological and ethnographic. Such an approach reveals the complexity and extraordinary artistic understanding of people living in areas beyond the centers of production in Cuzco and Lima—areas that may have been provincial by Spanish imperial standards but were centers of indigenous artistic practices long before and after the Spanish invasion.

*Stella Nair, assistant professor at the University of California at Riverside, received an MArch and a PhD from the University of California at Berkeley. She is working on a monograph investigating the architectural, spatial, and landscape transformations of Chinchero from an imperial Inca estate to an indigenous colonial town [Department of History of Art, 222 Arts Building, University of California at Riverside, 900 University Avenue, Riverside, Calif. 92521-0319, stella.nair@ucr.edu].*

## Notes

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1. A note on Quechua orthography: Since the sounds used in Quechua are distinctly different from those of European languages, coupled with the uneven colonial sources, there is still much debate on the proper spelling of colonial Quechua words. For example, the artist's name has been written as Chivantito, Chihuantito, and Chiwantito. This is because the colonial Spanish "v" often, but not always, represented what we now pronounce as "w" or "hua." However, as there is no agreement on the correct spelling (or for that matter, the specific pronunciation) of this artist's name, I am using the spelling used in his own signature, Chivantito. In other cases, I have tried to use the more commonly accepted spellings or have listed both spellings to acknowledge the ongoing debate.
2. This painting belongs to a series in the Chinchero church that depicts the life of the Virgin. Francisco Chivantito is one of a group of indigenous artists who created a distinct style known as the Cuzco school of painting. The indigenous artists working during this time shared many common practices, such as the use of gold-brocade decoration (also called *brocateado*, it is an application of gold leaf to a painting, usually to images of finely woven or embroidered clothing) and the depiction of native birds and fauna. Pauline Antrobus, with W. Iain Mackay, "Painting, Graphic Arts and Sculpture," in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 24 (New York: Macmillan, 1996), 506–11; Teófilo Benaventes Velarde, *Historia del arte cusqueños del la colonia* (Cuzco, Peru: Municipalidad del Qosqo, 1995); and José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2 vols. (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982). Francisco Chivantito was born in Chinchero. See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 174.
3. I am using the term *Spanish* in the same way I refer to the Andes, to denote a regional, not a political, category that included most, if not all, of the Iberian Peninsula.
4. Traditionally, the church has claimed that the sculpture was found in the mountain of Montserrat in the ninth century; however, studies suggest that it was made about the twelfth century. Josepha de C. Laplana, ed., *Nigra Sum: Iconografía de Santa María de Montserrat* (Barcelona: Museu de Montserrat, 1995), 240–42. Except when the sculpture was hidden for protection or taken forcibly during periods of conflict, it has always resided on (and is considered to belong to) the mountain of Montserrat (239–60). The Virgin of Montserrat is a "black Madonna," that is, whose image is depicted with a dark skin color, and is credited with numerous miracles, most concerning curing the ill and helping captives escape. For a list of her reputed miracles, see Tomás Roca, *El libro de los Milagros hechos á invocacion de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat* (San Miguel, Spain: Imprenta de Roca, 1875). Most of the early miracles attributed to the Virgin of Montserrat were associated not with the holy image but with the altar. The first time the statue is associated with miracles is in the fourteenth century. Laplana, *Nigra Sum*, 242–46.
5. The saw was not added to her standard iconography until 1672. Laplana, *Nigra Sum*, 249.
6. For a discussion of the evolution of the Virgin of Montserrat's iconography, see Manuel Tren, *María iconografía de la virgen en el arte Español* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1947), 528–42.
7. Bernat Boil accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second trip to the New World. For a discussion of the life of Bernat Boil, see P. D. F. de P. Crusellas, *Nueva historia del santuario y monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat* (Barcelona: Tipografía Católica, 1896), 218–28. For a discussion of the spread of the cult beyond Montserrat, see Teresa Marciá, "Expansion of the Cult of the Mother of God of Montserrat in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries," in Laplana, *Nigra Sum*, 261–66.
8. This belief was reflected in colonial art. For example, in a colonial painting from Potosí in present-day Bolivia, the Virgin is depicted not simply in front of a sacred mountain but as a part of it. Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Línea Editorial, Fundación BHN, 1994), 17–22.
9. For an in-depth discussion of the conflicting views regarding sacredness and religiosity of indigenous Andean and European Christians, see Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); and Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
10. Carolyn S. Dean, "Copied Carts: Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings," *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 103. For a discussion of the use of European prints in early Cuzco paintings, see also José de Mesa, "The Flemish Influence in Andean Art," in *America, Bride of the Sun: 500 Years Latin America and the Low Countries* (Antwerp: Imschoot, 1992), 179–87. For a comprehensive bibliography, see Stella Nair and Peter Parshall, "European Prints to the New World: An Annotated Bibliography," MS, 2003, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
11. Following the bishop's orders, local artists copied works from Spain either in their entirety or in parts. Antrobus and Mackay, "Painting, Graphic Arts and Sculpture," 507. For a discussion of Bishop Mollinedo and the impact of his collection of European art on Cuzco painting, see Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1, 118–23.
12. In Spain, artists often used prints as sources of imagery for their paintings, and this tradition was brought to the New World. See Edward Sullivan, "European Painting and the Art of the New World Colonies," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 32–33. Although the impact of European prints on Andean art was remarkable, this is not to suggest that most Andean artistic productions were wholesale copies. Rather, mimesis transformed the imagery, reflecting the unique colonial Andean situation.
13. For an insightful commentary on the issues of copying in Andean painting, particularly notions of authenticity, originality, and derivation, see Thomas Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects 'Come es Costumbre Tener los Caciques Señores,'" in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas Cummins (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 93–94.
14. See Dean, "Copied Carts," 98–110.
15. "The discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference." Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October*, no. 28 (1984): 126.
16. Jesus Perez-Morera compares Chivantito's *Virgin of Montserrat* at Chinchero with the *Virgin of Montserrat* in the Iglesia de Santiago, arguing that both paintings were copied from an anonymous engraving, *Mont Serrat*, from the seventeenth century. Perez-Morera, "El grabado como fuente iconográfica: El tema de la Virgen de Montserrat en la pintura flamenca y peruana," in *Homenaje al Profesor Hernandez Perera* (Madrid:

Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1992), 399–407. As the *Virgin of Montserrat* in the Iglesia de Santiago is undated and unsigned (which was typical of the period), there is some disagreement over the identity of the artist. Benavente Velarde, *Historia del arte cuzqueños*, 90–91, credits Chivantito, basing his argument on a document that gave Chivantito land to farm in exchange for a work for Santiago. However, Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 173, argue that the Santiago *Virgin of Montserrat* was painted by an unknown artist. Although it is possible that the Santiago painting was made by Chivantito several decades before the Chinchero one (reflecting an immature style), Mesa and Gisbert contend that this painting was created by a less-skilled artist than the author of the Montserrat painting in Chinchero (175). Most scholars who have examined the paintings believe that they were done by two distinct artists who had very different abilities.

17. It is unclear what role the surrounding members played in the Christian faith. As Carolyn Dean has pointed out, the men to the Virgin's left have their hair cut in tonsure; along with their dress, this points to an identity as Dominican friars. It is unclear if the men to the Virgin's right, who wear all-black robes, also have their hair cut in this distinctive fashion. If they did, the men were likely Jesuit priests. If they did not, then they may have been secular clergy. It is also possible that some of these men depicted may have been imagined rather than portraits of actual people. As will be discussed later in this paper, the mixing of real and imagined people and objects in Cuzco painting was typical of the period (Dean, personal communication, 2005).
18. Dean (*ibid.*) also suggests that the person next to the bishop may have shared in the patronage of this painting.
19. Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493–1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 3–7.
20. Kagan, *ibid.*, 9, calls this mode of representation “communicentric.”
21. Dean, “Copied Carts,” 101.
22. The inclusion of fictive elements in Andean descriptive painting during the colonial period is discussed in Carolyn S. Dean, *Inca Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Perú* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 84–96; and *idem*, “Copied Carts.”
23. For example, in Chivantito's painting the church tower is taller and thinner than the one standing in town today. However, due to seismic activity, the tower has collapsed numerous times during the last several centuries. It is likely that the tower was rebuilt shorter and wider and with thicker walls in an effort to make it more stable and prevent future collapse. Changes over time from earthquake damage can also be seen in the church buttresses. In the painting, they are much smaller and in a more balanced proportion with the building than the current buttresses, which are unusually large for such a small structure. Surviving evidence of damage to the church's western wall indicates that the buttresses may have been enlarged over time in order to stabilize the structure.

Another difference between the architectural remains and the painting is not related to earthquake damage but comes from new constructions and alterations in the modern period. In the painting, Andean crosses flank both sides of the arches belonging to the Virgin of Montserrat. Andean crosses were an important part of the iconography of the Tiwanaku culture, and the Inca adopted some of the Tiwanaku iconography in order to legitimate Inca rule. Photographs from various moments in the twentieth century show that the iconography of the arches has gone through many changes. At one point, they were merely long, rectangular niches; at other times, they are shown collapsed and in serious disrepair, with no evidence of their prior form remaining. Given these many changes, it is impossible to tell what had been the original colonial configuration of the arches' decoration. In the latest construction, completed during the 1970s, Christian equilateral crosses were chosen to fill the gaping holes. The present Christian crosses are therefore a modern element and do not reflect what may have existed in the colonial period.

The problems posed by new constructions can be seen in the part of town below the lower plaza. This area has been entirely rebuilt in the last few centuries, thereby eliminating any means of verifying or disproving Chivantito's version of this portion of town. Chivantito's painting shows a wall enclosing a *kancha* (housing group) and individual rectangular buildings arrayed around a central courtyard with open spaces in the corners. He painted separate entrances for each building and Spanish iconography for the windows and doors (none of these are trapezoidal, which was typical of the Inca, although sometimes they had rectangular niches as well). Chivantito's depiction of vernacular architecture strongly resembles the few colonial buildings that exist in town today. Given the accuracy with which Chivantito portrayed the surviving architecture and decoration at Chinchero, it is likely (though impossible to say conclusively) that the buildings that once stood before the plaza resembled those shown in Chivantito's painting.

Space has been condensed to allow prioritizing of the scenes depicted. For example, the gable roofs have been compressed so that the viewer can look over buildings in the foreground and see the plaza scene. Another instance is the leveling out of the plaza and church atrium such that they are almost on the same plane. This created more space in which to depict the actions in the church atrium without having to extend the footprint of the Chinchero scene on the canvas.

24. There appears to be an intriguing change or modification made to the painting at a later date, though it is unclear when. The two niches at the far right seem to have been condensed to a single niche sometime after the painting was completed. The original last niche looks as if it almost bleeds into the far right corner of the niche wall, suggesting that this “mistake” may have been what prompted the change. However, the new niche is different from the others, of a double-jamb, double-lintel construction, unlike the single-jamb, single-lintel openings of the other niches. Why was this change made and why was the opening given a new style? Among the Inca, double jamb and double lintels had great significance, indicating the most important spaces, carrying high prestige. The surviving physical evidence makes it clear that no similar alteration in the original niche wall occurred. Therefore, this change, by Chivantito (or perhaps even a later similarly skilled artist), does not reflect a physical alteration to the town center but came about for artistic reasons.
25. For a detailed discussion of the history of the niched wall, both imperial Inca and colonial Inca, see Stella Nair, “Of Remembrance and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru, from Thupa 'Inka to the Spanish Occupation” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2003), 173–75, 257–60.
26. This has important implications for Inca architecture studies. There has been much discussion that numbers, particularly in Inca walls, is important. A counterargument holds that it is not numbers but rather proportions that matter in Inca architecture. In the Chinchero painting, the proportions seem to have been maintained while the numbers were lost. Is this a result of a cultural change brought about by time, influence from Spain, or the idea of the artist? Or might it be a reflection of Inca priorities? For a discussion of Inca proportions, see Jean-Pierre Protzen, *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 261–63; Vincent R. Lee, *Design by Numbers: Architectural Order among the Incas* (Wilson, Wyo.: Sixpac Manco Publications, 1996), 1–18; and Protzen, “Inca Architecture,” in *The Inca World*, ed. Laura Laurencich Minelli (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 193–218.
27. The short facade of the church has also been altered slightly.
28. This break came about officially in 1688 but was the culmination of years of growing discord. Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1, 137–38, cite underlying racial tensions as well as divergent artistic practices. They argue that European artists were frustrated with their indigenous colleagues' lack of adherence to Western painting practices.
29. See Thomas 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, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Marín (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 5–10.
30. Examples would be right and left, high and low, sun and moon, or man and woman. This concept is fundamental to the Andean understanding of space and relations even today. Chinchero *ayllus*, or community groups, are divided into *hanan* and *hurin*, as are most indigenous highland communities.
31. For a discussion of the relation between Andean plazas and the binary concepts of *hanan* and *hurin*, see Thomas Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 300–305.
32. Jean-Pierre Protzen and John Rowe, “Hawkaypata: The Terrace of Leisure,” in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 235–46.
33. For Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, Chinchero's “double plaza [*plaza doble*]” results from the separation of the two central powers, the church and the state, such that each has its own public space. The authors discuss this as a phenomenon of the Spanish colonial period. *Arquitectura Andina 1530–1830*, vol. 1 (La Paz: Embajada de España en Bolivia, 1997), 159–60. However, a division of function in public space was evident in Inca public spaces before the arrival of Europeans in the Americas.
34. For a discussion of its manifestation in the imperial, urban, ritual, and social landscape of Cuzco, see Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*, 101–5, 108–16. *Hanan* as the upper division and *hurin* as the lower were ex-

- pressions of their unequal but complementary relations, one that was exploited by the imperial Inca state to enforce an imperial hierarchy.
35. See Cummins, "Silver Threads and Golden Needles," 5–10. For an example of this in the work of the indigenous artist Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala during the colonial period, see Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 89; and 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* (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 17, 19. In particular, López-Baralt notes that in a drawing by Guaman Poma, the literal reading of the image depicts the Spanish defeating the Andeans, while the spatially symbolic reading "denounces the Spaniards" by making them subordinate to the Andeans (17).
  36. Ironically, this practice of positional space over perspectival space would have been familiar to the European artists. Laying out Christian art in positionally valued ways, such as its preference for right over left of a central sacred figure, was a common practice among painters at the time.
  37. Rosaleen Howard-Malverde has studied linguistic understandings of the past in Quechua. In particular, she has examined the ways that buildings are used as mnemonic devices for remembering the past. See Howard-Malverde, *The Speaking of History: "Willapaakushayki" or Quechua Ways of Telling the Past* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1990), 73–83. Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them," 141, was the first to note important linkages between Howard-Malverde's study and Quechua colonial material culture.
  38. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), vii–viii.
  39. Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 43.
  40. Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them," 140, 142–43. Cummins argues that seeing was a critical part of remembering, so that to see was to remember and to not see was to forget. As Cummins states, "the tactile and visual word in relation to oral discourse remained for Andeans the form through which Andeans 'inscribed' their existence" (95).
  41. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, 56.
  42. *Ibid.*, 48. There were several titles of reference given to the Inca ruler. One of them is *Sapa Inka*.
  43. Miguel Cabello Valboa, *Miscelánea Antártica: Una historia del Peru antiguo* (1586; Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1951), 357–58.
  44. Despite some differences, both the Inca and Spanish used urban plans as part of their colonizing strategies. Plans used by both regimes involved central plazas and grid-inspired street arrangements (though there are many deviations found in any ideal order). The Spanish wrote down these practices in a series of decrees known as the Law of the Indies, which linked architecture, conquest, and evangelizing practices.
  45. This is in sharp contrast to what was going on in Cuzco at the same time. In the capital city, the damaged architecture of the imperial Inca period was intentionally turned into ruins to serve as a visual reminder of Spanish victory. See Carolyn S. Dean, "Creating a Ruin in Colonial Cuzco: Sacsayhuaman and What Was Made of It," *Andean Past* 5 (1998): 161–84. For a comprehensive discussion of the changes in the architectural and urban fabric of Chinchero, see Nair, "Of Remembrance and Forgetting."
  46. This wall may also have served as a *tinku*. In the Andes, when two things come together, they are seen as charged or powerful and are called a *tinku*. The space where *hanan* and *hurin* come together is a *tinku*. Carolyn Dean has suggested that if the atrium and plaza were understood as *hanan* and *hurin*, the wall that divides them may have been seen as a *tinku*, and the wall would have carried particular importance (Dean, personal communication, 2005).
  47. The small number of surviving written texts makes it difficult to reconstruct the local history of Chinchero. However, scholars such as Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them," 140, 142–43, has shown that as a nonliterate people, Andean groups, and the Inca in particular, used material objects to convey meaning and write their own histories. In the case of Chinchero, the abundant material culture, such as buildings, ceramics, textiles, and paintings, provides critical clues into the past. Chivantito's painting is particularly important as it furnishes our only visualization of colonial life at Chinchero, allowing us critical insights into both the everyday and the extraordinary, as well as stratification and difference. This painting reveals how distinct groups and individuals mediated and translated the dramatic upheaval of the colonial period.
  48. For an example of a complementary relation between written texts and paintings (in this case, regarding the Corpus Christi festival), see Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*.
  49. One scholar who has tried to pull the two apart is Carolyn Dean. She has shown "Copied Carts," 101 that even scenes such as these, where much of the narrative describes actual events and people, also contain important inventions of the artists, ones that go beyond the problems inherent in representing an ephemeral event. Dean has argued that in the Cuzco Corpus Christi series, the inclusion of fictive elements in a largely descriptive scene was done to aggrandize indigenous performances in the eyes of the indigenous participants and their communities. For example, idealized images of European processional carts were inserted in the Corpus Christi painting although they never before appeared in Cuzco and in fact were never built during the seventeenth century in Cuzco. These conceptual carts signified a locus of processional grandeur that would have resonated with the indigenous audience. These carts are compelling examples of local mimicry in which objects from European prints are copied and in the process are translated into the local indigenous context to convey new meanings.
  50. During the seventeenth century, it was not unusual to include local Andean scenes in paintings celebrating Virgins. Images depicting the Virgins of Potosí, Cochacarcas, and Belén have included local scenes. Dean, "Copied Carts," 101. This scene is either of a priest in a Corpus Christi procession or a procession honoring a visiting bishop.
  51. Some were granted the added privilege of riding horseback and carrying arms. Karen Spalding, "Kurakas and Commerce: A Chapter in the Evolution of Andean Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53, no. 4 (1973): 583.
  52. *Ibid.*, 584. This discussion refers to a *kuraka* who was also an Inca noble, as was probably the case for many of the *kurakas* in early colonial Chinchero. Inca nobles and *caciques/kurakas* both had special status and privileges in the colonial period, but there were differences between them. Inca nobles had a status equivalent to *hidalguía* in Spain. They had the legal status and privilege of nobility, such as freedom from taxation, but they did not necessarily have money, land, or vassals. *Caciques/kurakas* (who might or might not be Inca) were the equivalent to titled lords (called *señores de vasallos*), who formed a small minority of *hidalgos* in Spain. They held land (in *mayorazgo*) and often had judicial authority over their tenants (Jeremy Mumford, personal communication, 2006).
  53. The Spanish brought this word from the Caribbean and used it to refer to all indigenous leaders. As we do not know for sure whether the leader depicted in Chivantito's painting had a hereditary or appointed position, I shall refer to him as a *cacique*. During the colonial period, the ranks of *caciques* became gradated over time. For a concise discussion, see David Cahill, "Curas and Social Conflict in the Doctrinas of Cuzco, 1780–1814," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16, no. 2 (1984): 256–57. Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them," 109, has noted that the conflation of *cacique* and *kuraka* by the Spanish has a parallel with the Spanish conflation of *duho* (a Caribe word) and *tiana* (a Quechua word) to refer to the ceremonial seat of the *cacique/kuraka*, revealing that "Spanish recognition and understanding of Andean political symbols and positions were not intended to be specific in terms of Andean meaning but universal in relation to setting up a colonial system of rule through a body of native elites."
  54. Spalding, "Kurakas and Commerce," 594.
  55. *Ibid.*, 585.
  56. As there were many descendants of the imperial Inca ruler Thupa 'Inka in Chinchero, it is likely that the local leader was from this group. Most were descended from Thupa 'Inka's son Qhapaq Wari, though others appear to have been descended from his other son (and successor) Wayna Qhapaq. Another elite group may have emerged from the Ayamarka community. The town and previous imperial Inca estate was built in the Ayamarka homeland, soon after one of the last revolts by the Ayamarka was crushed. The Ayamarka were then granted citizenship through "Inca by privilege" as the empire expanded. During the Spanish invasion and occupation of the Andes, many Ayamarka elites are known to have moved to Cuzco, while others, perhaps of less prestigious ancestry, stayed in Chinchero.
  57. In many instances when this inscription has been noted, the name Amau is described as a shortening or misspelling of Amaru, a Quechua surname meaning "serpent," well known to scholars. However, there is no evidence of the name being altered on the canvas, and the name changing seems to be based only on scholarly supposition rather than evidence. Susan Niles (personal communication, 2005) was the first to point out to me that Amau (also spelled Amao) was likely the original name of the majordomo in the painting. Amau was a typical surname at that time in the region. It can be found in documents relating to Chinchero, as well as the adjacent Yucay and Urubamba areas. For example, in 1550, one Bernabé Amao is listed as a

- Chincherico resident. Horacio Villanueva Unteaga, "Documentos sobre Yucay en el Siglo XVI," *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco* 13 (1970): 79.
58. The use of staffs indicates that these men are either *Varayoqs*, leaders of the different *ayllus* in Chincherico, or representatives of the confraternities that sponsored the Corpus Christi procession. This latter, and more likely, alternative was first suggested to me by Susan Webster (personal communication, 2001).
  59. For a brief description of the *kuraka*, see Spalding, "Kurakas and Commerce," 583.
  60. *Ibid.*, 591–92.
  61. Steve J. Stern has shown that the Spanish allowed the *kuraka* more autonomy as a way to save money instead of hiring an overseer in many "reduced" towns (in which the Spanish consolidated the indigenous populations of many villages). Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of the Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 76. In larger towns, a *majordomo* could carry out the administration of the church for the *cacique*. The importance of the indigenous community leaders can be seen in a drawing by the indigenous historian Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who depicts an Andean *majordomo* holding the key to the church as a symbol of his authority. Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, trans. Jan Szeminski, vol. 2 (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 658, fig. 806. The drawing is captioned at the top, "Mayordomo: del administrador y de la iglesia y de cofradías, hospital, y de otros bienes de comunidad, y sapsi—suoyoc, indio pobre triubartiro" (Majordomo/church warden: of the administrator and of the church and of the confraternities, hospital, and of other benefits of the community, and communal—*suoyoc* [native leader], poor tributary Indian). Below the drawing Guaman Poma wrote "en este reyno" (in this kingdom) and "majordomos" (majordomo). In the accompanying text Guaman Poma wrote that these indigenous men were leaders of many aspects of early colonial organizations, such as "Majordomos of the church and of the confraternities and of the hospitals and of the administrators [*Majordomos de la iglesia y de cofrades y de hospitales y de los administradores*]." Guaman Poma, 660, states that these men were honest, hard workers who toiled "for the service of God and your Majesty [*para el servicio de Dios y de su Majestad*]."
    62. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 192–93.
    63. It is possible to see under the pigment that the second name also begins with MD, indicating that this man, like Pascual Amau, also held the title *majordomo*. This image of two *majordomos* may suggest that they are *hanan* and *hurin* *caciques*. For a discussion of dual *caciques*, see Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*, 300. If this is the case, Amau would be from the Cuper *ayllu*, or the *hanan ayllu*, while the erased *majordomo* would be from the Ayllupongo, or the *hurin ayllu*.
    64. The crudeness of the brushstrokes and the disparity in pigment suggest that sometime after the completion of the painting, someone painted over the original name in haste.
    65. John V. Murra, "Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State," *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4 (1962): 710–28.
    66. For an excellent discussion of Inca dress in both the imperial Inca and colonial periods, see Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in Phipps et al., *The Colonial Andes*, 17–39. In particular, Phipps discusses the complexity and meaning of Andean textiles and the various strategies, legal and otherwise, on the part of the Spanish to control indigenous clothing.
    67. The Spanish began legislating indigenous dress, in particular setting rules over indigenous versus European elements, in 1575. New laws continued to be enacted until independence in the early nineteenth century. For a discussion of the changing Spanish laws in regard to indigenous clothing, see Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 27.
    68. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 126.
    69. The *cacique* wears a Spanish coat. The noble to his left wears a similar outfit, with the exception of the coat. This noble has on an Inca mantle called a *yagolla* (also spelled *yacolla*). Made of two pieces that were sewn together, it was worn loosely or, as shown here, tied together over the left shoulder (26). A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," *Textile Museum Journal* 34–35 (1997): 26; and Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 20.
    70. This is the Quechua term for the Inca shirt (also spelled *uncu*). The Spanish referred to it as a *camiseta*. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 19–20. For a discussion of the Inca male tunics in the imperial Inca and colonial periods, see also John H. Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, ed. Ann Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), 239–64; and Joanne Pillsbury, "Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7 (2002): 69–103.
      - The most important elements of an Inca man's clothing were his "knee length sleeveless tunic, a plain mantle, headband and ornaments." A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 24. The clothing reflected status and ethnic identity. The headgear defined ethnic or regional origin, separating Inca by birth versus Inca by privilege. The headband, a braided wool band, was called a *llawt'u*. *Ibid.*, 27. A seventeenth-century dictionary (attributed by different scholars to several different authors) defines *Llautu* as "a large sash, that makes many turns, that they wear in Cuzco on their head, for which each nation is different, for that which they wear on their head [*un cingulo largo, que dan muchas bueltas, que se pomen los del Cuzco en la cabeza y cada nacion se diferencia, por lo que traé en la cabeçca*]." *Arte y vocabulario en la lengua general del Peru, llamada Quichua, y en la lengua Española* (Seville: Clemente Hidalgo, 1603), leaf FF2v. The color of the band indicated prestige. A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 28. Tied over the *llawt'u* was a metal plaque worn on the forehead called a *cañipu*. This may have revealed the elite's *ayllu* distinction, indicating if they belonged to the *hanan* or *hurin* group (although Rowe mentions that we lack archaeological evidence for this). Thupa 'Inka's *ayllu* was *hanan*. *Ibid.*, 29. *Arte y vocabulario*, leaf BB1r, defines a *cañipu* as "a paten that one puts in the front [*patena que se pone en la frenal*]." Inca men also wore earplugs, called *paku*. These large cylindrical ornaments indicating prestige were so striking that a noble who wore them was called a *pakuyoc* (earplug man). The Spanish translated this reference as well, referring to this elite status male as an *orejón* (big ear). A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 29. Other jewelry, such as a *chipana* (a wide gold or silver bracelet), was worn on the forearm. *Ibid.*, 30.
      71. Although the design of the edge bindings is not clear, what is visible resembles the traditional edge binding that characterizes some southern Andean textiles. Edge bindings are not common in the Andes, but can be found in several communities in the southern Andes. Chincherico's edge binding is woven, not sewn, into the edges of the cloth. It is a distinctive round weave with a diamond motif that is found in only a handful of communities. This tradition continues today in all large, modern weavings.
      72. John H. Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," in *The Civilizations of Ancient America: Selected Papers of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists*, ed. Sol Tax (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 258–68. The representation of Inca elites in colonial imagery and the importance of clothing has since been studied by a variety of other scholars. See Rolena Adorno, "Images of Indios Ladinos in Early Colonial Perú," 232–70, Thomas Cummins, "We Are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial Kurakakuna," 203–31, R. Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: Toward an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress," 151–202, in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Kenneth J. Andrien and Adorno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Gustavo Buntinx and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Inca y reyes españoles en la pintura colonial peruana: La estela de Garcilaso," in *Margenes* (Lima: Margenes, 1991), 151–210; Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Apartado 195, 1980), 117–46; and Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 16–39. Rolena Adorno stresses that even elite indigenous people who used a lot of Spanish clothing always included visible indigenous elements, proclaiming their ethnic identity. Adorno, "On Pictorial Language and the Typology of Culture in a New World Chronicle," *Semiotica* 36, nos. 1–2 (1981): 63. Andean elites were aware of the power of paintings in conveying messages of authority through the depiction of clothing and related imagery. During the colonial period, elites often commissioned paintings that were carefully crafted to send messages of power, including both Spanish and Inca iconography. Dean, "Copied Carts," 105.
      73. Note that he, like the *cacique*, has a Spanish-style hat in his hands.
      74. For a discussion of the Ayamarkas (also spelled Ayarmacas), see David Cahill, "The Virgin and the Inca: An Incaic Procession in the City of Cuzco in 1692," *Ethnohistory* 49, no. 3 (2002): 611–49; and Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Los Ayarmacas," in *Ensayos de historia andina: Elites, etnias* (Lima: IEP, 1993), 241–90.
      75. Inca nobles, primarily of the Ayllupongo, walked a precarious line functioning as enablers of Spanish power as well as caretakers of the memory of the Inca past. The majority of the Cuper *ayllu* were labeled commoners, as were the Yanacona, who were most likely the descendants of imperial Inca servants. The listing of most Cuper members as commoners is interesting, because in modern Chincherico, the Cuper *ayllu* is considered to be the *hanan* (or upper) *ayllu*, while the Ayllupongo is understood as the *hurin ayllu*, suggesting that the Ayllupongo came in later or is somehow the "lower" pair of the two *ayllus*. Christine Franquemont, "Chincherico Plant Categories: An Andean Logic of Observation" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1988), 22–23. The status of the Yanacona as elite servants to the Inca nobles

added another dimension to the unusual intergroup dynamics within the colonial town of Chinchero.

76. For a discussion of the creation of a shared notion of being Indian and adopting Inca as a symbol of indigenous opposition to Spanish rule and culture, see Irene Silverblatt, "Becoming Indian in the Central Andes of Seventeenth Century Peru," in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 279–98.
77. In contrast, the cacique's tunic bears prominent European designs.
78. The Andean sandals were the same for both men and women. They were called *'usut'a* and were of untanned leather from camelids and had wool ties. Vibrant, multiple colors and elaborate designs were used for high-status people, while lower-status people—such as the musicians—were left with simple outfits made from a limited variety of natural hues. Sandals could be made of other materials, such as plant fiber. A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 31.
79. It is possible that a surviving colonial building located adjacent to the church may have been a home for the *escolania*. Next to the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat is an enclosed *kancha*, with a building called *la escuela* (before the building was abandoned a few years ago, the structure served as a school). The main building, which rests on a tall, finely made imperial Inca terrace, has greatly deteriorated, with a partially collapsed roof. It is connected to a series of rooms that were constructed at a later period. Gisbert and Mesa, *Arquitectura Andina*, 192, argue that the main building in this group was the *Capilla de los Indios* (Chapel of the Indians). They contend that the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat was built for the Spanish residents in town, and the smaller *capilla* was created for the indigenous population. However, considering that the town of Chinchero apparently never had much, if any, of a Spanish population, this interpretation is unlikely. The main building's close proximity to the church suggests that it may have had a religious use. The wall separating the two areas may have been added at a later date. The main building is a well-built rectangular structure, with a gable roof that curves at the north end to form a domelike space. This area leads to a balcony that looks over the church atrium. Two doors open on the east side. Windows are in the east and west walls (none of which is trapezoidal), and there is no evidence of niches. The roof beams are nicely cut, and the walls are exceptionally thick. It is also possible that the building served other functions, for example, as a hospital that was recommended to be built by the Law of the Indies. Yet the domed area and the adjacent balcony overlooking the church atrium suggest that this structure likely served a religious purpose, as an *escolania* or as a place to instruct all residents in Catholic teaching. Without further evidence, the use of this building is left ambiguous.
80. See Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, 43. A *panaqa* is a royal lineage group, sometimes referred to as similar to a clan or moiety. Each *panaqa* claims descent from a specific ruler.
81. Carolyn Dean discusses the *haylli*, its importance in Inca life, and Spanish attempts to co-opt it, recounting how in one instance the choirmaster tried to commission a *haylli* for Corpus Christi to be sung by Andean boys. Dean, "The Ambivalent Triumph: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco, Peru," in *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance across the Disciplines*, ed. Mark Franko and Annette Richards (Hanover, Mass.: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 164. Cummins, "Silver Threads and Golden Needles," 13, discusses another incident in which Inca elites paraded in the plaza and sang traditional songs of Inca triumphs in homage to the Jesuits.
82. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for *The Art Bulletin* for suggesting this reading of the musicians' placement in the painting.
83. A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 12. The *aqsu* (also spelled *acsu*) was also called *anacu*. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 21–22.
84. A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 11. The pins that held the dress were similar in design to those that held the shawl. The head of the pin was a disk, which had a hole through which a cord could be secured. The pins were usually of silver, copper, or gold, and the edges were so sharp they could be used as a knife. The pins for the dress were called *tupu* and the pin for the shawl was called *t'ipki* (22).
85. *Ibid.*, 23.
86. This may be a myth circulated by the Spanish. Inca women's dresses were indeed wrapped around their bodies, but, as Ann Rowe suggests (*ibid.*), the cloths of some communities were so large that they wrapped far more than a full circle around the woman, making the chance of skin showing impossible. The Spanish may have created this story once they learned that the Inca dresses were not sewn (and thus not secured) but simply wrapped around the women's bodies. However, in areas where textiles were smaller, it is possible that a woman's leg may have been revealed occasionally.
87. Susan Niles (personal communication, 2001) was the first to notice that the women in the Chinchero painting may have Spanish-style skirts underneath their Inca dresses. Spanish clothing styles were forcefully imposed on women during the reforms of Toledo in the 1570s, which stated that the indigenous dress had to be sewn up. A slip or petticoat was also introduced. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 30.
88. In imperial Inca times, head coverings were among the most important signifiers, not only of ethnicity and gender but also of status. For the imperial Inca elite, head coverings were highly stylized and regulated. Inca women typically wore a headband called a *wincha*. A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 24.
89. The *ñañaga* was folded inward several times; it covered the top of the head and hung down the back. Even infant girls wore a head covering (a cap). The term *p'ampakuna* was also used to describe the head cloth. *Ibid.*, 24. The women in the Chinchero painting have most of their hair covered. For a discussion of the various ways in which Inca women wore their hair, see *ibid.*
90. During the Spanish occupation, the imperial Inca head coverings quickly fell out of favor. While colonial paintings depicting historical figures from the imperial Inca period are shown with traditional head coverings, contemporary elite indigenous women, even those depicted in Inca dress, are usually shown with no head covering. This trend can be seen in the Chinchero painting, where two of the elite women in the town scene have their heads uncovered (though slightly covered up by the high neck of their shawl, or *lliklla*). However, the two women standing closest to the cacique have their heads covered—and in a most interesting manner. The women's proximity to the cacique and the fact that they carry staffs suggest their high status. The two women wear either a very wide *wincha* or a tightly fitting cap. Over this colorful head piece, a long black veil covers the backs of their heads and runs down their backs. This headdress likely derives from the imperial Inca elite headdress, but it has been modified by contact with Spanish material culture. The long black veil is not folded in the traditional indigenous manner but drapes across the head, in a style typical of nuns.
- What is most interesting is that elite women—as opposed to elite men—are shown marked by a reference to an imperial Inca headdress. When this painting was made, it was typical for elite men to compete to wear the royal *mascaypacha* during the Corpus Christi celebration. Those wearing the royal imperial Inca fringe claimed the highest imperial Inca authority. Yet at Chinchero, it is not the men but the women whose head covering references their royal Inca status, albeit a Spanish-inflected version. The articulation of the women's headdress, like the majority of their clothing, celebrates their imperial Inca ethnicity while rejecting or marginalizing all things Spanish.
91. A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 16.
92. For a discussion of Chinchero textiles focusing on modern practices, see Christine Franquemont, "Chinchero Pallas: An Ethnic Code," in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, ed. Anne Rowe (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1986), 331–38; and Christine Franquemont and Edward Franquemont, "Learning to Weave in Chinchero," *Textile Museum* 26 (1986): 54–79.
93. Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 21.
94. I thank Ann Rowe for pointing out to me the importance of this element (personal communication, 2001).
95. Today, this type of narrow-mouthed Inca ceramic jar is referred to by its European name *aryballos* (from the Greek) or *aribola* (in Spanish).
96. For a discussion of the status of Andean women in the colonial period, particularly their abuse by the European invaders, see Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologist and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). For a discussion of sexuality and marriage among indigenous people in the Cuzco area during the colonial period, with their complexities and ambiguities, see Ward Stavig, "Living in Offense of Our Lord: Indigenous Sexual Values and Marital Life in the Colonial Crucible," in *Hispanic American History Review* 75, no. 4 (1995): 597–622.
97. Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them," 100, was the first to discuss how this important concept relates to colonial visual culture. Diego Gonzalez Holguín defines *yachacuchcani yachacufcamcani* as "to make yourself, or be accustomed and to have a longing, and to feel comfortable in a place or with a person [*hazerse, o habitarse, y tener querencia, y hallarse bien en lugar, o persona*]." *Yachapu* is "he who knows everything, or of all things [*el que lo sabe todo, o de todas cosas*]," and *yachacuchini* means "to do what they have learned, or what they know [*hazer que aprendan, o que sepan*]." Gonzalez Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qqichua o del Inca* (Ciudad de los Reyes, Peru: Francisco del Canto, 1608), bk. 1, 362, leaf Y1v. *Arte y vocabulario*, leaf Kk6r, does not define the word *yachacuscamcani*, but *yachani* is defined as "to know, to understand, to dwell, to live, to

- have a longing for a place, to be accustomed to a thing [*saber, entender, morar, abitar, tener querencia en algun lugar, estar habituado a alguna cosa*]." *Yachacuni* is defined as "to learn [*aprender*]" and *yachacuchini* as "to do what you have learned, or do what is natural for you to do [*hacer que aprenda, o que sea factible de hacer*]." *Yachachini* is defined as "to teach, to influence, to make someone accustomed or to impose on someone [*enseñar, instruir, acostumar y, imponer a otro*]," *yachachinacuni* as "to get one person in agreement with another, to teach oneself [*concertarse el uno con el otro, o enseñarse*]," and *yachachicuni* as "to teach someone your custom, to prepare them, or to teach oneself for a specific reason [*enseñar a alguno que sea cosa propia, y aprestar, o ensayarse para alguna cosa*]." *Yachac yachapu* is defined as "knowledge [*sabio*]."
98. In the colonial period, it was common for indigenous Andean women to continue to wear indigenous clothing at all times. However, indigenous Andean males tended to adopt Spanish-inspired clothing for daily wear and traditional indigenous clothing for special occasions and festivals. See Carolyn Dean, "The Renewal of Old World Images and the Creation of Colonial Peruvian Visual Culture," in Fane, *Converging Cultures*, 182.
  99. Juan de Quiroz, Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, Protocolo 13, 1579, fols. 120r–123r; and Antonio Sanchez, Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco, Protocolo 25, 1583, fols. 422v–423v.
  100. For insightful discussions of Corpus Christi in Cuzco—its iconography, painting tradition, and relations to issues of ethnicity, authority, and transculturation—see David Cahill, "The Virgin and the Inca"; and publications by Carolyn S. Dean, such as "Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Perú" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1990); "Ethnic Conflict and Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2 (1993): 93–120; "Who's Naughty and Nice: Childish Behavior in the Paintings of Cuzco's Corpus Christi Procession," *Phœbus—a Journal of Art History* 7 (1995): 107–26; *Inca Bodies and the Body of Christ*; and "The Ambivalent Triumph," 159–76.
  101. A. Rowe, personal communication, 2001.
  102. While it is possible that at one point the Inca walls were covered up by plaster and not exposed as they are today, the structural elements have been altered as well. Instead of illustrating the short facade of the Inca-style entrance jutting a foot in front of the rest of the colonial church and emphasizing its difference, in the Chivantito image the Inca wall is covered and depicted as if it is flush with the rest of the facade. In addition, the prominent Inca-style post-and-lintel doorway has been transformed into a Europeanized arched entrance.
  103. See Nair, "Of Remembrance and Forgetting."
  104. As mentioned earlier, a lone woman stands to one side, watching the procession. Nearby, a light-skinned man in indigenous and Spanish clothing runs after a young indigenous boy with a whip.
  105. It is important to note that in the Andes, there is a long tradition of depicting important figures with two of the same hands. An example is seen in the sculpture of Tiwanaku, one of the most important centers of Andean artistic production. Interestingly, the figures with two hands, notably, the famous Bennett and Ponce Monoliths, as well as early works such as Stelae 15, are all depicted with two left hands. Unfortunately, there has been no study on the depiction of handedness in Andean art that may give us some insight into its meaning across time and space. However, its existence as an Andean tradition suggests that the two right hands represented in Chivantito's figure may have had an Andean meaning that we are, at the moment, unable to grasp.
  106. There is no existing series of chapels leading to the town of Chinchero that indicates a pilgrimage route once existed.
  107. A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 30.
  108. *Ibid.*
  109. This is based on a prejudicial view that "primitive" Indians would naturally adapt to more "advanced" European practices. Hence, there was little reason to assume Europeans would borrow elements of an "inferior" culture. As these modes have begun to collapse, research into European transculturation has begun to expand.
  110. For an excellent discussion of the highly politicized ways that cultural elements are interpreted, labeled, and discussed in cultural encounters, see Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 6–35.
  111. For another example of Spanish clothing being naturalized as Inca, see Cahill, "The Virgin and the Inca," 613.
  112. Dean, personal communication, 2006. There was much shifting and labeling of people of mixed ancestry in the Andes, changes that not only occurred across time and place but also shifted from group to group. One striking example can be seen in the writings and drawings of Guaman Poma, whose dislike of "mestizos" is overt. Other groups in the Andes often viewed suspiciously people of mixed ancestry. Trying to pin down these shifting and often elusive ethnic and cultural statuses in the colonial period is very difficult. David Cahill has discussed the difficulty in categorizing these colonial groups today. See Cahill, "Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Vice-royalty of Peru, 1532–1824," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, no. 2 (1994): 341–46.
  113. According to the ornithologist José Alvarez, this bird does not illustrate an actual species (personal communication). Thus, it is not to be confused with the *Curiquenque*, a bird depicted in some colonial Cuzco paintings that was associated with Inca royalty. Intriguingly, this mythical bird can be found in other contemporary paintings in the Cuzco area, suggesting that this was not a singular representation but had a longer visual history and perhaps meaning.
  114. This building is likely a representation of the colonial church that exists to the southeast of Chinchero today. It is built next to and slightly under a large rock outcrop that was venerated before the arrival of Europeans. Today the colonial church belongs to a group of Chinchero residents (the Ayllupongo) and houses the local image of Señor de Huanca, a saint whose veneration is drawn from indigenous religious traditions.
  115. When stucco, clay, or another type of outer layer used to protect an adobe structure is not renewed on a regular basis, the adobe bricks will begin to deteriorate from exposure to the elements. Rain in particular seeps into the bricks, causing the moistened adobe to deform or melt, as it slowly disintegrates. This is referred to as an adobe melt.
  116. In terms of material culture, Thomas Cummins has raised an important point: that sacredness for Andeans was embedded in an object's material rather than in just its form, which made the destruction of Andean sacred objects and places more difficult for the Spanish. Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in Fane, *Converging Cultures*, 161–62.
  117. While Christianity could be used as a symbol of the European destruction of indigenous non-Christians, such as in the iconography of Santiago Mataindios (Saint James who kills Indians), Christian iconography and teachings could also be used against the Spanish. An example is Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which was adopted as the patron saint of the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in 1781. Patricia Sarro, "Our Lady of Mount Carmel," in Fane, *Converging Cultures*, 231.
  118. Perhaps as further scholarship on the colonial Andes is conducted, we will realize many more examples of an Andean landscape painting tradition in the colonial period.
  119. Sullivan, "European Painting and the Art of the New World Colonies," 31, 32.
  120. Francisco Stastny, "The Cuzco School of Painting," *Connoisseur*, May 1975, 23–24. These landscapes are fictitious, as landscapes resembling Flemish ones did not exist in the Andes of South America (24–26).
  121. As Teresa Gisbert states, "The aesthetic break with Europe seems to be total. The Cuzco painters created a school that differs not only from Spanish and European traditions, but also from the schools of Mexico, Lima, and even Potosí." Gisbert, "Andean Painting," in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Paintings of Peru and Bolivia* (New York: Center for American Research, 1986), 27.
  122. Chivantito's depiction of a local sacred landscape in a Christian scene is very different from the work of his contemporaries. Most Andean artists made their landscapes resemble Flemish ones or painted them as lush lowland scenes. The latter was favored among highland people, who saw the lush jungle as a type of paradise. Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1976), 52. Another Cuzco-area artist created an image of a local landscape in the decades after Chivantito's *Virgin of Montserrat*. Friar Francisco de Salamanco, a self-taught artist who grew up in Oruro (present-day Bolivia), was a Mercedarian hermit who painted the inside of the monastery of La Merced with murals that incorporated local urban elements, such as a bridge, along with mountains that are based on those near Oruro (27–32).