

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Constructing the Pre-Columbian Past:
Peruvian Paintings of the Inka Dynasty, 1572-1879

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

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2013

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Cecelia F. Klein, Chair

This dissertation examines a genre of art, paintings of the Pre-Columbian Inka dynasty, that were produced in Peru for three centuries, beginning with the earliest years of colonial rule and enduring into the first decades following Peru's independence from Spain. The genre emerged from the chaos of conquest and is notable for the diversity of its patronage. The paintings were collected by indigenous descendants of the Pre-Columbian Inka rulers, the Spanish colonial government, creoles (American-born Spaniards), and even foreign travelers. Furthermore, paintings of the Inka could be found in a variety of contexts, both public settings and private spaces, including the homes of indigenous elites in Cusco, indigenous parish churches in Lima and elsewhere, Lima's *cabildo* (city hall), in the residences of elite creoles, and even in the royal collection in

Madrid, Spain. Because it focuses on understanding the significance paintings of the Inka accrued in those multiple contexts, the study gives insight into how representations of the Inka past were used to articulate political, cultural and social identities that were constantly in flux.

Throughout this study, paintings of the Inka are read in conjunction with other sources in order to flesh out the discourses with which they intersected. These sources include: other artworks that are contemporary with the genre; historical documents, among them colonial accounts of Inka history written from the perspective of indigenous and European authors, archival documents including legal proceedings and wills, and traveler's accounts of Peruvian society.

My study advances how paintings of the Inka provided a historical basis that legitimized their patrons. Rather than seeking a unified theory of the genre and its significance, the dissertation highlights how the paintings' meanings were dependent on the diversity of their contexts of reception. While, in general, the subject matter and style of the paintings changed little over time, the period of the paintings' production was marked by dramatic historical and political shifts, ranging from the years in which Spain's power was being consolidated to those in which Spain's hold over its Peruvian territories was in decline. Because paintings of the Inka were a means through which the paintings' patrons could locate themselves historically and culturally within Peruvian society, the implications of the paintings likewise transformed. Paintings of the Inka could convey their subjects as noble ancestors or defeated enemies. They could uphold the legitimacy of the Spanish conquest of the Inka or question the limits of Spain's power.

By focusing on how the paintings created meanings that, in some instances, intersected and overlapped, while in others were divergent and contradictory, the dissertation advances understanding into the shifting perceptions of the Pre-Columbian past, and the vital function of that past in constructing one's place in the present.

The dissertation of Janet Garver Stephens is approved.

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2013

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Research for this dissertation has been generously funded by the University of California, Los Angeles Graduate Research Mentorship; UCLA Latin America Center Graduate Student Small Grant for Dissertation Research; UCLA Art Council Endowed Scholarship in Art History; UCLA Friends of Art History Research Fellowship; UCLA Department of Art History Edward A. Dickson Fellowship; Dumbarton Oaks Summer Research Fellowship; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Sylvan C. and Pamela C. Coleman Memorial Fund Fellowship.

In Peru, I thank the staffs of the many archives I visited for their generous help in locating documents, including the employees of the Archivo Regional del Cusco and the Archivo del Arzobispado del Cusco, the Archivo Nacional del Perú in Lima, and the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima. In the United States, I must acknowledge the assistance of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of the Art of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, in addition to the staff at the Museum's Watson Library, and everyone at Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, especially Joanne Pillsbury, Sheila Klos and Emily Gulick. Conducting research as a curatorial fellow for the Los Angeles County Museum of Art's exhibition *Contested Visions*, was an experience I will not soon forget and I thank Ilona Katzew for her mentorship during that summer.

Throughout the course of my research I have had the pleasure to meet many fellow scholars whose kindness, insight and friendship have been invaluable. Carolyn Dean generously allowed me to accompany her on an edifying expedition to various Inka

rock shrines around Cusco, in the process sharing her immense knowledge of the Inka and their colonial era descendants. Among those alongside whom I toiled in the archives, David Garrett and Susan Niles were generous with sharing their expertise, and Roman Flores and Sara Guengerich, their companionship and conversation. My time as a Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks was memorable not only for access to its vital resources but also for the camaraderie of the other Fellows in residence, including Ken Hirth, John Lopez, Sarah Tyler Brooks and Adam Sellen. I would be remiss to neglect acknowledging my colleagues from UCLA without whom this journey would have been insurmountable, especially Beth Rosenblum, Rebecca Hall, Victoria Lyall, and Melody Rodari. Special thanks as well to Jill Frank, Dan Weiskopf, and my colleagues at Georgia State University whose support helped me complete this marathon after I felt I had lost all strength. I have benefited from conversations and debates with too many people to list all of them here, and am fortunate to be among a generation of scholars of Pre-Columbian and Colonial Latin American Art whose exciting research will no doubt continue to enhance the field for years to come.

Finally I thank my family, who supported me unconditionally, and the members of my committee for all their work. I especially thank my committee chair, Cecelia F. Klein, whose career inspires me and who doled out support, guidance, criticism, and tough love at the right moments and in the right quantities. I feel honored to have had her as a mentor.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction: Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and the Construction of History and Identity in Colonial Peru¹

Hanging in the Brooklyn Museum's *American Identities* installation are six paintings, part of a larger collection of fourteen, that depict as busts members of the Pre-Columbian Inka dynastic lineage (Figure 1.1). By the fifteenth century, the Inka, Quechua speakers from the Cusco valley in the southern Andean highlands, had expanded their control throughout the Andes, from present-day Ecuador in the north to Chile and Argentina in the south (Figure 1.2). Their empire, which they knew as Tawantinsuyu, endured until the arrival of the Spaniards in 1532.

Among those six canvases is one depicting the figure of Viracocha, the eighth Sapa Inka ("unique Inka") in the ruling lineage.² As with the other figures in the series, he is depicted naturalistically, his smooth skin shaded to give his features volume and mass, and circumscribed within an ornate roundel that bears his name and order of succession within in the lineage (Figure 1.3). Pendant on his forehead is a fringe of red wool, known as a *mascapaycha*, which, according to early chroniclers, hung from a diadem of braided multicolored wool called a *llautu*.³ Here, the fiber diadem, a sign of the Inka's royalty, has been replaced by one of gold, analogous to a European crown, a colonial transformation necessary to better convey ideas of dynastic authority for a colonial audience.⁴ Additionally, large gold disks, another sign of elite status, pierce his ears.⁵ Finally, Viracocha wears a

tunic (*uncu*) and mantle (*yacolla*), Pre-Columbian garments that here have been embellished with elaborate patterns to conform to colonial tastes.

Paintings of the Inka dynasty were a popular artistic genre that flourished for roughly three hundred years, from the early years of Peru's colonial era into the first decades of independent rule (roughly 1572-1879). As the Museum's display indicates, the paintings communicate American identity, more specifically Peruvian identity. This derives in part from the genre's singularity. Nowhere else in the colonial Americas was there such a deeply-rooted interest in memorializing a lineage of Pre-Columbian rulers in the visual arts.⁶ The paintings convey Peruvian identity as objects, but also and inseparably, through their subject, the Inka past.

Yet, the Inka past did not represent the same thing for everyone who collected and displayed the paintings. For various audiences—Spanish, indigenous, and creole (*criollo*, or Spaniards born in the Americas)⁷—paintings of the Inka dynasty promoted multiple understandings of the Pre-Columbian past for different purposes, and to advance agendas that were often incompatible. This dissertation examines the conflicting ways paintings of the Inka dynasty constructed the Pre-Columbian past for multiple audiences, cutting across ethnic, regional and temporal divides. While poststructuralist theories have demonstrated that identities are multivalent and fluid, much work remains to be done about the roles of art objects in negotiating those identities. Identity is not inherent to objects themselves, but is created through an interplay of the object and the larger historical discourse from which it emerged and which, in turn, it advanced. By untangling the relationships between the image

and its historical subject matter, we may better understand how the genre advanced competing group identities.

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and Questions of Identity in Colonial Peru

In 1980 art historian Teresa Gisbert published *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, an influential study of indigenous subject matter in the art of colonial Peru that contained the first analysis of paintings of the Inka dynasty as a unique genre of Peru's colonial art.⁸ She frames her interpretation of the paintings around their role in articulating identity for Peru's indigenous community. Her argument expands on a thesis first advanced by historian John Rowe that the descendants of the Inka living in eighteenth-century Cusco actively cultivated their Inka identity. According to Rowe, paintings such as portraits of colonial descendants of the Inka, along with paintings of their ancestors, served as expressions of pride in the descendants' Inka heritage, reflecting a kind of Inka nationalism, or "Inka Renaissance," that he argues resulted in the 1780 rebellion against the Spanish colonial administration led by Tupac Amaru.⁹ Although scholars now understand that Tupac Amaru's rebellion was rooted in complex economic and political changes that took place in late colonial Peru, of which a renewed indigenous consciousness was only one, the interpretation of paintings of the Inka and their colonial descendants in terms of a late revival of pride in the Inka past remains influential. In that capacity, as expressions of indigenous pride, paintings of the Inka dynasty have been included in a number of recent museum exhibitions that introduced Latin America's colonial art to audiences throughout the world.¹⁰

The emphasis on paintings of the Inka dynasty as expressions of indigenous identity, however, is too narrow; there has been less investigation of the genre as an expression of other identities in Peru's colonial society. Stepping into that gap, Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, along with Gustavo Buntinx, has expanded the concept of the "Inka Renaissance" to acknowledge that during the eighteenth century creoles also began to express pride in the Inka past as a proto-nationalist sentiment.¹¹ Their important analysis of a type of composition that fused the Inka dynasty with that of the Spanish kings as a single ruling lineage of Peru shows that the paintings supported the interests of both creole elites and their indigenous counterparts, allowing them to express a unique and noble heritage for Peru in order to stake their claim to status in colonial society. Those shared aims that Wuffarden and Buntinx describe, however, existed only at a fleeting historical moment. For neither creoles nor the indigenous elite did their relationship to the genre remain static over the three centuries of its popularity. While paintings of the Inka dynasty were as important for the creole imaginary as they were for that of the indigenous population, it is also pertinent to address the differences in those groups' relationship to pictorial construction of the Pre-Columbian past as well as the intersections.

Although the question of the paintings as expressions of pride in the Inka past as a foundation for group identities has been at the forefront of studies of the genre, Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs has cautioned that paintings of the Inka dynasty did not in all cases cultivate an autonomous identity, whether for creoles or indigenes. Focusing on the image of the Inka broadly as a pictorial symbol, rather than on the genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty in particular, he focusses on political dimensions to the various representations of the

Inka. Estensorro notes the role of Spanish institutions in defining the Inka for a colonial audience, and is keenly interested in how the image of the Inka was used to promote Spanish interests. Addressing the multiethnic environment in which the objects circulated, he argues that “the image of the Inca will be central in the symbolic conflicts in Peru between Indians, caciques, *encomenderos*, and functionaries of the crown and church. This centrality has in no case its origin in the crystallization of an indigenous identity; very much the opposite, it is the metropolitan power and its representatives who choose the most important elements of the visual repertoire that will enter into dispute.”¹²

Emphasizing the Inka as a symbol that advanced metropolitan power rather than a symbol of indigenous identity, Estensorro builds on Thomas Cummins’ earlier critique of John Rowe’s idea that paintings were part of a revival of Inka culture.¹³ Both scholars are correct that the Inka was a viable subject in Peru’s colonial art only in so far as it could function in a European manner, on both visual and symbolic levels.¹⁴ Colonial portraits of the descendants of the Inka, which, as Carolyn Dean notes, must be understood as a subcategory of the genre of Inka dynastic images, have little connection to Inka pictorial practices, as Cummins points out.¹⁵ Rather, those paintings appropriate a European form (portraiture) and technique (oil painting on canvas), complicating an identification of the paintings with notions of cultural revival. Furthermore, paintings of the Inka’s colonial descendants represent an elite status that was recognized and codified by Spanish law, and was a result of the descendants of the Inka in Cusco decision to profess allegiance to Spain. He thus concludes that the paintings reveal the cooptation of colonial indigenous elites by Spanish systems, rather than their independence.¹⁶

Cummins' and Estenssoro's critiques are a vital reminder that expressions of indigenous identity should not automatically be assumed to be subversive, but often were accepted and even at times promoted by colonial authorities. Still, while Spain may have provided the visual language for representing the Inka, we should not mistake that appropriation with absolute control by the metropolitan power. As Carolyn Dean and Marie Timberlake have decisively demonstrated, descendants of the Inka in the former Inka imperial capital of Cusco used representations of the Inka, in both pictures and performance, to effectively advance their own interests within proscribed boundaries.¹⁷ This dissertation reaffirms that although the genre had its origins in visual appropriation of European pictorial models, on the one hand, and that Spain attempted to control the narrative of conquest and to justify their colonial project, on the other, Spain was never able to fully contain the paintings' meaning. If the meaning of the Inka could not be controlled by a single group, what messages did paintings of the Inka dynasty convey to their various audiences?

The insights of the scholars cited above provide the foundation for my own investigations of the genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty as a strategy for providing a historical foundation for multiple, complex, and often contradictory identities in Peru's colonial society. I do not seek to find a single, immutable interpretation for the genre. Rather, because the genre responded variously to the needs of Peru's diverse populations, the identities the paintings articulated could never be unified. While for some patrons, particularly the descendants of the Inka living in Cusco, paintings of the Inka dynasty conveyed an identity rooted in personal, family genealogies, for others—for example creoles in eighteenth-century Lima—the identity the paintings visualized was tied to a genealogy of

place, the Viceroyalty and later the nation of Peru. These identities were always fluid and contingent, shaped by ever changing circumstances. No one identity articulated by the genre should be understood as more meaningful than another. Paintings of the Inka dynasty were always crucial to attempts to legitimize a people's present through the lens of history. By acknowledging and probing the disunity of meanings we can gain greater insight into some of the roles played by visual images in the construction of identity.

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty as Document

Because the paintings were agents in the process of constructing identity and had value as authoritative documents, the nature of their documentary value needs to be addressed. The paintings' depictions of naturalistic physiognomies, along with the continued depictions of items of Pre-Columbian dress, which can be seen in the Brooklyn Museum painting of Viracocha, for example, impart a sense of authenticity to the figures. The paintings are frequently described as "portraits," a specific category in western art history that suggests a direct and accurate representation of the subject's appearance.¹⁸ Yet as naturalistic portraiture was not practiced by the Inka before the Spanish conquest of the Andes, none of the colonial portraits of the Pre-Columbian rulers resulted from a true likeness of the sitter made during his lifetime. In fact, the paintings make little attempt to render an individualized physiognomy.

Use of the term portrait is not misapplied by modern scholars as it was frequently used to describe the paintings during the colonial period. In an attempt to explain the seemingly inappropriate description of the paintings as portraits, Dean notes that they are

principally “portraits” of costume and accoutrements rather than individuals.¹⁹ Indeed, the artists of the colonial paintings paid greater attention to the costume than to the figures, and much of the costume depicts actual elements of Pre-Columbian Inka dress in spite of the intervening years of colonial rule and suppression.

Dean’s comment about the attention to costume and accoutrement points to the genre’s connections to European books of images of costumes and customs, used to document the curiosities of ethnic dress, which were a precursor to later, more scientific, ethnographic images. When it comes to the genre under discussion, portrait and ethnographic document are overlapping categories. Although paintings of the Inka dynasty do not present a direct representation of the subject’s physiognomy, the naturalistic style, along with the inclusion of Pre-Columbian dress, imparts a truth value that was always fundamental to their operation. Whether described as portraits or ethnographic images, the paintings’ form, in addition to their content, resulted in the genre’s operation as a type of document which allowed it to function as visual substantiation of some larger historical fact.

While both portraiture and ethnographic image are categories that convey specific types of documentary knowledge—that is, they are both accepted as a visual proof of a verifiable reality—our own postmodern understanding of the image as a construct makes it easy to forget that for their colonial audiences, paintings of the Inka could operate as unmediated historical documents. For instance, in 1603 descendants of the former Inka rulers living in Cusco had petitioned the court to recognize their rights as nobles. The mestizo writer Garcilaso de la Vega, himself a descendant of an Inka noblewoman and a Spanish conquistador who was then living in Spain and acting as representative for the descendants of

the Inka in Cusco, wrote that along with legal documents descendants of the Inka sent a painting displaying portraits of their ancestors in the form of a genealogical tree “for clearer proof and demonstration” of their claims.²⁰ In 1572, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo commissioned a set of paintings of the Pre-Columbian Inka rulers. In his letter to King Philip II, he stated that he hoped the paintings would be transformed into fine tapestries “so that the truth they contain may remain eternal.”²¹ Paintings of the Inka were more than mere images, they were artworks understood as fundamentally connected to a certain kind of truth value, which made them powerful and effective in advancing their patron’s agendas.

Thus it is impossible to understand how the genre constructed identity without also being attuned to the operation of the image as a document. Both the meaning of the Inka past and the medium through which the genre expressed that past—that is, the painted image—underwent significant changes throughout the three hundred years of the genre’s production. This question of how the shifting value of the image as a historical document conditioned the limits of the paintings’ interpretations has been a crucial lacuna in studies of the genre.

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and the Construction of History

Although paintings of the Inka dynasty initially gained authority as purportedly objective records of Pre-Columbian history that were accepted as truthful by both colonial Andeans and Europeans, the dynastic history of the Inka is not clear cut. The Spaniards who chronicled Inka after the conquest present accounts that differ in key ways. Although the earliest chronicles are not always in agreement about the name and number of the Pre-Columbian Inka rulers, they do generally agree on the broad contours of Inka life and

society. Several historians, most notably Rowe, have culled those accounts to attempt to standardize, as much as is possible, a chronology of the Inka and their accomplishments.²² They have not, however, taken the Spanish histories of the Inka at face value and they have recognized that many of the stories recounted have mythical dimensions. For example, the founder of the Inka dynasty, Manco Capac, and many of its earliest rulers are generally agreed to be legendary figures.

In contrast to the historicist approach is that based on structural anthropology. Its adherents, seminally and most prominently R. Tom Zuidema, argue that the Spaniards fundamentally misunderstood the stories told to them by the descendants of the Inka, transforming descriptions of social structures and organization into in a linear genealogy that is fundamentally incorrect.²³ Scholars of the structuralist school have proposed that the Inka had no single head of state but rather that the government was a diarchy headed by two co-rulers, each representing one of the two moieties known to the Inka as *hanan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower).²⁴ While there can be no doubt of the many errors, omissions and misunderstandings of the Spanish chroniclers, my own readings of those chronicles and their modern interpretations has led me to conclude that the Inka did have a sense of themselves as a historical entity under the authority of a single ruler, although that system no doubt differed significantly from European models. Still, the structuralist position highlights a theme that is central to the present study: that the person who records history does not do so from a disinterested position, but rather opens up to manipulation the versions they construct in order to advance certain agendas. In the colonial Andes, history was political.

From the initial moments of European presence in the Andes, Inka history was wielded by different groups to promote the agendas of those who were able to control its narrative. According to one version of the Inka origin myth, the Inka founding couple, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, and their siblings emerged from a cave called Tambotoco, located at a place called Pacariqtambo. Gary Urton has documented how a town outside of Cusco became identified as the Pacariqtambo of Inka mythology through the efforts of the Callapiña family, local elites who used that claim to present themselves as the direct heirs to the founding couple deserving of special status within the emergent colonial order.²⁵ While there is no documentation to indicate that the Callapiñas owned paintings of the Inka dynasty, such images served to support similar claims among the indigenous elites in Cusco, at the same time that Spaniards and creoles found them useful visual tools to promote their own, albeit different, agendas.

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and the Culture of the Contact Zone

Recent trends in analyzing paintings of the Inka dynasty beyond the narrow context of the indigenous community are the result of a broadening interest by scholars in the complexities of colonial societies. Instead of merely focusing on the colonial opposition of the colonizer and colonized, it has become clear that colonial societies were composed of a great variety of subjectivities that lie in between those two polarities. Moreover, those subjectivities are themselves unstable.

Pitting the colonizer, or metropolitan authority, against the colonized, or indigenous population, fixes those identities in absolute terms and denies the ways in which both

colonizer and colonized were shaped by colonial space. Cummins has pointed out that similar paintings would have been understood differently by audiences in Peru's two centers of colonial power, Cusco and Lima, because Inka history was physically and visibly embedded in the foundations of Cusco's colonial structures, whereas it was not in the viceregal capital.²⁶ It is not just that the location furnished a different physical context for reception, however, but that those locations produced different social spaces. Cusco's legacy as the imperial capital of the Inka affected daily life in that colonial city, which was not the case in Lima or other Andean cities. In Cusco, the Inka past shaped daily life and conditioned the experience of all its citizens, whether or not they took direct, personal ownership of that past.

As a colonial society, Peru was a space constituted by interaction, rather than one that was merely acted upon. That recognition underlies recent attempt to re-conceptualize colonial spaces as "border spaces" or "contact zones." Mary Louise Pratt uses the idea of a contact zone to draw attention to "the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination," and to "emphasize how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other."²⁷ Walter Mignolo similarly reframes colonial Latin America through the lens of the border as a space that produced new epistemologies while fracturing those of Europe.²⁸ The models of contact zones and borders highlight colonial spaces as unstable and improvisational, as being constantly reshaped by internal and external forces. Peru's colonial culture was created out of the intersection of Andeans and Europeans, but it was constantly reformulated thereafter. That reality calls attention to the limitations of a strict dichotomy of

colonizer and colonized by insisting that colonial spaces are productive of new identities, subjectivities, and ways of thinking.

Drawing attention to the instability of colonial spaces allows us to conceive of the multiple subjectivities produced in colonial Peru that frequently have been overlooked in favor of exclusive interest in indigenous responses to European colonial authority.

Postcolonial theory drew needed attention to the indigenous response to western cultural domination, but it can also marginalize Latin America's colonial experience by precluding recognition of identities outside of the European colonizer/indigenous colonized dichotomy.²⁹ I am speaking primarily about the large segments of Peru's colonial population that are categorized as mestizo and creole, although it should be kept in mind that immigrants from Asia and slaves brought from Africa also entered the mix, complicating a simple understanding of what constituted the "Other" in colonial Peru. Mestizos, those of mixed indigenous and European descent, and European creoles composed a significant segment of colonial society, but have remained on the margins of studies of Peru's colonial arts. They do not, however, represent clear-cut racial or ethnic categories.³⁰

Neither creoles nor mestizos were securely positioned within the colonial hierarchy. Spanish Peru was organized legally according to a two republic model, which was composed of a "republic of Spaniards" and a "republic of Indians," and socially by a racial caste system. The two republic legal system, in which the indigenous population was subject to different laws and regulations, was set up to prevent abuse of the indigenous population by removing it from the direct authority of Spaniards. Although nominally self-governing, the relationship between the republics was not one of equals, and indigenous elites could obtain

no role in the administrative structure of the more important republic of Spaniards. Mestizos and creoles were incorporated into the republic of Spaniards but were considered second class citizens relative to *peninsulares* (peninsulars), “true Spaniards,” so determined because they had been born on the Iberian Peninsula. Creoles were socially and culturally marginalized, and their status as secondary to immigrants from Spain was a key factor in fomenting dissent against Spain and spearheading the nineteenth-century wars for independence.³¹ Mestizos, because of their impure racial origins, were positioned even more precariously. For upper class mestizos, especially in Cusco, it could be advantageous to identify as indigenous in order to obtain a representative voice in the republic of Indians, rather than occupy a subordinate position within the republic of Spaniards.³²

Although they were European by blood, creoles should not be understood as “colonizers” in the same ways as were peninsulares. Noting that it was the creoles who led the independence movement, which little altered the lives of the indigenous population, J. Jorge Klor de Alva has argued that postcoloniality is a misnomer when applied to the Latin American experience because there the end of colonial rule was not accompanied by a decolonization of ethnic power relations.³³ While Klor de Alva’s critique is valuable for highlighting how distinct historical and social conditions in Latin America problematize an uncritical use of postcolonial theoretical models, it fixes the European/indigenous dichotomy as the focus of colonial studies. Recent studies have emphasized that the uniqueness of the Latin American experience is not a reason to deny the utility of postcolonial theoretical models; rather it provides the opportunity to engage their nuances, and to probe the unusual position of creoles, especially, as both agents and subjects of colonial authority.³⁴

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and the End of Colonial Rule

Previous studies have held that production of paintings of the Inka dynasty ceased in the aftermath of the Tupac Amaru revolt, or Great Rebellion, in 1780. As Natalia Majluf has shown, however, dynastic paintings of the Inka continued to be produced into the early Republican period (1824-1879), their post-colonial popularity peaking around 1850.³⁵ Yet those later productions have been treated as distinct from the colonial genre. I, too, began this project with the intention to examine paintings of the Inka dynasty as a genre of colonial art; however, it quickly became apparent that my analysis could not be contained within that chronological framework. Both colonial and early Republican period paintings of the Inka dynasty must be understood as part of the same pictorial tradition. The nineteenth-century examples respond to those produced during the colonial era; the colonial and Republican paintings cannot be understood in isolation.

Indeed, few paintings can be securely dated to the colonial period. This is not because the paintings were an insignificant part of colonial visual culture, as archival documents cited throughout this dissertation attest. Thus, their limited survival into the present day is a significant issue, both for a study of them as a colonial genre and as a problem of circulation in its own right.

The most common explanation for their lack of preservation has been that the paintings were destroyed by the colonial government as a direct result of Tupac Amaru's Great Rebellion. Tupac Amaru (or Tupac Amaru II), born José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was the *kuraka* (hereditary indigenous leader) of Pampamarca, Surimana, and Tungasuca, in the

rural province of Tinta southeast of Cusco. Taking the name of the last Inka ruler Tupa Amaru, who had been executed by the Spaniards in 1572, Tupac Amaru led an uprising against the colonial authorities. Tupac is a late colonial variant on Tupa, or Topa. I have retained the different spellings that were dominant when those individuals were alive as a means to differentiate the sixteenth-century and eighteenth-century individuals.

Although Tupac Amaru was captured and executed in 1781, the rebellion persisted until 1783 and, combined with related uprisings in other areas of the Viceroyalty, posed a serious threat to Spanish control of the Andean highlands. The impetus for Tupac Amaru's rebellion is complex, but it had significant and lasting political and cultural consequences.³⁶

José Antonio de Areche, the *visitador general* (inspector) and a Spaniard who had only recently arrived in Peru, believed that the rebellion was spurred by memory of the Inka, which had been not only conserved but also promoted through continued displays of Inka culture throughout the Viceroyalty. He asserted that Crown policy towards local culture therefore needed to change, decreeing that:

it is prohibited that the Indians wear heathen clothes, especially those who belong to the nobility, since it only serves to symbolize those worn by their Inca ancestors, reminding them of memories which serve no other end than to increase their hatred towards the dominant nation; not to mention that their appearance is ridiculous and very little in accordance with the purity of our relics, since they place in different parts the images of the sun, which was their primary deity; *and this prohibition is to be extended to all the provinces of this southern America*, in order to completely eliminate such clothing, especially those items which represent the bestialities of their heathen kings through emblems such as the *unco*, which is a kind of vest; *yacollas*, which are very rich blankets or shawls of black velvet or taffeta; the *mascaypacha*, which is a circle in the shape of a crown from which they hang a certain emblem of ancient nobility signified by a tuft or tassel of red-colored alpaca wool, as well as many other things of this kind and symbolism. All of this shall be proclaimed in writing in each province, that they should dispose of or surrender to the magistrates whatever clothing of this kind exists in the province, *as well as all the paintings or likenesses of their Incas which are extremely abundant in the houses of the Indians*

*who consider themselves to be nobles and who use them to prove their claims or boast of their lineage.*³⁷ (emphasis mine)

By pointing to paintings of the Inka, Areche acknowledged their prevalence in Peru's colonial visual culture, and, as symbols of the Inka past, their potential threat to absolute Spanish authority. Areche went on to suggest that any paintings of the Inka that were located in public places should be replaced by portraits of the kings of Spain, underscoring the authority of the portrait of a royal personage and its codification as a statement of legitimacy.

Scholars have readily assumed that Areche's orders were carried out. There is little doubt that paintings of the Inka, along with other objects that recalled the indigenous past, such as clothing, festival performances, etc., had become suspect in the eyes of the ruling Spaniards and even wary creoles. Yet, despite some well known incidents, such as the Archbishop of Cusco Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta's whitewashing of murals of the Inka at the city's school for indigenous elites, the Colegio de San Francisco de Borja, there is little archival documentation attesting to widespread campaigns to destroy contraband objects, or to end now illegal practices. Paintings of the Inka dynasty remained on public display in Lima, significantly, in churches with sizeable indigenous congregations.³⁸ One could argue that the small indigenous population in Lima posed little threat, even though Areche's orders specify that the prohibition must be universally applied throughout "the southern Americas," not just in the indigenous-dominated highlands. A colonial era painting of the Inka can also be found in Ayacucho, a predominantly indigenous highland town with a history of rebellions against Spanish authority. It is currently hanging in the convent of San Francisco, and there is no evidence of which I am aware that it has ever been housed elsewhere, suggesting that it, too, avoided official scrutiny. Thus if a ban was imposed, its enforcement

was limited.³⁹ Paintings of the Inka had become part of the fabric of Peruvian life by the end of the eighteenth century. They could not signify only as an expression of indigenous identity, or—in the face of rebellion—resistance, and thus did not serve simply as a threat to Spanish dominance. Although the representatives of metropolitan authority understood the subversive potential of painted representations of the Inka, because paintings could serve ends that were not subversive, they were not easily extirpated.

While such a ban on paintings of the Inka provides a neat explanation, other factors surely played a role as well. The Great Rebellion ushered in a period of social change that dramatically affected the indigenous elites' relative standing in colonial society. The Crown's attempts to centralize its power, one of the underlying causes for the rebellion, resulted in the increased marginalization of local elites. With the establishment of a republican society in the early nineteenth century, the value of a Pre-Columbian royal lineage diminished irrevocably. How those changes affected the genre and its function with regard to the construction of identity should be examined. Still, the fact that few paintings of the Inka remain is not clear proof that they were wiped out in (undocumented) Spanish campaigns of destruction.

Methodology

This dissertation is not intended as a definitive or even a comprehensive study of all paintings of the Inka dynasty that exist in collections today (see Appendix A for a catalog of known paintings of the Inka). Rather, its focus is on patronage and reception of the paintings. There are, unfortunately, few cases where individual patronage can be definitively identified by supporting archival documentation. It is rarely possible to match specific paintings with

archival documents, which usually provide no more than a cursory description of the subject. Furthermore, the provenance of many of the paintings that survive in private and public collections today is unknown. Wills and inventories of people's homes that are found in Peru's colonial archives, however, along with published descriptions of buildings in Lima and Cusco by foreign travelers who never failed to point out the expected and desired exotic and picturesque details, including displays of paintings of the Inka, supply valuable context for the paintings' reception. Descriptions of both civic and religious festivals in colonial cities, where individuals dressed as Pre-Columbian Inka and at times re-enacted the events of conquest, have proved a valuable resource. Along with other writings from the colonial era—archival detritus of court cases in which paintings of the Inka were marshaled as evidence, sometimes as testaments of family lineage, other times in order to question a defendant's loyalty to Spain, and colonial literary texts celebrating Peru's glorious past—they assist in fleshing out the symbolic meanings the Inka held for various audiences at different historical moments. Additionally, I have relied on secondary sources and the work of other scholars, whose exhaustive archival research has provided facts I could otherwise never have known, as well as their valuable insights into the complex nature of Peru's colonial society.

Perhaps the most important documents, however, are the paintings themselves. Paintings of the Inka dynasty vary dramatically in quality, from those whose technical proficiency suggests the work of a master artist to, more commonly, those that were quickly produced and are best considered as a form of popular art. As a popular art form, some of which were no doubt produced in vast quantities by a single workshop, paintings of the Inka are frequently related to one another as copies and cognates, with popular compositions

widely disseminated through prints. Those prints themselves could in turn be used as model for new series of painted canvases. Such is the case with the Brooklyn Museum paintings. Based on a seventeenth-century print that accompanied a history of Spain's empire by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, that print itself was probably based, however loosely, on a sixteenth-century painting (the print and its probable source are discussed more thoroughly in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation). However, untangling the web of interconnections between different paintings of the Inka dynasty is not my principal aim. Furthermore, I do not address every known painting. I prioritize those which I have been able to see firsthand during the course of my research, and thereafter those for which I have the best photographic reproductions. Additionally, because many series are nearly identical, I highlight those whose differences give insight into a changing understanding of the Inka past as pictorial invention.

The desire to find an original image from which others derived is a concern of our modern era more so than that of colonial Peruvians; nevertheless, the interest in originality looms large in many art historical studies related to the genre and is thus threaded throughout the dissertation. Regardless of their quality, or the originality of the composition, the paintings are important documents of larger discourses surrounding the Inka in colonial Peru. In short, the images themselves are primary texts that give insight into colonial structures of knowledge.

Considering the paintings as a text underscores that the visual arts are a form of communication rooted in a particular time and place; they are more than just disinterested aesthetic objects. As a form of visual communication, the paintings are only one component of a process of signification that mediates between the thing represented and the pictorial

sign. Semiotic theory allows for examining the mobility of meaning by treating the artwork as a sign that, while constituted in a specific discursive context, is not fixed. Once created, the sign functions autonomously and produces its effect on the receiver, who Charles Sanders Peirce called the interpretant. Peirce's emphasis on the human agent moves semiotic theory from an abstract science of signs as objective and unchanging, to stress the importance of the human context. This necessitates investigation of how signs operate historically and in specific social settings. For instance, the interpretant, or the sign's effect on the receiver, is dependent on the receiver's position with regards to a discursive field, and is thus potentially infinitely variable.⁴⁰ Meaning, then, is not absolute but connected to the context in which it is viewed. As Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson propose, "works of art are constituted by different viewers in different ways at different times and places."⁴¹

Recognizing the art object as a sign constituted by its position within a chain of signification denies the artist the role of absolute creator of a work's meaning. This is an advantageous methodological tool when dealing with artistic production in colonial Peru. Peru's colonial artists worked in a guild system. Master craftsman employed apprentices who worked in the master's workshop and were trained in the master's style. As a result, the system was a collaborative one. Few colonial artists signed their works, and few surviving paintings of the Inka can be identified with a specific artist, complicating the traditional art historical strategy of studying oeuvres of individual artists. The artist was responsible for putting in paint the desires of his patron, whether institutional (e.g. the Church) or individual. This is not to suggest that the production of art did not require the creative faculties of a skilled artist who could shape the subject according to his or her unique vision. Nor does it

mean that the knowledge of a specific artist, when known, is of little value for scholarly interpretation of their works. Rather, the point is that the artist did not have unrestricted authority in the artistic process and therefore did not alone control meaning. The text, in this case the painting, emerges from a discursive position, that which Foucault calls the “author function,” which is shaped, not only by an individual, but by the context(s) in which it was created and viewed.⁴²

Chapter Breakdown

This study begins by situating the genre within the broader context of Peru’s colonial art. Paintings of the Inka dynasty are most commonly ascribed to the Cusco School of colonial painting, however, rarely has this attribution been probed. What is the Cusco School of painting? How does the genre conform to our expectations of Cusco School painting and how significant are the connections between the paintings of the Inka dynasty as a genre and the Cusco School as a distinct style of colonial art? The relationship between them rests primarily on the presumption of a shared hybridity, that is, the understanding that both genre and style are a mixture of Andean and European pictorial styles. Hybridity has been a critical concept in the study of colonial art and therefore what it means in terms of paintings of the Inka dynasty must be addressed. While both the genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty and Cusco School style can rightly be termed hybrid productions, I discuss how the focus on their shared hybridity obscures that the hybridity of each is of a distinct type and responded to different historical circumstances. Thus, while both are examples of hybrid art, they are not

hybrid in the same way. By examining those differences, I aim to advance a more specific understanding of the types of hybridity expressed in paintings of the Inka dynasty.

Thereafter, the chapters are organized according to issues of patronage: ethnic, regional and temporal. Chapter Three begins with a case study of the first documented painting of the Inka, commissioned by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572. As a Spaniard and avowed defender of Spain's imperial project, what were Toledo's motivations for commissioning a series of paintings of the Inka royal lineage? To answer that question, I look to the specific historical context of the 1570s when a degree of self-doubt about the nature of Spain's ambitions in the Americas was evident to argue that the paintings were commissioned to reassert Spain's legitimacy. I then examine pictorial ways in which that Toledo aimed to communicate his message, and the ways in which that message was lost in translation.

Toledo's message of Inka illegitimacy was ultimately ineffective; for Peru's indigenous population, paintings of the Inka were used throughout the colonial period as testaments of noble status and of the rights and privileges it bestowed. Still, Peru's indigenous population should not be misconstrued as a monolithic and static entity. The next three chapters examine paintings of the Inka within the construction of a colonial indigenous identity, focusing on the carefully controlled identity of the descendants of the Inka in Cusco and other communities of indigenous elites elsewhere in the Viceroyalty, particularly in Lima. In Cusco, paintings of the Inka were part of a broader strategy to claim an individual's noble status as *señores naturales* (natural lords), an inviolable status recognized by Spanish law. In contrast, outside of Lima, the value of recognition as a señor natural was limited,

which affected the popularity of the paintings, the types of compositions created, and the messages they articulated. Finally, I examine the much diminished position of the paintings among Peru's indigenous population in the aftermath of Peru's independence from Spain in 1821. Here, I emphasize the changing nature of the political system, that of republican rule, as an important and overlooked factor in modifying the function of the genre.

Creoles were also important patrons of paintings of the Inka, in both the colonial era and after independence. Chapter Seven examines the placement of the paintings in the construction of creole proto-nationalism. The Inka were a source of local pride, however, I do not focus on their subversive potential, but rather on how the Inka played a role in creole attempts to position themselves as the most loyal vassals of the Spanish Crown, and of Spain's destined future. Yet, even as paintings of the Inka were a way for creoles to express their loyalty, there remained always the specter that that loyalty was fickle; in the wake of independence the Inka offered creoles a unique history on which to found their new nation. While the early nineteenth century witnessed a renewed interest in pictorial depictions of the Inka past, that boon also held the seeds of the genre's ultimate demise. The final chapter examines the intersection of paintings of the Inka, the creole imaginary, and Enlightenment discourses on culture. The Enlightenment created a new role for the image as a scientific document; I show the consequences that shift had for creoles' own understandings of those traditional images. Rather than documents of a glorious past, paintings of the Inka dynasty came to operate as testaments of the less evolved nature of the Americas.

Paintings of the Inka dynasty did not function identically for all segments of Peruvian society. Rather, they offered a dynamic and flexible vision of the Pre-Columbian past,

thereby allowing the genre to enter multiple discourses of legitimacy, and even illegitimacy.

This dissertation takes a broad view of the genre, cutting across temporal and regional divisions, as well as the ethnic divides that heretofore have been most thoroughly studied. By doing so, it aims to advance our understanding of how the paintings of the Inka were intertwined with shifting perceptions of the Pre-Columbian past, ultimately shaping the construction of identity.

¹ In the dissertation, I employ the spelling “Inka” rather than the more hispanicized “Inca.” Colonial documents additionally employ the variants “Inga” or “Ynga,” which are not used by scholars today. When directly quoting other sources, I retain the original spelling used therein.

² The most accurate term for the head of the Inka state, “Sapa Inka,” was infrequently used by colonial Peruvians. Moreover, not once in archival documents are paintings of the Inka referred to as Sapa Inka, but rather as Inka or Inka kings. For this reason, in this study I will henceforth refer to the Inka rulers as Inka.

³ Garcilso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966 [1609, 1617]), 198. Bernabé Cobo informs us that the Inka’s llautu was braided with multiple colors of wool while lesser nobility wore a llautu of a single color, *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of their Customs and their Origin together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History and Social Institutions*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979 [1653]), 245. For the colonial period llautu, see Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 129-130.

⁴ Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, “Construyendo la memoria: la figura del inca y el reino del Perú, de la conquista a Túpac Amaru II,” in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 112-113.

⁵ Ear spools were not exclusive to the Inka ruler but also were worn by other men of the noble class, which was composed of ethnic Inka and Inka by privilege. Inka by privilege were Quechua-speakers from the Cusco area who were allies of the Inka but not descendants

of the Inka founding couple, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco. The Spaniards referred to the male nobles as “orejones” (big ears) because the large spoons elongated their earlobes. See John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture at the Time of Spanish Conquest,” in Julian H. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), 261.

⁶ In Mexico painted codices and lienzos were used well into the colonial era to document Pre-Columbian lineages for the purpose of securing land rights and privileges, and are a continuation of Pre-Columbian pictorial practices. In contrast to Peruvian paintings of the Inka dynasty, those codices and lienzos were not a new pictorial product of colonial rule, and in general they remained confined to the indigenous community, not to enter into the common circulation of colonial society. Additionally, while they documented the prominent families of local communities, none were genealogies of the imperial Aztecs. It was only at the end of the seventeenth century that the first known depictions of the Aztec rulers were displayed in Mexico City, in the context of a triumphal arch decorated to celebrate the arrival of the new Viceroy. Designed by the creole intellectual Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, the temporary monument may have sparked interest in depicting the Pre-Columbian monarchs, for two paintings of Moteuczoma II were painted around this time. As artistic subjects, however, the Aztec dynasty never achieved widespread popularity among a colonial audience. For Sigüenza y Góngora’s triumphal arch, see David Brading, *The First America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 362-363. For seventeenth-century paintings of Moteuczoma, see Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stantton-Pruitt, eds., *The Arts in Latin America 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 376-377.

⁷ Creole (*criollo*), a term used by scholars of colonial Latin America to identify American-born Spaniards, is a complex social and historical concept. Roughly meaning “native born,” in its colonial usage it often had derisive connotations. The concept of creole in Latin America is thus distinct from its English counterpart, “Creole,” which instead emphasizes cultural and/or linguistic mixing, often in reference to the Caribbean. For a discussion of the history of the term creole in colonial Latin America, see Anthony Pagden, “Identity Formation in Spanish America,” in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1989), 79-80.

⁸ Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. (La Paz: Gisbert, 2004), 117-146.

⁹ John Rowe, “Colonial Portraits of the Inca Nobles,” in Sol Tax, ed., *The Civilization of Ancient America: Selected Papers of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 256-68; Rowe, “El movimiento nacional inca del siglo XVIII,” *Revista Universitaria del Cuzco* 43, no. 107 (1955): 17-47.

¹⁰ For example *Converging Cultures* (1996), organized by The Brooklyn Museum, which traveled to the Phoenix Art Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; *Los Siglos de Oro en los virreinos de América, 1550-1700* (1999), which was exhibited in the Museo de América, Madrid; *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (2004) held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; *The Arts in Latin America 1492-1820* (2006-7), organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which traveled to the Colegio de San

Idefonso, Mexico City, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (2011), organized by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

¹¹ Buntinx and Wuffarden, "Incas y reyes españoles en la pintura peruana: la estela de Garcilaso," *Márgenes* 4, no. 8 (1991): 151-210; Wuffarden, "La descendencia real y el 'renacimiento inca' en el virreinato," in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 174-251.

¹² "Por todo ello la imagen del inca será central en los conflictos simbólicos en el Perú entre indios, caciques, encomenderos, funcionarios de la corona e Iglesia. Esa centralidad no tiene en ningún caso su origen en la cristalización de una identidad indígena, muy por el contrario, es el poder metropolitano y sus representados quienes eligen los elementos más importantes del repertorio visual que entrará en disputa." Estenssoro, "Construyendo la memoria," 110.

¹³ Thomas B. F. Cummins, "We Are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial *kurakakuna*," in Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno, eds., *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 203-231.

¹⁴ For further discussion of the image of the Inka and the appropriation of European pictorial norms, see Cummins, "Representation in the Sixteenth Century and the Colonial Image of the Inca," in Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter Mignolo, eds., *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 188-210; Thomas B. F. Cummins, "La fábula y el retrato: imágenes tempranas del inca," in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 1-41.

¹⁵ Dean, “Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru,” in Donna Pierce, ed., *Exploring New World Imagery* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005), 86.

¹⁶ Cummins, “We are the Other”; For a response to Cummins see, Dean, “Inka Nobles.”

¹⁷ Dean, *Inka Bodies*; Dean, “Inka Nobles,” 79-103; Marie Timberlake, “The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History: Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict in *Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz*” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2001); Marie Timberlake, “The Painted Colonial Image: Jesuit and Andean Fabrication of History in *Matrimonio García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz*.” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 563-598.

¹⁸ For a deconstruction of the notion of portraiture in Western art, and the relationship between the subject of the portrait and his/her image, see Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

¹⁹ Dean, “Inka nobles,” 85.

²⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Inca*, 625-626.

²¹ “que con más perpetuidad quedase la verdad que en ellos va,” transcribed in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Las memoriales antiguas del Licenciado Montesinos é informaciones acerca del señorío de los ingas* (Madrid: Miguel Ginestra, 1882), 258.

²² The classic historicist study is John H. Rowe, “Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area,” *American Antiquity* 10, no. 3 (January 1945), 265-284. Among those studies most influential to my thinking about Inka history are those by Rowe’s former students: Susan Niles, *The Shape of Inka History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City:

University of Iowa Press, 1999); and Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000).

²³ R. Tom Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: the Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (Leiden: Brill, 1964).

²⁴ See, for example, Pierre Duviols, “La dinastía de los Incas: ¿Monarquía o diarquía? Argumentos heurísticos a favor de una tesis estructurista,” *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 66 (1979): 183-196. Others who take the structuralist position are Franklin Pease García Yrigoyen, *Los crónistas y los Andes* (Lima: Instituto Riva Agüero, 1995); and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁵ Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

²⁶ Cummins, “A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation,” in Diana Fane, ed., *Converging Cultures* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 157-70.

²⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge: 1993), 6-7.

²⁸ Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonialism*, 2nd rev. ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 475-479.

²⁹ Anne McClintock, “The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term ‘Post-Colonialism’,” *Social Text*, no. 31/32 (1992): 84-98.

³⁰ Rural and urban divisions continue to play a role in categories of identity in Peru. See Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

³¹ For a history of tensions between creoles and Spaniards from the conquest to Independence, see David Brading, *The First America*.

³² The case of Diego Felipe de Betancur, discussed in Chapter 3, is one such example.

³³ Jorge Klor de Alva, "The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of "Colonialism," "Postcolonialism," and "Mestizaje"," in Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 241-75.

³⁴ For discussion of the debate about Latin America's position as a postcolonial entity, see Amaryll Chanady, "The Latin American Postcolonialism Debate in a Comparative Context," in Mabel Moraña, Enrique D. Dussel and Carlos A Jáuregui, eds., *Coloniality at Large* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 417-434; Walter Mignolo, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse: Cultural Critique or Academic Colonialism?" *Latin American Research Review* no. 28 (1993): 120-134. For an argument in favor of the consideration of Latin America's creoles as post/colonial subjects, see José Antonio Mazzotti, "Creole Agencies and the (Post)Colonial Debate in Spanish America," in Mabel Moraña, Enrique D. Dussel and Carlos A Jáuregui, eds., *Coloniality at Large* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 77-110; and Mario Roberto Morales, "Peripheral Modernity" in Mabel Moraña, Enrique D. Dussel and Carlos A Jáuregui, eds., *Coloniality at Large* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 492-450.

³⁵ Natalia Majluf, “De la rebelión al museo,” in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Credito, 2005), 253-319.

³⁶ For more on the causes of the rebellion, see Steve J. Stern, “The Age of Andean Insurrection: A Reappraisal,” in Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 34-93; Magnus Mörner and Efraín Trelles, “The Test of Causal Interpretations of the Túpac Amaru Rebellion,” in Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 94-109; Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Peru y Bolivia, 1700-83* (Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1988); Ward Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru: Conflict, Community and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); and David Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 183-195.

³⁷ José Antonio de Areche, in Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk, eds., *The Peru Reader: History, Culture and Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 158-159.

³⁸ One prominent example is the painting in the chapel of the Beaterio de Copacabana, which was devoted to the education of daughters of indigenous elites and home to numerous indigenous confraternities. Another hung in the Cathedral. It had long been assumed that the Cathedral was the original location of the painting of the Inka that now hangs there. Recently, however, Luis Eduardo Wuffarden has discovered that the painting is not mentioned in early inventories, leading him to suggest that it was installed in 1901 after the Cathedral renovation. Yet there is no doubt it was painted before the Great Rebellion and was probably on display

at a different location, perhaps in the chapel of Our Lady of Cocharcas, another indigenous parish in Lima. See Wuffarden, “La descendencia real,” 240, and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “La catedral de Lima y el triunfo de la pintura,” in *La Basílica Catedral de Lima* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2004), 280-282.

³⁹ The Ayacucho area was a particularly active site of colonial resistance in the sixteenth century; see Steve Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 68-70.

⁴⁰ For more on Peirce’s semiotics and its applicability to art history, see Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History,” *Art Bulletin* 73 no. 2 (1990): 174-208; For a concise discussion of Peirce’s concept of the interpretant as a discourse, see Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 68-71.

⁴¹ Bal and Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History,” 179.

⁴² Foucault, “What is an Author?” in *Language, Counter-Memory and Practice: Selected Essays*, trans. D. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113-138.

Chapter 2:

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty, the Cusco School and the Issue of Hybridity

For three hundred years, paintings of the Inka dynasty shaped identities for multiple audiences in colonial Peru. The genre was a product of that unique and complex environment, however, as much as it contributed to shaping it. Therefore, before addressing the ways that the genre aided in the construction of ethnic and regional identities, it is necessary to first examine the cultural environment from which paintings of the Inka dynasty emerged. To do so this chapter situates the genre within the context of Peru's colonial arts, focusing on two mutually entangled issues: the relationship of the genre to the Cusco School of painting, and the role of hybridity as a defining feature of colonial arts.

On the rare occasion when paintings of the Inka dynasty have appeared in museum exhibitions or art historical textbooks, they most often have been included as an example of Cusco School (or Cusco Circle) painting.¹ The Cusco School is a specific regional style of Peruvian Baroque painting known for its synthesis of European and Andean aesthetic sensibilities.² There is notable overlap between the genre and the style. Still, despite their many points of intersection, it is important to distinguish the Cusco School, as a style, from paintings of the Inka dynasty, as a specific genre. The conflation of the two has made it difficult to address the genre on its own terms and to understand the intricacies of its reception. Thus my aim here is to address the differences between the Cusco School and paintings of the Inka dynasty, in particular at the moment of their origin.

A primary reason that paintings of the Inka have been associated with the Cusco School is because both are examples of artistic hybridity in colonial Peru. Although I do not dispute that paintings of the Inka dynasty share with the Cusco School a deeply rooted hybridity, I propose that they are not hybrid in the same way. Whereas Cusco School paintings are stylistically hybrid, the hybridity of paintings of the Inka dynasty has as much to do with the context of their origin as with their formal appearance. The distinct historical foundations of the genre and the Cusco School required different forms of negotiation between Andean and European cultures. Thus, while each may be considered hybrid, their hybridities reflect responses to different needs. By examining the dissimilar contexts in which paintings of the Inka dynasty and the Cusco School first developed, we gain greater insight into the wide variety of cultural responses to colonial rule.

What We Talk About When We Talk About Hybridity

The concept of hybridity is an important one with regards to any discussion of Peru's, and indeed Latin America's, colonial art. However, although it is frequently invoked, the term remains elusive and ambiguous. As Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn stress, the term hybridity is generally used to describe a recognizable and describable combination of European and indigenous artistic traits that is visibly apparent in an art object.³

Implicit in any discussion of hybridity in the art of colonial societies are the structures of power that hybridity reveals. Mixtures in the visual arts of a colonial society necessarily result from acts of appropriation or imitation. How we are to understand those changes is the issue. In 1961, George Kubler, for example, drew overdetermined conclusions that colonial

period changes in the arts of indigenous populations revealed European cultural influence that was both absolute, so that what remained of the indigenous artworks was devoid of all meaning, and unidirectional, nothing but the result of the colonized population's necessary mimicking of the arts of the dominant culture.⁴

Yet, as various theorists have since shown, hybridity in colonial cultures is a more complex culture dynamic than those earliest studies acknowledged. According to the cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha, hybridity exposes colonial mimicry as incomplete and therefore dangerous.⁵ That is, the colonized can never be a perfect copy of the colonizer, which therefore reveals an essential, unsettling difference that, at the very least, offers the colonized an opportunity for self-definition, if not outright resistance. In short, in Bhabha's estimation, hybridity points to the limits of the colonizer's control, rather than his absolute domination. Approached from this angle, hybrid artworks can provide evidence of the resilience of the colonized population.

If that version of hybridity operates according to an unbridgeable divide between copy and original, Michael Taussig has instead emphasized the complex chain of mimetic acts that have taken place between the West and its Other, which are constitutive of colonialism itself.⁶ For Taussig, mimesis begins at first contact and is the essential medium for communication and understanding between two disparate populations. Taussig notes that both sides of the colonial divide engage in acts of mimesis, mimicking the other mimicking it, thereby producing a complex chain that displaces the very notion of an original act. Yet, the tendency remains for Europeans to ascribe mimicry to the other, erasing their own engagement in those mimetic acts, and reinforcing a notion that *we* create and *they* imitate.

Taussig's analysis does much to problematize that paradigm of primitivism, revealing mimesis not as a sign of control, or of forcing one culture upon another, but rather as the space between "in which it is far from easy to say who is the imitator and who is the imitated, which is copy and which is original."⁷

Taussig's concept of mimesis has important implications for art historical studies because it suggests that searches for sources, or "originals" that are being "copied," are not in every case the best way to understand the underlying dynamics of colonial cultural production. Indeed, as Taussig points out, the products of that mimesis often carefully mask the complex interactions from which it arose. Thus we must acknowledge the limits of vision in attempts to accurately determine the complex cultural mechanics that produce colonial art. This parallels what Dean and Leibsohn have termed "invisible hybridity," that is a cultural mixture that is not always visibly apparent.⁸ They argue that in focusing on the visible aspect of hybridity, we risk overlooking a more significant cultural mixture that underpins formal appearances. Taussig's mimesis does not preclude the hybrid object from enunciating resistance to the colonizing power, but foregrounds instead the processes by which such objects and ways of thought come into being, rather than the ends to which they are put. In exploring those underlying dynamics, he displaces the primacy of the product in favor of the context of its origination.

The difference between Bhabha's mimicry and Taussig's mimesis provides a useful distinction for understanding the dissimilar hybridities of Cusco School painting and the genre of Inka dynastic paintings. Whereas Bhabha's mimicry is attuned more to the visible surface, and the impossibility of the hybrid object to ever "be" the original, Taussig's

mimesis touches on the processes that produced hybrid cultures, which may leave no visible trace. Thus, whereas the Cusco School style is visibly hybrid, the genre of paintings of the Inka hides the most important aspects of their hybridity behind the visible surface of the painting.

Cusco School of Painting and Hybridity

The most prominent example of “visible hybridity” in colonial Andean art is Cusco School painting, which developed in Cusco and its surrounding area in the late seventeenth century. It is imprecise simply to designate any painting produced in Cusco and its surrounding area during the colonial period as “Cusco School.” Scholars have identified certain characteristics that distinguish the Cusco School style from other regional styles, including technical features such as the type of canvas, the use of certain pigments, modes of applying pigment to canvas; and formal features such as the treatment of pictorial space and the artists’ exploitation of certain surface effects.⁹

The painting *St. Joseph and the Christ Child* in the Brooklyn Museum is typical of Cusco School painting from the late seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries (Figure 2.1). Filling the center of the canvas is a youthful St. Joseph, who stands facing the viewer, his right hand grasping that of his divine step-son, his left arm extended, holding a stem of three white lilies.¹⁰ The figures are set in a landscape characterized by a hazy blue cast and somber mood that suggest the influence of Flemish paintings, great numbers of which were exported to Spain’s overseas territories.¹¹ The anonymous artist did not paint his landscape from direct observation but copied it from European models, the result being that it is not an accurate

depiction of the Andean environment. Nevertheless, the artist has added details, such as the inclusion of colorful tropical birds, that give the painting a local flavor and transform it into more than a mere reproduction of a European prototype. Other details that mark the Andean manufacture of the artwork include the Inka-style rope sandals that shod Christ's feet.

Yet, in spite of the landscape setting, the painting has a distinct planarity. St. Joseph and the Christ child fill the foreground and are set apart from, rather than integrated into, the surroundings, giving the sense of two figures standing before a backdrop rather than moving through a real space. Stylized flowers frame the scene on three sides, disrupting the spatial illusionism and contributing to the flattening of pictorial space.¹² Additionally, the two-dimensionality of the canvas' surface is asserted by the heavy use of *brocateado*, a geometric gilt patterning applied to the figures' clothing. Brocateado, although not found in all Cusco School paintings, is among the most prominent features of the Cusco School style.¹³ The designs were applied with stencils to create regular patterns that do not conform to the folds of the cloth beneath, accentuating the surface's flatness and providing a foil to the naturalism of the volumetric, if stiff, drapery.¹⁴ That tension between naturalism and stylization is one of the characteristics of Cusco School painting and gives it much of its distinctive charm.

Cusco School paintings differed from the styles that preceded them. The early history of painting in the Andes has yet to be fully written and, due to issues of preservation, our knowledge of it will likely remain incomplete.¹⁵ Painters arrived with the earliest European settlers, but their numbers seem to have remained few in the earliest years of the Viceroyalty. Unfortunately, their works do not survive in sufficient quantity, preventing any thorough investigation of their style and appearance.

Art played an important role in the spread of Christianity throughout Spain's American territories. Prints depicting religious imagery were imported en masse from Europe.¹⁶ Their aim was to provide moral instruction and to promote Catholic doctrine. Imported prints, along with imported paintings, no doubt served as compositional models beginning with the earliest expressions of Peru's colonial art, a function that persisted throughout the colonial period even as artists increasingly modified those sources to produce images that responded to local needs.¹⁷

The local painting industry began to flourish at the end of the sixteenth century with the arrival of three influential Europeans. Bernardo Bitti, a Jesuit monk and artist from Rome, arrived in Lima in 1575. From there, he traveled throughout the Viceroyalty, including Cusco and the Lake Titicaca region, where canvases painted by him can still be found. Bitti was perhaps the most prolific painter working in the Andes at the turn of the seventeenth century, and his paintings, in particular the elegant Madonnas with graceful gestures and elongated proportions wrapped in garments that hang in angular folds that were his specialty, exhibit the Mannerist style of the Roman workshops in which he trained (Figure 2.2). Bitti was followed by Angelino Medoro, who arrived in South America in 1587 and was active in Lima by 1600, and Mateo Pérez de Alesio, who arrived in Peru in 1588. Like Bitti, Medoro and Pérez de Alesio had trained in Rome and worked in a Mannerist style. Although neither worked in Cusco, their paintings circulated widely, thus spreading their influence. Perhaps more importantly, their workshops were crucial spaces for the training of local artists, whom they employed as assistants. One of Medoro's disciples, the Lima-born

Luis de Riaño, set up shop in Cusco, where he undertook his most famous commission, the murals at the village church of Andahuaylillas.¹⁸

By the mid-seventeenth century, artists in Cusco began to abandon the dominant Italian style, and Flemish art became increasingly influential. One of the first artists to champion northern European artistic trends was the indigenous painter Diego Quispe Tito. A series of late paintings he made for the Cusco Cathedral, known as the Zodiac series, demonstrates the new taste. The canvases, of which nine survive, show scenes from Christ's life and ministry correlated to the cycle of seasons.¹⁹ Depictions of the cycles of the seasons are most common in Northern Europe, and indeed this series was based on engravings designed by H. Bol in 1585.²⁰ In the canvas for Leo, so indicated by the zodiac sign of the lion inscribed in the sun in the upper right of the composition, Christ stands in the foreground as Good Shepherd, carrying one lamb over his shoulder as he looks back to ensure the wellbeing of the rest of his flock (Figure 2.3). An expansive background opens up behind him: a village around which other shepherds tend their flocks in the middle ground, and a larger town in the far background, each ground connected by a zigzagging footpath, along which move herds of sheep and a mule train taking goods to market. The paintings combine religious instruction with a scene of quotidian life, suggesting a connection between Christian morality and economic vibrancy. The buildings that compose the towns are European in style; the landscape, too, is European. The hazy blue cast, rolling hills and deciduous trees share little in common with the landscape surrounding Quispe Tito's hometown of Cusco. The more somber, earthy palette contrasts with the pastel colors preferred by Bitti. In addition, the number of figures, their integration into the landscape, and

the distinct grounds visually united by the zigzag path, combine to make a more complex illusionistic space than is seen in Bitti's earlier work, and indicate the ascendancy of the Baroque style in colonial Cusco.

Quispe Tito's long career spanned most of the seventeenth century and his Flemish-inflected Baroque style, along with his occasional inclusion of local elements, has led him to be considered a founder of the Cusco School. However, his work generally preceded the development of the most significant features associated with that style and he is better considered a transitional figure. For example, his naturalistic landscapes only hint at the greater stylization that characterizes the Cusco School. Quispe Tito died in 1681, when the Cusco School was in its infancy.²¹

From a historical perspective, the Cusco School developed in the late seventeenth century in response to multiple factors. These include the earthquake of 1650 that destroyed many of Cusco's churches and thus spurred an extensive building campaign that still defines the city's appearance. The new constructions needed decorations, and the period from the end of the seventeenth through the eighteenth century became a golden age of painting in the Andean city.²² The arrival of the Spaniard Don Manuel Mollinedo y Angulo in 1673 as the new bishop was also of critical importance. A devoted patron of the arts, he brought with him a collection of paintings that included works by European masters such as El Greco that would influence local painters.²³ In addition to his collection of European masters, Mollinedo became a major patron of local artists, encouraging their experimentations, and was responsible for commissioning much of the artwork that still decorates the city's cathedral.²⁴ Finally, in 1688 an internal dispute among members of the city's painter's guild led to the

creation of a new guild composed of indigenous and mestizo artists, as José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert have documented.²⁵

While features associated with the Cusco School are occasionally found in some earlier paintings, the guild split was arguably responsible for the ascendancy of the Cusco School as a cohesive regional style. No longer held back by having to meet the requirements of European taste necessary to pass guild examinations administered by master painters, who were almost always Spaniards, indigenous and mestizo artists had new freedom to experiment. With their greater autonomy, these artists eschewed the emphasis on perspective imposed by European artists, preferring the expressive potential of shallow pictorial space and highly ornamented surface detail that are the hallmarks of the Cusco School style.

Cusco School paintings seem to disrupt an apparent teleological progression of western art towards ever greater naturalism, but in fact their emotional resonance and emphasis on decorative surfaces is not antithetical to the contemporaneous Baroque style that was then fashionable in Spain and her American territories. The Baroque style arose in European religious painting as part of the Catholic Church's response to the Protestant Reformation. As with earlier Renaissance styles, the aims of religious painting remained the conveyance of Christian teachings. Rather than appealing to the intellect, however, Baroque paintings aimed to instruct by provoking an emotional response, and the visual image was affirmed as a tool for meditating on the mysteries of the true faith. The expressive Cusco School style could well have been a short-lived experiment. Yet because of the new interest in emotionally resonant art then in vogue, the style proliferated and found a receptive

audience throughout the Viceroyalty, with several examples even known to have been exported to Europe.²⁶

In addition to the formal innovations that resulted from the greater independence of indigenous artists in colonial Cusco, those artists also introduced new subjects that in many cases speak directly to Andean cultural concerns. Although the paintings are predominantly devoted to Christian subjects, many of those subjects suggest deeper connections to Pre-Columbian culture. One example is a series of guardian angels dressed in Renaissance military garments and positioned in different stages of loading and firing a harquebus, such as one labeled “Fortitvd” which shows the angel using a ramrod to load his gun (Figure 2. 4). The angel is sumptuously dressed in lace and brocade, the pattern applied by stencil in white paint and accented with gilt; his celestial nature indicated by the colorful feather wings spread behind him. Although a Christian subject, only on rare occasions do archangels appear as the principal subject of European paintings. The inclusion of guns, moreover, is an Andean invention that merged depictions of angels with military maneuvers illustrated in Jacob de Gheyn’s *The Exercise of Arms* (1607).²⁷ Gisbert has proposed that the angels resonated with the indigenous population because of their connections to Pre-Columbian astronomical cults.²⁸

From a stylistic perspective, Cusco School traits are also evident in several surviving paintings of the Inka dynasty. The series in the Brooklyn Museum, for example, shows the artists’ delight in the patterning of the figures’ dress (Figure 1.3). The attention to patterning of dress flattens the figures’ bodies in contrast to the more three-dimensionally modeled faces. According to the museum’s conservation reports, the canvas on which the images are

painted is of a rough type consistent with that used by painters in colonial Cusco.²⁹

Therefore, although little is known of their provenance before they were offered for sale in New York in the nineteenth century, it is reasonable to conclude that the Brooklyn Museum series was produced in Cusco. Still, a distinction needs to be made between style and genre. While examples of the genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty, such as those in the Brooklyn Museum collection, could be painted in the Cusco School style, the genre and the style developed at different historical moments and in response to different stimuli.

Paintings of the Inka and Hybridity in the Sixteenth-Century Contact Zone

Distinguishing between the development of the genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty and that of the Cusco School style is fraught with difficulty, but it is also crucial in order that we may best understand each as distinctively hybrid artworks. Rather than emerging from the seventeenth-century crucible that forged the Cusco School, wherein indigenous and mestizo artists were using art to express their independence from the Spanish-run guild, paintings of the Inka dynasty originated a full century earlier, in the chaotic early years of colonial rule, which were characterized more by misunderstanding than defiance. The first paintings of the Inka dynasty are documented for 1572, when Viceroy Francisco de Toledo commissioned a series of four canvases displaying representations of the Inka as a gift for his sovereign, King Philip II of Spain. Those paintings are commonly referred to as Toledo's *paños* (cloths), a Spanish term that suggests that the images were painted on rough, unprimed and unstretched canvas. Although Toledo's *paños* no longer survive, scholars frequently advance them as a possible missing link in the development of

Peru's colonial art. Enrique Marco Dorta, for instance, states that they were a crucial early expression of Cusco School painting.³⁰

Although Toledo's paños are at a historical remove from the development of the Cusco School painting style, the claim that they nevertheless are an initial expression of that later style is not unreasonable and is based on the limited facts we have about them.

Descriptions of the paños exist, made both before they left Peru and after they arrived in Spain, in the inventories of the royal collections in Madrid. However, not one mentions anything salient about their pictorial style (see Appendices B, C). The most detailed description was made in Peru by Toledo's secretary, Alvaro Ruíz de Navamuel (Appendix B). Among the particulars it records that the paños were painted by indigenous artists. This is of crucial importance and it is on this bit of information that stylistic assumptions about the paños' appearance rest. Because the paños were painted by indigenous artists, some scholars have contended that this first known example of paintings of the Inka dynasty was rooted in a cultural synthesis or hybridity akin to that of later Cusco School painting.

In what follows I will examine that claim and propose that, although there is evidence to support the assumption that Toledo's paños, like Cusco School paintings, were hybrid art works, they were not necessarily hybrid in the same way, thereby casting doubt on the notion that the former's hybridity was in any meaningful way connected to that of the latter. Whereas Cusco School painting signals a degree of independence of indigenous artists from the artistic tradition of Europe, Toledo's paños stand at the opposite end of the spectrum, that is, at the beginning of the encounter between two ways of recording the world in visual form. Those first paintings of the Inka were initiated by a Spanish patron who no doubt had a

significant hand in shaping the contours of the final production. The question of what they meant for their Spanish patron will be developed in the following chapter. By acknowledging that Toledo had a hand in determining the painting's form, however, I do not intend to suggest that he was solely responsible for the appearance of the paños. Rather, I wish to emphasize that the cultural negotiation between European and Andeans that those paintings recorded was of a very different character than that of the later Cusco School, because it was based in the necessities of the particular historical moment.

The Appearance of Toledo's Paños

As one of the earliest known paintings produced by indigenous artists in the colonial Andes, Toledo's paños have long intrigued scholars, who have wondered how they might transform our understanding of the development of Peru's colonial art. Sadly, an accurate stylistic analysis of Toledo's lost paños is impossible. Eyewitness descriptions of them do exist, but they remain tantalizingly vague, describing them only as portraits of the Inka rulers and including depictions of their wives and offspring. What those likenesses looked like, however, is speculative.

Catherine Julien has argued that Toledo's paños, although called "portraits," were not figurative paintings after the European manner but rather were composed of a series of abstract symbols used by the Inka known as *tocapu*.³¹ Tocapu are discrete geometric designs found on the most elite Inka garments and material objects. A rare example of a tunic decorated completely with *tocapu* designs, which is in the collection of the Dumbarton Oaks Museum in Washington, D.C., is certainly a royal garment and served as a visible statement

of the ruler's absolute power and control over his domain (Figure 2.5).³² While their precise meanings remain elusive, there is no doubt that *tocapu* were an integral part of an Inka symbolic system used to convey status and identity.³³ It is indeed likely that Toledo's artists were familiar with that Andean system of recording identity, and it is certainly possible that they incorporated it into their own depictions.

Such abstract ways of recording information, however, were in conflict with the norms of Western Europe, and, as Thomas Cummins has pointed out, none of the eyewitness accounts of the *paños* mention anything unusual in their appearance.³⁴ Considering that Europeans were eager to point out even the slightest difference between themselves and the newly encountered and conquered peoples of the Americas, it is unlikely that the use of what to them was a strange system for visually recording a personal identity would have gone unremarked upon, much less that *tocapu* motifs would have been identified as analogous with European "portraits." While Toledo's artists may have included *tocapu* motifs, the motifs were almost certainly not the only, or even the dominant, pictorial code that they employed. Thus, as Cummins concludes, the only possible conclusion is that Toledo's *paños* conformed to what Europeans recognized as portraiture, that is, that the *paños* depicted what would have been seen as a naturalistic likeness of the Inka rulers.³⁵

There are other reasons to conclude that those first paintings of the Inka dynasty, like later surviving examples of the genre, appropriated the form of European-style portraiture. It is probable that traces of the appearance of Toledo's *paños* remain in an early seventeenth-century engraving that accompanied Antonio Herrera y Tordesilla's *Historia de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano*, published between 1601 and

1615, as scholars as far back as the nineteenth-century have asserted (Figure 2.6).³⁶ The book is divided into eight “decades,” each of which includes an engraved frontispiece alerting the reader to characters and events that are discussed therein. The *Decada Quinta* (Fifth Decade) concerns Spain’s conquest of the Inka. Surrounding the title and dedication are twelve roundels displaying bust portraits of the Inka rulers, beginning with Manco Capac, placed at the center top of the page, and ending with Huascar, the half-brother deposed by Atahualpa on the eve of Spanish Conquest, who is depicted in profile to the left of the dynasty’s founder.

While the scholarly consensus is that Herrera’s engraving is modeled after Toledo’s paños, Teresa Gisbert has proposed an alternative for the source for its imagery. She suggests that Herrera’s model was a painted genealogy of the Inka sent to Spain in 1603, which was later described by Garcilaso de la Vega.³⁷ I doubt her suggestion, however, and it is worth investigating why that later painting is less likely to have been Herrera’s source.

According to eyewitness accounts Toledo’s paños depicted a lineage of the Inka that ended with Huascar, which is consistent with Herrera’s engraving.³⁸ Garcilaso’s description of the 1603 paintings implies, however, that the last Inka ruler depicted was Paullo Inka, another of Huascar’s half-brothers, and that Huascar was not included in the genealogy at all. Gisbert plausibly argues that Herrera may have excluded Paullo because he never reigned as Inka. Even so, the question then becomes: what was the source of Herrera’s depiction of Huascar? We do know that Herrera made alterations to his model and that he invented one of the portraits, that of Inka Urco, who is pictured second from the bottom on the left hand side, facing frontally towards the viewer, in a portrait that is almost completely devoid of detail.

Diana Fane has stressed that the generic appearance of that Inka in Herrera's frontispiece points to the lack of a source model.³⁹ In contrast, the depiction of Huascar is one of the more detailed portrayals in Herrera's engraving. He is clothed in an elaborate tunic decorated with horizontal bands of patterning, probably meant to replicate bands of *tocapu* that were likely included in the source image. Therefore, given the greater specificity of the image of Huascar, it is unlikely that Herrera's engraver invented it, but rather copied it from a model. Additionally, there is no disputing that Toledo's *paños* were hung in Madrid's Alcázar Palace as part of the royal collection, accessible to courtiers and officials, including Herrera, who was the royal cosmographer, whereas we do not know what happened to the painting mentioned by Garcilaso; certainly, there is no clear indication that it ever entered into the royal collection.

Gisbert bases her conclusion principally on the fact that, like Herrera's engraving, the 1603 painting depicted the Inka in bust portrait format.⁴⁰ Descriptions of Toledo's *paños* are more ambiguous about their format, but it is clear that the Inka rulers were each depicted twice. On three canvases the Inka were depicted as "portraits," which perhaps indicates that they were shown as standing figures, although bust portrayals are also possible. The fourth canvas, however, exhibited a genealogical tree of the Inka. In that painting, the descriptions state that the Inka were depicted as "*bulto*," a term for a figure's shape or form. The word usually indicates a statue, but that does not seem to be the implication here. It is not implausible that in this context the term "*bulto*" indicates a bust of Inka. Although Herrera modified his source to some extent, the descriptions of Toledo's *paños* therefore better correspond to Herrera's engraving than does the later painting. Herrera's engraving thus

provides our closest approximation of the appearance of those first depictions of the Inka, and it informs us that they did indeed take the form of a naturalistic human likeness.

Herrera's engraving was not an exact copy of his source. Toledo's four paños were large and therefore able to include a much greater amount of detail than the book-sized engraving. While the engraved frontispiece gives us a good sense of the general form of the likenesses of the Inka, it is not specific enough to allow us to analyze assuredly the degree of stylistic hybridity in that original. Therefore, the engraving itself is insufficient evidence to adequately address the question of whether, as Dorta supposes, the paños represent the true beginning of the Cusco School pictorial style.

A better way to address issues of the paños' style is to investigate other contemporary paintings, which provide some, albeit limited, grounds for comparison. Although Toledo's 1572 commission occurred during a period for which our knowledge of colonial artistic production in Cusco is most limited, we are fortunate to have three surviving illustrated manuscripts, one by the indigenous writer Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and the other two produced for the Spanish friar Martín de Murúa, all of which were created in the decades immediately following the production of the paños, between 1590 and 1615. Guaman Poma's manuscript, produced around 1613, is housed in the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen; the earlier Murúa, dated around 1590, is in the collection of Sean Galvin of Dublin, Ireland, and the later version from 1615 is in the collection of the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, California. The surviving Murúa manuscripts were modified from an earlier version, now lost and likely unillustrated, known as the Cusco version.⁴¹ Guaman Poma's and the surviving Murúa manuscripts are the only known illustrated manuscripts produced in

the colonial Andes and are some of the earliest examples of early colonial Andean visual culture. Furthermore, as with Toledo's paños, each manuscript was produced with the involvement of indigenous artists. Thus, the proximity in time makes the manuscripts appropriate candidates for comparison to the paños with regards to the latter's style.

Depictions of the Inka in the Works of Guaman Poma and Murúa

Each manuscript depicts a variety of pictorial subjects—in Guaman Poma's case there are nearly 400 illustrations—but common to each is a series of likenesses of the Inka rulers. While related to the genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty, these images also remain apart from it. They are illustrations of textual histories, rather than independent paintings, and it is unlikely that they contributed to the main trajectory of development of the genre in colonial Peru, as each was shipped to Spain and, to my knowledge, were never publicly displayed in the Andes. Still, although there is no evidence linking them to Toledo's paños, as the earliest surviving local depictions of the Inka dynasty, Guaman Poma's and Murúa's illustrations likely come closest to approximating the style of those prime objects.

The three manuscripts also relate to one another. For instance, Guaman Poma, we know, worked for Murúa before their eventual falling out.⁴² It is not a surprise then that depictions of the Inka are similar in all three manuscripts, as can be seen by comparing their respective representations of the dynasty founder, Manco Capac (Figures 2.7- 2.9). In all three versions, the Inka is depicted in a full body pose, facing frontally in the case of Guaman Poma's version, or turned to the left at a three-quarters angle to the picture plane in Murúa's illustrations. In their left hands they hold a scepter topped with a feathered ornament, or

suntur paucar, which was an insignia of the Sapa Inka. Each wears an elaborate tunic with three rows of *tocapu* around the waist (two rows, in the case of the Getty Murúa). The correspondence between the garments in all three versions is of interest. In the Galvin Murúa, for instance, Manco Capac wears a tunic of two colors, red above the *tocapu* bands and a light blue color below. Remarkably, that color scheme is repeated by Guaman Poma. Although Guaman Poma's ink drawings are devoid of color, in the text he describes the color of the Inka's dress as "red above, sky blue below," and even describes the founder's *llautu* as green, which is its color in the Galvin illustration.⁴³ Both Guaman Poma's manuscript and the Getty Murúa, are to some degree copies of the earlier Galvin manuscript. Thus the repetition of the color combination of the Sapa Inka's dress in the later Getty version suggests that Murúa's second group of artists had access to the illustrations of his first draft, while Guaman Poma's description of the garments reveals his memory of that earlier version, for which he had assisted Murúa.⁴⁴

The representational style of those images reveals the influence of European visual models, as the human figure was not a central focus of Inka arts. Still, in their naïveté the drawings betray the artists' inexperience with European standards of representation. While Cusco School paintings have also frequently been described as "naïve," their artists were trained in European conventions, if only later to reject them. In the case of the Guaman Poma and Murúa manuscripts, the artists' training seems to have been minimal, so that the style results from a different relationship between artist and object. The function of the manuscript illustrations is also different from the later Cusco School paintings. The depictions of the Inka in the three manuscripts are descriptive and didactic, and the ornamental details have

been studied with an eye to factual reproduction. That is, they were meant to accurately illustrate the dress and attributes of the Inka for the edification of a Spanish audience unfamiliar with those details. To that end, glosses were included, and the costume features labeled, labels that are further described and explained in the text. Thus the images do not function independently, but are illustrations of the written word. In contrast to Cusco School painting, which is an expressive painting style designed to resonate emotionally with the viewer, the manuscript illustrations aimed at pure didacticism, to inform their audience through presentation of facts.

Yet, if the roots of the Cusco School style are not clearly evident in Peru's earliest colonial artistic productions, those artworks are rightfully considered hybrid, not so much in terms of their pictorial style but in the types of information they convey. Guaman Poma, for instance, goes beyond a simple description of Inka costume to encode forms of indigenous knowledge. As Rolena Adorno has clearly demonstrated, Guaman Poma's drawings are organized according to Andean spatial structures, for example the relative importance of right and left, which provide a secondary reading that at times undermines the written text.⁴⁵ R. Tom Zuidema has similarly proposed that the textile designs in Guaman Poma's manuscript, particularly those worn in his series of Inka portraits, encode Andean knowledge of administrative distinctions, moiety affiliation and the calendar.⁴⁶ It is possible that the illustrations in Murúa's manuscripts also encode Andean forms of knowledge. This is especially true of the earlier Galvin version on which Guaman Poma worked as one of Murúa's artists; however, since that manuscript has only recently come to scholarly attention, studies of this matter remain in their initial stages. The manuscript illustrations thus give

scholars a great deal of important information about the Inka, but this comes less from the paintings' style than from their conceptual symbolism.

Thus, as Guaman Poma and Murúa's manuscript illustrations show, whereas some forms of hybridity are a feature of pictorial style, others are instead hybrid in content and concept. Toledo's paños, too, may be accurately understood as an early example of an Andean colonial hybridity. But rather than being a combination of Andean and European painting styles, Toledo's paños were a synthesis of larger cultural practices that were more deeply rooted than any stylistic hybridity of the painted surface.

Hybridity and Toledo's Paños

The only certainty about Toledo's paños is that they principally took the form of imagined figural likenesses of the Inka rulers. Although Gisbert suggests that the paños had ties to Inka artistic traditions, pointing to Garcilaso's description of condors painted on rocks outside of Cusco that commemorated an important military victory as an example of Inka figurative painting, there was no custom of painted portraiture among the Inka.⁴⁷ Cummins has argued that the use of a European pictorial form along with a European medium—paint on canvas—removes an artwork's connection to indigenous cultural practices.⁴⁸ In contrast, Dean has proposed that in spite of their European surface, colonial paintings of the Inka share a deep connection to Inka practices and concepts concerning the ruler's body.⁴⁹ For example, colonial sources note that the Sapa Inka had a *huaque*, a Quechua word indicating a man's brother, which served as his double.⁵⁰ Like the Sapa Inka, his huaque owned land and had retainers, was carried on a litter and, when entering a town, was paid due respect as if it were

the Inka himself. Descriptions of the huaque's appearance vary, but most suggest that it was a stone object that could also contain the clippings of the Sapa Inka's hair and nails, providing a physical link between the Inka and his double. Although chroniclers give few details about the huaques' form, some are described as likenesses of the Inka, or as birds or animals. For example, according to Sarmiento, the huaque of Manco Capac took the shape of a bird and was called *inti*, after the Inka solar deity.⁵¹ However, Sarmiento, along with the majority of Spaniards who discuss the huaques, never saw any of them in person, which makes their descriptions of the huaques' appearance unreliable. After analyzing and sourcing the chronicler's accounts of huaques, Dean convincingly concludes that it is unlikely that huaques took a representational form.⁵²

A related practice was the curating of the mummified remains of the Inka, known as a *mallki*. Like huaque, the Inka's *mallki* held temporal authority, owning land and remaining as the leader of the deceased Inka's *panaka*, or royal kin group.⁵³ *Mallki* were active in Inka political and ceremonial life, as Spanish witnesses attested. One early conquistador expressed his awe that mummified bodies were paraded on litters and accompanied by livery during festivals. Taken to the plaza, the mummies were finely dressed and treated reverentially by their attendants.⁵⁴

Dean stresses that those Inka practices were rooted in concepts of essences, and that huaque and *mallki* were not valuable as representations, but as embodiments of the essence of the Inka.⁵⁵ Thus, she asks, could later paintings of the Inka have been understood by their colonial descendants in the same way? It is difficult to ascertain whether colonial indigenous elites generations removed from Inka rule understood portraits to be embodiments rather than

representations but I agree with Dean that we should not dismiss such interpretations out of hand. To press her analysis a bit further, it is perhaps significant that portraits of the Inka are first documented in the years immediately following the Spaniards' extirpation of Inka mummies led by Polo de Ondegardo in the 1550s.⁵⁶ It does not seem a stretch to suggest that a European representational form was used as a substitute for a banned Inka practice.

As described by Dean, the operation of colonial portraits of the Inka as substitutes for huaques and mallki is based in what James Lockhart has called "double-mistaken identity." Lockhart argues that there were indigenous cultural features whose outward resemblance to European traditions initially hid their different operations. Because of that fundamental misunderstanding, certain indigenous traditions were able to persist.⁵⁷ Thus, for Dean, colonial portraits could provide substitutes for Inka practices only because those connections to Inka culture were unbeknownst to the Spaniards. There is, however, some reason to suspect that, rather than being the product of an accidental convergence, at least at the moment of their origin, the convergence between portraits of the Inka dynasty and Pre-Columbian huaque and mallki was deliberate and anticipated.

The first decades of Spanish presence in the Andes were marked by confusion and chaos, as both Spaniards and Andeans struggled to understand each other and sort out new social, political and cultural orders. It is in this context that the production of Toledo's paños must be understood. The Spaniards sought to impose their outlooks and culture on the conquered Inka, but, in a practical sense, in order to facilitate transition, they also had to engage with indigenous practices and find ways to communicate. The indigenous community, as well, looked for ways to interact and understand the strangers whose

presence, it was increasingly apparent, was not to be fleeting. Those acts of communication often took the form of repeated acts of mimesis according to the model advanced by Taussig.

In his study of early accounts of the conquest of the Inka, Gonzalo Lamana has employed Taussig's concept of mimesis in order to address mutually entangled attempts of meaning-making on the part of Spaniards and indigenes alike.⁵⁸ By trying to understand the aims of both parties, and how each copied the practices of the other, he attempts to avoid reinforcing what he calls a "colonial imprint," an assumed essential and unwavering difference between Andeans and Europeans. Focusing on difference disavows the similarities of Andean and European practices and the ability of both groups to respond to the new realities presented by the colonial encounter, which obscures the true nature of their interaction. For example, tales of battles timed to lunar phases are normally interpreted as examples of the exotic nature of Inka military practices. In contrast, Lamana argues that such battles were in many cases planned by Spaniards in order to exploit the supernatural potencies the Inka ascribed to those times, making those battles a struggle for control of meaning as much as they were a struggle for control of territory.⁵⁹ Thus, in Lamana's analysis, these battles are not pure expressions of Pre-Columbian military practices but the result of repeated acts of mimesis in which both sides attempted to claim symbolic authority.

That model can give insight into the production of Toledo's paños. Toledo's fascination with Inka mummies is well known. They are an important component of the interviews he conducted with indigenous elites throughout the Andes, especially in the Cusco area, around the same time he commissioned the paños.⁶⁰ Furthermore, one of his key advisors in Cusco was Polo de Ondegardo, whose extirpation of the practice made him the

leading Spanish expert on the topic. While it is impossible to prove, it is not inconceivable that Toledo used portraiture intentionally because he recognized it as the type of representation that best corresponded to the Inka practice of mummifying their leaders. This is not to suggest that he understood the concept of essences that was vital to how the Inka understood the bodies of their ancestors, for there is little evidence that he thoroughly grasped it. Rather, in the chaos of the early years of colonial rule, as each side was trying to come to terms with the other's practices, portraiture stood out as one of the links in the chain of mimetic acts that resulted in the creation of a new, colonial culture. Portraits of the Inka, at their origin, were not simply an imposed representational practice, but a means to bridging differences. Their origins are not just European yet neither can they be unproblematically categorized as indigenous. Rather, multiple mimetic acts that resulted in the creation of the genre obscured direct connections to their sources. They comprised something altogether new, a mutually entangled attempt to forge a new Peruvian representational system that was intelligible to both Andeans and Europeans, but reducible to neither. In describing the paños as products of European culture and ignoring the context of their creation and their real connections to Inka culture, we overlook crucial insight into the multiple processes by which hybrid cultures come into being. The hybridity of Toledo's paños goes beyond whatever may have been visible through matters of pictorial style or compositional arrangement. It is a hybridity that exists at a deeper, invisible level of cross cultural communication in the colonial contact zone.

Summary

While many colonial paintings of the Inka dynasty were no doubt painted in the Cusco School style, the two should not be conflated in absolute terms. The principal reason for conflating the genre and the style lies in an expectation that both emerged from a hybrid cultural climate that characterized Peru's colonial society. Yet, broadly categorizing both as hybrid arts ignores the fact that the nature of their hybridities was not identical.

Whereas the naturalism and generally Christian subject matter of Cusco School paintings are derived from European traditions, their stylization, along with the inclusion of local features and themes of local importance, distinguishes them from paintings produced in Europe and reveals their Andean character. On one hand, the paintings' hybridity reveals the dominance of European culture, but on the other hand, it also points to the incompleteness of that cultural domination. The style is notable because it shows a rejection of certain European norms, for example, the total naturalism of the western painting tradition.

The evidence is much less clear as to whether the first paintings of the Inka dynasty, Toledo's paños, were hybrid in the same stylistic sense as the paintings of the later Cusco School. That lack of visible hybridity, however, is only one part of the equation. Both Inka and Spaniards shared an interest in the ruler's body, despite the very different ways in which they expressed that interest in material form. When examining the context in which paintings of the Inka developed, it is plausible to conclude that the mutual interest in the ruler's body was a primary reason for the use of the pictorial form of portraiture, and that both Andeans and Europeans used imitation to impose their own meaning on the resulting product. It may even be the case that the hybridity of paintings of the Inka dynasty contributed to the genre's

long-lived popularity. As Dean notes, indigenous elites may have retained some memory of the practices of their ancestors pertaining to the role of the ancestor's body, which affected their understanding, and continued patronage, of the colonial paintings. In glossing over the different contexts of the development of hybrid art forms such as paintings of the Inka and the Cusco School style, we risk glossing over valuable information about the ways in which each can inform us about different facets of colonial visual cultures.

¹ For example, Diana Fane, ed., *Converging Cultures* (New York: Harry A. Abrams, 1996), 238-239; and Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *The Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 210.

² Felipe Cossio del Pomar, *Pintura colonial: escuela cuzqueña* (Cuzco: HG Rozas, 1928); Cossio del Pomar, *Peruvian Colonial Art: the Cuzco School of Painting*, trans. Genero Arbaiza (New York: Wittenborn, 1965); Leopold Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: The Center for Inter-American Relations and the American Federation of Arts, 1976); and José de la Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 221-229.

³ Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, “Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5-35.

⁴ George Kubler, “On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Precolumbian Art,” in Thomas F. Reese, ed., *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: The Collected Essays of George Kubler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985 [1961]), 66-74.

⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2004).

⁶ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁷ Taussig, *Mimesis*, 78.

⁸ Dean and Leibsohn, “Hybridity and its Discontents,” 13.

⁹ For technical aspects of Cusco School paintings, see Castedo, *Cuzco Circle*, 20-26; and Pedro Querejazu, “Materials and Techniques of Andean Painting,” in *Gloria in Excelsis: The*

Virgin and Angeles in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 78-82.

¹⁰ The cult of St. Joseph gained influence after the Council of Trent, and was particularly important in Spain's overseas colonies. For a study of the image of St. Joseph in colonial New Spain, see Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph: Art and Gender in Spanish America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹¹ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 100-115

¹² The painting was cropped at some point before it entered the Brooklyn Museum collection, which removed most of the flowers on the right side frame, Fane, *Converging Cultures*, 216.

¹³ Brocateado, along with the less frequent feature of floral borders, is not exclusive to the Cusco School style. Many examples are also found in other contemporaneous regional styles, for example, that in the mining city of Potosi. Those artists were certainly influenced by their peers in Cusco, from which paintings were widely exported to other corners of the Viceroyalty. The relationship between the Cusco School and other regional styles has yet to be carefully investigated.

¹⁴ Querejazu, "Materials and Techniques," 81.

¹⁵ While the names of many early artists can be found in archival documents, their works are largely unknown. See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 45-55; and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, "Painting in South America, Conquest to Independence: An Overview," in Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *The Virgin, Saints and Angeles: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection* (Stanford, CA: Skira and Cantor Center for the Visual Arts, 2006), 81-93.

¹⁶ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 101-110.

¹⁷ For example, Maarten van de Guchte, “Invention and Assimilation: European Engravings as Models for the Drawings of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala,” in *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author* (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 92-109; and Carolyn Dean, “Copied Carts: Spanish Prints and Colonial Peruvian Paintings,” *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (1996): 93-120.

¹⁸ Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed., (La Paz: Gisbert, 2004), 69-82; Stratton-Pruitt, “Painting in South America,” 89.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the Zodiac series, see Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 153-158; and Luis Enrique Tord, “La serie del zodiaco del Diego Quispe Tito,” in *El Zodiaco en el Peru: Los Bassanos y Diego Quispe Tito* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1987), 43-68.

²⁰ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 155-7

²¹ The style and works of Diego Quispe Tito are discussed in Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 141-160.

²² Castedo, *Cuzco Circle*, 17; Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 89-191.

²³ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 118-123; Mollinedo’s collection is discussed in Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, “Los Mollinedo y el arte en Cuzco colonial,” *Boletín de la Instituto Riva Agüero* 16 (1989): 209-218.

²⁴ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 118-123.

²⁵ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 137-138, 226-229; Teresa Gisbert, “Andean Painting” in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 26-27.

²⁶Castedo, *Cuzco Circle*, 48-49.

²⁷ Julia P. Herzberg, “Angels with Guns: Image and Interpretation,” in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia* (New York: Center for Inter-America Relations, 1985), 64-75.

²⁸ Gisbert, “The Angels,” 58-63. Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos en la América Virreinal* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992).

²⁹ I thank Richard Aste for granting me access to the Brooklyn Museum’s files on the paintings in 2011.

³⁰ Enrique Marco Dorta, “Las pinturas que envió y trajo a España don Francisco de Toledo,” *Historia y Cultura* 9 (1975): 67.

³¹ Catherine Julien, “History and Art in Translation: The *Paños* and Other Objects Collected by Francisco de Toledo,” *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1999): 61-89.

³² For *tocapu* as a fundamental symbol of the wealth and power of the Sapa Inka, see Rebecca R. Stone, “‘And All Theirs Different from His’: The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context,” in Richard Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta, eds., *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power* (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), 385-422.

³³ For discussion about the meaning of Inka *tocapu*, see R. Tom Zuidema, “Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: towards an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress,” in Kenneth J. Andrien

and Rolena Adorno, eds., *Translatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 151-202; and Thomas B. F. Cummins, "Representation in the Sixteenth Century and the Colonial Image of the Inca," in Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter Mignolo, eds., *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 199-204.

³⁴ Cummins, "Representation," 191.

³⁵ Cummins, "Representation in the Sixteenth Century."

³⁶ The first person to make this claim was Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas* (Madrid: Publicadas el Ministerio de Fomento, 1879), XXII.

³⁷ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 118-119; Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of the Inca*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 625-626.

³⁸ A description of the paintings made in 1572 confirms that they depicted a lineage of twelve Inka, ending with Huascar. For more on Toledo's paños, see the following chapter; and Appendix B.

³⁹ Diana Fane, "Portraits of the Inca: Notes on an Influential Spanish Engraving," *Source: Notes in Art History* 29, no. 3 (Spring 2010): 31-39.

⁴⁰ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 118-119.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the lost Cusco version and its relation to the surviving manuscripts, see Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, "The Making of Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*," in Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds., *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the*

Making of Martín de Murúa's Historia General del Piru, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 15-17.

⁴² For the relationship between Guaman Poma's and Murúa's texts, see Rolena Adorno, "The Genesis of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Neuva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2 (1993): 53-92; and Juan M. Ossio, "Murúa's Two Manuscripts: a Comparison," in Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds., *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's Historia General del Piru, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 77-94.

⁴³ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, eds. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, trans. J. L. Urioste, vol. 1 (Mexico City: SigloVeintiuno, 1988), 68.

⁴⁴ On the relationship between the two versions of Murúa's manuscript, see Adorno and Boserup, "The Making of Murúa's *Hisotira General del Piru*," 7-76; Thomas B. F. Cummins, "The Images in Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*," in Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds., *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's Historia General del Piru, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 147-173.

⁴⁵ Rolena Adorno, "Paradigms Lost: a Peruvian Indian Surveys Spanish Colonial Society," *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 5, no. 2 (1979): 78-96; Rolena Adorno, *Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd ed., (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 89-120.

⁴⁶ Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire," 151-202.

⁴⁷ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 117.

⁴⁸ Thomas B. F. Cummins, “We Are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial *kurakakuna*,” in Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno, eds., *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 203-231.

⁴⁹ Carolyn Dean, “The After-life of Inkan Rulers: Andean Death Before and After Spanish Colonization,” *Death and Afterlife in the Early Modern Hispanic World*, eds. John Beusterien and Constance Cortez, *Hispanic Issues On Line* 7 (Fall 2010): 27–54.
<http://hispanicissues.umn.edu/DeathandAfterlife.html>.

⁵⁰ “Huaque: male brothers and all males” (Huaque. Se dizen los hermanos varones y todos varones), Diego Gonçales Holguin, *Vocabulario de la Lengua General de todo el Peru llamada Qquichua o del Inca* [1608] (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1989), 190. See also Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 167-172.

⁵¹ According to the same author, Manco Capac’s son and successor, Sinchi Roca had a huaque that was shaped like a fish, see Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Inca*, 77. Bernabé Cobo, a later writer, also mentions that Sinchi Roca’s huaque was in the form of a fish made from stone, known as Huanachiri Amaro, see *History of the Inca Empire*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 114. No other huaques are described by those authors as having a specific representational form.

⁵² For a discussion of the reliability and biases of Spanish sources on the appearance of the huaque, see Carolyn Dean, “Metonymy in Inca Art,” in Robert Maniura and Rupert

Shepherd, eds., *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and Other Objects* (Aldersot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 107-110; and Dean, "After-life," 6-7.

⁵³ Panakas were royal ayllus that incorporated the descendants of the Sapa Inka, with the exception of his direct heir who, as the new Sapa Inka, would form his own panaka. Terence N. D'Altroy, *The Incas* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 89-99; and Colin McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 99-100. In addition, panakas were responsible for tending to shrines, or huacas, that served to structure Cusco's agricultural and ritual cycles. See Jeanette Sherbondy, "Water and Power: The Role of Irrigation Districts in the Transition from Inca to Spanish Cuzco," in William P. Mitchell and David Guillet, eds., *Irrigation at High Altitudes: The Social Organization of Water Control in the Andes*, (Washington, D.C: American Anthropological Association, 1994), 67-97; and Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

⁵⁴ Miguel de Estete, "Noticia del Perú," *Botetín de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Históricos Americanos* 1, no. 3 (1918): 334.

⁵⁵ Dean, "After-life," 27-54.

⁵⁶ For further information about the extirpation of the Inka mummies, see Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 172-183.

⁵⁷ James Lockhart, "Double Mistaken Identity: Some Nahua Concepts in Colonial Disguise" (1985), in *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 98-119.

⁵⁸ Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 126-157.

⁵⁹ Lamana, *Domination*, 132-138.

⁶⁰ Roberto Levellier, *Don Francisco Toledo, supremo organizador del Peru: su vida, su obra*, vol. 2: *sus informaciones sobre los incas (1570-1572)* (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1940).

Chapter 3:

The Inka in Spain's Imperial Imagination: The Case of Toledo's Paños

On January 14, 1572, the Viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, gathered together thirty-seven representatives of Cusco's twelve royal kin groups (panakas or ayllus, as they were known during the colonial era) who ranged in age, we are told, from twenty-six to ninety-nine, and displayed to them a set of four paños. According to contemporary descriptions, three of the canvases contained portraits of the Inka, while the fourth contained an elaborate genealogical tree displaying the Inka, their principal wives (*coya*) and their families (Appendix B). In front of a notary and a translator, each man in attendance agreed that the paños were true and legitimate, according to their memories and the stories told to them by their fathers and grandfathers.¹ This presentation is intriguing for a number of reasons. First, because it informs us about the truth value of visual images in sixteenth century Peru, that is, that the paintings were understood to accurately convey historical reality. Although eye witness descriptions of the paños suggest that they exhibited a combination of text and image, that descriptions give greater weight to the depictions suggests that the image was paramount. In addition, it asserts that the paintings were positioned at the nexus of communication between Europe and the Andes.

Verification of the truthfulness of the paños' content was necessary for Toledo's purposes. Although scholars have long recognized that Toledo's project, which included his commission of a new history of Inka history by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, was politically motivated, how the paños contributed to that project has not been addressed.² In this chapter I

contend that Toledo intended the paintings to operate as proof of Spain's legitimate dominion over the Andes by implying the Inka were tyrants and served to dismiss growing uncertainties in Spain about the legality of its presence in the Andes, in particular critiques of conquest advanced by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. I situate Toledo's commission within that larger historical context and propose that the visual form of the depictions of the Inka dynasty served as a secondary "text" that advanced his argument. The paños could do so because of the painted image's subtle operation in naturalizing the implied truth of its content. Toledo's paintings of the Inka constructed a vision of the Inka past in order to advance Spain's position and promote it as a just and lawful caretaker of the Americas.

Sixteenth-Century European Images of the Americas

If the form the paños took, that of naturalistic likenesses or portraits, might seem a conventional, even ordinary, means of depicting the Inka, it was in fact quite radical. At the time of the paños' creation in the sixteenth century, indigenous Americans were a relatively new artistic subject, and no clear consensus had emerged on how they should be depicted, or even understood, by Europeans. In the context of the limited corpus of surviving representations of indigenous Americans, however, Toledo's Inka are unusual, diverging from the pictorial modes commonly used to portray the inhabitants of the Americas for a European audience.

The first known surviving representation of the Inka is a woodcut print that accompanied the earliest eye-witness account of the Spanish conquest, published in 1534 and attributed to Cristóbal de Mena (Figure 3.1).³ The illustration features the initial encounter

between the Inka Atahualpa, the Inka ruler at the time of conquest, carried on a litter, and Spanish soldiers, who are led by Fray Vicente de Valverde. The Inka holds aloft a scepter and a book, a bible or a breviary according to witnesses. Atahualpa's casting aside of that object, symbolizing a rejection of Christianity, was a moment that would prove central in the Spanish narrative of conquest.⁴

Despite depicting an event that was recounted in the publication's text, the 1534 image of Atahualpa does not conform to textual descriptions of him but rather relies on earlier European visual images of foreign subjects. Pictorially, the Inka and his attendants are defined by their relative nudity. Atahualpa and his attendants are portrayed as wearing limited clothing but, in contrast to the Spaniards, they are also armed and several raise their bows menacingly at the unarmed friar. The attendant positioned directly below the Inka has vines wrapped around his waist, forming a kind of loincloth.

The vine loincloth worn by Atahualpa's attendant was derived from visual images of the Wild Man, a popular character in European folklore that embodied the antithesis of civilized man.⁵ In a drawing by Hans Holbein, the Wild Man wields a tree as a weapon, naked except for the leaves that hide his genitalia (Figure 3.2). In other images, the Wild Man is identified by the thick hair that covers his body; in either case, his lack of clothing is a distinguishing trait that signals his removal from civilization. Originating from biblical concepts of original sin and the writings of classical authors such as Pliny the Elder, who described monsters that lived just beyond the reaches of civil authority, the Wild Man could simultaneously represent a terrifying lack of social development and an ideal of prelapsarian innocence, functioning as a precursor of the Noble Savage.⁶ The frontispiece of an Italian

publication of Columbus's discoveries by Giuliano Dati, dating to 1493, depicts the explorer's ships approaching a land populated by figures of Wild Men and Wild Women (Figure 3.3). Naked except for the leaf skirts worn by the women, and with long flowing hair and beards, the untamed appearance of the islanders is contrasted with that of the sailors and the king seated in the left foreground, who, ultimately responsible for the expedition, directs the events from across the sea. The Europeans are fully clothed, sport neat hair and beards, and command tall, masted ships, an engineering feat that facilitated exploration and speaks to their technological advancement. When reports of Columbus's discoveries reached Europe, his description of the Americans' nakedness prompted artists to turn to a familiar paradigm for their depictions of the new, unknown subject.⁷

The representation of indigenous Americans would soon undergo a significant shift. In 1505, a woodcut was published in Germany that depicts a fanciful scene of life in the newly discovered continent (Figure 3.4). Instead of the naked figures of earlier illustrations, however, the artist costumed the indigenes in feathered skirts and headdresses. Those items, in fact, do recall actual pieces of the costume of the Tupinamba, a people who resided along the coast of what is now Brazil, and the modifications may have resulted from artists' direct observations of Tupinamba who had been taken to Europe or the accoutrements explorers brought back from their travels, which were put on display for an eager and curious public.⁸ Nevertheless, although no longer depicted as naked Wild Men, visual representations of Americans continued to emphasize them as savage. In the case of the German woodcut, the Americans' savagery is signified by the dismembered man hanging from a rope in the scene's background, which alludes to their alleged cannibalism. Depictions of indigenous

Americans had acquired a greater specificity, informed, perhaps, by direct observation, but at the same time feathered dress had quickly become a generic marker for non-westerners. The feather-clad indigene replaced the European Wild Man in depictions of the Americans but maintained the latter's connotation of a people fundamentally uncivilized.⁹

Toledo's paintings of the Inka, as far as we can elucidate, eschewed those models entirely. By the mid-sixteenth century the image of the naked or semi-naked primitive increasingly had come to be at odds with the verbal descriptions of American people that filled the reports by European explorers. According to Francisco Jérez, whose account was published mere months after Mena, in the Andes "women wear over their dresses finely worked belts (*reatas*), wrapped around the abdomen and over this dress they are covered with a blanket, from the head down to knee (*media pierna*), like a woman's shawl."¹⁰ Despite detailing the quality of Inka garments, and comparing their clothing to European dress, Jérez's account was illustrated with the same woodcut as Mena's, which depicted the encounter between Atahualpa and the Spaniards as one of uncivilized Andeans, signified by their nudity, versus Spaniards marked as civilized by being fully clothed. Thus text and image did not form a unified semiotic system and their dissimilarities had the potential to undermine as well as strengthen the authority of each.

As authors, neither Jérez nor Mena had control over its illustrations, which were commissioned by the publisher. The burgeoning capitalism that underlay early modern book production, particularly in northern Europe, was motivated by profit and contributed to a growing separation between text and image in book illustrations.¹¹ The publisher's aim was thus not accuracy but expediency. Toledo's paños, in contrast, were produced independently

of that capitalist economic system. Furthermore, in the end they were directed at a specific viewer, the King of Spain, and thus responded to specific needs.

Toledo's Campaign against the Inka

Before addressing how the paños responded to Toledo's political project in terms of their innovative form, it is necessary to understand what that project was. More than anyone else, Toledo was responsible for consolidating Spain's power over the Andes. He was in Cusco as part of a grand five year inspection of the Viceroyalty (called a *visita general*), which served as a foundation for his efforts to reorganize the administration of the territory. Thus, the issues that concerned Toledo during that inspection are crucial to understanding the motivations underpinning his commission. More than just an assessment of administrative needs, the inspection gave Toledo the opportunity to make inquiries about the Inka as part of a concerted effort to prove that the Inka had ruled Peru unlawfully.

Toledo's appointment as viceroy in 1568 marked the end of decades of social and civil unrest, largely thanks to the Viceroy's reformation of Peru's administration. While the prolonged period of civil wars that characterized the early years of Spanish occupation had ceased, Spain's control was not yet fully consolidated.¹² A group of Inka, sons and followers of Manco Inka, the one-time puppet ruler installed by Pizarro in 1533 who had rebelled in 1536, continued an Inka government in exile at Vilcabamba, their stronghold northwest of Cusco. By the time of Toledo's appointment in 1568, the Vilcabamba Inka posed no significant military threat to Spanish control, but they did provide a moral one, which Toledo was keen to terminate.

The Rights of the Indigenes and the Morality of Spanish Conquest

As the Spanish encroachment into the Americas reached a fever pitch in the early sixteenth century, concern grew at home about the morality of conquest and the legitimacy of Spain's title to the Americas. In 1511, on the Sunday before Christmas in Hispaniola, the Dominican Fray Antonio de Montesinos took to the pulpit to reprimand the Spanish colonists for their deplorable and inhumane treatment of the Americans. It was the first public outcry against Spanish treatment of the indigenes that would soon become entangled with the larger question of Spain's right to territorial possession of the Americas.

The early experience of the Spaniards in the Americas left them little troubled about the nature of the indigenous population; nor was there much popular distress about the right of Spain to claim the land. To the Spaniards, the indigenous inhabitants of the Caribbean islands were Wild Men. Because they exhibited no signs of civilization, Spaniards considered the Americans to be nothing more than primitives who would benefit from interaction with the civilized Spaniards. The idea that indigenous Americans were uncivilized, however, was challenged in the wake of the 1519 encounter with the Aztec Empire and, in 1532, that of the Inka.¹³ Unlike the Arawak and Carib islanders, the Aztec and Inka had all the hallmarks of civilization as recognized by Europeans: social stratification, organized (if pagan) religious institutions, and, perhaps most importantly, cities.¹⁴ Clearly awed by those cities' organized plans and skilled construction, the Spaniards wrote early accounts of those cultures that carefully described them, and favorably compared them to those of Europe. In a letter to Charles V, for example, Hernán Cortes painted a verbal picture of the Aztec capital,

Tenochtitlan, as an astonishing place “as big as Seville or Córdoba,” which was bustling with commerce and religious activity.¹⁵ In the main marketplace “more than sixty thousand people come each day to buy and sell”; the ceremonial precinct, he marveled, contained a main temple “whose great size and magnificence no human tongue could describe” and a tower that “is higher than that of the cathedral of Seville,” which was the largest in Spain and the city’s major civic landmark.¹⁶ The Spaniards were rightfully impressed.

Yet, in addition to recounting the splendor of those cultures, the reports of the conquistadores were also filled with accounts of violence. While the intent was to impress their Spanish readers with tales of heroic military deeds, many readers were shocked instead, and questioned the morality of those acts. The capture and subsequent execution of Atahualpa at Cajamarca in 1533 proved especially horrific to Spaniards and was roundly condemned, with even Charles V writing to Pizarro that “we have been displeased by the death of Atahualpa *since he was a monarch*” (emphasis mine).¹⁷ That Charles recognized Atahualpa as a fellow king is significant. Kings, according to European belief, ruled by divine right and it was a dangerous precedent to allow any upstart to trample on and undermine kingly privileges. Furthermore, Charles’s statement shows that even the Crown acknowledged that it had entered into a morally and legally ambiguous territory concerning its authority over fellow monarchs.

There were several related issues concerning the Crown’s jurisdiction in the Americas: sovereignty (*imperium*), that is, the right to civil rule, and dominion (*dominium*), or property rights.¹⁸ In 1539, Francisco de Vitoria, one of Spain’s most influential and respected theologians, gave a lecture (*relectio*) entitled “On the American Indians” (*relectio de indis*),

in which he affirmed that the Americans had dominion over their territories because dominion was a natural right of natural lords.¹⁹ More importantly, he concluded there was little justification for dispossessing them of their land.²⁰ Among the popular arguments for dispossession was the contention that the Americans had immediately and freely given their lands to the Spaniards. This idea would play a role in later constructions of the history of conquest, with Andeans themselves using paintings of their ancestors to advance that claim (see Chapter 5). For Vitoria, however, the argument was inapplicable because those early reports to reach Spain attested that any “donation” on part of the Americans was done under a threat of military force, thus rendering it invalid.

While the Americans could not be deprived of dominion, Vitoria did acknowledge the possibility that Spain could assert jurisdiction, or sovereignty, over the new lands. In general, those fell into the category of causes for just war by which Spain could legitimately gain control of a territory.²¹ Spain, like any nation, had certain rights that, if violated by another nation, could provide legitimate grounds for invasion and conquest. Among those were coming to the aid of an ally and the defense of a population against tyranny.²² In none of those, however, was Vitoria willing to ascertain that the offense could lead to the transference of dominion, but rather only to the transfer of sovereignty.²³

By his lecture’s end, Vitoria had left the crown perilously little right to stake any claim to the Americas, noting “that if all these titles were inapplicable, that is to say if the barbarians gave no just cause for war and did not wish to have Spaniards as princes and so on, the whole Indian expedition and trade would have to cease, to the great loss of the Spaniards.”²⁴ Yet even he found that proposition intolerable and concluded meekly that “it is

clear that once a large number of barbarians have been converted, it would be neither expedient nor lawful for our prince to abandon altogether the administration of those territories.”²⁵ Despite its systematic dismantling of Spain’s just title to the Americas, Vitoria’s argument was academic, and not intended to affect policy. Nevertheless, it undermined the Crown’s authority and contributed to deepening the crisis.

As questions about the morality of Spain’s project continued to mount, in 1550 Charles V issued an unprecedented decree that suspended the license for further expeditions into new territory.²⁶ At the same time he called for a debate about the humanity, and thus appropriate treatment, of the indigenes, which was held at Valladolid in 1550-1551.²⁷ Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, a humanist scholar and translator of Aristotle, would argue that the Americans were inherently incapable of reason and therefore fulfilled the requirements for what Aristotle called “natural slaves.”²⁸ Arguing in defense of the rights of the indigenous Americans at Valladolid was another Dominican friar, Bartolomé de las Casas.²⁹

Las Casas nominally won the debate, but it had little tangible effect on policy concerning the Americas. Despite affirming the rights of indigenous Americans, las Casas acknowledged that it was Spain’s obligation to convert the Americans to Christianity. Furthermore, unlike Vitoria, he never questioned the Crown’s sovereignty and considered conversion justification enough for Spain’s presence. He was, however, similarly unsure about the issue of dominion, especially in the case of Peru. In 1565, las Casas gave two manuscripts to Philip II, calling them “his last will and codicil.”³⁰ *De thesauris* (of treasure) and the *Tratado de las doce dudas* (treatise of the twelve doubts) both exclusively treated the situation in Peru, questioning the Crown’s claim to the Andes in terms that mirrored Vitoria’s

arguments. *De thesauris* dealt with only one issue, the rights to goods looted from tombs and burials, while the *doce dudas* expanded his critique concerning Spain's claim to dominion to engage questions about the legality of taxes imposed on the indigenous population and the status of those lands appropriated from the indigenes by the conquistadores, including both personal property and mineral rights.

Las Casas's ire was not directed at the Crown, but rather at the conquistadores, whom he claimed were motivated in their conquests solely by greed.³¹ Nevertheless, his conclusions had direct implications for the Crown's control. The eleventh doubt, for instance, was whether the king was obligated to return dominion to the Vilcabamba Inka.³² He concluded that the king was so obligated, by whatever means necessary, because there *was still a functioning indigenous monarchy*. The call for restitution of the Inka's kingdom added a significant dimension to the crisis. Although Las Casas insisted that the Inka must recognize the Crown's sovereignty and pay tribute accordingly, as Spain's richest territory, loss of any portion of Peru's revenue would be a fatal blow to Spain's already struggling economy.³³

Before embarking on his journey to Peru, Toledo took part in the Junta Magna, a gathering of officials that took place in Madrid in 1568, which was to provide him with instructions that would guide his policies as viceroy. Proceedings from the Junta Magna are incompletely preserved but they demonstrate a clear awareness, and dismissal, of Las Casas's call for restitution.³⁴ From distant Spain, it may have been possible to disregard calls for restitution. In Peru it was not so easy. The existence of the Inka government in exile at Vilcabamba made restitution seem like a viable option, and unlike other areas under Spain's control, a movement to grant some restitution of Inka lands and property had gained traction,

led largely by the clergy.³⁵ Keenly aware of the threat, Toledo sought to invalidate las Casas, and the way he did so was to deny that the Inka legitimately held dominion over the Andes because they had never been natural lords of Peru.

Toledo's Revision of Inka History

An early formulation of Toledo's campaign against the Inka contained in the *Parecer de Yucay* reveals the central role played by the issue of dominion and las Casas's call for restitution in the Viceroy's project. Dated March 16, 1571, the document was written in Yucay, outside of Cusco, and bears no signature, although it possibly was written by Toledo's uncle, García de Toledo, a Dominican friar who accompanied the viceroy on his inspection.³⁶ Its attack on las Casas is vicious. In his ignorance, the anonymous author complained, las Casas had been misled by the devil to perpetuate the falsehood that the Inka were legitimate rulers (*diciendo questos Ingas eran perfectos reyes y señores ligítimos*), thus tying the hands of the Crown and preventing them from fulfilling their Christian duty.³⁷ The author of the *Parecer* condemns las Casas as ignorant of the realities of Peru, a place where he had never been and therefore could not truly understand.³⁸ The reality, he argued, was that the Inka were tyrants who, beginning with the rule of the tenth Sapa Inka, Tupa Inka Yupanqui, had illegally subjected other Andean peoples to their rule. Furthermore, before the Inka there had been no concept of natural lords, only local strongmen (*sinchi*), who gained control by force.³⁹ Following Vitoria's theory of just war, the Spaniards had done the morally correct thing by defeating the tyrants; what is more, the *Parecer* also insinuated that since there were no hereditary lords, the land was available for the Spaniards to claim dominion.

What has piqued scholars' interest in the *Parecer* is that most of the document is devoted to promoting the Crown's claim to mines, mineral rights, and tomb goods, offering a direct rebuttal of las Casas's *De thesauri*. It is an inventive argument. The author of the *Parecer* proposes that the riches of Peru were a reward to the Spaniards for their defeat of the Moors. After all, its author suggests, that Columbus set sail and discovered the Americas shortly after Spain had recaptured Granada, the final act of the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors, could not be a coincidence.⁴⁰ The author of the *Parecer* also likens Peru's wealth to a dowry, and the Americas to a less than beautiful maiden, which provided a suitor, Spain in this case, with motivation for marriage, or evangelization, according to his metaphor.⁴¹

The restitution of mines and tomb goods was ancillary, however, to the more important issue of the Inka's position as natural lords. Manco Inka's revolt in 1536, despite having been effectively contained, left an Inka government in exile. After Manco's death, the office of Inka had been passed down to his sons: first Sayri Tupa, then Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and finally Tupa Amaru. Spain had long been negotiating with the exiled Inka for their surrender, a diplomatic engagement that was ongoing in 1568, when Toledo was appointed Viceroy.⁴² By officially engaging with them the Crown in some sense legitimized their tenuous position as Inka.⁴³ The Vilcabamba Inka were not a direct military threat; nevertheless, in symbolic terms, recognizing their legitimacy as heirs to the Inka put the Crown in a quandary. Toledo's solution was to assert the Inka's tyranny to justify Spain's conquest retroactively and in the process to quash any ongoing claim that the Vilcabamba Inka were natural lords to whom the territory of Peru should be returned.⁴⁴

As the commissioned opinion of a Spanish friar, the *Parecer* was not definitive proof of the legitimacy of Spain's position. In order to strengthen its claims, Toledo turned to interviews with Inka and non-Inka nobles that he had conducted during his inspection (*informaciones*). Because those interviews took place before a notary, Toledo could maintain that they constituted the true proof of Inka tyranny. Nevertheless, the questions he asked were leading and there is reason to question the accuracy of the answers.⁴⁵ For example, the interviews were conducted in Spanish and Quechua, thus raising the issue of translation. In addition, a few years later, Toledo's translator, Gonzalo Gómez Jiménez, would claim to have altered some of the answers to please the viceroy.⁴⁶ Present during Toledo's inspection was his cosmographer, Sarmiento, who also had access to the interviewees, and who was commissioned to write an official history of the Inka, the *Historia Indica*, which likewise advanced the thesis of Inka tyranny and illegal rule.⁴⁷ Both Toledo's investigation and Sarmiento's history were intended to "correct" those accounts already in circulation that carelessly described the Inka as natural lords, and thus damaged Spain's title. Toledo had gone well beyond his official instructions to reform the colonial administration of Peru and instead had attempted to change European perception of the Inka as a way to secure the Crown's title to dominion.

Toledo's Agenda and the Paños

The paños arose from the same needs as did the *Historia Indica* and it is easy to dismiss them as mere illustrations of that authoritative text. In March 1572, Jerónimo Pacheco, Toledo's steward, left Cusco and journeyed to Spain, taking with him the paños, the

manuscript of Sarmiento's history, and transcripts of the informaciones the viceroy had thus far conducted with Andeans. Yet, understanding the paños as illustrations of a written history overlooks crucial aspects of their operation. The paños were autonomous images, intended to be hung in the royal collection and, Toledo hoped, used as a model for tapestries. In addition, they were produced by indigenous artists, which plausibly enhanced their authority. While Toledo's commission of the paños was no doubt part of his political agenda, there has been no effort to understand, visually, how the paños created their meaning. As much as they should be understood as the product of mimesis, as described in the previous chapter, they also should be understood in light of European visual imagery, which conditioned the way they were understood by their audience in Spain.

That Toledo eschewed the model of the Wild Man is important in this regard. By the end of the sixteenth-century, that model no longer had the authority of truth because it was out of sync with the consensus that the Inka had the requisite hallmarks of civilization. Yet, it also made Toledo's task, in a visual sense, more difficult. If naturalistic likenesses could be understood by the descendants of the Inka as truthful depictions of their ancestors, it is not at all clear that that form provided an effective way to convey Toledo's argument to a European audience. The remainder of this chapter will examine ways that the paños conveyed the illegitimacy of the Inka, and the limitations to their doing so.

Genealogy, Portraiture and Toledo's Campaign Against the Inka

Catherine Julien has stressed that like Sarmiento's *Historia Indica*, Toledo's paños presented an Inka dynasty that concluded with Huascar, who left no direct heirs, thus

inferring that Atahuallpa and any other children of Huayna Capac were illegitimate.⁴⁸ It is no doubt true that ending the Inka lineage with Huascar served Toledo's agenda by implying that no legitimate Inka did, or could, remain, thereby circumventing las Casas's plea to return dominion to the Vilcabamba Inka. Alvaro Ruíz de Navamuel, Toledo's secretary, affirmed that in this way the paños conformed to Toledo's historical revisions, stating that "the last [ruler] in which the succession by legitimate line ended, according to their customs, was Huascar Inka, whom Atahuallpa, his bastard brother, had killed, along with all his progeny . . . in this manner no successor remained and the legitimate descent of the Inka ended."⁴⁹

If that were the sole manner in which the paños communicated Toledo's position, however, the message would have been both unclear and ineffective. To begin with, as we have seen, the four paños presented two visions of the Inka dynasty, one limited and one more inclusive. The inventory taken of Philip II's possessions in 1600 describes the paños as "four large *lienzos* (canvases), on which are painted, on one the descent of the Inka who ruled Peru and on the other three the portraits of the twelve Inka until Guacayna [*sic*] who was the last, in whose time possession of those provinces was taken by your Majesty" (Appendix C).⁵⁰ The three cloths that depicted the Inka as portraits thus made a statement about the end of the Inka lineage. Although some scholars have stated that the series ended with Huayna Capac, whose name seems to most closely approximate "Guacayna," it is clear from both Navamuel and Sarmiento that the twelve Inka recognized by Toledo included and ended with Huascar, misnamed as Guacayna in the 1600 inventory.⁵¹ The confusion may stem in part from conflating the description of the paños with the 1603 painted genealogy of the Inka

documented by Garcilaso de la Vega. That painting, as noted above, did exclude Huascar, listing Huayna Capac as the final Pre-Columbian Inka.⁵²

Although the three paños containing portraits of the ruling Inka implied a royal lineage that had ceased to exist, that allegation would have been obscured visually when all four paños were considered together. The fourth cloth, and the largest, contained a genealogical tree depicting the Inka, their wives, and a larger network of royal heirs.⁵³ Interestingly, the paño depicting the Inka genealogical tree included many individuals who were still alive and living in Cusco, including descendants of Huayna Capac, for instance Paullo, half-brother to Huascar, along with Paullo's son don Carlos.⁵⁴ Also included, although in a less prominent position, was at least one of the Vilcabamba Inka, Titu Cusi, as well as María Cusi Huarca, the sister/wife of the deceased Vilcabamba Inka Sayri Tupa.⁵⁵ According to Inka way of reckoning as analyzed by Julien, it may well be that those other descendants of Huayna Capac were illegitimate,⁵⁶ yet the large family tree depicted had many branches, some of which held half-brothers or nephews of the last Inka recognized by Toledo, Huascar. In terms of European structures of inheritance those individuals would seemingly have maintained a viable claim to the Inka throne.

In Europe, painted genealogical trees were an outgrowth of the iconography of the Tree of Jesse that depicted Christ's genealogy, often extended to include the present ruler as part of that notable lineage.⁵⁷ In 1530 Dom Fernando of Portugal commissioned an illuminated manuscript depicting his royal genealogy, never completed due to his untimely death in 1534, to press his family's claim to rule over the entire Iberian Peninsula (Figure 3.5).⁵⁸ The genealogy contains thirteen surviving leaves drawn by Antonio de Hollanda and

illuminated by the Flemish master Simon Bening.⁵⁹ The leaves are in varying stages of completeness, and as many as thirty or more were planned.⁶⁰ Each leaf presents a principal ancestor, or ancestral pair, that is placed in the lower section. The branches of the tree grow upwards where successive generations are perched among the foliage. Painted genealogies such as Dom Fernando's were marshaled to authenticate and support dynastic claims to the throne in the event of a ruler dying without a direct heir. By using that format, Toledo was drawing on a European artistic tradition that conveyed legitimacy, which was in stark contrast to the claims about the surviving Inka that were made in the *Historia Indica* and the transcriptions of his *informaciones*.

That was not the only possible complication. Despite asserting that Huascar had left no heirs, Sarmiento and Navamuel mention that a male member of Huascar's ayllu still lived, a nephew named Alonso Tito Atauchi. Tito Atauchi was illustrious in sixteenth-century Cusco, and had been granted the hereditary title "Mayor of the Four Quarters" (*Alcade Mayor de los Cuatro Suyos*) by a previous viceroy, Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, the Marques of Cañete, as a reward for assisting in the capture of the rebel *encomendero* Francisco Hernández Girón in 1553.⁶¹ That Navamuel listed him as a witness for Huascar's ayllu suggests that his portrait may have been included in the genealogical tree. At the same time, both Navamuel and Sarmiento also claim that Atahualpa had killed all of Huascar's heirs, thus definitively ending the lineage. As Sarmiento puts it, Huascar "did not leave a lineage or ayllu, although of those who are alive now only one, named Don Alonso Tito Atauchi . . . maintains the name of the ayllu of Huascar."⁶² Curiously, although Toledo recognized an ayllu for Huascar, by the end of the century, records of Cusco's royal Inka

lineages no longer included mention of his ayllu.⁶³ In any event, the contradiction in recognizing a descendant and ayllu of Huascar, while simultaneously maintaining the end of his bloodline, seems not to have caused concern, despite its potential to undermine the argument that the Inka line had been irrevocably terminated.

To a certain extent, those inconsistencies reflect the tension between Toledo's spin on the Inka and the policies of the Crown. Toledo was acutely aware that any living descendant had the potential to challenge Spanish rule and could conceivably press for restitution, which he actively sought to prevent. Shortly after the paños and Sarmiento's history were sent to Spain, Toledo engaged in a military campaign against Vilcabamba, capturing and executing the Inka Tupa Amaru, thereby ending the resistance. While the Crown did not specifically approve those actions, neither is there much evidence that Toledo was admonished, as Garcilaso de la Vega claimed he was.⁶⁴ For better or for worse, the viceroy had taken care of a persistent problem, even if the King had desired a different outcome.

The Vilcabamba Inka had the greatest hereditary claim to rule, and thus posed the greatest threat, but they were not alone in claiming descent from the Inka royal lineage. Recognizing the inevitability of Spanish rule, many Inka, in an effort at self-preservation, had thrown their support behind the conquistadores. To reward their service, the Crown had issued them patents of nobility, which granted them certain privileges, including exemption from tribute obligations and personal service. Those patents and the accompanying coats of arms conferred to indigenous nobles were judiciously guarded and passed down to their heirs, and oftentimes even counterfeited by later generations, a topic which will receive greater attention in the following chapter.⁶⁵

Despite proclamations of loyalty to the Crown, Toledo viewed any indigenous nobility as a potential threat to Spanish power. In 1570, while in Jauja, an Andean town east of Lima, Toledo amassed all those with recognized noble status in the town square. There he took their credentials and publically burned them.⁶⁶ The Jauja lords were not ethnic Inka, but members of the rival Huanca who had had their nobility recognized for assisting Pizarro against the Inka in 1532. Toledo's attempt to similarly deprive the Cusco Inka of their nobility would prove more difficult. In May of 1572 he had the most notable of the Cusco Inka, including Paullo's son, don Carlos Inka, and don Alonso Titu Atauchi, arrested and improbably charged with being allies of the Vilcabamba faction.⁶⁷ On November 12 they were found guilty, deprived of their land and property, and ordered banished from Peru.⁶⁸ To prevent public unrest in Cusco, Toledo had them removed to Lima, where they were imprisoned to await deportation to Mexico. Despite his attempts to exile the descendants of the Inka from Peru, Toledo's efforts were stymied. In 1574, Philip reversed the verdict.⁶⁹ As much as Toledo wanted to deny Inka legitimacy, the Crown's own actions officially sanctioned it.

The claim that the Inka lineage had definitively ended was one means of skirting calls for restitution of Inka lands and property. But that claim was weakened by Toledo's inclusion of an extended genealogy of the Inka on the paños and also by the Crown's official recognition of their descendants' claims to nobility. As a visual strategy, the presentation of an extended family tree would have been ineffective to communicate illegitimacy for a European audience and it therefore seems unlikely that the paños were intended to convey their message of Inka illegitimacy solely through the representation of dynastic succession.

Visualizing Tyranny in Early Modern Portraiture

The principal thrust of Toledo's campaign against the Inka, however, was not that the Inka line had died out, but that the Inka never had a claim to dominion to begin with.

Toledo's opinion, advanced in the *Parecer de Yucay*, in Sarmiento's *Historia Indica*, and in the questions he asked during his inspection, was that the Inka were tyrants who, beginning with Tupa Inka Yupanqui, had illegally subjugated other Andean peoples. Spain's conquest of Peru, then, was a just act necessary to protect the innocent.

According to surviving descriptions as well as Herrera's engraving, Toledo's paños were principally, and most effectively, portraits. As previously argued, this formal choice was influenced by the necessity of communicating cross-culturally in the multi-ethnic reality of sixteenth-century Cusco. While depictions of Inka cruelty towards Andeans could have supported Toledo's claim that the Inka were tyrants, there was no tradition of narrative imagery in Inka arts. Given his need to have his paños communicate to a European and an Andean audience, the descendants of the Inka in Cusco whose approval Toledo need to validate the paños' content, pictorially, the paños had to occupy some common pictorial ground. Thus narrative was eschewed, at least as the primary visual focus, in favor of likenesses of the Inka, their wives, and their descendants. Yet that choice was accompanied by a dilemma: portraits, like genealogical trees, were a pictorial form more appropriate to conveying legitimacy, in contrast to Toledo's goal. Although portraiture was an unconventional choice to denounce the Inka as tyrants, it was not without precedent.

In early modern Europe, portraiture was associated most prominently with nobility, not tyranny. On one hand, given that portraiture in sixteenth-century Spain was in large part confined to portraying members of the court, it was a natural fit for the depiction of those other royal personages, the Inka. In the context of European royal patronage, display and exchange, portraits functioned to impress upon the viewer the subject's virtue and nobility.⁷⁰ This could take any number of forms, from allegory to depicting a ruler in armor to emphasize his military prowess, to the state portrait that emphasized a quiet and noble restraint.⁷¹ Portraits, in short, dignified their subjects and there is no reason to suggest that Toledo's portraits of the Inka did otherwise. Our closest approximation of the appearance of Toledo's Inka, Herrera's engraving, suggests that while not possessing the individuality of European portraits, Toledo's paños did display the Inka as richly dressed and venerable. Despite their exotic status, they constituted a parallel to European notions of kingliness.⁷²

Because there were few portraits of non-western individuals in sixteenth-century Europe, the paintings of the Inka occupied an uncharted space of pictorial representation. Perhaps the closest parallel is a portrait of the Ottoman ruler, Sultan Mehmet II, which was painted a century before Toledo's paintings of the Inka, most likely by the Venetian painter Gentile Bellini (Figure 3.6). The painting follows standard practice for portraits at that time. The sultan is seated behind a parapet, his torso in three-quarter view, and set against a dark background. His exotic, non-European status is marked by his clothes, particularly the white turban, and also by highly decorative arabesque tendril motifs embellishing the arch and embroidered cloth lying on the parapet that are suggestive of Islamic-style ornamentation. Even in the context of the representation of non-Europeans such as the Ottoman ruler,

portraits were created as part of a diplomatic exchange, an engagement, however uneasy, between rulers who recognized one another's royal status.⁷³ There was no tradition of using portraits to depict subjugated, and in this case vehemently denounced, non-European "Others."

European portraits also accrued meaning based on their association with other images. The Spanish Habsburgs, for instance, like many royal families, displayed their portraits alongside those of their family members, many of whom were joined by marriage with other European ruling families, and also those of their allies. Royal portrait galleries thus emphasized the political and symbolic nature of portraiture; they were more than just casual representations of a specific individual, rather they were potent symbols of political legitimacy in the same vein as painted genealogies.⁷⁴ When they reached Spain, Toledo's paños were deposited in the royal collections in Madrid's Alcázar palace. The Alcázar also housed portraits of the royal family and their allies, including the Duke of Milan and the King of Hungary.⁷⁵ In that sense the paintings presented the Inka as a legitimate royal lineage allied to the Spanish crown, a reading that is consistent with Spain's policy of officially recognizing the noble status of the descendants of the Inka.

The suggestion that the Inka were royal allies of Spain was in tension with what Toledo intended his paintings to convey, but their placement could also be construed as one that positioned the Inka as defeated, vassal lords. Together with portraits of Charles V and Philip II, the paños hung in the same room as twenty two coats of arms of knights of the French chivalric order of Saint Michael. Those works had been captured by Philip's armies at the battle of San Quentin in 1557, when his troops decisively defeated their French foes.⁷⁶

Although they were probably not captured standards, since they are described as having been on board (*sobre tabla*), suggesting that they were painted, they nevertheless conveyed a sense of Spain as a military powerhouse.⁷⁷

The same room housed seventeen other paintings that Toledo had sent from Peru. The themes represented included depictions of Spanish military defeats of the Inka, for instance, a painting displaying the capture of Atahualpa at Cajamarca, which Leonor de Soto, daughter of Hernando de Soto, used to prove her father's participation in that event and to uphold her rights as his heir.⁷⁸ In that context, were Toledo's paños seen as portraits of fellow royals, whose association with the Habsburgs increased the prestige of both, or were they perceived instead as trophies of a defeated enemy and a subordinate vassal? No record remains that let us ascertain how their context of display might have shaped their interpretation, and indeed divergent readings may not have been mutually exclusive.

We know, however, that Toledo was not interested in intimating that the Inka were subordinate nobles. His aim was to convince the King that the Inka were tyrants. Vassal lords, while subject to Spain's authority, were nevertheless legitimate nobility who could not be deprived of dominion. Despite Toledo's unorthodox use of portraiture to convey tyranny, it is possible that he was deliberately referencing another genre of early modern visual culture. Popular portrait series of the twelve Caesars provided a close parallel to Toledo's depictions of the Inka and I propose that Toledo intended his royal audience to recognize a connection between the paintings of the Inka and that European genre.

Arts patrons throughout Europe, including the Spanish Habsburgs, collected and commissioned portraits of the ancient Roman emperors.⁷⁹ Depictions of the Roman emperors,

or Caesars, arose from the practice of copying Roman coins to provide illustrations for histories, beginning during the late Middle Ages. In 1350 an unknown artist used coins as models for his drawings of the Roman emperors in a copy of the ancient Roman author Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* (Figure 3.7).⁸⁰ The artist directly duplicated the profile of Julius Caesar from an ancient coin, although he supplemented it, adding to the profile a bust and an outstretched arm holding a Roman military standard. Despite such alterations, use of coins as models bestowed a sense of accuracy and veracity on the images.⁸¹

It quickly became fashionable for early modern rulers to display portraits of the Roman emperors. In 1465, Andrea Mantegna began work on the frescoes of the *Camera degli Sposi* for Ludovico Gonzaga, the duke of Mantua. The artistic program was designed to flatter the Gonzaga family, showing them at court and including sweeping landscapes of the dukedom. On the ceiling Mantegna included eight roundels in which he painted portraits of the Roman rulers encircled by wreaths of laurel, recalling the form of coins and thus suggesting the authenticity of the portrait (Figure 3.8). Half a century later, Federico Gonzaga commissioned Titian to paint a set of portraits of the Roman emperors, known today only through copies, that were housed in a room that came to be known as the *Gabinetto dei Cesari*. Titian's series of eleven (a twelfth, Domitian, was added by a later artist)⁸² set the emperors against a dark background in dynamic, half-length poses (Figure 3.9). Each is dressed in a Roman-style cuirass with a mantle pinned at his shoulder, and crowned with a laurel. Completed in 1540, Titian's paintings of the Caesars were renowned and many collectors sought reproductions. In 1562, for instance, Bernardino Campi painted five sets of copies, one of which went to Philip II, another to his uncle, the Holy Roman

Emperor Ferdinand I, and the rest to various Spanish nobles.⁸³ The images also circulated via engravings and drawings to reach a wide audience.⁸⁴ The subject was undeniably popular, even making its way into the collections of Peruvian *criollos* and Spaniards. A seventeenth-century inventory of the possessions of Alonso Dias de Leyba, made after his death, indicates that he owned nine portraits of the Roman emperors; it is possible that they originally formed part of a larger set of twelve.⁸⁵ A Peruvian biombo (painted folding screen) from the eighteenth-century also takes the Roman emperors as its theme, this time depicting them on horseback alongside their consorts (Figure 3.10).

As a series of twelve, portraits of Roman emperors had a specific association with the ancient writer Suetonius's book *Lives of the Caesars*. As part of early modern interest in the ancient world, texts by Roman writers and scholars proliferated, and Suetonius's was one of the most popular.⁸⁶ His book, a collection of gossipy and sensational biographies of the emperors written in AD 121, was not entirely favorable to Rome's ancient rulers. For early modern readers, too, it provided a warning about the corrupting nature of absolute power. In his *Education of a Christian Prince*, which was written to instruct the young Charles V, Erasmus pointed to the Roman emperors, specifically Caligula, Nero and Domitian, as exemplars of tyranny whom the Christian prince should seek to avoid. Erasmus's familiarity with Suetonius is certain and two years later, in 1517, he would edit an edition of that text.⁸⁷ Suetonius provided a cautionary tale about the potential for tyranny when a ruler had absolute power.

Suetonius's list of Roman emperors is by no means comprehensive. The office would continue for several centuries more, but it would be those first twelve who were enshrined

together most frequently in the portrait galleries of early modern Europe. For instance, the 1600 inventory of Spain's royal collections documented two sets of marble busts of Roman emperors, each series beginning with Julius Caesar and ending with Domitian.⁸⁸ Titian's series, which only included the first eleven emperors, was considered complete only after another artist added a portrait of Domitian and it was as a set of twelve that it was copied and disseminated throughout Europe. Series of twelve Roman emperors directly alluded to Suetonius' book and thus had the potential to connote tyranny as described in the text. In early modern visual culture, the Roman emperors occupied an ambivalent cultural position, that of a symbol of power but one with the potential for corruption.

I propose that Toledo intended Philip II to make the connection between the Roman emperors as tyrants and the Inka as tyrants not only because they both constituted portrait series of pagan rulers, a much more fitting association for the Inka than were Europe's Christian rulers, but also because they paralleled each other in quantity. The Inka, by Toledo's addition, also numbered twelve, from Manco Capac through Huascar. In later series, the number could extend to thirteen or fourteen, depending on whether one chose to add Atahualpa or Urco, or, beginning in eighteenth-century Peru, Inka Yupanqui, to the king's list. Toledo, however, insisted that the dynasty ended with Huascar.⁸⁹ As the inventory taken after the death of Philip II affirms, the paños depicting the portraits of the Inka officially recognized only twelve rulers, thereby strengthening the parallel between them and collections of portraits of the twelve Caesars (Appendix C).

But even if that connection was Toledo's intention, the matter of its efficacy is questionable. Analogy between the ancient world and Peru was not unusual. *Acllas*, women

chosen to devote their life in service of the Inka, were compared to Vestal virgins, and the impressive Inka network of roads was favorably compared to those of Rome.⁹⁰ Such cultural analogies, especially of pagan religious practices, were meant to make a foreign people intelligible to Europeans. More commonly, however, direct comparison to Roman leaders was reserved for the deeds of Spaniards, particularly in accounts of the events of the conquest. For example, the civil wars between the followers of Pizarro and those of Almagro that consumed Peru from 1537-1542 were likened to those between the Roman potentates Julius Caesar and Pompey.⁹¹ The Inka rulers, instead, were considered analogous to other non-Europeans. For example Oviedo compared the battle between Atahualpa and the Spaniards to the Persians battling the Greeks, with Atahualpa acting the role of Xerxes.⁹²

Although Rome was a pagan empire, Christian Europe nevertheless claimed its legacy. Via the theory of translation of empire (*translatio imperii*), the legacy of the Roman Empire was alleged to have been transferred east to Byzantium after Rome was sacked in the fifth century, only to be restored in the west under Charlemagne.⁹³ Rome, and particularly Augustus, was revered for having established a period of universal peace and civil justice, and Roman law was renewed as the basis for early modern European civil order. For Christians, that period of peace and justice was the necessary condition for Christ's birth. The Holy Roman Empire, as heir to the legacy of Rome, would witness a new age of peace, one in which the entire world would be converted to Christianity.⁹⁴ Pagan Roman imperial rhetoric was thus reshaped in a Christianized form.

The promise of a world emperor, a renewal of the age of Augustus with all its millennial associations, was particularly prevalent during the reign of Charles V (r. 1519-

1556).⁹⁵ His empire combined those of ancient Rome and the newly discovered Americas, thereby giving him a true claim to the position of world monarch. The efforts to convert the Americans, and the wars against the Ottomans and Lutheran heretics only seemed to confirm that prophetic role.⁹⁶ For the Spanish Habsburgs, the rhetoric of the Roman Empire connoted their Christian duty. Although by establishing a parallel between the Inka and the twelve Caesars, Toledo aimed to convey Inka tyranny, because association with the Roman emperors could also be advantageous for early modern rulers, it is far from clear that the tactic would have been successful.⁹⁷

In proposing a purposeful correspondence between the painted series of Roman emperors based on Suetonius's writings and those commissioned by Toledo, I am not suggesting a deliberate alteration of Inka history to fit European models.⁹⁸ It was not unusual for cosmographers of the period to model the compositional format of their histories after those of the great writers of antiquity.⁹⁹ For instance, Herrera's use of 'decades' to organize his history was based on classical paradigms.¹⁰⁰ Sarmiento, too, used a biographical format similar to Suetonius's *Lives* to frame his Inka history, as did earlier historians of the Inka. It is probable that some liberties were taken to fit Inka history into a classical mold. As Sabine MacCormack has noted, there are no texts in the colonial Andes that are completely untouched by European influence.¹⁰¹ Influence, however, does not mean erasure, and colonial histories of the Inka convey substantive information about Inka history, society and worldview. Toledo's count of twelve Inka was not an anomaly; although there are variations in the Inka kings' list compiled in the sixteenth century, Toledo's is largely consistent with other accounts. In the end, that twelve Inka rulers mirrored the number of Roman emperors

in early modern portrait series was no more than a coincidence. Still, it was a fortuitous one. The pictorial format, portraiture, thus allowed Toledo an opportunity to fulfill two goals: to communicate to the Andean elites and have their approval of the paños enhance their credibility, and, through analogy to European series of the twelve Caesars, to characterize the Inka as tyrants.

Summary

This chapter has argued that Toledo's paños formed a component of his revision of Inka history in order to justify Spain's presence in the Andes. In terms of his historical project, it was not enough merely to claim an end to the Inka ruling lineage. Because of ongoing questions of dominion, he also needed to deny the foundations of Inka claims to legitimacy. Toledo's project was difficult because it challenged the accounts of Inka history that were then known in Spain, which never intimated that the Inka were illegitimate. The Crown's policy of recognizing indigenous nobility likewise was predicated on an understanding that the Inka had been rightful sovereigns. In order to naturalize his revision and increase its chance of success, he offered proof in multiple media: written text, notarized interviews and images. The paintings of the Inka he commissioned were no simple illustrations but functioned as an autonomous substantiation of his historical vision.

The pictorial mode of Toledo's paintings, portraiture, was necessary because it enhanced their truth value but it was also able to communicate to his multiethnic audiences. The portraiture form also complicated the clarity of his message, however. Portraiture was associated with nobility, thus contradicting the understanding of Inka illegitimacy that

Toledo was attempting to promote. However, drawing on parallels to portrait series of the twelve Roman emperors, whose absolute power frequently resulted in tyranny, offered him a way to use the paintings to convey his understanding of the Inka as unlawful despots. Yet paintings of the Roman emperors, although they could signify tyranny, were open to other, more positive interpretations as well. Likewise, Toledo's paños could connote nobility and legitimacy as well as, if not better than, they could suggest illegitimacy. Pictorially, they presented a confused message.

Because he needed the approval of the indigenous nobility, Toledo did not have absolute authorial control over his depictions of the Inka and that limited the pictorial form they could take. Furthermore, while he intended his paños to transmit a specific message, he could not ensure it. Toledo's paños are therefore important not only for initiating the colonial genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty, but also because they call attention to the limits of the colonizer's ability to control the genre's meaning. In Peru, the form would be widely embraced as a means of expressing the nobility of its subject. The next three chapters take up ways in which Peru's indigenous elites used paintings of their ancestors to emphasize their noble heritage in order to negotiate a privileged position in colonial society.

¹Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Las memoriales antiguas del Licenciado Montesinos é informaciones acerca del señorío de los ingas* (Madrid: Miguel Ginestra, 1882), 247-252.

² For example, see Catherine Julien, Catherine Julien, “Francisco de Toledo and his Campaign against the Incas,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 16, no. 2 (2007): 247-272; and Marie Timberlake, “The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History: Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict in *Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz*,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2001, 211.

³ The pamphlet was published anonymously but scholars in the early twentieth century determined that Mena was the author. For a discussion of its authorship and a transcription, see Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú 1528-1650* (Lima: Sanmartí y Cía, 1962), 78-86. The engraving was reused the same year for another version of the conquest published by Francisco de Jérez.

⁴ On the importance of the initial encounter between Atahualpa and Valverde, see Sabine MacCormack, “Atahualpa y el libro,” *Revista des Indias* 48, no. 184 (1989): 693-714; Patricia Seed, “‘Failing to Marvel’: Atahualpa’s Encounter with the Word,” in *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 7-32; for a discussion of the woodcut print, see Thomas B. F. Cummins, “Let Me See, Reading is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects ‘como es costumbre tener los caciques Señores’,” in Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas B. F. Cummins, eds., *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World* (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1998), 97; Thomas B. F. Cummins, “La fábula y el retrato: imágenes tempranas del inca,” in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 5-8.

⁵For example, Timothy Hudson, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).

⁶ For the development of the idea of the Wild Man, see Hayden White, “The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea,” in Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak, eds., *The Wild Man Within: an Image in Western Thought from Renaissance to Romanticism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 3-38; Hayden White, “The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish,” in Fredi Chiappelli, Michael J. B. Allen and Robert L. Benson, eds., *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, vol. 1, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 121-138; and Hudson, *The Wild Man*.

⁷ For the role of European classical paradigms in early depictions of indigenous Americans, see Stanley Robe, “Wild Men in Spain’s Brave New World,” in Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak, eds., *The Wild Man Within: an Image in Western Thought from Renaissance to Romanticism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 39-54; Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 3-27; and Susi Colin, “The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration,” in Christian F. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe: an Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen, Germany: Alano Verlag, 1989), 5-36.

⁸ Honour, *New Golden Land*, 13-14.

⁹ This point has been made by White, “The Forms of Wilderness,” and “The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish.”

¹⁰ “Traen sobre la ropa las mujeres unas reatas muy labradas, fajadas por la barriga, sobre esta ropa traen cubierta una manta, desde la cabeza hasta media pierna, que parece mantilla de mujer.” Francisco Jérez transcribed in Porrás Barrenechea, *Cronistas*, 94.

¹¹ Thomas Cummins, “De Bry and Herrera: ‘Aguas Negras’ or the Hundred Years War over an Image of America,” in Gustavo Curiel, Renato González Mello and Juana Gutiérrez Haces, *Arte, historia e identidad en América: visiones comparativas: XVII coloquio internacional de historia del arte*, vol. 1 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1994), 17-32; Cummins, “la fábula y el retrato,” 3-11.

¹² Disagreement between the leaders of the Spanish expedition to Peru, Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, fractured the unity of the Spaniards beginning in 1537 and would lead to both men’s deaths by 1541. As the Crown tried to take charge of the situation and reassert its control, the increasingly powerful and rich conquistadores began to feel threatened. In 1544 Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco’s brother, rebelled and executed the Viceroy Blasco Núñez de Vela; in turn, Pizarro was defeated and executed in 1548. A few years later, in 1553, Francisco Hernández Girón led a revolt, which was put down the following year. For information about the Spanish civil wars and revolts against the Crown, see John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 227-234; 267-272; 366-367.

¹³ Anthony Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 58-59.

¹⁴ On the importance of cities in Spanish attitudes concerning indigenous Americans, see Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, 15, 71-72.

¹⁵ Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. and trans. by Anthony Pagden (New York: Grossman, 1971), 102.

¹⁶ Cortés, *Letters*, 103-105.

¹⁷ As cited by Hemming, *Conquest*, 81.

¹⁸ Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 14-17. For a discussion of the controversy of Spain's dominion of the Indies based on its derivation from the Roman model of imperialism, see Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 61-102.

¹⁹ Vitoria repudiated the popular argument that the indigenes never had true dominion over their land by systematically dismantling the four possible grounds for suggesting that indigenous Americans could not be considered true masters, or natural lords, over their territories: that they were sinners, unbelievers, madmen, or insensate. Francisco de Vitoria, *Political Writings*, ed. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 231-292.

²⁰ Among the illegitimate reasons to deprive the Americans of their territory, according to Vitoria, were the claims that the Emperor was master of the whole world; that the pope had the temporal authority to grant one ruler possession of another ruler's territory and property; that possession was a right of discovery (nullified since he had previously demonstrated that the indigenes possessed dominion, meaning that the land was not, in fact, unoccupied); that the Americans refused to accept Christianity; that they lived their lives sinfully; and that Spain had been granted possession as a special gift from God. Vitoria, *Political Writings*,

251-276. In 1493, Pope Alexander VI had issued a papal bull, *Inter Caetera*, which Spain had initially used to justify its title to the Americas. This was reaffirmed in a 1512 document known as the requirement (*requerimiento*), drawn up by the jurist Juan López de Palacios Rubios. The document informed Americans that the land on which they dwelled had been lawfully ceded to Spain by the Pope, and that any resistance would be considered just cause for military engagement. All conquistadores were required to read it aloud, in the presence of a notary, before they could engage in conflict with any indigenous group. The system was easily abused. A translation of the requirement can be found in Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain: a Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 34-36.

²¹ Vitoria saw the issue of just war as an integral part of the question of Spanish dominion in the Americas. A few months after his lecture “On the American Indians,” he gave another called “On Just War,” which he saw as its continuation, Vitoria, *Political Writings*, 293.

²² Among those rights were free travel and trade; the right to freely preach Christianity; the protection of converts; the defense of the innocent against tyranny; and providing assistance to allies. Additionally, Vitoria conceded the possibility that if a critical mass of local inhabitants had converted to Christianity, and faced persecution because of their conversion, the Pope might have the right to install a Christian prince. He also agreed that any people could freely elect new leaders, although he cautioned that any coercion would be cause for invalidation. Finally, he acknowledged that if the indigenes could be demonstrated to be mentally incapacitated, a claim, he emphasized, that he was not willing to concede, a new,

competent administration would be necessary, as long as it was for the benefit of the indigenes, and not motivated by profit. Vitoria, *Political Writings*, 277-291.

²³Pagden and Lawrence, introduction to Vitoria, *Political Writings*, xxvi.

²⁴ Vitoria, *Political Writings*, 291.

²⁵ Vitoria, *Political Writings*, 292.

²⁶ In 1573 Philip II issued his Ordinance of Discoveries which permanently banned conquest in favor of focusing on consolidating Spain's control over its American territories. Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 150.

²⁷ For discussion of the Valladolid debates, see Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race and Prejudice in the Modern World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959); Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*; and Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Model sin Sixteenth-century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 103-149.

²⁸ Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 41-50; 109.

²⁹ las Casas had first-hand experience of the Americas, where he had arrived in 1502 and where he later joined the clergy and became the most vocal of the critics of Spanish treatment of the Americans. Biographical information about las Casas can be found in Anthony Pagden's introduction to *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, by Bartolomé de las Casas, ed. and trans. Nigel Griffin (New York: Penguin, 1992), xix-xxi; and Jean-Jacques Decoster, "Bartolomé de las Casas," in Joanne Pillsbury, ed., *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, vol. 2 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 127-136.

³⁰ “The Bishop of Chiapa don Fray Bartholomé de las Casas, author of the mentioned treatises, says that the one, which is the *de thesauris*, is a testament and the other, which is the *doce dudas*, he calls codicile, (*El Obispo de Chiapa don fray Bartholome de las Casas auctor de los sobredichos tractados que al uno dize testamento que es el De thesauris y al otro llama codicil que es de las doze dudas*).” Bartolomé de las Casas, *Doce Dudas, Obras Completas*, ed. J.B. Lassegue, vol. 11.2 (Madrid: Alianza, 1988), 218.

³¹ las Casas, *Doce Dudas*, 23.

³² las Casas, *Doce Dudas*, 31.

³³ las Casas, *Doce Dudas*, 194-212.

³⁴ Stanford Poole, *Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Philip II* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 132; Manfredi Merluzzi, “Religion and State Policies in the Reign of Philip II: The 1568 Junta Magna of the Indies and the New Political Guidelines for the Spanish American Colonies,” in Joaquim Carvalho, ed., *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2007), 194; Julien, “Campaign against the Incas,” 255.

³⁵ Rolena Adorno, “Colonial Reform or Utopia? Guaman Poma’s Empire of the Four Parts of the World,” in René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, eds., *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 352.

³⁶ Hérnes Tovar Pinzón, “Parecer de Yucay,” in Joanne Pillsbury, ed., *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, vol. 3 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 497-499.

³⁷ Isacio Pérez Fernández, ed., *El anónimo de Yucay frente a Bartolomé de las Casas*:

Estudio y edición crítica del Parecer de Yucay (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas,” 1995), 124.

³⁸ Pérez Fernández, *El anónimo de Yucay*, 115.

³⁹ Pérez Fernández, *El anónimo de Yucay*, 138-156.

⁴⁰ Pérez Fernández, *El anónimo de Yucay*, 118.

⁴¹ Pérez Fernández, *El anónimo de Yucay*, 159. The logic that silver and gold were Spain’s reward, or even its fee, for its conversion efforts would later be taken up by José de Acosta, José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane Mangan and trans. Frances López-Morillas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 170-175.

⁴² Julien, “Campaign,” 243-272.

⁴³ Julien, “Campaign.” While the Vilcabamba were the closest living descendants to the last Inka they had a feeble hereditary claim to rule. For a discussion of the strength of Manco Inka’s hereditary claim, see Julien, *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), 23-48.

⁴⁴ Juan de Matienzo, a judge in the Audiencia of Charcas, was the first to propose that the Inka were tyrants, see Ana María Presta, “Juan de Matienzo (1520-1579),” in Joanne Pillsbury, ed., *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, vol. 3, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 396-400. For a discussion of Matienzo’s writings and the formation of Toledo’s campaign against the Inka, see Julien, “Campaign,” 253-254.

⁴⁵ Transcriptions of the interviews from Toledo's *visita* can be found in Roberto Levellier, ed., *Don Francisco Toledo, supremo organizador del Peru: su vida, su obra*, vol. 2: *sus informaciones sobre los incas (1570-1572)*, (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1940).

⁴⁶ Hemming, *Conquest*, 452.

⁴⁷ For Sarmiento's role see Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas*, 362-375; Brian Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster, Introduction to Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, trans. and ed. Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

⁴⁸ Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 45.

⁴⁹ "el postrero en que se acabó la subcesión por línea legítima, conforme a sus costumbres, fué Guascar Inga, á quien hizo matar Atagualpa, su hermano bastardo, con toda su generacion. . . de manera que ningun subcesor le quedó y se acabó en la decendencia legítima de los Ingas." Jiménez de la Espada, *Las memoriales antiguas del Licenciado Montesinos*, 253-255.

⁵⁰ "quarto lienços grandes, en que está pintada, en el uno la decendencia de los yngas que gobernaron el Pirú y en los otros tres los retratos de los doze yngas hasta Guacayna que fué el ultimo, en cuyo tiempo se tomó posesión por su Magestad de aquellas provincias." F. J. Sánchez Cantón, ed., *Inventorios reales: bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Archivo Documental Español, 1958), 252.

⁵¹ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 118; Estensorro, "Construyendo la memoria," 128.

⁵² Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of the Inca*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 625-626.

⁵³ Technically, a royal kin group was a panaka, while ayllu were non-royal. Ayllu is the term used in Navamuel's description of the paño, and the term that is most commonly used to describe royal kin groups throughout the colonial period.

⁵⁴ As described in Joan de Vera's letter dated April 9, 1572; transcribed in Henrique Urbano, "Sexo, pintura de los Incas y Taqui Onqoy: Escenas de la vida cotidiana en el Cusco del siglo XVI," *Revista Andina* 15 no. 1(1997): 240.

⁵⁵ For María Cusi Huarca's response to her placement in the genealogical tree depicted on the cloth, see Urbano, "Sexo," 240.

⁵⁶ Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 23-48

⁵⁷ The Tree of Jesse was only one model for the genealogical tree although, by the sixteenth century, it was the dominant one. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 4 (1990): 111.

⁵⁸ Thomas Kren and Scott McKendrick, eds., *Illuminating the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 460.

⁵⁹ Bening only illuminated five of Holanda's drawings while Holanda colored seven. One drawing was never painted. Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 146; Kren and McKendrick, 462.

⁶⁰ Levenson, *Circa 1492*, 147.

⁶¹ For Alonso Tito Atauchi, see Ella Temple Dunbar, "La descendencia de Huayna Capac," *Revista Histórica* 11, no. 1-2 (1937): 93-155; Temple Dunbar, "un linaje incaico durante la dominación española: Las Sahuaraura," *Revista Histórica* 18, no. 1 (1949): 45-77; Hemming, *Conquest*, 341-342; and Jean-Jacques Decoster, "La sangre que mancha: la iglesia colonial

temprana frente a indios, mestizos e ilegítimos,” in Jean-Jacques Decoster, ed., *Incas e indios cristianos* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartholomé de las Casas,” 2002), 258-262.

⁶² Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 202.

⁶³ For a discussion of the recognized colonial *panakas* see, Donato Amado González, “El alférez real de los Incas: Resistencia, cambios y continuidad de la identidad inca,” in Jean-Jacques Decoster, ed., *Élites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartholomé de las Casas, 2002), 221-249.

⁶⁴ Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, 1482-1483; Julien, “Campaign,” 265-266. Philip’s alleged anger towards Toledo mirrors Charles V’s documented rebuke of Pizarro for the execution of Atahualpa, and it is possible that Garcilaso confused the king’s response to Atahualpa’s death with that of Tupa Amaru’s.

⁶⁵ Carolyn Dean has noted that wills of colonial indigenous elites often specify which heir is to receive the patent, an indication of the document’s social value, Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 246 n34.

⁶⁶ John Murra, “Litigation over the Rights of Natural Lords,” in Elizabeth H. Boone and Tom Cummins, eds., *Native Traditions in a Postconquest World* (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 56.

⁶⁷ Hemming, *Conquest*, 451-453.

⁶⁸ Hemming, *Conquest*, 452-453.

⁶⁹ Hemming, *Conquest*, 454.

⁷⁰ For discussion of portraits of nobles as exemplars of virtue, see Kurt Johannesson, “The Portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre,” in Allan Ellenius, ed., *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 11-36.

⁷¹ Fernando Checa Cremades, “Monarchic Liturgies and the ‘Hidden King’,” in Allan Ellenius, ed., *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 89-104; Leticia Ruíz Gómez, “Court Portraits in the Spanish Monarchy (1530-1660),” in Javier Portús Pérez, ed., *The Spanish Portrait: From el Greco to Picasso* (London: Scala, 2004), 92-119.

⁷² For more on the parallel between European conceptions of kingliness and colonial paintings of the Inka, see Cummins, “la fábula”; Estenssoro, “Construyendo la memoria,” 100-104.

⁷³ Discussion of the larger context of cultural exchange from which Bellini’s painting originated can be found in Julian Raby, “The Serenissima and the Sublime Porte: Art in the Art of Diplomacy 1453-1600,” in Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World: 828-1797* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2007), 91-119.

⁷⁴ Checa Cremades, “Monarchic Liturgies,” 95-97.

⁷⁵ Sánchez Cantón, *Inventorios reales*, 244-252; Checa Creamdes, “Monarchic Liturgies,” 96.

⁷⁶ “Twenty-one coats of arms, on board, of the knights of the Order of Saint Michael, that were taken from San Quentin” (*Veyntidós escudos, sobre tabla, de las armas de los caballeros de la horden de Sanct Miguel de Francia, que se sacaron de Sanct Quintín*), Sánchez Cantón, 251. For a discussion of the Battle of San Quentin and its role in Spain, see Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 50-79.

⁷⁷ There is also the possibility that they were standards that were attached to board for display purposes.

⁷⁸ Sánchez Cantón, *Inventorios reales*, 252. For a discussion of the other paintings brought to Spain by Toledo, see Catherine Julien, “History and Art,” 66-73. For Lenor de Soto’s citation of the paintings, see Dorta, “Las pinturas,” 71-72.

⁷⁹ Philip II had two sets of marble sculpture representing the busts of the twelve Caesars; Sánchez Cantón, *Inventorios reales*, 179-180.

⁸⁰ Francis Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 26.

⁸¹ Haskell, *History and its Images*, 26-79. In Italy, Renaissance lords also looked to the coin as a model for their own portraits and the profile form played to their pretensions as heirs of the Caesars; see Joanna Woods-Marsden, “‘Ritratto al Naturale’: Questions of Realism and Idealism in Early Renaissance Portraits, *Art Journal* 6 no. 3 (1987): 209-216.

⁸² Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 3 (London: Phaidon, 1975), 43.

⁸³ Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 3, 47.

⁸⁴ Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 3, 47, 237.

⁸⁵ ADC Not., Martín López de Paredes prot. 135 (1650), 335v-339r, previously cited by José de la Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 294.

⁸⁶ Richard C. Lounsbury, *The Arts of Suetonius: An Introduction* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 29-39.

⁸⁷ Lounsbury, *Arts*, 41-46.

⁸⁸ Sánchez Cantón, *Inventorios reales*, 179-181.

⁸⁹ Toledo's insistence that no more potential heirs to the Inka throne remained is contradictory since, after all, he discounted that they were legitimate rulers, or natural lords, to begin with.

⁹⁰ Luper, *Romans*, 233-317; Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain and Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

⁹¹ MacCormack, *Wings*, 72-85.

⁹² MacCormack, *Wings*, 70.

⁹³ Frances Yates, *Astraea* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 2-3.

⁹⁴ Yates, *Astraea*, 2-5. For the idea of the "last world emperor" in Habsburg Spain, see Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendants of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 123-130.

⁹⁵ Tanner, *Last Descendants*, 126-130.

⁹⁶ Tanner, *Last Descendants*, 127-8.

⁹⁷ Keith Christiansen, *Andrea Mantegna: Padua and Mantua* (New York: George Braziller, 1994), 97; Peter Burke, *Renaissance Europe: Centers and Peripheries* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 187.

⁹⁸ For the debate about European distortion of Inka history, see Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origins of the Inka* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 1-17; Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 3-22; and MacCormack, *Wings*, xv-xviii.

⁹⁹ MacCormack, *Wings*, xv-xviii.

¹⁰⁰ Cummins, "Aguas Negras," 19.

¹⁰¹ MacCormack, *Wings*, xvi.

Chapter 4:

Continuity of a Dynasty: Paintings of the Inka and the Cusco Nobles

Although the first paintings of the Inka dynasty were made for a Spaniard, it was because of indigenous patronage that the genre endured and proliferated. Throughout the Andes, affluent indigenous patrons commissioned paintings of the Inka dynasty. While the paintings may have looked similar to Toledo's paños, their purpose was not.¹ Rather than a testament of the Inka's tyranny, and therefore illegitimacy, for indigenous patrons, paintings of the Inka documented a glorious Pre-Columbian past in order to secure a position in colonial society.

The value of the Inka past for the contemporary indigenous population, however, was variable, and subject to change over time and place; there was no single, unified community of indigenous elites in colonial Peru, as Carolyn Dean's research has shown.² The Inka expanded their power through conquest, and had created a complex and fragile multiethnic state. In addition to ethnic tensions, civil war between half-brothers Atahualpa and Huascar divided loyalties of Andeans. Indigenous patrons of paintings of the Inka thus had different historical and even ethnic relationships to the Inka that necessarily conditioned the paintings they commissioned; those differences are manifest in format, composition of the Inka dynasty, and ultimately the meaning of that history for the present. The present chapter focuses on patronage of paintings of the Inka dynasty among colonial descendants of the Inka, who primarily lived in Cusco, the former imperial capital of the Pre-Columbian empire.

To differentiate them from other communities of indigenous elites, I will refer to them as Cusco nobles or Cusco Inka.

The Cusco nobles' status as direct descendants of the Inka helped them navigate the chaotic early years of Spanish rule, and in the process allowed them to form the most significant community of indigenous elites in the colonial Americas. John Rowe, Gary Urton, Carolyn Dean, Marie Timberlake, Thomas Cummins and David Garrett, among others, have provided crucial analyses of how descendants of the Inka used the Inka past to negotiate their tenuous position in Cusco's colonial society.³ Building on their research, I focus on how, for this community, paintings of the Inka dynasty were tied to a specific category of nobility, that of *señor natural* (natural lord), a term that they used repeatedly in their colonial petitions and testimonies. As Dean has shown, paintings commissioned by the Cusco nobles stressed the Inka lineage's continuation into the present, and incorporated portraits of contemporary heirs as well as their Pre-Columbian ancestors.⁴ The Inka nobles' colonial privilege was based in a direct genealogical connection between present and past that relied on a specific construction of the Inka past and, importantly, the events of Conquest, which were promoted through paintings as well as festival performance.

Natural Lords and Noble Status in Colonial Peru

The importance of establishing direct descent from the Inka, and therefore continuity of the Inka lineage into the colonial period, is already apparent in the first documented instance of the Cusco nobles patronage of paintings of their ancestors. In the *Royal Commentaries*, Garcilaso de la Vega tells how in 1603 the descendants of the Inka living in

Cusco entrusted him, as he was then residing in Spain, with pleading before the court for privileges befitting their status as descendants of royalty.⁵ To assist their case they sent to him a painting. As described by Garcilaso, depicted on a vara⁶ and a half of Chinese silk were figures of the former rulers of Peru in bust followed by a list of their living descendants, registered according to ayllu, which, in Garcilaso's version numbered eleven, and totaling 567 persons in all. Thus, a mere three decades after Toledo's paños had been sent to Spain, paintings of the Inka dynasty were fulfilling new needs of new patrons.

As Garcilaso states, the genealogy no doubt will help the king recognize their status and "confer many privileges on them, as befits the descendants of kings."⁷ As descendants of kings Spanish policies treated the descendants of the Inka differently from other communities of Andean nobles. Under Toledo, the indigenous population was forcibly resettled into *reducciones de indios*, or planned settlements that consolidated previously dispersed populations, a move that, somewhat ironically given Toledo's desire to deny noble status to Andeans, prompted institutionalization of a category of indigenous noble. Reducciones were designed to inculcate the indigenous population in European values and facilitate their conversion.⁸ The settlements played a crucial administrative role as well, allowing Spanish authorities to reckon tribute and labor obligations on the community level.⁹ The Crown, wary of the abuse that had characterized its earlier experience in the Caribbean, insisted that indigenous communities be self-administered, which required implementation of two separate administrative units known as the republic of Spaniards and the republic of Indians. The establishment of a republic of Indians, a legal if not physical space that was at the foundation of colonial society, necessitated a class of indigenous elites called *caciques*.¹⁰ In

the Cusco area, however, those elites were frequently referred to as *kuraka*, reflecting a convergence with Inka systems of imperial administration, until the eighteenth century, when *cacique* came into common use.¹¹

In practice, the role of *caciques* and *kurakas* during the colonial period was variable and poorly defined. Some were merely tribute collectors while others were respected community leaders.¹² In keeping with Inka social structure, the position was hereditary, thus endowing its holders with a type of *hidalguía*, or nobility by birth, that was ultimately based on service to the Crown. Although *kurakas* were generally men, women could also inherit the position, and the importance of the female line will be discussed further below pages. As *hidalgos*, *caciques* enjoyed certain privileges in colonial society and were exempt from tribute and personal service obligations. Toledo, recognizing that any acknowledgement of indigenous, specifically Inka, nobility had the potential to undermine Spain's claims to legitimate rule, tried to abolish the *cacicazgo* as a hereditary office and transform it into an appointed administrative position, ensuring that its occupants were beholden to Spanish colonial authorities.¹³ His attempt at undermining Andean *caciques* was and in 1614 Philip III decreed that the office be maintained in a hereditary fashion, "according to custom."¹⁴

Holding a *cacicazgo* provided one with a low level noble status; however, descendants of the Inka in Cusco claimed a distinct, and more potent form of nobility, which was conferred through descent from "natural lords" (*señores naturales*). Unlike *caciques*, whose nobility was based exclusively on service to the Crown, in European political theory natural lords, a category which included kings and dukes, were individuals who legitimately exerted dominion according to natural law. Spanish law recognized that rights of natural

lords were incontrovertible and, as long as they maintained allegiance to the king, the king in turn was obliged to recognize and preserve their privileges.¹⁵ This status allowed them a limited degree of independence from the colonial administration, which, throughout the period of Spanish rule, was less sympathetic to the indigenous elites than was the Crown.

Noble status based on descent from natural lords was officially recognized by the Crown with issues of patents of nobility. Although many patented nobles were caciques, there was not always a direct correspondence between the two and as David Garrett has documented, most caciques, especially outside of Cusco, were not patented nobles.¹⁶ The Crown issued patents of nobility to individuals throughout the Andes—for example, to the Huanca lords of the central Andean town of Jauja whose credentials Toledo had publically burned—but Cusco was home to by far the largest number of that class of nobles, and most of them based their claims to status on descent from the Inka.¹⁷

Like patents of nobility, images could function to link one's descent from a natural lord, as is the case for a surviving image that connects the tenth Sapa Inka Tupa Inka Yupanqui to his colonial descendants (Figure 4.1). Painted in the early seventeenth century, and currently housed in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, the painting was repeatedly used by descendants of the Inka to petition for recognition of their noble status. It was twice submitted as evidence in lawsuits, once in 1718 and again in 1796, and, according to Rafael Ramos Sosa, was likely bound at the later time.¹⁸ The small piece of parchment, measuring 13 ³/₄ inches by 17 inches, has been filled with sumptuous pigment and accented with gold leaf. On the right half of the folio is the coat of arms that stood as a visual symbol of the family's newly recognized noble status while the left side depicts Tupa Inka Yupanqui. The

Inka stands in a landscape, his gaze directed at the viewer. He wears an elaborate blue *unku*, or tunic, with checkerboard motifs at the yoke and hem, gilt zoomorphic masquettes on his knees and feet, golden earpools, and, most importantly, the llautu and mascapaycha on his head, indicating his royal status. In his raised right hand is a *vara*, or staff, a symbol of authority, and in his left he holds a *champi*, or pike, emblazoned with the newly granted coat of arms. Flanking him are two figures, much more humbly dressed, who Ramos Sosa argues represent Gonzalo Uchu Hualpa and Felipe Tupa Yupanqui, seventeenth-century descendants of Tupa Inka Yupanqui who successfully petitioned the crown to recognize their noble status.¹⁹ Their placement alongside their ancestor makes the genealogical connection, and thus their hereditary privilege, explicit.

That interest in dynastic continuity is the defining feature of paintings of the Inka as collected by the Cusco nobles, who used paintings primarily to document their own family lineages.²⁰ For example, at the time of his death in 1648, Juan Quispe Tito listed among his possessions “eight canvases of different figures of portraits of the Inka” (*ocho lienços de diferentes figuras de rretratos de yngas*). As is typical of colonial inventories, it gives us no hint as to how these now lost paintings of the Inka looked and tells us little other than that he did not possess portraits of all the Pre-Columbian Inka, which were generally recognized in colonial Peru as numbering at least twelve.²¹ Fourteen years later, in her own will, don Juan’s daughter, doña Ysavel Uypacoca, listed “eight life-sized [paintings of] Inka and the portrait of my father among them” (*ocho yngas de la estatura del tamaño de un hombre y el rretrato de mi padre entre ellos*).²² Doña Ysavel’s paintings most likely were the same as those owned by her father. While the inventory is similarly vague, it does shed a bit more

light on the family's series and tells us that don Juan's portrait had been included along with the Pre-Columbian Inka. Marking a break with the earlier examples of Toledo's paños and the genealogy mentioned by Garcilaso, the aim here, it seems, was not to collect a series of the entire Pre-Columbian Inka dynasty, but only those to whom one shared a direct genealogical connection.

In fact, I know of only one instance of a collection of portraits of the Inka owned by the Cusco nobles that contained twelve canvases, the number corresponding to a complete series of the Pre-Columbian rulers. The inventory in question was made after the death of Martina Chiguantupa in 1812. Yet, here too the series did not exclusively contain portraits of the Pre-Columbian rulers. The inventory specifies "twelve portraits of the Inka from the Chiguantupa family" (*dose retratos de los yngas de la familia de Chiguantupa*).²³ Three surviving eighteenth-century portraits of members of the Chiguantupa family are housed in Cusco's Museo Inka, and were first brought to scholarly attention by John Rowe many years ago.²⁴ As Dean observes, those three paintings, which include doña Martina's ancestor Alonso Chiguantupa, her father Marcos Chiguantupa and her brother Don Luis Chiguantupa (Figures 4.2-4.4), were most certainly among the twelve hanging in her house at the time of her death.²⁵ Painted in oil, the portraits fill the space of the six foot tall canvases and were a testament to the continued vitality of Inka heritage into the late colonial period.²⁶ In each case, by including colonial descendants as part of the Inka dynastic lineage the message of the paintings is of the continued vitality of the Inka, thus denying that the Inka dynasty was terminated in the sixteenth century.

Like the pictures in the portrait galleries of early modern Europe, paintings of the Inka rulers and their colonial descendants stood as signs of illustrious lineage. Although they often included what we understand as fanciful depictions of sometimes legendary figures, such considerations did not affect their operation as historical documents during the colonial period.²⁷ By placing their own representations among those of their ancestors, the descendants of the Inka made a powerful statement about the deep roots of their colonial privilege. Such presentations conveyed that their nobility was rooted in natural law, and thus was untouchable despite continued attempts by Spanish colonial officials—for example Toledo—to deprive them of their limited power and prestige. The Cusco nobles were able to use paintings as one of their tools to combat those threats because portraiture was a sign of noble status, and nobility was vitally important to the feudal structure of Spanish society.

Iconography of Nobility

The paintings of Tupa Inka Yupanqui and the Chiguantupas showcase two items consistently featured in colonial paintings of the Inka and their colonial descendants that served as the foremost symbols of their noble privilege: the mascapaycha and the coat of arms. The mascapaycha, a fringe of red wool, was the primary insignia of royalty among the Inka, and often included other ornaments, for example feathers and flowers or a domed superstructural element known as a *sunturpaucar*, which rose above the fringe. Still, by European standards the mascapaycha was a humble sign of royalty. In colonial Cusco, the mascapaycha assemblage was much more elaborate than those known to the Inka, and included a bejeweled *llautu* and an increasingly complex *sunturpaucar*, which often included

additional heraldic devices.²⁸ On the headdress worn by don Marcos, for example, the red fringe hangs from a rectangular plaque decorated with a checkerboard pattern, a colonial variation of Inka geometric designs known as *tocapu* (Figure 4.5). The beginning of the shift towards elaboration is already evident in the depiction of Tupa Yupanqui. Instead of a woven band, the *mascapaycha* hangs from a gilt diadem recalling a European-style crown. Nevertheless, rather than being exclusively a symbol of royalty, like the European crown, as a colonial symbol the *mascapaycha* was a general sign of nobility.²⁹ Yet, because the *mascapaycha* identified its wearer as a descendant of the Inka, its use remained restricted.

Rules governing use of the *mascapaycha* are not spelled out in surviving records. Dean has suggested that a son could not don the *mascapaycha* while his father was still living, an interpretation that the painting of Tupa Inka Yupanqui and his descendants seems to support.³⁰ While Tupa Yupanqui wears the standard symbols of Inka royalty, including the *mascapaycha*, his heirs, despite the document's official sanction of their nobility, do not. Instead they hold circular objects in their hands that appear to be *llautus*. Holding, rather than wearing, the headdress implies that only a single family member could don the insignia at any one time. In reality, it is likely that both heirs, Gonzalo Uchu Hualpa and Felipe Tupa Yupanqui, would have worn the symbol of their status on special occasions, yet in the imagined space of the image they refrain from its use and the honor is reserved exclusively for their deceased ancestor.

It is likely, in fact, that regulation of *mascapaycha* usage, along with the recognition of one's membership in a noble lineage, was not a product of law but rather one of custom. Cusco's indigenous elites diligently policed the insignia's use and lodged complaints against

those who in their view illicitly wore it.³¹ Thus, succeeding in wearing the mascapaycha in public without rebuke effectively proved one's noble status. Until the end of the eighteenth century, Spanish authorities in Cusco were generally willing to accept claims to noble status as long as few objections were raised by the claimants' peers.

It seems that, in addition to donning the mascapaycha, the ability to have one's portrait painted wearing it served as confirmation of noble status. From 1776 until 1780 Diego Felipe de Betancur and José Gabriel Condorcanqui (later known as Tupac Amaru, by which name he will be referred to hereafter) were engaged in a contentious lawsuit, both claiming to be descendants of the last Vilcabamba Inka, Tupa Amaru. Eight volumes of collected papers that document Betancur's claim, which were compiled by his son in law, José Vicente García, are held in Cusco's historical archive, and have been a foundational for historians of Tupac Amaru's rebellion.³² Tucked away in the first volume is a piece of paper, easily overlooked, that documents that paintings played a role in the litigation. As part of his case Betancur offered into evidence a portrait in which he was depicted wearing Inka raiment, including the mascapaycha. In addition he submitted a notarized document relating that wearing the mascapaycha was a privilege reserved for those of verifiable Inka nobility. Multiple witnesses, including the mestizo painter of the portrait, Cipriano de Toledo, attested to the veracity of the image, and thus of Betancur's status as a verified descendant of the Inka.³³ To the Cusco nobles, Tupac Amaru was an outsider and his claim to Inka descent threatened their own status, an issue that will be discussed further in the next chapter. In 1778 the Inka cabildo, led by don Cayetano Tupac Guaman Rimache Inka, filed a complaint protesting what they deemed the illegal use of the mascapaycha by Mariano Condor

Puyucahua, Tupac Amaru's son.³⁴ The power of the symbol went both ways, as during his rebellion Tupac Amaru had carried a portrait in which he was depicted as an Inka, complete with mascapaycha, to promote his leadership and prove himself to be a member of the Inka royal lineage.³⁵ Unregulated by Spanish authorities, the mascapaycha was a powerful internal symbol of indigenous noble status.

Another prominent symbol of Inka noble status in colonial Cusco was coats of arms, which since, in theory, they could only be granted by the Crown, served as a more official symbol of nobility than did the mascapaycha. Throughout the colonial period Inka nobles would display coat of arms, whether they were truly entitled to its use or not.³⁶ Some were carved on lintels above doorways of houses while others were painted on canvas and displayed in their interiors.³⁷ It is likely that the Inka had their own autochthonous heraldic devices, for instance *tocapu*, but coats of arms were clear symbols of aristocracy in European terms.³⁸ In Cusco and its surroundings coats of arms were displayed with a zeal seen nowhere else in the Americas. Both those granted to, and invented by, Inka nobles predominantly displayed Andean imagery, for example, the mascapaycha, rainbows, and pumas.³⁹

The Inka Cabildo

Although Cusco's indigenous elites claimed nobility based on personal genealogies, and sometimes even questioned others' claims to noble status, they also had a strong corporate identity that insulated them from exterior threats to their status. In 1595, after complaints to local authorities that non-Inka were usurping roles to which they were not rightfully entitled, Agustín Xara de la Cerda, the *juez de naturales* (judge for the indigenous

population, a position occupied by a Spaniard), ordered the Inka nobility to choose twenty-four individuals, twelve from each the city's two moieties, to officially represent the city's Inka community by serving on the Inka cabildo. Since there was a cap at twenty-four electors, membership in that organization was restricted to an exclusive subset of Inka elites; in the eighteenth century there were several hundred, possibly more than a thousand, individuals identified as members of the Inka lineage in Cusco and its environs.⁴⁰ Their position passed, ideally, from father to son. The Inka cabildo formed the symbolic pinnacle of Cusco's indigenous society until independence.⁴¹

Cusco's Inka cabildo was, in theory, a complement to the Spanish cabildo and part of the governmental administration of the colonial two republic system. It was not equal to it, however, which reveals the inferior status given to the Indian republic. Unlike the Spanish cabildo, the Inka cabildo had no real power, no dedicated governmental building, and did not operate as a judicial body for the city's indigenous population. The principal function of the cabildo and its twenty-four electors was to choose from among themselves the *alférez real de los Inkas nobles* (royal standard bearer of the Inka nobles) to represent the indigenous community during the annual celebration of the feast of the apostle Santiago held every 25th of July.⁴² Santiago, patron saint of Spain who had intervened on Spain's behalf against the Moors at the battle of Clavijo, was also a symbol of conquest in the Americas. In Peru, the apostle, mounted on his white horse, was said to have come to the Spaniards' aid at a crucial moment during Manco Inka's assault on Cusco in 1536, turning the tide to Spain's advantage and forcing the Inka to retreat from the city. The festival role of *alférez* predated the establishment of the cabildo by as much as a full half-century but the creation of an electoral

body to guard access to it institutionalized its importance.⁴³ Membership in the Inka cabildo, and especially election to *alférez real*, was extremely prestigious and highly sought after by Cusco's Inka nobility.⁴⁴

In his portrait, Marcos Chiguantupa flaunts his position as an *alférez real*, as John Rowe pointed out in 1951 (Figure 4.3). The cartouche, held by a dwarf in the painting's lower right, gives historical documentation about Marcos and allowed Rowe to conclude that the painting was created between 1740 and 1745.⁴⁵ While his dating of the piece remains secure, Rowe was mistaken that Marcos Chiguantupa was elected as Cusco's *alférez real* in 1720, an error that has been perpetuated by subsequent scholars.⁴⁶ In fact, Marcos is not even listed as one of the twenty-four electors in 1720 and did not assume the position of *alférez* until 1739.⁴⁷ Another portrait of an *alférez* from the Chiguantupa family has likewise been subject to misattribution. Luis Chiguantupa was not, as Wuffarden states, Marcos's father but his son who was elected *alférez* in 1752 (Figure 4.4).⁴⁸ Since Luis was elected *alférez* in 1752, that must be considered a plausible date for his portrait; certainly, given that he is dressed as an *alférez real*, it could be no earlier.⁴⁹

In both portraits the Chiguantupas' occupation of the prestigious position is emphasized both textually and visually. Dressed in Spanish-style clothes, richly embellished with gold jewelry and lace, they hold royal standards decorated with the Spanish coat of arms. Their garments are unusual in the corpus of portraits of indigenous nobles in that they are not Inka *uncus*, but, as Wuffarden has noted, the clothing of Spanish courtiers.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the Chiguantupas are not dressed as Spanish nobles; the *mascapaychas*

adorning their heads stand as testaments to the source of their status, the third Pre-Columbian Inka ruler Lloque Yupanqui from whom they claimed descent.⁵¹

By the eighteenth century, if not before, indigenous elites used paintings to commemorate their election to the position of *alférez real*.⁵² The 1759 will of doña Antonia Loyola Cusi Tito Atau Yupanqui catalogs “a canvas, two varas tall, with the portrait of an Inka as the royal standard bearer” (*lienzo del retrato del Ynga de Alferes real de dos varas*).⁵³ Presumably the painting was a portrait of doña Antonia’s husband, Tomás Cusipaucar Villegas, who had once occupied that role, but it could also have been the portrait of an earlier relative of equal prestige.

Women and Colonial Inka Nobility

Accompanying doña Antonia’s portrait of an *alférez* was another of a *ñusta*, or princess, which during the colonial period referred to a female member of the colonial Inka nobility.⁵⁴ The portrait was possibly a depiction of the wealthy doña Antonia herself.⁵⁵ Several paintings of *ñustas* have been preserved, including one in Cusco’s Museo Inka (Figure 4.6). The anonymous woman (Luis Eduardo Wuffarden has observed that her appearance was modeled after depictions of Beatriz Clara Coya; see below⁵⁶) stands at the front of the picture plane. She is dressed in Inka-style clothing, including a dress (*anacu*) and mantle (*lliclla*) decorated with *tocapu* designs, a much less hispanicized costume than that of the *alféreces*.⁵⁷ Her gaze is directed toward the viewer, her hand extended and her body turned slightly to the left, focusing our attention on a table draped in a red cloth. On the table is a *mascapaycha*, which she gently touches, signaling the source of her status. Behind her to

the right stands a dwarf holding a colorful feather parasol over her head. Although superfluous given the interior setting, the dwarf, along with her rich clothing and the mascapaycha, reinforce her wealth and status. Women, although they could not wear the mascapaycha, could not be *alféreces*, and could not serve on the Inka *cabildo*, formed part of the broader group of indigenous elites, becoming entrepreneurs and community leaders, and sometimes inheriting the administrative role of a *cacica*. Additionally the matriline could be an important means of passing down Inka noble status.⁵⁸

Garcilaso stated that women had no role in the Inka inheritance system and, by the time he was writing in the early seventeenth-century, Spanish patrilineal systems had become dominant.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, for the Pre-Columbian Inka, the matriline, at least for the royal family, had a crucial role.⁶⁰ According to legend, the Inka founding couple, Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, were siblings. While sibling marriage did occur, it is likely that that practice was a late development in Inka culture, and probably was begun by Tupa Yupanqui shortly before the Spanish arrived. Although the Spanish chroniclers were fascinated by sibling marriage, as María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco notes, a sister in the Inka case may have indicated a half-sibling or cousin, and was not necessarily a relative by the same mother and father.⁶¹ The purpose of royal incest was practical. The child of that union would have the most pure royal bloodline thus securing his inheritance of the rapidly expanding empire and preventing division among other claimants.⁶²

Cummins has argued that the shift from Inka to European kinship organizations is reflected pictorially in the changes made to the second of the two surviving versions of Fray Martín de Murúa's illustrated manuscript, *Historia general del Piru*.⁶³ Both the earlier Galvin

and later Getty manuscripts contains full page depictions of the Inka and his principal wife, or *coya*. In the Galvin version coats of arms are affixed to the depiction of each *coya* (Figure 4.7), while in the Getty Murúa the coat of arms accompanies the portrait of the Inka instead (Figure 4.8). As heraldic markers of hereditary privilege, including coats of arms with the depictions of the *coya* demonstrates that women were originally decisive to their heirs' lineage claims. Cummins notes that only after 1590 did Spain codify patrilineal descent in the Andes, thereby diminishing the role of women in Inka structures of inheritance.

Notwithstanding the changes to traditional kinship systems that occurred in the early years of colonial rule, to a limited extent women continued to be important to the maintenance of Inka noble lineage throughout the colonial period. The most famous example of the passage of Inka noble status through the female line is the case of Beatriz Clara Coya, the daughter of Sayri Tupa and his sister/wife María Cusi Huarca. After his father, Manco Inka, died in 1544, Sayri Tupa became the reigning Inka in Vilcabamba, where a small group continued to resist Spanish rule. In 1557, he was lured out by the Spaniards, who granted him rich *encomiendas*, including estates in the Yucay valley outside of Cusco, along with recognition of his position as a natural lord. Soon after retiring to Yucay, Sayri Tupa unexpectedly died, leaving his infant daughter as his heir.⁶⁴ After Toledo's conquest of Vilcabamba she was given in marriage to Martín de Loyola, who led the expedition to put down the Vilcabamba resistance and who, additionally, was a nephew of the founder of the Jesuit Order, Ignatius Loyola. Their daughter, Ana María de Loyola, who went to Spain as a child after her parents' deaths, was subsequently married to Juan Enríquez de Borja, a nephew of the soon to be sainted Jesuit Francisco de Borja. In 1611, the Crown bestowed

upon Ana María the title of Marquesa de Santiago de Oropesa, a designation tied to the territory she inherited from her Inka grandfather.⁶⁵

The Jesuits used paintings to advertise the connection between their order and the Inka dynasty and a large canvas featuring the union of Beatriz to Martín and their daughter Ana María to Juan Enríquez occupies a prominent place in Cusco's Jesuit church (Figure 4.9). The painting, known as the *Matrimonio*, was disseminated to other Jesuit institutions throughout Peru through painted copies (Figure 4.9).⁶⁶ The couples are placed in the foreground, while in the background other events take place. On the left, behind Beatriz and Martín, is an austere fortress-like structure with twin turrets representing Cusco, in front of which sit Beatriz's parents and uncle dressed in Inka finery. The austerity of the structures contrasts with the delicate Spanish cathedral façade in the right background, in front of which Ana María and Juan Enriquez's wedding is held. In the center are the two Jesuit saints, Ignatius Loyola and Francisco de Borja, from whom the grooms descended, transforming a secular subject into a statement about the status of the religious order. For the Jesuits, the painting collapses space and time to celebrate the marriages of two generations and two cultures, all made possible through their efforts. Thus the painting symbolized the triumph of Jesuit order, but as Marie Timberlake has argued it was also an attempt to bolster loyalty from the city's indigenous elites, who often left substantial material wealth to confraternities established by the order.⁶⁷

Somewhat ironically, the real Beatriz exhibited devotion to the Dominicans, who had established their convent on the foundations of the Inka's main temple, the Qoricancha. In 1592, she endowed a chaplaincy (*capellania*) to ensure that proper masses were said for the

souls of her parents and uncle, Tupa Amaru, all three of whom were interred in the convent.⁶⁸ In the background of the Matriomonio paintings sit Beatriz's parents and uncle, the three whose remains were housed in the Dominican convent, watching and seeming to approve of the union. The inclusion of Vilcabamba Inka is surprising. This is the only securely dated colonial image that depicts members of the rebel Inka faction. Perhaps it was meant to indicate that the Jesuit Church, where their image was located, had replaced the Dominican convent, which held the Inka's bodies, as the religious organization most closely associated with the Inka ruling line, which, in the imagination of the colonial Inka nobles, it certainly was.

The last Marquesa of Oropesa, doña María de la Almodena, died in Spain in 1741, leaving no heir. Although a distant member of the Loyola side of the family tried to claim the title, he was denied since he was not a blood relative of Ana María.⁶⁹ Thus Inka blood was potentially crucial in determining possession of the wealthy fiefdom. Indeed, by that time the title had become accepted as belonging to the most direct heir of the Pre-Columbian Inka, despite the best efforts of the families of those who had collaborated with the Spaniards against Vilcabamba to advance their own pretensions. With no heir, the properties returned to the Crown's holdings. Nevertheless, in Peru many opportunistic indigenous elites promoted their hereditary claims to the *marquesado*, prompting forty years of legal disputes which comprised a key factor in Tupac Amaru's 1780 uprising. A latecomer to the legal wrangling, Tupac Amaru pressed his claim to the title as a direct descendant of the last Vilcabamba Inka, the unfortunate Tupa Amaru, whose purported daughter, doña Juana Pilcohuaco Coya, had been Tupac Amaru's direct ancestor. His principal foe was the *mestizo* Diego Felipe de

Betancur who also claimed descent from Tupa Amaru, this time via a son who allegedly was the great-grandfather of don Diego's mother, Manuela Tupac Amaru (for doña Manuela's portrait, see Figure 6.1).⁷⁰ The female line was therefore crucial to claims of both litigants.

Because of the importance of women in conferring Inka noble status to their heirs, it is unsurprising that portraits of colonial ñustas hung alongside those of Cusco nobles in their home portrait galleries. Depictions of the Pre-Columbian rulers were also on occasion paired with paintings of their coyas. The most frequently depicted coya in later paintings was Mama Huaco (sometimes referred to as Mama Oollo, Mama Huaco Oollo or a similar variant), the sister/wife of the dynasty founder, Manco Capac. Luis Eduardo Wuffarden has convincingly argued that an unidentified painting of a woman in the Museo Inka portrays Mama Huaco (Figure 4.10).⁷¹ At six feet tall, the canvas is the same size of other surviving portraits of the colonial indigenous elites, and it is conceivable that the painting was part of a larger series of Pre-Columbian and colonial Inka. Unlike the portrait of the colonial ñusta, here the coya is set in a landscape, her body silhouetted against a rock outcrop, possibly alluding to the Inka creation myth wherein the founding couple and three sets of siblings emerged from a cave. Her pose is nearly identical to that of the ñusta, facing towards the viewer, turned slightly toward the left, and she too is accompanied by a dwarf who stands behind her to the right, although he is not holding a parasol but has a parrot perched on his head. Instead of reaching towards a table, she holds flowers in her outstretched hand; in her other hand she holds a spindle, alluding to the arts of weaving that Mama Huaco is credited with introducing. In the distance to the left is half a castle turret, which conveys her royal status in European terms. Her anacu and lliclla are elaborately patterned with tocapu and floral motifs while on her

head she wears a *nañaca*, a type of woven headdress, a feature that distinguishes Pre-Columbian coyas from colonial ñustas in the visual language of colonial paintings.⁷²

The representations of other coya are rare but not unknown. The sole surviving contract for a series of paintings depicting the Pre-Columbian Inka specifies compensation for “twenty-four painted canvases consisting of the twelve Inka kings with all their accoutrements and the other twelve of the ñustas, princesses corresponding to each king, with all their attributes” (*veinte y quatro liensos de pintura que se componen de los dose reyes Yngas con todos sus atributos y los otros dose de las nustas, prinsesas correspondientes a cada rey si mesmo con todos sus atributos*).⁷³ A later example from a private collection in La Paz, Bolivia, dating probably to the early nineteenth century, shows Tupa Inka Yupanqui and his coya in an unusual double portrait format (Figure 4.11).⁷⁴ Both stand together in a landscape, she behind him, and wear familiar Inka costume, his consisting of an uncu and hers of an anacu, lliclla and nañaca. He holds a slingshot in his hand, an Inka weapon, while she holds a spindle, each object specifying the duties of their gender, warfare and weaving, respectively. Tupa Yupanqui’s mascapaycha, rather than being the traditional red fringe, is instead rendered in gilt. His consort is labeled as Mama Kuareina, a name unknown from the chroniclers who usually identify Tupa Yupanqui’s coya as another Mama Ocllo. If the painting was made in the La Paz area, it is possible that it was the name of a secondary wife who hailed from the region and that the canvas was commissioned to enhance claims of nobility among her descendants.

The Politics of Memory: Huascar, Atahualpa and the Vilcabamba Inka among Cusco's Indigenous Elites

Paintings of the Inka in the collections of Cusco's Inka nobility made a statement about their incontrovertible claims to nobility based on the concept of natural lords in Spanish political thought. Yet the patents of nobility issued by Charles V beginning in 1544 which gave official recognition to those claims, were politically motivated. They were not issued to every descendant of the Inka but to those who had pledged fealty to the Crown during the fight against the Vilcabamba Inka's ongoing rebellion. For the colonial descendants of the Inka, maintaining their position as descendants of natural lords was intimately bound up with the events of the conquest period and with a particular construction of Inka history.

At the time the Spaniards set foot in Peru, two claimants to the Inka throne, Atahualpa and Huascar, were engaged in a civil war that divided loyalties and facilitated the Spanish conquest of the region. There remains some question as to who was the rightful ruler and who was a pretender to the Inka throne. The earliest accounts are not in agreement.⁷⁵ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, one of Manco Inka's sons who ruled Vilcabamba, uniquely and implausibly claimed that neither Huascar nor Atahualpa was Huayna Capac's true heir, but rather that his father, Manco Inka, had been Huayna Capac's chosen successor.⁷⁶ In any event, the disputes among those claimants to the Inka throne would greatly affect how Cusco's colonial Inka nobles constructed their histories.

At issue in the question of succession was the parentage of each brother. The child of the Inka's principal wife was the most desirable heir since, as that wife was also the Inka's

sister, their offspring would be of pure Inka descent.⁷⁷ If the Inka was not survived by a son by his principal wife, the next in line, according to Catherine Julien, would have been the son who was most “capac,” or closest in descent to the dynasty’s founder, Manco Capac.⁷⁸ Sons born to foreign wives, meanwhile, were excluded from succession. Most early accounts state that the mothers of both Huascar and Atahualpa were Inka.⁷⁹ According to Julien, there is some evidence that, according to Inka custom, Atahualpa, whose mother, according to most accounts, was a member of Pachacuti’s ayllu, may have had the greater title to his father’s empire.⁸⁰ Many later accounts insist that Atahualpa’s mother was foreign-born, the daughter of the defeated ruler of Quito, thereby excluding him from the line of succession.⁸¹ This demonstrates how, as indigenous informants became familiar with Spanish culture, they manipulated Inka history for their own purposes. It was not until Sarmiento, writing at Toledo’s behest in 1572, that Atahualpa was accused of being a “bastard,” a provocative label that at best oversimplified the complex Inka heredity system and in no uncertain terms exposed the political nature of colonial accounts of Inka history.⁸²

The conflict between Atahualpa and Huascar divided the Inka nobility into factions along regional lines, with Huascar’s support centered in Cusco while Atahualpa had the loyalties of his father’s army and the Inka who had remained with him in Quito, the newly established northern administrative center. Pizarro sided with the Cusco faction and, after having Atahualpa executed, promoted Manco Inka’s candidacy and oversaw his installation as ruler.⁸³ Pizarro expected Manco Inka to be an easily controllable puppet ruler, an Andean face to Spanish control. According to his son, however, Manco thought of the Spaniards as allies, not conquerors. Upon realizing that they had no intention of leaving the Andes, Manco

laid siege to Cusco in an attempt to drive them out.⁸⁴ Failing to do so, he retreated to Vilcabamba and there established an exile state.

Manco's claim to the position of Inka was tenuous. His mother was Inka by privilege, the designation for non-ethnic Inka who were early allies before the Inka began their imperial expansion but who were not from the lineage of Manco Capac.⁸⁵ Despite the Cusco faction's recognition of Huascar, it is probable that upon his death even they would have recognized Atahualpa as having the next strongest claim to hereditary rule.⁸⁶ Yet, by the end of the century, a dramatic shift had occurred. In the *Royal Commentaries*, which would have an enduring effect on how the Cusco nobility shaped an understanding of their Inka past, Garcilaso reaffirmed Sarmiento's claim that the executed Inka was a bastard, adding that he was a traitor, and claiming that Atahualpa's mother was not Inka at all, which made him an illegitimate ruler.⁸⁷

Atahualpa was almost entirely absent from pictorial representations of the Inka produced in Cusco. He was neither included in Toledo's paños depicting the Inka dynasty nor represented in the Cusco nobility's 1603 painting. There are two surviving paintings depicting Atahualpa's capture at Cajamarca that were produced in the Cusco area; however, according to Juan Carlos Estensorro Fuchs they were not made for indigenous patrons but for the Dominican order, whose role in the event was emphasized.⁸⁸ Doña Josefa Cusipaucar Loyola, an eighteenth-century noblewoman whose father had been alférez real, owned a painting of Atahualpa at the time of her death in 1777.⁸⁹ Presumably it was a portrait-style painting, rather than a scene of his capture, although interpretation is difficult as it is described simply as a "lienzo" (canvas).

The series of busts from the Brooklyn Museum does include Atahuallpa, but places him outside of the Inka dynasty by calling him “the bastard tyrant” (*el tirano bastardo*) (Figure 4.12). Although seated in a throne, carrying a scepter, and wearing a mascapaycha, the form of his diadem, intertwined snakes, is unique and perhaps was intended to distinguish him from the “legitimate” Inka.⁹⁰ Unlike the other Inka in the series, whose order in the line of succession has been enumerated in the cartouche around the portrait, Atahuallpa is given no number in the order of succession, thereby denying him a position in the Inka ruling dynasty.

The Brooklyn Museum series is based on Herrera’s engravings but, since Herrera excluded Atahuallpa, his depiction here is the painter’s invention. Both when and where the paintings were created remains unknown.⁹¹ In 1873, they entered the collection of the New York Historical Society, which sold them to the Brooklyn Museum, although it is probably the same series that was offered for sale in London in 1869 and falsely advertised as Herrera’s original sources.⁹² The cool, muted palette flecked with deep reds and gilt is consistent with the eighteenth century paintings of the Cusco School, although a later date cannot be conclusively ruled out.⁹³

The Cusco nobles’ construction of the past and their omission of Atahuallpa from the lineage of Pre-Columbian rulers occurred as they came to terms with the reality of Spanish rule and began to negotiate for their own privileged position within the new colonial order. After Manco’s revolt, Paullu Inka, who until that point had supported Manco, saw an opportunity to advance his own position.⁹⁴ Diego Almagro, Pizarro’s co-captain and rival, quickly appointed Paullu as Inka, but the crown never officially recognized him as such.⁹⁵

Recognizing the legitimacy of Atahuallpa over Huascar was therefore impossible. It would remove both the Vilcabamba Inka and Paullu from any claims to hereditary primacy since, unlike Huascar, Atahuallpa was survived by sons through whom the line of succession would have continued.⁹⁶

The position of the Vilcabamba Inka in the Cusco elites' reckoning of status was ambivalent, in part because of mixed messages sent by Crown policy. Pizarro's initial support of Manco, however, could not be erased and installing Manco as Inka resulted in the transfer of the line of succession to his progeny. On one hand, patents of nobility were issued to those who sided with the Crown rather than with the Vilcabamba Inka. On the other hand, the Crown's ongoing negotiations with Manco's sons in Vilcabamba, and later its establishment of the Marquesado de Oropesa, suggest that the Crown recognized the Vilcabamba Inka as the most direct descendants of the Inka.

One immediate result of Manco's revolt, however, was the increase in Paullu's status, both among the Spaniards, from whom he received the richest encomienda granted to an Andean at the time, and among the indigenous elite in Cusco. Although Paullu died in 1549, his heirs aimed to maintain their position at the top of Cusco's indigenous social hierarchy. When Sayri Tupa emerged from Vilcabamba in 1557, lured out by the gift of an encomienda even richer than that given to Paullu, it posed a threat to his heir's primacy in colonial society. Fortunately for Paullu's heirs, Sayri Tupa died suddenly in 1560 before he had much opportunity to replace them in the colonial social order. Rumors circulated that Paullu's son don Carlos, along with other members of the Inka nobility, had poisoned Sayri Tupa.⁹⁷ Regardless of their truthfulness, that such rumors existed reveals that for the Cusco nobles in

the sixteenth century, remaining at the top of their social hierarchy was a high-stakes political game.

Despite never achieving official recognition as hereditary head of the Inka during his lifetime Paullu was the most powerful and wealthiest indigene in Cusco and his descendants continued to press for special favors from the Crown by invoking his incomparable acts of loyalty to the Spaniards. One document, known as the *Discurso* or *Relación de los quipocamayocs*, contains a genealogical account promoting Paullu as rightful heir to Huascar, and includes a list of his actions on behalf of the Spaniards.⁹⁸ His grandson, Melchor Carlos Inka, presented the document at court between 1603 and 1608 as part of his litigation for compensation and privilege based on his status.⁹⁹ This was separate from the contemporary claims made by the Cusco nobility as a whole (which were recorded by Garcilaso) and demonstrates a general acceptance of Paullu's special position. After the establishment of the Inka cabildo at the end of the sixteenth century, however, the indigenous hierarchy was increasingly dominated by a group of elites, rather than a single family.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it seems likely that aligning themselves with Paullu was a major strategy for the colonial Inka nobility.

An interesting feature of the Chiguantupa portraits, as previously noted by Rowe, is the inclusion of the coat of arms of Paullu Inka, despite the family's claim of descent from Lloque Yupanqui (Figure 4.13).¹⁰¹ Granted in a royal decree from May 8, 1545, the coat of arms was "a shield composed of two parts that in one of them is a black eagle, positioned frontally with its wings outstretched, against a gold background, flanked by green palms, and in the other part below a tiger of its color; above it a red fringe, which his brother Atahuallpa

used to wear for a crown, and flanking the tiger two snakes crowned with gold against a gold background; and for a border (*orla*) letters that say AVE MARIA and between those letters eight Jerusalem crosses on a red field outlined in gold.”¹⁰² The Chiguantupas were not alone in their appropriation of Paullu’s coat of arms; such misuse was rife among indigenous elites during the eighteenth century. Throughout the colonial period, Paullu had a status in the imagination of Cusco’s indigenous nobility that far outweighed that of the Vilcabamba Inka.

Toledo’s campaign against the Inka was another likely factor in the marginalization of the Vilcabamba Inka in early colonial Cusco. Toledo claimed that the young Tupa Amaru was a traitor and sentenced him to death. The execution shocked the Cusco nobility. The viceroy’s contempt for the Inka was plain. In late 1572 Toledo spuriously charged the most prestigious of the remaining Inka nobles, including Paullu’s son don Carlos, with aiding the exiled Inka and thus betraying the Crown. Convicted and sent to Lima to await an impending expulsion from their homeland, the Cusco nobility successfully petitioned the King for their sentences to be overturned.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the indigenous elites had learned important lessons.

First, Cusco’s indigenous elites learned that their status and privilege was at the whim of the Crown. In that sense, if recognizing the exiled Vilcabamba rulers could become grounds on which those privileges could be revoked, the indigenous elites would naturally be reticent to embrace them as legitimate heirs to the Inka. Only later, after Ana María Loyola was made marquesa, confirming the crown’s recognition of her noble status, could the Vilcabamba Inka be safely invoked in lineage claims such as those of Betancur and Tupac Amaru in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, such cases remained rare. Second, the fallout

from Toledo's campaign against the Cusco nobility taught Cusco's indigenous elites that the Crown could be more sympathetic to their position than were its local administrators.

The Performance of Privilege in Colonial Cusco

As noted above, in their portraits flaunting their position as *alférez* don Marcos and don Luis Chinguantupa appropriate Paullu's coat of arms, hinting at a connection between the ceremonial role and the events of conquest that advanced the position of Paullu's lineage. The Crown protected the descendants of the Inka because they were fellow nobles but also because they were loyal vassals. Thus promoting loyalty to Spain was a necessary part of the political strategy of Cusco's Inka nobles. Loyalty to the Crown, in fact, was an essential theme of their public performance in colonial festivals and is codified in the role of *alférez*.

Two of the most important religious festivals in colonial Cusco were the celebrations of Corpus Christi and the festival of Santiago. Their themes were also broadly similar and both celebrated the triumph of Christianity over paganism. While Corpus Christi was an important liturgical feast that celebrated the doctrine of transubstantiation, the feast of Santiago, the patron saint of Spain, was also a celebration of the power of the state.

In 1551 the Council of Trent reaffirmed the primacy of Corpus Christi in the liturgical calendar and reframed it as a commemoration of the triumph of the true faith (Catholicism) over heresy.¹⁰⁴ Key to its celebrations in Spain was the inclusion of non-Christian figures, for example, Spaniards dressed as Moors or Turks, who would be ritually defeated as a sign of the victory of Christianity, and of Spain as its chief defender.¹⁰⁵ The festival became one of the most important in the colonial Andes and even prompted the development of paintings

depicting its central theme: the triumph of the Eucharist.¹⁰⁶ A version of the theme from the Thoma collection, which was painted in Cusco, shows the host housed in an elaborate monstrance centrally positioned on a pedestal between a group of Spaniards, led by Philip V, on the left, and Turks, on the right (Figure 4.14). The king holds a sword in his right hand while his left hand is raised to steady the monstrance, as the militant Turks throw a rope around it in an attempt to pull it down. In this colonial pictorial theme, only Muslims appear as the enemy, whereas in Peruvian festivals the Inka fulfilled that function. Unlike festivals in Spain, in which Spaniards reenacted their victory over the Moors, Cusco's celebration of Corpus Christi did not include ritual battles with the Inka. Rather, the participation of indigenous elites costumed in the dress of their ancestors symbolized the triumph of Catholicism.¹⁰⁷

In addition to conveying similar messages, both festivals were occasions when Cusco's indigenous nobility paraded through the city dressed in clothing that consciously recalled their past. While we have no visual record of colonial festivals of Santiago, a series of sixteen paintings that hung together in the parish church of the Santa Ana district lavishly records details of Corpus Christi as it was practiced in late seventeenth-century Cusco.¹⁰⁸ These paintings have been extensively studied by Carolyn Dean and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden.¹⁰⁹ The paintings were created over a number of years, were commissioned by various patrons, several of whom were indigenous, and were painted by at least two different master artists. They represent different but related moments in the festival procession.¹¹⁰ In many, including those representing the contingents from the city's parishes, an indigenous *alférez* occupies a central role. For example, in the canvas showing the contingent from the

San Cristóbal parish, the *alférez* carrying an embroidered red flag precedes a wooden carriage displaying the effigy of the community's patron saint (Figure 4.15). Behind, the buildings have been decorated with rich red tapestries, while smaller, light colored tapestries hang from the windows framing the faces of onlookers watching the event. While all other participants seem focused on the procession, the *alférez* turns his head to meet the viewer's gaze with a sly wink, breaking the solemn mood of the ritual occasion. The *alférez*'s importance is underscored by his elaborate dress: a white tunic (*unku*) embellished with *tocapu* motifs, rich lace at the sleeves, a collar of feathers (*sipe*) and a large sun pectoral. Similar colonial Inka-style tunics are known today, including a seventeenth-century version in a private collection (Figure 4.16). That tunic's purple color is a sign of royalty introduced from Europe, which, along with *tocapu*, and heraldic lions on the yoke, another imported sign of royalty, directly below the neck slit, emphasized the wearer's claims to status.¹¹¹ In the painting of Corpus Christi, in addition to his tunic, the *alférez* of San Cristóbal parish signals his status through his headdress: the all-important *llautu* and *mascapaycha*, which have been embellished for colonial tastes.¹¹² It is important to keep in mind, however, that none of the *alféreces* depicted in the Corpus Christi series were necessarily the *alférez* real elected annually by the Inka *cabildo*, but rather were parish or confraternity representatives. The Corpus Christi *alféreces* are never shown carrying the royal standard of Santiago, as did the *alférez* real during the feast of Santiago.

Because we lack depictions of the Santiago festival, and because its themes were similar to Corpus Christi's, the two festivals are often conflated. But it is worth emphasizing that it is not clear to what extent the portrayal of *alféreces* in the Corpus Christi series

corresponds to the appearance of the *alféreces* who participated in the feast of Santiago. During the feast of Santiago, for example, the *alférez real* would have been distinguished from other members of the colonial Inka nobility by his singular dress; unlike Corpus Christi's parish *alféreces*, he was not one of many. Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, a creole Bishop of Cusco, wrote that for the feast of Santiago in 1781, the Inka nobles were dressed in rich black or dark brown tunics with a mantle of black velvet or taffeta.¹¹³ A possible example of that costume exists in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) (Figure 4.17).¹¹⁴ The tunic form and row of *tocapu*-like designs embroidered along the hem subtly recall Inka precedents. In contrast to those worn by the *alférez* in the Corpus Christi paintings, however, the *tocapu* is not the principal motif. Instead, positioned on both the left and right side seams is an elaborate *sunturpacuar*. Colonial versions of that Inka device often depicted a castle turret, along with flowers, feathers and other emblems; the castle is also the central motif of the tunic's embroidery (Figure 4.18).¹¹⁵ As part of the *mascapaycha* assemblage, it is a fitting symbol for the most prestigious member of the colonial Inka nobility.¹¹⁶ It is also possible that LACMA's tunic is a later, eighteenth-century variation of the *alférez* costume while tunics with greater emphasis on *tocapu* motifs, including those represented in the Corpus Christi paintings, were more typical of the seventeenth-century. If so, it would tell us something about the evolving nature of elite textile design during the colonial period. On the other hand, we cannot dismiss the possibility that each ceremonial role, that of the *alférez real* for the feast of Santiago and those of the parish *alféreces* of Corpus Christi, had a distinct costume.

At first glance it seems curious that a festival that stood in testament to the defeat of the Inka would become an important platform for the public enactment of indigenous nobility. Dean has investigated that ambivalence with regards to Corpus Christi, demonstrating that Cusco's Inka nobles used the festival to recreate themselves and carve out an identity in colonial society as good Christians.¹¹⁷ There have been few studies of the festival of Santiago, but it seems likely that the theme of the Inka nobles as good Christians remained constant. In addition, I would like to draw attention to the role of the festival of Santiago in providing a particular vision of the Inka lineage, one which promoted the loyalty of the Cusco Inka to the Crown and Christianity, even as an exiled Inka state persisted in Vilcabamba.

Despite his purported role in the defeat of the Inka, the cult of Santiago was undoubtedly popular and may have derived, in part, from his conflation with the Andean god of lightning, Illapa.¹¹⁸ In paintings such as the one in Cusco's Cathedral, the apostle is shown astride his white horse, dressed as a pilgrim and wielding a sword (Figure 4.19). In colonial Peru the saint took one of two guises, either that of Moor-killer (*matamoros*) or that of Indian-killer (*mataindios*), as determined by the ethnicity of the defeated enemy. In the Cathedral canvas, the bodies trampled underneath the apostle's horse wear patterned tunics with feathered collars and *uma chuco* helmets, identifying them as Inka, thus making this a painting of Santiago Mataindios. In present-day festivals, in contrast, the statue paraded through Cusco's streets shows the saint trampling a figure dressed in Moorish clothing, thus downplaying the theme of the defeat of the Inka (Figure 4.20). It is unclear whether the Moor-killer iconography was utilized for the processional figure during the colonial period as

well or if the processional figure was in the guise of Indian-killer, which would have foregrounded the theme of Inka defeat.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, Indian-killer iconography was well represented in Peru, as seen, for example, in the painting from Cusco's Cathedral. The prevalence of that pictorial theme made the connection between Santiago and the defeat of the Inka unambiguous for the city's colonial populace.

Santiago's association with the defeat of the Inka derived not from the initial battles of the Spanish conquest, but from the Spaniards' successful defense of Cusco during Manco Inka's siege in 1535. That event is significant because it marked a decisive split among Inka nobles. After the deaths of Huascar and Atahualpa, as noted above, Pizarro elevated Manco Inka to the throne and, although Manco's claim was weak compared to those of his deceased half-brothers, it was greater than that of his still-living half-brother, Paullu.¹²⁰ When Manco revolted, Paullu saw his opportunity to further ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, no doubt in the hope that he would be appointed the next Inka.

It is highly probably that Paullu was the first person to represent Cusco's indigenous community in the role of *alférez*, thereby publically declaring his loyalty to the Crown and his claim to being the leader of the indigenous community.¹²¹ Later lawsuits concerning who could be elected as *alférez* real suggest that the position was originally the prerogative of males descended from Huayna Capac, such as Paullu, who, after the Vilcabamba Inka, were next in line for succession. This implies that the position connoted the *alférez*'s status as the most direct descendant of the Inka.¹²² Thus it is perhaps incorrect to interpret the festival of Santiago as a general celebration of the Inka's defeat, but better to see it as the military defeat

of Manco Inka and the ascendancy of Paullu's line, symbolically and socially if not in terms of official Spanish policy.

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty in the Public Space of Cusco: The Case of San Borja

For the Cusco nobles, paintings of the Inka and their colonial descendants were frequently found in their private homes and forcefully conveyed the dynasty's continuity into the present, rather than its termination with the Spanish conquest. The same message imbued public festival performances. While, for those events, the Cusco nobles dressed in the costumes of their ancestors to display their loyalty to the Crown, they did not perform as characters from Inka history, but as their colonial descendants. Despite the visible Inka ruins that made the Inka past a constant presence in the colonial city, public displays of depictions of the Pre-Columbian Inka seem to have been rare.

The one known example of paintings of the Inka on public, or semi-public, display is a series that decorated the walls of the Colegio de San Francisco de Borja. San Borja, as it is frequently called, was a Jesuit school dedicated to educating the children of the Inka nobles and regional caciques.¹²³ The school was founded in 1621 but the paintings probably date after 1644, when the Colegio moved to a new building on the Plaza de las Nazarenas, behind the Cathedral.¹²⁴ Like so many other documented paintings of the Inka, the San Borja paintings no longer exist. Indeed, surviving descriptions suggest that the Colegio may have contained more than one set of paintings of the Inka.

In the aftermath of the Tupac Amaru rebellion, the Bishop of Cusco, don Juan Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta, gave a picture depicting the sixteenth-century Tupa Amaru,

which had been taken from the Colegio, to the local Spanish authority as a trophy.¹²⁵ That implies that there was a set of canvases depicting the Pre-Columbian Inka and, intriguingly, their Vilcabamba heirs, which probably hung in the school's interior. Yet other descriptions imply that the Inka were likewise depicted in murals painted on the institution's exterior walls. During his journey through South America in the 1840s, the Comte de Castelnau recorded seeing those paintings in a deteriorated condition, calling what remained "rough sketches."¹²⁶

The series is unusual for Cusco not only because it was public, but also because descriptions suggest that it depicted a complete series of the Pre-Columbian emperors. The most salient feature of paintings of the Inka dynasty in Cusco is the insistence on the colonial Inka nobility as the continuation of the Inka dynastic line. As I noted earlier, archival documents suggest that painted series depicting only the Pre-Columbian monarchs, which implied the lineage's termination, were uncommon in the private portrait galleries of the colonial Inka nobility. Although there is no indication of the individuals who composed the San Borja version of the Inka lineage, the descriptions never mention inclusion of the colonial nobility. Nevertheless, decorating the walls of a school for the descendants of those rulers, the dynasty's continuation into the present was implicit.

Summary

Like Toledo before them, Peru's colonial indigenous elites used paintings of the Inka dynasty to construct specific visions of the past for specific objectives. Whereas Toledo's emphasized the end of the Inka dynastic lineage, for the Cusco Inka nobles, paintings

announced the dynasty's continued vitality. By advancing the continuity of the Inka lineage, the descendants of the Inka in Cusco entered into a carefully orchestrated political game in which they used Spanish concepts of nobility to advance their own limited power in the colonial social order.

Yet, the Cusco's Inka elites' construction of the continuity of the Inka lineage required strict adherence to a particular version of the Inka past, in particular of the conquest period. This necessitated that Atahuallpa, who had left heirs, be cast as a tyrant, while Huascar, who had no surviving offspring, was the rightful ruler. In the absence of a direct heir, other branches of the ruling lineage could advance their position in the dynastic lineage. Furthermore, it required that they prune another troublesome branch of their family tree, that of the Vilcabamba Inka who, under Manco Inka, had rebelled against Spain's authority. As they understood it, their privilege was the result of their allegiance to the Crown, following the model of Paullu who supported Spain during his half-brother's rebellion, and thus gained important privileges and secured that the Crown recognized their position as natural lords. It was within the Spanish colonial system that paintings of the Inka dynasty gained their authority, but the Cusco nobles' cultivation of their identity as Inka secured their access to privilege.

¹ Drawing on reports by Paul Marcoy, a Frenchman who visited Peru in the mid-nineteenth century, Teresa Gisbert has proposed that a copy of Toledo's paños remained in Cusco, and served as the source for later paintings of the Inka dynasty that were produced there, see Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. (La Paz: Gisbert, 2004), 119. Noting similarities in their depictions of the Inka's dress, Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs has also suggested that a sixteenth-century painting remained in Cusco that served as a model for Murúa and Guaman Poma's manuscript illustrations, Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, "Los incas del cardinal: las acuareles de la colección Máximo," in *Revista Andina* 24, no. 2 (1994): 403-426. However, he was writing before the Galvin Murúa came to scholarly attention and it now seems clear that the illustrations in that earlier version served as the model for Guaman Poma and the artists of the Getty Murúa, see Thomas B. F. Cummins, "Murúa's Two Manuscripts: a Comparison," in Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds., *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's Historia General del Piru*, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 147-170. I have been unable to find any colonial period documentation of a sixteenth-century painting of the Inka dynasty in Cusco, and, given the concerns of Marcoy's day, which are discussed in Chapter 8 of the present dissertation, I suspect that no such painting existed.

² Carolyn Dean, "Ethnic Conflict and Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2 no. 1-2 (1993): 93-120; and Carolyn Dean *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 179-199.

³ John Rowe, “El movimiento nacional inca del siglo XVIII,” *Revista Universitaria* 43, no. 107 (1954): 17-47; Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Dean *Inka Bodies*; Marie Timberlake, “The Painted Colonial Image: Jesuit and Andean Fabrication of History in Matrimonio García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 563-598; Marie Timberlake, “The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History: Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict in *Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz*,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2001; Thomas B. F. Cummins, “We are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial *kurakakuna*,” in Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno, eds., *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 203-31; and David Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

⁴ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 115-119; Carolyn Dean, “Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru,” in Donna Pierce, ed., *Exploring New World Imagery* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005), 86-88.

⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of the Inca*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 625-626.

⁶ A vara is roughly equal to a meter.

⁷ Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, 625.

⁸ In Renaissance thought the city was a crucial instrument of civilization and Christianity, a theory that guided the planning of settlements throughout Spain’s American territories.

Habitation in a community, organized around a central plaza and church, it was believed, inspired virtue and order among a populace. See Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 20-44.

⁹ Garrett, *Shadows*, 30-34.

¹⁰ Garrett, *Shadows*, 26-27.

¹¹ Garrett, *Shadows*, 34-5.

¹² Additionally, there were different classes of caciques. Small communities composed of a single kin group, or ayllu, had a single cacique. Other communities comprised multiple ayllus, each with its own cacique (*segunda persona*) who in turn was subordinate to the town's principal leader (*cacique principal*). For more on the variation among caciques in colonial Cusco, see Garrett, *Shadows*, 36-39.

¹³ Garrett, *Shadows*, 38.

¹⁴ Under colonial rule, however, the "custom" by which a cacique inherited his role had been altered to prioritize primogeniture, which was not the Inka system. See Garrett, *Shadows*, 38.

¹⁵ Robert S. Chamberlain, "The Concept of Señor Natural as Revealed by Castilian Law and Administrative Documents," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 19, no. 2 (1939): 130-137.

¹⁶ In addition to being exempt from tribute, the descendants of natural lords had the privilege of petitioning the royal courts in lawsuits, albeit at their own expense. They were thereby removed from the jurisdiction of Spanish corregidores, whose bias against indigenous litigants regularly prevented them from receiving just treatment in local courts. Garrett, *Shadows*, 36-39.

¹⁷ For grants of nobility to the elites of Jauja, see John Murra, “Litigation over the Rights of ‘Natural Lords’ in Early Colonial Courts in the Andes,” in Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins, eds., *Native Traditions in a Postconquest World* (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 55-62. For Chachapoya and Cañari nobilities in Cusco and their conflicts with the Inka nobility see Dean, “Ethnic Conflict,” 93-120.

¹⁸ See Rafael Ramos Sosa, “Escudo de los descendientes del Inca Tupa Yupanqui,” in *Los Siglos de Oro en los Virreinos de América 1550-1700* (Madrid: Museo de América and Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), cat. no. 34, 216-7; and Thomas B. F. Cummins, “Coat of Arms of the Descendants of the Inca Topa Yupanqui,” in *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, eds. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 228.

¹⁹ Ramos Sosa, “Escudo,” 216-217.

²⁰ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 115-119; Carolyn Dean, “Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru,” in Donna Pierce, ed., *Exploring New World Imagery* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005), 86-88.

²¹ ADC, Not., Jose Calvo leg. 52 (1645-1650) f. 479r. Cited by José de la Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura cuzqueña*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 284; Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 126; and Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 115.

²² ADC, Not., Lorenzo Messa Andueza leg. 197 (1662) f. 1354r-1370r. Cited by Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 246. Doña Ysavel apparently survived that illness only to succumb three years later.

²³ ADC Not., Mariano Melendez Paez leg. 181 (1812-1813), f. 526r-531r, previously cited by Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 246.

²⁴ John Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of the Inca Nobles," in Sol Tax, ed., *The Civilization of Ancient America: Selected Papers of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) 256-68.

²⁵ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 115.

²⁶ See Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of the Inca Nobles," 256-68.

²⁷In early modern Europe, representations of ancestors, real or imagined, lent legitimacy to genealogical claims. In the fifteenth century, Karlštejn King Wenzel of Bohemia showed his guests a magnificent gallery of paintings of his ancestors, which included Noah, King Priam of Troy and Jupiter. Despite those fanciful predecessors, the genealogy's main focus was on more recent and verifiable ancestors, underscoring Wenzel's descent from Charlemagne up through his father, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, who had commissioned the gallery. See Andrew Martindale, "Heroes, Ancestor, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait," in *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting* (London: Pindar, 1995), 75-79; and Jiří Fajt, "Charles IV: Toward a New Imperial Style," in Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiří Fajt, eds., *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia 1347-1437* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 10-15. Charles V's grandfather, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, likewise used fanciful portraits to make an elaborate statement of his genealogy, in this case in the form of an engraved triumphal arch by Albrecht Dürer, which was finished in 1517. Primarily a visual documentation of Maximilian's illustrious genealogy, depictions of his political triumphs appeared alongside representations of his

ancestors. See Larry Silver, “Power of the Press: Dürer’s *Arch of Honour*,” in Irene Zdanowicz, ed., *Dürer in the Collection of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne: National Gallery, 1994), 45-62.

²⁸ For a detailed description of the colonial Inka headdress, see Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 130-140.

²⁹ Estenssoro argues that, despite their similarity, the two symbols were not precisely equivalent during the colonial period and underscores that the mascapaycha was not in competition with the royal crown of Spain. “Construyendo la memoria,” 126. Dean makes a similar point, pointing out that the colonial mascapaycha had become more like the symbol of a knightly order, see *Inka Bodies*, 103.

³⁰ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 105.

³¹ A number of cases pertaining to the right to don the mascapaycha have been discussed in Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 103-104. The cases are found in ADC Corregimiento, Pedimentos, leg. 87.

³² For example, see John Rowe, “Genealogía y rebellion en el siglo XVIII,” *Historica* 6, no. 1 (1982): 65-85.

³³ ADC Betancur I 645r-651v; 808r-823r; Cipriano de Toledo y Gutiérrez was a well-known artist in Cusco who had apprenticed with Marcos Zapata, one of the foremost masters of the Cusco School. See Gisbert and José Mesa, *Historia de la Pintura cuzqueña*, 217; and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *The Virgin, Saints, and Angeles: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection* (Stanford, CA and Milan: Skira and The Iris & Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2006), cat. no. 29, 158.

³⁴ ADC, Betancur, II, 381r-387r.

³⁵ Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 39.

³⁶ See Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 149-151.

³⁷ Doña Juana Rocca had two paintings displaying coats of arms along with “some coats of arms of viceroy Diego Morcillo on canvas (*unas armas en lienzo que son del señor virrey don frai diego murssillo*).” In addition, she lists three portraits of Inka. ARC Not., Alejo Fernandez Escudero, prot. 101 (1720) f. 887r-844v, previously cited by Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 252.

³⁸ Thomas B. F. Cummins, “Let Me See! Reading is for Them: Colonial Images and Objects ‘como es costumbre de tener los caciques Señores’,” in Elizabeth H. Boone and Tom Cummins, eds., *Native Traditions in a Postconquest World* (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 91-148.

³⁹ For the iconographic implications of those motifs see Thomas Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 264-286. For coats of arms as “mestizo heraldry,” see Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “la descendencia real y el ‘renacimiento inca’ en el Virreinato,” in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 201-205.

⁴⁰ Different scholars have come up with different numbers, for instance Garrett, *Shadows*, 76 and David Cahill, “The Inca and the Politics of Nostalgia,” in Peter T. Bradley and David Cahill, eds., *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination and Memory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 100-101. For an explanation of the discrepancies, see Cahill, “Politics of Nostalgia,” 101n7.

⁴¹ Donato Amado González, “El alferez real de los incas: resistencia, cambios y continuidad de la identidad indígena,” in Jean-Jacques Decoster, ed., *Incas e indios cristianos: Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas,” 2002), 223.

⁴² Amado, 224-5.

⁴³ Amado, 223.

⁴⁴ For examples of individuals, even non-electors, trying to buy the office or restrict it to their own lineages, see Amado, 227-231.

⁴⁵ Rowe, “Colonial Portraits of the Inca Nobles,” 258-268.

⁴⁶ Rowe seems to have mistranscribed some of the inscription’s dates. In 1729, don Marcos was alferez real in the village of Guayllabamba. The last line of the cartouche is illegible. However, records state that don Marcos was elected alferez real in 1739, not 1720. A plague that struck Cusco in 1720, however, did have a devastating effect on the local population and it is probable that at that time Marcos was appointed as an elector to fill a vacancy due to the demise of other noble lineages. For a discussion of how that plague effected the Inka cabildo, see Amado, 233.

⁴⁷ For the election records of the alferez real during the eighteenth century, see Amado; and ADC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, leg. 29, Exp. 620, cuad. 17. There is no record of the 1739 vote but in 1740 Marcos is listed as “real alferez actual,” the occupant of the position at that time whose tenure was nearing completion.

⁴⁸ Wuffarden, “La decendencia real,” 223; ADC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, leg. 29, Exp. 620, cuad. 17. For a mention of don Luis as don Marcos’ son and heir, see the

previously cited will of Martina Chihuantupa, ADC Not., Mariano Melendez Paez prot. 184, f. 527v.

⁴⁹ In the case of Luis's portrait, the text is mostly illegible, leading to the misattribution of his relationship to Marcos.

⁵⁰ For the sources and interpretation of the Chiguantupa garments, see Wuffarden in Phipps, Hecht and Esteras Martín, *Colonial Andes*, cat. no. 43, 200-202; and Wuffarden, "la descendencia real," 221-225.

⁵¹ They are listed as representatives to the Inka cabildo from the ayllu of Lloque Yupanqui in ADC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, leg. 29, Exp 620, cuad 17.

⁵² For instance, it may be possible that the seventeenth-century portrait of Juan Quispe recorded by his daughter showed him as an alférez.

⁵³ ADC Not., Quintanilla, leg. 237 (1755-1762) f. 262r. Previously cited by Garrett, *Shadows*, 84; Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 113; Timberlake, "The Painted Image," 361.

⁵⁴ ADC Not., Quintanilla, leg. 237 (1755-1762) f. 262r.

⁵⁵ For doña Antonia's wealth relative to other indigenous members of Cusco society, see Garrett, *Shadows*, 84-5.

⁵⁶ Phipps, Hecht and Esteras Martín, *Colonial Andes*, cat. no. 21, 162.

⁵⁷ Whereas colonial sumptuary laws required men to wear Spanish style clothing, especially trousers, since to go without was considered indecent, women's dress remained closer to Pre-Columbian precedents. See Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín, eds., *The Colonial Andes*:

Tapestries and Silverwork (New Haven: Yale University Press and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 20-21, 27-33.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of the role of indigenous women in late colonial Cusco, see David Garrett, “‘In Spite of Her Sex’: The Cacica and the Politics of the Pueblo in the Late Colonial Andes,” *The Americas* 64, no. 4 (April 2008): 547-581.

⁵⁹ Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, 626.

⁶⁰ For Inka ambilineal descent, see María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 19; and Terence D’Altroy, *The Incas* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 195. R. Tom Zuidema has proposed a system of parallel descent; see, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: the Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (Leiden: Brill, 1964); and Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 4-8. For the role of women in the system of royal inheritance see, Julien, *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 2000), 24-42.

⁶¹ Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History*, 103-104.

⁶² Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History*, 103-104; and Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 24-42.

⁶³ Thomas Cummins, “The Images in Murúa’s *Historia General del Piru*: an Art Historical Study,” in Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds., *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa’s Historia General del Piru*, *J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 168-169.

⁶⁴ Her wealth and status made her a desirable bride, prompting one of Cusco's prominent Spaniards, Cristóbal Maldonado, to rape and clandestinely marry her. The marriage was later annulled. Instead, her lot was to become a bargaining chip for the crown in negotiating the surrender of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who had taken over his brother's position as Inka in exile. As part of that agreement, which had not yet been finalized at the time of Titu Cusi's death in 1571, Beatriz was betrothed to her cousin, Titu Cusi's son, Quispe Tito, although that marriage never took place. John Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 302-3, 312, 406. For Titu Cusi's own account of Vilcabamba, see Diego de Castro Yupanqui (Titu Cusi Yupanqui), *History of how the Spaniards Arrived in Peru*, trans. and ed. Catherine Julien (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006).

⁶⁵ Hemming, *Conquest*, 460-465; 469-472.

⁶⁶ Several versions of this painting have been documented in Peru. See Marie Timberlake, "Jesuit and Andean Visions"; and Timberlake, "The Painted Image"; Other discussions of paintings of the marriage of Beatriz Clara Coya to Martín de Loyola are found in Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cusqueña*, 180; Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 153-157; Wuffarden, "la descendencia real," 189-201; and Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stantton-Pruitt, eds., *The Arts in Latin America 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), cat. no. VI-91, 440-441.

⁶⁷ For the paintings as a sign of Jesuit triumph, see Timberlake, "The Painted Image"; and Timberlake, "Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict," 294-333.

⁶⁸ ADC Betancur v. 3; this copy of her will is transcribed in Gonzalo Lamana, "El testamento y el codicilo de doña Beatriz Clara Coya de Loyola, hija de don Diego Sayri Túpac Ynga

Yupangui y de la Coya Doña María Cusi Huaracay,” *Revista del Archivo Departmental del Cuzco* 14 (1999): 45-60.

⁶⁹ Timberlake, “The Painted Image,” 574. Timberlake suggests that a pendant composition, which depicts the dual marriage of members of the house of Ignatius Loyola with those of the third Jesuit saint, Francis Xavier, was an attempt to strengthen that heir’s claim to the Marquesado.

⁷⁰ The fullest account of the case is collected in the Betancur dossier housed in the Archivo Regional del Cuzco. John Rowe was among the first to examine the genealogical claims of each litigant, firmly siding with Tupac Amaru, Rowe, “Genealogía y rebellion,” 65-85. For a different take on the lawsuit, and a critique of historians “double standard of proof” when evaluating the relative claims of Condorcanqui and Betancur, see David Cahill, “First among Incas: The *Marquesado de Oropesa* Litigation (1741-1780) en route to the Great Rebellion,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 41(2004): 137-166.

⁷¹ Wuffarden, “La descendencia real,” 217.

⁷² Phipps, Hecht and Esteras Martín, *Colonial Andes*, cat. no. 21, 162.

⁷³ ADC, Not., Matias Ximenes de Ortega, prot. 303, 1721 ff. 92r-93v. The document is transcribed in Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño: datos para una historia del arte en el Perú* (Cusco: Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad, 1960), 288.

⁷⁴ Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Antwerp, *America: Bride of the Sun* (Brussels: Flemish Community and Administration of External Affairs, 1992), cat. no. 254, 441.

⁷⁵ Some chroniclers claim that Huayna Capac had divided his kingdom in two but that greed had caused one of the siblings to fight to control the entire empire, whereas others assert that

one or the other was their father's sole heir. We can only guess whether Huayna Capac truly intended to divide Tawantinsuyu in two but the conflict between Atahuallpa and Huascar was not the first time ruling authority had been disputed among two claimants. See Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 23-33. The Inka had devised systems to deal with such disputes and to ensure a smooth transition between rulers. For discussion of Inka rituals of investiture, see Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 118-137.

⁷⁶ Yupanqui, *History*, 25. For a discussion of Manco's place in the line of succession, see Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 41-45.

⁷⁷ The system of sibling marriage seems to have been instituted by the eighth Inka Pachacuti, as the empire was undergoing expansion and was intended precisely to prevent disputed succession, see MacCormack, *Religion*, 124-132.

⁷⁸ Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 27-25.

⁷⁹ Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 76-78; MacCormack, *Religion*, 130; Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 106-107.

⁸⁰ Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 27-25.

⁸¹ Garcilaso, writing in the seventeenth century, perpetuated the allegation. See Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 107.

⁸² Inka rulers had multiple wives and there is no doubt that both Huasca and Atahuallpa were children of Huayna Capac's consorts; neither was the offspring of his principal wife.

⁸³ Another brother, Tupa Huallpa, was Pizarro's original candidate, but he died while accompanying the Spaniards to Cusco.

⁸⁴ In her introduction of Titu Cusi Yupanqui's chronicle, Julien notes that Spanish accounts frame Manco's attack against the Spaniards as a rebellion, implying that Spain had already definitively conquered the Andes. In contrast, for Manco the event was part of an ongoing battle of conquest, Julien, Introduction to Yupanqui, *History*, xxiv-xxvi.

⁸⁵ Manco's mother was an Anta, a group from the Cusco region that had allied itself with the Inka. Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 43.

⁸⁶ Julien has noted that as late as the 1551 history of the Inka written by Juan de Betanzos, whose marriage to an Inka noblewoman allowed him more intimate access to the accounts of the Cusco Inka than was available to most Spaniards, the Cusco faction appeared to recognize Atahualpa's claim over the exiled Manco's, Introduction to Yupanqui, *History of how the Spaniards Arrived in Peru*, xxiii.

⁸⁷ Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, 208; 221. Garcilaso was a partisan of Huascar, whose mother was a member of Huascar's *panaka*, Rostworowski, 33-34

⁸⁸ For a discussion of those paintings as well as illustrations of them, see Estensorro, "Construyendo la memoria," 110-121.

⁸⁹ ADC Not., Juan Bautista Gamarra, leg. 133 (1746-1781). Previously cited in Garrett, *Shadows*, 81; Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 113; and Timberlake, "The Painted Image," 363.

⁹⁰ Estensorro, "Construyendo la memoria," 129.

⁹¹ A previous discussion of the paintings is found in Diana Fane, ed., *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 239. According to the conservation reports that I was allowed to consult from the museum's records, the canvas is consistent with an eighteenth-century date. Pigment analysis indicates the use of

Prussian blue, confirming that the painting could not have been made before the late eighteenth century. For Prussian blue in colonial painting, see Alicia M. Seldes et al., “Blue Pigments in South American Painting (1610-1780),” *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 38 no. 2 (1999): 111-112.

⁹² *Catalogue of Works on the Fine Arts, Painting, Sculpture, the Picture Galleries, Early Woodcut Books offered for Cash by Bernard Quaritch, 15 Picadilly W* (London, 1869), 1040-1.

⁹³ Castedo, *Cuzco Circle*, 42-47; Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia*, 267-269. In contrast, Barbara Duncan suggests that dominant blue and red tones are more characteristic of Bolivian painting than of the Cusco School; see “Statue Paintings of the Virgin,” in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angeles in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986), 56.

⁹⁴ Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, 221.

⁹⁵ It is possible, however, that Andeans did accept Paullu as Inka, revealing a rift between the Inka and the Spanish regarding their recognition of the ruling authority and posing a challenge to Spain’s dominance; see Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 162-191.

⁹⁶ Atahualpa had children located in Cusco and Quito. The Cusco offspring never pressed their claims, however, and seem to have lived quietly among the city’s indigenous elites while those in Quito prospered and became some of the city’s most prestigious citizens; see José María Vargas, “Los hijos de Atahualpa y los padres dominicanos,” *Boletín de la*

Academia Nacional de Historia (Quito) 15 (January-June 1937): 59-64; Hemming, *Conquest*, 345-6.

⁹⁷ Guaman Poma, *Nueva Corónica*, 443; Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 301, 341.

⁹⁸ The document is variously known as the *Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los incas* or *La relación de los quipucamayoc*. In the late nineteenth century it was edited for publication by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Una antigualla peruana* (Madrid: Manuel Gínes Hernández, 1892).

⁹⁹ Gary Urton, “Discurso Sobre la Descendencia y Gobierno de los Incas,” in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 2 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 191-192.

¹⁰⁰ Even after the ascendancy of Sayri Tupa’s family, with the conferment of the marquesado of Oropesa, the family’s physical absence from Cusco ensured its removal from the everyday practice of Inka nobility in the colonial city.

¹⁰¹ Rowe, “Colonial Portraits,” 267.

¹⁰² “un escudo fecho de dos partes, que en la una dellas esté un aguila negra, rauipante en campo de oro, y a los lados dos palmas verdes, y en la otra parte debaxo un tigre de su color y, ensima del una borla colorado, que solia tener por corona Atabalipa vuestro hermano, y a los lados del dicho tigre dos culebras coronadas de oro en campo azul, y por oral unas letras que digan AVE MARIA, y entre medio de las dichas letras, ocho cruces de oto de Hierusalem en campo Colorado,” transcribed in Rowe, “Colonial portraits,” 267.

¹⁰³ Hemming, *Conquest*, 451-454.

¹⁰⁴ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 12-14.

¹⁰⁶ Gisbert and Mesa trace the development of that visual theme to late seventeenth-century Cusco, *Pintura cuzqueña*, 308; Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *Virgin, Saints, and Angeles*, cat. no. 18, 132.

¹⁰⁷ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 14-22.

¹⁰⁸ Twelve are housed in Cusco's Museo de Arte Religioso and four are in a private collection in Chile. According to nineteenth-century documents, the series once comprised eighteen paintings; Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 64. Wuffarden has recently identified and published a seventeenth canvas, housed in Lima's municipal galleries, "la descendencia real," 174 (image), 178-189. Other studies of the paintings include Mesa and Gisbert, *Pintura cuzqueña*, 177-180; Luis Eduard Wuffarden, "Piadoso Cuzco: El Corpus de Santa Ana," *FMR* 32 (1996): 72-108; and Wuffarden, "Corpus Christi," in Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín, eds., *The Colonial Andes*, cat. nos. 116a-d, 311-318.

¹⁰⁹ Dean, *Inka Bodies*; Wuffarden, "Piadoso Cuzco;" Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *La Procesión del Corpus en el Cuzco* (Seville: Union Latina, 1996).

¹¹⁰For discussion of technical aspects of the paintings, see Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 64-78.

¹¹¹ Phipps, Hecht and Esteras Martín, *Colonial Andes*, cat. no. 27, 172-175.

¹¹² For an analysis of the dress of the costume of the alférezes in the Corpus Christi paintings see Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 122-159.

¹¹³ Cahill, "Politics of Nostalgia," in Peter T. Bradley and David Cahill, eds., *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination and Memory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 109.

¹¹⁴ The tunic is similar to one housed in the Museo Inka in Cusco, which is published in Estenssoro, “Construyendo la memoria,” 143.

¹¹⁵ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 131-147.

¹¹⁶ A similar tunic, housed in Cusco’s Museo Inka, is published in Estenssoro, “Construyendo la memoria,” 143.

¹¹⁷ Dean, *Inka Bodies*, passim.

¹¹⁸ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, eds. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, trans. J. L. Urioste, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1988 [1615]), 407; Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, trans. L. Clark Keating (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968 [1621]), 54; and Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 28-9.

¹¹⁹ Another processional image of Santiago in Cusco’s Cathedral is of the Indian-killer type, with the figure clearly wearing Inka-style dress, although his facial hair is more closely related to the Moor-killer. It is discussed and illustrated in Estenssoro, “Construyendo la memoria,” 171. I have only witnessed the Moor-killer figure on procession although both may be used for different occasions. In some cases, processional statues of Santiago are dressed in indigenous clothing, thereby inverting the relationship between the saint and the indigenous population. That iconography, however, never occurs in colonial paintings; see Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle*, 58.

¹²⁰ Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 43-47.

¹²¹ At the very least, he was one of the earliest to hold the position; the other early alféreces had also collaborated with the Spaniards. Amado, “El alférez real,” 223.

¹²² Amado, “El alferez real,” 223.

¹²³ For a study of the schools created for Peru’s indigenous elites, see Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer, *La educación de las elites indígenas en el Perú colonial* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos and Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2007).

¹²⁴ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 127.

¹²⁵ Cahill, “Politics of Nostalgia,” 107.

¹²⁶ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 127; For Castelnau’s account of Cusco, see Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Antología del Cuzco* (Lima: Liberia Internacional del Peru, 1961), 222-231.

Chapter 5: More than Family Ties:

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and Andean Elites beyond Cusco

The genealogies owned by the Inka nobles of Cusco stressed the continuity of the Inka dynasty into the colonial present and, along with other institutions such as the *alférez real*, were a way to proclaim loyalty to the Crown as well as their own personal claim to status based on descent from a “natural lord.” The role of paintings of the Inka in promoting the continuity of the Inka dynasty for the Cusco nobles dates back at least as far as the early seventeenth century, therefore, for the descendants of the Inka paintings were not simply a product of an eighteenth-century nationalist sentiment, or an Inka Renaissance.¹ Still, an eighteenth century revival in Inka culture is real, and it seems no coincidence that it was during that period that paintings of the Inka dynasty reached the height of their popularity, and at this time the genre extended beyond Cusco to other areas of the Viceroyalty.

This chapter focuses on the role of eighteenth-century paintings of the Inka among indigenous elites outside of the carefully controlled orthodoxy maintained by Cusco’s Inka nobles. Although many of those elites had claim to noble status, that status was primarily as *caciques*, whose privilege was the result of the administrative duties they performed for the Crown in their communities. Andean *caciques* were not necessarily descendants of natural lords, nor were they necessarily Inka by ethnicity. Those factors would greatly affect patronage of paintings of the Inka dynasty by Andean elites who, not constrained by the internal politics of the Cusco nobles, could show more diversity in their depictions of the

Inka past. Nevertheless, their use of paintings of the Pre-Columbian rulers for their political advantage was no less calculated. Unconstrained by the internal politics of the Cusco nobles, the canvases could convey new relationships between the Inka past and the colonial present. This affected the paintings' composition, the context of their display, and even their version of the Inka dynasty they depicted in ways that contrasted with the patronage of the genre by the Cusco Inka, revealing new facets in construction of indigenous identity in colonial Peru.

Tupac Amaru against the Cusco Nobles

Cusco nobles carefully guarded their corporate privileges and status as the direct descendants of the Inka, and attacked those whom they considered outsiders. Nowhere else in Peru did the indigenous elites identify as strongly with the Inka as in Cusco, and their careful maintenance of their corporate identity at times put them in conflict with indigenous elites in nearby areas. The case of Tupac Amaru provides a clear example of those divisions. His lawsuit to be recognized as the rightful descendant of the ill-fated Vilcabamb Inka, Tupac Amaru, was frustrated by the courts, and helped prompt his famous revolt against Spanish rule.² Despite having been educated in the Colegio de San Borja, Tupac Amaru was considered an outsider by Cusco's nobility. His cacicazgo was based in Tinta, a village about sixty miles southeast of Cusco, a distance that prevented him from having close ties with Cusco society.³ There was also the matter of his ethnicity. Rather than being an ethnic Quechua, as were the Inka and their Cusco descendants, Tupac Amaru's family was primarily of Aymara ethnicity; according to the genealogy he submitted to the courts, his

great-great grandmother, through whom he claimed his Inka descent, had settled in the Aymara-dominated area and married into a local family.⁴

Perhaps more troubling from the Cusco nobility's point of view, Tupac Amaru claimed descent not only from the last ruling Inka but asserted that he was the only legitimate surviving member of the Inka lineage, a logic which countered centuries of established privilege and threatened to undermine the position of Cusco's Inka nobles.⁵ This rankled the Inka nobles. Not only did Tupac Amaru's claim have the potential to upset their own privileged status, but it was also being made by someone whose dominant ethnic heritage was not Inka.⁶

Tupac Amaru's claim was also contested by Diego Felipe Betancur, who likewise sought recognition as the descendant of the last Inka. It is difficult to know for certain whose claims were stronger.⁷ Both claimed the other's documents were forged, a common practice with patents of nobility in late colonial Cusco. David Cahill has criticized the acceptance of Tupac Amaru's claims to Inka descent over those of Betancur based on nationalistic sentiments, when in reality both men were mestizo with questionable motives.⁸ Still, Betancur was well established in Cusco and didn't pose a threat to the status quo. The Cusco elite thus declined to support Tupac Amaru's position. In the subsequent rebellion, as well, the Cusco nobles took an opposing position and aligned themselves with the Crown against Tupac Amaru's calls for a restoration of the Inka Empire under his rule.⁹ Tupac Amaru, however, did maintain the Cusco nobility's basic historical assertion: that because Atahualpa was illegitimate, the Inka line of succession went through Huayna Capac's other sons. Thus

for each, denial of Atahualpa's legitimacy remained crucial to claims of privilege, and the continuity of the Inka genealogy into the colonial era.

Evidence suggests, however, that outside of Cusco Atahualpa was not such a problematic figure, which underscored the presence of a regional bias in the construction of the Inka past. In Quito, for instance, where some of Atahualpa's descendants achieved social prominence, his claim to be a legitimate Inka was upheld as a way to position local nobles above those in Cusco.¹⁰ It is unclear whether the local embrace of Atahualpa as an ancestor had any effect on arts produced in the Quito region and, in fact, there is little evidence of an established tradition of painted representations of the Inka dynasty in Ecuador. Only one Inka genealogical painting is documented for the region, a lost family tree owned by Alonso Florencia Inka, a mestizo cacique of Ibarra. Curiously, rather than promoting Atahualpa's legitimacy, the painting emphasized don Alonso's descent from Huascar. As such it perhaps reflects don Alonso's family connection to Cusco's indigenous nobility. Don Alonso's case is extraordinary in many respects, but whether the painting of his lineage was also unusual or indicative of a larger trend cannot be determined.¹¹

The Inka and the Spanish Monarchs: Alonso de la Cueva's Composition

Around 1725, indigenous congregations, or possibly specific confraternities, in Lima and elsewhere commissioned large canvases measuring over six feet tall and eight feet wide, that depicted the Inka lineage succeeded by the Spanish Kings (Figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3).¹² In all of them, the composition is divided into four registers. In the upper center is the image of Christ enthroned, flanked by two coats of arms, and a lengthy text detailing the history of

Peru from the rise of the Inka to the conquest. In the upper corners are two full-length portrayals of the Inka founding couple, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, while the lower three registers display bust portraits of each ruler. Today, one of those paintings is housed in Lima's Cathedral (Figure 5.1); another is in the city's Beaterio de Copacabana, which was founded for the daughters of the region's indigenous elites and is attached to an important indigenous parish church (Figure 5.2). A third is located in the Convento de San Francisco in Ayacucho, a predominantly indigenous highland town (Figure 5.3). Recent investigations by Luis Eduardo Wuffarden have proved that the canvas now located in the Cathedral was moved there in the twentieth century. He suggests that it was originally commissioned for the church of Our Lady of Cocharcas, which was another local church that housed important indigenous confraternities.¹³ To my knowledge, there exist no documents pertaining to the commission of these paintings, but their locations in churches where the parishioners were overwhelmingly indigenous suggest that they were commissioned by indigenous patrons.¹⁴

Notably, all three versions include Huascar and Atahualpa. Textual glosses placed below the likeness of each ruler hint at some ambiguity concerning the latter's legitimacy, saying simply that he was "hailed" (*aclamado*) king of Cusco after killing his brother, but Atahualpa is not called a bastard or a tyrant. Furthermore, here both Atahualpa and Huascar are definitively incorporated into the lineage of Peruvian rulers, where they are listed as the thirteenth and fourteenth Inka respectively. In the Ayacucho version the captions have been removed, leaving no indication that Atahualpa's position in the lineage was potentially subject to dispute. Some scholars have suggested that similar compositions merging the Inka and Spanish ruling dynasties must have been existed in Cusco as well.¹⁵

There is no incontrovertible evidence to support such claims, however, and the absence of that compositional type in Cusco is unsurprising considering the local nobles' aim to base their privilege on the continuity of their lineage into the colonial period. Documentary accounts, however, do confirm that a version, now lost, did exist in Potosí, attesting to the widespread dissemination of that compositional subset of paintings of the Inka dynasty.¹⁶

It is possible that another example of a painting that merged the Inka dynastic lineage with that of Spain was in the collection of the Guarachi family, a lineage of caciques from the Lake Titicaca region of present-day Bolivia who claimed descent from both the Inka and local Aymara rulers who had controlled the area before their conquest by the Inka. In a will dated 1734, José Fernández Guarachi listed his possession of “a large canvas with the Inka and Spanish kings” (*un lienzo grande de los reyes ingas y españoles*).¹⁷ Assuming it followed the same basic composition in merging those two genealogies, it is probable that Atahualpa was included; however, a later version owned by the same family ends the lineage with Huascar (see Chapter 6). Thus the question of the composition of the Inka dynasty in the Guarachi canvas is inconclusive.

The paintings displaying the combined Inka and Spanish lineages were modeled after an engraving produced for the creole priest Alonso de la Cueva Ponce de León around 1725 (Figure 5.4). The original context of the engraving remains obscure, and while it was well known in eighteenth-century Peru, the last known copy of it disappeared shortly after it was published by the historian José Imbelloni in 1946.¹⁸ The surviving painted versions commissioned by indigenous congregations, however, altered the source in significant ways. Whereas in Cueva's engraving the Inka is crowned with a headdress composed of four flared

tiers, which Dean suggests may have been inspired by an Ottoman turban, Lima's indigenous elites reverted back to the traditional mascapaycha and llautu.¹⁹ The paintings also change the hairstyle of the Inka from Cueva's model, shortening it significantly, and elaborate the Inka's costume to include a feathered sipe and tocapu patterns on the Inka's tunics. Thus, the costume featured on the canvases is closer to that of Pre-Columbian Inka dress than the costume depicted in Cueva's engraving.

Those differences in dress have led to debate about the relationship between Cueva's engraving and the surviving paintings. Buntinx and Wuffarden, for instance, originally suggested that at least one of the canvases predated the engraving, which was then copied from it.²⁰ More recently, investigations by Wuffarden have proved that the canvases were painted after the engraving.²¹ Thus the change in the appearance of the Inka was deliberate. Additionally, there is debate concerning the location of the paintings' manufacture. The painted versions return to a more Inka-style dress has led Gisbert, for one, to argue that they must have been made in Cusco.²² The paintings undeniably replicate Inka dress as it was known in colonial Cusco as seen, for instance, in the Corpus Christi paintings. However, as Wuffarden asserts, all indications point to the paintings' having been manufactured in Lima, although, he suggest, possibly by Cusco artists then resident in Lima.²³

There is some reason to suspect a Cusco link to those paintings. Whereas in Cusco, Inka costume, particularly the mascapaycha, remained a potent symbol of elite status, worn by members of the Inka cabildo and the alféreces on festival occasions, the same was not the case in Lima. The vicergal capital had a small indigenous population (in 1614 only eight percent of Lima's population was indigenous while in Cusco the majority of the population

was indigenous), which, furthermore, was not united around a corporate identity as descendants of the Inka, making those symbols of Inka identity less potent.²⁴ According to one observer of an Inka masquerade that took place in Lima in 1659, “no longer do the Indians in this city keep their dress or customs” (*ya los indios en esta ciudad ni conservan sus trajes ni costumbres*).²⁵

Nevertheless, those features of costume, in and of itself, are not proof of the origin of either the canvases or its painters. It is not implausible that the Cusco-style features of Inka dress had been copied from paintings made in Cusco, and, indeed, paintings of the Inka, which we are told were manufactured in Cusco, were on display in eighteenth-century Lima. For example, Amédée Frézier, an agent of the French government, claims he saw a series of paintings of the Inka, which had been made by Cusco artists in Lima in 1714. The copy he made of one of the paintings, depicting the founding couple Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, reveals that that series portrayed the Inka in Cusco-style dress, with an elaborate tocapu-patterned tunic and llicla, and, for Manco Capac, a sipe, llautu and mascapaycha (Figure 5.5). That Cueva’s engraving did not reproduce known features of Inka dress suggests that accuracy was not his principal concern. Still, the inclusion of the mascapaycha in the painted canvases does not necessarily prove either the place of origin or the ethnic hand of the artist.

The question of the location of the paintings’ production points to larger problems that continue to affect our understanding of regional painting styles in colonial Peruvian art. Certain images, of which paintings of the Inka dynasty are one kind, have been assumed to be from the Cusco area because of their subject matter. No doubt Inka themes had greater resonance in the southern Andean highlands, but that is insufficient evidence, by itself, to

securely determine the location of a work's production. In fact, the Lima version of the marriage of Beatriz and Martín hung in the Beaterio de Copacabana, home to an important indigenous confraternity that also commissioned one of the paintings based on Cueva's composition. The Beaterio, a religious house for devout women who were not cloistered or bound by the strict vows of the convent, was built in the seventeenth century for the daughters of confraternity members.²⁶ The date of the Beaterio version of the *Matrimonio* painting is uncertain but the possibility exists that it served as a source for the Inka iconography of the painting housed in the same location, and may explain the changes from its engraved model.

While the indigenous patrons of those paintings altered some aspects of Cueva's iconography, keeping Atahuallpa in the composition was not problematic for its Lima audience. As noted above, in contrast to the situation in Cusco, the indigenous elites of Lima were not very numerous. Indigenous confraternities did have an important role in the religious life of the city, but Lima's religious festivals were unlike those in Cusco, where the yearly festivals of Santiago and Corpus Christi allowed the indigenous population the opportunity to parade through the city's streets dressed in their Inka finery.²⁷ Civic festivals, especially those accompanying the accession of a new monarch, however, were another matter. These were infrequently held, and will be discussed further in the following chapter. The records we have of those events tell in which people dressed as the Pre-Columbian rulers paraded through the streets and main plaza. For example, the 1723 celebrations for the marriage of Louis Ferdinand, the Prince of Asturias, featured an impressive procession of Pre-Columbian figures, which included the Inka lineage from

Manco Capac to Huascar (in this case Atahuallpa was excluded); the Gran Chimú, the ruler of the Pre-Columbian north coast kingdom of Chimor that was conquered by the Inka around 1473; and Cusimanco, who according to Garcilaso was a ruler of the Pachacamac valley south of Lima before its incorporation into the Inka Empire.²⁸ In this case, the Inka did not appear as the sole representatives of the Pre-Columbian past but were accompanied by people dressed as other figures from Andean history. In fact, few of the indigenous elites in Lima staked their status on Inka descent, instead claiming hereditary privileges via rulers who were not ethnic Inka.²⁹ Furthermore, although some in Lima did claim direct descent from the Inka, noble privilege, in the form of holding a *cacicazgo*, was not a primary determinant of elite status in Lima and, unlike Cusco, it was not even a prerequisite for membership in the city's indigenous *cabildo*, which was composed instead of merchants and tradesmen.³⁰ The community of indigenous elites in Lima was less well organized than Cusco's Inka-centric nobility and did not strictly adhere to a certain version of Inka history.

The painted genealogies commissioned by Lima's indigenous confraternities reveal the different relationship to the Inka past, as well as the different role of genealogy in conferring social privilege, in Lima as opposed to Cusco. Whereas in Cusco, the descendants of the Inka advanced their own claims to nobility based on their descent from natural lords as a way to secure individual privileges, the Lima paintings instead use the Inka past in order to advance rights on behalf of the community.

In mid seventeenth-century Lima an indigenous tailor named Nicolás Ayllón gained fame for his acts of religious devotion. Shortly after his death in 1677, a campaign for his beatification began. Although never canonized, as Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs has shown,

local recognition of the saintliness of an indigene served to assuage persistent fears that the indigenes remained idolatrous, thereby signaling the success of conversion and extirpation campaigns.³¹ Furthermore it allowed Lima's indigenous population to press for inclusion in institutions, such as the clergy, from which they had been barred by a colonial state that questioned the authenticity of their Christian devotion.³²

Between 1691 and 1695, the interests of Peru's indigenes were represented in Madrid by Juan Núñez Vela, a mestizo cleric from Arequipa.³³ Estenssoro has credited Núñez Vela with many of the favors that Peru's indigenous elites obtained from the Crown between 1690-1750, including a real cédula of 1697 in which Charles II confirmed that indigenes could enter religious orders and that indigenous nobles were entitled to the same privileges as nobles of Spanish descent.³⁴ Enforcement of those decrees, however, was another matter entirely. Throughout the eighteenth century Spanish monarchs continued to address problems concerning the treatment of the indigenous population, and constantly had to defend them against the colonial administration, which was less sympathetic to the rights of the indigenous population.

Buntinx and Wuffarden have stressed the links between Núñez Vela's advancement of a pro-indigenous political agenda at court and the iconography of Cueva's composition.³⁵ In that composition Charles II and Philip V hold slips of paper alluding to their decrees in favor of the indigenous population, which are further highlighted in the accompanying captions (Figure 5.6). The text under the depiction of Charles II, listed as the nineteenth king of Peru, states that "in his royal decree he ordered that the Indians not be excluded from secular and ecclesiastical positions" (*mando por su real cedula que los indios no sean*

excluidos de los cargos seculares y eclesiásticos) while Philip V “ordered by royal decree to execute and complete that of Charles II in favor of the Indians” (*mando por su real cedula executar y cumplir la de señor Carlos II a favor de los indios*). In his correspondence with Lima’s indigenous elites, Núñez Vela suggested that they express their thanks to the king in a visual form, which Buntinx and Wuffarden credit as the inspiration behind the commission of the canvas.³⁶ The thirty year gap between that letter and the production of the composition, however, calls into question a simple and direct connection between Núñez Vela and the painted genealogy.

Curiously, there is a discrepancy here between text and image. Philip V, who reigned twice, having abdicated in 1724 in favor of his son, Louis I, only to take over once again after his successor’s premature death a few months later, is shown holding the *cédula* in his first appearance in the painting, despite the fact that it was issued during his second as noted in the text. Philip V acceded to the Spanish throne only after a protracted war against England and Austria, which contested his succession. Charles II had died childless in 1700. Philip, a member of the French royal house of Bourbon and grandson of Louis XIV, was named heir to the throne, but the rest of Europe’s fears of a powerful union of France and Spain prompted the contestation, which was not resolved until 1714. The compositional symmetry produced by placing the *cédulas* in the hands of the two successive Spanish monarchs serves to naturalizes a dynastic shift between the Habsburg and Bourbon ruling houses, and erases the trauma of that accompanied the dynastic shift in actuality.

As Wuffarden notes, a similar visual tactic is evident in the painting’s depiction of another moment of violent transition, the change from Inka to Spanish rule.³⁷ Atahuallpa

hands his scepter to Charles V, an act that plays a crucial role both compositionally and symbolically. Although contained in discrete roundels, the two rulers' gestures and gazes bridge the space between them, thereby visually linking the two dynasties and projecting continuity (Figure 5.7). Atahualpa submits voluntarily to Spanish rule but the submission does not transpire as the result of his military might. Charles points upwards to an apparition of the cross in a way that recalls the iconography of Constantine's vision of the cross as depicted by Renaissance artists such as Giulio Romano (Figure 5.8).³⁸ According to legend, the cross appeared before Constantine on the eve of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. In Romano's version, the Roman Emperor stands poised on a pedestal elevating him above the swirling mass of surrounding troops. He raises his eyes and his arm toward the sky, where dark clouds have just been dispersed to reveal a heavenly vision of the cross carried by three angels. Despite his look of astonishment, the emperor retains the composure proper to his exalted status. Constantine went on to achieve victory over his rival and became sole emperor of Rome, which subsequently became a Christian empire. In the paintings, Charles, the Holy Roman Emperor, is shown replicating the deeds of his predecessor in founding a Christian nation. Also like Constantine, Charles is dressed in armor with his sword held idle against his shoulder to show that his conquest of the Inka was divinely ordained, rather than solely the product of earthly power and military skill.

The paintings commissioned by Lima's indigenous elites rewrite conquest history to imply that the Inka did not contest Spanish rule but rather willingly submitted to it. This was a deliberate strategy. It presents the Inka, and by association the indigenous elites, as loyal vassals of the Crown and good Christians. This was not entirely new or even remarkable. In

the *Discurso* Paullu is described as the first indigene to convert to Christianity. The painting of Alonso Chiguantupa, a conquest-era ancestor of the eighteenth-century *alféreces* Marcos and Luis discussed above, shows a similar ploy (Figure 4.2). Unlike the portraits of his descendants, who dress in Spanish clothes, don Alonso is depicted in Inka garments. Held aloft in his right hand is a radiant cross. As in the Cueva composition, the cross is a symbol of conversion and the gloss accompanying Alonso's image claims that he was the first Andean to convert to the new religion introduced by the Spaniards.³⁹

What is new here, is the motivation and the historical implication. Whereas the *Discurso* and the painting of Alonso Chiguantupa aimed to advance the position of a specific family, the Lima canvases instead were directed toward the interests of the community at large. In that context Atahualpa emerges as an important link. Atahualpa had, according to the Spaniards present, willingly converted to Christianity and pledged fealty to Spain before his execution.⁴⁰ The paintings show Atahualpa, under the sign of the cross, voluntarily bequeathing his domains to the Holy Roman Emperor. Atahualpa is thereby contributing to Christianity's advancement toward universal supremacy, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, was closely identified with Charles V's reign. Atahualpa's donation proved the Andeans were true Christians deserving of equal treatment and access to religious office. Furthermore, because the kings of Spain, as presented in the paintings, were God's agents in realizing the faith's advancement, their power did not derive exclusively from their temporal authority. The composition implies their responsibility for ensuring the Christian treatment of their subjects.

While Lima's indigenous elites may have lacked a strong corporate identity as Inka, the paintings reveal that they made effective use of the Pre-Columbian monarchs as a unifying symbol to advance their collective agenda. The Inka were no doubt at the forefront of indigenous consciousness as well because of the 1723 republication of Garcilaso's *Royal Commentaries*, which roughly corresponds to the paintings' manufacture.⁴¹ The Inka lineage presented in the paintings is based on Garcilaso, whose history inserts a new ruler, Inka Yupanqui, into the genealogy between Pachacuti and Tupa Inka Yupanqui. According to most conquest-era accounts, Inka Yupanqui was not a different ruler, but a variant of Pachacuti Inka Yupanqui, who later added "Pachacuti" to his name. The painting thus shows an extended dynasty of fourteen Inka, including both Huascar and Atahualpa.

The 1723 republication of Garcilaso's *Royal Commentaries* would have great consequences for Peru and shape memory of the Inka from that point forward.⁴² Even Cusco's Inka nobles would begin to recognize descendants of the previously unacknowledged Inka Yupanqui, a change reflected in the records of the Inka cabildo.⁴³ Like Garcilaso's king's list, and despite the changes made to the painted versions, Cueva's iconographic innovations, especially the four-tiered crown, would also become dominant and affect nearly all painted representations of the Inka that followed.

Summary

Throughout the eighteenth century, paintings of the Inka were commissioned by Peru's indigenous elites, yet these elites did not act as a single group, and the motivations underlying their patronage of the paintings varied, especially according to region. Whereas

Cusco's Inka nobles commissioned paintings as part of a strategy to advance the claims of individual families, there was also a strong corporate identity among them. Their claims rested on a distinct construction of the Inka past that denied the legitimacy of Atahualpa and of the Vilcabamba Inka. To the Cusco Inka nobility, Tupac Amaru posed a threat because his version of Inka history threatened to undermine the history that they had constructed in order to advance their status and privilege.

Outside of the Cusco nobility, the identity of indigenous elites was not rooted in a direct connection with the Pre-Columbian Inka, and their identity not so closely bound up with a specific understanding of the Inka lineage and the history of conquest. As a result, they had greater flexibility with their constructions of the Inka past. The paintings made after Alonso de la Cueva's engraving suggest a different, if related, role of Inka history in shaping colonial privilege from that of expressed in paintings for the Cusco nobles. Lima's indigenous elites were guided by their desire for greater inclusion into colonial society, for gaining access to religious orders, among other institutions. Their access rested on both their noble status, and on an insistence that they were truly Christianized. To that end, Atahualpa re-entered the dynasty, not as a defeated enemy, but as a willing participant in the Christianization of the Andes, who had voluntarily abdicated his own rule to Charles V. Yet, at the same time, Spain's rule was envisioned not as the triumph of a superior military but as the will of God. As such, the indigenous elites were also subtly asserting that their rights to inclusion in colonial society were granted by God, and that neglecting them risked undermining Spain's authority.

¹ John Rowe, "El movimiento nacional inca del siglo XVIII," *Revista Universitaria* 43, no. 107 (1954): 17-47; and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "la descendencia real y el 'renacimiento inca' en el Virreinato," in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 174-251.

² John Rowe, "Genealogía y rebellion en el siglo XVIII," *Historica* 6, no. 1 (1982): 65-85.

³ For discussion of the division between Tupac Amaru and the Cusco nobles, see David Garrett, "'His Majesty's Most Loyal Vassals': The Indian Nobility and Túpac Amaru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 4 (November 2004): 575-617; and David Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Inka Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 183-210.

⁴ Garrett, "His Majesty's Most Loyal Vassals," 607; and Garrett, *Shadows*, 205-206.

⁵ Garrett, *Shadows*, 202-204.

⁶ Garrett, "His Majesty's Most Loyal Vassals," 610.

⁷ For an analysis of the strength of each claimant, see David Cahill, "First among Incas: The Marquesado de Oropesa Litigation (1741-1780) en route to the Great Rebellion," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 41(2004): 137-166.

⁸ Cahill, "First among Incas," 137-141.

⁹ The rebellion was, of course, motivated by more than a personal grievance of Tupac Amaru; local and regional politics, social disruption, and economic reforms that disaffected the masses, both indigenous and otherwise, were factors underlying and exacerbating the uprising. For more on the causes of the rebellion, see Steve J. Stern, "The Age of Andean Insurrection: a Reappraisal," in Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness*

in *the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 34-93; Magnus Mörner and Efraín Trelles, “The Test of Causal Interpretations of the Túpac Amaru Rebellion,” in Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 94-109; Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Peru y Bolivia, 1700-83* (Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1988); Ward Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru: Conflict, Community and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); and Garrett, *Shadows*, 183-195.

¹⁰The eighteenth-century Jesuit historian Juan de Velasco provides one of the vindications of Atahualpa in Quito’s nationalist imagination; see David Brading, *The First Americas: the Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 415-416; and O. Hugo Benavides, “Archaeology, Globalization, and Nation: Appropriating the Past in Ecuador,” in Helene Silverman and William Isbell, eds., *Handbook of South American Archaeology* (New York: Springer, 2008), 1065-1066. In one case, descendants of Alonso Tito Atauchí, who in Cusco claimed a connection with Huascar, when they were in Quito emphasized their connection to Atahualpa; see Carlos Espinosa, “El Retorno del Inca: Los Movimientos Neoincas en el Contexto de la Intercultural Barroca,” *Processos* no. 18 (2002): 13-14.

¹¹ For don Alonso and his use of Inka iconography, see Carlos Espinosa, “Portrait of the Inca: Aesthetics and Politics in the Audiencia of Quito,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1990.

¹² Wuffarden, “la descendencia real,” 232-240.

¹³ Wuffarden, “La catedral de Lima y el triunfo de la pintura,” in *La Basílica Catedral de Lima* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2004), 284.

¹⁴ My own attempts to find any documentation of the paintings in the records of the Beaterio de Copacabana in Lima’s Archivo Arzobispal and the National Archive were unsuccessful. Later variations on the composition are also known. One is housed in the Museo de Maipu in Santiago, Chile, while another was recently offered for sale in the United States. Teresa Gisbert illustrates and discusses the Santiago canvas, and argues for a nineteenth-century provenance. The other painting, although in poor shape, appears to be closely related to the Santiago example in terms of style and iconography, suggesting that it too was produced in the nineteenth century. Photographs of this painting were provided to me for study purposes by Barbara Anderson, formerly of the Getty Research Institute. Attempts to contact the dealer with regards to the painting’s current whereabouts were unsuccessful. Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. (La Paz: Gisbert, 2004), 133.

¹⁵ For example, see Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad: la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532-1750*, trans. Gabriela Ramos (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2003), 500. A painting owned by Pedro Saperó, a cacique in Cusco, has been discussed as another candidate for a painted version after Cueva’s engraving. At his death in 1725 Saperó owned a painting, described as a “lienso de mas de retrato de yngas de dos varas” (a canvas with more than the portrait of the Inka, two varas large). The date is consistent with the popularity of Cueva’s composition. Nevertheless, the description is too vague to affirm definitively that the painting contained the portraits of the Spanish kings in addition to those of the Inka. Moreover, it seems highly

unlikely that the notary would not have confirmed the presence of the Spanish monarchs. For the assertion that Sapero owned a painting after Cueva's composition, see Wuffarden, "la descendencia real," 240. Sapero's will is found in ARC, Not., Francisco Raya y Andrade, prot. 241 (1724-1726), f. 415r-417r.

¹⁶ Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, vol. II, eds. Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1965), 265.

¹⁷ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 167. For more on the Guarachi family, see Martha de Aguirre Urioste, "Los caciques Guarachi," *Arte y Arqueología* 7 (1981): 31-40.

¹⁸ Imbelloni, *Pachakuti IX (El Inkario Crítico)*, (Buenos Aires: Joaquín Torres, 1946).

¹⁹ On Cueva's crown as a turban, see Carolyn Dean, "Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru," in Donna Pierce, ed., *Exploring New World Imagery* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005), 87.

²⁰ Gustavo Buntinx and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Incas y reyes españoles en la pintura colonial peruana: La estela de Garcilaso," *Márgenes* 4, no. 8, (December 1991): 155.

Scholars continue to debate the identity of the engraver responsible for executing Cueva's design; see Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 131-132; Buntinx and Wuffarden, "Incas y reyes," 156; and Wuffarden, "la descendencia real," 232.

²¹ Wuffarden now proposes that although the Cathedral painting was not the model for Cueva's engraving, that is was not a copy of it either, and that both were based on a common preliminary drawing, Wuffarden, "la descendencia real," 233, 251 n.140.

²² Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 133.

²³ Buntinx and Wuffarden, "Incas y reyes," 155; and Wuffarden, "la descendencia real," 238.

²⁴ The demographic collapse of Peru's indigenous population due to disease, etc., after the arrival of the Spaniards was much more severe along the coast than in the Andean highlands, Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru 1520-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 151; 215-6. For the relative proportion of Cusco's indigenous elites to those in other areas of Peru, see Garrett, *Shadows*, 42-3.

²⁵ Agustín Salas y Valés, quoted in Karine Périssat, "Los Incas representados (Lima- siglo XVIII): ¿supervivencia o renacimiento?," in *Revista de Indias* 60 no. 220 (2000): 628.

²⁶ Nancy E. van Duesen, *Between the Sacred and the Wordly: the Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 140-1, 143; Nora E. Jaffary, *Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 90. Nevertheless, Spanish women were not excluded, as is apparent in the lists of beatas, see AAL Beaterio de Copacabana, leg. I.

²⁷ For indigenous confraternities in Lima, see Paul Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima, Peru, 1532-1824* (Lanham, MD: University press of America, 2001), 113-146.

²⁸ Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries of the Inca*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 379.

²⁹ Charney, *Indian Society*, 79-102.

³⁰ Charney, *Indian Society*, 92-99. The most famous Lima family to claim descent from the Inka was the Ampuero family, who descended from the sixteenth-century union of Inés Huayllas Yupanui, a daughter of Huayna Capac and a mistress of Francisco Pizarro, and Francisco de Ampuero, one of Lima's first regidores, see John Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 268-269, 468.

³¹ Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 493-498.

³² Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 493.

³³ In Peru, restrictions to mestizo entry into the clergy were not always strictly enforced, although, because of discrimination, they remained a rare occurrence. Sabine Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas: the Extraordinary Life of Blas Valera S.J.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003), 180-181.

³⁴ Estenssoro, *Del paganismo*, 493-498. For discussion and reproduction of some of the Spanish correspondence of Núñez Vela, see Pablo Macera, *El Inca Colonial* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2006).

³⁵ Buntinx and Wuffarden, “Incas y reyes,” 164-168.

³⁶ Buntinx and Wuffarden, “Incas y reyes,” 166-7.

³⁷ “la descendencia real,” 233.

³⁸ I thank Charlene Villaseñor Black for drawing my attention to this connection.

³⁹ A transcription of the painting’s text is found in John Rowe, “Colonial Portraits of the Inca Nobles,” in Sol Tax, ed., *The Civilization of Ancient America: Selected Papers of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 267.

⁴⁰ Hemming, *Conquest*, 79-80.

⁴¹ For an extended discussion of the impact of the republication of Garcilaso’s *Royal Commentaries* on the painting’s creation, see Buntinx and Wuffarden, “Incas y reyes.”

⁴² The republication of the *Royal Commentaries* is often credited as a factor in fomenting rebellion during the eighteenth-century, particularly that of Tupac Amaru who was known to have a copy. The prologue to the 1723 edition explicitly prophesizes the coming restoration

of Inka rule; see John H. Rowe, "El movimiento nacional inca del siglo XVIII," *Revista Universitaria* (Cusco) no. 107 (1954): 17-47; Cahill, "The Politics of Nostalgia," in Peter T. Bradley and David Cahill, eds., *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination and Memory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 113.

⁴³ These have been partially published in Amado, "El Alférez Real de los Incas: Resistencia, cambios y continuidad de la identidad inca," in Jean-Jacques Decoster, ed., *Élites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes colonials* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartholomé de las Casas," 2002). What remains of the proceedings of the electors, which describes their lineage affiliations, may be found in ARC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias leg. 29, exp. 620, cuad. 17.

Chapter 6: Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and Indigenous Identity: the Influence of Rebellion and Independence

Paintings of the Inka dynasty reached the height of their popularity among Peru's indigenous population in the eighteenth century. Because the genre was able to demonstrate the nobility of the Pre-Columbian past, the paintings functioned to strengthen their claims to a colonial privilege that was rooted in a socio-political concept central to Spanish culture. This was true even as various communities of indigenous elites had different relationships to that past. Yet, by the end of the century, the genre's popularity experienced a dramatic decline. Scholars have long pointed to the effects of Tupac Amaru's rebellion in 1780, specifically the ban on expressions of Inka identity, to explain the drastic reduction in the paintings' production; nevertheless, the impact of that ban, I will argue below, has been overstated.¹ The decline of the genre among Peru's indigenous elites, especially in Cusco, was real; however, there were other factors that contributed to that decline, which have been overlooked.

For indigenous elites throughout the Andes, but especially for the Cusco nobles, the genre was bound up in their claims to noble status. While Tupac Amaru exploited his self-proclaimed identity as the sole-surviving descendant of the Inka royal lineage to fuel the symbolic power of his rebellion, the Cusco nobles declined to take part, and sided with the Crown.² Nevertheless, the ultimate result of the rebellion was to lessen the role of the indigenous nobility in the colonial social order. Although the noble status of Peru's Inka

elites was challenged, in part, because of fear of renewed drives for autonomy, it was also bound up with contemporary political philosophies of republican rule that were then gaining traction. As the importance of nobility decreased, so did patronage of paintings of the Inka dynasty among indigenous elites. Those few that were produced in the new post-Tupac Amaru and post-Independence socio-cultural milieu revealed changing roles for those Pre-Columbian monarchs in the construction of their descendants' identity. This was most apparent in Cusco. As the orthodoxy of the Inka nobles' version of the past lost its *raison d'être*, new constructions of the Inka past became available. Paintings of the Inka dynasty produced after 1780 reveal changes in the identity of the Inka past, which were due as much to new political realities as they were to prohibition of the genre.

The Impact of Tupac Amaru

Tupac Amaru's Great Rebellion jolted the colonial administration and provided Spaniards with a convenient excuse to attack the privileges of the colonial indigenous elites. Like other Spaniards in the colonial administration, the royal inspector, José Antonio de Areche, had already been leery of the continued use of symbols of the indigenous past and the uprising gave him the incentive to call for the end of their use.³ In his 1781 call for suppression of displays of nostalgia for the Inka, Areche singled out paintings (see Chapter 1 for a partial transcription of his decree). Despite Areche's desire to forbid all expressions of Inka heritage, the decree ultimately issued by the crown in 1782 was less forceful, exempting paintings from the prohibition.⁴

That Areche's decree had some effect is undeniable. Already the focus of Areche's suspicions because of his refusal to forcibly denounce the rebels, Dr. Don Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, the creole bishop of Cusco, responded positively to Areche's decree and embraced efforts to suppress memory of the Pre-Columbian past.⁵ He had all paintings of the Inka on display in ecclesiastical institutions, including the Colegio de San Borja, removed. However, his authority did not extend beyond the jurisdiction of the Church. While paintings visible in the public sphere were easy targets of official scorn, those that remained in the private sphere were another matter entirely. There remain no documents that attest to widespread destruction of paintings of the Inka in private hands. Indeed, as David Garrett notes regarding the prohibition on cultural products tied to Inka memory, "execution fell far short of the intent and language of the laws."⁶

In Lima, for example, genealogies of the Inka and Spanish monarchs appear to have been untouched. This is true as well for the version located in Ayacucho. Natalia Majluf, acknowledging that the reach of Areche's orders is unknown, suggests that those compositions were spared because they explicitly affirm Spanish authority.⁷ Yet, as I have argued in the previous chapter, building on earlier remarks by Buntinx and Wuffarden, those compositions are not the simple loyalist depictions that they first appear to be.⁸

A recently discovered eighteenth-century portrait of doña Manuela Tupac Amaru, which had been covered over by a later religious image is an interesting case (Figure 6.1).⁹ Although the fact of its repainting has been used as proof of the success of Areche's campaign, there are a number of reasons to be hesitant of that interpretation in the absence of additional documentary proof.¹⁰ Doña Manuela was the mother of don Diego Betancur, the

rival to Tupac Amaru, and it was through her that he claimed his legitimacy as a descendant of the Inka. Standing against a dark background, her pose conforms to the portrait conventions of colonial ñustas (Figure 4.6). Wrapped in a finely woven lliclla, her costume additionally includes fashionable lace sleeves. Her left hand is outstretched, touching a table; whereas other portraits of colonial ñustas show them touching a mascapaycha as an emblem of noble status, that is not the case here. Nevertheless, her nobility is implied by the inclusion of Paullo's coat of arms, which has been placed in the canvas' upper right corner, and which emphasizes her a direct descendant of the Pre-Columbian Inka. In the other corner is an additional coat of arms, in this case that of Castille and Leon, identified by the paired turrets and heraldic lions. Thus, in addition to documenting her connection to the Inka, doña Manuela is also emphatically maintaining her allegiance to Spain. That the Betancur family's attempts to gain the marquesado de Oropessa were wrapped up in their claims to being the Crown's most loyal vassals presents an impediment to the interpretation that painting over the image was intended to help crush the independence of the Inka nobles.¹¹ Multiple other interpretations are possible. For example, perhaps Areche's decree had indirect effects, and the family elected to paint over the portrait to prove their loyalty to the Crown.

Furthermore, the presumed destruction of paintings of the Inka is an explanation that is ultimately unfulfilling since it denies the continued importance of Inka identity among Cusco's Inka nobility. By the end of the eighteenth century, if not before, whatever restrictions had been instituted began to ease in Cusco and its surroundings. The title "Ynga," frequently employed among the region's indigenous elites as a sign of their noble lineage,

continued to be used despite its ban and the Inka cabildo continued its annual election of the *alférez real*, although the practice was briefly terminated between 1785 and 1788.¹²

However, Tupac Amaru's rebellion did have significant fallout for the Cusco nobility. Able to withstand the onslaught on a cultural level, the Cusco nobles nevertheless were severely weakened as a political unit. The recognition of hereditary authority, both for indigenous *caciques* and the Inka nobility, came under scrutiny.¹³ Increasingly, *creoles* replaced Andeans as *caciques* and in 1789 Cusco's Inka nobles were stripped of their privileges unless they could prove their nobility by presenting their official credentials. As Carolyn Dean has shown, in the wills of the Cusco nobles, heirloom letters patent which granted nobility and the use of coats of arms were specifically passed down to the primary heir.¹⁴ Thus the Crown's action resulted in the pruning of cadet branches and, although the Inka cabildo remained intact until independence, there was a dramatic reduction in the rolls of Cusco's Inka nobility.¹⁵ Whereas before Tupac Amaru, recognition of one's noble status was a matter of consensus within the community of Cusco nobles, now legal documents were required. The new need for legality over custom would have affected paintings as well. No longer could presenting one's portrait wearing a *mascapaycha* suffice as evidence of one's noble status, as it had for doña Manuela's son Diego Felipe de Betancur (see Chapter 4). Thus, the reuse of the canvas may imply a shift in the value of the painted image. If portraits could no longer be used to document social status and the privileges that came with it, thereby removing the major function of paintings of the Inka for their Cusco descendants, what good were those paintings?

One effect of the assault on the Inka nobility can be seen in a shift in marriage strategy as Cusco's indigenous elites more actively sought to combine their families with creole lineages.¹⁶ Although not entirely new—for example Paullu's son Carlos had married a Spanish woman—the strong corporate identity among Cusco's Inka nobles had promoted endogamous unions in the past. In theory, if not always in practice, recognition as an Inka noble and membership in the group of twenty-four electors required pure indigenous blood, barring mestizos from the community.¹⁷ The breakdown of those practices suggests a weakening of a regulated group identity among the Cusco nobles.

Paintings of the Inka and Independence

While the value of the genre for Cusco's Inka nobility declined, indigenous patrons did not cease their patronage of paintings of the Inka dynasty full stop. One effect was that the Inka past was broadened to accommodate a national, rather than strictly personal, identity. In 1816 the creole Tucumán Congress met to declare the United Provinces' (Argentina and Bolivia) independence from Spain and to sketch out parameters of a post-Spanish state. Among those in attendance was José de San Martín, the general who would be responsible for liberating Lima from the royalists in 1821. He, along with others, hoped to maintain a monarchical structure with the head of state to be known as "Inka," rather than "king." The title was intended as a symbol of South America's unique history and expressive of its identity as separate from Spain.¹⁸ Inka royal blood, however, was not a prerequisite.

Nevertheless, talk of a renewed "Inka" monarchy may have prompted some families to continue to use family ties to stake a position in the new republican political sphere. One

example may be the Guarachis, who Natalia Majluf has proposed, used paintings in a vain effort to advance claims to a ruling position in new government.¹⁹ As discussed previously, in the eighteenth century, they had owned a painting that depicted the united lineage of Inka and Spanish kings. Now, in the fervor for independence, that painting offered no advantage for their personal ambitions, which may explain its disappearance and possible destruction. Yet their genealogical connections remained important to them and the old image was replaced with a new version, produced around the time of Independence, designed to garner favor in a republican environment (Figure 6.2). The painting is based on the Cueva composition, probably the canvas already in the family's possession, but contains numerous changes. First, the bust format has been replaced with full figured depictions of the Inka. More significant is the omission of the Spanish kings and, assuming he was included in the family's earlier version, Atahualpa. Additionally, the history of the Inka inscribed in the upper portion has been altered to advance the family's position. According to the gloss, after the Biblical flood and well before the Inka came to power, 140 kings ruled Peru, including an ancestor of the Guarachi family, Apo Guarachi, who controlled the area from Desaguadero, next to Lake Titicaca, to Charcas (La Paz). The lineage ends with Huascar who, as the gloss affirms, left no male heir. The text suggests that if an indigenous monarch was sought to lead the new state, their family's deep noble roots should put them in contention.

An incomplete variant of that composition exists in the Brooklyn Museum (Figure 6.3). Only the textual glosses and the final row of Inka remain, cut away from a larger canvas at some unknown point in time, for unknown purposes. The glosses also mention Apo Guarachi, implying that this version also belonged to the Guarachi family. Curiously, in

this case, Atahualpa is included. The aberration is curious. Perhaps it is a colonial-era version of the composition but its fragmentary state makes any conclusions tenuous.

Whatever hope indigenous elites had that their Inka lineages might have provided them a political advantage in the new government quickly met up against reality. In 1825, shortly after defeating the royalist forces and ending colonial rule, Simón Bolívar triumphantly entered Cusco, where, in true republican fashion, he decreed an end to the local nobility and hereditary titles.²⁰ Paintings of the Inka dynasty continued to be produced for indigenous elites in Cusco after that date, although much less frequently, but they no longer did so to emphasize their patrons as heirs to social and political privileges based exclusively on Inka descent.

An important example of the post-independence shift of paintings of the Inka dynasty in Cusco away from statements of privilege rooted in genealogy is a biombo painted in 1837 by Marco Chillitupa Chávez, possibly a member of the once prominent Inka noble family, the Chillitupas (Figure 6.4).²¹ Composed of six panels that were hinged together and painted on both sides, each panel is divided into three registers containing busts of the Inka and coats of arms on the front, and floral designs and allegorical figures on the back. The biombo's depiction of the Inka dynasty differs notably from earlier versions. The costume the Inka wear is not based on the colonial-style Inka dress typical of Cusco paintings but is modeled after the dress in Cueva's engraving. Furthermore, the biombo depicts the royal lineage from the founding couple through Atahualpa.²² Also following Cueva's composition are the inclusion of two coats of arms, placed in the upper register of the center two panels. Occupying the dominant position on the left where the Spanish coat of arms was placed in

colonial era compositions, is the coat of arms for the Inka Empire. On the right is the new seal of the Peruvian nation, a shield divided into three parts: the bottom half depicts a cornucopia against a red background while the space above is divided in two parts, one containing a tree and the other a llama. To the side of the shield are four flags, two on each side, which are divided horizontally with a broad white stripe sandwiched between two red ones, representing the new flag of the Peruvian nation. The relative positioning of the heraldic devices gives the Inka the pride of place, the foundation of the new nation state.

Although the Spanish monarchs have been omitted from the dynasty, a single republican era figure has been inserted to conclude the series. Mounted on horseback, he is labeled only as “El Libertador del Peru.” Teresa Gisbert identified the figure as San Martín, although “The Liberator” is a title more commonly associated with Bolívar.²³ Majluf has suggested, given that the painting dates from the period of the Peru-Bolivian confederation (1836-1839) headed by Andrés de Santa Cruz, that “The Liberator” refers to him instead. Santa Cruz was a mestizo who claimed Inka descent through his mother and was from a prominent cacical family near La Paz, thus his mestizo heritage made him the ideal embodiment of the new nationalist sentiments.²⁴ In either case, dressed as a republican military commander, the painting references a nationalist construction of the Inka past as the foundation of an independent Peruvian state, rather than one that specifically addresses the social privileges conferred to a single family.

The Construction of the Inka Past in Nineteenth-Century Cusco: The Vindication of the Vilcabamba Inka

One member of the now extinguished Inka nobility, Justo Sahuaraura, continued to invoke his descent from the Inka. Sahuaraura, a prebend in the Cusco Cathedral, traced his descent to Huayna Capac through Paullu, thus making his family one of the most elite in colonial Cusco.²⁵ Yet, as with others, after independence, in terms of social and political rights, that lineage was no longer useful. Between 1836 and 1838 Sahuaraura wrote a book entitled *Recuerdos de la Monarquía Peruana*, which was published in Paris in 1850. A history of the Spanish conquest of the Inka, it is also a treatise advancing his position as the sole direct descendant of the Inka dynasty. Although a familiar declaration, it is odd considering that there was no longer any tangible advantage attached to it. Majluf plausibly suggests that his goal may have been simply to perpetuate his family name.²⁶

A notable feature of Sahuaraura's history is its inclusion of the Vilcabamba Inka. Conforming to colonial Cusco-centric accounts of Inka history, Atahuallpa is omitted, dismissed as a bastard.²⁷ Despite Sahuaraura's descent from Paullu, he recognizes Manco Inka's legitimacy. Nevertheless he does so in a way favorable to his ancestor. He claims that Paullu was elected Inka after the deaths of Huascar and Atahuallpa, but that he refused the position, which he instead bestowed upon his older brother, Manco.²⁸ With the death of the final Vilcabamba Inka, Manco's line, he asserts, was terminated. Unbelievably, although mentioning Beatriz Clara Coya and her daughter, he claims not to know what happened to their line. The Inka lineage, therefore, transferred back to Paullu's line, "who, for lack of older brothers, obtained the right to the Imperial Crown, by being Huayna Capac's son, and

brother to Huascar Inka and Manco Inka, . . . according to the documents possessed by the Sahuaraura Inkas.”²⁹

To substantiate his genealogical claims, Sahuaraura’s book contains images of the Inka dynasty, including his own portrait, and coats of arms granted to members of his family (Figure 6.5). Sahuaraura is seated in a chair wearing a cleric’s garb identifying him as a man of the church, with the Inka coat of arms pendant in the upper left. Those two levels of identification are neither inconsistent nor disjointed. Rather, his portrait conveys that descendants of the Inka are good Christians, a strategy that stretches back to Paullu’s turn as *alférez real* in the earliest celebrations of Santiago in colonial Cusco. The published lithographs are based on Cueva’s engraving, the now ubiquitous tiered headdress crowning all the Inka but the final four (Figures 6.6a,b). Huascar and the three Vilcabamba Inka, however, are instead shown wearing a colonial version of the llautu and mascapaycha.

Sahuaraura’s agent, Juan Centeno, took the manuscript to Paris and oversaw its publication.³⁰ However, in the manuscript version, now in the Guita and José Mindlin library in Brazil, the illustrations are different from those in the printed version and are not modeled after Cueva’s engraving (Figures 6.7a,c,d).³¹ The portrayal of Manco Capac, for instance, shows him in profile accompanied by a lion and with a bird perched on his extended left hand, features that directly cite the seventeenth-century engravings of the Inka lineage published by Herrera, thus pointing to that engraving as Sahuaraura’s source (Figure 6.7b). There are other modifications as well. Although Herrera included Huascar in his engraving, in Sahuaraura’s manuscript, that Inka’s costume is modeled after Cueva’s composition, including the tiered crown and patterned shield (Figure 6.7c). The use of the Cueva headdress

in paintings made for a member of the former Inka rulers suggests that once the Inka nobles had been stripped of power, the mascapaycha lost its authority as well. Its use no longer policed, the mascapaycha faded from memory and was easily substituted with Cueva's fanciful version. Another notable alteration of the manuscript image in the published version is the omission of Paullu (Figure 6.7d). In the manuscript, Paullu is pictured in a medallion surrounded by laurel wreaths, and wears the Cusco version of the mascapaycha, visually signaling his inclusion in the dynasty of Inka rulers. Considering Paullu's key role in Sahuaraura's history, it is odd that his image was excluded from the printed version. Why those changes took place is unknown but it was most likely Centeno's doing.³²

Acamayo's Molina de los Incas

A final late composition of the Inka dynasty from the Cusco area should be mentioned here as well. In Acomayo, located about fifty miles south of Cusco, sometime around 1830, Tadeo Escalante, a local artist who had also worked in Cusco, painted the interior walls of one of the town's mills with depictions of fourteen Inka and three coya, along with various allegorical and religious figures (Figure 6.8a).³³ On one side wall are depictions of the lineage from Manco Capac through Yahuar Huacac (Figure 6.8b). Separated from the Inka architecturally by a rafter and pictorially by landscape features, the mural next shows Mama Huaco and Mama Ocllo accompanied by dwarf attendants who hold parasols above their heads (Figure 6.8c). The dynasty continues on the opposite wall, ranging from Viracocha to Atahualpa, who stands next to a large coat of arms, which is flanked on the other side by an unnamed coya and her dwarf attendant (Figure 6.8d)

positioned opposite the depictions of Mama Huaco and Mama Ocllo. The coat of arms is imaginary, but contains Inkaic elements, including a llautu and mascapaycha hanging above it. The red and white flags on its side indicate a post-Independence date since red and white were the colors of the flag for the new nation state. Because of her placement alongside the insignia, Jorge Flores Ochoa suggests that the unnamed coya functions as an allegory of the nation.³⁴

Escalante was a mestizo and his connection to the Inka nobility, if any, is unclear. Supposedly he was a descendant of Atahuallpa, although, since Atahuallpa had no known colonial ayllu in the area, that seems highly unlikely.³⁵ The use of Cueva's iconography of Inka dress suggests Escalante's lack of familiarity with the heirloom costumes so highly valued by the colonial Inka nobility. This is not altogether surprising given its distance from Cusco. Additionally, two generations after the Great Rebellion, Inka nobility had little political value, thus prompting the rapid disappearance of the mascapaycha even in its presence in the form of festival regalia.

Acomayo was located in the area of Tupac Amaru's control during the rebellion, and members of the Escalante family, possibly the artist's relatives, aided the rebel cause.³⁶ Small figures on horseback located directly underneath the coat of arms on the mill's wall may reference events from the rebellion. If so, as Majluf suggests, the unnamed coya could also allude to Tomasa Tito Condemayta, a local cacica who sided with Tupac Amaru.³⁷ More important, however, is that the figures are positioned under an imagined coat of arms with flags alluding to the new nation state, which is itself placed at the end of the lineage of the Inka. The Great Rebellion thus provides a key link between the two, transforming the

rebellion into a proto-nationalist event conducted to vindicate the Inka. Placing Atahauilla next to the coat of arms that combines Inka symbols with the national flag forges a direct connection between the Inka past and the republican present, erasing the colonial period as a time of oppression at the hands of the Spaniards. Once again, rather than overtly expressing family ties, in the Acomayo murals the Inka has been transformed into a national symbol.

Summary

There can be no doubt that a dramatic decline in the production of paintings of the Inka for indigenous patrons occurred in the wake of Tupac Amaru's rebellion. Yet, interpretations that see change as a result of undocumented campaigns of destruction on part of the colonial administration should be reconsidered. On one hand, those interpretations disallow for the agency of the indigenous community in responding to the new political realities. Instead, by emphasizing the functional aspects of paintings of the Inka dynasty, particularly among Cusco's Inka nobles, new interpretations become possible. The value of paintings of the Inka and their colonial descendants changed. They could no longer served as documents of noble status and thus could no longer support individual's claims for social privilege.

With Independence, the value of paintings of the Inka dynasty for the indigenous elites received a further blow. The new republican political system did not recognize inherited noble status, thereby erasing the genealogical privilege that the paintings had conveyed for centuries. Although some paintings were produced into the nineteenth century, the function of the paintings had changed. Rather than advance noble social status, they could

only convey family history removed from political utility. That shift did allow them to articulate a national, rather than personal history. But removing the reasons for much indigenous patronage of the images contributed to the decline of the genre.

¹ For example, Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. (La Paz: Gisbert, 2004).135-136; Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “la descendencia real y el ‘renacimiento inca’ en el virreinato,” in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 240.

² See David Garrett, “‘His Majesty’s Most Loyal Vassals’: The Indian Nobility and Túpac Amaru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* vol. 84, no. 4 (November 2004), 575-617.

³ An earlier viceroy, the Conde de Superunda, had likewise expressed concern that festival performances of Inka identity might prove destabilizing to the colonial state; see Wuffarden, “la descendencia real,” 244.

⁴ David Cahill, “The Inca and the Politics of Nostalgia,” in Peter T. Bradley and David Cahill, eds., *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination and Memory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 107; Gisbert, 139.

⁵ Leon Campbell, “Rebel of Loyalist? Bishop Juan Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta and the Tupac Amaru Revolt in Peru, 1780-1784,” *Revista de Historia de América* 88 (1978), 135-67. Moscoso issued his own, even more extreme condemnation of the use of Inka symbols just weeks after Areche’s, see Cahill, “Politics of Nostalgia,” 107.

⁶ David Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 216.

⁷ Natalia Majluf, “De la rebelión al museo: Genealogías y retratos de los incas, 1781-1900,” *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 254-255.

⁸ Gustavo Buntinx and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Incas y reyes españoles en la pintura peruana: la estela de Garcilaso,” *Márgenes* 4, no. 8 (1991): 151-210.

⁹ Francisco Stasny, “El arte de la nobleza inca y la identidad andina,” in Enrique Urbano, ed., *Mito y simbolismo en los Andes: la figura y la palabra* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas", 1993), 139.

¹⁰ Majluf, “De la rebelión” 256; Stasny, “El arte de la nobleza inca,” 139.

¹¹ Garrett, “His Majesty’s Most Loyal Vassals,” 575-617.

¹² Garrett, *Shadows*, 228-231.

¹³ Garrett, *Shadows*, 211-231.

¹⁴ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 246 n.34.

¹⁵ Garrett, *Shadows*, 231-233.

¹⁶ Garrett, *Shadows*, 237-8.

¹⁷ For example, the mestizo Diego Felipe de Betancur was appointed as one of the electors shortly before his death, see Garrett, *Shadows*, 204.

¹⁸ Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-making in Spanish America 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) 43-6.

¹⁹ Natalia Majluf, “De la rebellion al museo,” 266-270. See also Phipps, Hecht, and Esteras Martín, cat. no. 156, 364-365.

²⁰ The institution lingered for many more years, however, especially in the countryside, Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 209-212.

²¹ The Chillitupa family, claiming descent from Viracocha and Inka Roca, held the cacicazgo of Oropesa and some members served as electors in the Inka cabildo. One member of the

family, don Marco Chillitupa, was involved in a rebellion against the colonial administration in 1814, which was led by both Inka nobles and creoles; see Garrett, *Shadows*, 245-246, 250.

²² The opposite side of the biombo depicts decorative floral motifs and figures from Classical mythology. For discussion and illustration of the biombo's other side, see Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 176-177; Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín, eds., *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 366.

²³ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 175-178.

²⁴ Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo," 283.

²⁵ Ella Temple Dunbar, "Un linaje incaico durante la dominación española: los Sahuaraura," *Revista Histórica del Instituto Histórico del Perú*, vol. 18 (1949): 45-77.

²⁶ Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo," 282.

²⁷ A recent facsimile edition is Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca, *Recuerdos de la Monarquía Peruana o Bosquejo de la Historia de los Incas* (Lima: Fundación Telefónica, 2001).

²⁸ Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos*, 89-90.

²⁹ ". . . a quien por falta de los hermanos mayores le tocaba el derecho a la Corona Ymperial, por ser hijo de Huayna Ccapac, y hermano de Huascar Ynca y Manco Ynca. . . segun los documentos que existen en poder de los señores Sahuarauras Yncas." Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos*, 91.

³⁰ Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo," 281.

³¹ Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo," 279-281.

³² Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo," 281.

³³ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 174.

³⁴ Jorge Flores Ochoa et al., *Pintura mural en el Sur Andino* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 1993), 262. Gisbert suggests that the coya was included for purely decorative reasons, in order to maintain the composition's symmetry, *Iconografía*, 173.

³⁵ Both Gisbert and Flores Ochoa say that he descended from Atahualpa, however they do not state the source for those claims, *Iconografía*, 174; *Pintura Mural*, 288.

³⁶ According to Gisbert, they may also have been related to Tupac Amaru's wife, Micaela Bastidas. *Iconografía*, 174.

³⁷ Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo," 289.

Chapter 7:

Paintings of the Inka and the Construction of Colonial Creole Identity

Natalia Majluf has proposed that only with the waning power of the Inka nobles in the aftermath of Tupac Amaru's Great Rebellion could creoles assume the image of the Inka for their own nationalist ends.¹ Tupac Amaru's rebellion provides a convenient chronological marker; however, the Inka nobles lost power not exclusively because of that event, but as part of a broader decline in the social value of noble status. The assault on local nobility began with the Bourbon Reforms, which saw the monarchy attempt to assert its absolute control over colonial elites. It was clinched with the creation of a republican state. However, while indigenous peoples were the primary patrons for paintings of the Inka dynasty during the colonial era, it would be a mistake to overlook creole patronage and its significance for the formulation of creole identity. As far back as the early eighteenth century, paintings of the Inka dynasty had formed part of creole attempts to articulate a local history.

This chapter documents creole involvement with depictions of the Inka during the colonial era. While paintings of this period are few, their documentary traces are combined with an investigation of the role of the Inka past in a creole imaginary that is best characterized as proto-nationalist. This proto-nationalism was not initially rooted in a drive for political autonomy, and, with the exception of the Tucuman Congress of 1816, the Inka were not upheld as a model for a local rule. Rather, the Inka served ultimately to enhance the prestige of Spain and of the creoles as Spanish subjects. Yet by acknowledging a past that

was not identical to that of Spain itself, creoles opened the door to formulating a history that could serve as a foundation for an independent identity.

Paintings of the Inka and the Colonial Creole Construction of Local History

Paintings of the Inka played a key role in the construction of a creole imaginary during the colonial period because the creole imaginary did not emerge principally as a way to distinguish creoles from Peru's indigenous population. This was especially true in Lima, since the capital's indigenous population was quite small, unlike that of Cusco. Before the Enlightenment institutionalization of race as the major component of difference, which became solidified by the nineteenth century, hierarchies in Peru's ancien régime society were erected at the interface of ethnicity and social position. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has argued that colonial Latin America's ancien régime social structure, in which the aristocracy and the clergy were naturalized as inherently superior, produced what to us seems like a paradoxical situation in which creole literati could embrace indigenous elites and Pre-Columbian civilizations while simultaneously dismissing the indigenous masses as degenerate.² His analysis focuses principally on Mexico but there is little doubt that the situation in Peru was broadly similar. It is not my intention to diminish the very real ethnic division between creoles and indigenous Andeans, which other scholars have addressed.³ Instead, I want to draw attention to how colonial creoles fashioned their identity in contrast to *peninsulares* (peninsular Spaniards).

Tensions between the Spanish inhabitants of Peru and the Crown and its representatives existed as far back as the sixteenth-century *encomendero* revolts. Only later, however, did creoles begin to imagine themselves as a distinct community both related to but separate from Spain. As Benedict Anderson explains, emergent national identities gained legitimacy by envisioning their local origins in a deep historical past.⁴ Among Peru's creoles, that process was not smooth but discontinuous and contradictory, and unfolded over more than a century of colonial rule.⁵ Rooted in a genealogy of Peru that joined the Inka and Spanish monarchs, along with other important personages whose lives imbued the physical space of Peru with its distinct character, paintings of the Inka dynasty formed part of the construction of that local history. The incorporation of both Europeans and Andeans into the creole construction of their national history in no way erased differences between the creole and indigenous communities, which creoles were always careful to maintain. During the colonial era, however, the main thrust of Peru's dynastic history was to differentiate creoles not from Andeans but from Iberian Spaniards (*peninsulares*).

Cueva's engraving: a Jesuit Critique of Crown Policy?

Alonso de la Cueva, the creole author of the engraving that provided the model for paintings joining the Inka and Spanish monarchies (Chapter 5; Figure 5.4), provides a point of entry into a discussion of creole engagement with depictions of the Inka dynasty. The engraving imagines a peaceful transition from Inka to Spanish rule, erasing the violence of the conquest, which has led modern observers to call it a loyalist composition.⁶ But, according to Gustavo Buntinx and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, the composition commissioned

by Cueva, an ecclesiastic, lawyer and historian, revealed his support for the indigenous elites by promoting their rights over the colonial administration's ongoing attempts at marginalization.⁷ Like them, in previous chapters I have attempted to qualify the interpretation of the composition as strictly loyalist, or categorically supportive of the Spanish monarchy, and emphasized that, for Andean elites, the paintings conveyed a loyalty conditional on the Crown's maintaining its duty to protect their rights and privileges.⁸ For the creole author of the composition, as well, a loyalist interpretation of the image deserves scrutiny. The original context of Cueva's engraving is unknown, making it difficult to ascertain what its purpose was for its creole creator. What is known about Cueva, however, calls into question the assumption that the engraving was intended as a pure statement of a loyalist position. Cueva was no apologist for the Crown and in 1749 he published *Concordia en discordia*, in which he condemned royal privilege and control over the ecclesiastic community.⁹

Concordia was published later in his life after Cueva had joined the Jesuit order but the earlier engraving anticipates a Jesuit critique of colonialism that arose in the late eighteenth century. In 1749 the Crown authorized the secular clergy to take over parishes that had been run by mendicants, leading to widespread claims of royal overreach and abuse of power.¹⁰ The Crown had unprecedented authority over the Church in its American territories that was based on the *real patronato*, or royal patronage. In place since the earliest years of Spain's presence in the America, the *real patronato* allowed the Crown to appoint church authorities and absorb church monies, including the tithe, giving it extraordinary control over the activities of the clergy and leading to tensions between church and state.¹¹ The Jesuit

order claimed allegiance only to the Pope, rather than the king as a secular authority, and it was exempt from the provisions of *real patronato*. Yet, because the Jesuits were a wealthy and powerful order, the Crown continually tried to exert control over them. Thus, by emphasizing the conquest of Peru as a divine mandate given to Spain, rather than a measure of Spain's temporal authority, the engraving alludes to the limits of Spain's power.

Additionally, the Jesuits formed a special bond with the indigenous population. They took charge of efforts to educate the indigenous population and founded schools for children of its nobility. They denied prevalent views that Andeans were inherently inferior as a race and argued instead that any ignorance they exhibited was due to their exploitation by Spaniards.¹² Having grown suspicious of Jesuit autonomy and influence with the indigenous population, Charles III expelled the order from all Spanish lands in 1767.¹³

Despite Buntinx and Wuffarden's suggestion that Cueva's composition reveals common cause between creoles and indigenous elites, it would be a mistake to extend that common cause to creole and indigenous populations in general. In 1735 the indigenous confraternity of San Agatón, connected to Lima's indigenous tailors' guild, brought a lawsuit against the Spanish confraternity of Jesús Nazareno, which was likely dominated by creoles, protesting the incorporation of that organization into the church of Copacabana.¹⁴ The church was located in the indigenous parish of San Lázaro and was founded in 1617 to house the image of Our Lady of Copacabana, a devotion of great importance to Peru's indigenous population.¹⁵ Although the church housed one of the paintings made after Cueva's engraving, the lawsuit hints at tensions and wariness on the part of the indigenous community regarding sharing what had traditionally been their space. Colonial society was a complex matrix of

ethnic and class allegiances. Because the Pre-Columbian Inka constituted an accepted aristocracy they, and to an extent their descendants, occupied a position of status in the social hierarchy. Yet, even those creoles who embraced Peru's Pre-Columbian history expressed little admiration, if not outright disgust, for the common indigene.

Creole Dynastic History of Peru and the Discourse of Loyalty

If the subtlety with which Cueva's engraving makes its critique of the Crown risks overdetermining that image's loyalist thrust, it also bears mention that censorship prevented publication of direct critiques of the Crown in the Viceroyalty. Criticism had to be couched within what Jerry Williams has called a "discourse of loyalty" by which creoles proffered praise to the Crown in a way that ultimately aimed to advance their own standing.¹⁶ Among Peru's secular creole intellectuals, while there is little evidence that representations of the Inka were used to undermine the Crown's authority, those representations were meant less to elevate Spain's authority than to promote the status of Peru as the most noble of the many kingdoms of the Spanish Empire.

According to Williams, that strategy is apparent in the writings of the creole polymath Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, whose work served as royal flattery, defending the Crown's sovereignty while at the same time insisted on cultivating a distinct identity for Peru.¹⁷ As part of the Spanish Empire, Peru, for Peralta, was implicated in the growing criticism of Spain as an empire that was in decline thanks to her own decadence and corruption. Peralta's professed allegiance to the Crown was therefore a way to elevate the status of his patria. Peralta's most elaborate construction of a distinct Peruvian identity is found in his poem

Lima fundada, o conquista del Perú, published in 1732.¹⁸ Taking the form of a heroic epic, *Lima fundada* traces Lima's history from the conquest to the present and advances a series of encomia of its illustrious inhabitants, including conquistadores, viceroys, bishops and other local personalities who had shaped the city's identity. Significantly, he does not exclude the Inka from his list. In subtly altering the city's official name, the City of Kings, to the City of the Kings of Peru, as Mark Thurner has stressed, Peralta asserts that the city's nobility was not dependent on the Spanish conquest, but was part of its historical pedigree.¹⁹

By promoting Peru as the most noble of Spain's kingdoms, Peralta positioned his homeland as Spain's future self. The earlier companion piece to *Lima fundada*, an unfinished history of Spain entitled *Historia de España vindicada*, defends Spain from her detractors but it also promotes as inevitable Peru's rise as Spain's replacement.²⁰ To make this argument, Peralta turns to the history of Spain itself. During the Roman Empire, Iberia had been just one of many provinces, but one that had been divinely ordained to surpass Rome's own glory, which occurred with the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.²¹ It was no coincidence for Peralta that Peru had been discovered and colonized during that emperor's reign, but rather it was a signal that Peru was ultimately destined to outshine Spain, as Spain had previously surpassed the glories of Rome. Thus, as was true of Spain, a Christian empire would be built on the foundations of a pagan one. In *Lima fundada* Peralta's protagonist, Francisco Pizarro, is likened to Aeneas, who similarly was responsible for founding a new empire (Rome) from the ashes of another (Troy). Classical analogies had long been used to make sense of the Americas and the monuments of the Inka frequently were compared to those of Rome.²² Despite his deference to the absolute authority of the monarchy, by

emphasizing Peru's exceptionalism based on the genealogy of her rulers and famous citizens, Peralta helped lay the foundations of creole self-fashioning.

Another of Lima's creole intellectuals, José Eusebio del Llano Zapata, likewise incorporated the Inka into a dynastic model of Peru's history.²³ His 1778 manuscript, *Epítome cronológica o Idea general del Perú*, housed in Madrid's Real Academia de la Historia, contained a depiction of the Inka dynasty, first published by Wuffarden (Figure 7.1).²⁴ The ink and wash drawing extends across the folded folio. Like Peralta, Llano Zapata does not mourn the demise of the Inka Empire but celebrates it as a necessary foundation of the more important period of Christian rule. The upper portion of the composition is anchored by the Inka founding couple of Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, who stand in a landscape accompanied by three attendants. Manco Capac faces left, holding a staff in his extended hand. Mama Huaco stands to his right, and slightly behind him. The grouping of the Inka and coya, along with the curious double-headed ceramic vessel on the ground in front of them, betrays the artist's use of Frézier as his source (Figure 4.5; Figure 8.1). The composition's lower half is organized around a depiction of the capture of Atahualpa at Cajamarca, placed in the lower center. The two images are on the same central axis, thereby formally linking the beginning of the Inka era with its end and implying the inevitability of the latter. But the end of Inka rule simultaneously marks the beginning of Peru as understood by creoles such as Peralta and Llano Zapata.

In this lower portion of Llano Zapata's drawing, Atahualpa stands in the background, both arms held by Spaniards. That pose is based on an engraving published earlier by Theodore de Bry (Figure 7.2). Beginning in 1590, de Bry, a Protestant printer who fled to

Nuremberg in the wake of Spanish religious persecution in the Low Countries, published translated accounts of the New World in a collection of ten volumes known as the *America*, or *Great Voyages*, series (after de Bry's death in 1598, his son and son-in-law continued the project). Although many of the writings had been previously published, de Bry's collection was innovative in its inclusion of quality copper plate engravings.²⁵ In de Bry's portrayal of the capture of Atahualpa at Cajamarca, included in the sixth volume of the series, the Inka struggles as a Spaniard grasps his leg, pulling Atahualpa from his litter. Amidst the chaos that surrounds that central event, Spanish soldiers massacre the lightly armed indigenous troops, who are depicted as largely defenseless. De Bry's engravings had an immeasurable role in promoting the Black Legend of Spain's cruelties in the Americas. Although ultimately based on that engraving, Llano Zapat's drawing of Atahualpa's capture radically transforms the message, both to vindicate the Crown and also Peru's creoles.

Two new figures stand in the foreground. On the left, a Spaniard on horseback and on the right, Fray Valverde, who bends forward, his face turned outwards to engage the viewer directly, his hand gesturing towards an open book on the ground in front of him. Since the earliest Spanish accounts, and indeed the earliest Spanish depictions, of conquest, Atahualpa's alleged casting aside of a religious text, his symbolic rejection of Christianity, formed the key event that justified the Spaniards' capture of the ruler.²⁶ Thus the inclusion of Valverde and the book transforms de Bry's original depiction of that moment of the Inka's capture from a condemnation of Spanish actions and gives it a justification. Valverde's outward gaze seems to plead with the viewer for recognition of the necessity of conquest, and to convey that a new Christian era has properly begun.

Filling the space between those two images are medallions containing bust portraits of the Inka modeled on Herrera's engraving. The depictions of the Inka extend in chronological order from the upper right, and end with Atahualpa's portrait medallion in the upper left corner of the composition. As is frequently the case, numerous modifications have been made from the source. Herrera's lineage does not include either Inka Yupanqui or Atahualpa, both of whom are included here. As a result, despite retaining the likenesses from Herrera, in several cases they do not correspond with the same individual. For example, the depiction of Atahualpa is based on Herrera's depiction of Huascar, while Huascar's likeness is based on Huayna Capac's from Herrera's engraving. Because there is an additional Inka in Llano Zapata's drawing, which contains fourteen rather than thirteen Inka, Viracocha's likeness is entirely new. Llano Zapata's drawing of the Inka dynasty is thus a pastiche stitched together from multiple published images, a document that both venerates the Inka dynasty within Peru's history, and by including the capture of Atahualpa at Cajamarca, makes a clear statement about the Inka as an era, long since ended, that has been necessarily and rightly replaced by a Christian kingdom.

The artist of the drawing in Llano Zapata's manuscript is unknown. Wuffarden has suggested it was Ramón de Arechaga y Calvo, since a copy of his 1773 depiction of the Inka complex of Sacsahuaman is also included in Llano Zapata's volume (Figure 7.3).²⁷ The ink drawing shows the famous "fortress" perched on a rock outcrop overlooking the city of Cusco. The buildings of the colonial city are clearly visible in the left side of the composition, but it is the Inka architecture that is the image's focus. The hill rises steeply from the town, where three levels of semi-circular terracing mark Sacsahuaman's southern edge. Three

zigzag walls are prominently positioned, forming a diagonal line extending across the right half of the composition and following the contours of the topography from the upper right to the central fold. The giant polygonal masonry of those Inka walls were a marvel of Inka engineering that continues to impress visitors to the site. On the summit of the hill, the artist has placed an unspecified, generic royal Inka couple and two attendants. The Inka looks back to his coya, gesturing towards the city, as though he were an architect showing off his creation. The incorporation of the Inka and coya standing atop Sacsahuaman reinforces the structure's Inka origins. Furthermore, the Inka's gesture connects him to the colonial city of Cusco, albeit at a distance that is both spatial and temporal. Positioned on a hill in the foreground are two European figures surveying the landscape, showing the European eye that is able to make sense of those strange structures.²⁸ Llano Zapata's drawings indicate that the Inka provide Peru's historical foundations, but also imply that the previous era is firmly in the past, and can only be interpreted and understood through the lens of European knowledge.

Clearly Llano Zapata's artist had access to Arechaga's original watercolor, of which the drawing contained in his manuscript is almost an exact copy (Figure 7.4). Still, in my opinion, the two versions do not correspond closely enough in the details to let us definitively attribute the later drawings to Arechaga. Arechaga, a military engineer, paid close attention to the particulars of the geology around Sacsahuaman. On the left side of his drawing he indicates Rodadero hill (labeled as "E"), notable for its "Inka throne" and the discernable vertical striations natural to the rock outcrop.²⁹ In Llano Zapata's copy, however, the striations are barely indicated, replaced with a dark wash used to model the landscape and create perspective. Additionally, the walls of Sacsahuaman are rendered in regular courses,

whereas Arechaga's version correctly shows the polygonal cut of the stones composing the massive walls. The absence of those unique features suggests that the artist of the later drawing had never seen the famous Inka site, or at least had not studied it closely as had Arechaga.

The Inka Dynasty Performed

Cueva's engraving was produced around 1725, concurrent with the amplification of the Inka in Lima's civic festival cycle. Celebrations of important dynastic events, for example, the double marriage between the Spanish and French royal families in 1723 and Louis I's coronation in 1724, included festival portrayals of the Inka dynasty.³⁰ Peralta recorded the 1723 pageant in his *Jubilos de Lima*, paying particular note to the parade of members of the indigenous community dressed to represent the Inka monarchs.³¹ The 1725 celebration, recorded by Jerónimo Fernández de Castro, included three days during which the local indigenous population paid homage to the new king. On January 26, an elaborate pageant took place, in which thirteen Inka, beginning with Huascar and ending with Manco Capac, each accompanied by a retinue of dancers, musicians, ambassadors and guards, all richly costumed, paraded through the plaza, concluding in front of the balcony of the archbishop's palace to hail the new king.³² Accompanying them was an attendant carrying a pike emblazoned with the coats of arms of Spain and Tawantinsuyu, the latter of which had been granted to the descendants of Huascar in 1535. Those dual coats of arms further recall Cueva's composition, wherein both appear in the topmost register, flanking the image of Christ enthroned. Civic festivals celebrating occasions important to the Spanish dynasty used

the model of dynastic history to uphold the authority of the Crown, but they also allowed creoles to envision a local history upon which they would build a national identity.³³

Dynastic displays of the Inka in the colonial festival cycle were most common during the Bourbon era, but their origins stretched back into the period of Habsburg rule. In 1659, for instance, Lima celebrated the birth of prince Philip-Prospero. In his diary, Josephe de Mugaburu, a Spanish soldier who was a guard at the viceregal palace, recorded two different moments during the festival cycle that incorporated representations of the Inka. The first occasion, on December 2, was a performance enacted by members of the painters', sculptors' and carpenters' guilds. As described by Mugaburu, the guilds paraded floats around the plaza. The floats conveyed a variety of themes, from allegory (the four elements) to mythology (a figure of Atlas carrying the world to symbolize the king as a world emperor). One contained the figures of the viceroys and Inkas "who had governed this kingdom," although in this case, it seems, only eight Inka rulers were recognized.³⁴

On the final day of the celebrations, December 23, the Inka again made an appearance. A fort had been constructed in the plaza as a stage for a mock battle. An unnamed Inka king fought to take the fort from two other kings; upon his victory, all three kings together handed ("with dignity") the fort's keys to the festival representation of the prince.³⁵ Although Mugaburu does not characterize the play as religious in nature, there is no doubt that it was a derivation of the "moros y cristianos" performances that celebrated Spain's conquest of the Moors. The staged enactment stressed the preordained glory of the Spanish monarchy, as the prince symbolically defeated his heathen foes. The ethnicity of the two other kings goes unspecified but it is probable that they also represented enemies of Spain: Turks, Moors or

even Protestants, although more generic representations of Africans and Asians are also a possibility. In any case, the triumph of the prince was equated with the triumph of Catholicism.

Beyond Lima, the Inka were also incorporated into civic pageants. According to the creole chronicler of Potosí, Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, similar events had taken place in that city as far back as 1555.³⁶ However, Arzáns was writing in the eighteenth century and there are no sixteenth-century documents to confirm his account. Several scholars have proposed that Arzáns imagined the appearance of these early masquerades based on his experience of contemporaneous performances such as the entry of the newly appointed viceroy, Fray Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón, in 1716.³⁷ After his appointment as viceroy, Fray Morcillo, the Bishop of La Plata (Sucre), traveled from La Plata to Lima, making stops in the viceroyalty's important towns along the way.

The visit of the viceroy to Potosí is recorded in a monumental oil painting by the creole painter Melchor Pérez Holguín (Figure 7.5a). The canvas, housed in Madrid's Museo de América, is a documentary record of an actual event, the pageants accompanying the newly appointed viceroy's visit to the city, depicted in a monumental scale at over eight feet tall and twice as wide. In showing the pomp with which the town's citizens greeted the viceroy, however, it also operates as a distinct expression of creole pride in their city.³⁸ Three distinct moments in the viceroy's visit are depicted. The main scene, taking up the entire length of the canvas, shows the Viceroy and his retinue being led into the city behind a procession of soldiers dressed in fine baroque uniforms with their weapons slung over their shoulders. The townspeople have decorated the walls of the buildings with paintings and

tapestries, and the onlookers incorporate a wide variety of the local population, from finely dressed elite creoles to indigenous Andeans, both young and old, male and female. The viceroy is depicted under a canopy held by four men and has just passed under a triumphal arch, temporary structures that were made for such civic occasions. Above are two inserts, outlined in red to distinguish them as different moments, emphasizing that the celebration was a multiday event. The insert in the painting's upper center depicts a masquerade that took place at night in the city's plaza while the viceroy watches from the balcony of the cabildo (Figure 7.5b). Among the figures processing around the plaza, approaching the viceroy along the avenue that fronts the church, is an Inka carried on a litter shaded by a feathered parasol. Elsewhere in the plaza parade Ethiopians, Moors, and a float with an effigy of Cerro Rico, the mountain whose silver mines gave Potosí fortune and fame, all of which were features also highlighted in Arzáns's narrative of the event.³⁹ Ostensibly a celebration of royal authority through its representative, the viceroy, the festival allowed creoles to celebrate themselves, their ingenuity, and the local features and history (the Cerro and Inka) that gave their kingdom a unique identity from Spain's other kingdoms.⁴⁰

Like that of colonial literary culture, in Peru's festival culture adulation of the monarchy was subsumed under a celebration of local identity and history. While those celebrations were embraced by creoles, Spaniards remained wary that the unorthodox displays masked other loyalties. In 1750 there was an uprising in Huarochirí, an indigenous community near Lima, whose leaders had been among the participants in a 1748 masquerade of the Inka dynasty in the viceregal capital.⁴¹ The viceroy, José Antonio Manso de Velasco, the Count of Superunda, was particularly suspicious of the public display of indigenous

culture.⁴² Nevertheless, the Inka appeared again in the celebrations commemorating the coronation of Charles III that were performed in 1759.⁴³ While the fears of the metropolis were focused directly on the indigenous population, the Inka past, especially in Lima, was important for the creole construction of identity as well and allowed creoles to believe that the nobility of their patria entitled them to status equal to that of Spain's peninsular vassals.⁴⁴ It is important to remember that eighteenth-century rebellions, including that of Tupac Amaru, at least at its outset, were not aimed directly at the Crown, but at Peru's colonial government.⁴⁵ The discourse of loyalty allowed creoles to showcase their allegiance to the Crown while simultaneously imagining themselves as the equals of Spain.

Lima's Cabildo as Patron of Paintings of the Inka Dynasty

The organization of civic festivals was one of the principal duties of, and cause of the greatest expenses for, Lima's cabildo, or town council.⁴⁶ Also noteworthy is that the cabildo seems to have been a patron of paintings of the Inka dynasty. The cabildo was a principal locus for the incubation of creole identity and, in both paint and performance, its engagement with the Inka past foregrounds the importance of the Inka in the local historical imaginary.

The records of the meeting of Lima's cabildo on June 27, 1659, supply the first mention of a painting of an Inka in the viceregal capital.⁴⁷ It is unclear whether the painting was part of a larger series or a lone depiction, and, if the latter, which Inka was represented. Few details can be gleaned from the brief entry. The entry states only that a painting of the Inka then hanging in the halls of the cabildo was torn (*roto*). Members of the council voted, almost unanimously, to use funds set aside for public works to mend the canvas.⁴⁸ Guillermo

Lohmann Villena suggests that the painting may have been a portrait of Atahualpa, perhaps even a drawing that the conquistador Diego de Mora was said to have made of the Inka during his imprisonment, although that drawing may be apocryphal.⁴⁹ Teresa Gisbert, noting that among the extant corpus of paintings of the Inka Manco Capac is the most popularly depicted, proposes that Inka as a candidate for the cabildo painting.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the cabildo records give no additional insight and the painting's specific implications must remain speculative.

All the same, some general conclusions may be formulated. The overwhelming support for repairing the painting and desire to continue to display it in the government building suggests that the Inka past was not seen as particularly problematic, and perhaps even that a visual reminder of that past could support the institution's mission. As an organization, the cabildo was constituted at the moment of the city's foundation in a ceremony in which space was marked off for the cathedral, the central plaza, and government offices. Such foundations were one of Spain's primary civilizing rituals in the Americas and reveal the intimate connection between the cabildo and Spanish authority.⁵¹ Regardless of which Inka was depicted in the painting, it is probable that the image originally functioned principally as a symbol of conquest, which makes Lohmann's suggestion that it was Atahualpa particularly intriguing. Nevertheless, the cabildo was a social space composed of an ever changing membership in a city with an ever evolving identity, and within its halls, the Inka could not be a static symbol. If once a sign of Spain's imperial authority, the Inka would become one that advanced a unique and local history.

From its origins as an act of conquest and symbol of Spain's authority, the *cabildo*, which professed such loyalty to Spain's Habsburg monarchs, would begin to challenge royal authority under the Bourbon regime.⁵² Among the many sources of tension between *creoles* and *peninsulares* was the limited access *creoles* had to high social positions as members of the clergy or government. Each new viceroy would bring with him his own peninsular advisors and install family members in positions that were highly sought after by *creoles*.⁵³ The *cabildo* was one of the few government organizations in which *creoles* not only freely participated, but in fact dominated.⁵⁴

If that earlier painting of the Inka was a sign of Spain's dominance, then at least by the mid-eighteenth century paintings of the Inka had become part of the *cabildo*'s display of a local, *creole* identity, as a letter written by an anonymous French Jesuit attests. The missionary traveled to Peru sometime around 1750 and left a description of the viceregal capital. It was not altogether favorable. The viceroy's palace, he commented, was "neither beautiful in its architecture nor in its furnishings," adding that "the *cabildo* has no more distinction; one sees there only the history of the Indians and of their Incas, made by painters from Cuzco, who are the most able of the country."⁵⁵ Although it is possible that those paintings had long been housed in the *cabildo*, the elevation of Cusco as an artistic center, from which paintings were exported throughout the Viceroyalty, did not occur until the late seventeenth century; thus those canvases were most likely not part of the city's collection at the time of the 1659 report.⁵⁶ The Jesuit's description points to the Lima *cabildo*'s active cultivation of artistic representations of Peru's Inka past, which extended beyond festival

representations to also include paintings, which, like those civic festivals, were a means to incorporate the Inka into the local historical imaginary.

Creoles and Inka in Cusco

In Cusco, it was the Inka cabildo, not the Spanish cabildo, that organized festival displays of Inka identity, although not necessarily of their history. The descendants of the Inka dressed in Inka-style garments, but not in order to enact their famous ancestors, as was the case in Lima and Potosí.⁵⁷ Instead, those performances, as Carolyn Dean has shown, emphasized the continuing presence of the Inka dynasty, rather than its end.⁵⁸ The control that the indigenous elites exerted over Inka identity presented challenges to any would-be attempts by creoles to appropriate publicly the representation of the Inka. Nevertheless, there is still some indication that Cusco's creoles embraced the Inka past as part of their own self-fashioning.

In 1721 don Cristóbal de Rivas y Velasco commissioned the painter capitán Agustín de Navamuel to make a series of twenty-four canvases depicting the Inka and their consorts.⁵⁹ The contract documenting the commission specifies a set of twenty-four canvases, twelve depicting the Inka and the other twelve their coya, each with their appropriate attributes and insignia. The canvases were to be painted with fine colors and gilt, and each Inka and coya was to be identified by a placard placed at his or her feet. This is the only surviving artists' contract for paintings of the Inka dynasty from the colonial period. What makes it of further importance is that Rivas requested the paintings to be "in the same form as those that were painted for the most excellent viceroy by order of the marqués of

Valleumbroso.”⁶⁰ Rivas was not the only creole in Cusco to commission paintings of the Inka dynasty.

Don Diego de Esquivel y Navia, second Marqués of San Lorenzo de la Valleumbroso, was a leading citizen and corregidor in eighteenth-century Cusco. He hailed from a prominent family descended from the conquistador Rodrigo de Esquivel y Cueva and his extended kin included the most illustrious families in colonial Peru.⁶¹ His father, don Diego de Esquivel y Jarava, was granted the title of Marqués in 1687, the first noble title granted to a Peruvian creole. So prominent was the family at the end of the seventeenth century that parodies, only partially in jest, proclaimed: “En Madrid el rey, en Lima el virrey, en Cuzco, don Diego de Esquivel.”⁶²

The viceroy mentioned in the contract goes unnamed, but it certainly refers to Fray Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón, who in 1716 had passed through Cusco, as he had Potosí earlier, on his way to Lima to assume his post.⁶³ Furthermore, the paintings made for the viceroy were probably a copy of a set that was owned by the marqués. In Cusco, the Marqués played host to the new viceroy and, according to one source, displayed for him a set of paintings of the Inka, purportedly saying “Your Excellency, here are my ancestors.”⁶⁴ It is reasonable to assume that the viceroy admired the canvases, providing a motive for the gift.⁶⁵

Outside of the contract, our knowledge of that gift is filtered through an intriguing legal incident that sheds additional light on paintings of the Inka dynasty within the context of tensions between creoles and Spaniards. In the early eighteenth century, an altercation that took place on the streets of Cusco sparked years of legal wrangling between the Marqués of Valleumbroso and a Spanish merchant then resident in Cusco, Jerónimo de Losada. The

lawsuits would leave both men financially ruined. The two had long been enemies, a rivalry that in no small part had to do with matters of ethnicity and social status in colonial Peru.

Losada, a Spaniard, was angered by what he saw as unwarranted creole arrogance, frustrated by bad financial dealings with the Marqués and his father before him, and embittered that a creole, who in his view was inherently inferior to Spaniards, had obtained a noble title and its attendant social prestige. According to the Marqués' version of events, Losada had insulted him by refusing to cede him right of way on the city's streets, a respect that was due the city's *corregidor*.⁶⁶

In the course of the drawn out lawsuit, Losada decried the Marqués as haughty, thinking himself superior to true (peninsular) Spaniards. According to Losada “the Marqués arrogantly called himself ‘Apo’ [title of an indigenous lord] and descendant of the Inkas and [said] that the peninsular Spaniards should get out [of Peru].”⁶⁷ To substantiate those claims, Losada recounted the incident in which the Marqués referred to paintings of the Inka as depictions of “his ancestors” in front of the viceroy. In a letter to the court, Viceroy Morcillo denied the account, although which part he was denouncing is unclear—the exhibition of the paintings or, more likely, the Marqués' supposed claim that the Inka were his ancestors. Rivas's contract confirms that the Marqués' relationship with the Viceroy involved paintings of the Inka.⁶⁸

Whether or not the creole Marqués truly considered the Inka “his ancestors,” Losada's charge speaks to the connection between paintings of the Inka and genealogical privilege that, as discussed in previous chapters, was fundamental to the artworks' position in the visual culture of colonial Cusco. The major patrons of the paintings, the Inka nobles, used

them to manifest their illustrious lineages, and to assert their own prominence by association. It is understandable that Losada might have construed don Diego's display of paintings of the Inka dynasty as part of the same tactic. After all, don Diego was a titled noble but one without an Old World pedigree. Unable to showcase portraits of illustrious and noble Spanish ancestors to legitimate his title, the marqués may have decided that the Inka could provide a substitute.

There is another aspect to Losada's charge that bears mentioning. By declaring in court, a royal institution, that the Marqués claimed heritage from the Inka, Losada was implicitly questioning the Marqués' loyalty to the monarchy. If creoles recognized a heritage separate and distinct from Spain, could they truly be loyal vassals of the Crown? No doubt any connection the Marqués would have had to the Inka was symbolic, and not familial. While it was not uncommon for creoles to marry into indigenous families, there is no evidence that this was the case for the Marqués. Furthermore, in theory at least, purity of blood was a requirement for nobility.⁶⁹ As María Elena Martínez clarifies, this requirement referred not to ethnicity but religious affiliation, principally to Jews and Moors, who had rejected Christianity; the indigenous population, however, had never known, and therefore not rejected, Christianity, and was, accordingly, considered to be of pure blood.⁷⁰ Thus intermarriage of noble indigenes and Spaniards did not pose a threat to the maintenance of noble status. Nevertheless, Spaniards such as Losada were scandalized by intermarriage between creoles and Andeans and the insinuation that creoles were not pure Spaniards was no doubt Losada's way of implying creole inferiority.⁷¹ The force of the accusation turned on

the specter of mestizaje that constantly haunted creoles, and Losada used it as a way to question the marqués' loyalty to the Crown.

Summary

While creole patronage of paintings of the Inka dynasty was less pronounced than that of Peru's indigenous elites throughout the colonial era, it was far from non-existent. Indeed, for creoles, representations of the Inka formed a crucial component of creole colonial identity, and images of the Inka appeared in a wide variety of contexts, from public display on paintings and in civic performance, to illustrations of textual histories, to series of private paintings adorning the walls of houses of some of Peru's most important creoles. As local history, they provided a way for creoles to distinguish themselves from other inhabitants of Spain's vast empire.

The creation of a local creole identity centered on the Inka was not initially part of a campaign to defy Spain's sovereignty. Critique of Crown policies is implied in some pictorial representations of the Inka past, for example Alonso de la Cueva's engraving of the Inka and Spanish monarchs; however, never was it a condemnation of conquest. As Christians, creoles understood the defeat of the pagan Inka and their conversion to Christianity as progress. While they incorporated the Inka past into their own identities, that incorporation was in fact often a way to express their loyalty to the Crown, and to vindicate it in the face of attacks on part of other Europeans critical of Spain. Creoles did not promote the Inka as an alternative to Spanish rule, and found nothing inconsistent about praising both major components of their patria's history, the European and the Andean. Still, from the outside, it

was possible to misconstrue those twin loyalties as divided, thus introducing a degree of ambivalence concerning the place of the Inka in the creole imaginary. That ambivalence would continue to grow after Peru achieved independence from Spain in 1824.

¹ Natalia Majluf, “De la rebelión al museo: genealogía y retratos de los Incas, 1781-1900,” in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 257-258.

² Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002), 204-265.

³ See, for example, Celia Méndez, “Incas Si, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 197-225.

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

⁵ For the earliest expressions of a creole identity see, Anthony Pagden, “Identity Formation in Spanish America,” in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1989).

⁶ For instance, see Majluf, “de la rebellion,” 254-255.

⁷ Gustavo Buntinx and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Incas y reyes españoles en la pintura peruana: la estela de Garcilaso,” *Márgenes* 4, no. 8 (1991): 151-210.

⁸ For Cueva’s engraving as a loyalist expression see, Majluf, “De la rebelión,” 254-256.

⁹ Bernard Moses, *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1922), 542.

¹⁰ David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 492-497.

¹¹For the *real patronato* and tensions between the clergy and state, see Peter Bakewell, *A History of Latin America*, 2nd ed., (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 137-158.

¹² Brading, *The First America*, 427-464. Brading stresses a striking lack of limeño Jesuits' engagement in those critiques and no Peruvian Jesuit published great patriotic histories as did their Mexican counterparts. Much of the writing that was produced in Peru was in the form of pamphlets such as Cueva's, which, because of their rarity, have remained largely unstudied. Brading's statement must therefore stand as premature.

¹³ Bakewell, *History*, 290-292; Brading, *First Americas*, 497-502.

¹⁴ AAL Cofradías leg. 10-D, exp. 41 (1735).

¹⁵For the Lima confraternity and its importance to the local indigenous community, see Paul Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima, Peru, 1532-1824* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001), 120-131; for an overview of the creation of the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana and its relationship to Inka religious practices, see Verónica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997). On the role of the cult's confraternities in indigenous politics, see Carolyn Dean, "The Renewal of Old World Images and the Creation of Colonial Peruvian Visual Culture," in Diana Fane, ed., *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 174-177.

¹⁶ For Peralta's "discourse of loyalty," see Jerry Williams, "Popularizing the Ethic of Conquest: Peralta Barnuevo's *Historia de España vindicada*," in Ralph Bauer and José

Antonio Mazzotti, eds., *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 429.

¹⁷ *Pedro de Barnuevo and the Discourse of Loyalty: A Critical Edition of Four Selected Texts* (Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Latin American Studies, 1996), 9-19.

¹⁸ Scholars have yet to devote much attention to Peralta's works, many of which are only available in archives and special collections. Jerry Williams has published critical editions of some of the creole scholar's works, although many, including *Lima fundada*, have yet to benefit from such treatment. I was unable to access a copy of *Lima fundada* while conducting research for this study and my understanding of it is dependent on the works of other scholars cited herein.

¹⁹ Mark Thurner, "The As-if Book of Kings: Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo's Colonial Poetics of History," *Latin American Research Review* 44 no. 1 (2009): 32-57.

²⁰ Thurner, "As-if Book of Kings," 32-57.

²¹ Thurner, "As-if Book of Kings," 51-53; Williams, "Popularizing the Ethic of Conquest," 427-230.

²² Peralta makes those comparisons himself in *Jubilos de Lima*, a description of festivals that took place in 1723, see Lisa Voight, "Creole Patriotism in Festival Accounts," *Romance Notes* 45, 1 (2005): 162. For the use of classical analogies in the early years of Spanish rule, see Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome the Incas, Spain and Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

²³ Llano Zapata's more famous work, however, was a natural history of Peru. Both works were only circulated in manuscript form until the twentieth century. For a brief overview of Llano Zapata's writings see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Review of *Memorias, histórico, físicas, critico, apologéticas de la América Meridional* and *Epitome cronológico o idea general del Perú* by José Eusebio Llano Zapata, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 87 (2007): 581-83.

²⁴ Wuffarden, "la descendencia real," 246-247.

²⁵ For a study of de Bry's engravings and their impact, see Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages*, trans. Basia Gulati (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); for the engraving's impact on the Black Legend, see Tom Conley, "De Bry's Las Casas," in René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, eds., *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 103-131; and Thomas Cummins, "De Bry and Herrera: 'Aguas Negras' or the Hundred Years War over an Image of America," in Gustavo Curiel, Renato Gonzales Mello and Juana Gutiérrez Haces, eds., *Arte, historia e identidad en América: visiones comparativas: XVII coloquio internacional de historia del arte* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1994), 17-32.

²⁶ For a discussion of that moment in Spanish narratives of conquest see Chapter 3 of the present dissertation.

²⁷ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "La descendencia real y el 'renacimiento inca' en el virreinato," in *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 247-248.

²⁸ The need for American nature and culture to be interpreted by a European has been discussed by Mary Louise Pratt, *Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 112-140.

²⁹ For a discussion of the geology of Rodadero hill, see John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2010), 63-64.

³⁰ However, by the time Lima celebrated the new king's coronation in January 1725, his short reign had already come to an end with his premature death in August 1724.

³¹ Voight, "Creole Patriotism," 161-162.

³² Carlos Romero, "Una sobrevivencia del inkanato durante la colonia," *Revista Histórica (Lima)* 10, no. 1 (1936): 76-94. Although Romero calls the masquerade a survival of Inka culture, it clearly was a colonial invention; see Karine Périssat, "Les festivités dynastiques à Lima: la célébration d'une histoire locale," *Caravelle* 73 (1999) : 71-93; and Karine Périssat, *Lima Fête ses Rois (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles): Hispanité et américanité dans les cérémonies royales* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 253-259.

³³ Périssat, "Les festivités dynastiques à Lima;" Périssat, *Lima Fête ses Rois*; Voight, "Creole Patriotism," 159-169.

³⁴ Josephe and Francisco de Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: The Diary of Josephe and Francisco de Mugaburu, 1640-1697*, trans. and ed. Robert Ryal Miller (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 51.

³⁵ Mugaburu, *Chronicle*, 52.

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- ³⁶ Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, vol. I, eds. Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1965), 96; and Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Gisbert, 2004), 141-142.
- ³⁷ Buntinx and Wuffarden, “Incas y reyes españoles,” 161; Perissat, *Lima Fête ses Rois*, 259.
- ³⁸ Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 189-192.
- ³⁹ Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, vol. III, 48-51.
- ⁴⁰ Voight, 164-169.
- ⁴¹ For the Huarochirí uprising, see Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984), 272-290.
- ⁴² Wuffarden, “la descendencia real,” 244.
- ⁴³ Périssat, *Lima Fête ses Rois*, 246-247.
- ⁴⁴ Thurner, “The As-if Book of Kings,” 32-57.
- ⁴⁵ For more on the causes of the rebellion, see Steve J. Stern, “The Age of Andean Insurrection: A Reappraisal,” in Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 34-93; Magnus Mörner and Efraín Trelles, “The Test of Causal Interpretations of the Túpac Amaru Rebellion,” in Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 94-109; Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Peru y Bolivia, 1700-83* (Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 1988); Ward Stavig, *The World of*

Túpac Amaru: Conflict, Community and Identity in Colonial Peru (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); and David Garrett, *Shadows of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 183-195.

⁴⁶ Frederick Pike, "The Cabildo and Colonial Loyalty to Hapsburg Rulers," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 2 (1960): 405-420.

⁴⁷ AML, Libros de Cabildo 26, f. 267r.

⁴⁸ The dissenter was don Joseph Delgadillo de Sotomayor; AML, Libros de Cabildo 26, f. 267r.

⁴⁹ Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Noticias inéditas para ilustrar la historia de las bellas artes en Lima durante los siglos XVI y XVII," *Revista Histórica* 13 (1940): 29.

⁵⁰ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 125.

⁵¹ Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World 1492-1700*, vol. 3 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 133-135. Lima's cabildo records (*libros de cabildo*), in fact, precede the legal foundation of the city and were carried over from the temporary capital of Jauja. For the ceremonies attendant on the foundation of Lima's cabildo, see Enrique Torres Saldamando, ed., *Libro Primero de Cabildos de Lima* (Paris: Imprimerie Paul Dupont, 1888), 1-17.

⁵² John Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Bourbons: a Study in the Decline and Resurgence of Local Government in the Audiencia of Lima* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966).

⁵³ Brading, *The First Americas*, 213-227, 293-313.

⁵⁴ For a study of creoles and the cabildo, see Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954).

⁵⁵“El palacio del virrey no es hermoso ni en su arquitectura ni en sus muebles. El Cabildo no tiene más distinción; se ve ahí solamente la historia de los indios y de sus Incas, de manos de pintores del Cuzco, que pasan por los más diestros del país.” In Armando Nieto Vélez, “Una descripción del Peru en el siglo XVIII,” *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* 12 (1982-1983): 286.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the exportation of Cusco paintings throughout the Viceroyalty, see Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1976), 49-50; and José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación Wiese, 1982), 196-199.

⁵⁷ An exception to this is recorded in 1610 when, during the celebrations of Ignatius Loyola’s beatification, descendants of the Inka dressed up as the former monarchs to pay homage to the founder of the Jesuits. Crucially, however, that was a religious, rather than secular event. See Carlos Romero, *Los orígenes del periodismo en el Perú: de la relación al diario, 1594-1790* (Lima: Libería y Imprenta Gil, 1940), 14-21.

⁵⁸ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* (Durham: Duke University Press, 199), 115-119; Carolyn Dean, “Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru,” in Donna Pierce, ed., *Exploring New World Imagery* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005), 86-88.

⁵⁹ ARC, Not. Matías Ximénez de Ortega, prot. 303 (1721) f. 92r-93v. This unique document has been frequently cited by art historians, and a transcription was first published in 1960 by

Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte cuzqueño: datos para una historia del arte en el Perú* (Cusco: Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad, 1960), 288. Nevertheless, scholars have attributed many different dates to the document, ranging from as early as 1714 to as late as 1727, which has distorted interpretation. See Leopoldo Castedo, *The Cuzco Circle* (New York: The Center for Inter-America Relations, 1976), 25; Celso Pastor de la Torre, *Perú: fe y arte en el Virreynato* (Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultura Caja Sur, 1999), 148-150; and Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “Las series pintadas de los emperadores Incas en el siglo XVIII y su continuidad en la monarquía hispánica,” in Víctor Mínguez, *Visiones de la monarquía hispánica* (Castellon de la Plana: Universidad de Jaume I, 2007), 173-190. The contract in fact dates to 1721, as it is listed in Cornejo’s published transcription.

⁶⁰ “en la misma forma q. los quese pintaron para el exselentisimo senor vierry de orden del senor marques de valleumbrosso.” ARC, Not. Matías Ximénez de Ortega, prot. 303 (1721) f. 92r. This contract is further discussed in Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 282-285.

⁶¹ Bernard Lavallé, *El mercador y el marqués: las luchas de poder en el Cusco (1700-1730)* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1988), 20-22.

⁶² “In Madrid, the power is held by the King, in Lima by the Viceroy and in Cusco by don Diego de Esquivel,” author’s translation from Lavallé, *El mercador y el marqués*, 39.

⁶³ At the time of his appointment he was the Archbishop of Charcas, present day Sucre.

⁶⁴ “Ahí tiene Vuestra Excelencia mis abuelos,” quoted in Lavallé, *El mercador y el marqués*, 112. Translation by the author.

⁶⁵ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 126.

⁶⁶ For the details of the case and its causes, and its aftermath, see Lavallé, *El mercador y el marqués*.

⁶⁷ “Que el marqués con toda arrogancia se decía “Apo” y descendiente de los incas y que los guampos españoles se debían marcher” quoted in Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 126. Translation by the author. “Guampo” or “Guampuchine” was a derogatory name for peninsular Spaniards in colonial Peru.

⁶⁸ Lavallé, *El mercador y el marqués*, 112.

⁶⁹ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 77-82.

⁷⁰ Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 112-123. Nevertheless, as discussed previously, Cusco’s Inka nobles seem to have prefer endogamous unions until the late eighteenth century.

⁷¹ Spaniards’ accusations that creoles’ mixed blood made them inferior are recorded in Brading, *The First Americas*, 405; Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Image and Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2004), 42-46, 93-94, and Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 128-141.

Chapter 8:

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty in the Nineteenth-Century Creole Imaginary

As was true for indigenous patrons, among creoles as well paintings of the Inka dynasty assumed a new role in the nineteenth century. The vast majority of paintings that exist today come from this final period of production, yet the nineteenth-century boom in the production of paintings of the Inka did not mark the beginning of a creole engagement with the genre but rather its demise. For the Inka nobility, paintings of the Inka dynasty lost value after the establishment of republican rule because the new order did not attribute inherent significance to noble status in the new class structure of society, a change that was part of a broader epistemological revolution as Enlightenment philosophy became dominant. Enlightenment thinking would impact creoles no less than it would the indigenous elites, albeit in different ways. It not only inaugurated a new political philosophy but also ushered in new ideas about the role of the image, placing the genre at odds with the creole imaginary that it had previously helped construct.

In order to situate creole rejection of the genre after independence, this chapter first examines Enlightenment theories of the disinterested image, wherein artworks functioned as a type of scientific evidence that radically changed the context in which paintings of the Inka dynasty were understood. The new role of the image as neutral, scientific document brought the image of the Inka into a new discourse of cultural evolution, in which Europe was seen as the epitome of civilization. I will look at the repercussion of those new ideas on paintings of

the Inka in the construction of creole identity. Although creoles positioned themselves as heirs to the Inka, in much the same way as Europeans did to ancient Greece and Rome, they also embraced their European roots, and were quick to contest insinuations that they were not as advanced as their continental peers. A grasp of the ambivalent position of creoles as both Americans and Europeans is necessary for an understanding of how, by the last half of the nineteenth century, paintings of the Inka had become transformed from elite Peruvian arts, and authoritative documents of individual status and history of place, into objects that were valued as part of a timeless, folkloric culture.

Changing Contexts of Receptions: Enlightenment Art of Reading and the Scientific Role of the Image

The creole construction of a local history with roots in the Inka past, which was discussed in the previous chapter, coincided and conflicted with the rise of a new regime of knowledge. Enlightenment philosophy advanced a Eurocentric universal history, in which human events were considered through the lens of a progressive march towards freedom, reason and civilization.¹ Although that universal history had its roots in Renaissance humanism, the scientific revolution gave new momentum to the notion that humanity's evolution was not just describable, but objectively verifiable through empirical observation as well.

The European Enlightenment provided a new context of reception that would greatly affect the position of paintings of the Inka dynasty in the nineteenth-century creole identity. First, Enlightenment philosophy used science to legitimize a hierarchy of civilization that

positioned Europe firmly at the pinnacle of human intellectual and cultural evolution, necessitating a revision of the Pre-Columbian states, including the Inka, as great civilizations.² Images, too, assumed a new value as scientific evidence, purportedly to act as neutral observations of reality.³

Until the mid-eighteenth century knowledge of the Inka was gained exclusively through accounts written in the early years of Spain's rule, the most prominent being Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries*.⁴ Despite early authors' comparisons of the Inka to Rome, there was growing disbelief in Europe that the Inka's was truly a highly civilized culture on par with those of the European classical world. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has described how the earliest histories of the Inka came to be viewed suspiciously by Europeans at the time when a new Enlightenment "art of reading" was supplanting Renaissance precedents. Whereas before, eye-witness accounts had been given precedence as being the closest to events, and therefore the most truthful, such accounts were now seen as potentially biased. The priority previously given to the eye witness was now given to a disinterested (and necessarily European) observer who could interpret facts in an impartial manner.⁵ Images played a crucial role as well, providing neutral "proof" of "facts" that had been collected through rigorous use of instruments and impartial observation. Images were part of a drive for scholarly transparency, allowing a reader to verify an author's account and therefore to judge the quality of his interpretation. The new art of reading encouraged the inclusion of images so that readers could be "virtual witnesses" to the creation of knowledge.⁶ In this changing intellectual climate in Europe, depictions of the Inka began to assume a new role as a type of scientific evidence.

Amedée Frézier's First Look at the Inka

Among the many changes that resulted from the installation of the House of Bourbon on the Spanish throne was a new encounter between Peru and Europe. Under the Habsburgs, Spain had absolute control of trade with the Americas and, suspicious that they aimed to foment rebellion against Spanish control, the Crown had barred agents of foreign states from traveling in Spain's American territories. That began to change, if modestly, under the new dynasty. The French-born Philip V relaxed trade restrictions between France and Spain, and in the first decade of the eighteenth century, French ships commonly docked in Lima's port of Callao. Additionally, in exchange for recognizing Philip as king of Spain, the Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, granted Britain valuable slave-trading privileges and the right annually to send a ship to Spanish American trade fairs.⁷

While merchants made up the majority of the new European arrivals, the freer climate also gave scholars the opportunity to directly study those lands that remained relatively unknown outside the Spanish world. In 1712, Amédée Frézier, a French military engineer, was sent by the French king Louis XIV on a secret mission to document strategic information concerning South America's Pacific coast.⁸ In the report of his travels, *A Voyage to the South-Sea and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714*, he described the region's flora and fauna, along with observations about colonial society. The continent's interior, however, remained off limits to foreigners. Despite not observing indigenous customs and culture first hand, however, Frézier's status as a neutral scientist implied authority, and among his other observations he included a description of traditional

Inka costume.⁹ The account of Frézier's journey was an immediate success and was translated into multiple languages, hinting at Europe's thirst for fresh information about the Americas to supplement sixteenth-century accounts.

Included in Frézier's published report is an engraving showing an Inka, a coya and their son flanked by two attendants (Figure 8.1). On the ground in front of them are a variety of vessels, which according to the text were modeled after ceramic and silver vessels that had been found in ancient tombs.¹⁰ Notably, they are not Inka vessel types, but those made by other Pre-Columbian cultures who inhabited the coastal areas of Peru. While in Lima, Frézier had seen a set of twelve life-sized canvases depicting the Inka. He states that his drawing was copied from the first in that series, thus, although the figures are unlabeled, it depicts Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, which his original drawing, housed in France's National Library, confirms (see Figure 5.5).¹¹ By stating in the accompanying text that his depiction of the Inka, like those of the vessels, was based on observation, rather than imagination, the image gains the authority of truth. Yet, although Frézier's engraving purports to be based on models, there is some reason to think that the image is more fanciful than he lets on. For instance, the engraving includes the couple's offspring. The source for that depiction is not given and such quaint familial units are unknown from the corpus of colonial paintings of the Inka, making it entirely possible that he made the figure up, or derived it from an unrelated painting.

Frézier does not tell us where in Lima he saw the paintings of the Inka; however, they could not have been those paintings that the Marqués de Valleumbroso reportedly sent to the viceroy, since Morcillo was not appointed viceroy until after Frézier had left Lima. In any

case, that latter set depicted the Inka and coya on twenty-four separate canvases, which does not correspond to Frézier's description, which mentions a series of only twelve canvases. It is more likely that his model was a set of paintings in the cabildo or, possibly, a private residence. In either case, Frézier provides further evidence that by the early eighteenth century the genre was well established in the viceregal capital.

Nevertheless, whereas for Lima's creoles paintings of the Inka were documents of local history, Frézier's engraving exemplifies the very different role that depictions of non-western subjects were increasingly assuming in Europe. The intent of Frézier's illustrations was to present an unmediated, objective view of what the Inka looked like, thereby naturalizing the authoritative gaze of the rational European observer. In order to elevate the authority of his own observations he even challenged Garcilaso's version of the Inka dynasty on the basis that it did not correspond to the paintings he saw in Lima.¹² Thus a neutral European's account of the Inka dynasty could be given precedence over that of by a mestizo descendant of the Inka.

Frézier's reorganization of his source material into a composition that placed the Inka into a familial group along with "typical" items of material culture shows that his concern was not with Inka history, but with Inka culture. The nascent ethnographic impulse of Frézier's account was not entirely new since it owed something to its sixteenth-century predecessors. The composition of his image, for instance, recalls illustrations in a 1578 book, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, by another Frenchman, the missionary Jean de Léry (Figure 8.2). According to Claire Farago, Léry's images gained authority by employing the rhetoric of science by presenting the human body of the Brazilians in a manner that

recalled anatomical texts. At the same time the text explains the features depicted so that the image performed as a witness to L ry’s written observation, anticipating the later rise of ethnographic imagery.¹³ Fr zier follows the same impulse, the image acting to verify his textual account of Inka dress and customs. Thus image and text are linked operations. The growing European interest in compiling “facts” in order to make rational, disinterested judgments about humanity institutionalized images as scientific evidence.¹⁴

The la Condamine Expedition, Inka Ruins and the Querelle d’Amerique

Fr zier was the first European to produce depictions of the Inka as part of a new scientific methodology, and, although he had questioned Garcilaso’s authority with regards to the composition of the Inka dynasty, he did not fundamentally challenge earlier accounts that presented the Inka as an advanced civilization. In 1735 an expedition organized by the French Academy of Sciences was granted license by Philip V to enter into the Andean highlands in Ecuador, bringing the first foreign visitors sanctioned to enter the Andean interior.¹⁵ The expedition’s goal was to measure the circumference of the earth at the equator in order to resolve a dispute concerning the shape of the globe. Known today by the name of its geographer, Charles-Marie de la Condamine, the expedition was a disaster. It suffered setbacks ranging from bureaucratic entanglements with colonial officials, loss of equipment, disease, and even the murder of the group’s physician. After finally achieving the necessary measurements (too late, as it turned out, since the dispute had already been settled), the expedition disintegrated and, ten years after setting out, the survivors began to make their way back to Europe.¹⁶ Despite not achieving its goal, however, the expedition was by no

means a failure. The report produced by la Condamine not only provided the first scientific account of the Andes, it was also a foundational moment in the development of a Eurocentric “planetary consciousness” in which, by engaging in a scientific enterprise of cataloging and recording the natural world, Europe naturalized itself as the pinnacle of human progress.¹⁷

Held up in Ecuador, temporarily unable to proceed with the assignment, la Condamine took time to visit and survey the Inka ruins of Ingapirca. The results, entitled “Memorial of some ancient monuments of Peru from the time of the Inkas,” were published by Berlin’s Royal Academy of Sciences in 1748 and included a plan of the site along with a view of the remaining structures seen from a distance and silhouetted against the sky (Figure 8.3).¹⁸ La Condamine was the first European to survey an Inka site systematically, and the precision and accuracy of his measurements has proved useful for modern archaeologists.¹⁹ Yet despite expressing admiration about the Inka’s ability to work stone, la Condamine was disappointed that the ruins did not measure up to the glowing accounts of the Inka from the sixteenth century. Rather than the grand buildings made of monumental stone blocks transported over great distances, about which those earlier accounts marveled, the structures he encountered were rather modest, impressive mostly through consideration of the primitive technology used to construct them. La Condamine concluded that Garcilaso, among others, had exaggerated.²⁰ Furthermore, he determined that Inka arts and architecture were limited to the realm of function, and that, in stark contrast to the Greeks and Romans to whom they were often compared, the Inka remained ignorant of beauty.²¹

The report of two other members of the expedition also described and depicted the ruins at Ingapirca (Figure 8.4). They eschew the picturesque view of the site, and include

only a plan of the ruins, emphasizing their objective intent. Jorge Juan y Santacilia and Antonio de Ulloa were Spanish naval officers who had been assigned to accompany and monitor the French scientists. In addition, they were charged with writing a secret report about corruption and misrule by the colonial government, with recommendations that would provide the cornerstone of Spain's later reform efforts.²² Although their description of the site, contained in their publication *A Voyage to South America* (1748), is not as extensive, nor their plan as precise, as La Condamine's, Juan and Ulloa made observations similar to their French counterpart. That is, the ruins showed the great skill of the Inka, but fell short of their preconceptions. Unlike that the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, the Inka were not a "nation vested in the arts."²³

La Condamine and Juan and Ulloa refrained from drawing firm conclusions about Inka civilization from disappointment in their unmet expectations of its architecture. Nevertheless, the information they provided would soon be brought into the "querelle d'Amerique," a debate in which northern European intellectuals insisted that the Americas were a geologically young continent that lagged behind Europe in terms of both biological and cultural evolution, a position that American intellectuals from both British and Spanish territories contested.²⁴ Originating in the writings of Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, the debate took on moral connotations in the work of Cornelius de Pauw, who advocated that on the American continent, humans, animals and plants had fallen into a state of degeneracy.²⁵ Given his belief that the natural environment of the Americas was inhospitable and therefore incapable of cultivating civilization, de Pauw determined that reports of the splendor of the Inka and their cities, once described as so grand as to compete

with the best of Europe, must have been fables and that the Spaniards who had recorded them therefore were unreliable observers, more interested with promoting their own heroics than with facts.²⁶ La Condamine's images provided confirmation of this for de Pauw. La Condamine's drawing of an Inka site revealed it to be little more than a humble structure. Cusco, the greatest Inka urban center, de Pauw concluded, could have been no more than an encampment.²⁷

Inka and Casta in Juan and Ulloa's Illustrations

Environmental determinist theories of human evolution not only challenged the status of the Inka among the world's ancient civilizations, but also the status of contemporary Americans. If neither la Condamine nor Juan and Ulloa found Inka ruins to be as great as those of Rome, they were nonetheless startled by the stark contrast between Peru's ancient inhabitants and its current ones.²⁸ In addition to illustrations of Inka ruins, Juan and Ulloa's *Voyages* included all manner of engravings detailing curiosities of the Andean natural and cultural world. In particular, they were intrigued by the ethnic variety of inhabitants of the Viceroyalty, which they described in both text and image. Their illustration of inhabitants of Lima, for example, shows a variety of ethnic types (Figure 8.5)²⁹ Two couples move in from the left, a woman from Lima wearing a costume identified as a local riding dress is accompanied by a Spaniard in "Peruvian dress." Behind them are a mulata and negro servant, each also in distinctive dress. On the right is another figure on horseback, labeled as a mulato dressed to go riding. The figures are set in an Andean landscape, with rocky peaks in the distance. A group of three camelids, including a llama and vicuña, are arranged in the

foreground. Those indigenous animals had long piqued the curiosity of Europeans and, like the figures, they act as specimens of the local environment. By placing the ethnic types in a landscape along with representatives of the local fauna, Juan and Ulloa, like Frézier, make the image a tool of ethnography. Additionally, despite the pretensions to the scientific accuracy of their observation, there are clear indications of the limits of their objectivity. Perhaps in keeping with the theory of American degeneracy, the llamas are depicted as unusually small, more the size of dogs than the pack animals they were. More egregiously, however, is that only a small, unremarkable structure in the background on the left and a type of carriage used on the city streets in Lima, which is located to the right of the composition's center axis, give any indication of urban space. The image suggests that Peru remains a place defined more by nature than by culture, and that not even its capital qualifies as a city.

The variety of racial types, or *castas*, found in the Spanish Americas was a source of fascination to Europeans and spawned a genre of painting dedicated to documenting Latin America's various racial admixtures.³⁰ Casta paintings were more commonly produced in Mexico and only one set is known from Peru, where it was commissioned by the Viceroy don Manuel de Amat y Junient in 1770 for inclusion in Spain's Royal Cabinet of Natural History.³¹ As Ilona Katzew has demonstrated, what began locally as a celebration of creole pride, for Spaniards, by the end of the eighteenth century, became caught up in anxieties of racial mixture and desires to verify, describe and catalog difference. Later paintings produced in Mexico stress connections between racial categories and social stratification, both of which are marked visually, in contrast to the reality of colonial lived experience in which categories of identity were fluid and often invisible.³² Viceroy Amat's series conforms to that

later phase of casta painting as identified by Katzew. Those castas closest to being of pure Spanish blood, as seen, for instance, in a canvas that depicts a Spaniard and a “white lady” (*gente blanca*, either a creole or one whose non-Spanish blood has been diluted over generations making her European or white by blood if not by nationality), are richly clothed, indicative of their high social status (Figure 8.6). Trees in the background suggest that they are landowners, thereby underscoring their wealth. Furthermore, their black servant presents them with a crucifix, a clear indication of their religious devotion and moral uprightness. In ancien régime society, high social status was commensurate with moral rectitude. In contrast, the canvas of a mestizo and an Indian couple shows them as being of noticeably lower social standing; they wear more humble garments that lack the ornamentation of those of the Spanish couple, and their long hair is only loosely bound giving them an unkempt appearance (Figure 8.7). They are placed in a nondescript and unadorned interior space and seem to have few material possessions. While they are by no means depicted as immoral, the lack of religious paraphernalia in the painting suggests a less pious life in comparison to that of the Spanish couple. Viceroy Amat’s paintings thus legitimized cultural stereotypes as natural “facts,” relegating non-Spaniards to a lower class of humanity.

Although the majority of engravings in Juan and Ulloa’s *Voyages* recorded and cataloged Andean cultural and natural curiosities, thereby keeping with the new fashion of images as scientific documents, also included was an engraving that depicted the lineage of Inka and Spanish kings (Figure 8.8). Designed by Diego de Villanueva and made by José Palomino, the image was inserted at the end of the fourth volume after an excerpt of Inka history taken from Garcilaso. The figures’ appearance was derived from Cueva’s earlier

composition but is radically altered from its model. Rather than appearing in organized rows, here the portraits of Inka and Spaniards are in medallions suspended from an undulating garland held by five winged putti, in the manner of the Rococo style then in vogue in courtly circles. The portrait of the then current Spanish king, Ferdinand VI, is placed on a pedestal in the composition's center, held by an allegory of Faith. Behind the portrait medallions is an elaborate Baroque temple façade.

Juan and Ulloa's engraving has been secularized as compared to that of Cueva (Figure 5.4). The enthroned Christ that presided over Cueva's composition has been removed. In its place is a coat of arms of Spain. Whereas in the earlier engraving, both Inka and Spanish coats of arms were located at the top of the composition, here the Inka emblem has been consigned to a lesser location at the base of the central pedestal. Furthermore, a lion placed to the left menacingly watches over that symbol of the Inka Empire, folding his paws over an orb signaling Spain's global domination. Of note as well is the change in the crucial moment of transition between Inka and Spanish rule. Charles V, whose image is the first of the Spanish kings located on the composition's right, still points upwards to a cross, but his back is now turned away from the Atahualpa, who faces to the left in the medallion below. Furthermore, here he is labeled as Charles I of Spain, rather than as Charles V, a title used to indicate his status as Holy Roman Emperor. Not only do those adjustments diminish Charles's placement in the composition but they fundamentally alter the context of his gesture. Eliminating the conquest as an encounter between the Holy Roman Empire and the Inka erases Charles V's status as a new Constantine, which was central to Cueva's engraving. Instead of a divine act, the conquest is reframed in more secular terms. Along with the

removal of the textual glosses, the image thoroughly erases any suggestion that the Crown is obligated to support the rights of the indigenous elites as a noble class. Instead, Atahualpa, at the nadir of the Inka lineage, turns left to face the center and the portrait of Ferdinand VI, to whom he extends his scepter.

In a work dedicated to describing and depicting the nature and culture of the Andes, the engraving's depiction of state power through the lineage of monarchs seems incongruous. On the one hand, by giving Ferdinand the pride of place as the heir of an illustrious lineage, the engraving serves to praise the king for his patronage of Juan and Ulloa's publication. However, it also exposes a disconnect between how Europeans and creoles could express awe of the Inka while simultaneously dismissing their descendants.³³ Ulloa, in a later publication, even suggests that contemporary Andeans were not descended from the Inka at all, but from another race entirely.³⁴ As long as the ancien régime, with its insistence that aristocrats comprised a morally superior segment of the population, held firm, the elevation of an ancient monarchy while simultaneously dismissing its plebian descendants was not necessarily paradoxical.³⁵

Humboldt and Humanity's Spiritual Development

If la Condamine and Juan and Ulloa, by not avowing comparisons between Rome and the Inka, had facilitated the theory that true civilization was impossible in the Americas, the Prussian gentleman scientist Alexander von Humboldt would advance a different interpretation. Humboldt did not find in ruins of Pre-Columbian civilizations evidence that the environment of the Americas led to an inherent backwardness of the continent's

inhabitants. Instead, according to Humboldt, the evidence of civilization was undeniable. His writing thus offered creoles an alternative to those who argued that the environment of the Americas was inhospitable, and its cultures necessarily degenerate. Nevertheless, Humboldt remained thoroughly Eurocentric. Moving away from biological and cultural evolution, Humboldt instead stressed art as an indicator of a people's moral and spiritual development, which would constrain the place of paintings of the Inka dynasty in Peru's republican visual culture.

Having received permission for his journey from Charles IV, Humboldt, along with the French botanist Aimé Bonpland, arrived in New Granada (present day Venezuela) in 1799 and remained in the Americas for five years, traveling through the Amazon basin, the northern Andes as far south as Lima, and finally to north to Mexico City and east to Cuba. After returning to Paris, Humboldt would spend the succeeding three decades publishing his research on the Americas to widespread acclaim, inspiring a whole generation of scholar travelers, including Charles Darwin, and fundamentally reshaping European and creole perceptions of the Americas.³⁶

Humboldt eschewed the simplistic climatic determinism of de Pauw, who had never visited the Americas, and criticized de Pauw's assumption that the continent's environment was homogenous. "Some distinguished writers," Humboldt stated in a direct swipe at the earlier historian, who were "more struck with the contrasts than the harmony of nature, have described the whole of America as a marshy country unfavorable to the increase of animals, and newly inhabited by hordes as savage as the people of the South Sea."³⁷ Rather, Humboldt found, the environment of the Americas was incredibly diverse, incorporating inhospitable

Amazonian lowlands as well as temperate valleys of the Andes, the latter of which was as amenable to the development of civilization as were the Alps or the Himalayas.

Humboldt's theories maintained a climatic element, which he laid out in *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (1810), but his system was more complex than de Pauw's theories allowed.³⁸ While Humboldt also found the ruins at Ingapirca to be modest, he did not use that impression to dismiss as fantasy early reports that the Inka were a great and urban civilization. The steeply pitched roofs of Inka structures, although preventing them from making buildings of great size, were a necessary response to a rainy environment, he claimed.³⁹ Additionally, Humboldt attributed Ingapirca's modest size to its function as a way station for the travelling Inka and his armies, rather than that of permanent settlement.⁴⁰ Inka structures, like those of every peoples, necessarily responded to the environment and the needs of its makers.

Nature, however, was only one factor that conditioned humanity's formation and progression. With respect to the Inka, Humboldt argued that "a theocratic government, while it favored the growth of industry, the construction of public works, and whatever might be called general civilization, presented obstacles to the display of the faculties of the individual."⁴¹ That, then, was the key difference between the Inka and Europe's Classical antiquity. Only in Greece, beginning under the free and democratic rule of Pericles, did the human spirit achieve liberation, as attested by the Greeks' engagement with philosophy and the arts. Europe, accordingly, was the only location that could assert that heritage. Humboldt's claim reveals the influence of an Enlightenment aesthetic discourse that linked beauty to spiritual truth.⁴² Following la Condamine and Juan and Ulloa, Humboldt affirmed

that the Inka were incapable of art and beauty. Unlike them, however, he made that observation as part of a moralizing theory about the highest achievements of human civilization which naturalized the west as the pinnacle of human spiritual development as well as its evolutionary apex.

Humboldt's studies were influenced by local creole intellectuals with whom he consulted during his travels and thus the creation of his account of American nature and antiquity, which is so closely associated with the European Enlightenment, was not a purely European product.⁴³ Humboldt's writings, in turn, were of immeasurable impact on the creole leaders of independence.⁴⁴ Simón Bolívar, for instance, not only met with Humboldt while in Paris, but also emulated his hero by replicating some of the Prussian scholar's famous feats, such as climbing Mount Chimborazo in Ecuador. Still, Humboldt's aesthetic ideas, with its Eurocentric conclusions, were problematic for creoles. After all, by identifying the Inka as a despotic regime that suppressed the human spirit, Humboldt diminished the value of the Inka past as a foundation for creole identity.

Paintings of the Inka, the Creole Imagination, and the Nineteenth-Century Contact Zone

The expeditions of la Condamine and, especially, Humboldt, inspired Europeans seeking adventure, knowledge and commercial opportunities to make the Americas a leading destination. Natalia Majluf has emphasized that the mid nineteenth-century revival of paintings of the Inka was due to interest in the paintings among travelers and antiquarians.⁴⁵ Paintings of the Inka dynasty made after independence do suggest that the genre had become

more commercialized. This is not only because of the sheer number of examples known, but also because their quality and materials indicate that they were quickly produced.⁴⁶ In some cases, for instance, five canvases in the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, their scale has also been significantly reduced.⁴⁷ Like the other canvases in that series, the Quai Branly painting of Huascar is only sixteen inches tall, a far cry from the life size paintings of the colonial era (Figure 8.9).⁴⁸ Additionally, some nineteenth-century paintings of the Inka dynasty, such as sets in the Denver Art Museum and the Lilly Library, were painted on paper, rather than canvas (Figure 8.10, 8.11 a, b).⁴⁹ Because those changes in scale and medium made them highly portable and therefore suitable as souvenirs, it is not surprising that a substantial number of nineteenth-century paintings are preserved in western collections today. Nevertheless, smaller paintings, as well as those made on paper also exist in Peruvian collections. For example, there are sets housed in Arequipa's Museo de la Recoleta and in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Anthropología, Arqueología y Historia in Lima (MNAAH) (Figure 8.12). Although the tourist influx may have cultivated a greater commercialization of the paintings, they were still objects that were valued locally, and should be understood as a direct continuation of the colonial tradition.

If we can conclude, as I think we can, that paintings of the Inka dynasty that were produced on paper are nineteenth-century productions that corresponded with an expanded market fueled, at least in part, by foreign travelers, we can also assert that the series created at this time exhibit little variety, copying the now standard Cueva iconography and Garcilaso's version of the Inka dynastic lineage. The vast majority of these series present the Inka from the waist up, holding rectangular shields and halberds. The primary difference

among them is in the degree of naturalism. The Denver and Lilly Library series, for instance, are more highly stylized. The flatness of the figures is emphasized by the geometrically patterned garments and the artist has made little attempt to model the figures' flesh. In contrast, the artist of the MNAAH series gives the figures' bodies volume through his *chiaroscuro* modeling of the skin, and the folds of the drapery are more naturalistic. The Spanish kings, unsurprisingly, have been removed, but on occasion Pizarro's image was inserted after Atahualpa. This will be discussed in greater detail below. Two series, one housed in the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma (Figures 8.13a-l) and the other in the Getty Research Institute (Figures 8.14a-l), deserve particular attention since they present both an unusual deviation from the standard composition and because they are clearly related to one another. While no firm dates can be given to those series, according to the Gilcrease's records, its set was brought into the United States in the 1830s, thereby making them among the earliest identifiable Independence-era paintings.⁵⁰

Each series consists of twelve watercolor and oil paintings on paper. Although neither set is complete, as can be deduced from the numerical assignments giving each figure's position in the lineage, each originally contained fourteen or fifteen individual depictions, ranging from Manco Capac to Atahualpa. The Getty series includes Mama Huaco, in addition to fourteen Inka, but it is unclear if an image of her was also originally part of the Gilcrease series. The most curious feature of the sets, however, and the main way in which they deviate from other series produced around that time, is the placement of the figures in a landscape setting.

The landscape is similar throughout the Getty series. The figures of the Inka occupy the full height of the picture plane, standing about eight inches tall, and are framed by a bright blue sky which, in some depictions includes stylized clouds. The horizon line is low, so that only a small strip of green land is shown. At times the solid green land is stippled with brown or other tones of green to imply vegetation, and gray mountains rise above, clearly indicating that the landscape is the Andes. There are two exceptions to that standard. Mama Huaco sits, rather than stands, with barely any indication of landscape features (Figure 8.14b). Conforming to colonial period paintings of Mama Huaco (Figure 4.10), she is accompanied by her dwarf attendant who shades her with a parasol, and holds a parrot, which implies a more specific and exotic location than the vague landscape behind her would suggest. Inka Yupanqui's setting is also unusual (Figure 8.14i). Instead of a mountainous landscape, he stands in a field, and trees, rather than mountain peaks, provide the transition from ground line to sky. Those differences may indicate that different artists were employed in painting the backgrounds. It is probable that the paintings were a workshop production, and that several artists worked together, each in charge of different features, for example, one painting the faces while another handled the landscape.

The same workshop must have produced the Gilcrease images as well, which are not only made of the same material and in the same format, but the treatment of the figures is nearly identical.⁵¹ The exceptions are Capac Yupanqui, Inka Yupanqui, Tupa Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, who seem to have been painted by a hand not seen in the Getty series (Figures 8.13e,i,j,h). Those figures are proportionately smaller and do not fill up the picture plane. In addition, the palette is more muted, emphasizing blues with only touches of red and

green. The technique is different as well. There is no ochre underpainting, and the figures have been painted directly on the paper ground.

Otherwise, the main difference between the two sets concerns the landscape. The Gilcrease images have a much higher horizon line, which allows the artists to include more landscape features, making them far more intriguing than the more generic settings of the Getty series. Of note as well is that six of the Inka are depicted standing in front of architectural features, as Monica Barnes has pointed out.⁵² For example, Lloque Yupanqui, Tupa Yupanqui, Inka Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, Manco Capac, and Sinchi Roca include buildings or, in the case of Tupa Yupanqui, a stone wall that seems to define an agricultural field to the left of the figure (Figures 8.13 a,b,c,h,i, j). According to Barnes, several of those structures can be specifically identified. Lloque Yupanqui stands in front of the zigzag walls indicative of Sacasaywaman, Inka Yupanqui appears with the *ushnu* of Vilcashuaman, and Huayna Capac is pictured next to a walled round building that is undoubtedly Ingapirca, which had been made famous due to la Condamine, Juan and Ulloa, and Humboldt's accounts.⁵³ The inclusion of archaeological ruins alongside the figures of the Inka is intriguing and confirms a historical link between the figure and structure. Ingapirca, for example, was built during the reign of Huayna Capac.⁵⁴ The images would have fit the needs of tourists, for whom ancient ruins were a source of curiosity. They would have fulfilled the needs of Peruvians as well, the imposing architectural features giving the landscapes a unique identity and unique history, and providing a foundation for national identity. The inclusion of depictions of an Inka in a landscape is not entirely new; however when they do appear, the landscapes are usually generic. Architectural features were occasionally included as well, as

for example, in the painting of Mama Huaco in front of a castle to allude to her royal position (Figure 4.10). The context of reception, however, had changed. In the nineteenth century, scholars such as Humboldt bound together landscape and cultural development, making the architectural ruins in the images of the Inka operate along new lines of scientific empiricism.

In the final sections of this chapter I draw insight from Majluf's work but I will also depart from it. Majluf emphasizes nineteenth-century paintings of the Inka as a product of the tourist trade, disconnected from earlier colonial productions.⁵⁵ While the colonial genre may have been revitalized by the tourist market, the nineteenth-century paintings should also be understood within the context of the clash of *ancien régime* society and Enlightenment ideas. As we have seen, Enlightenment philosophies emphasized the transparency of the image; it was valued either as a document that recorded scientific "facts" or as an aesthetic statement of a people's spiritual and moral development. In that context, paintings of the Inka lost value as elite objects and gained a new value that was tied to scientific objectivity. It was this shift in value, rather than fear of a rebellious indigenous population in the wake of Tupac Amaru's uprising, that rendered the genre ambivalent for a creole audience.

Conquistadors and Republican Heroes

With independence in 1824, series that incorporated the Inka and Spanish monarchs became obsolete, but the genre of paintings of the Inka dynasty continued nonetheless. In some cases, such as the versions in the Lilly Library and the Denver Art Museum, Pizarro's portrait has been added. Those series continued to be modeled after Cueva's engraving, including the Inka's costume, with its four-tiered headdress and hair falling below the

figures' shoulders, and the variation of the Inka lineage promoted by Garcilaso that included Inka Yupanqui. The inclusion of the conquistador signals the end of a Peruvian historical genealogy united by nobility. What replaced it was an epochal history that divided Peru's past into three periods, Pre-Columbian, colonial and republican eras. In that schema, the republican era stood as the pinnacle of Peruvian civilization, but how to view the colonial period was a more contentious problem.

Pizarro was an ambivalent figure in the nineteenth-century creole historical imagination. On the one hand, as conqueror of Peru, he was the symbolic ancestor of all creoles. Peralta, it should be recalled, used Pizarro as the Aeneas figure in *Lima fundada*, elevating him as a foundational cultural hero. Along with processions of the Inka dynasty, eighteenth-century civic performances frequently showcased the heroics of the conquistadores. The 1723 celebrations of the marriage of the Prince of Asturias, recorded by Peralta, included a fireworks spectacle during which gigantic figures of Columbus's and Pizarro's boats were brought into the plaza. Continuing his use of classical analogies in order to praise his patria, Peralta proclaimed of the boats that "both [are] more worthy of being celebrated than the Argo."⁵⁶ In 1759 performers representing Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro and other conquistadores even joined in the parade of the Inka monarchs.⁵⁷ As founders of Peru, they had earned a place in the genealogy of its rulers.

Patriotic rhetoric, however, increasingly used the destruction of the Inka wrought by conquest as an example of the immorality of Spain's colonial project and a justification for independence.⁵⁸ The creole leaders of independence, who vanquished the despotic Bourbon monarchs and brought freedom and liberty to Peru, thereby positioned themselves as

champions of the Inka. Yet, in denouncing Spanish violence, creoles also implicated the conquistadores, from whom some creoles claimed direct ancestry. Arzáns, the eighteenth-century chronicler of Potosí for instance, decried the tyranny of Pizarro and the violence of conquest.⁵⁹ The civil wars between Pizarro and Almagro, which led to both of their deaths along with those of many other conquistadores, were thus interpreted as a form of divine justice. The two opposing interpretations of conquest and its participants, that of cowardly act and that of foundational moment for the nation state, would continue after independence.⁶⁰

In other, albeit more rare, cases, such as a nineteenth-century *biombo* from Cusco, leaders of the republic were incorporated into the dynasty instead, skipping over the contentious colonial era entirely (Figure 6.4). In another painting, modeled after Juan and Ulloa's engraving, the final Spanish monarch who occupied the central medallion in the engraving has been replaced with a portrait of Simón Bolívar (Figure 8.15). This painting is particularly interesting because Bolívar's portrait was a later addition, telling us how images of the Spanish kings were modified to conform to new republican sentiments.⁶¹ We know the painting was made during the years of colonial rule; the inscription on the pedestal indicates that it was created during the reign of Charles III (1759-1778). Because Juan and Ulloa's engraving had concluded with an earlier monarch, Ferdinand VI (r. 1746-1759), a new medallion for Ferdinand has been added to the Spanish lineage, in the lower right corner. The more interesting modification, however, occurred during the nineteenth century, when Charles III was painted over with Bolívar's portrait. Additionally, the cross is missing from Charles V's medallion, the first in the Spanish lineage on the left. It is unclear if the cross

was included in the original version of the painting and then painted over later as part of the anticlerical republican impulses. Also of note is that instead of repeating Cueva's four-tiered headdress, the artist has substituted it for the bejeweled *mascapaycha* assemblage more common to Cusco. In any event, the changes expose the malleability of paintings of the Inka dynasty in the political sphere.

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty and the Cusco School

Paintings of the Inka dynasty are nearly always assumed to have been produced in Cusco. The problematic conflation of the genre with the Cusco School style has been previously detailed (see Chapter 2). Cusco School paintings were famous throughout the Viceroyalty and even paintings of the Inka on display in Lima have been identified as examples of that style. Still, attributions of paintings of the Inka as Cusco productions are frequently based on superficial details. As discussed with regards to painted series in Lima's Cathedral and Beaterio de Copacabana, the style of dress worn by the Inka in the compositions has often been used to determine if a painting of the Inka was made in Cusco or, at the very least, by artists from Cusco. Yet those features could just as easily have been copied from other paintings that had been imported from the former Inka capital, and cannot in and of themselves indicate the location of a work's manufacture or the ethnicity of the artist. Indeed, the extant three eighteenth-century paintings made after Cueva's composition depict similar versions of Inka dress, but they are less similar in terms of style. The Ayacucho example, for instance, is dominated by a red and blue palette and the drapery is more heavily modeled than in the two from Lima, which are characterized by warmer,

earthier tones (Figures 5.1-5.3). Whether those differences are due to regional styles or the hands of individual artists is an important question. But the stylistic differences between those eighteenth-century examples pale when compared to their differences with nineteenth-century paintings. For example, the Denver series and the MNAAH series exhibit clear stylistic differences from those colonial paintings in terms of palette, degree of naturalism, interest in ornament, and the stiffness of the drawing. Although they share a common subject, and in Cueva's engraving, a common source, the manner in which they are painted seems to have little in common. It is not my goal to dispute that paintings of the Inka dynasty were dominantly Cusco productions; indeed, I suspect that the majority were. Rather, what I want to call attention to is the fact that those attributions are often thinly supported, yet carry strong implications.

Claiming that an artwork was produced in Cusco carries certain connotations; most importantly, it presumes production by an indigenous artist. But are such assertions truly viable? The only known contract for paintings of the Inka, a 1721 agreement between don Cristóbal de Rivas y Velasco and captain Agustín de Navamuel (see above), does not clarify the matter.⁶² José de la Mesa and Teresa Gisbert originally identified the painter, Navamuel, as a likely creole.⁶³ The contract states that Navamuel was a resident (*morador*) of the city, which implies that he had not been born there. Curiously, in a later publication, Gisbert revises her thinking and calls Navamuel “an Indian from the parish of San Cristóbal.”⁶⁴ She does not state what led her to that new conclusion, although an earlier contract from 1717 that she cites tells us that Navamuel worked with two indigenous painters who were from San Cristóbal. Yet, that document is ambiguous concerning the ethnic identity of Navamuel,

referring only to “Agustín de Navamuel, don Sebastian Quispe Brillante, native of the Parish of San Cristóbal and don Martín Quispe Thopa of the same parish in this city of Cusco of Peru, and master painters all three” (*Agustin de Navamuel, don Sevastian Quispe Brillante natural de la Parroquia de Senor San Christoval y don Martín Quispe Thopa de la misma parroquia de esta ciudad del Cuzco del Peru y maestro pintores todos tres*).⁶⁵ To imply that the contract confirms that Navamuel was an indigenous native of Cusco is to stretch the evidence. Furthermore, interpreting the 1717 contract as a statement of Navamuel’s ethnicity is at odds with the later document’s identification of Navamuel as a “lodger” rather than a “natural.” Pronouncements about paintings of the Inka being productions of Cusco artists are not implausible, but it is important to note that most are made without supporting evidence. Cusco was the center of painting in the Viceroyalty; indigenous and mestizo artists were clearly vital to that development. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the artists working in Cusco and the inner workings of the studios and guilds remains incomplete. While anonymous artists are more likely to have been indigenous, we must also recognize that the desire to identify as Cusco School painters generally, and more specifically, those artists who made paintings of the Inka, as indigenous, intersects with a perceived idea of legitimacy that came to dominate reception of the genre in the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

The Copy and the Original in Nineteenth-Century Paintings of the Inka

It was in the eighteenth century, as images were beginning to enter into scientific methodology, when the first hints that the ethnicity of artist who made paintings of the Inka dynasty became important to legitimize the paintings’ content. Frézier, for instance, writes

that his painting of an Inka was drawn “after a picture painted by the Indians of Cusco,” implying that Indians in Cusco would naturally make the most accurate representations of the Inka.⁶⁷ Thus, even as Frézier critique Garcilaso’s authority, he depictions of the Inka as painted by indigenous artists were somehow closer to the source, that is, the Pre-Columbian past, than any those that were made by non-indigenous artists. Reflecting a similar concern is José Eusebio de Llano Zapata. Discussing the engraving by the creole Cueva, he lamented “that the iconography given to these emperors is arbitrary and baseless,” and promised that his own publication would correct the errors, which had been further perpetuated by the engraving published in Juan and Ulloa’s book.⁶⁸ As we have seen, Llano Zapata copied both Herrera and Frézier’s models, both of which were based on paintings made by indigenous artists, which he evidently considered more truthful. Writing in Spain in the late eighteenth century, Llano Zapata was thoroughly engaged with the new art of reading and its implied transparency of images. Cueva no doubt had had access to the same paintings copied by Frézier a decade before. Gisbert has noted that Cueva may also have had access to paintings of the Inka and coya given to Viceroy Morcillo.⁶⁹ Still, as regards the costume of the Inka, Cueva’s engraving was an invention, not a copy. For Cueva, precisely copying the appearance of the Inka from earlier models, was seemingly not a concern, but in that regard he may have been in a minority.

By the nineteenth century, certainly, the idea that paintings, if not themselves originals, were at least copies of authoritative sources was the norm. According to S. S. Hill, who traveled to Peru in the 1840s, “there was living at this time in Cuzco a native of pure Indian blood who had been all his life occupied as an artist and was engaged in painting the

portraits from the best known sources of the sovereigns who governed before the invasion of the Spaniards.”⁷⁰ Eugène de Sartiges, a French traveler who visited Cusco in 1834, proclaimed that “the only painters in Cusco are unskilled Indians who sell us, for a few pesos, the authentic portraits of the ten Incas of the dynasty of Manco Capac, certified and authentic and copied from life.”⁷¹ Paul Marcoy, a Frenchman who visited Peru in 1869, elaborated that the “sources” from which the portraits were derived were copied from a painting made in the sixteenth-century that was housed in the Cathedral archives, which had disappeared during the war for independence.⁷² If the artists of paintings of the Inka referred to by Sartiges and Marcoy used an “authentic” source, their source were clearly not identical, as the reproductions in Sartiges includes in his publication depict only ten Inka, while that in Marcoy’s include thirteen.⁷³ Marcoy’s reproductions of the paintings, in fact, ultimately derive from Herrera’s engraving, although they may be several steps removed from the original engraving, and have been modified to substitute Inka Yupanqui for Inka Urco. I am not convinced that a sixteenth-century “original” remained in Cusco; if it had it is unlikely that it would have gone unmentioned by Moscoso or Areche in their campaign against paintings of the Inka in 1781. Additionally, Marcoy’s dynastic lineage, purportedly based on a “sixteenth-century original,” includes Inka Yupanqui, who was not recognized by the Cusco nobility until after the 1723 republication of Garcilaso’s *Royal Commentaries*. Nevertheless, those nineteenth-century descriptions expose the fact that the paintings’ importance derived from an assumed relationship to an original.

Inka, Indigenous, and the Problem of the Cusco School in the Republican Imagination

Those accounts by nineteenth-century travelers suggest that a growing concern that paintings of the Inka have a direct connection to an original that was faithfully copied, rather than one modified based on the artist's imagination, conforms to the new role of images as unmediated, factual documents. But it became the case that, whether copies of an original or not, any painting of the Inka produced by an indigenous artist, no matter how recently made, was identified as a genuine Inka artwork. In 1871, the series currently housed in the Brooklyn Museum was on sale in New York. Frederick Church (who had only recently returned from a trek in South America, where he had painted landscapes of many of the mountains made famous by Humboldt) authenticated the canvases as ancient works of indigenous art.⁷⁴ The paintings now in the Musée de Quai Branly were similarly given an antique provenance. In 1899 E. T. Hamy, who acquired the paintings for the Musée du Trocadero, where they were formerly housed, argued that the canvases were sixteenth-century copies of Inka prototypes.⁷⁵

According to Natalia Majluf, the erroneous conclusion that paintings of the Inka were Pre-Columbian artifacts confirms that the tourist market trafficked in forgeries.⁷⁶ While I agree with her conclusion that the perceived perception of the paintings as historical, rather than contemporary, objects was of primary importance to foreign audiences, the deliberate deception she implies is unwarranted, if not highly cynical. In both of the above cases paintings of the Inka were interpreted as Inka objects only in a foreign marketplace. The identification of paintings of the Inka as actual Inka objects, I want to emphasize, resulted from a merging of the indigenous and the Pre-Columbian in the modern European

imagination. Enlightenment theories of cultural evolution created a division between indigenous culture and European culture that pitted one as “premodern” and the other “modern.” In a place like Peru, where both indigenous and European culture existed side by side, that resulted in a conundrum. Peru’s nineteenth-century indigenous culture and its productions were understood by Europeans as essentially unchanged from its ancient forms and constituted a type of living museum of the past.

In Peru, however, colonial period arts mediated a tidy schism between “premodern” and modern culture and, I suggest, colonial culture was as ambivalent in the republican imagination as was colonial history. Among the evidence Majluf points to for her thesis that nineteenth-century paintings of the Inka were sold in Peru as forgeries of Inka antiquities is an advertisement in Lima’s newspaper *El Comercio* that ran in 1851 and reads: “an old painting of the Inka Peruvian emperors is offered for sale together with a collection of archaeological pieces.”⁷⁷ In 1874, an engraving published in another paper depicted the collection of Cusco resident Emilio Montes de Segura y Aldazábal (Figure 8.16). Hanging above the shelves of Inka pottery and figurines are paintings of Manco Capac and Mama Huaco. Although called “antiquities,” several items in the collection are clearly of colonial origin. Those include a pair of swords placed in the foreground, three vessels sitting on the topmost shelf that flank the paintings of the Inka founding couple, and two other paintings, hanging on the right, that may be Cusco School canvases, including a painting of the Virgin Mary and Christ. This engraving suggests that not just Inka objects were considered antiquities, but colonial ones as well.

How did colonial arts, which in contemporary studies are so often considered to be European impositions, come to be associated with Inka antiquities? Although scholars have investigated the role of Inka culture in the construction of creole patriotism, there has been little discussion of how creoles in early republican Peru incorporated colonial arts into their national imaginary. Thus the conclusions here are intended as preliminary. Enlightenment ideas about the role of art as an expression of the human spirit, which formed the foundation of Humboldt's theories on Inka civilization, may point to an answer.

If Cusco School paintings were the most prized arts in the Viceroyalty, nineteenth-century Europeans clearly had a different opinion. Descriptions of Cusco painters often praise their skill and talent, but never the beauty of their works. For instance, Johann von Tschudi, in his 1847 publication *Travels in Peru 1838-1842*, wrote that "in Cusco and the adjacent provinces many of the Indians evince considerable talent in oil painting. Their productions in this way are, of course, far from being masterpieces."⁷⁸ The Indians of Cusco, writes another, "are exceedingly industrious, and are celebrated for their skill in embroidery, painting and sculpture."⁷⁹ An 1810 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in its entry on Peru, commented that "if the Indians, who invent nothing, but are excellent imitators, had able masters and excellent models they would at least make good copyists."⁸⁰ By 1800 the cultural currency of Cusco's painters had dropped precipitously. No longer were they considered artists, a term that now implied a degree of individual genius; they were, at best, only capable craftsmen.

As creoles sought incorporation into the global community as equals to Europeans, colonial culture, especially Cusco School paintings, became increasingly marginalized.

Paintings of the Inka, frequently Cusco School productions, were likewise subject to derision in terms of their aesthetic qualities, as the previous quote by Sartiges makes clear. Yet, whereas during the colonial era, Cusco artists included a wide range of ethnic diversities, by the nineteenth century the Cusco School was associated exclusively with the indigenous (and to a lesser extent the mestizo) community. While those non-European artists, in the aesthetic hierarchy that was by then well institutionalized, could not produce art works considered “beautiful,” only capable, they were able to find a value for their products as part of a desire on part of Europeans, and to some extent Lima’ creoles, for original Indian productions maintaining a fantasy that that community had little changed from Inka times.

Summary

Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, paintings of the Inka dynasty became entangled with Enlightenment ideas of the truth value of images. In the eighteenth century, images entered into a scientific methodology wherein they were understood as an objective document. By the nineteenth century, images, and the arts in general, had come to be seen as a measure of a civilization’s spiritual and moral evolution.

Those changes to the authority of the image upset the placement of the genre in the creole imaginary. With independence, its production experienced a boom that in no small part had its origins in a celebration of local culture in order to define a new, independent Peruvian identity. In this sense, for creoles nineteenth-century paintings of the Inka continued the proto-nationalistic function of colonial era paintings and were used to convey pride in Peru’s unique history of place. They represented not only a unique history of Peru, but also

its unique culture, a dual heritage of Andean and European. Yet the ability of paintings of the Inka dynasty to articulate creole pride in their unique historical and cultural identity soon came up against European contempt. According to nineteenth-century Europeans, as art objects, portrayals of the Inka dynasty revealed the inferiority of Peru, its population's inability to produce beautiful objects that served as the ultimate evidence of advanced civilization. To the extent that they were valuable, it was not as art, but rather as ethnographic curiosity, the work of indigenous artists whose debased state of humanity had ensured that their arts had remained essentially unchanged by three hundred years of Spanish rule. They were original not because they were actual Inka productions, but because the people who had made them had been untouched by European progress. This new reality and value of the image ultimately called into question the position of the genre in the creole imaginary, which rejected both the genre and the previously embraced Cusco School style.

¹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 7-85.

² Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 7-85.

³ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 11-59.

⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of the Inca*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 625-626.

⁵ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 11-59.

⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 15-17.

⁷ For a discussion of the more open economic exchange in the early years of Bourbon rule, see John Fisher, *Bourbon Peru 1750-1824* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 14-22.

⁸ Monica Barnes, "Amédée François Frézier," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, vol. 2, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 223-226.

⁹ Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714* (London: printed for Jonah Bowyer, at the Rose in Ludgate-Street, 1717), 270.

¹⁰ Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea*, 273-274.

¹¹ Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea*, 270.

¹² Frézier claimed Garcilaso's version of the Inka dynasty was inaccurate because Garcilaso had recorded only eight Inka whereas the paintings he saw in Lima featured twelve. Chapter Four discussed how Garcilaso's dynasty differed from the dominant version in seventeenth-century Cusco, but Frézier is incorrect in saying that Garcilaso only recognized eight Inka.

¹³ Claire Farago, "Silent Moves: On Excluding the Ethnographic Subject from the Discourse of Art History," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 195-212.

¹⁴ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 15-17.

¹⁵ Philip V granted the request to show himself as an enlightened ruler and to combat the perception that Spain was a nation guided by religious fanaticism, uninterested in advancing by sponsoring scientific inquiry, Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 422-423.

¹⁶ Monica Barnes, "Charles-Marie de la Condamine (1701-1774)," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, vol. 2, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 336-341.

¹⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 15-37.

¹⁸ A transcription is contained in Monica Barnes and David Fleming, "Charles-Marie de la Condamine's Report on Ingapirca and the Development of Scientific Field Work in the Andes, 1735-1744," *Andean Past* 2 (1989): 195-213.

¹⁹ Barnes and Fleming, “la Condamine’s Report on Ingapirca,” 191-195.

²⁰ Regarding Gracilaso, la Condamine writes: “one is tempted to believe that there is something to distrust in the evidence of an Author who, no matter how open and truthful he might appear, often allows to escape traits of a bias (from which no person may flatter himself to be exempt) when there is question of his homeland.” Quoted and translated in Barnes and Fleming, “Report on Ingapirca,” 196.

²¹ Barnes and Fleming, “Report on Ingapirca,” 206.

²² Blenda Femenías, “Jorge Juan (1713-1773) and Antonio de Ulloa (1716-1795),” in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, vol. 2, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 326-335; Brading, *The First America*, 424-428.

²³ Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, trans. John Adams, vol. 1 (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1806), 468.

²⁴ Brading, *The First America*, 421-446; Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 11-55; Antonio Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900*, trans. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973).

²⁵ Brading, *The First America*, 428-446; Gerbi, *Dispute*, 3-156.

²⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 26-44.

²⁷ Brading, *The First America*, 431.

²⁸ Brading, *The First America*, 422-448.

²⁹ For their description of the inhabitants of Lima, see Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* vol. 2, 52-64.

³⁰ For more on casta paintings see Ilona Katzew, ed., *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America* (New York: Americas Society, 1996); and Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Image and Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2004).

³¹ Natalia Majluf, ed., *Los cuadros de mestizaje del virrey Amat: la representación etnográfica en el Perú colonial* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 1999).

³² Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 63-162.

³³ For an example of creole embrace of the Inka and dismissal of contemporary indigenous during the early republican period, see Cecilia Méndez, "Incas Si, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28 (1996): 197-225.

³⁴ Brading, *The First America*, 428. For a discussion of the dispute from the perspective of Spanish patriotism, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 130-203.

³⁵ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 204-265.

³⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 112-195.

³⁷ Humboldt, *Researches Concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America with Descriptions and Views of Some of the Most Striking Scenes of the Cordillera*, 2 vols., trans. Helen Maria Williams (London: Longman et al., 1814), 4.

³⁸ “Although the manners of a people, the display of their intellectual faculties, the peculiar character stamped on their works, depend on a great number of causes which are not merely local, it is nevertheless true, that the climate, the nature of the soil, the physiognomy of the plants, the view of beautiful or savage nature, have given influence on the progress of the arts, and on the style which distinguishes their productions.” Humboldt, *Views*, vol. 1, 40.

³⁹ Humboldt, *Views*, vol. 1, 245-246.

⁴⁰ Humboldt, *Views*, vol. 1, 243.

⁴¹ Humboldt, *Views*, vol. 1, 31.

⁴² G. W. F. Hegel, “Philosophy of Fine Art,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* 2nd ed., ed. Donald Preziosi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 80-88.

⁴³ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 135-137.

⁴⁴ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 172-197.

⁴⁵ Majluf, “de la rebelión,” 289-302.

⁴⁶ Majluf, “de la rebelión,” 294.

⁴⁷ These paintings were first brought to attention by E. T. Hamy, “Note sur six anciens portraits d’Incas du Pérou conservés au Musée d’Ethnologie du Trocadéro,” in *Décades Americanae: Mémoires d’archéologie et d’ethnographie américaines 3^e et 4^e Décades*, ed. Ernest Leroux (Paris, 1899), 198-204.

⁴⁸ “Life size” (*Tamaño natural*) is a typical description of earlier paintings and is the size specified for the painting that capitán Rivas y Velasco commissioned from Navamuel.

Surviving portraits of the Inka nobles, such as of the Chiguantupa’s discussed in the previous chapter, which stands at six feet tall, give an indication of what was meant by “life size.”

⁴⁹ The Denver series was later attached to canvas. Majluf, “de la rebelión,” 294; 319 n103.

⁵⁰ Monica Barnes proposes an eighteenth-century date for the Gilcrease paintings, and points out connections between the version of Inka history recorded in their glosses and Guaman Poma’s earlier text. Barnes, “The Gilcrease Inca Portraits and Guaman Poma,” in Margot Beyersdorff and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, eds., *Andean Oral Traditions: Discourse and Literature* (Bonn: Bonner Americkanistische Studien, 1994), 224.

⁵¹ Noted by Charlene Villaseñor Black, personal communication, Fall 2008.

⁵² Barnes, “The Gilcrease Inca Portraits and Guaman Poma,” 224-227.

⁵³ Barnes, “The Gilcrease Inca Portraits and Guaman Poma,” 224-227.

⁵⁴ Barnes, “The Gilcrease Inca Portraits and Guaman Poma,” 224-227.

⁵⁵ Majluf, “De la rebelión,” 252-319.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Périssat, Périssat, *Lima Fête ses Rois(XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles): Hispanité et américanité dans les cérémonies royales* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2002), 243.

⁵⁷ Périssat, *Lima Fête ses Rois*, 242-247.

⁵⁸ Brading, *The First America*, 447-464, 576; and Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 21-46.

⁵⁹ Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, eds. Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1965), 30-52.

⁶⁰ Earle, *Return of the Native*, 79-90.

⁶¹ For discussion of this painting and its later modifications, see Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. (La Paz: Gisbert, 2004), 132.

⁶² ARC Not. Matías Ximénez de Ortega, prot 303 (1721) f. 92r-93v.

⁶³ José de la Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura cuzqueña*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), 283.

⁶⁴ Teresa Gisbert, “La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú,” in Ramón Mujica, ed., *Barroco peruano*, vol. 1 (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2002), 127. Translation by author.

⁶⁵ ARC Not. Matías Ximénez Ortega, prot. 299 (1717-1718) f. 34r.

⁶⁶ For a more general discussion of this trend in studies of colonial Latin American painting as a whole, 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): 5-35.

⁶⁷ Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea*, 270.

⁶⁸ “que la iconografía que dan de estos emperadores es arbitraria y sin fundamento,” José Eusebio de Llano Zapata, *Memorias histórico, físicas, apologéticas de la America Meridional* (Lima: Imprenta y Libería San Pedro, 1904), 106.

⁶⁹ Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 131.

⁷⁰ Hill, *Travels in Peru and Mexico*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, 1860), 266.

⁷¹ Cited in Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 134.

⁷² Marcoy, Paul. *Viaje a través de America del Sur del océano Pacífico al océano Atlántico*, vol 1, trans. Edgardo Rivera Martínez (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Banco Central de Reserva, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 326.

⁷³ Curious as well is that despite including depictions of thirteen Inka, Marcoy states the lost painting that served as the model contained only twelve couples, 236.

⁷⁴ Majluf, “de la rebelión,” 295; For Church’s paintings of South America see, Katherine Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839–1879* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989).

⁷⁵ Hamy, “Note sur six anciens portraits d’Incas du Pérou conservés au Musée d’Ethnologie du Trocadéro,” in Ernest Leroux, ed., *Décades Americanae: Mémoires d’archéologie et d’ethnographie américaines 3^e et 4^e Décades* (Paris, 1899), 198-204.

⁷⁶ Majluf, “De la rebelión,” 289-302.

⁷⁷ Majluf, “De la rebelión,” 319 n106.

⁷⁸ Tschudi, *Travels in Peru, on the Coast, in the Sierra, Across the Cordilleras and the Andes, into the Primeval Forests*, vol. 2, trans. Thomisina Ross (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1847), 260.

⁷⁹ John Stilwell Jenkins, *Recent Exploring Expeditions to the Pacific and South Seas* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1853), 122.

⁸⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1810), 220.

Conclusion

For three hundred years, paintings of the Inka dynasty were an integral part of Peru's colonial visual culture and played a unique role in constructing identity for multiple constituencies. While scholars have recognized the paintings' multivalent nature, the ways in which they advanced various agendas has largely gone unexplored. This dissertation has taken an initial step toward accomplishing that task. By emphasizing the functionality of the genre—that is, how the paintings' construction of the Inka past served the needs of their patrons—I have tried to show that the value of the image as a document must always be kept in mind. It has not been my goal to produce a definitive study on paintings of the Inka dynasty but to attempt to open up to investigation the multiple ways in which they made meaning and propose new avenues for further research regarding the genre and its importance.

As a document, the visual manner in which paintings of the Inka dynasty communicated is crucial. The paintings are undeniably European in their basic form, that of the portrait, and in their figurative style. Nevertheless, there is reason to affirm that on a fundamental level, they should be recognized as hybrid objects. Hybridity in Peru's colonial art is frequently ascribed on the basis of visual appearance. Many surviving examples of the genre are painted in the Cusco School style, a regional style of the Peruvian Baroque that is the most well-known example of hybridity in Peru's colonial art. Yet it is inaccurate to conflate the genre with the Cusco School style, which arose nearly a century after the first documented painting of the Inka dynasty was produced. To do so ignores both the distinct

contexts of their development and the different types of hybridity that the genre and the style embody. Whereas Cusco School paintings are visibly hybrid and exhibit a unique colonial Peruvian aesthetic, it is unlikely that the first paintings of the Inka, none of which are extant, were formally similar to the later Cusco School style. Rather, in terms of hybridity, what is important about the first documented example is the context of their creation. The patron of that painting, the Spanish Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, strove to find a pictorial form that was intelligible to both the descendants of the Inka whose approval of the content he sought and King Philip of Spain, who was ultimately their intended audience. Inka and Spanish artistic traditions had little in common but, culturally, the body of the ruler provided one of the few potential points of intersection. The choice of portraiture was thus significant and points to the role of mimesis, or copying, as a vital form of intercultural communication in the colonial context. Thus, on the level of content, if not of pictorial form, the first paintings of the Inka are rightfully considered hybrid.

Paintings of the Inka are a product of the initial encounter between Europeans and Andeans in the pictorial sphere. It is possible that their deeply-rooted and invisible hybridity influenced their popularity and their ability to communicate for multiethnic audience. Regardless, from that initial moment, paintings of the Inka dynasty played a vital role in negotiating the various interests of their patrons and consumers, including Spaniards, creoles, and the community of indigenous elites, both those who claimed direct descent from the Inka and those whose ethnic affiliations lay elsewhere.

For Toledo, the Spanish Viceroy ultimately responsible for instituting the creation of visual depictions of the Inka ruling lineage, those paintings offered a way to uphold Spain's

lawful control over the Andes. Painted images held a documentary authority during the sixteenth century, which allowed them to exude veracity and mask their constructed nature. While the paintings commissioned by Toledo were autonomous objects, they operated along with other lines of evidence concerning the illegitimate rule of the Inka, including a written history, that served to mutually reinforce the messages of each. However, of those different methods of advancing the righteousness of Spain's authority, the paintings were arguably the least effective. That was because, in Europe, paintings were valuable objects that more commonly promoted wealth and status, rather than denouncing the subject's tyranny as Toledo ultimately intended. While they were not without precedents such as contemporary paintings of the Roman emperors as tyrants, their message was subtle, and the medium through which that message was communicated was open to conflicting interpretations.

In Peru, Toledo's painting immediately inspired the Inka's descendants living in Cusco to use images as part of their claims to noble status based on genealogical descent from natural lords. Cusco was home to the most significant community of indigenous elites in the Viceroyalty, who were perhaps the most effective in marshalling paintings to promote their social privilege. Influenced by the lessons learned in the earliest years of Spanish rule, they adhered to a strict interpretation of the Inka past. At the time when the Spaniards first arrived in the Andes, the Inka Empire was experiencing a civil war between Atahuallpa and Huascar, half-brothers and sons of the recently deceased Sapa Inka, Huayna Capac, each of whom claimed to be the rightful ruler. While the earliest accounts are vague concerning the standing of each, by the mid-sixteenth century, the Cusco Inka had settled on a narrative of the past that promoted the legitimacy of Huascar and shunned Atahuallpa as a bastard. Since

Huascar left no heirs, in European terms, inheritance would revert to other branches of the Inka family tree, which included the Cusco nobles. While Spanish colonial authorities, including Toledo, aimed to strip the descendants of the Inka in Cusco of even the most limited social status, the Crown was more supportive of their claims to privilege, and recognized them as fellow nobles and the descendants of kings. According to Spanish law, as descendants of natural lords, the Cusco nobles could be subject to Spanish sovereignty but the Crown could not deny them their due status, so long as they demonstrated loyalty to the Spanish kings. The Cusco nobles therefore used paintings to advance their individual claims to be the most loyal vassal of the king.

The construction of the Inka past was in no sense pan-Andean. The meaning of the Inka past and its relationship to the needs of its indigenous patrons was constantly in flux; dramatic shifts occurred according to region, but also over time. In Cusco, where there was a strong corporate identity among the indigenous elites based on their Inka heritage, paintings of the Inka stressed the lineage's continuity in order to make visible the noble status enjoyed by specific families. Yet for other communities of indigenous elites, who did not necessarily claim direct descent from the Inka or even Inka ethnicity, paintings did not so strictly adhere to the view of Inka history presented in the paintings of the Inka made for the Cusco nobles. Under their patronage, paintings of the Inka show more diversity in terms of iconography, the numbers and composition of the dynastic lineage and the context of their display. Perhaps the most popular composition of paintings of the Inka dynasty, found almost exclusively outside of Cusco, merged the Inka lineage with the lineage of Spanish monarchs beginning with Charles V, during whose reign the Inka were conquered. The composition erases the violence

of conquest in favor of a peaceful transfer of power from Atahualpa and Charles V. Rather than a strictly loyalist vision of the conquest, however, that transfer of power is depicted as conditional. Charles V points to a cross, signaling that the purpose of conquest was not to enhance Spain's temporal power but to spread Christianity. This allowed indigenous elites to intimate that the Crown's power was conditional upon their good Christian treatment of the indigenous population.

The years following Tupac Amaru's rebellion saw a change in the use of paintings of the Inka dynasty as Cusco's indigenous nobility was more carefully scrutinized by the Crown, which had previously supported them. No longer could they self-regulate their community, and the possession of Inka costume and paintings of the Pre-Columbian rulers was no longer sufficient to prove their status. Legal documents now had to be presented to and approved by the colonial government. The Great Rebellion marked the beginning of the end for the Cusco nobility, the final blow coming with establishment of a republican government wherein nobility had no special value. Thereafter, among Peru's indigenous elites, paintings of the Inka dynasty were rarely used to express familial claims, and when they were, they were no longer aimed at securing political privilege.

Because I base my interpretation of the genre's function for indigenous elites on its ability to exploit the potential of nobility as a socio-political concept central to Spanish culture, I have advanced a new perspective on the significant decrease in indigenous patronage of paintings of the Inka at the end of the colonial era. Instead of accepting uncritically the efficacy of the ban on representations of the Inka in the aftermath of the Great Rebellion, we must be attuned to the implications of the diminished social importance of

hereditary noble status at the end of the colonial period on the *raison d'être* of the genre among Peru's indigenous elites. Once its functional value was removed, could the genre's end be far behind?

That paintings were less effective tools to convey status at the end of the eighteenth century speaks as well to the changing nature of the documentary value of paintings of the Inka dynasty. The changing nature of the value of the paintings is expressed most clearly when investigating the complicated ways in which the creole population engaged with the genre. Creoles were not dissuaded from patronage of paintings of the Inka because of any ideas that the indigenous community "owned" the Inka past. Throughout the colonial period, paintings of the Inka dynasty were part of a creole articulation of a proto-nationalist sentiment. This proto-nationalism was constructed as a history of place, with the Inka providing an important foundation. The construction of the creole historical imaginary did not initially serve as a way to advance visions of creole sovereignty, but rather was intended to promote their position as the most important and noble territory in Spain's empire; one whose history pointed to its destiny eventually to overshadow Spain in greatness. Paintings of the Inka dynasty thus provided a venerable genealogy of place that all nations so divinely blessed had to possess. In that context, paintings of the Inka enunciated a distinct and glorious past and formed a local counterpart to the state portrait galleries of Europe.

By the nineteenth century, paintings of the Inka had become entangled with competing ideas of value as Enlightenment philosophies advocated new roles for the image as a scientific document. In that context they gained value as either ethnographic curiosities or as proof that the supposed inferiority of Peruvian culture revealed the nation's debased

evolutionary status vis-à-vis Europe. Unable to embrace paintings of the Inka as an important part of Peruvian culture, the paintings instead became understood as exclusively indigenous objects, erasing any role that creoles had in patronage and manufacture of the genre. Instead, understanding of the paintings underwent a transformation from that of their previous function in articulating a glorious past. Increasingly they came to be seen as authentic depictions of the Inka made by an indigenous population that had remained essentially unchanged by three hundred years of Spanish rule.

Nineteenth-century paintings are not forgeries in the sense of being deliberately and deceptively passed off as ancient objects; rather their association with a timeless indigenous culture that had remained unchanged from the sixteenth century allowed Europeans to construe the paintings as authentic. No doubt some creoles resisted that move, seeking to find the origins of Peruvian culture in the hybrid productions of the colonial period. It will be important for future studies to question the role of colonial period Peruvian arts in the construction of a post-independence nationalist imaginary. Nevertheless, a true *indigenismo* movement, an embrace of the indigenous population as a key component of Peruvian culture, would not arise until the early decades of the twentieth century. In the meantime, paintings of the Inka fell into an irreconcilable gap between Europe and the Andes, lost in the contact zone from which they had been produced.

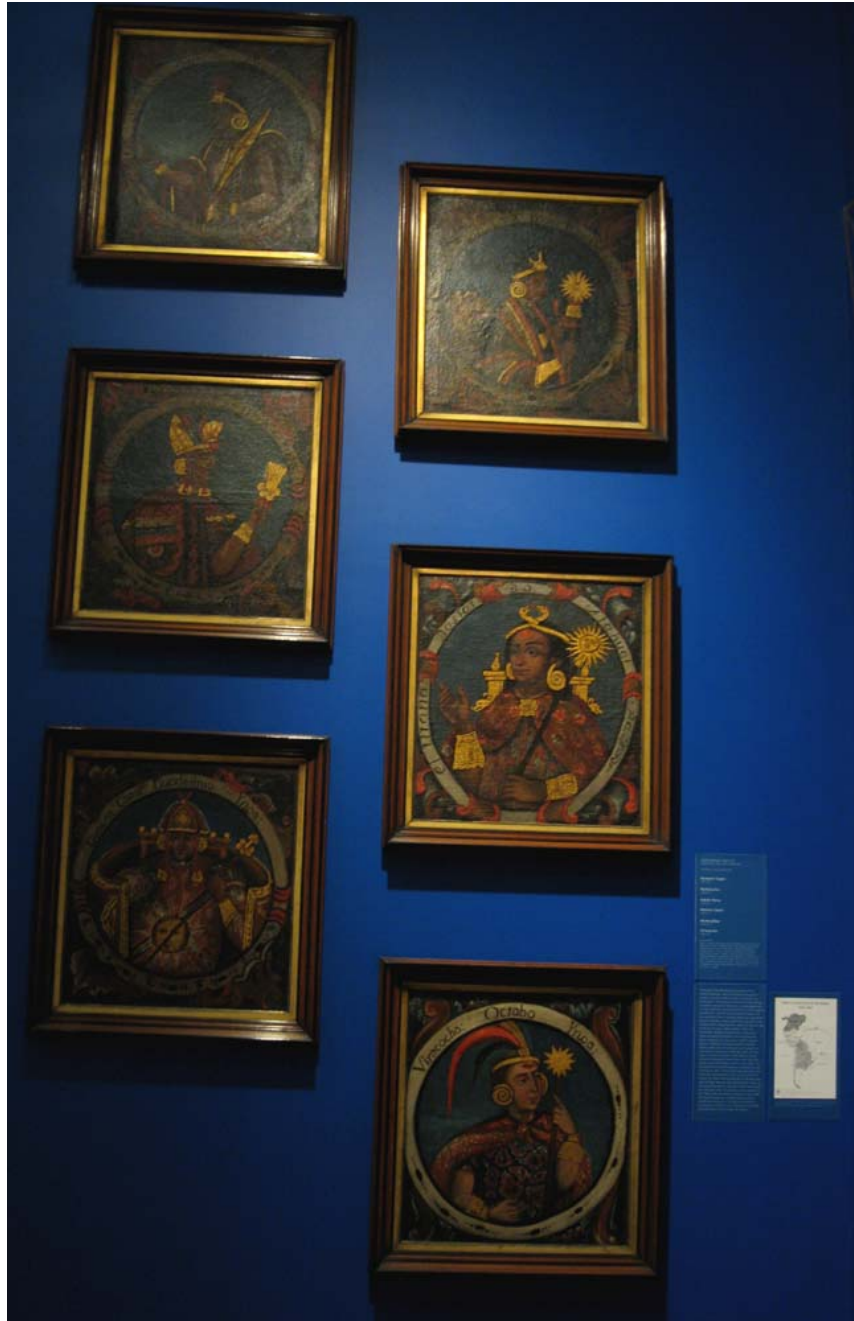


Figure 1.1: Paintings of the Inka Dynasty (*American Identities* Installation). Brooklyn Museum. Photo by Author, 2011.

Figure 1.2: Map of Inka Empire in 1532. In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, xiv.



Figure 1.3: *Viracocha, Eighth Inca*, probably mid-18th century. Oil on canvas, 23 3/8 x 21 9/16 in. (59.4 x 54.8 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay Fund, Mary Smith Dorward Fund, Marie Bernice Bitzer Fund, Frank L. Babbott Fund; Gift of The Roebling Society and the American Art Council; purchased with funds given by an anonymous donor, Maureen and Marshall Cogan, Karen B. Cohen, Georgia and Michael deHavenon, Harry Kahn, Alastair B. Martin, Ted and Connie Roosevelt, Frieda and Milton F. Rosenthal, Sol Schreiber in memory of Ann Schreiber, Joanne Witty and Eugene Keilin, Thomas L. Pulling, Roy J. Zuckerberg, Kitty and Herbert Glantz, Ellen and Leonard L. Milberg, Paul and Thérèse Bernbach, Emma and J. A. Lewis, Florence R. Kingdon, 1995.29.8



Figure 2.1 Cuzco School. *Saint Joseph and the Christ Child*, late 17th-18th century. Oil on canvas, 43 x 32 1/8in. Brooklyn Museum, Museum Expedition 1941, Frank L. Babbott Fund, 41.1275.191

Figure 2.2: Bernardo Bitti, *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1603, oil on canvas, 86 ¼ x 48 in.
Church of La Compañía, Arequipa. In *Art of Colonial Latin America*, by Gauvin Alexander
Bailey. New York: Phaidon Press, 2005, 296.

Figure 2.3: Diego Quispe Tito, The Good Shepherd with the Sign of Leo, 1681, oil on canvas, 55 ½ x 72 ¾ in. Cathedral, Cuzco. In “La serie del zodiaco del Diego Quispe Tito,” *El Zodíaco en el Peru: Los Bassano y Diego Quispe Tito*. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1987, 63.

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Figure 2.4: Anonymous Cusco School Artist, *Archangel with Gun: Fortitvd*, early 18th c., oil on canvas, 63 ¼ x 39 ½ in. Museo de Arte, Lima. In *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting in Peru and Bolivia*. New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986, 64.



Figure 2.5: Inka Royal Uncu decorated with *tocapu* motif, ca. 1530, camelid wool, 36 x 30 ½ in. Dumbarton Oaks, Pre-Columbian Collection B-518, Washington, D.C.



Figure 2.6: Frontispiece for “Decada Quinta,” from Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia de los hechos de los castellanos*, 1615, engraving, 8.9 x 6.2 in.

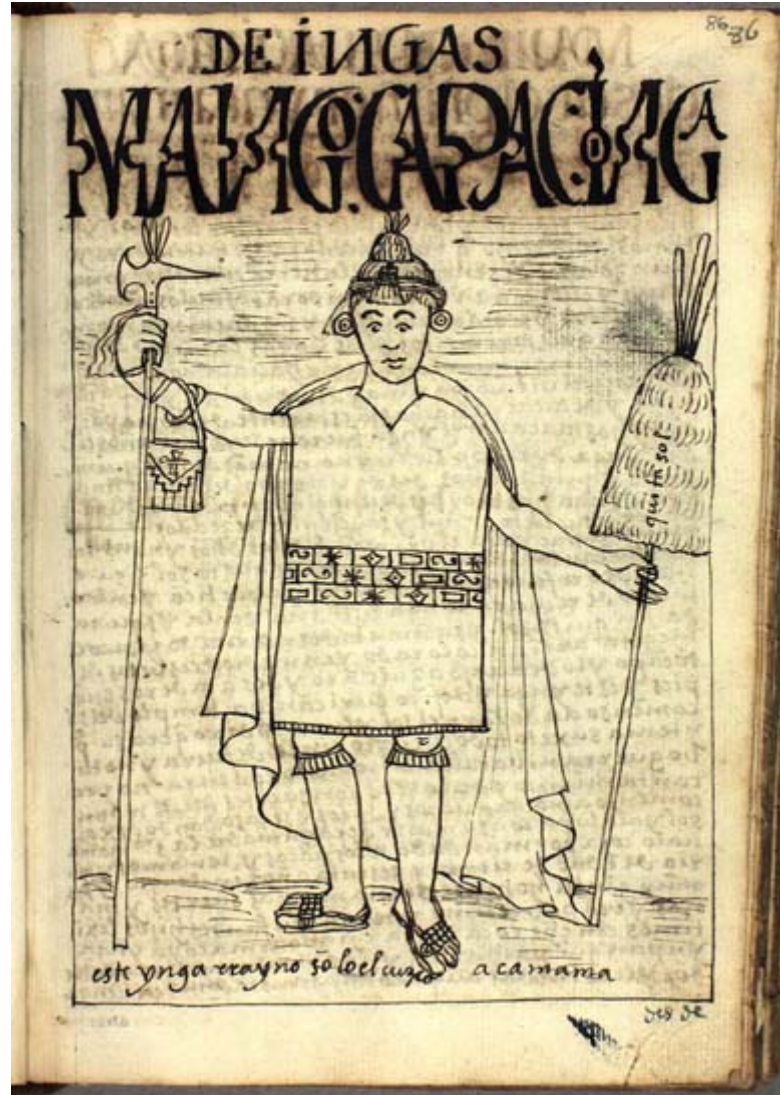


Figure 2. 7: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Manco Capac*, from *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, fol. 87, 1615, pen on paper Royal Library, Copenhagen. <http://www.kd.dk/permalink/2006/poma> (Accessed November 18, 2012).

Figure 2.8: *Manco Capac*, from Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los ingas del Peru*, ca. 1590, watercolor on paper. Private collection.

Figure 2.9: *Manco Capac*, from Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Pirú*, c.1614, watercolor on paper. Getty Resarch Institute, Los Angeles.



Figure 3.1: Title page for Cristóbal Mena, *La conquista del Perú*, 1534.



Figure 3.2: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk*, ca. 1528, ink and wash on paper. British Museum. Photo courtesy the British Museum.

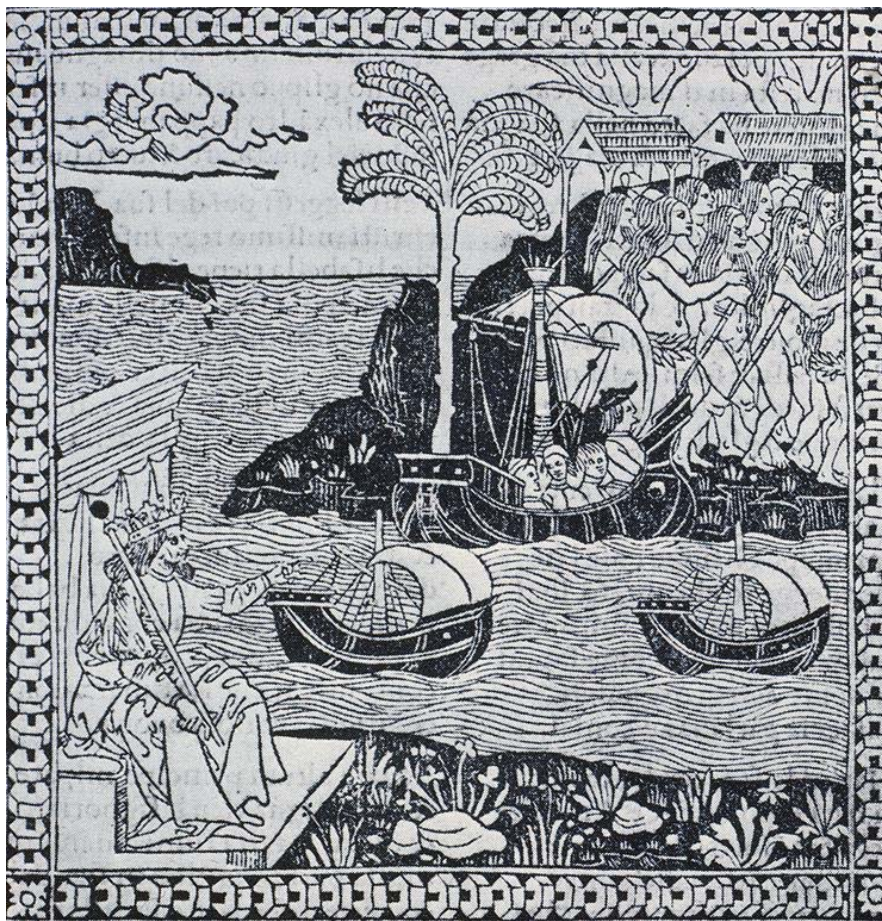


Figure 3.3: "Columbus Landing in the Indies," from Giuliano Dati, *Lettera* 1493, woodcut print. In *The New Golden Land*, by Hugh Honour. New York: Pantheon, 1975, 6.



Dieses gut anhangt vns das volck vnd ist die gesunden ist durch den christlichen künig zu Portugal oder von seinen vnderthonen. Die leut sind also nackt hießsch, braun wolgestalt von leib, it heisst als ein sch am, süß, farwen vnd mannt mit wenig mit seiden bedekt. Auch haben die mann waren angesehen vnd krauß vil odet gefain. Es hat auch nyemang nichts sunder sind alle ding gemein. Das die mann haben weyber welche in gefallen, es sy mütter, schwester, oder freunde, darmit hütten sy nie vnd schayd. Sy streyten auch mit einander. Sy essen auch einander (also die erst blage) vnd hantzen das selbig fleisch in den gauth. Sy werden als hundert vnd funffzig iar. Vnd haben kein regiment.

Figure 3.4: “The People of the Islands Recently Discovered . . .,” German, ca. 1505, woodcut print. In *The New Golden Land*, by Hugh Honour. New York: Pantheon, 1975, 12.

Figure 3.5: Simon Bening and Antonio de Hollanda, “Genealogy of the Kings of Aragon,” from *Genealogy of the Infante Dom Fernando of Portugal*, fol. 4, ca. 1530, paint on vellum. British Library. In *Illuminating the Renaissance*, edited by Thomas Kren and Scott McKendrick. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003, 461.

Figure 3.6: Gentile Bellini (attr.), *Portrait of Mehmet II*, 1480, oil on canvas.
The National Gallery, London. In *Venice and the Islamic World: 828-1797*, edited
by Stefano Carboni. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press,
2007, 68.

Figure 3.7: Emperor Galba, Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, image adapted from Roman coin, ink on paper, ca. 1350. In *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, by Francis Haskell. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, 27.

Figure 3.8: Andrea Mantegna, *Tiberius Caesar* from the Camera degli Sposi in Mantua, ca. 1465, fresco. In *Andrea Mantegna: Padua and Mantua*, by Keith Christiansen. New York: George Braziller, 1994, 96.

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Figure 3.9: Aegidius Sadeler, *The Emperor Tiberius*, engraved after Titian, early 17th c. (painting c. 1537-1538.) In *The Paintings of Titian* by Harold Wethey. London: Phaidon, 1975, vol 3, fig. 36.

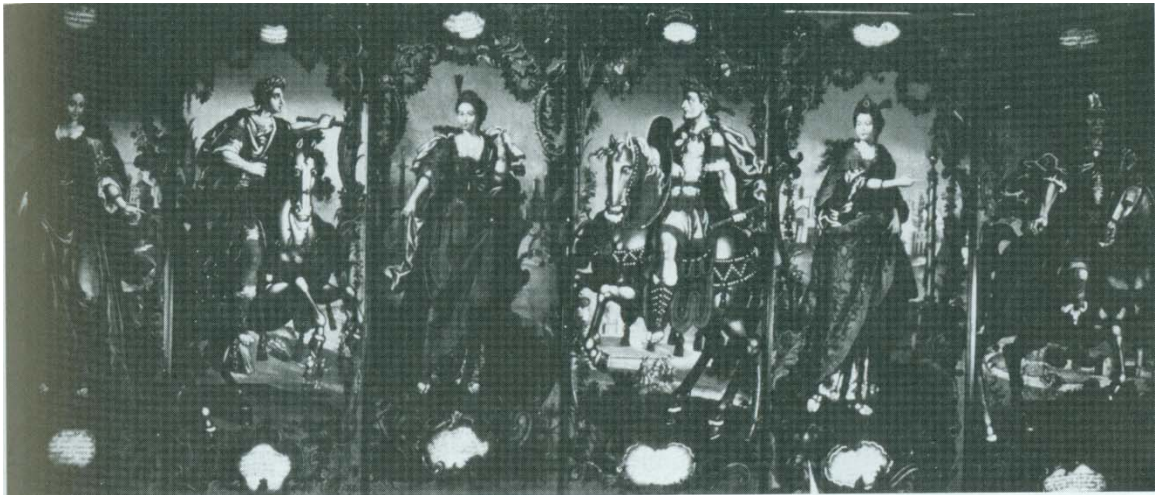


Figure 3.10: Biombo with Roman Emperors and Consorts, Peru, early 18th c. In *Temples of Gold, Crowns of Silver: Reflections on Majesty in the Viceregal Americas*, edited by Barbara von Barghahn. Washington, D.C.: The Art Museum of the Americas, 115.

Figure 4.1: Coat of Arms granted to descendants of Tupa Inka Yupanqui, ca. 1600-1630, paint on vellum. 13 ³/₄ x 17 in. Archive of the Indies, Seville. In *Los Siglos de Oro*. Madrid: Museo de América and Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999, 219.

Figure 4.2: Portrait of Alonso Chigantupa, 18th c., oil on canvas, 83 ¼ x 49 ¾ in. Museo Inka, Cusco. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 219.

Figure 4.3: Portrait of Marcos Chiguantupa, ca. 1740, oil on canvas, 82 x 48 ¼ in. Museo Inka, Cusco. In *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 201.

Figure 4.4: Portrait of Luis Chiguantupa, ca. 1750, oil on canvas, 82 x 48 ¼ in.
Private collection. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 223.

Figure 4.5: Colonial version of mascapaycha assemblage with bejeweled llautu, detail of Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.6: *P Portrait of a Ñusta*, 18th c., oil on canvas, 80 ³/₄ x 48 ³/₄ in. Museo Inka, Cusco. In *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 161.

Figure 4.7: *Cusi Chimbo Coya*, from Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los ingas del Peru*, ca.1590, watercolor on paper, 12 x 8 in. Collection of Sean Galvin, Dublin, Ireland.

Figure 4.8: *Sinchi Roca Inga*, from Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Pirú*, ca.1614, watercolor on paper, 12 x 8 in. Getty Resarch Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

Figure 4.9: *Matrimonio de Beatriz Clara Coya y Martín García de Loyola*, ca. 1680, oil on canvas, 107 ½ x 179 ¼. Church of la Compañía, Cusco. In *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, edited by Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stantton-Pruitt. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 441.

Figure 4.10: Painting of a Coya (Mama Huaco), 18th c., oil on canvas, 81 x 49 in. Museo Inka, Cusco. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 217.

Figure 4.11: Tupa Inka Yupanqui and Mama Kuareina, early 19th c.(?), oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection, La Paz. In *America, Bride of the Sun*. Brussels: Flemish Community and Administration of External Affairs, 1992, 154.



Figure 4.12: *El Tirano Bastardo Atahualpa*, probably mid-18th century. Oil on canvas, 23 5/8 x 21 3/4 in. Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay Fund, Mary Smith Dorward Fund, Marie Bernice Bitzer Fund, Frank L. Babbott Fund; Gift of The Roebling Society and the American Art Council; purchased with funds given by an anonymous donor, Maureen and Marshall Cogan, Karen B. Cohen, Georgia and Michael deHavenon, Harry Kahn, Alastair B. Martin, Ted and Connie Roosevelt, Frieda and Milton F. Rosenthal, Sol Schreiber in memory of Ann Schreiber, Joanne Witty and Eugene Keilin, Thomas L. Pulling, Roy J. Zuckerberg, Kitty and Herbert Glantz, Ellen and Leonard L. Milberg, Paul and Thérèse Bernbach, Emma and J. A. Lewis, Florence R. Kingdon, 1995.29.14

Figure 4.13: Coat of Arms given to Paullu Inka, detail of Figure 4.3.

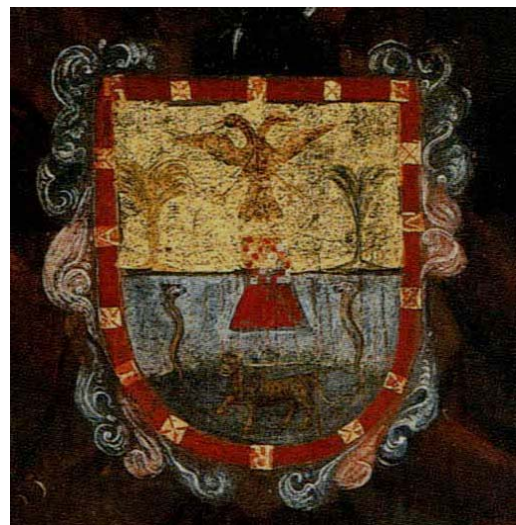


Figure 4.14: *Defense of the Eucharist*, Cusco, 18th c., oil on canvas. 53 x 43 in. Private collection. In *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection*, edited by Suzanne Stanton-Pruitt. Stanford, CA: Skira and The Iris & Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2006, 133.

Figure 4.15: Carriage of San Cristóbal Parish, ca. 1680, oil on canvas, 53 ½ x 86 ¼ in. Museo del Arzobispo, Cusco. In *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 315.

Figure 4.16: Colonial unku with tocapu design, 17th c., camelid fiber, 35 x 29 ³/₄ in. Private collection. In *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 173.



Figure 4.17 Alférez Real tunic, 17th c., camelid fiber with silk and metallic embroidery, 34 ½ x 29. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. <http://www.lacma.org>



Figure 4.18: Castle Rampart as part of the colonial mascapaycha assemblage, details of Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.17.

Figure 4.19: *Santiago Mataindios*, 18th c., oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Cusco Cathedral. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 115.



Figure 4.20: Processional Figure of Santiago Matamoros in Cusco, 2008. Photo by Author

Figure 5.1: *Dynasty of the Inka and Spanish Kings of Peru*, ca. 1725, oil on canvas, 63 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 99 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Beaterio de Copacabana, Lima. In *The Arts in Latin America 1492-1820*, edited by Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stanton-Pruitt. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 465.

Figure 5.2: *Dynasty of the Inka and Spanish Kings of Peru*, ca. 1725, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Lima Cathedral. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 238.

Figure 5.3: *Dynasty of the Inka and Spanish Kings of Peru*, ca. 1725, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Convento de San Francisco, Ayacucho. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 239.

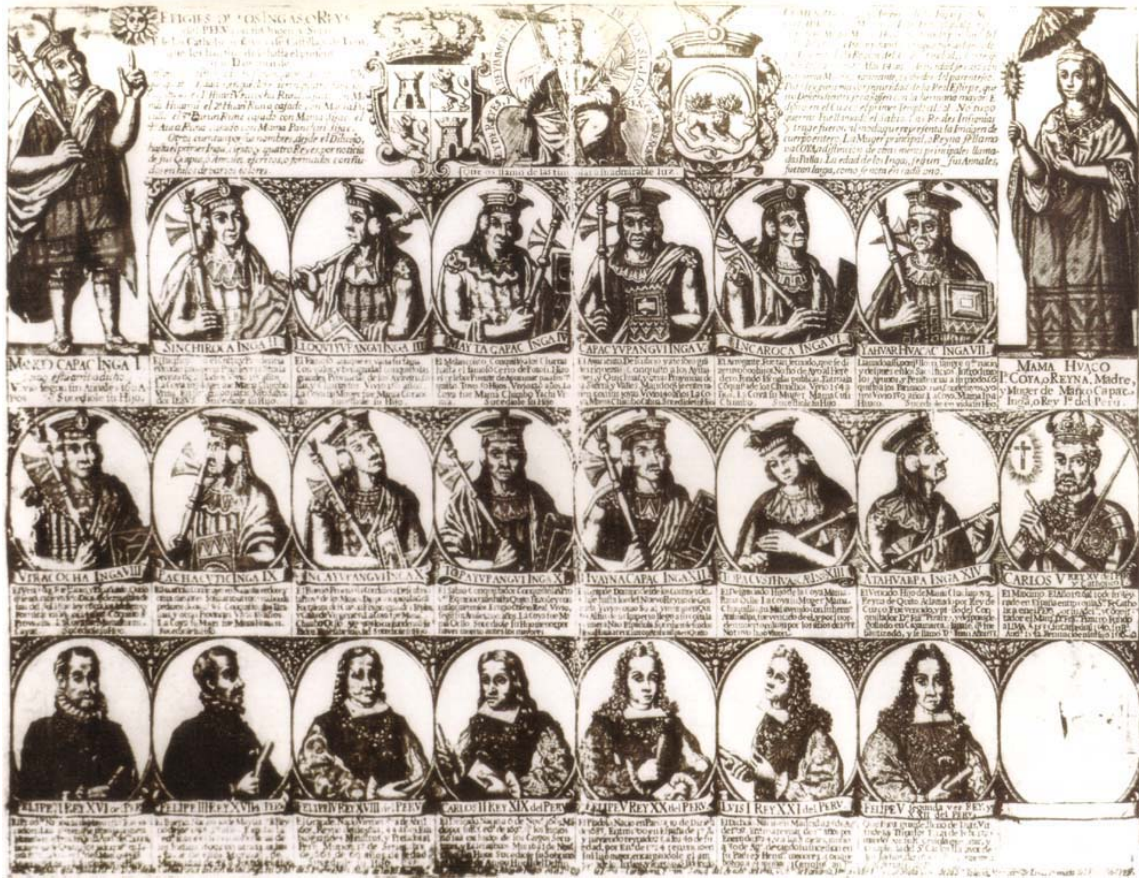


Figure 5.4: Alonso de la Cueva (intellectual author), *Efigies de los Ingas o Reyes del Perú*. ca. 1725, engraving, dimensions unknown. Current location unknown. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 233.

Figure 5.5: Amédée Frézier, *Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo Uaco*, 1714, watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. National Library of France. In *Visión y símbolos del Virreinato criollo a la república peruana*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2006, 247.

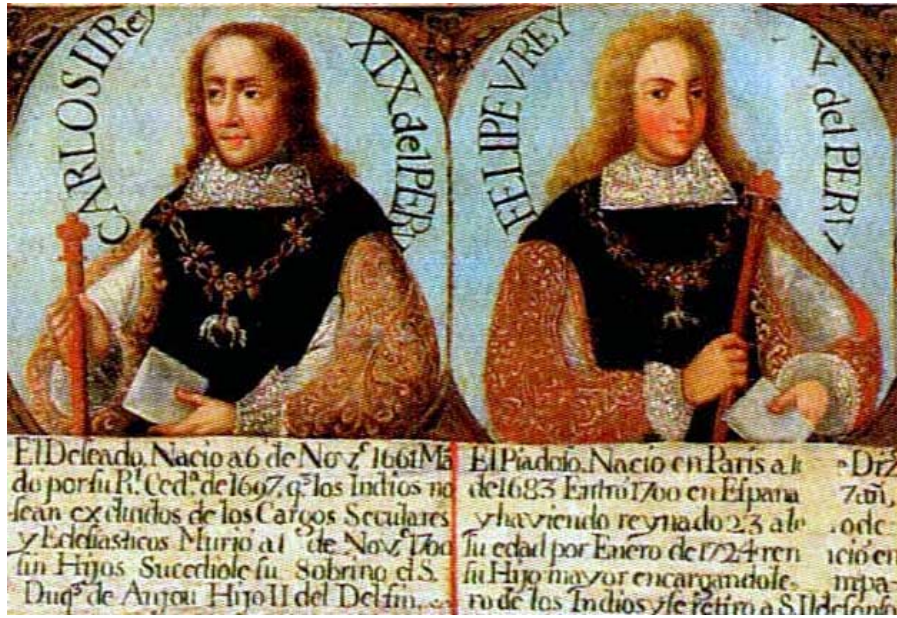


Figure 5.6: Carlos II Rey XIX del Peru and Felipe V Rey XX del Peru, detail of Figure 5.1.



Figure 5.7: Atahualpa Inga XIV and Carlos V Rey XV del Peru, detail of Figure 5.1.



Figure 5.8: Raphael and Giulio Romano, *Constantine's Vision of the Cross*, 1520-4, fresco, Stanza della Segnatura, Palazzi Pontifici, Vatican. Artstor. <http://www.artstor.org>. (accessed March 15, 2011).

Figure 6.1: *Portrait of Manuela Tupac Amaru*. 18th c., oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection (Lima). In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 255.

Figure 6.2: *Dynasty of the Inka*, ca. 1820-1830, oil on canvas, 21 ¼ x 24 ¾ in.
Private collection, Lima. In *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*,
edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín. New Haven: Yale
University Press, 2004, 364.



Figure 6.3: *Four Inca Kings: Tupac Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, Huascar Inca, Atahualpa*, early 19th century. Oil on canvas, 7 3/4 x 22 3/4 in. (19.7 x 57.8 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Mrs. Philip Ainsworth Means in memory of Philip Ainsworth Means , 47.119.

Figure 6.4: Marcos Chillitupa Cháves, Screen with Figures of the Inka Dynasty, 1836, oil on board, 76 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Private Collection, Cusco. In *The Colonial Andes Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht and Cristina Esteras Martín. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 366.



Figure 6.5: Portrait of Justo Sahuaraura, from Justo Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana*, 1850, lithograph, dimensions unknown.(Image in the Public Domain).



Figure 6.6a: Lithographs of the Inka, from Justo Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos de la monarquia peruana*, 1850, lithograph, dimensions unknown. (Image in the Public Domain).



Figure 6.6b: Lithographs of the Inka, from Justo Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos de la monarquia peruana*, 1850, lithograph, dimensions unknown.(Image in the Public Domain).

Figure 6.7a: *Manco Capac*, from Justo Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos de la monarquia peruana*, 1836-8, watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Guita and José Mindlin Library, Sao Paulo. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 280.



Figure 6.7b: Manco Capac, detail of Figure 2.6.

Figure 6.7c: *Huascar*, from Justo Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana*, 1836-8, watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Guita and José Mindlin Library, Sao Paulo. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 281.

Figure 6.7d: *Paullo Inka*, from Justo Sahuaraura, *Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana*, 1836-8, watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Guita and José Mindlin Library, Sao Paulo. In Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. La Paz: Gisbert, 2004, after page 160.

Figure 6.8a: Photo showing view of the interior of Molina de los Incas with mural paintings, Acomayo. In Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 3rd ed. La Paz: Gisbert y Cia, 2004, after p.176.

Figure 6.8b: Tadeo de Escalante, Manco Capac through Yahuar Huacac, ca. 1830, fresco. Molina de los Incas, Acomayo. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 289.

Figure 6.8c: Tadeo de Escalante, Mama Huaco and Mama Oclo, ca. 1830, fresco. Molina de los Incas, Acomayo. In Flores Ochoa et al., *Pintura mural del Surandino*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 1993, 259.

Figure 6.8d: Tadeo de Escalante, Unnamed Coya with Coat of Arms, ca.1830, fresco. Molina de los Incas, Acomayo. In Flores Ochoa et al., *Pintura mural del Surandino*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 1993, 258.

Figure 7.1: “Inkas of Peru,” from José Eusebio del Llano Zapata, *Epítome cronológico o idea general del Perú*, 1778, ink on paper, dimensions unknown. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 246.

Figure 7.2: ““The Capture of Atahualpa at Cajamarca,” from Theodore de Bry, *Americae pars Sexto sive Historae ab Hieronymi Benzoni*, 1596, copperplate engraving with color, 8 ¼ x 11 in. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 4.

Figure 7.3: “Vista del cerro y Fortaleza fabricada por los incas del Perú,” from José Eusebio del Llano Zapata, *Epítome cronológico o idea general del Perú*, 1778, ink on paper, dimensions unknown. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 247.

Figure 7.4: Ramón de Arechaga y Calvo. Vista del cerro y Fortaleza fabricada por los incas del Perú, 1773, pen and color wash on paper, dimensions unknown. Archive of the Indies, Seville. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 248.



Figure 7.5a: Melchor Pérez de Holguín, *Entry into Potosí of Viceroy Archbishop Morcillo*, 1718, oil on canvas, 98 x 201 in. Museo de América, Madrid. In *Los Siglos de Oro*. Madrid: Museo de América and Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999, 146.



Figure 7.5b: Detail of Figure 5.5a.



Figure 8.1: “Incas, ou Roy du Perou,” from Amédée Frézier, *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud aux côtes du Chily et du Pérou*, 1716, engraving, 6 ¾ x 4 ¾ in. In *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900* vol. 2, edited by Joanne Pillsbury. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008, 224.



Figure 8.2: "Tupinamba Couple," from Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil autrement dit Amerique*, 1598, woodcut print, 6 ½ x 4 in. In *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Donald Preziosi, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, 202.

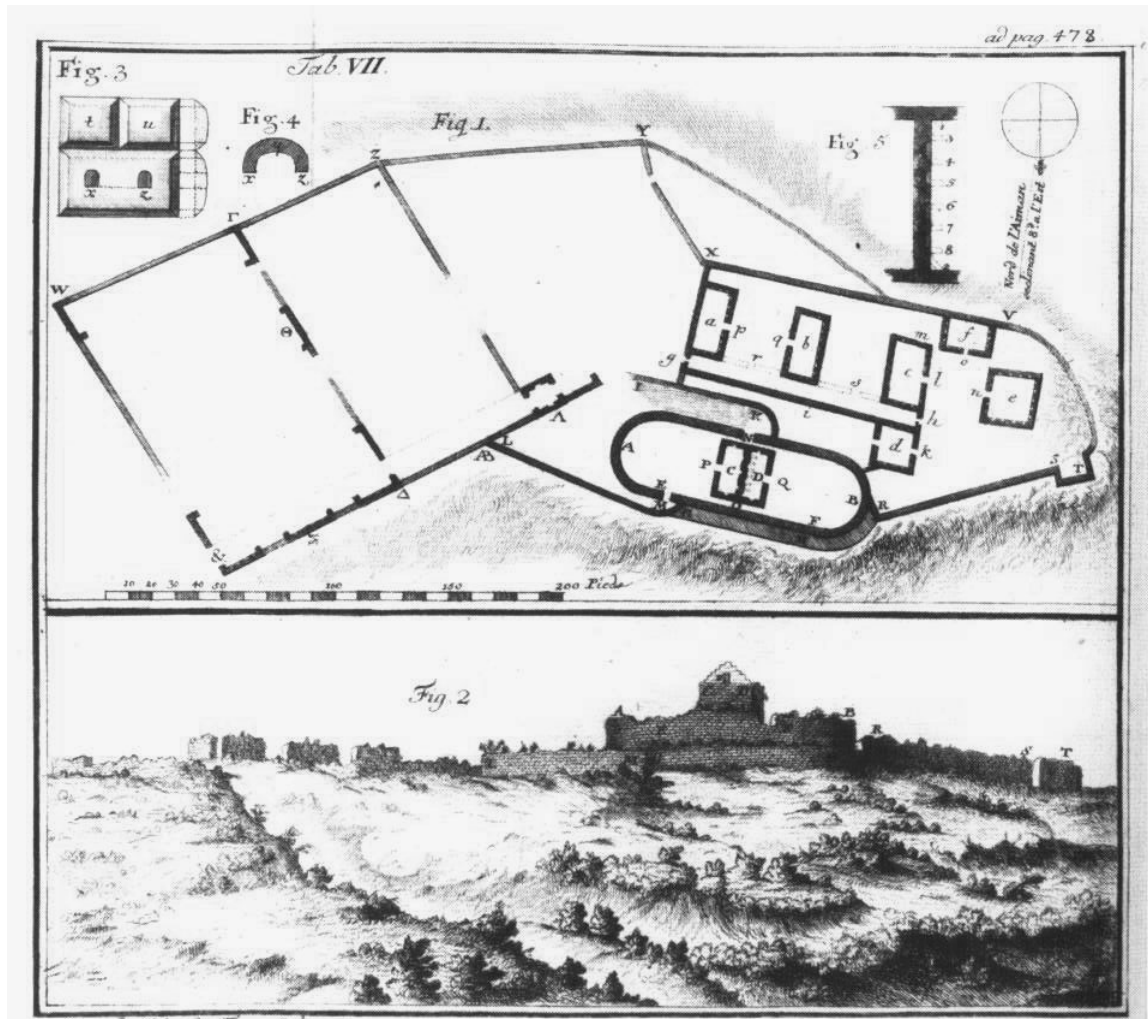


Figure 8.3: “Plan and elevation of Ingapirca,” from Charles-Marie de la Condamine, “Mémoire sur quelques anciens monuments du Pérou, du temps des Incas,” in *Mémoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences et des Belles-Lettres de Berlin*, 1748. In *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900* vol. 2, edited by Joanne Pillsbury. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008, 338.

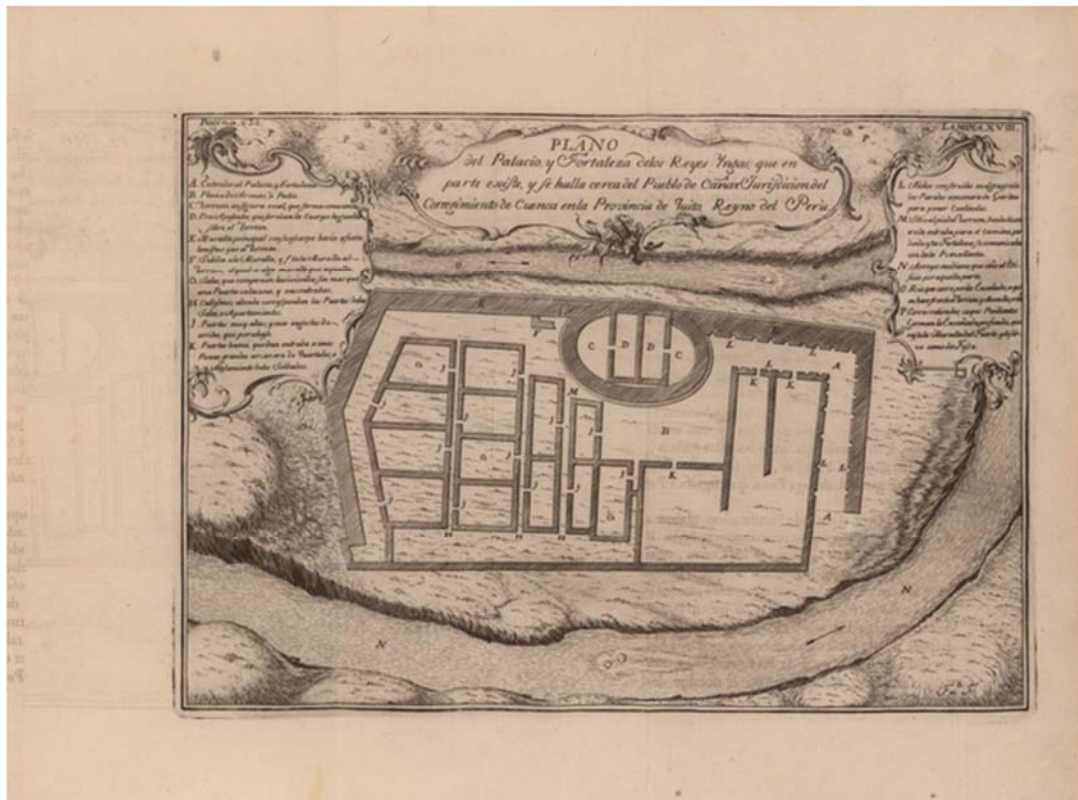


Figure 8.4: “Plan of Ingapiraca,” from Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional*, 1748, engraving, 10 ½ x 15 ½ in. John Carter Brown Library, Archive of Early American Images. <http://jcb.lunaimaging.com> (accessed November 18, 2012).



Figure 8.5: “Peruvian landscape with inhabitants of Lima,” from Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación histórica del viage a la América meridional*, 1748, engraving, 7 ¾ x 10 ½ in. In *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies 1530-1900*, vol. 2, edited by Joanne Pillsbury. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008, 332.



Figure 8.6: *Español y Gente blanca quasi limpios de su Origen*, 1770, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Museo Nacional de Anthropología, Madrid. In *Los Cuadros de Mestizaje del Virrey Amat*, edited by Natalia Majluf. Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 1999, 42.



Figure 8.7: *Mestizo con Yndia Producen Cholo*, 1770, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Museo Nacional de Anthropología, Madrid. In *Los Cuadros de Mestizaje del Virrey Amat*, edited by Natalia Majluf. Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 1999, 43.

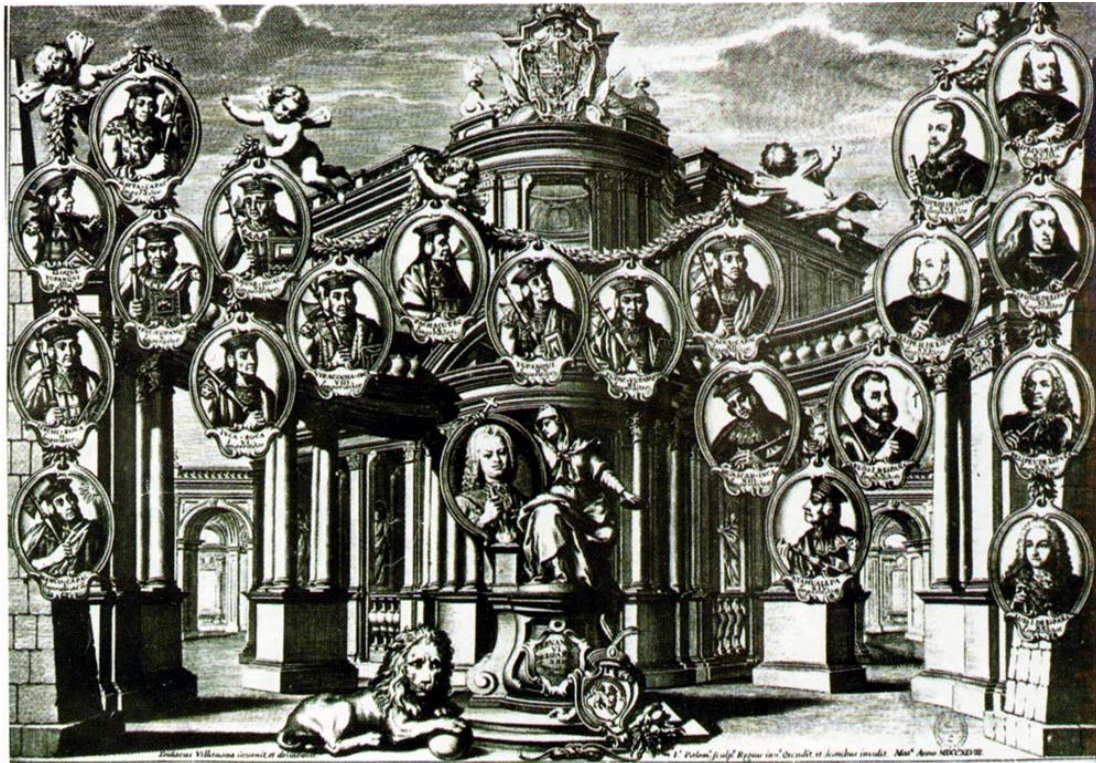


Figure 8.8: “Lineage of Inka and Spanish Kings of Peru,” from Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional*, 1748, engraving, 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 241.

Figure 8.9: *Huascar Inca XIII*. ca. 1850, oil on canvas, 15 ¾ x 9 ½ in. Musée du Quai Branly, Paris. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 301.

Figure 8.10: *Inka Dynasty with Pizarro*, 19th c., oil on paper, mounted on canvas, dimensions unknown. Denver Art Museum. In *Exploring New World Imagery*, edited by Donna Pierce. Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2005, 81.

Figure 8.11a: Paintings of the Inka Dynasty, 19th c., oil on paper, dimensions unknown. Lilly Library, University of Indiana. Photo courtesy of the Lilly Library.

Figure 8.11b: Paintings of the Inka Dynasty, 19th c., oil on paper, dimensions unknown. Lilly Library, University of Indiana. Photo courtesy of the Lilly Library.

Figure 8.12: Paintings of the Inka Dynasty, c. 1850-1875, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Anthropología e Historia (Lima). In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 296.

Figure 8.13a: Manco Capac, early 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13b: Sinchi Roca Inga, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13c: Lloqui Yupanque, e. 19th c.,
oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions
unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum,
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Figure 8.13d: Mayta Capac, e. 19th c.,
oil and watercolor on paper,
dimensions unknown. Thomas
Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Figure 8.13e: Capac Yupanqui, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13f: Inga Roca, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13g: Viracocha Inga, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13h: Inca Yupanqui, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13i: Topa Yupanqui, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.1j: Huayna Capac, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13k: Topa Cusi Huascar, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.13l: Atahualpa, e. 19th c., oil and watercolor on paper, dimensions unknown. Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 8.14a: Manco Capac Inga, e.
19th c., oil on vellum,
8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty Research
Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14b: Mama Huaco, e. 19th
c., oil on vellum,
8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty Research
Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14c: Sinchi Roca Inga, e. 19th c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14 d: Mayta Capac Inga, e. 19th c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14e: Iga Roca [sic.], e. 19th c.,
oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty
Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14f: Yahuar Huacac Inga, e.
19th c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in.
Getty Research Institute, Los
Angeles.

Figure 8.14g: Viracocha Inga, e. 19th
c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty
Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14 h: Pachacuti Inga, e. 19th
c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty
Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14i: Inca Yupangui Inga, e. 19th c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14j: Huayna Capac Inga, e. 19th c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14k: Topa Cusi Huascar
Inga, e. 19th c., oil on vellum,
8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in. Getty Research
Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 8.14l: Atahualpa Inga, e.
19th c., oil on vellum, 8 ¼ x 5 ¾ in.
Getty Research Institute, Los
Angeles.

Figure 8.15: *Lineage of Inka and Spanish Kings of Peru with the portrait of Simón Bolívar*, late 18th c., modified ca. 1825, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection, La Paz. In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 277.

Figure 8.16: Collection of Emilio Montes, published in *El Correo del Peru*, 1874.
In *Los Incas, Reyes del Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005, 309.

APPENDIX A

Paintings of the Inka dynasty are included in numerous public and private collections around the world. The following catalogs the examples of which I am aware. During my research I was given the opportunity to study photographs of four other sets or individual canvases that were circulating on the art market. These include one similar to #5 in the following list, which was sold in an antique store in Los Angeles. Of the others, perhaps the most intriguing was a nineteenth-century series of bust portraits of the Inka on individual canvases that included a depiction of the Vilcabamba Inka, Manco, further attesting to the nineteenth-century vindication of that branch of the Inka family tree. I am unaware what has become of those paintings. As interest in the genre grows, we can hope that more paintings that have disappeared into private collections will come to light. As they do, they will no doubt affect some of the conclusions of the present study.

Excluded from this list are murals and depictions that are bound in manuscripts. Additionally, it does not catalog portraits of the colonial descendants of the Inka. Of that latter group, those that are not in Cusco's Museo Inka are in private hands.

Paintings of the Inka Dynasty

This list is organized by country, then collection in which each painting is housed. When known, artist and date are indicated, and notes give relevant additional information.

ARGENTINA

1)

Private Collection (Buenos Aires)

Date: 18th-19th c.

Notes: The only image of this painting I am familiar with is of poor quality, making identification difficult. It depicts a coya standing in a landscape accompanied by a dwarf attendant and another figure, possibly a child. The name given in the cartouche is illegible from the photograph.

BOLIVIA

2)

Casa de la Monedo (Potosí)

Artist: Florentino Olivares

Date: 1880

Notes: The last known painting of the Inka. The canvas contains 21 roundels, 19 of which contain figures of the 14 Inka that were standard by the 19th century, along with Mama Huaco Ocllo, Pizarro, two Vilcabamba Inka (Sayri Tupa and Tupa Amaru), and Justo Sahuaraura. Two additional roundels contain text. The painting is derived from the lithographs in Sahuaraura's *Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana* (1850). Five coats of arms appear, 3 from the family of Sahuaraura and one of Castile and Leon, all of which appear in

lithographs in *Recuerdos*. In the upper center of the composition is the coat of Peru, flanked by flags.

3)

Private Collection (La Paz)

Date: unknown (early 19th c.?)

Notes: Portrait of Tupa Yupanqui and Mama Kuareina, an unknown coya.

4)

Private Collection (La Paz)

Date: late 18th c. (modified after 1824)

Notes: The only known painted canvas made after Villanueva and Palomino's engraving.

The final Spanish monarch, Charles III, was painted over with a portrait of Simón Bolívar in the 19th century.

CHILE

5)

Museo de Maipu (Santiago)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: The canvas is based on the composition and iconography popularized in Cueva's engraving. Differences from its source include the absence of any reference to religion. Both the depiction of Christ enthroned and the cross suspended next to Charles V have been removed. Those exclusions, along with the increasingly naturalistic style of depiction, indicate a nineteenth century date of manufacture. Last king depicted is Ferdinand VI. A similar version was sold by a Los Angeles dealer around 2005, but its whereabouts are unknown.

FRANCE

6)

Musée de Quai Branly

Date: 19th c.

Notes: Partial series of six small canvases which depict standing figures of the Inka. The Inka included in the set are Lloque Yupanqui, Pachacuti, Inka Yupanqui, Tupa Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, and Huascar.

GERMANY

7)

Ethnologisches Museum (Berlin)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: partial series of canvases, containing depictions of Atahualpa, Huascar and Pizarro

GREAT BRITAIN

8)

Private Collection

Date: Unknown, probably 19th c.

Notes: A single canvas with depictions of the 14 Inka plus Mama Huaco Ocllo. Once in the collection of the Hayne family, it is possible that it has changed hands.

PERU

9)

Convento de San Francisco (Ayacucho)

Date: c. 1728

Notes: A painted version of the composition popularized by Cueva. It is similar to the canvases in Lima's Cathedral and Beaterio de Copacabana in that it abandons Cueva's tiered headdress for a Cusco-style mascaypacha. It differs from the Lima canvases in its palette and the absence of glosses accompanying each figure. Final ruler depicted is Philip V.

10)

Museo de la Recoleta (Arequipa)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: 15 canvases with bust depictions of the Inka and Mama Huaco Ocllo.

11)

Museo Inka (Cusco)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: Pair of canvases showing Manco Capac and Mama Huaco in landscape settings

12)

Museo Inka (Cusco)

Date: 1830-1840

Notes: Pair of canvases depicting Manco Capac and Mama Raua Ocllo in roundels against a bright blue background.

13)

Museo Inka (Cusco)

Date: mid 18th c.

Notes: Figure of an unidentified coya (probably Mama Ocllo) standing in front of a rock face. A castle turret appears in the background.

14)

Beaterio de Copacabana (Lima)

Date: ca. 1725-1747

Notes: Based on Cueva's engraving but with mascapaycha.

15)

Museo de Cathedral (Lima)

Date: ca. 1725

Notes: Based on Cueva's engraving but with mascaypacha

16)

Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Anthropología e Historia del Perú (Lima)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: 15 canvases with depictions of 14 Inka and Mama Huaco Ocllo in bust.

17)

Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Anthropología e Historia del Perú (Lima)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: Partial series of Inka in bust. Names of the Inka are on paper that has been attached to the canvas.

18)

Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Anthropología e Historia del Perú (Lima)

Artist: Tomás Rojas Negrón

Date: 1868

Notes: genealogical tree. Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo Huaco stand in a landscape. In the tree hang 13 roundels with depictions of the Inka.

19)

Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Anthropología e Historia del Perú (Lima)

Date: 1850-1870

Notes: Rare depiction of Tupa Amaru, the final Vilcabamba Inka.

20)

Museo Pedro de Osma

Date: 1835-1845

Notes: Single canvas with Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, who are depicted standing, and 13 other Inka in roundels. Based on Cueva's engraving but erases the Spanish kings.

21)

Private Collection (Celso Pastor de la Torre, Lima)

Artist: Marcos Chillitupa Chávez

Date: 1837

Notes: Rare example of a biombo (folding screen) decorated with depictions of the Inka. Ends with an equestrian portrait of "El Libertador del Perú."

22)

Private Collection (Alex Ciurlizza, Lima)

Date: c. 1825

Notes: single canvas with 14 figures depicted standing against a blue background. Similar in style to partial series in the Brooklyn Museum, except that Atahualpa has been removed from the lineage.

23)

Private Collection (Lima)

Date: mid 18th c.

Notes: Figure of Mama Ocllo standing in a landscape in front of a castle turret. A parrot perches on a tree on the left.

24)

Private Collection (Lima)

Date: 18th (?)

Notes: Figure of Mama Huaco standing in a landscape accompanied by a dwarf attendant. The painting is badly damaged, and significant portions have flaked off.

UNITED STATES

25)

Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, New York)

Date: late 18th-early 19th c.

Notes: 14 canvases, ending with Atahualpa who is named as “the bastard tyrant.”

26)

Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, New York)

Date: early 19th c. (?)

Notes: partial series containing full figure representations of 4 Inka (Tupa Yupanqui-Atahualpa), composition related to 22 above.

27)

Denver Art Museum (Denver, CO)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: A painting of “El Gran Ñusta Mama Occllo” with a dwarf attendant, set against a blue background. The figure combines standard depictions of Mama Huaco Ocllo with those of colonial ñustas (for example the mascapaycha on the table to her side). Additionally, she holds in her hand a decapitated head.

28)

Denver Art Museum (Denver, CO)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: 16 canvases with Mama Huaco and Pizarro.

29)

Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles, CA)

Date: ca. 1830

Notes: Partial set of 12 paintings on paper with the Inka placed in a landscape.

30)

Gilcrease Museum of the American West (Tulsa, OK)

Date: by 1830

Notes: Partial set of 12 paintings on paper with the Inka placed in a landscape. Some show architectural features, some of which are identifiable. Similar to the series owned by the Getty, and likely produced by the same workshop.

31)

Lilly Library, University of Indiana (Bloomington, IN)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: A set of 16 paintings of the Inka, Mama Huaco Occllo and Pizarro in a bust format.

32)

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA)

Date: 19th c.

Notes: 1 canvas depicting Atahuallpa, probably once part of a larger series.

33)*

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA)

Date: before 1816

Notes: 7 polychrome wood statues of the Inka (4) and coya (3). Although not paintings, they are highly unusual and deserve attention.

34)

San Antonio Museum of Art

Date: 19th c.

Notes: Pair of canvases with Manco Capac and Mama Occllo Huaco standing in a landscape.

APPENDIX B

THE FAITH AND TESTIMONY THAT IS IN THE FOUR PAÑOS, OF THE VERIFICATION THAT WAS MADE WITH THE INDIOS OF THE PAINTING AND THE HISTORY THEY CONTAINED¹

In the city of Cuzco on January 14, 1572, the most excellent Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, steward of Your Majesty, etc, in order to know and ascertain what is written and painted in these four cloths, that were made to send to your Majesty, concerning the origin and descent of the Inkas, and how they tyrannically subjugated the naturals of these kingdoms, order that before doctor Grabiél [sic] de Loarte, Your Majesty's alcalde of the court, who assists His Excellency and by his command the general inspection of these kingdoms, in the presence of me, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel, his Excellency's secretary, etc., have been called the heads of the ayllu and lineages of the Inka, of the most old and ancient, and that they may have more information about the facts and succession and history referenced in the paños. And together all that was written and painted was read and reported to them so that they may say and declare whether it was true or if something did not conform to what they understood from their ancestors, in order to verify all of it. Additionally, His Excellency ordered that for the said verification, the first conquistadors of this kingdom and the licenciado Polo Ondegardo, Corregidor of this city, be called out of curiosity that this history and ancient deeds of the Inkas is informed and has been ascertained, in order that they may also declare that which they have heard and ascertained and put it in testimony.

Don Francisco de Toledo
in front of me, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel

And later the aforementioned day, month and year, before the illustrious Señor Dr. Grabiél [sic] de Loarte, alcade of Your Majesty's Court and in the presence of me, the said secretary, the Indians appeared, that through the speech of Gonzalo Gómez Jiménez, His Excellency's interpreter and translator from whom an oath was taken and received as by law and he swore he would testify and would interpret the truth, they were said to be the following names and ayllus:

From the lineage and ayllu of Manco Capac:
Domingo Checo, 70 years old

Ayllu of Sinchi Roca:
Joan Apanga, 80
Don Alonso Puscon, 45
Don Diego Quispe, 60

Ayllu of Lloque Yupanqui
Don Diego Cayo Huallpa, 70

- Don Felipe Ticce Conde Mayta, 41
Don Agustín Conde Mayta, 45
- Ayllu of Mayta Capac:
Don Johan Tambo Usca Mayta, 60
Don Phelipe Coca Mayta, 70
- Ayllu of Capac Yupanqui
Don Francisco Coca Zaca, 70
Don Francisco Cusi Guaman, 45
Don Francisco Quihua, 55
Johan Pizarro, 85
- Ayllu of Inka Roca
Don Joan Guaca Mayta, 67
Don Francisco Guaman Rimache, 54
- Ayllu of Yahuar Huacac
Don Joan Cocha Yupanqui, 60
Don Martin Tito Yupanqui, 30
Don Gonzalo Paucar Aucaylli, 40
- Ayllu of Viracocha Inka
Amaro Tito, 70
Don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui, 45
Don García Atao Yupanqui, 40
Don Francisco Andi Huallpa, 89
- Ayllo of Pachacuti Inka Yupanqui
Don Johan Cuzco, 40
Don Gaspar, 53
Don Diego Cayo, 65
Don Joan Illac, 26
Don Domingo, 99
- Ayllu of Tupa Inka Yupanqui
Don Andrés Tupa Yupanqui, 40
Don Cristóbal Pisac Topa, 50
Don García Tupa, 28
Don García Vilca, 50
Don García Pilco, 40
Hierónimo Tito, 26
- Ayllu of Huayna Capac

Don Diego Viracocha Inka, 39
Don Francisco Sayri, 28

Ayllu of Huascar
Don Alonso Tito Atauchi, 40

And besides these, don Hernando Urco Guaranga, 85.

And together, the said Señor alcade of the court, by the same interpreter and translator, took and received from them an oath by God and by a sign of the cross that they made with their hands, that they would testify the truth as they understood it and they were asked; and making the same oath, all that was written and painted in the four *paños* was read to the Indians, the forms (*bultos*) of the Inkas, just as the medallions of the wives and ayllus, and the history from the borders of what occurred in the time of each of the Inka, and the stories and notable things that they say about *Tambotoco* that are on the first cloth, and the fables of the creations of Viracocha being the foundation and origin of History that are on the border of the first cloth, each thing distinctly by itself, as is written and signed with my rubric (except that which is fact and provided by knowledge of History, the wind roses for the demarcation of the sites of towns, that were added by captain Pedro Sarmiento, which was not read to them, because the Indians did not understand it). And it being read, each thing by itself was testified to by the said Indians and to each one of the said ayllus by itself and all together, showing them with their own eyes all that was painted and written in the said *paños*, the forms of the Inka just as the medallions of their wives and ayllus and histories in the border, except that which was not read to them, that is the aforementioned and is and was really the truth, and that which was affirmed among them and is and always has been very certain. And they know that because they had been told by their fathers, grandfathers and other ancestors, telling that they had heard on their own because they had memory of it and it was what they were telling their children and descendants, in the same way they were now with their children, so that they can account for it when asked. And that they did not know or understand anything to the contrary. And that this is the truth, and that this writing and the report of the histories and tales that are on it conformed completely with those that they were told by their fathers and with those that others had said in their remarks on the matter that had been made before this secretary by the alcade of the court and conforms to the general history of the Inkas that the captain Pedro Sarmiento had made from the memories, interviews and reports of those said witnesses and many other principal Indians. And that they had seen many other books made by different people, of this same history, and that this was the most true and that which had been said or might be said to the contrary they did not understand to be the truth. And the same translator said that that which is written is the truth as he read and reported it to the Indians in their language and that which they testified; and that the said Indians that knew how to sign had signed and also the same translator. And the said Señor alcade of the Court said he would put and place his authority and judicial right and he signed it.

Doctor Loarte

Don Agustín Tito Conde Mayta
Don Alonso Tito Atauchí Inka
Don Juan Illa Topa
Don Francisco Sayri Tupa Inka
Gonzalo Gómez Jiménez
Before me, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel

¹Translated by author from a transcription published in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Las memoriales antiguas del Licenciado Montesinos é informaciones acerca del señorío de los ingas* (Madrid: Miguel Ginestra, 1882), 245-252.

APPENDIX C

Four large canvases, on which is painted on one the lineage of the Inkas who governed Peru and on the other three the portraits [*retratos*] of the twelve Inkas up to Guacayna [sic., Huascar] who was the last, in whose time possession was taken by Your Majesty of those provinces. That the one was four and a quarter varas long and three and a three quarters varas in height and the other three and three quarters vara with a length of four and the other three and three quarters varas with a width of four and three quarters varas and the other one vara and five sixths tall with a length of six and two thirds varas. Valued at fifty reales each.¹

¹ Description of Toledo's *paños* from the Inventory of the Royal Collections taken after Philip II's death in 1600. Translated by author after the transcription in F. J. Sánchez Cantón, ed., *Inventorios reales: bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Archivo Documental Español, 1958), 252.

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