

1572. In Levillier 1921, 542–44.

31. Saloman and Urioste offer a translation of the Quechua *campi camayuc* other than the usual term “master weaver.” Of special interest is their translation of *camayuc* as “possessor of a specific force or energy [*camay*]” (Saloman and Urioste 1991, 45, n. 33). In another context they translate *camay* as “to charge” or “to charge with being,” “to make,” “to give form and force,” “to animate” (45, n. 31). Their translation provides an additional concept of the weaver as one who contained the ability to imbue the object of production, the *cumbi* textile, with its animated properties—to give life to it. The animation of each textile woven by master weavers was, in part, the anima of the life/culture force. The meaning and integrity within the object itself were culturally recognized.
32. Toledo [1569–74] 1986, 24.
33. Examples can be found in the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York; the National Museum of the American Indian, New York; the Abegg Stiftung Foundation, Riggisberg, Switzerland; and the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich.
34. Warp selvages of the tapestry-woven *llicllas* follow the convention of highland tapestry weaving: looped ends at the lower edge, cut and reentered edge at the top. This is a change from the Inca *cumbi* weaving, where the top warp loops are not cut but the weaving is painstakingly completed with no visible terminal area. The majority of the early *llicllas* have cotton warps.
35. British Museum, 1891, 7–22.2; the Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York, 1902.1.782; the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 70.3.2; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 97.448; and the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 91.432.
36. Certain regions used camelid hair warps. Sheep wool, introduced by the Spanish soon after the Conquest, with its

shorter staple, or textile fiber of relatively short length, and fuzzier appearance, was not used in the production of the finest *llicllas*.

37. See the American Museum of Natural History's collection of textiles and related items excavated by A. Bandler in the late nineteenth century.
38. “11 February 1571, D. Felipe II, Madrid: That the free Negroes and Mulattos [female] do not wear gold, silk mantles nor pearls.” Madrid 1791, 369.
39. I am grateful to Augusto Dreyer, unpublished manuscript, for his listing of the chronology of the various versions of this painting and their present locations, while clarifying the social significance of the alliance depicted in the painting.
40. The terms *anacu* and *acsu* are both found in the early colonial dictionaries, Bertonio [1612] 1989 (Aymara), Gonzales-Holguín [1608] 1952 (Quechua) as well as other contemporary accounts, such as Cobo [1653] 1990. In this essay I have differentiated between the *anacu* as a full dress, and the *acsu* as the skirt, or half-dress.
41. “[A]nd more insignias adorning solely the true God, when to see him in the clothing of their Incas which they have as Gods, or that mixed the most religious cult with outside superstitions.” Visitador General Don Josef Antonio de Areche to Juan Manuel, Obispo de Cuzco, April 13, 1781, f.4v., f.5r., Archivo de las Indias, Seville.
42. “They are prohibited to dress themselves like us.” Royal Cedula 43 from Madrid 1791, 403.
43. Cobo [1653] 1990, 188.
44. From Juan Solorzano y Pereya, *Politica indiana* [1606] (Madrid, 1972), 395, 403.
45. Areche, in the same letter that advocates the prohibition of the Inca garments, also recommends that “it be introduced with more vigor until here the use of the schools of Castilian language, under rigorous penalty and justice.” See note 41.
46. Saloman and Urioste 1991, 42.

A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation

Tom Cummins

Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Inca empire, and Lima, the newly built capital of the Spanish viceroyalty, were the two great cities of colonial Peru. In this respect, the viceroyalty of Peru from its beginning was very much unlike its colonial counterpart, New Spain. There the ancient Aztec city of Tenochtitlan was transformed through its destruction to become Mexico City, so that the locus of past and present power continued to be one and the same. In colonial Peru there was no such coincidence. Instead, the Precolumbian past and the colonial present were not only distanced temporally, but separated spatially, as the center of power shifted from Cuzco in the sierras to Lima on the coast.

We cannot really begin to appreciate much of colonial Peruvian art—how it was made, how it was seen, how it operated, and how it was discussed—without taking into account this fundamental disjunction of space and time. In this sense, our twentieth-century terms “Cuzco school of painting” and “Lima school of painting” refer to more than just the differences of artistic style in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they also refer to the radically different experiences of art in Cuzco and Lima. The histories of these cities were fundamentally different, each forming particular spaces and publics for the production and reception of colonial art. The historical character of each city did not remain static: colonial paintings and sculptures, the stories told about them, and the rituals in which they were displayed and worshiped were

FIG. 77
Inca construction showing beveled joints of carefully fitted stones.



dynamic elements in the making and remaking of the social spaces of Cuzco and Lima throughout the colonial period.

❖ The Construction of Lima and Cuzco

The character of Cuzco is as old as that of Lima is new. We need only to begin with the documents regarding the Spanish foundation of each city to understand the nature of this basic distinction and its importance for Peruvian colonial art.

Cuzco existed long before the arrival of the Spaniards. It was a most holy city, so holy from the Andean point of view that Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca, the mestizo author of the great classic *Los comentarios reales de los Incas*, likened his natal city to ancient Jerusalem, writing that "Cuzco, the name of the capital of the Inca empire, meant Navel of the World in the language of the Inca."¹ What Garcilaso implies is that, as in Jerusalem, Cuzco's layout of streets, plazas, and buildings defined the historical

and cosmological center of a sacred world. Here in "the Navel of the World," the austere walls of Cuzco's sacred buildings exhibited the existing beauty of Inca architecture and the past power of the Inca state. Cuzco was situated in a beautiful Andean mountain valley at an altitude of 11,000 feet, and the clarity of the atmosphere produced a brilliant contrast of light and shadow in the city where Inti, the solar deity, had once been worshiped. The natural play of sunlight was turned subtly and skillfully toward a visual intensification of Cuzco's metaphysical magnificence. Unadorned walls were highlighted by the sharp lines of shadow and light at the beveled joins of carefully fitted stones (fig. 77). The Coricancha, the most holy temple dedicated to Inti, was partially covered with golden plaques reflecting the sun in all its dazzling brilliance. In fact, the Inca part of the city still seems to pulsate when the sun comes out.

All this splendor surrounded Francisco Pizarro on March 23, 1534, as he stood in the sacred plaza, looked about the center of Inca Cuzco, and declared that it would henceforth be the plaza of Spanish Cuzco.² The colonial foundation of Cuzco, therefore, was basically an act of redefinition of what already existed: a magnificent city already designed and built, with its own sacred history. Pizarro's declaration immediately meant that many of the buildings that had once been home to Inca nobles now belonged to conquistadors and that the major temples that had once been used to worship Inca deities now were used to celebrate Christian rituals. Over time, of course, new structures replaced or were built on the foundations of old ones, but the physical (and, therefore, the historical) presence of the Inca could never be erased. Any visitor to Cuzco senses that it is physically an Inca city over which has been superimposed a European one (fig. 78).

The city of Lima was also compared to Jerusalem in its early colonial history. It was, however, an altogether different comparison than that made between Cuzco and Jerusalem by the mestizo writer Garcilaso de la Vega. To the Spaniards, interlopers searching in the coastal desert of a foreign land, Lima was like the Jerusalem of the New Testament sought by the Three Kings. They, too, had wandered as foreigners in a desert wilderness before coming finally to the promised place.³ Lima offered similar promise to Pizarro and his men, three of whom had originally been sent out in search of it. Thus, when Lima was founded on Jan-

uary 18, 1535, less than a year later than Cuzco, it was called "la ciudad de los Reyes."⁴ At this foundation site, however, there was no great city that Pizarro could claim. It was a humble place chosen not for what it had been in the past, but for what it could be in the future.⁵ Situated along the side of the Rímac river and near the coast, the site offered an excellent harbor close by, as well as available firewood, water, and good fields for planting.⁶ Like the Jerusalem of the New Testament, Lima offered the chance to start anew, a place to build the beginning of a new age in Peru—the colonial age.

In Lima, Pizarro could not look around to see the grandeur of Inca buildings and streets; instead he stood in the place where Lima's Plaza de Armas would be and looked down at a piece of paper held in his hand. On it was drawn a city plan in the form of a grid, and each of the carefully designed city blocks had the name(s) of its new resident(s) written within them.⁷ Lima's foundation therefore began as an imaginative act of vision, which was as strong a force in determining Lima's appearance as the Inca foundations were for Cuzco. Pizarro's plan came to order Lima according to the rational Renaissance ideal of a city, as one can see in one of its earliest surviving maps, of 1626, in which the regularity of the city is used as a strategic part of its defense (fig. 79). The cathedral and government buildings define the center of Lima's formal pattern. The radiating streets intersecting at right angles give a spatial uniformity and orderliness that is carried out from the existing geometry in Pizarro's simple drawing. This is very different from the first known map of Cuzco drawn and painted in 1643 (fig. 80). Although the map shows only a part of the city and does not include the central plaza,⁸ one can easily see that the disposition of buildings and streets follows a meandering order very different from the rigid geometric plan of the Lima map.

Only a city as new and fresh as Lima could exhibit its particular Spanish colonial foundation so clearly in its design, without reference to any pre-Conquest past. Such newness was understood as part of Lima's greatness by its own inhabitants. For example, Bernabé Cobo, an early seventeenth-century Jesuit chronicler, speaks of Lima as one of the great cities of the world that, with time, would take its place of honor among them. So very different from all the ancient European cities whose pasts, Cobo says, were clouded by their humble and obscure origins, Lima could claim a history that was clear from its beginning, when it was

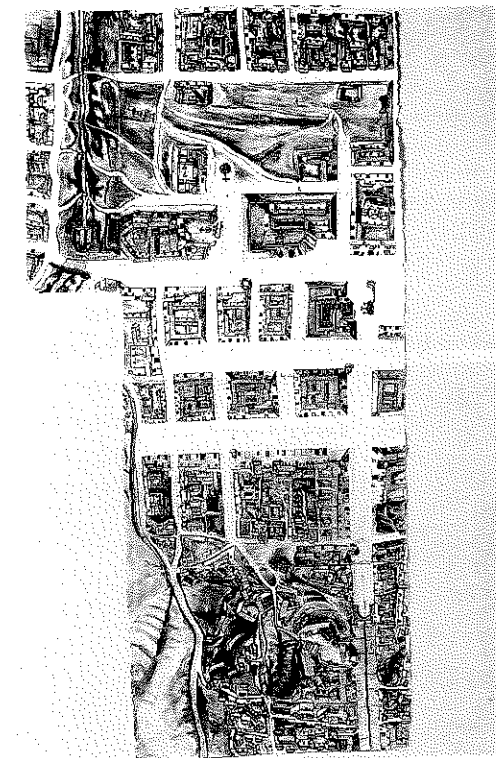
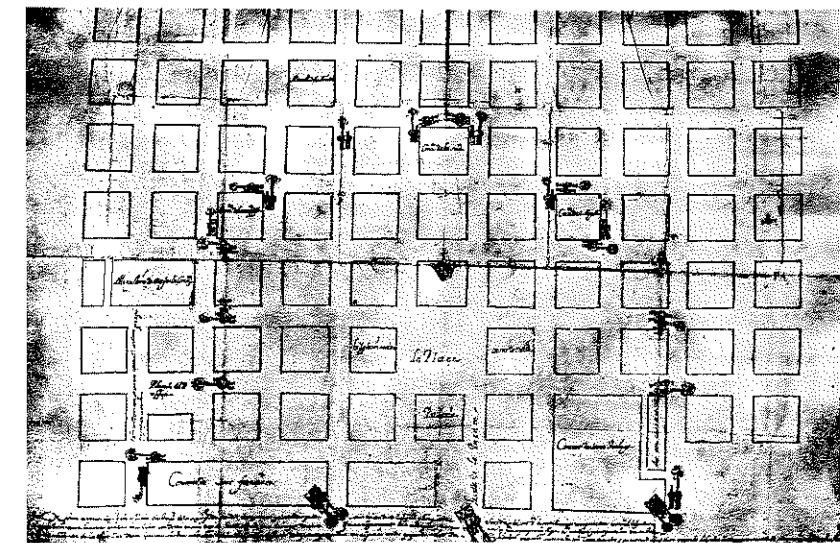


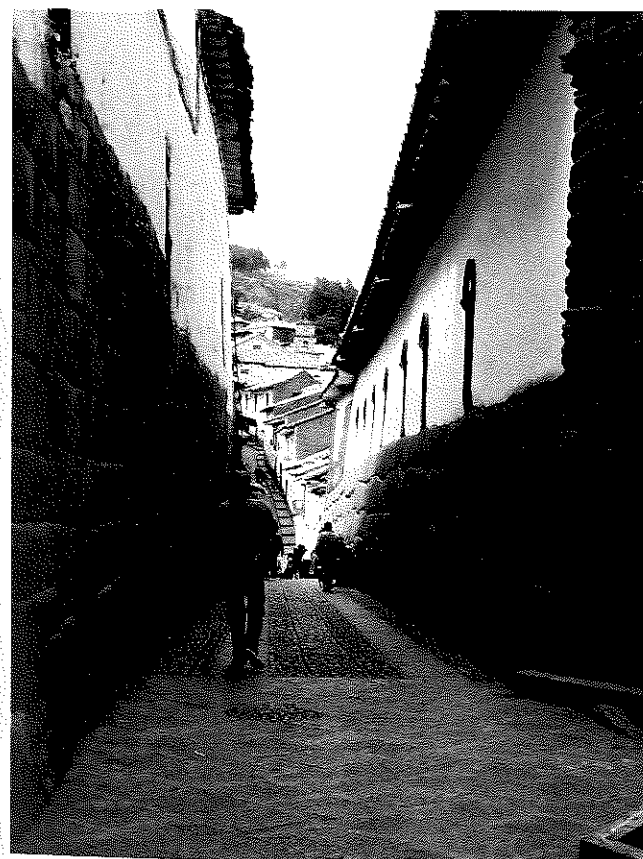
FIG. 79
One of the earliest maps of Lima, 1626. Pen and ink on paper. Archivo General de Indias, Seville (Sección Audiencia de Lima. Legajo No. 465).

FIG. 80
First known map of Cuzco, drawn and painted in 1643. Watercolor on paper. Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (Apelaciones del Cuzco. Legajo 3, 1630-33, folio 324).

founded as the "court and seat of government of this kingdom."⁹

Lima, then, was a city created out of the vice-regal future, whereas colonial Cuzco was created out of the Inca past. The newness of Lima offered a historical clarity, whereas the ancientness of Cuzco produced a historical ambiguity. How did this sense of "new" and "old," "clear" and "ambiguous," enter into the visual experience of someone walking through either of these cities? Few citizens of Peru

FIG. 78
View of Cuzco, showing the superimposition of a European city structure over Inca foundations.



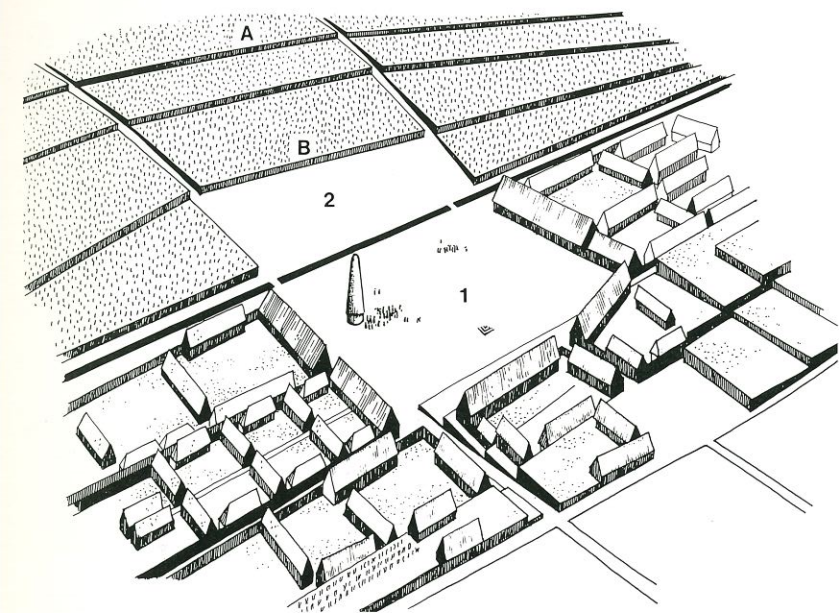


FIG. 81
Dual plaza of Cuzco,
Haucaypata and Cusipata.
Graziano Gasparini and
Luise Margolies, *Inca
Architecture*, 55.

ever read history or looked at a map, so how did these cities in their architecture and layout impart these historical properties as part of an aesthetic experience?

To suggest a partial answer to this question, let us return first to the Inca plaza in Cuzco where Pizarro stood in 1534. What this plaza was and what became of it speaks volumes about the material construction of Cuzco as an embodiment of the Inca past even as Spanish rebuilding campaigns attempted to eradicate the idolatrous memory of that past.

❖ Cuzco ❖

According to Inca myths, Cuzco was founded in a fertile but swampy valley by Manco Capac, the first Inca king. By the time that the Spaniards captured the city, however, Cuzco had been transformed by Manco's descendants into the political, religious, and defining center of an empire called Tahuantinsuyu. It was a graceful city full of magnificent buildings and open spaces. Where the marshy area had once been, there was now the great dual plaza of Cuzco, Huacaypata and Cusipata (fig. 81). The city's transformation encompassed the creation of not only a public ceremonial space, but also a profoundly sacred place, as Polo de Ondegardo, the *gobernador* of the city, found out in 1558.

Polo describes how the creation of Cuzco's

plaza was the result of an extraordinary act of religious tribute recognizing the greatness of Cuzco and the worship of Ticsiviracocha, the Inca creator deity. First, the plaza was excavated and its sacred soil carried away to the four parts of Tahuantinsuyu, where it was venerated. In its place, the entire area was filled to a depth of at least two palms with fine sand brought from the coast, a distance of more than ninety leagues.¹⁰ Here, buried in the sand, offerings were made to the god Ticsiviracocha of "gold and silver vessels as well as small sculptures of llamas and humans," which were found in great quantities by Polo (fig. 82).

Essentially what Polo found and described was an Inca creation of a *cocha*, or the simulacrum of a great body of water, referring probably to both the ocean and Lake Titicaca, from which Ticsiviracocha had emerged after the flood to repopulate the world.¹¹ What Polo also came to realize was that because of this sand, the plaza was still venerated as a holy site more than twenty years after Pizarro had stood in it and declared it to be Spanish. So, the plaza was once again ordered to be excavated, this time by Polo, who decided that

as it was that the foundations of Cuzco's cathedral were being laid and being that the [local] sand that was found [was] of low quality and far away, the craftsmen said that if [the sand] were not taken from the plaza that [the cost of the cathedral's construction] would be very high . . . and so I had it removed, which was a tremendous quantity, which we mixed equally with other earth. The Indians would have paid any price we could have asked if we had left the plaza as it were, but I deemed it better that the sand go to [the building of] the Cathedral . . . the principal reason of which was that it removed the great reverence which they held for that plaza.¹²

Polo then notes that the amount of sand removed from the plaza was so great that, even after using it to lay the cathedral's foundations, there was enough left over to build four bridges across the city's river.

The quantity and quality of the sand in Cuzco's plaza seemed remarkable to Polo. What is perhaps more remarkable, in retrospect, is that Polo de Ondegardo ordered the sand to be used in constructing the most important Christian religious building in Cuzco—facing the very plaza from which the sand had been dug—so as to remove the reverence in which the plaza was held. For Polo, the

material of an idolatrous object held no intrinsic sacred essence; in Christian theology, the image and not the gold of the Golden Calf was an affront to God. Polo reasoned that removing the sand from the context of the plaza not only destroyed the "pagan" religious aura of the plaza, but also reclassified the sand as a suitable and economical building material for the new cathedral.

Because of Polo's actions, however, even today one can look at Cuzco's cathedral façade, built in the late seventeenth century (see fig. 94), and imagine that the foundations are in part formed by the sacred sand of Cuzco's ancient plaza. Perhaps this embodiment is better seen and understood today by looking upon the church and monastery of Santo Domingo. Both structures are built on the foundation walls of the Coricancha, the most sacred temple of the Inca (fig. 83). There is no mistaking the presence and grandeur of the Inca past, still visible, in these Christian buildings. Nor can there be any historical misreading of what is clearly an assertion of European superiority over the Inca by the superimposition of one building style over the other. Here, as in many of Cuzco's other colonial buildings, the physical materials of Inca constructions were deliberately reused or incorporated;¹³ this colonial practice, already suggested in the foundation document read by Pizarro in Cuzco's plaza, continued throughout Cuzco's history, up until today. Stones from monuments such as Sacsahuaman were routinely quarried for new structures, and old foundations and walls were continuously incorporated into new buildings. One can still sit in restaurants or hotels in Cuzco and recall the Inca past merely by looking at the surrounding walls.

The reuse of building materials and foundations gave Cuzco a historic character signaling that the contestation between Spanish and Inca was immediately and always present. At the apse of Santo Domingo, for example, a special balcony was built from which a Dominican priest could exhibit a monstrance to the crowd of natives who often gathered below. The balcony and ritual act were necessary because the newly converted natives still venerated the sacred stones of the Inca wall that formed the foundations of the church. The display of the monstrance was meant as a show of spiritual force.¹⁴

Whereas Santo Domingo was purposely built over the Coricancha so as to show the Church triumphant and to Christianize pagan practice,¹⁵ the cathedral, as Cuzco's most important building, was

meant to efface the pagan past. Such a past was not so easily replaced, however, because within Andean logic, the aura of the sacred is not necessarily removed by the destruction of its visual form. The sand of the ancient plaza, used as a humble building material, did not lose its sacred essence (*camay*) even as it was embedded in the cathedral's walls.

We can, perhaps, gauge what Andeans might have imagined while looking at the cathedral if we heed a Jesuit priest's warning written almost seventy years after Polo had the foundations laid with Cuzco's sacred sand. In 1621 Pablo José Arriaga printed a short book addressed to his fellow priests about all that he had learned in trying to eradicate Andean forms of worship. He recorded how the burning and breaking up of Andean sacred relics (*huacas*) was not sufficient to end the worship of them. Great care had to be taken to dispose secretly of the ashes and pieces of burned and destroyed holy objects lest the place where they had been buried or thrown become a sacred place of worship. Arriaga told of a Dominican priest who gathered up all the *huacas* in Huaylas and who took them to Lima, where he threw them into the river. Forty years later, Indians still came the great distance from Huaylas to Lima and worshiped on the bridge from which the idols had been thrown. Arriaga chided his fellow priests: "One must be

FIG. 82
Llama. Silver. Courtesy
Department Library Services,
American Museum
of Natural History, New
York.

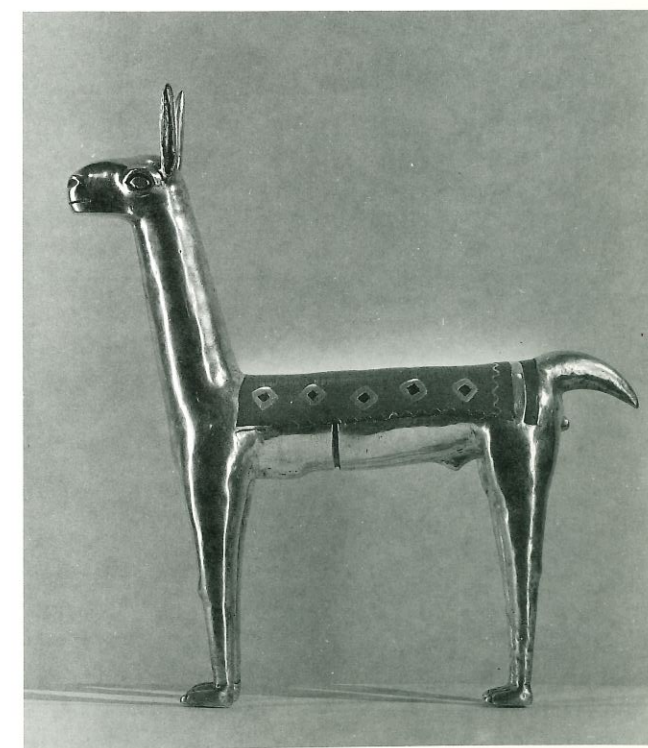


FIG. 83
The church and monastery of Santa Domingo, built on the foundation walls of the Coricancha, the most sacred temple of the Inca.



very careful about this [the disposal of the sacred remains], scattering them, burying them, or covering them up where the Indians will not see them or know their whereabouts. This takes a great deal of trouble, for one can trust no Indian to it, however good and reliable he may be.⁷¹⁶

On reading this passage, one can only wonder what acts of piety the Inca in Cuzco made when they crossed over one of the four colonial bridges built by Polo using the plaza's sacred sand. Even more, how did the native population look at the façade of the new cathedral?

The visible and tangible embodiment of Cuzco's precolonial past served to complicate any Spanish attempt to send the native population an unambiguous message of European domination. Even paintings with overtly triumphant Christian themes became subject to multiple interpretations when seen through the always-present historical lens of Cuzco's public spaces. This is especially true for the cathedral's first mural painted on the exterior wall facing the plaza. It depicted what was to become a relatively common theme in the iconography of Cuzco school painting: the miraculous appearance of Spain's patron saint, Saint James, to aid the Spaniards when the Inca attempted to drive them out of Cuzco in 1535 (see fig. 91). This militant Christian image sent an ambiguous message to

Cuzco's native population, as Garcilaso de la Vega indicates in his description of the sword wielded by Saint James in the cathedral's mural: "In the cathedral's gable wall that faces the plaza they painted Saint James riding a white horse with his sword in one hand and his shield in the other, and the sword was serpentine shaped. He had many dead and wounded Indians trampled underneath him. The Indians seeing the painting said: 'A Viracocha like this one was who destroyed us in this plaza.' The painting still existed in 1570 when I came to Spain."⁷¹⁷

The militant image of Saint James in Peru derives from his role in the Christian reconquest of Islamic Spain completed in 1492. Called Santiago Matamoros (Saint James the Moor Killer), he became known in Cuzco as Santiago Mataindios (Saint James the Indian Killer) because of his miraculous intervention in the conquest of Peru. The iconography of Saint James the Indian Killer depicts him descending from the skies to aid the Spaniards, but this image was almost immediately reconnected by the native population as an image of lightning, a telluric power worshiped before the Spanish Conquest. In describing the miracle itself and not the painting, Garcilaso writes: "In this hour of our need our Lord was pleased to favor His faithful with the presence of the blessed apostle Saint James the patron of Spain, who appeared visibly

before the Spaniards and whom they and the Indians saw on a splendid white horse bearing a shield with the arms of his military order and, in his right hand, a sword that seemed like lightning, so brightly did it shine. The Indians became terrified at the sight of this new knight and asked one another: 'Who is the Viracocha with the *illapa* in his hand?'—which means lightning, thunder, and bolt of lightning."⁷¹⁸

Garcilaso de la Vega stresses no physical action taken by the apostle; rather he emphasizes the visual phenomenon of the saint. His miraculous appearance confirms God's blessing to the Spaniards while it astounds and terrifies the Inca, who at the same time recognize a different kind of appearance, the phenomenon of sudden light. Certainly, then, a painting that permanently made visible the appearance of Saint James wielding a sword in the form of a lightning bolt held, at the very least, an ambiguous meaning for an Andean public. In fact, the same Padre Arriaga who had advised the secret disposal of the remains of the *huacas* also warned that "no Indian . . . shall be called by the name of lightning. Therefore, he may not be named Curi, Manco, Missa, Chacpa, Libiac, nor Santiago but Diego instead; and if anyone gives any of these names to his child . . . the priest shall proceed against him as one lapsed into idolatry."⁷¹⁹ It was not only names that continued the cult of Illapa. In Cuzco the material of its sacred past was mixed into the very walls of its new cathedral and then painted over with an image of Saint James holding a sword in the form of a lightning bolt. The center of Cuzco presented a space for a simultaneous aesthetic experience of past and present that bordered on an entirely new experience: it was neither European nor Andean, but new and colonial.

This experience was possible not only for those who stood in the plaza looking at the cathedral's walls, but also for those who contemplated the Inca foundations of many of Cuzco's colonial buildings. The use of Inca foundations and the reuse of Inca stones and other materials meant that colonial Cuzco's streets, doors, and walls were constructed out of a past that continued to be materially present and illuminated by the high Andean sun.

❖ Lima ❖

Lima's streets, doors, walls, and buildings embodied a sense of history that was very different from

that evoked in Cuzco. Rather than Cuzco's tension between past and present, the spaces of Lima expressed just the opposite: the colonial power to possess and command the building of a completely new city, financed by the material wealth extracted from the sierras and brought to the coast.

The character of Lima resides in the very construction materials that were gathered to build the city's magnificent new palaces and churches. Again, Bernabé Cobo's words give us a clear idea of how a seventeenth-century Peruvian saw and interpreted these materials:

[M]ost houses are made of adobe . . . and the buildings of masonry are few because of the great lack of materials, as there is not found in all of this valley a good quarry . . . and this is the cause for why it is so expensive to build in stone as the majority of it is brought by sea either from Panama a distance of five hundred leagues . . . or other remote places. . . .

All wood is brought by sea, the majority of which comes from Guayaquil more than 200

FIG. 84
Casa de Quatro Bustos, portal, Lima.



leagues north of here and almost all of it is oak, some is also still brought from the kingdom of Chile a distance of 400 leagues from this city. . . . At the same time, cedar and other types of precious wood for making doors, balconies, chairs, tables and other things of this kind are brought from Mexico and Colombia.

In their plan and form the houses [of Lima] have great beauty and art; the majority being built according to their plan and drawing and there are very dexterous craftsmen in designing and drawing them. There is no principal house that does not have its showy entrance of either stone or brick; the making of one of these portals costs between three and four thousand pesos plus the entrance hall and patio with its corridors of stone or brick columns; the columns are brought from Panama and they cost 100 pesos each. . . .²⁰

As Cobo makes clear, attention was drawn to what was completely new and magnificent, built with foreign materials brought from far away. This importation of materials could only have been achieved with the material wealth of Peru's great mines. In fact, it is probable that the stone and wood brought from Panama and farther north served as ballast for the ships returning to Peru after unloading their silver cargo, destined ultimately for Spain.

Certainly in Cuzco such portals as that of the Casa de Quatro Bustos (fig. 84) are meant to appear as ostentatious as anything built in Lima, but this display of power and wealth is represented more by its form and image than by the material in which it is built.²¹ In Cobo's and other descriptions of Cuzco, the cost of materials is not emphasized the way that it is in the above description of Lima. Garcilaso de la Vega tells how Inca buildings in Cuzco were torn down by Spaniards and their stones reused to build their homes "por ahorrar la costa" (in order to save costs).²²

According to Cobo's descriptive terms for Lima, all is new and everything of value—material, cultural, and spiritual—is brought from elsewhere. What is indigenous is either base (bricks, adobe, and lime) or lacking in quality (wood and stone). As a city with no cultural depth or roots, Lima rises from nothing to become the Baroque city par excellence in which display and artifice are all that is important. What matters is plan and design, the show of a fancy and costly portal.

In such a place where pre-Hispanic history has no hold, even the relics of the "pagan" past are safe-

ly turned to objects of amusement and amazement. For example, only in Lima could the Jesuits feel perfectly at ease in collecting the mummy bundles dug up in the surrounding countryside to use as theater props for a mystery play about the Last Judgment. At the trumpet call for the dead to arise, the once-venerated mummies and skeletons of ancient ancestors suddenly appeared under the glow of theater lights for the delight and astonishment of the European audience.²³ In Cuzco, where the streets and walls were very much alive with the presence of the past, such things were burned in the plaza or sent to Lima in fear that they might still hold power over the Andean imagination.

In this difference, one senses the shift of real power from Cuzco to Lima. Whereas the Inca had once been able to command the physical resources to bring tons of sand to fill the sacred plaza of Tahuantinsuyu, the Spanish were now capable of having stone and wood brought from even greater distances to build the viceregal capital. The sand carried to Cuzco may have been considered sacred,²⁴ but the new materials carried to Lima now demonstrated a material wealth wholly unconnected to worship even while they were used to build its churches and homes. In these very different spaces of Lima and Cuzco, urban colonial imaginations were formed and the sculptures and paintings of colonial Peru were seen and interpreted.

❖ Paintings and Sculpture ❖

Lima and Cuzco were both artistic centers. Pre-Hispanic Cuzco was populated with artisans brought by the Inca from all over Tahuantinsuyu, and after the Conquest many of them, especially weavers and metalsmiths, remained in the city, producing for the new European tastes. Native gold- and silversmiths, for example, set up shop in colonial Cuzco on a street that today is known as La Calle de los Plateros.²⁵ Lima was the first port of call for many European artists sent to Peru. Bernardo Bitti, a Jesuit painter from Rome, arrived in 1575 and remained for several years before traveling throughout the Andes during the next thirty-five years. He had been brought to paint and to teach painting in the graceful Mannerist style of the late sixteenth century. His works and those of his followers in Lima and Cuzco were meant to fill the churches with devotional paintings that would

please and instruct the faithful (see fig. 24).

Colonial Peruvian art history usually focuses on the stylistic and iconographic developments of Cuzco's and Lima's painting and sculpture. If Cuzco and Lima embody the spatial and temporal division of colonial Peru, however, paintings and sculptures formed the visual locus onto which were projected the cultural, religious, and political meanings already embedded in the two cities. Thus, a tension exists between the paintings and sculptures of Cuzco and Lima that lies not in their formal or iconographic differences or similarities but in terms of where they were seen.

This historical tension suggests why it would have been very hard to find a pan-Peruvian cult image similar to the Virgin of Guadalupe of Mexico. That image of the Virgin could represent both the creole and native populations because Mexico City was already a place of conflated history. In Peru the religious needs of a creole city such as Lima, with no acknowledged Precolumbian past, could not be manifested in an image of the Virgin appearing on the coarse cloak of an Indian.²⁶ Creole desire focused on an image of its own kind, Saint Rose of Lima, the first American saint, a creole born in Lima who became patron saint of not only Lima, but all the Americas, the Philippines, and the Indies. None of Cuzco's colonial citizens were raised to sainthood. Instead Indian, mestizo, and creole aspirations were projected onto images such as Christ of the Earthquakes (No. 85) and the Virgin of Belén that were miraculous in and of themselves.

The historical tension between the two cities began with the shift of economic, political, and cultural power from Cuzco to Lima. Cuzco was quickly sacked not only of its gold and silver, but of its *huacas* and *mallquis* (the mummies of Andean ancestors). The sacred bodies of Inca kings that had once been carried daily to Cuzco's plaza to preside over ritual celebrations were now ignominiously carried down the mountain roads to Lima. Exhibited in Spanish Lima, their venerated status was first publicly displayed as false and then offered up to the public for their amusement.²⁷

This symbolic movement or transfer of the Andean imperial past from Cuzco to Lima is not surprising. The Spanish attempted to take possession of the representations of Inca historical memory through their own religious and political institutions, and they did not cease when the last of the Inca mummies had been dispatched. Inca por-

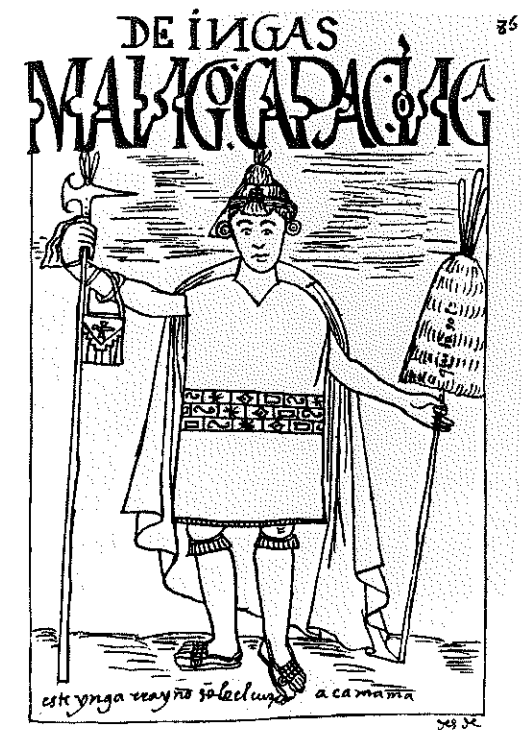


FIG. 85
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (born 1535). *Mango Capac Inca, Inca King*, circa 1613.

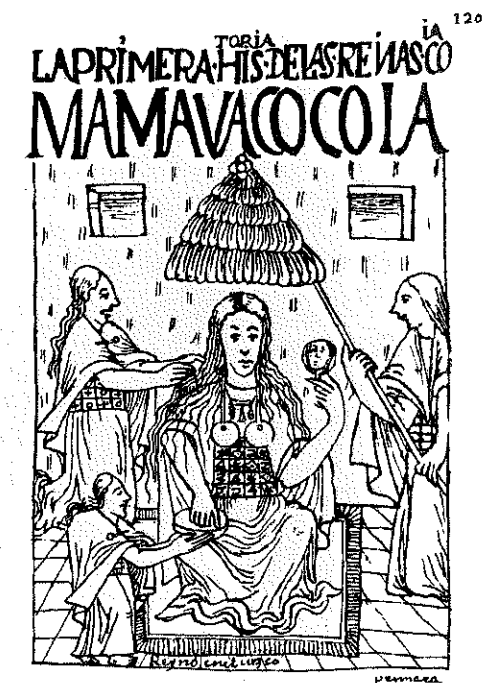


FIG. 86
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (born 1535). *Mama Vaco Coia, Inca Queen*, circa 1613.

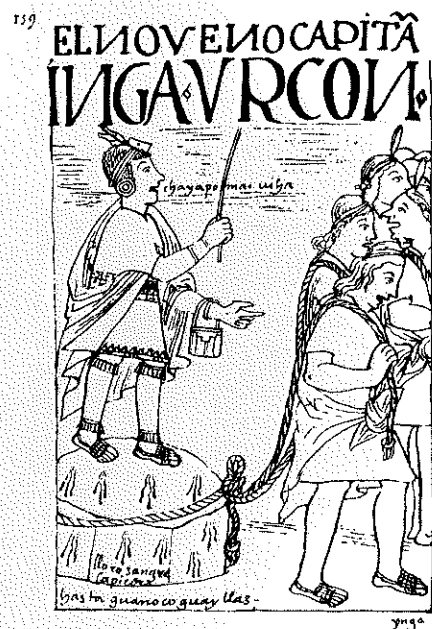


FIG. 87
Inca kings and queens
drawn after portraits
painted by the Indians of
Cuzco. Frézier 1716, pl. 31.

FIG. 88
Felipe Guaman Poma de
Ayala (born 1535). *El
Noveno Capitán, Inga
Vrcón*, circa 1613. A stone
sent from Cuzco for a
building in Guanaco.

traits based on European painting techniques were often sent from Cuzco to Lima and beyond. (I know of no portraits of Inca kings painted in Lima that were then sent to Cuzco.) The earliest known Inca portraits were painted in Cuzco as a kind of historical record. Produced by native artists, they were commissioned by the viceroy to be sent to Philip II in Spain.²⁸ Some thirty years later Guaman Poma de Ayala, the great native chronicler of pre-Hispanic and colonial politics and culture, also produced a complete portrait series of Inca kings and queens in his profusely illustrated manuscript, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, circa 1613 (figs. 85–86). They, too, were part of a historical claim made by the artist about the sovereignty of the Inca and the nobility of the past. Guaman Poma depicts himself and his son carrying the manuscript down the road toward Lima where he will send it to Spain to make his claim before King Philip III.

The flow of Inca portraits from Cuzco to Lima continued throughout most of the colonial period. The eighteenth-century French traveler Amédée Frézier tells his readers how he learned about the succession of Inca kings and their royal dress from a series of twelve life-size portraits that were “painted by the Indians of Cuzco” and sent to Lima where he saw and drew them (fig. 87).²⁹ Many of the Inca portraits painted in Cuzco were not intended for the Lima market, but, like the two portrait series of the Inca kings in The Brooklyn Museum collection (Nos. 93–97), were painted for a local public. Unlike Lima’s population, composed primarily of creoles, *peninsulares*, or acculturated mestizos, many of Cuzco’s people proudly traced at least a part of their lineage to the pre-Hispanic past. In Lima the portraits of the Inca were seen primarily as curiosities, the anachronistic images of ancient leaders who had preceded Spanish sovereignty. In Cuzco they were the visible manifestations, albeit in European form, of the ancestors who originally built the city. These portraits helped to maintain a historical identity of an idealized past existing prior to the Spanish Conquest.³⁰ Images of the Inca therefore appeared not only on canvas and print, but on traditional Andean media such as textiles and wooden drinking vessels called *keros* (Nos. 64–71).

There is little, if any, formal or iconographic difference between the Inca portraits that stayed in Cuzco and those that went to Lima. The experience of where one saw an Inca portrait was therefore crucial to its historical and political interpretation.

It is not surprising that in Cuzco and not in Lima, portraits of Inca kings were seized and destroyed by the Spanish after the great native revolt in Cuzco in 1781.

The majority of the images that the Spanish sent into the mountains were religious paintings or sculptures made in Lima or Spain. These images were regarded by the Spanish as manifestations of the true religion and new culture, and their joyful and celebratory journey was quite the opposite of that made by the Inca mummies to Lima. If coming from Spain, the painting or sculpture would be solemnly unloaded in Callao, Lima’s port, and paraded along the road to Lima. There it would be ceremoniously received and carried through Lima’s streets before beginning its ascent into the sierras. Moving into the Andes, the painting or sculpture would eventually be welcomed to Cuzco with great festivities. Finally, it would take its place with the other religious images composing Cuzco’s hierarchy of Christian icons.

Many such works decorated the walls and altars as didactic images of the New Testament, but not all images entered significantly into Cuzco’s history or culture. Those that did become powerful local icons were metaphysically transformed by their journey. Though often looking like other images, they acquired particular Andean histories that

accounted for their miraculous presence and effect in Cuzco. Thus, like the sand brought from the ocean shore to consecrate Cuzco’s plaza, two of that city’s most important Christian sculptures—the image of the Virgin holding the Christ Child known as the Our Lady of Belén (fig. 95), and the image of the crucified Christ known as Christ of the Earthquakes—were venerated for having come miraculously from the sea to take their place in the highland city. Here, the statues performed miracles relating to Andean concerns.

The miraculous image of Christ of the Earthquakes is today, perhaps, the most famous statue said to have ascended the road from Lima to Cuzco. Legend tells that it is one of three statues of the crucified Christ given by Charles V or Philip II to the city. During the ocean passage a terrible storm arose. The crew in fear of sinking opened the crate and prayed before the Crucified Christ. The sea immediately became calm and the journey continued without further incident. Unloaded at Callao, the three statues began their ascent to Cuzco. Along the way, first one and then the second of the three statues became impossibly—miraculously—heavy, and each had to be left where it was, one in Mollepata and the other in Incillpata. Only the third Crucifixion, the one that had calmed the seas, arrived in Cuzco.

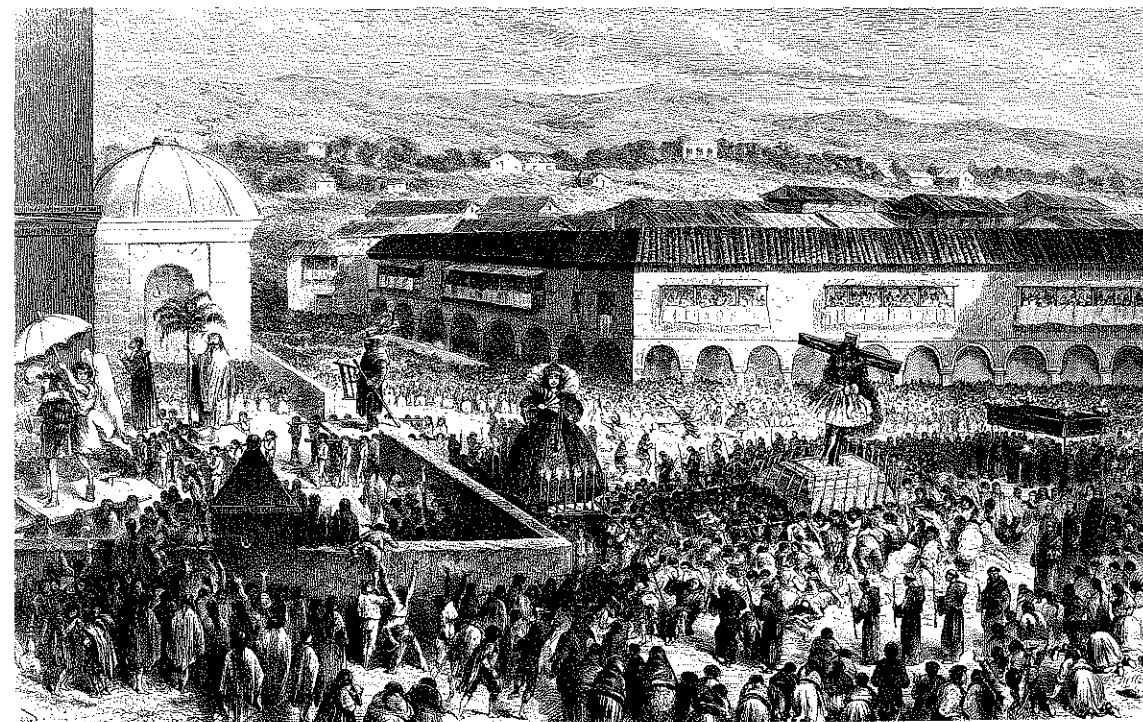


FIG. 89
Nineteenth-century representation of Christ of the Earthquakes in Cuzco.



FIG. 90
Attributed to Angelino Medoro, *Isabel Flores de Oliva* (1586–1617) of Lima, who became the first American saint—Saint Rose—in 1671. Church of Saint Rose, Lima.

The legend, like all miracle stories, is apocryphal. The sculpture of the Christ only became celebrated after 1650 (see below), and the statue most surely was made in Cuzco.³¹ What is important is the story itself. It explains how certain statues came to be where they are today within a mythic narrative that is Andean, not European. Such stories allow the generic Christian images to become specific within an Andean cultural framework. The account (perhaps as recent as the eighteenth century) of the three statues sent by Charles V is very close to Guaman Poma's explanation in the early seventeenth century of how a pre-Hispanic *huaca* came to be where it is now located. The native chronicler describes and illustrates a stone (fig. 88) sent from Cuzco for a building in Guanaco that had to be left where it was when it became so tired it cried blood and could not be moved.³² The three Spanish statues, as they entered into the sierras and Andean culture, were transformed into similar Andean objects by the stories told about them. They, of course, did not lose their primary reference to the New Testament events, but that reference became particularized through the narrative of their arrival.³³

Christ of the Earthquakes did not achieve its local importance immediately on its arrival in Cuzco. It remained in relative obscurity as one among many other Crucifixions in the cathedral's recesses until 1650, the year of one of Cuzco's most devastating earthquakes. As the earthquake progressed with its numerous aftershocks, all the cult images were carried out of the cathedral until the

image sent by Charles was removed. The moment it left the church, the earthquakes miraculously ceased. With this legend, the image becomes an image specific to Cuzco and its history; it becomes Christ of the Earthquakes. It acquires the aura of the miraculous, and hence becomes a singular image that substantiates the center of its own devotion. The sculpture is no longer just a representation, but is now itself the subject of representation and the focus of ritual celebration throughout the streets of Cuzco (fig. 89).³⁴

The sculpture of Christ of the Earthquakes became a prototype that was copied in paintings. In art-historical terms, it became the original or source of a specific iconographic tradition in Cuzco. Paintings of the statue depict a Christ crucified by three nails with his legs crossed and a lace skirt falling to his knees. The figure is always painted against a dark background on an altar with two flaming candles on either side interspersed with flowers.³⁵ With its features referring specifically to the statue and to the telluric powers it commands, the image is a revered painting in the households of Cuzco (No. 85).

Devotional emphasis differed in each city, giving rise to the importance of different types of images. In the seventeenth century an intense cult developed in Lima devoted to Isabel Flores de Oliva (1586–1617) of Lima, who became the first American saint, Saint Rose, in 1671. The Italian-born artist Angelino Medoro (1567–1633) is said to have painted her at death.³⁶ This is based on an unsigned bust portrait attributed to him and now in the Church of Saint Rose in Lima (fig. 90).³⁷ Medoro's painting is not the model for an iconographic tradition of Saint Rose portraits, however. The idealization of her image was based on the descriptions of her miraculous character. Her portrait image proliferated within the city and in 1685 her statue was paraded through Lima's streets before being installed in her new church. Normally, Saint Rose is depicted as young and beautiful, dressed in the habit of the Third Order of Saint Dominic, of which she was a member. She often is represented wearing a garland of roses over her veil, under which is understood to be a crown of thorns that she wore in life. The roses refer to her name, which was given to her when her features partially appeared on a great rose flower.³⁸

Paintings and sculptures of Saint Rose were also venerated in Cuzco. Her statue is one of those being carried aloft in one of the paintings of the

Corpus Christi ceremony celebrated in Cuzco about 1680. Cuzco itself had not been blessed with the sanctity of one of its citizens; the only portraits of Cuzqueños that one sees in the Corpus Christi paintings are those of local celebrants (see Dean's essay, this volume). Nevertheless, the elevation of Rose to sainthood did not eclipse Cuzco's local cults. In fact, the rise of the cult importance of both the Christ of the Earthquakes and the Virgin of Belén was almost simultaneous with the canonization of Saint Rose. Christ of the Earthquakes only became an important icon after the earthquake of 1650, and the veneration of the Virgin of Belén was intensified in the 1680s by Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo, who not only rebuilt her church, which had been destroyed in the 1650 earthquake, but also ordered a devotional painting for the cathedral depicting her miraculous discovery in the ocean and her intercession.³⁹ It was painted by the native artist Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallo and depicts the sculpture on an altar, before which the bishop kneels in the form of a donor portrait.

Saint Rose, Christ of the Earthquakes, and Our Lady of Belén are only a few of the subjects that compose the vast corpus of Lima and Cuzco painting and sculpture. As images of devotion that came

to be important almost a hundred and fifty years after the Spanish foundations of Cuzco and Lima, they epitomize the colonial histories embedded in each city, even as they are celebrated in the other.

The colonial city was the most important public space of artistic display. Here, as in Europe, works of art were not just kept in the interior spaces of churches, civic structures, and homes; paintings and tapestries were often moved to the exterior walls of these buildings, where they were hung for religious or civic celebrations, while the great religious sculptures were brought out of the churches and ritually paraded through the streets and plazas.

The differing colonial nature of Cuzco's and Lima's public spaces called for different interpretive acts by the colonial viewer. These spaces were not, as we have seen, neutral theaters of display; rather, each city's walls, streets, and plazas manifested in their very appearance and material substance the different histories (and meanings) of colonization. In this context, distinctive pictorial and performative traditions of representation developed in Cuzco and Lima that gave form to the specific colonial histories of each city.

NOTES

1. Garcilaso de la Vega 1609, 1: chapter 11. As the center of the Christian world, Jerusalem was metaphorically referred to as the umbilicus. F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1985), 281.
2. Alzate [1549] 1961, 80.
3. Cobo [1639] 1956, 291.
4. Lima 1935, 14.
5. The area of Lima was settled and under intensive agriculture using irrigation techniques when Pizarro decided to settle there. There was a local *huaca* that was worshiped, and the territory was controlled by the *curaca* (local lord) Taulihusco, who aided Pizarro. See Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1978, 49–88. The site of Lima was not considered as an already existing city as Cuzco was, however. The Spanish act of Foundation of Cuzco is often referred to as its second foundation whereas there is only one foundation for Lima. See also Fraser 1990, 51–81, for a slightly different discussion of Cuzco's and Lima's foundations.
6. Lima 1935, 12–13.
7. Ibid.
8. Rowe 1989.
9. Cobo [1639] 1956, 282.
10. Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1990, 97–101.
11. See Flores Ochoa 1992, 24–25.
12. Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1990, 98.
13. For example, a mid-seventeenth-century description of Cuzco's buildings that makes this point; see Conteras y Valverde [1649] 1982, 4.
14. Cieza de León, Lizárraga, Garcilaso de la Vega, and even Polo de Ondegardo himself all mention that the circular wall of the Coricancha on which was built Santa Domingo's apse was a place where natives congregated to worship. See Gisbert and Mesa 1985, 149.
15. Ibid.
16. Arriaga [1621] 1968, 25–26.
17. Garcilaso de la Vega 1617, 2: chapter 25. The passage is copied almost verbatim in Córdova Salinas [1651] 1947, 45. One important descriptive detail is omitted by the Franciscan—the serpentine or lightning-bolt shape of Santiago's sword—and the sentence in parentheses saying that the image remained for many years was added.
18. Garcilaso de la Vega, 1617, 2: chapter 24.
19. Arriaga [1621], 1968, 169.
20. Cobo [1639] 1956, 307.
21. See Fraser 1990.
22. Garcilaso de la Vega 1617, 2: chapter 29.
23. Cobo [1653] 1956, 272–73.
24. Not only was sand brought from the coast, but earth was

- brought from Chíncha on the coast to make a garden in the Coricancha. Salinas 1885, Appendix 1: VII. Earth was brought from near Quito to make a small hill on the eastern slope of Sacsahuaman, the fortress overlooking Cuzco, in which were grown the best potatoes only eaten by the Inca king. Murúa 1613, folio 184. Still another source says that the two main plazas of Cuzco were a swamp and were filled with earth brought from the eastern slopes of the mountains by the second Inca. See Conteras y Valverde [1649] 1982, 180.
25. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1977, 234.
26. The closest such image in Lima is Lord of the Miracles, a mural painting of the crucified Christ. It became a miraculous cult image after surviving an earthquake in 1655. See Vargas Ugarte 1966; María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Pachacamac y el Señor de los Milagros* (Lima, 1992).
27. Not all the Inca mummies were taken to Lima. Polo de Ondegardo kept a private museum with five of the bodies in Cuzco. At least four were sent to Viceroy Marqués de Cañete (1556–60) in Lima, where they were exhibited in the hospital de San Andrés. Both collections were seen and described by Garcilaso de la Vega 1609, 1: chapter 29.
28. These portraits were commissioned by Viceroy Francisco Toledo in 1571 and were meant to accompany an unflattering history of the Inca kings also commissioned by Toledo and written by Sarmiento de Gamboa. Both were sent to Philip II in Madrid. See Marco Dorta 1975, 67–79.

29. Frézier 1716, 247.
30. See Cummins 1991.
31. Estabridis Cárdenas 1989, 386; Abraham Valencia Espinosa, *Taytacha temblores. Patrón Jurado del Cuzco* (Cuzco 1992), 47–50.
32. Murra and Adorno 1980, 159. Garcilaso de la Vega tells a similar story concerning a stone left unworked in the plaza before Sacsahuaman in Cuzco, Garcilaso de la Vega 1609, 1: chapter 29.
33. The Virgin of Belén, another extremely important votive image in Cuzco, has an equally Andean historical narrative explanation. I would like to thank Jorge Flores Ochoa for discussing these histories with me. See also Valencia Espinosa 1992, 30–55.
34. This moment of transition for the statue is the intersection of the historical and the miraculous, and it is represented in one of the very few painted views of Cuzco, commissioned by Alonso Cortés de Monroy almost immediately after the 1650 earthquake.
35. Mesa and Gisbert 1982, 306.
36. Estabridis Cárdenas 1989, 154.
37. Vargas Lugo 1979.
38. Ibid.
39. For the importance of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo, who came from Spain to Cuzco in 1673, see Mesa and Gisbert 1982, 118–23.

The Renewal of Old World Images and the Creation of Colonial Peruvian Visual Culture

Carolyn Dean

The arts of colonial Peru (1532–1825) simultaneously bear witness to a cultural conquest and the failure of that conquest.¹ While colonial art represents the introduction of European art forms, styles, and subjects to the Americas, much of the imagery also indicates that traditional European visual culture was transformed by and for the new patrons and new audiences of the so-called New World.² Consequently, the history of Spanish colonial art is more complicated than a history of Spanish art in its colonies. Colonial visual culture both bound the new colony to Europe and articulated a separate identity.

The Andean renewal of European visual culture—and some of its concomitant contradictions—was brought about by factional forces. Both colonizer and colonized participated in fashioning new identities for Europe's New World; not surprisingly, considering the dynamics of colonization, their goals and priorities were frequently at odds. Paintings and sculptures could function as battlefields in these conflicts: Europeans and native Andeans both identified visual art as a potentially powerful advocate that was capable of conveying, solidifying, or advancing partisan positions in an evolving society. Further, since neither group was homogeneous, colonial art was often informed by social and ethnic tensions. By examining this aspect of colonial Peruvian art, we gain a greater understanding of the dynamics of colonial society and the role of visual culture in its construction.

❖ Old World Saints Renewed ❖

The Spanish colonists who first arrived in the Americas attempted to reproduce, as closely as possible, the culture of their homeland. The fine arts were a significant part of this agenda, and artwork produced during the early colonial years is among the most European-looking of colonial-period art (see, for example, No. 73).³ Religious images were particularly significant in the aggressive fashioning of Europe's New World. The presence of Christian saints was seen as not only justifying, but aggrandizing European activity in the Americas, for Spaniards understood themselves to be the corporeal tools of the divine evangelizing mission. Visitations by members of the Christian pantheon were proof positive of divine sanction. Christian saints—especially the Virgin Mary and Saint James, the