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The Cusco School Defense of the Eucharist: A Tribute to Tink

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THE CUSCO SCHOOL DEFENSE OF THE EUCHARIST:

A TRIBUTE TO TINKU

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THESIS

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A TRIBUTE TO TINKU

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ABSTRACT

Andean *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings portray an eternal conflict – that between Spanish monarch and non-believers, but more importantly, that between balanced and complementary opponents. *Defense* paintings ultimately honor the reciprocity between idolatry and orthodox religion, and they owe their inception to the unique circumstances of viceregal Peru. The invention of the iconography can be attributed to an Andean affinity for understanding triumph as the coming together of festive, complementary opponents. Colonial dictionaries describe *tinku* [*tinkuy*] and its many linguistic permutations, as a place of union where two opposing yet complementary forces have come together to form something new and powerful. In the *Defense of the Eucharist*, this new and powerful force is the monstrance. It serves as the symbolic and compositional crux of the iconography.

Andean artists utilized European prints to create the uniquely Peruvian iconography, but they altered these models in significant ways. Firstly, Andean artists substituted dignified Turks in place of Protestants. This is noteworthy, as the conquest discourse oft conceived of Turks as analogous to Amerindians. Secondly, Andean artists

organized the figures in the paintings according to indigenous spacial hierarchies, such as Hanan/Hurin bilateral symmetry. The uniquely Andean composition presents the Turks as balanced opponents to Christians; it celebrates the triumph of Catholicism in Peru as the mutual achievement of both Catholics and their dignified heretical foes.

Andean monstresses in *Defenses* flirt with idolatry through their affiliation with the Inca Sun-God Inti, and their presentation on a column, in an outdoor setting. Additionally, the gold leafing applied to the canvas calls attention to the material history of Andean monstresses, their early assemblage from the gold of melted down pre-hispanic ‘idols.’ This oscillation between orthodox and heretical presence in the monstress commemorates the precarious place that the eucharistic sacrament held in colonial society.

Defense paintings also pay homage to *Moros vs. Cristianos* performances: mock-battles that occurred in viceregal Peru between complementary moieties, both Iberian and indigenous, that were enacted in hopes to promote social cohesion and communal well being. The paintings serve as a lasting testament to moieties’ desire to achieve *tinku* thorough enacting choreographed dances that featured the Moor/Turk character. *Defense* paintings thus participated in the colonial re-imagining of the Turk, shifting the Turk away from his typically pejorative role, and instead presenting the character as a dignified and necessary complement to Catholicism.

**THE CUSCO SCHOOL DEFENSE OF THE EUCHARIST:
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INTRODUCTION

In the viceregal Americas, the Christian crusade was waged not against Islam, but instead idolatry. Idolatry, of course, as perceived by Spaniards, who designated a panoply of indigenous religious and cultural practices as reprehensible and diabolically inspired. This crusade against idols was considered necessary. The Spanish could not physically expel unsuitable inhabitants from the Americas, as they expelled Jews, Muslims and Moriscos from Iberia - in order to obtain revenue from the 'New World' the Spanish required an indigenous labor force. Furthermore, the Spanish perceived their divinely ordained possession of the Americas as contingent upon their Christianizing native inhabitants, freeing them from idolatrous beliefs. To eradicate idolatry, ecclesiastics labored for centuries: enticing and at times forcing native inhabitants of Peru to renounce their formal spiritual orientations and convert to Catholicism. And yet, Andeans were never freed from the suspicion of idolatry.

Objects and rituals of traditional Andean reverence were the subject of sporadic, yet vigorous, persecution by ecclesiastics. The Church enacted systematic attempts to eradicate the vestiges of native religion in Peru, known as campaigns of extirpation of idolatry. The sermons and trial records that survive from these sixteenth through eighteenth century extirpation campaigns characterize native religion as an imminent threat to Catholicism. Attempts were made to construct a rigid dichotomy between the two religions, a wishful positioning of Spanish Christianity as locked in mortal combat with native religion. But the realities of colonial religion in Peru cannot be polarized. Christianity was in essence created anew in the Andes. Christian religious practices

integrated Catholic and Pre-Contact traditions in ways that are often impossible to unravel.¹ The construction of Christianity was a society-wide undertaking that moved forward in tandem with non-Christian Andean religions.² As author Kenneth Mills writes: “there are no clear victors or vanquished in the story [of Andean religion] and the opponents do not keep to their sides.”³

The nebulous reality of Andean religion renders *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings valuable for the fiction they celebrate: Catholics and heretics standing on clearly oppositional lines. In *Defense* paintings an epic battle takes lucid form, as the king of Spain defends the most contentious of Catholic sacraments, the eucharist, against the onslaught of a Turkish king (**Figure 1**). The Spanish king can be understood to defend the sacrament against all enemies who would question the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. This explicit dichotomy, between Catholics and heretics, does not condemn the enemies of Catholicism. In fact, according to an Andean interpretation, the dichotomy allows *Defense* paintings to recognize a reciprocal relationship between Catholics and heretics as two forces that together created a new and distinctly Andean breed of Christianity. The means by which *Defense* paintings portray Catholics and heretics as complementary forces, and the visual sources and historical contexts that informed their fabrication, are the subject of this thesis.

The standoff in *Defenses*, between Spanish king and Turks, evinces to some degree a political reality in the Mediterranean world: Hapsburg and Bourbon kings launched military campaigns in Turkish territories, while Turkish crews pirated the

¹ Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies : Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997). 3.

² Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (USA: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 1.

³ Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies : Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. 4.

Iberian coast. The iconography is, though, at its essence a Counter-Reformation discourse. The monstrance at the center of the composition houses the eucharistic host. According to Late Medieval Catholic doctrine, sacerdotal power enabled Jesus Christ to become physical present during mass. This flesh of Christ was then ritually consumed by congregants, in the form of an un-leavened white disk of bread - called the eucharist or host. That the monstrance serves as the subject of dispute between two parties aptly conveys the divisiveness that the eucharist engendered in the early modern world. Though Church ecclesiastics expressed unease defining the miracle of the eucharist from the fourth century onwards, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of two powerful Reformations in Europe that branded the eucharist as a wholly controversial object. Transubstantiation was disputed vehemently as never before; Catholics absolutely espoused it, while Protestants often rejected it. Some Protestants even levied accusations of idolatry and cannibalism against Catholic eucharistic rituals. The eucharist became, as Miri Rubin aptly states, “a militant emblem of a struggle unto death.”⁴

During the sixteenth century mobs of Calvinist Protestants notoriously destroyed Catholic church fittings in the Low Countries, Switzerland and the Holy Roman Empire. European prints that illustrate these acts of *Beeldenstorm* (Iconoclastic Fury) were extremely influential in the creation of the Andean *Defense* iconography. Take for example Jan Luyken’s print representing the 1568 *Beeldenstorm* in Flanders (**Figure 2**). At the center of the composition an assaulted crucifix appears atop an altar inside a Church. Men grouped on the lower left attempt to bring down the crucifix with ropes that descend diagonally into their hands. In Andean *Defense* paintings Turks are cast in the

⁴ Miri Rubin, "Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture," (Cambridge, United Kingdom Cambridge University Press, 1991), 347.

place of Iconoclast Protestants, and they are likewise portrayed attacking the the body of Christ with ropes that descend diagonally into their hands.

In Peru the *Beeldenstrom* iconography could flourish un-obstructed by European Counter-Reform anxieties. But it was troubled by other anxieties. The replication of a *Beeldenstrom* composition in Peru (even when Protestants are substituted by Turks) acknowledges that Catholic ritual can, and has, been accused of idolatry. This is a noteworthy disclosure in the Andes, a place where idolatry was ever active in the minds of viceregal inhabitants. The iconography casts the monstrance as idol, at least according to the Turks/Protestants who attack it. Communicating the monstrance as idol would then cast the Spanish as idolaters. This oscillation between orthodox and heretical presence in the canvas speaks to the uniquely Andean reading of *Defense* paintings: they celebrate the triumph of Christianity in Peru as the mutual achievement of both Catholics and their dignified heretical foes.

Defense of the Eucharist paintings were produced by the Cusco School guild of painters and circulated exclusively in viceregal Peru. The Cusco School is credited with the creation of a distinctly *mestizo* aesthetic, whereby Peruvian paintings stylistically adapt imported European models and employ traditionally Andean spatial structures and symbols. The Cusco School guild was comprised of a diverse band of artists. A conservative estimate, based on extant seventeenth-century contracts for paintings in Cusco, suggests that at least seventy-five percent of painters were indigenous. Undocumented, anonymous artists, such as those that produced the Andean *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings, are more likely to have been indigenous.⁵ Scholars have yet to

⁵ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C. : Duke University Press, 1999), 78.

identify a *Defense* painting originating from New Spain. Far more popular in New Spain were *Adoration of the Eucharist* and *Triumph of the Catholic Church* iconographies. These two iconographies were also produced in viceregal Peru, but the Andean inception of *Defense* paintings suggests that *Defenses* filled a local lacuna - *Defense* paintings communicated a eucharistic message in the Andes that *Adoration of the Eucharist* and *Triumph of the Catholic Church* paintings did not.

Defense of the Eucharist paintings have been the subject of limited academic investigation. Teresa Gisbert, José de Mesa and Felipe Cossio del Pomar briefly describe the *Defense of the Eucharist* iconography in their respective encyclopedic commentaries on Cusco School painting.⁶ A *Defense* painting was included in the 1971 'Peruvian Colonial Art' exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, and a visual analysis of the work was featured in the accompanying catalogue written by Pál Keleman.⁷ Carolyn Dean, in her study on the viceregal Corpus Christi procession in Cusco, briefly suggests a connection between the religious procession and the *Defense* iconography.⁸

Articles concerning *Defense* paintings, written by Peruvian Anthropologist and Historian Ramón Mujica Pinilla, explore theological correspondences to viceregal sermons in Peru, and, analyze Saint Rose's role in a small number of *Defenses*. Yet Mujica Pinilla does not draw upon the lived, local realities of *Defenses* in his methodology. Rather, his approach aims to locate a definitive theological meaning for *Defense of the Eucharist* imagery. He unearths colonial sermons that purportedly relate to

⁶ José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia De La Pintura Cuzquena* Biblioteca Peruana De Cultura (Lima : Fundacion A.N. Wiese : Banco Wiese, 1982), 308. Felipe Cossío del Pomar, *Peruvian Colonial Art : The Cuzco School of Painting; Translated from the Spanish by Genaro Arbaiza* (Mexico, D. F. : Editorial Libros de Mexico, 1964), 86.

⁷ Pál Keleman, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, 2 ed. (New York, Dover Publications, 1967), 38.

⁸ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 90.

Defense imagery, and from this comparison, posits that the paintings are foremost eschatological. He denies local artists agency in their production, arguing that we should not attribute indigenous ingenuity to iconographic compositions that have clear European antecedents [“No se puede adjudicar a la inventiva indígena composiciones iconográficas que tienen claros antecedentes europeos”].⁹ Here Mujica Pinilla contests Gisbert & Mesa’s classification of *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings as uniquely Andean inventions [“propias de las escuelas andinas”].¹⁰ Unlike Mujica Pinilla, I do not believe it suffices to locate Iberian models for Andean *Defense* paintings and assume the copying of these models was a neutral process. And neither do I intend to conclude my analysis upon identifying a European iconographic reading of the signs in the paintings. Quite the contrary, I hope to vindicate the designation made by Gisbert & Mesa of *Defense* paintings as uniquely Andean.

To acquaint readers with the Andean iconography, I highlight the salient features of *Charles II and the Defense of the Eucharist*, a late seventeenth-century work attributed to the Cusco School (**Figure 3**). The composition of this work is typical of Andean *Defenses*. The figures are organized along horizontal and vertical planes. The large figures on each side - Monarch on the left, enemies of the faith on the right – inhabit the terrestrial plane. The monstrance, centrally elevated atop a column, serves as the conduit towards the divine upper realm. A crucifixion scene decorates the upper sunburst finial of the monstrance. In the celestial realm the Holy Spirit, represented as a dove directly above the monstrance, is flanked by Jesus and God. Jesus and God take on identical form: a man dressed in white raising his right hand in blessing and holding a terrestrial

⁹ Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "El Arte Y Los Sermones," in *El Barroco Peruano, Coleccion Arte Y Tesoros Del Perú* (Lima, Peru: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2002), 282.

¹⁰ Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia De La Pintura Cuzquena* 308.

globe and scepter. A grouping of three saints kneel to either side of the Holy Trinity. Beneath these celestial groupings cherubs descend on the left to crown Carlos II and on the right Archangel Michael battles Satan. Beneath Carlos II a lion's head is visible. A terrestrial globe sits at the base of the column that sustains the monstrance. The monarch and his enemies stand on an elaborately decorated rug in an ambiguous mountainous landscape.

While *Defense* prints were produced in Iberia, and disseminated to the Americas, these prints form a heterogeneous group. There appears to have been no fixed model exported to the Americas for *Defense* iconographies. In Iberian prints of the *Defense of the Eucharist* iconography we find an emphasis on the military threat posed by heretics to the Iberian state and crown. In the 1630 print the Spanish army faces off against a formidably weaponed group on horseback in the background (**Figure 4**). In the 1619 frontispiece an anonymous mass of armored men with long spears looms towards the king of Spain (**Figure 5**). In the 1620 and 1632 prints, we find menacing enemies of Catholicism storming the eucharist from the peripheries of the print (**Figure 6 & 7**). In these European prints, the threat poised by the heretics is seems imminent, and it is often associated with the diabolical. And, in *Defense* prints that feature the king of Spain, artists place the monarch at the center of the print, and portray him as the largest figure hierarchically. Andean *Defense* compositions alter their European prototypes, and these alterations enabled the works to communicate traditional Andean spatial organization schemes and narratives. Andean modifications to European *Defense* models are highly significant, and they will be the focus of my investigation.

The Andean composition functions based upon bilateral symmetry - Catholics stand on one side of a central bisecting vertical line opposite the Turks. The Spanish King and Turks inhabit corresponding spaces and are sized similarly. Within these compositions the central eucharist, housed in an elaborate gilded monstrance, becomes the focal point of the work – displacing the monarch in Iberian versions. In Iberian prints the enemies of the Catholic faith, consisting of Protestants, Muslims and fantastical demon creatures, are positioned across divergent sections of the print. Andean *Defenses* give prominence and specificity the heretical threat in a way that is often denied to the indeterminate enemies of Catholicism in Iberian *Defense* prints. The heretic in Andean *Defenses* is the Turk, always placed on the right side of the canvas.¹¹ *Defense* paintings were also Andeanized through their relationship with festive mock-battles performed in Peru and their salient role in religious festivals. The distinctiveness of Andean *Defense* paintings, coupled with the manifest high demand for the works, suggests that ‘Old World’ characters and conflicts could assume a particularly Andean significance when they were re-created on viceregal canvases.

The Andean modifications to the Iberian models are best approached as manifestations of *tinku*. The colonial Quechua-Spanish dictionary of Diego de González Holguín, published in 1608, defines the Quechua word *tinku* as the coming together of two things.¹² *Tinku* [tinkuy] and its many linguistic permutations, both in Quechua and Aymara, describe a place of union where two opposing yet complementary forces have come together to form something new and powerful. *Tinku* was enacted in colonial

¹¹ One Andean *Defense of the Eucharist* proves the exception, (Figure 35).

¹² Diego Porras Barrenechea Raúl González Holguín and ed, *Vocabulario De La Lengua General De Todo El Perú Llamada Lengua Qquichua O Del Inca*, Nueva , con un prólogo de Raúl Porras Barrenechea. Edición del Instituto de Historia. ed., Universidad Nacional Mayor De San Marcos: Pub. Del Cuarto Centenario (Lima: Impr. Santa María, 1952).

society during ritual battles fought between moieties, competitive ceremonial toasting, public religious processions, and, I would add, in the creation of a new Andean Christianity.¹³

Scholars such as Carolyn Dean and Thomas B.F. Cummins have demonstrated a strong association between *tinku* and Andean artistic production during the viceregal era. These scholars have employed the concept of *tinku* in their analysis of festive costumes worn by Inka nobles and indigenous drinking vessels known as keros. *Tinku* can manifest via narrative, in illustrated stories of battles or competitions between complementary groups that result in new force.¹⁴ *Tinku* can also manifest structurally via bilateral symmetry, when a central site of convergence is placed within a carefully balanced composition in a work of art.¹⁵ Until at least the close of the twentieth century, *tinku* was still a powerful concept in Andean society. Anthropologist Catherine Allen writes, in reference to the beliefs held by the Quechua inhabitants of Sonqo (Department of Cusco) in the 1980's: "In both violent and peaceful modes, tinkuy signifies a mixture of different elements that brings something new into existence... and this new being is endowed with vitalizing force."¹⁶

The immense popularity of the *Defense of the Eucharist* iconography can be attributed to a local Andean affinity for understanding triumph as the coming together of festive, complementary opponents. Each of the four chapters in this study explores a

¹³ Tom Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds (Ann Arbor : The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 260. Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 3,4.

¹⁴ Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 260.

¹⁵ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 158.

¹⁶ Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has : Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*, Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 178.

complementary pair commemorated in the Andean paintings: *Defense* reproduction & modification, monstrance & idol, Christians & heretics, performance & tinku. Each pairing also brings to the surface intense contradictions involved in the Spanish colonizing of Peru: the ontological similarity between objects of Andean and Catholic worship, the implicit deference conferred to Amerindians in positioning them as Catholicism's opponent, the indigenous commandeering of Spanish symbolic language in order to achieve social advancement.

Chapter One explores Iberian precursors and models for Andean *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings. Few, if any, paintings that resemble Andean *Defenses* were produced in Iberia. According to the traditional European art history canon, a "Defense of the Eucharist" paintings features the Doctors of the Catholic Church surrounding the Eucharist, conversing as allies. These paintings never included the king of Spain engaged in combat with heretics, as is evident in Andean versions. Rather, Andean *Defense* paintings share more thematic content with 'Triumph of the Catholic Church' imagery made popular via Peter Paul Ruben's seventeenth century tapestries at the *Convento de las Descalzas* in Madrid. These tapestries, like the *Defense* paintings, herald the Eucharist as the trophy of a Catholic triumph against heretics. Ruben's tapestries, and Habsburg Counter-Reformation images in general, portray heretics as trounced enemies or meek beings. Later chapters will address how Andean *Defenses* depart from this Habsburg tradition, and instead portray the heretical counterpoint to Catholicism as dignified and complementary peoples.

Counter-Reformation portraits of the king of Spain also likely inspired Andean artists in the creation of *Defense* paintings.¹⁷ The Counter-Reformation portraits of Habsburg rulers, commissioned by the court in Madrid, established a visual tradition, whereby when a Habsburg king was portrayed adoring the God or the Eucharist, it was implied that he was also engaged in *militarily defending* Catholicism. But outside the elite court in Madrid, there was no established convention for symbolically linking portraits of kings adoring of the Eucharist with their defense of Catholicism against heretics. Therefore, when Counter-Reformation portraits of Habsburg kings were reproduced via prints, the king was cast as an active defender of the Eucharist, not kneeling in passive adoration. It was these prints, that portray the king of Spain as combatively defending the Eucharist against heretics, that served as the primary models for Andean *Defense* paintings.

Chapter Two focuses on the compositional and symbolic crux of *Defense* paintings: the monstrance. The presentation of the monstrance in *Defense* paintings communicates uniquely Andean meanings through its celebration of local craftsmanship, golden materiality, and religious syncretism. Monstrances are the receptacles for the eucharist, the transubstantiated body of Christ. Monstrances themselves evolved out of the medieval reliquary tradition, first appearing as guardians for the Eucharist in the 13th century. Monstrances became increasingly lavish throughout the medieval era, and in Europe, they took the shape of an architectural reliquary, such as a Gothic tower or

¹⁷ The Habsburg dynasty ruled Spain, and parts of the Holy Roman Empire, from roughly 1500 to 1700.

miniature Roman temple (**Figure 8**), or, the shape of a candle stick culminating in a flat circle, at the center of which was a crystal where the host was displayed.¹⁸

Though monstrances were introduced to the Americas with the arrival of Catholicism, Andean craftsman adroitly undertook and particularized their production. Portable monstrances produced in the Andes were notoriously lavish, as precious material abounded in viceregal Peru and frequent public processions of the eucharist encouraged ostentatious receptacles. Though the majority of the iconography in *Defense* paintings is derived from European prints, the monstrances showcased in *Defense* paintings are undeniably local signs, objects produced by Andean silversmiths. Monstrances in *Defense* paintings feature characteristically Andean traits such as cherub-head feet, cruciform bases and (most importantly) sunburst finials.

The production of these monstrances in Peru compels analysis of their materiality - gold. Fervently sought out by the Spanish, gold was initially begotten through the melting down on Pre-Contact 'idols.' In decorating the Andean monstrances with actual gold leaf, the paintings emphasize the material history that Catholic gold objects share with Pre-Contact objects in viceregal Peru. The gold also calls to mind the role that Peruvian precious metal bullion played in financing Spain's campaigns against Turks. *Defense* paintings tell a narrative where the Spanish King is able to defend the Catholic Church against Turks by virtue of the riches provided by Peru. It is an idealized reckoning of the impact that gold and silver played in Iberia though, as engagements versus Turks were more often than not fallible endeavors, and the influx of American wealth to Spain actually precipitated a fiscal crisis in Europe.

¹⁸ Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 33.

In addition to sharing a material history with Pre-Contact idols, Andean monstresses in *Defenses* also flirt with idolatry through their presentation on a column, in an outdoor setting. This presentation of the monstress is an overt reference to idolatry according to Medieval European visual tropes. Additionally, the sunburst finial on the monstress was known in viceregal Peru to represent the Inca Sun-God Inti. The monstress's oscillation between orthodox object and idol serves to accentuate the triumph of Christianity in Peru vis-a-vis the Pre-Contact Sun-God Inti. Casting monstress as an idol also pays homage to the Andeans' unsettled relationship with eucharistic ritual.

Chapter Three discusses the relationship between the opposing forces in the paintings - Spanish and Turkish kings. Fundamental to Christian identity is a perceived difference from non-Christians. Distinctions between orthodox and heretic behavior were codified as early as the Council of Nicea (325). The first adversaries of Christendom were Jews, Pagans (Romans), and heretics among the Christians themselves. Then Islam emerged. A hostility towards the rapidly expanding Muslim empire appears to have united Latin Christians and played a crucial role in the emergence of the idea of Europe. The Muslim was long reified as a separate civilization from Christendom and thus, communal distaste for the character could foster Christian unity.

Ottoman Turks were imagined as the Islam of military antagonism and threat, especially from the sixteenth century onward.¹⁹ As James Harper notes: "the Turks took the foreground in the Western imagination because their empire-building exploits

¹⁹ Turk is an ethnic designation referring to the Mongoloid peoples of the Central Asian Steppes, whereas Ottoman or Ottoman Turk are specific Turks who settled and intermingled with peoples in Anatolia. For the purposes of this paper, I will refer to the Muslim opponents to Christianity in Andean paintings merely as 'Turks,' in an attempt to not overly distance myself from colonial-period documents and their creators.

persistently captured the headlines and profoundly transformed the geo-politics of the Mediterranean world.”²⁰ A repetitive and largely static system for representing a Muslim as an Ottoman Turk emerged in the fifteenth century, and persisted well into the 18th century in both the Americas and Europe. Representation of Ottoman Turks were often, though not always, pejorative; Turks were described as a scourge of God or the Antichrist, and also, as pagans, infidels and heretics. The Ottoman Empire was seen as Europe’s new barbarians when classical antique language and tropes were revived. Part of the barbarian myth involved the Turks sacrilegious treatment of holy places, such as the turning of a church into a mosque and the defilement of the eucharist.²¹

It is important to note that Islam was not always associated with the military threat of the Ottomans. Before 1492, Europeans had a slightly broader concept of Islam which included Spain, North Africa and the commercial colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean. Product of this nuanced relationship with Muslims, we find occasional European imagery that takes a dignified approach to representing Muslims - imagery that portrayed courtly Islamic dignitaries, ‘Chivalrous Saracens’ and ‘Royal Turks.’²²

The Peruvian Turkish character is an imaginative creation, itself based upon European imaginings of Muslims. The Ottoman Turk (part of a multifarious and immense community) was necessarily stereotyped in Europe, and even more so in Peru. The conventional Saracen or Turk of European Medieval discourse was modeled on the

²⁰ James Harper, "Introduction," in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750 : Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper, *Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, Surrey, UK, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 3.

²¹ Paul T. Levin, *Turkey and the European Union : Christian and Secular Images of Islam* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 91.

²² Famous examples being: Albrecht Durer’s *An Oriental Ruler Enthroned*, c.1495, Ink drawing, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Gentile Bellini’s *The Sultan Mehmet II*, 1480, oil on canvas, The National Gallery, London.

biblical, heathen idolater, not on real observation. In Western imagery, Ottoman Turks wear long tunics, boots, and headgear adorned with one or three lunulae. They carry scimitars as their primary weapon - a dramatically curved Eastern blade. The majority of Turkish actors in *Defenses* sport the 'taj' on their heads - turban-like bands of white cloth wrapped around a ribbed felt cap. An alternate headgear occasionally used to portray Turks was the 'börk' - a long felt cap with a pointed end worn by Janissaries (the warrior elite of the Ottoman Empire).²³

Andean *Defenses* always cast the enemies of Catholicism as Turks. This preference for portraying Turks as the pre-eminent adversary to Christianity relates to the analogous framework constructed by the Spanish to correlate Amerindians to Muslims. The Spanish were quick to draw parallels between their supposed re-conquest of the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim heathens, and their conquests of the Americas. Viceregal society was constantly re-creating, yet also criticizing, this analogous connection between heathen Muslim and Amerindian. It should be stressed that living and breathing Muslims had little, bordering on zero, presence in colonial Peru. This enabled their symbolic role as idolatrous Indians to take precedence in the Andean imaginary over their remote, real counterparts. Because Amerindians were so often discursively linked to Muslims, the battle visible in *Defense* paintings also portrays that of Christians vs. Amerindians. But *Defense* paintings do not merely propagate an analogous relationship between Amerindians and Moors - they critically challenge and creatively exploit it through their dignified conception of the Turks as Christianity's complementary opposition, a role

²³ Heather Madar, "Dürer's Depiction of the Ottoman Turks: A Case Study of Early Orientalism?," in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750 : Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper, *Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, Surrey, UK, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 160,64.

vitally necessary to achieve *tinku*. Turks appear in *Defense* paintings with dignity, engaging with the rare ‘Chivalrous Saracen’ or ‘Royal Turk’ visual tradition established in early modern Europe. They are the necessary Other that enables the triumph of Andean Christianity, and by discursive extension, Amerindians too enable this triumph.

According to Andean spatial schemes, the location of the monstrance, Spanish king and Turks on the canvas is highly symbolic. A comparison of *Defenses* to indigenous spatial structuring schemes in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala drawings yields a symbolic hierarchy in the placement Spanish king and Turks (left was privileged over right). There is also an unmistakable correspondence in *Defense* spatial organization with the structuring of space in the colonial kero motif *Inkarri and Collari* and in Basilio Santa Cruz Pachakuti’s drawing of the Coricancha altar (**Figures 9 & 10**). Because complementary pairs of figures structure both the kero and Coricancha compositions, it can be argued that *Defense* paintings also give tribute to a complimentary relationship - in this case between Catholics and their enemies. The employment of the traditionally Andean quincunx composition in *Defenses* also challenges the disparaging qualities of the Turks/Amerindians analogy.

Turks were depicted in various paintings in Peru, but where they were most actively recalled in Andean daily life was through theatrical performance and religious procession. Chapter Four deals with the larger ecclesiastical and performative dialogue in which *Defense* paintings participated. The dignified Turk, portrayed in *Defense* paintings, was also a conspicuous character in masquerades and *Cristianos vs. Moros* mock-battles. In addition, three-dimensional statues that portrayed the Defense of the Eucharist were prominent features of religious festivals, such as Corpus Christi.

During Corpus Christi, native leaders known as caciques would ceremonially process alongside golden monstresses and sculptural versions of the Defense iconography (**Figure 11**). The caciques appeared in colonial costumes meant to celebrate their Inca heritage. These costumes often featured a golden personified sunburst as a pectoral shield. The personified sunburst icon is European in origin, yet in this context it alluded to the Inca's principal deity and ancestor, the sun god Inti, and simultaneously, to the eucharist housed in the golden sunburst monstrance. Sunburst/Eucharist imagery was utilized in a variety of viceregal visual media, and its employment suggests that elite Andeans consciously manipulated the icon to boost their social or legal standing.

If we read the elevated monstrance in *Defense* paintings as the resounding triumph of Catholicism against heretics across the known world, then the paintings implicitly celebrate the defeat of Amerindians and their religion at the hands of the Spanish. But the outcome of the battle between Spanish King and Turkish King in these works is never decided. In Andean *Defenses*, *tinku* proves to be an ongoing process, repeatedly performed and celebrated through festive battles between complementary opponents.

CHAPTER ONE - *DEFENSE* REPRODUCTION AND MODIFICATION

According to the traditional canon of art history, the term “Defense of the Eucharist” references an iconography (also known as *Disputa*) that portrays representatives of the Catholic Church surrounding the Eucharist, discussing the theory of transubstantiation. Perhaps the earliest and best known example of this iconography is Raphael’s *Disputa* fresco, painted in 1509 on a wall of the Pope’s private library at the Vatican (**Figure 12**). In the fresco, the Trinity and the Eucharist appear along the central vertical axis. They are surrounded by supplementary figures stratified into three semi-circular formations.

On the top tier appears God the Father, surrounded by angels. Below him, Christ sits on clouds, flanked by St. John the Baptist, Mary, and characters from the Old and New Testament. On the lowest tier, a central altar appears bathed in divine sunlight. Directly beside the altar are seated the four Doctors of the Latin Church.²⁴ The Four Doctors of the Church are credited with formulating the theory of transubstantiation and defending it against heretics.²⁵ As Christiane Joost-Gaugier aptly notes, additional Church Fathers are located on either side of the altar, and as a group they are engaged in defending Christ’s real presence in the sacrament.²⁶ The Eucharist, encased in a gold monstrance, sits at the dramatic and perspectival point of concentration in the composition. The monstrance displayed in *Disputa* corresponds to Lee Palmer Wandel’s

²⁴ The medieval Latin Doctors of the Church were: Saint Gregory the Great, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, and Saint Jerome. During the Counter-Reformation era the term ‘Doctors of the Church’ was applied to a number of additional ecclesiastics who wrote treatises in defense of the Eucharist and transubstantiation.

²⁵ Nora de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Pt. 2 (London : Harvey Miller ; Philadelphia : Heyden, 1978), 362.

²⁶ Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Raphael's Disputa: Medieval Theology Seen through the Eyes of Pico Della Mirandola, and the Possible Inventor of the Program, Tommaso Inghirami," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* February (1997).

description of Renaissance monstrances: reliquaries made from a stem like those of a candle stick that culminated in a flat circle, at the center of which was a crystal that displayed the eucharistic bread.²⁷ *Disputa* celebrates the glory of the eucharist, its intimate connection with the Trinity, and its ability to foster an indivisible bond between theologians.²⁸

Raphael's *Disputa* iconography was often replicated, in condensed form, in Catholic Counter-Reformation imagery, where the role of these saints as champions of the Church against enemies was emphasized.²⁹ Peter Paul Rubens painted a Eucharistic *Disputa* for the Dominican Church in Antwerp in 1609 (**Figure 13**). In Ruben's work, the Eucharist itself stands in for Christ, who in conjunction with the Holy Ghost and God the Father, represent the Trinity. The Eucharist, presented in a gold monstrance on a centrally elevated altar, acts as the point of dramatic concentration. Four Doctors of the Church are seated around the altar, flanked by other saints known to have defended the Eucharist in their writings. Directly below the altar, we see the instruction of two semi-nude bearded men, representing pagans, who intently absorb the eucharistic treatises being espoused to them.

Rubens also produced the designs for a famed series of tapestries that celebrated the Eucharist at the *Convento de los Descalzas Reales* in Madrid, Spain. The tapestries are often cited as evidence of a rising eucharistic devotion among Habsburg rulers. They were commissioned by a member of the royal Hapsburg family living in the Netherlands: Philip II's daughter, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia. One of Ruben's tapestries for the

²⁷ Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*, 33.

²⁸ Joost-Gaugier, "Raphael's *Disputa*: Medieval Theology Seen through the Eyes of Pico Della Mirandola, and the Possible Inventor of the Program, Tommaso Inghirami."

²⁹ Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, 362.

Convento de los Descalzas Reales is entitled “The Defenders of the Eucharist” (the composition is also recorded in a preparatory cartoon made by Rubens - **Figure 14**). This work features seven saints, lead by St.Ambrose, St.Augustine and St.Gregory the Great on the left. They are followed by St.Claire, who holds the Eucharist in a monstrance, St.Thomas Aquinas, St.Norbert and St.Jerome. The saints have in common the fact that they were specially venerated as defenders of the Eucharist, and they are frequent protagonists in *Disputa* scenes.³⁰ This tapestry represents the saints in motion, as if they were taking part in a triumphal procession. The tapestry was positioned in the convent’s church so as to suggest that the saints are walking alongside corresponding tapestries that portrayed triumphal carts conveying allegorical representations of the Catholic Church and Faith (**Figures 15 & 16**).

These works represent a small sampling of the well-defined European *Disputa*/Defense of the Eucharist visual tradition. While both European and Andean “Defense of the Eucharist” iconographies revolve around the Eucharist, housed in a monstrance, the European iconography was clearly dissimilar to Andean paintings of the same designation. European versions portray ecclesiastics on both sides of the monstrance; they are allies who together defend the Eucharist against attackers that *remain un-seen*. The paintings do not feature heretics nor combative altercations between figures. But Andean *Defenses* do feature quarrels and prominent heretics. It therefore appropriate for us to consider additional European iconographies in connection with Andean *Defenses*, in order to understand how heretics were evoked in Counter-Reformation Habsburg art.

³⁰ Ibid.

The Habsburg court often commissioned artworks that illustrated the Spanish crown's triumph over heretics incarnate. Titian in 1573 painted Philip II hoisting his newly born son towards an angel (**Figure 17**). The Angel extends a palm leaf towards the king on which is written: MAIORA TIBI ("greater triumphs await you"). On the bottom left corner of the canvas sits a Turk with his arms chained behind his back. A turban lies at his feet and behind him appears a fallen crescent moon flag. Titian's painting commemorates both the birth of Philip's son Fernando, and his defeat of the Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Typical to Habsburg portrayals of heretics, the Turkish threat in this work is diffused. The prone Turk is already defeated, and his humiliation is underscored by his semi-nudity and captivity.

Habsburg art repeatedly portrayed heretical enemies of Catholicism, both past and present, as subdued threats. In Ruben's tapestries for the *Convento de las Descalzas Reales*, we find heretical peoples represented in six different compositions. In "Victory of Truth over Heresy" a winged old man hoists an allegorical representation of Truth skyward (**Figure 18**). Together they rise above a slain monster and prone, defeated heretics (including a turbaned Muslim among the fleeing figures on the right). Nora de Poorter believes this work illustrates one of the most typical ideas of the Counter-Reformation, which in its militant optimism: "regarded the victory over heresy as certain."³¹ Ruben's "Triumph of Faith" tapestry portrays the triumphal procession of a chariot carrying an allegorical representation of Catholic Faith (**Figure 15**). Faith holds a eucharistic chalice and is accompanied by an angel holding a large cross. She appears to smile upon the meek heretical captives who follow her chariot, as she leads them towards Catholic conversion and redemption. The last captive on the right, shrouded in darkness,

³¹ *The Eucharist Series*, 378.

wears an Arabian headdress and likely represents a Turk.³² The “Triumph of the Church” (or Triumph of the Eucharist over Heresy, Hatred, Ignorance and Blindness) portrays an allegorical representation of the Catholic Church, holding a monstrance aloft, upon a triumphal car (**Figure 16**). Enemies of the Church are crushed beneath the wheels of the car, and behind the car captives in chains are led by angels. De Poorter notes that these figures represent heretical evil and the Church’s definitive triumph over it.³³

Though Ruben’s tapestries discussed above clearly intended to associate heretics with evil/diabolical forces, his portrayal of non-Christians was not unequivocally negative. He did present various Old Testament figures as dignified and symbolically significant peoples. For example, in “The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant” Jews appear as peoples who respectfully honor God, and Rubens presents their rituals as prefigurations for eucharistic rites in Catholicism (**Figure 19**). This tapestry illustrates scene of Jewish sacrifice, probably taking place outside the Temple of Solomon. In the background men carry the Arc of the Covenant. De Poorter believes that the Arc it is clearly meant to be conceived as analogous to the monstrance with the consecrated Eucharist.³⁴ But while Rubens is here capable of illustrating non-Catholics in a positive light, he also created a tapestry celebrating the ultimate defeat of pre-Christian religions at the hands of the Eucharist. This evidenced in “Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices” (**Figure 20**). Here an angel, bathed in divine light, holds forth a chalice with the Eucharistic in it, and in his other hand, a thunderbolt of divine vengeance. The angel bursts into an ancient Roman

³² *The Eucharist Series*, 331,32. De Poorter notes that other scholars have taken him to represent an African or Amerindian.

³³ *The Eucharist Series*, 320-30.

³⁴ *The Eucharist Series*, 309.

temple, preventing the sacrifice of an ox to Jupiter. The altar and sacrificial tools are overturned, and the pagan heretics flee the scene in fear.³⁵

The Eucharistic tapestries by Rubens are archetypical in their Counter-Reformation ethos. They express an over-riding confidence in the victory of the Catholic Church over paganism and heretics. In Counter-Reformation art non-Catholics were either depicted as noble pre-figurations to Catholicism, or, far more frequently, as enemies that are already subdued or in the process of conversion to Catholicism. Ruben's iconographies, which explicitly celebrate the triumph of Catholicism over heretics, were often replicated in the Americas (especially his "The Triumph of the Church") iconography.

It is important to note that not all Habsburg Counter-Reformation imagery was equally graphic in its allusion to the defeat of heretics. Ruben's tapestries for the *Convento de las Descalzas Reales* constitute but one of many illustrious Counter-Reformation artworks commissioned by Habsburg rulers. The following Habsburg commissions that I will discuss all portray the reigning Habsburg monarch as adoring either God or the Eucharist. These artworks participate in a visual tradition that developed in the 16th and 17th century court in Madrid: paintings that position Habsburg kings as *adoring* a visual representation of God or the Eucharist were inherently connoting a Habsburg *defense* of Catholicism against heretics. In these artworks, whilst the king appears to be kneeling in genteel adoration of God, subtle references to Habsburg military victories over Arians, Muslims, and Protestants commemorate the defeat of heretics as defining achievements of the kings.

³⁵ *The Eucharist Series*, 378.

The first painting in this visual genealogy is *Gloria*, completed in 1554 by Titian (**Figure 21**). In the upper third of the painting we see the Holy Trinity: identical father and son flanking a white dove. Together, these three entities were believed by Catholics to be the equal components of the Godhead. Included amongst the crowd of saints and Old Testament prophets that rise towards the Trinity in heavenly apotheosis we can identify a profile portrait of Carlos V, kneeling on the right, draped in a white sheet, hands clasped in adoration of the Trinity. In the bottom quadrant a landscape is featured, where a tiny martyrdom scene is portrayed. It is popularly believed to be Carlos V's last commission by Titian before he abdicated his Spanish crown and retired to the Hieronymites Monastery in Yuste, Extremadura.³⁶ Carlos V took this painting with him to Yuste, and romantic anecdotes evolved soon after Carlos V's death concerning his deep affection for the work.

According to the lore, Carlos V commanded that *Gloria* be hung in the most exalted location at the monastery church of Yuste, above the main altar. He then personally planned his special apartments at Yuste so that he could see the altar of the church from his imperial bed.³⁷ Apparently Carlos V spent so long staring at *Gloria* that "physicians feared for his health."³⁸ Whether or not Carlos V was truly obsessed with the canvas is less a concern here. Rather, it is important to acknowledge that he was believed to be infatuated with *Gloria*. The painting, later moved to El Escorial, was forevermore linked to the life and accomplishments of Carlos V.

³⁶ Edward J. Sullivan, "Politics and Propaganda in the Sagrada Forma by Claudio Coello," *Art Bulletin* 67, no. 2 (1985): 248.

³⁷ H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists : Patronage and Ideology at Four Hapsburg Courts, 1517-1633* (New York : Harper & Row, 1976), 40.

³⁸ *Princes and Artists : Patronage and Ideology at Four Hapsburg Courts, 1517-1633* (New York : Harper & Row, 1976), 43.

Craig Harbison, in his article “Counter Reformation Iconography in Titian’s Gloria” illuminates how the painting, which was always vaguely understood to convey a Counter-Reformation spirit, in actuality communicates very specific anti-heretical messages. Firstly, Titian illustrated the theory of consubstantiality in the visual manifestation of the Trinity, as Father and Son look exactly the same. The consubstantiality of Father and Son was embraced by the Catholic Church as early as the Council of Nicea in 325, to counter ideas propagated by heretical Arians.³⁹ Arians held that the Son was not of the same essence or substance as the Father, and thus not his equal. Additionally, Harbison notes that the martyrdom scene featured in the landscape below the apotheosis is specifically the Martyrdom of St. Peter, a saint who combated Arian heresy in Northern Italy, and died at the hands of an Arian.⁴⁰

Though the Arians were believed to have been defeated on the Iberian peninsula with the conversion of the ruling Visigoths c. 600 to Roman Christianity, there was a fear of an Arian-revival during the last years of Charles V’s reign. In 1549 a highly influential commentary was published in Iberia by Johannes Cochlaeus that condemned Protestants and any anti-trinitarian thinking (disagreement with doctrines upheld by the Council of Trent) as a revival of Arianism in Spain.⁴¹ In his commentary, Cochlaeus explicitly linked Arian beliefs with those of the followers of Martin Luther. Carlos V considered himself a defender of orthodox Christianity against the Lutheran Reform that plagued his reign.⁴² Thus *Gloria* is a specifically anti-heretical iconography, it celebrates Carlos V’s

³⁹ Craig S. Harbison, "Counter-Reformation Iconography in Titian's Gloria," *The Art Bulletin*, no. 3 (1967): 244.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Counter-Reformation Iconography in Titian's Gloria," 245.

adherence to the Catholic ‘true’ religion untainted by Arian or Protestant doctrine and links his reign to the anti-heretical defensive efforts of St. Peter.

El Greco’s *Allegory of the Holy League* was commissioned by Carlos V’s son, Phillip II in 1579 (**Figure 22**). *Allegory of the Holy League* is the visual successor to Titian’s *Gloria*, the second monumental artwork celebrating a Hapsburg as the ‘Defender of the True Religion.’ In the upper portion of this work we see the Name of Jesus in initials, a visual manifestation of God popularized by the newly formed Jesuit order, emerging from a golden light and adored by a circle of angels. On the lower right one observes the damned in hell, embodied as the gaping mouth of a sea creature filled with tortured souls. On the left are the saved souls. A prominent group of these saved souls appears at the foreground of the painting: Pope Pius V, portrayed facing the viewer with hands clasped in red gloves, the Doge of Venice Alvise Mocenigo, featured in a golden cape with ermine lining, and Philip II, portrayed in kneeling in profile in his habitual black attire, to the right of these men. These three historic individuals formed a temporary alliance, called the Holy League, in the mid 17th century which brought about the much-celebrated Catholic victory against Turkish forces at Lepanto in 1571. Anthony Blunt, in his article “El Greco’s ‘Dream of Philip II’: An Allegory of the Holy League,” argues that the iconography, taken on the whole, visualizes the theory by which military victories of the Spanish Empire against heretics were attributed to divine intervention; God’s favor was bestowed upon the defenders of ‘true’ religion in battle.⁴³

The first instance upon which Habsburg Imperial imagery adopted the Eucharist, housed in a Monstrance, as its object of devotion is Philip III’s commissions for gilded

⁴³ Anthony Blunt, "El Greco's 'Dream of Philip II': An Allegory of the Holy League," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, no. 1/2 (1939): 65.

bronze cenotaph sculptures of Charles V (1597) (**Figure 23**) and Phillip II (1600). The sculptures, made by Italian sculptor Pompeo Leoni, were placed in elaborate architectural settings niches on either side of main altar in the church of El Escorial. Leoni sculpted the two kings kneeling, with hands clasped and facing the tabernacle of the church in profile - thus placing the kings in perpetual adoration of the Eucharist.

La Sagrada Forma constitutes the last commission of this Habsburg visual genealogy (**Figure 24**). It was painted in the late 1680's by Claudio Coello, who had recently been appointed *pintor de camara* to king Charles II. It is loaded with complex associations to artworks Charles' forefathers had commissioned before him. *Sagrada Forma* was commissioned specifically for El Escorial's Church sacristy. The sacristy was a well known picture gallery in El Escorial where some of the monarchy's finest works were hung. Historians agree that the prior of the church of El Escorial, Francisco de los Santos, devised alongside Coello the composition for *Sagrada Forma*. Los Santos is known to have admired *The Allegory of the Holy League*, describing it as El Greco's version of Titian's *Gloria*, - both works would have been on view for Coello.⁴⁴

In Coello's painting God is made visible via the Eucharist housed in the monstrance held by the prior. The ideological linkage to previous Habsburg commissions - the manner by which we can read this work as celebrating Carlos II's role as *defender* of the Eucharist, and by extension Catholic religion at large - is revealed through several iconographic details in the painting. Firstly, Carlos II appears in the act of adoring a manifestation of God while kneeling, in profile, much as Charles V and Phillip II appear in their cenotaph sculptures, and in *Gloria* and *Allegory of the Holy League*. In visually

⁴⁴ "El Greco's 'Dream of Philip II': An Allegory of the Holy League," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, no. 1/2 (1939): 64.

mirroring the position and action of his forefathers in previous artworks, Carlos II associates himself with their accomplishments and military victories against heretics.

Carlos II also inserts himself into the Counter-Reformation tradition of portraying Spanish kings *defending* Catholicism against Protestants via his relationship to the Eucharist featured in the work. The popular title for Coello's painting takes its name from the Host itself, which was also referred to as la Sagrada Forma. This Host was considered to be a relic housed at El Escorial. The tale of the relic originates in the Northern provinces of the Spanish Empire: in 1572 a pirate marauder entered a church in the Netherlands and trampled a piece of consecrated host under his boots. This Host miraculously bled and was collected by a prior in Antwerp. Tradition holds that three spots of blood can still be seen on the Host. The Host exchanged hands various times, but was eventually gifted in 1594 to Philip II in honor of his attempts to free the Netherlands from heretics. The fact that Carlos II commissioned a new monstrance, altar and painting in honor of this particular relic emphasizes his ancestors' commitment to riding heretics from the Netherlands.⁴⁵

Habsburg victories against heretical Muslims are also celebrated in *Sagrada Forma*. The prominently placed organ, visible immediately to the left of Carlos II's head, is a relic of the very first Habsburg defeats of Turks. Coello inserted a portable organ that, according to tradition, was carried by Charles V into Tunis during his much adulated (though short-lived) victory against Turkish forces in 1535.⁴⁶ This episode became central to the Habsburg mythology, and Charles II is placed directly alongside an object

⁴⁵ Sullivan, "Politics and Propaganda in the Sagrada Forma by Claudio Coello," 252.

⁴⁶ Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists : Patronage and Ideology at Four Hapsburg Courts, 1517-1633* 28,43.

that accompanied his great-grandfather's success against Turks - implying his continued adherence to the Habsburg battle against Islam.

Another reference to Habsburg defense of Catholicism against Muslims in *Sagrada Forma* is the curtain depicted in the painting. Coello painted a red curtain, visible in the upper corners of the canvas. This curtain is being theatrically lifted by cherubs, which on a basic level imparts a sense of drama to the scene. But the curtain also references a liturgical ritual practiced in 17th century Spain. During a special adoration of the Host, called Forty Hours, church doorways, niches, sculptures and paintings were covered in curtains in order to bring special attention to the Eucharist, which was left on display for forty hours straight. Sullivan notes that the curtain in *Sagrada Forma*: "resembles the apparati created by Italian Baroque artists for use during Forty Hours devotion," but he fails to note that ideologically Forty Hours was considered a Catholic *defense* ritual, an opportunity to elicit prayers against Turkish threats.⁴⁷ In the constitution "Graves et Diuturnae" of Pope Clement VIII, printed in 1592, we find instructions for the Forty Hours ritual saturated in anxiety over the peace of Christendom. The text reads: "...pray that the enemies of our faith the dreaded Turks, who in the heat of their presumptuousness fury threaten slavery and devastation to all Christendom, may be overthrown by the right hand of the Almighty God."⁴⁸ The ritual, here associated with Charles II, was a marathon prayer session for the protection of Catholicism against the dangers of heresy and the Turk.

⁴⁷ Sullivan, "Politics and Propaganda in the *Sagrada Forma* by Claudio Coello," 257.

⁴⁸ Nils Holger Petersen, "The Quarant'ore: Early Modern Ritual and Performativity" in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, ed. Peter Gillgren and Mårten Snickare, *Visual Culture in Early Modernity* (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate, 2012), 117.

All these Habsburg commissions share specific compositional traits. *Allegory of the Holy League* and *Gloria* both represent God, heightened in apotheosis and surrounded by divine personas, including a Habsburg king kneeling in profile, with hands clasped adoring the vision. The two cenotaph sculptures of Habsburg kings and *Sagrada Forma* likewise portray the kings kneeling with hands clasped in profile before God (represented via the Eucharist). These Counter-Reformation works echo each other in composition because they all intend to celebrate the ability of Habsburg kings to defeat heretical threats to Catholicism. These artworks were only on display at El Escorial, and thus were exclusive to an elite audience.

The artworks, taken as a body, are loaded with visual associations to each other, to artworks that celebrate the Habsburg kings as ‘Defenders of the True Religion,’ i.e. Catholicism. Habsburg Counter-Reformation kingly imagery was self-referential and esoteric. The full appreciation of the works necessitates both access to and intimate familiarity with the most elite art collection in Iberia. It can be safely assumed that the majority of Iberians would fail to grasp the subtle allusions to the king’s *militaristic defense* of Catholicism against heretics in the works. To the general public, were they to view these works, the kings would seem to be merely adoring God. Therefore, in Iberia’s popular print media, we find a more forthright approach to kingly representation. In the prints that feature portraits of Habsburg kings and the Eucharist: the kings are explicitly portrayed as active defenders of the Eucharist, instead of passively kneeling in adoration.

The reason we increasingly find the Eucharist as the subject of Habsburg defense is twofold. First, one must acknowledge the impact of the Council of Trent on Habsburg visual culture. The Council of Trent was convened in the mid sixteenth century to both

define ‘heresies’ and institute ‘reforms.’⁴⁹ Their primary concern was to establish a firm doctrine for all orthodox Catholics. The Council of Trent concluded that God’s body was in fact present in the Eucharist upon consecration, and one result of the Council was to make the consecrated Eucharist a central doctrine of the Catholic faith. Secondly, devotion to the Eucharist was considered a typical virtue of the House of Habsburg. This association began with the story of the Count Rudolph of Habsburg giving up his horse to a priest that was carrying the sacrament in the thirteenth century. His descendants commissioned art that gave full expression to their Eucharistic piety, in opposition to those who would deny the real presence of Christ in the sacrament.⁵⁰

In the earliest Iberian print of a *Defense of the Eucharist*, dating from 1619, we see a female personification of the Catholic Church on the far right, holding the Eucharist in a chalice, protected by King Felipe II (**Figure 5**). He is in full armor and his sword is raised against a group of similarly clad men carrying swords, shields and stakes entering the scene on the left. In the distance El Escorial is visible. In a 1630 Iberian *Defense* print Felipe IV stands with his sword raised in defense of the Eucharist which sits on a pillar on the left, likewise in battle armor (**Figure 4**). The Eucharist is again displayed in a chalice. Here, Felipe IV is in an interior setting, and the battle between Catholics and infidels is on display through the open balcony behind the Eucharist. In this battle, we can observe only an indistinguishable mass of soldiers clashing in the fields outside a mountainside town.

In a 1630 Iberian *Defense* print Felipe IV is portrayed in an alternate composition (**Figure 7**). Here Felipe IV stands centrally, defending a chalice holding the Eucharist.

⁴⁹ Wandel, 209.

⁵⁰ Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, 30.

The lower portion of this chalice takes the form of the base of a cup, while the upper portion references the circular sun-burst finial of a monstrance and features a crucifixion scene. In this print Felipe IV is surrounded on all sides by enemies of the Catholic faith – on the upper corners we see monstrous creatures threatening the monarch with spears and serpents. The Trojan horse to the left of Felipe IV is filled with infidels, a reference to Spain's fear that Protestants, Jews and Muslims were infiltrating their country and subverting Catholicism from within. Most relevant to this study are the figures on the lower corners. On the left we see a man on a ship that bears a crescent moon flag. He wears a turban and prepares to release an arrow (these symbols were typical markers of Muslims in European Medieval visual convention). On the right another enemy of Catholicism, a Protestant soldier, enters the scene on a ship, raising his sword. The *Defense* iconography was reproduced as well in the Spanish Northern territories, though the *Defense* print produced in Antwerp does not feature the Spanish king (**Figure 6**). In this 1620 illustration from Antoine Sucquet's *Via vitae aeternae*, Demons, Turks and Protestants aim rifles, spears and arrows at the monstrance. The assaulted monstrance sits upon an altar behind a personification of the Catholic Church.

Iberian *Defense of the Eucharist* prints, such as the four described above, were shipped to Peru and eventually reached Andean painters. It was these prints, that portray the king as a military defender of the Eucharist, that served as the primary models for Andean *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings. Both the Peruvian paintings and European prints share the same dramatic plot-line: heretics are attempting to do harm to the Eucharist, which is being protected by an armed Spanish king. That said, my

investigation focuses on the manners by which Andean artists modified their European models.

Andean *Defense* paintings prove to be unique creations that depart from *Defense* prints in significant ways. In Peru (and only in Peru) we find *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings portraying heretical Turks as the dignified counterpart to Catholicism. Andean artists positioned the Turks on the canvas in a manner so as to mirror the location of the king of Spain. The painters also altered their print models by portraying the Turks in the act of pulling down a centrally placed sunburst monstrosity. The visual and historical sources that contributed to these Andean deviations from the European model will be addressed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO - IDOL AND MONSTRANCE

The Andean *Defense of the Eucharist* centers on, not surprisingly, the Eucharist. The Eucharist is housed in a golden monstrance, and this monstrance functions as the formal and symbolic crux of the iconography. Any meaningful understanding of Andean *Defenses* is thus predicated upon a thorough analysis of this pivotal object. In the Andean composition the central, elaborately gilded monstrance becomes the focal point of the work – displacing the monarch in Iberian versions. Two compositional schemes center on the monstrance: tripartite vertical division (Spanish king/ monstrance/ Turkish king) and tripartite horizontal division (terrestrial realm/ monstrance/ celestial realm). The monstrance serves as the conduit between earth and heaven, an object contested by two opposing factions. Inhabiting this conspicuous space, the monstrance demands the viewer's attention, a prominence that is only accentuated by its ostentatious physical appearance. The monstrance shape culminates in a strikingly intricate sunburst design, and its golden materiality is emphasized via the application of gold-leaf to the surface of the canvas. And in nearly every *Defense* painting, the monstrance sits triumphantly atop a column.⁵¹

That Andean *Defense* paintings employ a column as the means to present the monstrance constitutes a significant facet in the iconography. The Andean preference for a column is a notable variation from Iberian prints that tend to feature the eucharist on an altar instead. For example, in the frontispiece of the Mercedarian Friar Melchor Prieto's 1622 text *Psalmodia Eucaristica*, produced in Madrid, the host is suspended above a

⁵¹ The exception being *Defenses* that substitute Saint Rose of Lima in place of the column, an iconographic variation discussed in Chapter 3.

chalice that rests on a rectangular altar placed in the center of the composition (**Figure 25**). The eucharist is displayed on an altar in an additional three illustrations in the same series (**Figures 26 - 38**). *Psalmodia Eucaristica* exemplifies texts produced in Europe that disseminated Counterreformation eucharistic theology and allegories. The imagery was meant to collaborate with the text in order to facilitate indoctrination, a persuasive scheme encouraged by the Council of Trent.⁵² Ricardo Estrabridis Cárdenas maintains that these illustrations, once exported to Peru, served as inspiration for Andean iconographies that celebrated the eucharist.⁵³

In European *Defense of the Eucharist* prints we find the eucharist displayed on an altar (**Figures 6 & 7**), carried by a personification of the Catholic Church (**Figure 5**) and, finally, surmounting a classical column (**Figure 4**).⁵⁴ Thus, European eucharistic imagery provided an array of presentational modes for the sacrament. Andean artists repeatedly favored the column from among the available models. In Andean *Defenses* a column rises from the earth, hoisting up the disputed monstrance. Andean artists utilized the column as a visual tool, meant to elevate the quarrel between Iberians and Turks, to confer upon their quarrel an exalted religious significance. It acts as a channel through which terrestrial strife acquires higher consequence. The column in Andean *Defense* paintings can also be interpreted as a persona in the dramatic scene. One could read the column as

⁵² José Manuel Matilla, *La Estampa En El Libro Barroco : Juan De Courbes*, Colección Fuentes Para El Estudio De La Historia Del Arte (Vitoria-Gasteiz : Ephialte, Instituto Municipal de Estudios Iconográficos: Madrid, 1991), 39.

⁵³ Luis Nieri Galindo and Ricardo Estrabridis Cardenas, *Pintura En El Virreinato Del Peru / [Edicion, Luis Nieri Galindo]*, Coleccion Arte Y Tesoros Del Peru (Lima, Peru : Banco de Credito del Peru, 1989), 386. Many Cusco School *Adoration of the Eucharist* paintings do indeed display the monstrance upon an altar.

⁵⁴ Images identified in: Mujica Pinilla, "El Arte Y Los Sermones; Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "España Eucarística Y Sus Reinos: El Santísimo Sacramento Como Culto Y Tópico Iconográfico De La Monarquía " in *Pintura De Los Reinos : Identidades Compartidas : Territorios Del Mundo Hispánico, Siglos Xvi-Xviii*, ed. Juana Gutiérrez Haces Jonathan Brown (México, D.F.: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2008).

an allegorical manifestation of the Catholic Church upholding eucharistic doctrine. Certainly this is the perennial symbolic role of the column - it both buoys up and underpins the tendentious Catholic sacraments.

When a column sustains a religious object, as the *Defense* column does, the image also bears taboo connotations. European artists conventionalized a figure-on-column trope through their repeated employment of the image as a shorthand for idolatry in Medieval illuminated manuscripts and paintings.⁵⁵ The iconography derives from the Greco-Roman ‘pagan’ practice of mounting statues upon triumphal columns in forums and temples. The figure-on-column trope is manifest, for instance, in a scene portraying Armenian idolatry in a late fourteenth century French illustrated manuscript of Marco Polo’s *Livre des Merveilles* (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.732, fol. 82r. **Figure 29**). Here the object of ‘false’ veneration is an anthropomorphic freestanding figure atop a column, on the right. On the left, idolaters kneel and venerate the statue with their hands clasped. This figure-on-column type served as a quick and accessible means to communicate the idol-ness of a religious object. Michael Cole holds that the pagan connotation in the figure-on-column trope was immediately recognizable among medieval viewers, and, furthermore, he believes that “there is no reason this ceased to be true in the later centuries.”⁵⁶

This idolatrous figure-on-column visual trope was disseminated in the Andes, and proves to have been a valuable tool for at least one Andean artist. Felipe Guaman Poma

⁵⁵ Michael Camille identifies dozens of medieval images where a freestanding figure atop a column betokens a pagan idol. Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (New York Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁵⁶ Michael Wayne Cole, "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome " in *The Idol in the Age of Art : Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Wayne Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Burlington, VT Ashgate Pub. Co., 2009), 61.

de Ayala, a native chronicler and illustrator, employed the European figure-on-column trope in order to demonstrate a correspondence between Inca religious practices and idolatry as practiced elsewhere in the pagan world. Lisa Trever posits that Guaman Poma utilized the idolatry scene in Marco Polo's *Livre des Merveilles*, discussed above, as a model for his illustrations depicting Incan *huaca* (beings, objects or places believed by Andeans to contain numinous power) worship.⁵⁷ The imitation is especially evident in Guaman Poma's scene portraying Cusco Indians worshipping the *huaca* 'Sanco Casoa' in Friar Martín de Murúa's c.1590 text *Historia del origen y genealogía de los reyes ingas del Pirú* (bk. 3, ch. 47, fol. 98v. Private Collection of Sean Galvin, **Figure 30**). On the right an anthropomorphic figure stands atop a mountain-esque column. The Indians are depicted worshipping the idol in a manner that mirrors the poses of the Armenian idolaters. Guaman Poma goes on to repeat the figure-on-column trope in six alternate scenes of Inca religious activity in his 1616 text: *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Copenhagen, Royal Library of Denmark).⁵⁸

Therefore, *Defense* paintings showcase the monstrance in a form, familiar to Andean artists, which signaled idolatry according to European tradition. Presenting the monstrance on a column was certainly an imaginative gesture on the part of the artists. Monstrances were not exhibited on top of columns during Catholic ritual, in the Andes or Europe. For the most part, medieval monstrances were integrated into the architecture of

⁵⁷ Lisa Trever, "Idols, Mountains, and Metaphysics in Guaman Poma's Pictures of Huacas," *Res*, no. 59/60 (2011): 48. *Huaca* is a quechua word with no exact equivalent in other languages, but here I use it in the adopted Spanish capacity: as a label for indigenous objects or sites of pre-hispanic worship.

⁵⁸ Guaman Poma does alter the figure-on-column type via a substitution of a mountain or monolith in place of the column. Trevor believes Guaman Poma emphasizes the natural Andean landscape, while still referencing the European figure-on-column type, so as to allow the Inca 'idols' to be understood as objects of religious devotion cross culturally.

a building, housed inside a niche. Medieval Christian convention suppressed the Greco-Roman practice of mounting religious objects on columns. And yet, the figure-on-column trope was employed occasionally, and foreseeably - controversially, in Europe as a means to exhibit Christian holy figures.

The *Virgen del Pilar* [Our Lady of the Pillar] cult demonstrates Christian appropriation of the figure-on-column. According to Catholic tradition, the Virgin appeared to the apostle Saint James the Greater (Santiago) in Zaragoza, Spain, invigorating his floundering attempt to convert pagans. The Virgin materialized atop a stone column, surrounded by a choir of angels. She assured the apostle that Iberia would be turned away from paganism towards devotion to the Holy Mother and Christianity.⁵⁹ Lore holds that the Virgin left a column crowned with a small wooden figurine of herself at the spot where she emerged in Zaragoza, and a church was built around the sculpture, now known as the Chapel of Our Lady of the Pillar. This pillar-relic came to signify the firmness of the faith of the Spanish people.

Andean *Defenses* compositionally mirror Andean *Virgen del Pilar* paintings. Take for example the viceregal work by Isidoro de Moncada at the Lampa Church, in Puno (**Figure 31**). The Virgin appears in the center of the composition on a high column decorated with a vegetal motif. On either side of the column's base kneel religious figures who gaze skyward towards the apparition, while a circle of cherubs with musical instruments surround the Virgin in the celestial realm. As in *Defenses*, here the figure-on-column acts as the formal and symbolic crux of the iconography, mediating between the terrestrial and celestial realms.

⁵⁹ Frederick William Hackwood, *Christ Lore; Being the Legends, Traditions, Myths, Symbols, Customs & Superstitions of the Christian Church*. (London, England: Detroit, Gale Research Co., 1969), 201.

The Iberian *Virgen del Pilar* cult and related imagery emerged in the twelfth century, alongside the Compostela Cathedral campaign to elevate Santiago's cult and pilgrimage trail.⁶⁰ It also burgeoned in flux with the escalating *Reconquista* - Christian military engagements versus Muslim-ruled kingdoms in Iberia. The *Virgen del Pilar* cult and imagery was, thus, entangled in the battle against Islam on the peninsula. Through this cult, Santiago's efforts to convert ancient pagans in Zaragoza was likened to the contemporaneous battles to expel Muslims from Spain. The pillar, then, signified a particular mode of Spanish religious firmness - their fortitude against Muslim threats. This illuminates why *Virgen del Pilar* paintings served as apt models for *Defense* paintings. The compositional correspondence between *Defenses* and *Virgen del Pilar* paintings correlates the two columns. The *Defense* column corresponds to the pillar in *Virgen del Pilar*, and thus, the *Defense* column also symbolizes the resolute faith of Iberians in the face of heretics- both on the peninsula and in the 'New World.'

Ironically, the compositional intimacy that the *Defense* column/monstrance shares with the pillar/Virgin fails to deter idolatrous connotations in *Defense* paintings. If anything, the emulation of a Virgin-on-column iconography confirms that idolatry was indeed the desired implication of Andean artists when they displayed the monstrance on a column. Statues of Virgins on columns were commonly accused of inciting idolatry in sixteenth century Europe. In Regensburg, for instance, a crisis emerged when a statue of the Virgin Mary was placed atop a column in an outdoor plaza. A 1520 print by Michael Ostendorfer illustrates the unorthodox veneration this statue received (**Figure 32**). The highly unusual format for Christian veneration, Virgin-on-column, provoked indecorous

⁶⁰ Juan Bautista Bastero Beguiristain, "La Virgen Del Pilar, Los Papas Y La Hispanidad," *The Virgin of the Pillar, the popes, and hispanidad. (English)*, no. 20 (1964).

worship, bordering on crazed self-abasement, on the part of pilgrims who travelled to visit the site. The statue would also receive from pilgrims what Christopher Wood describes as: bizarre objects and quasi-sacrificial offerings.⁶¹ The physical format of the *Virgin on a column* dangerously disrupted orthodox modes of Christian worship and drew increasing ecclesiastic censure. The regional Bishop complained in 1524 that the Virgin had been transformed into an “idol.” The statue was eventually destroyed in the mid sixteenth century in a celebratory ritual akin to iconoclasm.⁶²

The Regensburg Virgin was not the only statue-on-column victim of European Iconoclasm. During the summer and fall of 1566 Calvinists sacked the Cathedral at Ghent and churches in Southwest Germany and Switzerland. This eruption of European iconoclasm included the theft of goods, the defilement of the eucharistic sacrament and liturgical objects, the mock execution of images, and the destruction of religious statues.⁶³ The coordinated pulling down of large statues with ropes became a visual trope for *Beeldenstorm* (Iconoclastic Fury) in Dutch culture. Franz Hogenberg created an etching that showcases this form of iconoclasm (**Figure 33**). In this print statues lie in pieces along the floor of nave, just toppled from their pedestals (**Figure 34**). More importantly, we find six men on the far left aisle pulling down statues that surmount the nave columns. The statues are being brought down by long ropes that diagonally traverse the upper section of the nave (**Figure 35**).

⁶¹ Christopher S. Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column : The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6, no. 1 (1992): 98.

⁶² "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column : The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6, no. 1 (1992): 89,103.

⁶³ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ Pr, 2008), 131.

The bringing down of statues placed on columns with ropes is also manifest in the seventeenth-century print illustrating the Calvinist *Beeldenstorm* at the Antwerp Cathedral by Gaspar Bouttats (**Figure 36**). The visual trope is again depicted in a painting by Dirck van Delen (**Figure 37**). *Beeldenstorm* imagery was undoubtedly a crucial source for Andean artists. *Defense* paintings feature the monstrance undergoing the same assault: Turks attempt to topple the monstrance with cords or ropes that descend diagonally from the monstrance into the hands of the Turks. Calvinists destroyed Catholic figural statues because they believed that the Bible not only forbids the worship of images, but also, prescribes for their destruction as idols.⁶⁴ In replicating the visual trope of Protestant Iconoclasm, where Calvinists were destroying statues that they considered to be idols, *Defense* paintings designate monstrances as objects that at least some would consider to be idols.

In addition to a visual correspondence with European scenes of assault on contentious objects, even more features in Andean *Defenses* underline the monstrance's idol-ness. Andean *Defenses* set their iconoclastic drama in an exterior landscape, as opposed to the interior of a church. The horizon line is low in *Defenses*, and the landscape is usually sparse, though some paintings feature rolling hills and foliage. Hartmann Schedel's late fifteenth century print from the *Liber chronicarum* illustrates the Old Testament story of Israelites venerating the Golden Calf idol (**Figure 38**). In this print, a calf appears atop a tall column in the center of the composition, whilst eight people dance *fully around* the column in outdoor idolatrous veneration. Christopher Wood, in his examination of the cult of the Virgin Schöne Maria in Regensburg, notes

⁶⁴ Bridget Heal, "'Better Papist Than Calvinist': Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany," *German History* 29, no. 4 (2011): 592.

that centripetal worship, such as that which occurs around a figure-on-column in a spacious exterior setting, was often perceived as dangerous by the Church because it was not easily mediated by a priest. The placement of a religious icon outdoors, as opposed to an orthodox place of veneration inside a church, was also typically associated with idol worship in Europe. *Defense* paintings follow these traditions by placing the dispute over the monstrance in an exterior setting on a circular column. While the setting may allude to the military battles fought outdoors between Iberians and Turks in the Mediterranean world, it cannot be denied that symbolically, the backdrop casts the monstrance as idol.

An exterior setting in *Defense* paintings also corresponds with the quintessential backdrop for native idolatry according to Spanish extirpators. The most perfidious forms of *huaca* worship notoriously occurred at outdoor sites in viceregal Peru. Father Pablo Jose de Arriaga wrote a treatise on idolatry in Peru. In this treatise, after listing the various sacred sites and natural phenomena (*huacas*) that natives worship outdoors, he adds: “these are all huacas that they [Indians] worship as gods, and they cannot be removed from their sight because are fixed and immobile, we must try to root them out of their hearts.”⁶⁵ Heidi Scott notes in her study of Spanish-authored topographical maps produced in the late sixteenth century that colonial Spaniards only vaguely comprehended the Andean landscape, portraying it often as a mysterious place. Spaniards conceived of the Andean exterior as treacherous and deeply alien - an ideal setting for idol worship.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Pablo José de Arriaga and L. Clark Keating, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru. Translated and Edited by L. Clark Keating* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press 1968), 24.

⁶⁶ Heidi V. Scott, *Contested Territory : Mapping Peru in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press,, 2009), 160.

What was most distressing to idol extirpators was the Andeans' spiritual resourcefulness in the face of the material destruction of their natural *huacas*. It seemed as though the land provided an enduring spiritual medium that Spanish authorities could not comprehend, nor could they control thru the mere eradication of sacred sites. This keen awareness on the part of Spanish civic and ecclesiastical authorities, that the landscape was replete with sacred significance for natives, may have played a role in the expunging of geo-specific topographies from the majority Cusco School paintings. The general wariness of depicting the Andean exterior by artists in Peru underlines the significance of its employment in *Defense* paintings. The backdrop for the *Defense* drama complies with both European and viceregal Peruvian ideal settings for idolatry.

Defense paintings depart from the *Beeldenstorm* visual tradition in appointing a golden monstrance, not stone figure, as the idol atop a column. In the Andes, early-modern portable monstrances were typically crafted from gold - a fact doubly underlined in most *Defenses* via the application of gold-leaf to the surface of the canvas. The allusion to, or bonafide presence of, gold in these paintings equates the monstrance with an idol. This is because objects of cast metal, especially gold, play a prominent role in major European texts on idolatry. In the Old Testament, when Moses ascended Mount Sinai for forty days and forty nights, in his absence the Israelites began to venerate a golden calf. Moses, upon witnessing this, crushed the idol and forced the Israelites to consume the golden dust.⁶⁷ As Cummins notes, a central facet of this tale of idolatry is the mis-placed veneration in the material (gold). Gold was inextricably linked to idolatry

⁶⁷ (Exodus 32:4).

and iconoclasm in the Old Testament.⁶⁸ Christian doctrine attempted to describe idols as the antithesis of Christian art, but the bronze or golden pagan ‘idol’ actually served as an ongoing model for the Christian production of religious objects. The tendency to shape an object that sat atop a classical column from a gilded material crept into the Christian artistic tradition. Michael Cole notes that the Christian images placed on top of pagan columns and obelisks in Counter-Reformation Rome were made of gilded bronze or gold, which was an enormously costly choice.⁶⁹

Not only are *Defense of the Eucharist* monstrances made of gold, they showcase flamboyant and lavish craftsmanship, including be-jeweled accents and intricate relief carvings. The extravagant luxury and unique physical structure of the monstrances in *Defense* paintings specifically commemorate the work of Andean silversmiths. American gold was sent to Spain in the form of bullion, and also, in the form of Andean crafted monstrances. The monstrances produced in the Andes were known and valued in Iberia. Many Spaniards who re-located to Peru sent Andean monstrances back to their hometown churches in Iberia, which garnered renown for Andean silversmith accomplishment in the metropolis. Monstrances crafted by Andean silversmiths were famously opulent. They were often made of silver, and then gilt in gold. This process, whereby the already costly silver was obscured by a golden exterior coat, evidences the abundance of silver in the viceroyalty, but also, brings to mind the Andean concept of *ukhu*: the interior that is concealed but vitally important.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Thomas Bitting Foster Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America " in *The Idol in the Age of Art : Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Wayne Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Burlington, VT : Ashgate Pub. Co., 2009).

⁶⁹ Cole, "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome " 73.

⁷⁰ Rebecca Stone, *Art of the Andes : From Chávin to Inca* 3rd ed. ed., World of Art (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 19.

The monstrances we observe in *Defense* paintings follow the Andean portable monstrance format. Viceregal Andean monstrances featured sunburst shaped receptacles for the circular host, that were surmounted above a stem and base. The Andean configuration for the rays of the sunburst often consisted of an elaborate meshwork of interlocking C or S shapes.⁷¹ This meshwork is present, to varying degrees of complexity, in all the Andean monstrances in *Defense* paintings. Andean portable monstrances also feature a characteristic sunburst finial. The sunburst finial on a monstrance was not popular in Europe before the Baroque period, while it was common in New Spain and Peru. European sunburst monstrances appear later than American ones, and, the earliest examples in Europe were actually crafted in the Americas and sent to Iberia. Jaime Lara holds that the overt solar associations between the eucharistic bread and the sunburst monstrance first took place in the Americas.⁷² This paper will examine solar associations that were created and performed through viceregal Andean art.

The majority of *Defense* monstrances feature a rounded, flat base. These bases **(evident in Figures 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 & 35, and possibly 46)** approximate the base of the Andean Soumaya Museum monstrance, which dates to the second half of the seventeenth century **(Figure 47)**. The flat circular base is one of several Andean base configurations that silversmiths utilized in the construction of monstrances, but this particular configuration was probably favored by *Defense* artists due to its convenient emulation of the cylindrical shape of the column that sustains it. Another configuration

⁷¹ Cristina Esteras Martín, "Hispanic Silver" in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne L. Stratton (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art Publishing Department 2006), 210.

⁷² Jaime Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs : Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*, (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008). 197.

common in Andean monstrances was the cruciform or circular base, elevated from the surface by foliate/cherub feet ending in small spheres (**Figures 1, 48, and 49**).

It is possible that one *Defense of the Eucharist* pays homage to a very specific Andean monstrance commissioned by Bishop Don Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo. Mollinedo presided over a quarter century of artistic activity in Cusco, in efforts to re-equip churches with liturgical objects in the wake of a destructive earthquake in 1650. As an integral part of this project, he commissioned eighty-two new monstrances.⁷³ Perhaps the most lavish of these monstrances was commissioned for the Cusco cathedral (**Figure 50**). Several aspects of this monstrance are typical to Cusco monstrance production: cruciform design of the base, cherubim feet with vegetal bodies and outstretched wings, superimposition of various independent bodies to form the stem, and the configuration of the sunburst based on pairs of facing C-shapes with rays ending in pear-shaped finials. We see this design was popular among silversmiths, as another Andean monstrance produced circa 1700 closely resembles the Cusco Cathedral monstrance (**Figure 51**). A *Defense of the Eucharist*, currently located at the Casona del Moral Museum in Arequipa, features a monstrance that resembles (though does not mimic exactly) the Cusco Cathedral monstrance (**Figure 52**). Both feature similar sunburst configurations and stems composed of a series of superimposed quadrangular shapes.

Andean artists clearly valued the achievements of silversmith in Peru, as they selected Andean (and not European) monstrances for the centerpieces of *Defense* compositions. The apex of Andean silversmith craftsmanship was considered to be the gilded monstrance. Cusco School paintings portray the patron saint of silversmiths, Saint Eloy, in the process of crafting a golden sunburst portable monstrance (**Figures 53 & 54**).

⁷³ Esteras Martín, "Hispanic Silver " 213.

Defense paintings pay homage to the achievements of their fellow craftsmen in positioning the monstrances, produced by Amerindian artists, as worthy of the protection of the Spanish monarch. Also the specter of idolatry is raised yet again, as the possibility exists that Amerindian silversmiths were disguising ancient Sun-God worship in the production of sunburst monstrances.

I have located only one *Defense* that features a non-sunburst, non-Andean, monstrance (**Figure 55**). This tower-shaped ostensorium, whose form imitates a Gothic church, was known as the ‘German Manner’ of eucharist reservation in Europe, and its appearance in an Andean composition probably owes to the dissemination of the German-Manner monstrance via prints (see **Figure 8**).⁷⁴ That one *Defense* painting represents the monstrance in the German-Manner only highlights the decision making process involved in Andean *Defense* monstrance representation. Artists were privy to a variety of European style monstrances, and yet in the vast majority of instances, they favored the Andean style of monstrance.

That the monstrances in *Defense* paintings were undeniably crafted in Peru, from Peruvian gold, works in conjunction with the column and exterior setting - all cast the monstrance as idol. And the specter of idolatry was known to haunt the Andean monstrance. Arriaga writes: “The dissimulation and boldness of the Indians has reached such a point that during the feast of Corpus they have slyly hidden a small huaca on the very platform of the monstrance of the Holy Sacrament.”⁷⁵ But it is not a vague kind of

⁷⁴ Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence : Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ*, C. 1270-1600, (Brepols, 2009). 334.

⁷⁵ Arriaga and Keating, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru. Translated and Edited by L. Clark Keating*, 70.

idol/*huaca* worship evoked by the *Defense* monstrance. The monstrance is entangled with the cult of the Inca Sun-God: Inti.

The cult of Inti spread across the Andes and coastal regions of Peru as the Inca Empire expanded in the 15th and early 16th centuries. Inti was a principal actor in the Inca pantheon.⁷⁶ The sun was considered a life-giving cosmological force, and the Inca agricultural calendar placed the two most important festivals of the year on the winter and summer solstice.⁷⁷ The Inti cult was most sacred to the Inca elite. The Sapa Inca was considered a direct descendant of Inti and the Inti cult was centered at Coricancha, the principal Inca temple in Cusco, the sacred capital city of the Inca.

Colonial authorities, both ecclesiastic and political, feared natives secretly worshipped the Inca Sun-God in their reverence for Christ during their enactment of eucharistic ritual.⁷⁸ This fear, ironically, stems from the openly syncretic policies encouraged by the Catholic Church in relation to Inti and Jesus Christ. A papal brief of Paul IV, dated to 1558, encourages a guided syncretism of these two solar deities. The Pope wrote: “The days in which the Indians, according to their ancient rites, dedicate to the sun and to their idols should be replaced with feasts in honor of the *true sun*, Jesus Christ...”⁷⁹ Architecturally, a syncretism between Christ and Inti was expressed in the colonial re-consecration of Coricancha as a Christian church. Dominicans built a new colonial church over Coricancha, and the nave of the church, where the transubstantiation

⁷⁶ Paul R. Steele and Catherine J. Allen, *Handbook of Inca Mythology* Handbooks of World Mythology (Santa Barbara, Calif. : ABC-CLIO, 2004), 246, 47.

⁷⁷ The Sun-God was perhaps the principal deity in the Inca pantheon, but this is heavily debated. An alternate principal deity might have been the ‘Creator God’ most commonly known as Viracocha.

⁷⁸ Dean, *Inca Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 52.

⁷⁹ Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs : Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. 197.

of the eucharist is observed, was built on top of rooms once devoted to Inti worship.⁸⁰ And, the Christian God and the Sun were visually conceptualized in similar manners in viceregal Peru, which inevitably made it difficult to distinguish between the two entities. Jaime Lara argues that the eucharistic sacrament functioned as a replacement for the Pre-Hispanic cult of the sun, and as a result, “the solar-eucharistic metaphor illustrates some interesting aspects in the inculturation process, including the very sensitive issue of idolatry.”⁸¹

The concept of Christ as sun predates the European expansion into the Americas, and there are scores of biblical excerpts that link Christ to the sun.⁸² According to Western biblical reasoning, the sunburst on a monstrance is a symbolic transposition of the notion of Christ as the light and sun of justice.⁸³ But, the sunburst shape also closely resembles images of the Inti propagated in viceregal Peru. European conception of Inti worship is illustrated in an eighteenth century book by Bernard Picard titled “Costumes of Idolatrous Peoples” (**Figure 56**). Here Incas are seen worshipping Inti within a temple, presumably Coricancha. Incas supplicants appear on their knees, genuflecting towards an immense icon of Inti that hangs on a wall on the right. Inti is fancifully conceived as a large, relief sculpture of a sunburst with a personified face on the inner disk. One man approaches the altar of Inti, proffering a vessel.

The portrayal of Inti as a personified sunburst disk in viceregal Peru appears to have gained widespread credence. Andean artists utilized the sign to indicate the Inca

⁸⁰ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 86.

⁸¹ Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs : Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. 196.

⁸² For a compilation of quotes relating Christ to the Sun, see: *Christian Texts for Aztecs : Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. 194, 95.

⁸³ Esteras Martín, "Hispanic Silver " 209.

Sun-God. Martín de Murúa's *Historia del Origen y Genealogía Real de los Reyes del Piru* portrays an Inca man worshipping an Inti icon, placed above an altar at Coricancha (c.1590, "Coricancha," folio 64v, Private Collection of Sean Galvin, **Figure 57**). The personified sunburst form of the icon corresponds with the imported European visual tradition for representations of Inti. Tom Cummins stresses the colonial invention of Inti as a sunburst: "The Inca did not use figural sculpture to mark the presence of the sacred."⁸⁴ But it is difficult to specify how Inti was actually represented in Pre-Contact art. Cummins and Bruce Mannheim believe that the kinetic was associated with Inca visual representation of Inti; the Inti was probably perceived in Inca art through the light and shadow the sun cast on objects. Thus, in the Murúa illustration, the presence of the sunlight upon the stone walls of Coricancha captures the sacred energy of the sun in a manner which may approach Pre-Contact visual representations of Inti. There were also three-dimensional Inca representations of Inti made in gold, but we do not know what they looked like due to their rapid destruction. Even so, for the Inca, the significance of Inti images resided in their reflective qualities rather than any figural iconography.⁸⁵

The visual correlation between Inti as sunburst and Christ as sunburst was a conscious colonial strategy. That the two deities shared the same sign in viceregal times facilitated a triumphal narrative: manifestations of the sunburst could be perceived both

⁸⁴ Tom Cummins and Bruce Mannheim, "The River around Us, the Stream within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," *Res*, no. 59/60 (2011): 10.

⁸⁵ "The River around Us, the Stream within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," *Res*, no. 59/60 (2011): 13. Cummins does acknowledge that gold was utilized by the Inca to create figural sculptures, but these were figurines intended for domestic use and are found most often far from urban areas such as Cusco. See Tom Cummins, "Queros, Aquillas, Uncus, and Chulpas : The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power : A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997* ed. Richard L. Burger, et al. (Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection ; [Cambridge, Mass.] Harvard University Press, 2007), 269. He does not address the Punchao icon, a figural representation of Inti that chroniclers claim was housed in Coricancha.

as Christ *and* as the defeated native Sun-God. Public displays of sunbursts came to signify the triumph of Christ who had supplanted past idolatrous meanings in the sign. This triumphal narrative is further evident in *Defense* paintings through the display of the monstrance/Inti sunburst upon a column. According to European visual tradition, placing a Christian image atop a column celebrates the triumph of the true Church against false religion. Michael Cole designates the placement of a Christian statue on a pagan column as the triumph-type.⁸⁶ Employment of the triumph-type implies that the new object on the column is the victorious agent, thus inserting the new object into a chronological narrative: the Christian object replaces a previously destroyed pagan statue. The gesture celebrates the triumph of Christianity itself.⁸⁷

Under Pope Sixtus in Rome, Christian images were placed triumphantly atop actual Roman pagan columns. To commemorate this gesture, Sixtus commissioned a fresco for the ceiling of the Constantine Room in the Vatican that portrays a crucifix raised atop a column (**Figure 58**). The crucifix replaces an idol that lies broken on the ground beneath the column. The work also commemorates the first Christian Emperor Constantine's supposed order to destroy pagan statues and replace them with the image of Christ across the Roman Empire.⁸⁸ The employment of the triumph-type in *Defense* paintings thus communicated a triumph of the monstrance in place of idolatrous Inti worship.

⁸⁶ Cole, "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome" 65.

⁸⁷ Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column: The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," 99.

⁸⁸ Tilmann Buddensieg, "Gregory the Great, the Destroyer of Pagan Idols. The History of a Medieval Legend Concerning the Decline of Ancient Art and Literature," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28(1965): 44.

Maya Stanfield-Mazzi observes that “both the Spaniards and Andeans seem to have felt that a severe blow was dealt to a cult when its titular image was destroyed.”⁸⁹ Following this logic, the cult of Inti must have drastically abated during the sixteenth century, as the vast majority of Pre-Contact representations of Inti were rapidly destroyed.⁹⁰ But one famous image of Inti was said to have survived the Spaniards’ early iconoclastic efforts in Cusco: Punchao. Punchao is described by the chronicler Juan Diez de Betanzos as an young male figure, crafted of gold and housed in Coricancha. It was supposedly transported to Vilcabamba and safe-guarded by the resistant Sapa Incas. Punchao was eventually captured by Spaniards and probably destroyed in 1572 with the fall of the last Inca Tupac Amaru. This Inti statue was uniquely important to the ruling Inca clans, as it was commissioned by the foundational Inca ruler Pachacuti, and, preserved the hearts of deceased Sapa Incas.⁹¹

The story of Punchao accentuates the material persistence of an Inti cult in the face of Spanish iconoclasm. The lore surrounding Punchao’s tenacity may have sustained the Inti cult during the early viceregal era. Furthermore, we find that Inti lived-on in a variety of new guises throughout the colonial Andes. Andeans came to identify their Sun-God via the imported European conception of Inti as a sunburst. For instance, Guaman Poma utilizes a personified sunburst to illustrate and commemorate Intiraymi, the summer solstice festival, on the upper left quadrant of the first Inca coat of arms (*Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615, “The first coat of arms,” ch. 6, p. 79 [79], drawing 23,

⁸⁹ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 21.

⁹⁰ Cummins and Mannheim, "The River around Us, the Stream within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," 13.

⁹¹ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 21.

Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen, **Figure 59**).⁹² Colonial Andeans also celebrated Inti as a sunburst through festive Inca costume and cacique portraits, which will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

We must accept that *Defense* paintings too participated in this Inti commemorative visual culture; working to keep the conception of Inti alive in colonial world. Indeed, the significance of Christ's triumph over Inti in the *Defense* iconography curiously implies that Inti once existed, and acknowledges Inti as a formidable and ongoing adversary for Christ. Because *Defense* paintings testify to the fact that 'idol' *huacas* such as Inti did exist, Christ's triumph in Peru becomes all the more impressive.

The *Defense* monstrance is conspicuously Andean in form, but also, in material. With the application of gold-leaf to the canvas, the monstrance gives real presence to what Peru was best known for in Europe - gold. Sebastián de Covarrubias defined Peru, in 1611, as a province "from which has been taken enormous quantities of gold and silver; and in exchange, the holy Catholic faith has been communicated."⁹³ Cummins notes that gold played a crucial role in Euro rationalization of conquest and colonial presence in the 'New World' - Spanish spread the Catholic religion and vanquished idolatry in exchange for gold and silver.⁹⁴ Thus, Peruvian gold crafted by Andean Christians, placed triumphantly atop a column as a Catholic receptacle for the body of Christ, celebrates the successful Spanish possession of a divinely endorsed colonial empire.

⁹² Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala and Roland Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government : On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, Joe R. And Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 57, 58.

⁹³ Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America " 80.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

According to biblical mythology, great importance is attached to the history of an idol's materiality. In the Book of Exodus, the Golden Calf idol was created from the Israelites' melted down golden earrings. The importance of an idol's material history was still stressed in the early modern world. Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's important treatise on sacred and profane images, published in Europe in 1585, presented various synonyms for *idoli*, including *conflatili*: "things that are melted together."⁹⁵ Peruvian gold is known to have derived, at least in part, from the melting down of Pre-Contact 'idols.' Pre-Contact objects were melted down by the Spanish and often modeled into liturgical objects such as crucifixes and monstrances.⁹⁶ Certainly the earliest Andean monstrances were crafted from the gold of Inca idols. A notable monstrance in Iberia was also constructed from the gold of Inca idols: the monstrance at the Cathedral of Toledo was made from nearly 30 pounds of American gold, and it has been the principal feature of the Corpus Christi procession for nearly 500 years. Queen Isabella personally ordered the Toledo monstrance be crafted from the first gold brought from the 'New World.'⁹⁷ Like the Toledo monstrance, Andean *Defense* monstrances theoretically subsume the very substance of ancient idols through the presence of gold leaf on their canvases. The *Defense* monstrance is materially both ancient idol and Catholic image.

This oscillation between idol and orthodox icon is appropriate, considering that the gesture of triumph in the display of a Christian icon atop a column is inherently paradoxical. The newly elevated object intends to do at least some of the same things as the ancient idol that it supplanted, and thus, the triumph trope evinces an ontological

⁹⁵ Cole, "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome " 74.

⁹⁶ Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America ".

⁹⁷ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 14.

parallel between pagan and orthodox Christian figures.⁹⁸ The placement of a monstrance on a column raises the question: How different is Catholic eucharistic ritual from Andean 'idolatrous' religious practices? Cummins would argue, not very different. He believes that the Catholic concept of transubstantiation and the Andean concept of *camay* are very proximate. *Camay* is Andean notion that the sacred substance or essence of a thing is transubstantial - it exists in the material more so than any outward appearance. He writes: "Camay in Peru was deemed idolatrous and was replaced by the Eucharist and the sacrament of communion."⁹⁹

It was a contentious question whether Amerindians could even receive communion. Though a papal bull in 1537 recognized the capacity of Indians to receive the sacrament of communion, in Peru natives were barred from the sacrament until Second Council of Lima relaxed restrictions during the late sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Access to, and understanding of, the eucharist was still an elusive affair for most natives during the viceregal era. According to doctrine espoused by the Council of Trent, a Catholic should receive communion at least once a year on Easter Mass. But this was likely not the case in Peru. During the mid-seventeenth century, Juan de Padilla, attorney on the Audencia of Lima, denounced the state of spiritual affairs in Peru in a letter to King Philip IV. He wrote that many Indians die without ever receiving the sacrament of communion.¹⁰¹ Carolyn Dean believes that Andeans received the eucharist "only infrequently."¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Cole, "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome " 75.

⁹⁹ Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America " 81.

¹⁰⁰ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 1.

¹⁰¹ Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies : Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. 159.

¹⁰² Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 1.

Jesuit Father Ludovico Bertonio's dual language (Aymara / Spanish) confessional manual for priests, published in Peru in 1612, attempts to explicate Christianity in a manner which would have been accessible to Amerindians. The instruction is laid out in a question and answer format, where by a priest interrogates a native. The section on the Sacrament of Communion is uncommonly long and it is the only section that was split into two versions, one for natives of average intellect, and another simplified version for "gente ruda." The answers on the part of the native reveal the ideal level of eucharistic knowledge that Jesuits hoped indigenous peoples would achieve.

Six of the questions in the average Sacrament of Communion section deal with the theory of transubstantiation, and not surprisingly, communicate ambiguous and ill-defined theories. For example, the priest asks: "How it is that the body and blood of Christ, a man as large as any other man, is fully present in each tiny host?" To which the native responds: "God in his infinite power is capable of all things, although we can not comprehend them all with our lowly understanding."¹⁰³ The priest also inquires as to the presence of the body of Christ in the host, to which the native responds: "Though Jesus Christ's real body is present in the host, the body manifests itself in a spiritual manner; we cannot see or touch the body, just as we cannot see or touch our souls... We adore him in the host although we cannot see him with our eyes, and for believing, we will be given the prize of salvation."¹⁰⁴ The section for "gente ruda" is concise. If the native can

¹⁰³ Ludovico Bertonio, *Confessionario Mvy Copioso En Dos Lengvas, Aymara, Y Efpañola, Con Vna Instruccion Acerca Delos Fiete Sacramentos De La Santa Iglefia, Y Otras Varias Cofas, Como Puede Verfe Por La Tabla Del Mefmo Libro / Compuesta Por Ludovico Bertonio ; Introduction by Iván Tavel Torres* (Cochabamba, Bolivia: PROEIB-ANDES & the Dutch Embassy, 2003), 44,45.

¹⁰⁴ *Confessionario Mvy Copioso En Dos Lengvas, Aymara, Y Efpañola, Con Vna Instruccion Acerca Delos Fiete Sacramentos De La Santa Iglefia, Y Otras Varias Cofas, Como Puede Verfe Por La Tabla Del Mefmo Libro / Compuesta Por Ludovico Bertonio ; Introduction by Iván Tavel Torres* (Cochabamba, Bolivia: PROEIB-ANDES & the Dutch Embassy, 2003), 46.

satisfactorily convey that Christ is present in the eucharist, that communing pleases God, and that one must confess before communing, then they are considered fit to receive communion.¹⁰⁵ Bertonio's catechism manual portrays the ideal native Catholic inductee as an uncritical student nearly incapable of abstract thought. The inadequacy of eucharistic instruction and access in viceregal Peru may have contributed to the visual pairing of monstrance and idol in *Defense* paintings.

There are reasons why eucharistic instruction was handled with discretion - critical examination of the Catholic rite could reveal fissures in the colonial project. For instance, if indeed the true and real body of Christ is present in the eucharist, that would classify the eating of the host as cannibalism. But Spaniards held the cannibalistic consumption of the human body as a paramount taboo. Moreover, Europeans characterized cannibalism as an *inherent characteristic of idolatry*. The systematic union of cannibalism and idolatry is illustrated in a woodcut from Pedro Cieza de León's *Parte primera de la crónica del Perú*, printed in Seville in 1553 (**Figure 60**). This imaginative rendering of native Andean religion portrays a winged devil figure atop a column, presiding over an act of Amerindian cannibalism visible on the right. The diabolical idol's endorsement of the rite is confirmed by the blood that drips from his feet down the column.

The cryptic aura that surrounded Catholic eucharistic ritual did not escape Andean criticism. John Charles, in his study of idolatry extirpation trials in viceregal Peru, *Allies at Odds, The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583 - 1671*, describes a case

¹⁰⁵ *Confessionario Mvy Copioso En Dos Lengvas, Aymara, Y Efpañola, Con Vna Inftruccion Acerca Delos Fiete Sacramentos De La Santa Iglefia, Y Otras Varias Cofas, Como Puede Verfe Por La Tabla Del Mefmo Libro / Compuesta Por Ludovico Bertonio ; Introduction by Iván Tavel Torres*, 49.

involving the mockery of the Catholic mass that specifically denounced the moment of consecration, the elevation of the eucharist. On Corpus Christi in a small southern Andean town, mass was performed. A town banquet organized by the native *cabildo* [city council] then followed. The parish priest attended the banquet only briefly before departing to manage his fields. After the priest left, the *aguacil* [sheriff] of the native *cabildo* emerged from the back of the church in the priest's ceremonial vestments.¹⁰⁶

The costumed 'priest' proceeded to act the part, showering onlookers with water and incense. The actor also derisively imitated Catholic priests: he walked with his head bent and hands trembling, as an elderly, perhaps senile, man, blessing a baby-doll with the sign of the Trinity. In the culminating act, he stood at a temporary altar that had been erected on the main square and performed a mock mass. The *aguacil* genuflected, stated some words in garbled Latin, and then removed from his clothing a piece of paper cut in the shape of the host. When he raised this paper aloft the crowd burst into laughter. At this moment the town's indigenous sacristan, new to the community, put a halt to the ceremony.¹⁰⁷ It was this sacristan who later filled the idolatry suit against the *aguacil*.

In this community at least, the act of transforming a thin, circular object into the real body of Christ elicited general amusement. The mock eucharistic consecration episode was, furthermore, performed on Corpus Christi, a festival that was filled with European anxieties about secret idol worship. The performance speaks to a fissure in the colonial project: that the Catholic eucharistic sacrament seems no more puerile or idolatrous than traditional beliefs that natives enacted outside the orthodox bounds of

¹⁰⁶ John Charles, *Allies at Odds : The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* (Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 148, 49.

¹⁰⁷ *Allies at Odds : The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* (Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 149.

Christianity. Indeed, colonial native religiosity was a mix of both Catholic and traditional Andean practices. Kenneth Mills argues that recognizable Andean religious beliefs retained their significance in the viceregal era *because they changed*.¹⁰⁸ Andean colonial ‘idolatrous’ practices often mimicked Christianity. For instance, *huaca* priests would sacrifice llamas or guinea pigs upon the main altar of their parish church, an act that echoes the eucharistic sacrament.¹⁰⁹

The perpetual oscillation of the monstrance in *Defense* paintings (its visual fluctuation between orthodox liturgical object and idol, its simultaneous reference to the triumph of Christianity in Peru and the persistence of native religion) adequately captures the precarious place that the eucharistic sacrament held within viceregal society. Eucharistic ritual witnessed the complex interlocking of native and European religious patterns - a phenomena imposed through ecclesiastical syncretism, but also enacted in subtle manners by Andeans themselves. The monstrance in *Defense of the Eucharist* embodies Peruvian colonial religiosity in all its complexity. The monstrance becomes a place of *tinku*, an new object that celebrates the distinct qualities of Andean Christianity. The monstrance-tinku, like Andean Christianity, recognizes the value of both local *huacas* and Catholic icons. It is a uniquely Andean invention that functions within a coherent colonial semiotic system.

¹⁰⁸ Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies : Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. 5.
(Italics my own)

¹⁰⁹ Charles, *Allies at Odds : The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* 147.

CHAPTER THREE - TURKS AND CATHOLICS

Without fail, the altercation in *Andean Defense of the Eucharist* paintings involves Muslims versus Christians. Muslims attempt to topple the monstrance while Christians defend it. These same characters clashed time and time again in European early modern *Moros vs. Cristianos* performances. *Moros vs. Cristianos* was a choreographed mock-battle popular in Spain, featuring a group of Iberians costumed as Moors, battling another group of Iberians, the Christians. Iberians in the Viceroyalty of Peru occasionally replicated the festive performance - usually when Spanish authorities desperately needed to secure social cohesion amongst men of disparate geographic and political allegiances.

Perhaps the first elaborate *Moros vs. Cristianos* performance in Peru occurred in the midst of a civil war, soon after the Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela was jailed by the *oidores* [civil judges] of Lima in 1546. The leader of the rebellious forces, Gonzalo Pizarro, entered Lima triumphantly as the new governor soon after the viceroy was imprisoned. He detained those still loyal to the viceroy and worked quickly to consolidate alliances with the city's *oidores*, ecclesiastics, crown officials and captains of the armed forces.¹¹⁰ To celebrate his de-facto position as the leader of the Peruvian Viceroyalty and to "please the town and all its citizens" Pizarro also sponsored festivities in the main plaza of Lima.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Pedro Pizarro, *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru. Translated into English by Philip Ainsworth Means*, Documents and Narratives Concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America: No. 4 (Boston, Milford House 1972), 447.

¹¹¹ Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara and Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Historia De Las Guerras Civiles Del Perú (1544-1548) Y De Otros Sucesos De Las Indias*, Colección De Libros Y Documentos Referentes Á La Historia De América (Madrid : V. Suárez, 1904), 27.

A principal act in the festivities was *Moros vs. Cristianos*. The performance occurred in front of an elaborate castle constructed on one side of the plaza. Iberian actors emerged onto the square dressed in luxurious costumes made of brocade and colorful silk. The men were divided into two factions, Moors and Christians. The Moorish King was played by the Iberian Captain Pedro de Puelles, who wore: “many fine jewels made of gold and numerous emeralds and pearls, which was all worth a great sum of money...”¹¹² The Christian King, Don Baltasar de Castilla, was also costumed in opulence. The two kings led their respective squadrons under battle standards - the Christian standard decorated with Santiago Matamoros, and the Moorish standard with a crescent moon. The actors attacked the castle and performed a skirmish between the two factions.

Max Harris, in *Aztecs, Moors and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain*, notes that in sixteenth century Spain, *Moros vs. Cristianos* was enacted only occasionally, and it was usually “staged as a part of a royal entry or other special event.”¹¹³ In the descriptions of early Iberian *Moros vs. Cristianos* that survive, the mock battles always end with the defeat of the Moors. The exact manner in which the closing defeat sequence was expressed varied by region and evolved throughout the early modern era. For example, to conclude an early fourteenth-century *Moros vs. Cristianos* in Aragon-Catalonia, the defeated Moors requested to be converted to Catholicism, and they were dressed in white tunics to symbolize their conversion. The fictional Moorish captain

¹¹² *Historia De Las Guerras Civiles Del Perú (1544-1548) Y De Otros Sucesos De Las Indias*, Colección De Libros Y Documentos Referentes Á La Historia De América (Madrid : V. Suárez, 1904), 29.

¹¹³ Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (USA: University of Texas Press, 2000), 32.

was then given a ‘kiss of peace’ by the Christian king Jaime II.¹¹⁴ To conclude a *Moros vs. Cristianos* in 1527 in Berga, Spain, the Moors knelt in submission below Christian actors on horseback.¹¹⁵ In accordance with the Iberian formula, the Christians defeated the Moors in the 1546 Lima performance. But in Lima this defeat was expressed in a new way: the Christians captured the routed Moors by tying ropes around their necks. Each Christian then paraded through the plaza alongside their captive Moorish prisoner.

Francisca Pizarro, daughter of the famous conquistador and his noble Inca concubine Doña Inés Yupanqui, had observed the *Moros vs. Cristianos* performance from her father’s residence, seated on a balcony overlooking the plaza. The procession halted in front of this residence. From the balcony of the home of the late Francisco Pizarro, Doña Francisca enacted the performance’s culminating moment of defeat, coiling a golden chain made by natives around the Moorish King’s neck.¹¹⁶

This remarkable defeat sequence activated a localized logic, expressing Andean social codes of martial behavior. The public parading of captured prisoners with ropes around their necks pre-dates the Inca civilization in Peru, reaching back (at least) to the Moche civilization [c. 100 - 800]. Standard prisoner iconography in Moche ceramics and murals represents the conquered person naked and bound with a rope around their neck.¹¹⁷ Moche, and later Andean civilizations as well, celebrated military victory through elaborate public performances that featured the parading of prisoners of war. During the 1546 festivities recounted above, Iberians were recreating a European

¹¹⁴ *Aztecs, Moors and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (USA: University of Texas Press, 2000), 37,38.

¹¹⁵ *Aztecs, Moors and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain*, 52.

¹¹⁶ Gutiérrez de Santa Clara and Serrano y Sanz, *Historia De Las Guerras Civiles Del Perú (1544-1548) Y De Otros Sucesos De Las Indias*, 31.

¹¹⁷ Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru : Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1978), 158 - 73.

chivalrous performance. This makes the incorporation of Andean notions of defeat in the Lima performance of *Moros vs. Cristianos*, a mere fourteen years into the colonial era, all the more conspicuous.

I underline the manner in which Andean ritual permeated the structural logic of a European performance because a comparable phenomenon can be identified in *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings. Like *Moros vs. Cristianos*, the drama of *Defense* paintings is primarily expressed in an imported European language, this time painted. As the unique defeat sequence of the Lima *Moros vs. Cristianos* performance suggests, one should seek out local Andean meanings in *Defense* paintings. Tom Cummins posits that sometime in the late 16th century, the western pictorial narrative in Peru becomes subject to Andean criteria. As natives recognized the potential of western imagery to express their own concerns, they inevitably invested the colonial visual culture with Andean referentiality.¹¹⁸ In *Defenses*, Andean meaning is expressed primarily through indigenous spatial structuring systems.

Guaman Poma, a native chronicler, authored *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615). In this work, the text serves as an elaboration of, or complement to, the nearly 400 hand-drawn illustrations. The illustrations are consistently structured by Guaman Poma so as to convey a system of symbolic values. The values are relational: the position of figures on a field becomes meaningful only when a counterposition is expressed.¹¹⁹ For example, the position to the right of center, as opposed to left of center, is a privileged location (seen as the pictorial left from the observer's point of view). This

¹¹⁸ Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 11,12.

¹¹⁹ Rolena Adorno, "Icon and Idea: A Symbolic Reading of Pictures in a Peruvian Indian Chronicle," *Indian Historian (American Indian Historical Society)* 12, no. 3 (1979): 33.

bilateral scheme was an effective spatial organization scheme, as Guaman Poma structures 40% of his drawings in *Nueva Cronica* by placing the figures of superior authority on the conceptual right (pictorial left).¹²⁰ For example, we see this symbolic structure in the illustration of a native lord and a native tributary, in the illustration of the King of Spain and Guaman Poma, and in the illustration of a Spanish husband and wife (**Figure 61, 62, 63**).

Cummins believes this bilateral scheme constitutes a visual transmutation of the Inca complementary political system known as Hanan and Hurin.¹²¹ Cusco, the sacred capital city of the Incas, was divided into two parts: Hanan (upper) and Hurin (lower). They were conceived of as matching halves, and elite members of the Inca kin all held allegiances to either Hanan or Hurin. During the late Inca era the members of the Hanan moiety were more powerful - they inhabited the higher part of town and their interests took precedence in politics and ceremony.¹²² This inequitable complementarity corresponds to the Andean worldview, where ideally, dual parts are balanced but not necessarily equal.

Defense of the Eucharist paintings can be analyzed based upon bilateral symmetry or Hanan/Hurin (**Figure 64**). The monstrance and column appear along the central axis, and in many versions the dove of the Holy Spirit is also placed upon this axis. The celestial beings are balanced to either side of the axis. On the conceptual right (pictorial left) the king of Spain appears alone or accompanied by an entourage of celestial beings

¹²⁰ "Icon and Idea: A Symbolic Reading of Pictures in a Peruvian Indian Chronicle," *Indian Historian (American Indian Historical Society)* 12, no. 3 (1979): 39.

¹²¹ Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 169.

¹²² Terence N. D'Altroy, *The Incas, The Peoples of America* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 90.

or soldiers. In Iberian prints the enemies of the faith are depicted in a generalized manner across divergent sections of the print, enemies both real and fantastical. In Andean versions the enemies of the faith are distilled to a Muslim grouping on the conceptual left. If we apply Guaman Poma's symbolic values to the *Defense* scheme, the Christians occupy the privileged, superior position in relation to the Muslims.

Bilateral symmetry also structures the Andean author Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's c.1620 rendition of a gable wall of Coricancha, the principal Inca temple in Cusco (**Figure 10**). Pachacuti's text aims to prove that in the Inca empire, Christianity already existed in a nascent form before the arrival of the Spanish. Thus, scholars believe that Santacruz Pachacuti here invents an Andean analogy to the Spanish retablo. The icons were presumably engraved into the gold panelling on the walls of Coricancha and represented a hierarchy of deities from the Andean worldview. Centrally located is an oval that represents Viracocha, the Andean creator deity. Above Viracocha we find a constellation in the shape of a cross.

The supplementary motifs on either side of Viracocha are symmetrically balanced. On the left are motifs that represent the male (sun, morning star, summer, mountains) and on the right are motifs of the female (moon, evening star, winter, the sea). Santacruz Pachacuti's recreation of the altar is itself fruit of the double consciousness of a colonial subject – he transposed the spiritual beings of a non-European cosmology into recognizable European icons. While the Christian retablo design inspired the overall organization of his drawing, the symbolic distribution of the elements is distinctly

Andean. Either side is one part of a complementary whole. The central Viracocha is therefore a highly charged space where complements come together – *tinku*.¹²³

I do not believe that *Defenses* replicate any actual altar that stood at Coricancha during the Inca era, if such an altar existed. I am even wary whether Cusco School artists would have had access to Santacruz Pachacuti's drawing. What I intend to highlight is the similar spatial reasoning that the two compositions employ. The manner in which the Coricancha motifs complement and interact with each other carry relevance in comprehending the strict tripartite division in Andean *Defenses*. Were we to superimpose Santacruz Pachacuti's drawing onto the *Defense* painting, the monstrance would sit on top of the Viracocha oval, a charged *tinku*. The sun-burst finial of the Andean monstrance approximates the four point constellation that tops the Viracocha oval in the Santacruz Pachacuti drawing. And, if the rectangular shape at the base of the drawing is indeed an altar covered in a typically Andean checkerboard tapestry, as Maya Stanfield-Mazzi argues, then it would appear as though the oval/constellation is suspended centrally above the altar, much akin to the position that a monstrance takes when suspended in a tabernacle above an altar.¹²⁴

When the iconographies are superimposed, furthermore, the Spanish king takes the placement of the male motifs, and the Turks the female. The overlap of female motifs and Turks corresponds with traditional gendering of power according to conquest discourse. Rolena Adorno sums up the premise well, stating: "The Female, the Moor, and

¹²³ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 158.

¹²⁴ Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Liminal Objects and Spiritual Transition: Altar Cloths in Early Colonial Peru," *Unpublished Paper presented at the College Art Association Annual Conference, February 3, 2012*: 8.

the native Americans shared fundamental traits according to the conquest discourse.”¹²⁵ Interpreting *Defenses* via Andean spatial reasoning serves to un-demonize the Muslim presence in the painting, rendering them a complementary, though not equal, force to the Spanish crown. It also marks their presence as essential for the monstrance to function as a *tinku*. Approaching the *Defense* composition by means of the Coricancha altarpiece lessens the pejorative associations resultant from positioning Turks as inferior to Christians according to Hanan/Hurin.

The Turk’s disparagement in *Defenses* is mitigated by another Andean spatial structuring system: the quincunx. The primary actors in *Defenses* appear in a quincunx arrangement - a four cornered shape with the center marked. The monstrance constitutes the central point, surrounded by two terrestrial groupings (Turks and Christians), and usually, two celestial groupings (cherubs and/or saints). This arrangement is especially marked in *Defense of the Eucharist* (**Figure 65**). The quincunx is a geometric form commonly found in Inca *tocapus*. *Tocapus* of the Inca period are primarily abstract geometric forms, elements that were woven icons in Inca *unku* (tunics), incised or painted on Inca drinking cups (keros), and painted on Inca ceramic vessels. Christiane Clados, in her summary of recent literature on *tocapus*, observes that scholars commonly explain *tocapus* as heraldic signs or as signs that conveyed social-religious concepts like Hanan and Hurin and spatial divisions of Tahuantinsuyu.¹²⁶

The Inca divided their world and peoples into four parts, called *suyos*. The Quechua name for the empire, Tahuantinsuyo, meant ‘four parts together.’¹²⁷ For the

¹²⁵ Rolena Adorno, "El Sujeto Colonial Y La Construcción Cultural De La Alteridad," *Revista de Critica Literaria Latinoamericana* 14, no. 28 (1988): 59.

¹²⁶ Christiane Clados, "Tocapu Drawings Database Project (Tddp)," <http://tocapu.org/index.php>.

¹²⁷ D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 87.

Incas, it has been suggested that the quincunx *tocapu* alluded to the political organization of the Tahuantinsuyo - the four corner points representing the four *suyos*, while the central point represents the Sapa Inca or the imperial capital city, Cusco.¹²⁸ The composition harnesses geo-numerical logic in locating the central point as a place of power. During the Inca empire, *tocapus* as signifying devices were not intrinsically bound to any specific medium - *tocapus* were not restricted to textiles, keros and ceramics. *Tocapu* motifs also appeared on metal objects and objects made of shell and half-precious stones.¹²⁹ The quincunx motif has been found on drinking vessels and ceramics in addition to textiles. Indeed, Cummins posits that recognizing the quincunx as an important Inca *tocapu* is predicated upon analysis of the relational signifying role of the quincunx in all these objects.

The quincunx composition, though not unknown to European visual design, was thus a particularly compelling way to express hierarchy in the Andes. The localized meaning balances the four corners and places them all in subordination to the central point, just as the four *suyos* were bound to the leadership of Cusco and the Sapa Inca. The tradition of placing *tocapu* on a variety of media may have facilitated its adoption by Andean canvas painters during the viceregal era. Cummins writes: "The *tocapu* is multivalent and multimedia, able to cross the cultural border between Inca media and Spanish media."¹³⁰ When the Andean quincunx *tocapu* is recognized in *Defense* paintings, the terrestrial and celestial beings act as four balanced powers that together contribute to the preeminence of the central monstrosity. The quincunx composition

¹²⁸ Cummins, "Queros, Aquillas, Uncus, and Chulpas : The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power," 290, 91.

¹²⁹ Clados, "Tocapu Drawings Database Project (Tddp)".

¹³⁰ Cummins, "Queros, Aquillas, Uncus, and Chulpas : The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power," 293.

functioned well in the Andes as a signifying system, and was repeated in a number of Cusco School iconographies, such as: *Our Lady of the Pillar* (**Figure 66**) and *Adoration of the Eucharist* (**Figures 67**) and *Alma cristiana presa del amor divino* (**Figure 68**). The employment of Andean quincunx and bilateral spatial schemes within imported European iconographies results from the need of Andean artists to convey information about a visual hierarchy in a manner that was locally accessible. An Andean reading of the spatial organization in *Defenses* reveals a balanced complementarity between Christians and Turks, and at the same time, confirms their inequity through the bilateral distinction of Hanan/Hurin.

Like Cusco School paintings, colonial keros are known to manifest Andean syncretism in their design. Keros, ceremonial Andean drinking vessels, were produced in pairs. Pre-contact cultures used the vessels for toasting, an act that symbolically activated an exchange or allegiance between two parties. In the colonial era, keros were often decorated with figural imagery that conveyed a narrative.¹³¹ Kero imagery almost always refers to native subject matter, which is not surprising, considering that keros were produced both by, and for, natives.¹³²

Several keros are decorated with a narrative known as the *Toasting Scene* or *Incari-Collari*. A number of variants of this iconography survive on colonial keros (**Figures 9, 69, 70, 71**). The scene is symmetrically organized by several clear-cut binary oppositions.¹³³ The primary opposition is between the two major figures seated on either side of a mountain valley. The man on the left is the Inca, who raises a kero in a toasting gesture towards the king of the Colla, who in turn mirrors the gesture towards the Inca.

¹³¹ *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 167, 95.

¹³² *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 220.

¹³³ *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 192.

The Colla king has been identified as Colla on account of his distinctive headgear.¹³⁴ According to the drawings of Guaman Poma, the Colla peoples wore conical or dome-like hats adorned with an upside-down lunula. For example, we can observe this headgear in Guaman Poma's illustration of Colla people worshipping their principal *huaca*, Uilca Nota (**Figure 72**).¹³⁵ During the Inca and colonial eras Colla people lived on the north side of Lake Titicaca, and the Collasuyo region took its name from the Colla people. The Collasuyo was the largest of the suyos, running from the altiplano south of Cusco down to Chile and parts of Argentina.¹³⁶

In *Incari-Collari* the two kings face each other across a mountain divide. Visible in between these mountain peaks is an anthropomorphic sunburst and a body of water, both placed upon the central axis of the bilateral composition. The water appears below the sun. It is alternately represented as a lake or a river. As a lake, the water takes the form as a circle inscribed with water ripples, such as in **Figure 9**, or, as a blue crescent shape with white dots that descend under it, such as in **Figure 69**. The river appears as a blue field that hovers above the ground level and stretches onto either bilateral side, such as in **Figure 70**. There is also a pairing of animals on either side of the mountain divide, consisting of camelids or birds. All additional human figures in *Incari-Collari* are engaged in agricultural activities and are placed in bilaterally symmetry, facing the sun.

Andean Art Historian Teresa Gisbert characterizes the scene as one of adoration for the gods Inti (represented by the sun) and Viracocha (represented by the

¹³⁴ Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía Y Mitos Indígenas En El Arte*, 4e ed. (La Paz, Bolivia: Gisbert, 2008), 33.

¹³⁵ The Colla hat with lunula appears in at least five additional illustrations in *Nueva Crónica*. Guamán Poma de Ayala and Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government : On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, 68, 114, 17, 32, 258.

¹³⁶ D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 88.

lake/rivers).¹³⁷ Juan Larrea describes the central toasting action as an Inca ceremonial libation of chicha meant to nurture the lands' fertility.¹³⁸ He identifies the body of water as the Vilcanota lake, which, according to the chronicler Polo de Ondegardo, marked the political and social boundary between the Inca and Colla lands. It was a watershed for the region and the source of two rivers. The Vilcanota lake was worshipped as a *huaca* in the Inca era.

Various compositional and iconographic correlations exist between the *Incari-Collari* design and *Defense of the Eucharist*. Both are spatially structured with bilateral symmetry, and centered upon a sunburst shape. The figures in the keros and paintings all look towards this sunburst. Furthermore, the position of the body of water, low along the central axis, mimics the placement of the sphere of the world in *Defense* paintings. The Colla is always shown on the pictorial right (Hurin) while the Inca is always on the pictorial left (Hanan). Similarly, in *Defense* paintings, the lesser player in the complementary pair, the Turks, appear on the pictorial right, while the Spanish King and his entourage stand on the pictorial left.

The dramatic confrontation in both iconographies revolves around a pair of kings. The Colla king often wears a headdress that features either one, or three, upside-down lunulae (**Figures 9, 69**). This approximates the presence of one, or three, upside down crescent moons on the headgear of Turks in *Defense* paintings. According to European pictorial code the crescent moon had long been a sign for Islam; there existed an almost universal association of the crescent with Islam among Renaissance viewers in Europe.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Gisbert, *Iconografía Y Mitos Indígenas En El Arte*, 33.

¹³⁸ Juan Larrea, *Corona Incaica* (Cordoba: Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Cordoba, 1960), 220.

¹³⁹ Madar, "Dürer's Depiction of the Ottoman Turks: A Case Study of Early Orientalism? ," 155.

This crescent moon was employed in Andean paintings as a defining accouterment of the Muslim man.¹⁴⁰ It was placed on their turbans or on standards they bore as a means to securely mark them as Muslim.

In *Defense* paintings, typically a lion appears on the lower left corner, as a symbol of the strength of the monarchy and Iberia (visible in **Figures 1, 40, 41, 42, 43, 49, & 55**). In *Defense* paintings, the Turks lack an animal companion. But, it is probable that sculptural renderings of the Defense of the Eucharist crafted in Peru did include an animal alongside the Turks. A sculptural version of the Defense of the Eucharist iconography can be seen in the Santa Ana Corpus Christi painting: *Confraternities of Saint Rose and la Linda* (**Figure 11**). In this sculpture, placed at the apex of a temporary altar in Cusco during Corpus Christi, the king of Spain appears alongside a lion, and opposite the monstrance, the Turk is accompanied by an unspecified feline (Carolyn Dean describes the creature as a ‘demonic companion’).¹⁴¹ The appearance of a feline alongside the Turk in this statue would seem unaccountable if it were not for the frequent pairing of animals in *Incari-Collari* keros. There existed a symmetrical employment of animal accompaniment for the both kings in the colonial kero and the Corpus Christi Defense statues.

The likeness of *Defense* paintings to *Incari-Collari* keros is more substantial than visual symmetry. Cummins believes that *Incari-Collari* depicts the mythical competition between the Sapa Inca and the Colla king.¹⁴² Andean myth speaks of the Inca’s conquest of the Colla: the Inca himself arrived in Colla land and reciprocally exchanged a bag of

¹⁴⁰ Teresa Gisbert, *El Paraíso De Los Pájaros Parlantes : La Imagen Del Otro En La Cultura Andina*, 2 ed. (La Paz, Bolizia Plural Editores, 2001), 264.

¹⁴¹ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 91.

¹⁴² Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 236.

food with the Cola king. The kings then competitively consumed the contents of these bags - the Colla king failing to eat as quickly as the Inca. Then the kings raced up the mountain that sits on the Inca-Colla border, known as Vilcanota (like the lake that likewise sits on this border). The Inca won this trial too. This myth, according to Cummins, emphasizes the importance of ayllu cohesion and the necessary complementarity between those living in the lower valleys (Inca) and those in the *puna* or highlands (Colla).¹⁴³

This narrative (representing a competition) at first seems to be absent from the *Inkari-Collari* kero imagery. But Cummins has found evidence to suggest that the toasting action that the Inca and Colla kings are engaged in implicitly manifests an element of competition. Both in Quechua (language of the Inca) and Aymara (language of the Colla) several verbs describe toasting. In colonial dictionaries, at least one definition for toasting in each of these languages associates toasting with competition: In Quechua *ancossanacuni* translates ‘to drink in competition with another,’ in Aymara *conchaftha* translates ‘to drink in competition.’¹⁴⁴ Thus the *Inkari-Collari* communicates a competition between the two kings through their toasting gesture, akin to the competition between Spanish monarch and Turks in *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings.

Were Cusco School painters consciously replicating the composition of *Inkari-Collari* keros when they designed *Defenses*? There is a vast spectrum of hybridity in art, and I believe the employment of Andean spatial schemes in *Defense* paintings may have been instinctive; a result of cultural skills embedded in native consciousness. But, it is also probable that artists of disparate media were exposed to each other’s craft, and they

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 239.

emulated the compositions found in alternate media that functioned particularly well within viceregal Andean society.

The Inca's competition with, and eventual victory over, the Colla is a myth that celebrates ayllu cohesion and the establishment of profitable trade relations between the disparate geographic regions. When the two kings compete, they enact *tinku*: the coming together of two forces that was believed to forcibly result in a new and improved harmony.¹⁴⁵ The concept of *tinku* presupposes that there are always already the original two forces, which come together to make the third. The concept that things do not exist without their relation pair is paramount to the Andean way of thinking. For this reason, we observe complementary figures organized upon clear bilateral symmetry in both *Defense* paintings and *Incari-Collari* keros. Because *tinku* lies at the crux of the *Inkarri-Collari* kero composition, it can be argued that *Defense* paintings also give tribute to a necessary and reciprocal relationship. In the case of *Defense* paintings, these two forces are Catholics and heretics, who together engender Andean Christianity.

In viceregal Peru, there existed a very real and operative slippage between 'Old' and 'New' world heretics. Systematic attempts to correlate the native Amerindian with the Muslim hark back to the first encounter of Spaniards with the 'New World.' Spaniards invaded Caribbean islands just as the last Muslim kingdom in Iberia fell to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel. The Spanish soldiers could thus project their still fresh prejudices against known Muslim infidels onto unknown infidels in the Americas. Much scholarship has noted the correlation that conquistadors built between 'New World' idolaters and Muslims – such as the confusion of indigenous architecture for mosques

¹⁴⁵ Stone, *Art of the Andes : From Chávin to Inca* 18.

and the substitution of Indians in the place of Muslims in “Santiago Matamoros” imagery and lore.

Father Pablo José de Arriaga opens his book, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, by grouping native Peruvians alongside Muslims and Jews. He likens the persistence of Pre-Contact beliefs in colonial Peru to the tenacity of Jewish and Muslim beliefs in Iberia. Arriaga explains that the ancient ‘evil’ that continues to afflict Andeans can be understood as a similar evil that afflicts the Jews, who Christians have been unable to convert in the 1,500 years that Jews have inhabited the Iberian peninsula. The same evil disease was so powerfully present in Muslims, Arraiga argues, that any attempts to convert Muslims to Christianity are doomed, and thus they deserved expulsion from Iberia. Amerindians rank least dangerous in this hierarchy of infidels according to Arriaga: “The disease of our Indians is not so deeply rooted a cancer.”¹⁴⁶

Knowledge of dammed heretics was considered to be elementary knowledge expected of Andean Christians in early seventeenth century Peru. Guaman Poma writes that his relative, Father Martín de Ayala, dedicated one mass each week for the salvation of heretics: “On Mondays it was for the conversion of the heathen who do not follow our Christian ways in the Holy Mother Church.”¹⁴⁷ Thus on a weekly basis his parishioners were reminded of the heathens of the world. Antonio Bertonio’s *Cathecismo breve para los rudos* condenses the natives’ necessary knowledge of Christianity to eighteen questions and answers. One of these questions deals with the existence of non-Christians. The priest asks: “Tell me, are all the men of the world Christians, children of the holy Church, or just some people?” The native responds: “They are not all Christians, because

¹⁴⁶ Arriaga and Keating, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*. Translated and Edited by L. Clark Keating, 9.

¹⁴⁷ Poma 17 !! *

some are Heretics, Moors, Turks, Idolaters that adore Idols and the Mountains and they are the vassals of the Devil.” The priest further inquires: “And is it possible that these men are saved?” To which the native states: “If they do not accept baptism and become Christians, there is no way they are saved, they will be banished to Hell.”¹⁴⁸ The text of this catechism suggests that heretics exist in many a guise, but there is no real difference between the designations - heretics, mountain idolaters (Amerindians), Moors and Turks are all presented as synonyms.

Let us recall once more the 1546 performance of *Moros vs. Cristianos* in Lima. This festivity concluded with Francisca Pizarro ensnaring the Muslim king with a golden chain around his neck. This symbolic act of triumph held particular relevance for the Pizarro family, as it evoked the defeat of Atahualpa. Titu Cusi Yupanque, the penultimate Inca who ruled from Vilcabamba, dictated the events that transpired in Cajamarca as he remembered and understood them. His narration describes Atahualpa as a captive: naked and tied with a chain around his neck for his first night of Spanish imprisonment.¹⁴⁹ This conception of Atahualpa as chained prisoner was embraced as a celebratory achievement by Francisco Pizarro, and the coat of arms conceded to Pizarro in 1537 by the Spanish Crown included a portrait of Atahualpa with a gold chain around his neck [“con una argolla de oro á la garganta.”]¹⁵⁰ The Pizarro lineage was granted the perpetual right to display this coat of arms on the portals of their homes.

¹⁴⁸ Bertonio, *Confessionario Mvy Copioso En Dos Lengvas, Aymara, Y Efpañola, Con Vna Instruccion Acerca Delos Fiete Sacramentos De La Santa Iglefia, Y Otras Varias Cofas, Como Puede Verfe Por La Tabla Del Mefmo Libro / Compuesta Por Ludovico Bertonio ; Introduction by Iván Tavel Torres*, 62.

¹⁴⁹ Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 18.

¹⁵⁰ Antonio Paz y Mélia, "Nobiliario De Conquistadores De Indias," (Madrid Impr. de M. Tello, 1892), 46.

Thus, the performance of *Moros vs. Cristianos* recounted at the opening of this chapter culminated under an auspicious coat of arms where Atahualpa appears as a captive with a gold chain around his neck. Like the Inca portrayed in the heraldry, the defeated Moors processed through the plaza with chains around their necks. The Moorish King was linked even more explicitly with Atahualpa by the placement of a golden chain around his neck by the daughter of the man who supposedly imprisoned Atahualpa with a golden chain. The performance analogized Moorish King with Inca Emperor.

The correlation was, by and large, a pejorative one. In the century after the death of Muhammad, Muslims quickly conquered parts of Mesopotamia, Persia, Levant, North Africa, Anatolia, Greater Khorasan and Iberia. For centuries, Muslims were often imagined by Christians within the mythological bounds of the Bible; the Bible provided a historical meta-narrative that framed Medieval and early modern interpretations of Islam. Muslims were cast in Medieval Christian discourse alternately, as: the scourge of God's fury meant to chastise sinners, the Antichrist, Roman pagans, heretics, and even Jews.¹⁵¹ The biblical struggle between good and evil placed Muslims in the latter camp, making the Christian fight against Muslims one of divine and epic significance.¹⁵² Hapsburg printers began producing visual depictions of Turks in significant numbers about a generation after the conquest of Constantinople.¹⁵³ Larry Silver, in his analysis of sixteenth century images of Turks produced by German and Dutch artists working in the Hapsburg Empire, notes that the images fall within a spectrum. At each pole of this

¹⁵¹ *Turkey and the European Union : Christian and Secular Images of Islam* 41,51.

¹⁵² *Turkey and the European Union : Christian and Secular Images of Islam* 32.

¹⁵³ Larry Silver, "East Is East: Images of the Turkish Nemesis in the Hapsburg World " in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750 : Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper, *Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, Surrey, UK, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 186.

spectrum lies hostile caricatures of a military enemy, and seemingly objective ethnographic renditions of Ottoman Turks.¹⁵⁴ Peruvian images of Ottoman Turks also exhibit a range of representational modes.

The colonial Peruvian painting *Martyrdom of Franciscan Monks* typifies the tendency to portray Ottoman Turks as de-humanized and cruel beings (**Figure 73**). This painting features numerous vignettes of torture and death of Franciscan monks at the hands of Turks, identifiable in their börk caps. The Turk accoutrements were also used in colonial painting to denote a character's inherent immorality or wickedness. This is evident in *Christ cures a man possessed by the Devil*, 18th century (**Figure 74**). In this work a man possessed by the devil stands on the left, tied to a tree by demons. His state of demonic affiliation is underlined by the turban on his head and his dark skin tone. Jesus, dressed in white, approaches the possessed man from the right and raises his hand in blessing. The narrative concludes with the grouping in the distant right, where Jesus has successfully exorcized the man. Here the once-possessed man is depicted with lighter skin tone and his turban lies abandoned by his knees - indications that Christ has successfully purged him of evil.

European and viceregal Peruvian Passion imagery portrayed characters, who are Jewish according to the biblical narrative, in the typical trappings of an Ottoman Turk.¹⁵⁵ Roman tyrant figures were also re-cast as Ottoman Turks. An 18th century roundel Passion series decorates the interior cloister at the Monastery of Santa Catarina in

¹⁵⁴ "East Is East: Images of the Turkish Nemesis in the Hapsburg World " in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750 : Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper, *Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, Surrey, UK, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 185.

¹⁵⁵ This convention in Viceregal Peru follows Medieval convention in Europe, where by a turban was used to denote any generic non Christian figure. Heather Madar, "Dürer's Depiction of the Ottoman Turks: A Case Study of Early Orientalism? ," *ibid.*, 159.

Arequipa. In the *Flagellation* scene Christ is tied to a column (**Figure 75**). Two Roman soldiers beat him with scourges, one of whom wears a ‘taj’ on his head - turban-like bands of white cloth wrapped around a ribbed felt cap. Onlookers stand on either side of Jesus tied to the column, wearing turban-like headgear as well (**Figure 76**). The prominent appearance of destructive men who are costumed in typically Islamic trappings in both *Flagellation* and *Defense of the Eucharist* is not surprising, as both iconographies share a common dramatic crux: in both scenes the body of Christ, either tied a pillar or placed upon a pillar, is being denounced/tormented/denied and is in need of defending.

In the *Crucifixion Scene* from the Santa Catarina Monastery, Christ is flanked on both sides by a gathering of people (**Figure 77**). On the left stands the Virgin and four mourning followers of Christ, while on the right three Roman soldiers (depicted as Turks) torture Christ. The soldier nearest to Christ thrusts a spear into his chest. The spear traverses the space between the Roman/Turks and Christ diagonally, in a manner much reminiscent of the ropes used by Turks to bring down the monstrance in Andean *Defense* iconography. The two violent acts can be read as analogous: in one instance the living body of Christ is assaulted, and in the other, the transubstantiated body of Christ is assaulted. Indeed, the link between Christ’s crucified body and the eucharist is commemorated on the monstrance: crucifixion scenes often decorate the upper sunburst of the monstrance. The Andean iconography, where Turks defile the monstrance with a diagonal rope, can thus be approached as a corollary to the canonical *Crucifixion* and *Flagellation* iconographies where Roman/Turks injure Christ.

The similitude between iconographies that demonstrate pagans/heretics injuring the body of Christ may relate to popular perceptions of iconoclasm in Iberia. Though most Protestant iconoclasm was contained to central Europe, there were still sporadic iconoclastic acts in Iberia. Allegedly these acts were committed by the rare Protestant who had re-located to Iberia, and, more frequently, by Moriscos. According to surviving inquisition trial documentation in Valencia, crosses were frequent victims of Morisco iconoclasm.¹⁵⁶ Ecclesiastical treatises that attempted to justify the expulsion of Moriscos from Iberia cite various occasions upon which Moriscos tore down Christian crosses. Moriscos were also accused of eucharistic defilement. For instance, during a 1526 uprising in Sierra de Espadán, Moriscos were punished for removing the monstrance from the local parish and damaging it.¹⁵⁷ In Iberia then, the iconoclast was perceived to be a Moor/Morisco rather than a Protestant. This suspicion among Iberians, that people of Muslim descent were perfidious iconoclasts, may help explicate why Andean *Defenses* substitute a Turk in the place of a Protestant.

That the Turks are meant to be perceived as enacting the same role as Protestant iconoclasts in *Beeldestorm* imagery is underlined by the occasional Protestant that accompanies the Turkish group in *Defense* paintings. In at least three *Defense* paintings Protestants are portrayed among the Turks (**Figures 41, 49, 55**). The figures are probably notable Protestant leaders, such as Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli or John Calvin. These characters differ from their Muslim confederates in clothing, headgear and often skin tone. In the Casona del Moral *Defense of the Eucharist*, we see a prominent

¹⁵⁶ Borja Franco Llopis, "En Defensa De Una Identidad Perdida: Los Procesos De Destrucción De Imágenes En Valencia Durante La Edad Moderna. (Spanish)," *Goya*, no. 335 (2011): 117.

¹⁵⁷ "En Defensa De Una Identidad Perdida: Los Procesos De Destrucción De Imágenes En Valencia Durante La Edad Moderna. (Spanish)," *Goya*, no. 335 (2011): 122.

European man standing to the left of the Turkish King (**Figure 41**). He wears a distinctive hat, in the style of a trilby rather than a turban, and his clothing consists of pantaloons rather than the elaborate laced tunic of the Turks.

Prints of the *Defense* iconography made in Iberia broadcast a variety of heretical threats to Christendom, promulgating the ability of the Catholic Church to withstand the onslaught of Jews, Protestants and Muslims as a testament to their strength. Andean Defense paintings, instead, bring the Turk to the foreground as the most pre-eminent threat to Catholicism, only occasionally joined by Protestant allies. The inclusion of a Protestant confederate among the Turks is a fanciful allegiance, as the Reformation movement communicated no desire to unify with Muslim forces. Instead, Luther's writings express a deep-seated fear of Turks and their infiltration into Christianity. He believed the "danger that many of our people will become Turks" to be a real threat.¹⁵⁸ He also espoused the belief that God sent the Turkish scourge upon Christians as a punishment for their sins.¹⁵⁹

Though viceregal imagery often portrays Turks as violent and cruel beings, the Turks in *Defense* paintings belong in another category. There existed in Medieval Iberia a tradition of portraying Muslims as noble Saracen knights or virtuous Turkish warriors, i.e. chivalrous personas. Andean *Defenses* engage with the 'Royal Turk' tradition, lavishing a significant amount of finery on the royal Turkish enemies of Christianity. Heather Madar proposes that Albrecht Dürer established the Western tradition for depicting a 'Royal Turk'.¹⁶⁰ Dürer's sultans carry scepters, ermine-edged cloaks, and they are draped in garlands and jewels, and their turbans were elaborately folded and large.

¹⁵⁸ Levin, *Turkey and the European Union : Christian and Secular Images of Islam* 98.

¹⁵⁹ *Turkey and the European Union : Christian and Secular Images of Islam* 103.

¹⁶⁰ Madar, "Dürer's Depiction of the Ottoman Turks: A Case Study of Early Orientalism? ."

This iconography is, for the most part, an imaginative creation that facilitates Western comprehension of the sultan's status.¹⁶¹

In *Charles II and the Defense of the Eucharist*, Muslims stand in elegant poses, pulling down the Monstrance without much struggle or much success (**Figure 49**). They appear in long tunics trimmed with gold, their slashed sleeves revealing fine lace undershirts. The central Muslim wields a splendidly decorated sword, golden broaches, a gold belt embedded with rubies and a bejeweled, feathered turban. Their capes and lace undershirts (visible at the bottom of their skirts and at their sleeves) are similar to the vestment of Archangel Michael, who stands directly above the Muslim grouping. The Turks in *Defense* paintings command authority through their sumptuousness dress and dignified conception in *Defenses*. The Spanish monarch, likewise dressed lavishly, is on equal grounding with his foes.

The painting does not demonize the 'infidels.' *Defense* paintings effectively communicate the Andean conception of triumph as the coming together of *complementary* opponents. In *Defense* paintings, Turks and Christians are depicted in similar opulence and in the same size. In medieval painting size is often correlated with symbolic position and spiritual rank. If size reveals hierarchical position, then the Christians are balanced with the Turks. The Turks are hieratically equal to the monarch, inhabiting corresponding symbolic spaces on the canvas and scaled similarly. This matching symbolic role is also conveyed through Andean spatial organizing schemes, such as the bilateral complementarity and the quincunx arrangement.

¹⁶¹ "Dürer's Depiction of the Ottoman Turks: A Case Study of Early Orientalism? ," 164,76. Actual sultans wore kaftans and alternate accouterments.

It is worthwhile to note here a growing popularity in Spain, around the mid seventeenth century, of a eucharistic adoration composition that positions the Church and Spanish crown as complementary forces that together enable the triumph of the eucharist. We find this organization first in Ruben's "Adoration of the Eucharist" tapestries meant to decorate the altar wall of the church in the *Descalzas Reales* (**Figure 78**). Here we see on the lower level various people kneeling in the foreground. Those on the left are secular dignitaries (including the king of Spain) and those on the right ecclesiastics. Ruben's composition, where an upper and lower tier have two matching sides and focus on a central triumphal manifestation of God, builds upon a longstanding European visual schema.¹⁶²

Philip IV commissioned from his crown painter in the Netherlands, Theodore van Thulen, a painting that expresses the same relationship between Church and State: *Ecclesiastical and Civil Hierarchy Adoring the Eucharist* (**Figure 79**). In this canvas, held aloft by putti in apotheosis, one finds the Eucharist enclosed in a gothic style monstrance. The illustrious audience that adores the Eucharist is again divided vertically, with the secular participants on the right side of the canvas and religious figures on the left. Philip IV kneels on the right, accompanied by his cousin, his brother, and the commander of Spanish forces in the Netherlands. On the left appears Pope Urban VIII Barberini alongside cardinals and monks. The structural organization of *Sagrada Forma*, where the ecclesiastics appear on the left and Catholic royals on the right of a bisecting vertical line, also echoes this visual schema. The paintings utilize a specific composition to express the relationship between Church and State as allies in the defense/adoration of the Eucharist.

¹⁶² Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, 261.

The Turk in Andean *Defenses* is, like the ecclesiastics in the Habsburg artworks discussed above, positioned as a complementary pair to the Spanish monarch. In this manner, the balance of power in the Andean paintings emulates the composition of Thulen's *Ecclesiastical and Civil Hierarchy Adoring the Eucharist* and Coello's *Sagrada Forma*: just as the Catholic Church and Catholic monarchs are positioned as complementary forces that together enable the triumph of the eucharist, Turks are inserted into Andean *Defenses* as complementary forces alongside the Catholic monarch.

Why bestow a dignified persona to the enemies of the Catholic faith? One reason may be that the Turkish character was deeply intertwined with the Andeans' own idolatrous past. If the Turks were understood to reference the Andean's Pre-Contact idolatrous forbearers, then the battle that occurs in *Defense* paintings is that between Christians and Amerindians. Muslim-Turks were rendered by Andean artists with the heightened awareness that a Turkish character symbolizes more than an imaginary foreign infidel - he also symbolizes the Indian idolater. The dignified appearance of Turks in *Defenses* critically challenges the pejorative associations involved in the Turk/Amerindian analogy. *Defense of the Eucharist* respect Amerindians' role in the creation of Peru's particular form of Christianity.

While the monstrance is showcased on a column, in the triumph-type visual mode, there is no definitive victor. It is not clear whether Christians or their heathen enemies (be it Turks or Amerindians) have the upper hand in the conflict. In these works there seems to be an eternal struggle – one where the Turks cannot tumble the monstrance yet neither can the monarch terminate this threat towards the monstrance. And furthermore, the menace posed by the Turks leans towards the theatrical. The Turks

stand calm and poised, performing a graceful act of sacrilege.¹⁶³ In one *Defense* the Turks attempt to topple the monstrance with a string of pearl, clearly a festive gesture of opposition (**Figure 55**).

Two late colonial variations of the *Defense* iconography are notable though. They portray Turks in a decidedly negative light and diminish the threat the Turkish king poses to the monstrance. In *Charles IV as the Defender of the Eucharist*, the Turkish king remains clothed in luxury, but he is accompanied by a female wearing a half wolf mask (**Figures 44, 45**). She is portrayed ripping pages from the Koran whilst vermin fall from it. This demonic companion marks the Turk as decidedly nefarious¹⁶⁴ Additionally, the Turkish king is no longer prepared to battle the Spanish king, nor does he make any attempt to bring down the monstrance with ropes. He sheaths his swords to the Spanish monarch who clearly has the upper hand and has defused the Muslim threat. These two *Defenses* are remarkably similar in their deviations from the typical Andean *Defense* iconography, and thus probably share a progenitor print which represents Turks in such a manner. They are, though, outliers in the body of Andean *Defense* imagery.

Typically, studies of the Muslim character in viceregal Peru analyze frequent instances during which native Amerindians performed the part of a Turk, thus enacting the ideological similitude between the two peoples. Pál Keleman, in his study on colonial Andean art, writes: "charades featuring Indians dressed as Moors were part of the

¹⁶³ Though *Defense* analysis is deficit in chronological scrutiny, ie researchers have yet to tackle the sequential evolution of *Defense* iconographies, it appears as though late 18th and 19th century *Defenses* alter the relationship between Christians and Turks. This evolution will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

¹⁶⁴ Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "Apuntes Sobre Moros Y Turcos En El Imaginario Andino Virreinal," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, no. 16 (2007): 176.

religious drama and were standard features of certain festivals in Peru.”¹⁶⁵ I will elaborate on Amerindian portrayals of Turks in viceregal society in Chapter Three. For now, it suffices to stress the fact that Iberian men too donned the Turkish costume and performed publicly in viceregal cities. This was the case during the 1546 *Moros vs. Cristianos* performance in Lima, where ‘Moros’ were played by high-ranking Iberians. The performance was meant to unite factional Iberians in Peru in the midst of a civil war.

Iberians also interpreted both the Muslim and Christian characters during the 1570 performance of *Moros vs. Cristianos* in Cusco, celebrated in honor of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo’s formal entrance into the city.¹⁶⁶ The performance provided a forum for the recently immigrated coterie of Viceroy Toledo to commune with the Iberians who were already established in Cusco. Both the Lima and Cusco performances of *Moros y Cristianos* manifest ‘Maurophilia’ - the recognition among Iberians of dignified and chivalrous aspects of Moorish culture.¹⁶⁷

Portraying this dignified Moorish character appears to have been regarded as an Iberian prerogative in urban festivals in Peru. Alternate mock-battles were performed between factions of ‘Cristianos’ and ‘Indios’ in order to commemorate the defeat of Indians at the hands of the Spanish in Peru. For example, in 1608 in Potosi a temporary castle was constructed in the main plaza, which served as a backdrop for two mock-battles. The first battle was between two factions of Iberians. During this performance a group of Iberians appeared dressed in Damask costume and fine satin, gold, pearls and

¹⁶⁵ Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, 118.

¹⁶⁶ Baltasar de Ocampo Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Sir Clemens Markham (translator), *History of the Incas and the Execution of Tupac Amaru* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, Haklyut Society 1908), 243.

¹⁶⁷ Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture (Cstrlc): 40 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge UP, 2001), 7,8,9.

ribbons battled a group of festively dressed elite Potosi men (likely a variant of *Moros vs. Cristianos*). Arzáns describes their skirmish as exciting and pleasant. The second mock-battle was performed between ‘Indios’ and ‘Spanish’ and not surprisingly, the Spanish were the victors.¹⁶⁸ A similar sequence of mock-battles was performed in Lima in 1659, during the festivities in honor of the birth of Prince Carlos II. Iberians first enacted a *Moros vs. Cristianos* battle, and then, in a subsequent performance, Andean actors costumed as Inca kings demonstrated their subjugation to Spanish authorities by proffering of the keys to the Tahuantinsuyo to a portrait of the Prince Carlos II.¹⁶⁹

During urban 16th and 17th century performances, it appears as though the Turk was exclusively played by Spaniards, whilst Indians were restricted to donning ethnic costumes to heighten their alterity and enact subservience to Spanish authorities, or acting the part of pages to Spanish chivalrous characters. Often authorities attempted to purge the performance space of Amerindians or colonial citizens of African descent who were not acting as pages or clearly subservient roles. For example, Captain Don Josephe de Mugaburu, an officer in the viceroy’s palace guard, stationed on the main plaza in Lima, noticed that on the day when Spanish citizens were performing their chivalrous festivities, the plaza looked especially ‘clean,’ on account of the viceroy having expelled all the Indians and Blacks from the area.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Bartolomé. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia De La Villa Imperial De Potosi*; Translated by Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1965), v.I; 276.

¹⁶⁹ Carolyn Dean, "War Games: Indigenous Militaristic Theatre in Colonial Peru," in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Ilona Katzew (New Haven and London: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2011), 136,37.

¹⁷⁰ Josephe de Mugaburu, and Francisco de Mugaburu. Translated and edited by Robert Ryal Miller, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima; the Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu, 1640-1694* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 223.

Traditional animosities between Basques, Extremadurans, Andalusians, and Castilians often fomented bitter rivalries and factionalism in Peruvian cities. Lewis Hanke describes colonial Potosí as a place where bloody fights and brawls between Iberians were recognized social activities.¹⁷¹ Festive battle factions were opportunities where Creoles, Andalusians, Castilians, Galicians and Extremadurans could unite; mock-battles provided a venue for Iberians to transcend factional animosities. In 1622, for example, the *corregidor* [mayor] and the city *cabildo* of Potosi forbade two warring Iberian factions to be grouped in corresponding coteries during a mock-battle performance. Therefore, the resultant festive groupings integrated the warring members of the Vizcaíno and Castilian gangs.¹⁷²

Viceregal *Moros vs. Cristianos* was performed infrequently in cities, perhaps because they typically required the construction of a castle and an elaborate bombardment/siege of said castle. Thus, few performances of *Moros vs. Cristianos* that were enacted mark a moment of extreme necessity. The performances could bind men of disparate regional affinities, enact *tinku* among the Spanish. *Defense* paintings serve in this manner as documentation of the Spanish performed attempts at convivencia. Indeed, the lack of Turkish derision, and their modest level of threat, in *Defense* paintings alludes to the Peruvian reality in which Spaniards, dressed as Turks, were festively interpreting the part of the enemy, but they were not actual enemies to the ‘Cristianos.’

¹⁷¹ Lewis Hanke, *Bartolomé Arzáns De Orsúa Y Vela's History of Potosí*, The Colver Lectures in Brown University (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965), 3.

¹⁷² Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia De La Villa Imperial De Potosí*; Translated by Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, v.1; 346.

CHAPTER FOUR - PERFORMED TINKU

In *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings the Turkish adversaries of Catholicism are presented as dignified and complementary foes. They are costumed in finery, performing an elegant act of iconoclasm. Outside of the realm of painting, the chivalrous Turk also manifested himself in the act of destroying idols. An early seventeenth-century text written by Antonio Rodríguez describes the Lima festivities occasioned by the declaration of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The religious procession featured a chariot upon which stood a personification of the biblical character Asa, King of Judea. Asa was renown for his zeal in advocating for the orthodox worship of God, and also, for the discovery and destruction of idolatry in his kingdom. He is often depicted in medieval manuscripts in the act of destroying a false idol with a halberd, evident in a French fourteenth century illustrated manuscript (*Bible Historiale*, 1372, MMW, 10 B 23, Museum Meermanno Westreenianum, The Hague, **Figure 80**). Rodríguez describes Asa's appearance in during the procession in viceregal Lima:

*He [Asa] appeared dressed in a Turkish tunic adorned with braids and a Moorish cloak of green brocade ornamented with braids from Milan and covered with jewels and flowers of pearls; his hair also full of small pearls and on it a crown made of ribbons and thick pure pearls ...*¹⁷³

¹⁷³ José R. Jouve Martín, "Public Ceremonies and Mulatto Identity in Viceregal Lima: A Colonial Reenactment of the Fall of Troy (1631)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 16, no. 2 (2007): 197.

Asa, clothed in Turkish costume, also carried a halberd during this procession, a reference to his zeal for iconoclasm. In viceregal Peru, the Turkish costume proves to have been compatible with the performance of a virtuous biblical character.

Guaman Poma also presents Turkish trappings as a type of proper and decorous Catholic costume. In his discussion of the ideal Christian education for the sons of native lords in Peru (called caciques), Guaman Poma states that “the sons of native lords should dance before the Holy Sacrament during liturgical feasts.”¹⁷⁴ In the accompanying illustration, the eucharist is depicted in a chalice on an altar on the left, and on the right the sons of Inca noble men are portrayed adoring the sacrament via dressing up and wearing masks as Turks and dancing (**Figure 81**).¹⁷⁵

The Turk was a standard masquerade character in viceregal cities. Sources describe Turks flaunting lavish costumes and processing among the most virtuous characters from Iberian lore and history during masquerades. The diary of Captain Don Josephe de Mugaburu describes a masquerade in Lima in 1663 that featured “a group of Turks, well dressed.”¹⁷⁶ Arzáns describes a Potosi masquerade that occurred in 1725, during which appeared a Turkish Emperor (*Gran Turco*) richly attired in jewels, pearls and ribbons.¹⁷⁷ The *Gran Turco* was accompanied in the festive procession by personifications of the Spanish king, the king of France, king of England, king of Lusitania, Chinese Emperor, and the seven planets, including the Sun and the Moon.

¹⁷⁴ Guamán Poma de Ayala and Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government : On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*.

¹⁷⁵ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 58.

¹⁷⁶ Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima; the Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu, 1640-1694*, 77.

¹⁷⁷ Hanke, *Bartolomé Arzáns De Orsúa Y Vela's History of Potosí*, v.2 186. “El Gran Turco... tan ricamente vesido y lleno de joyas, perlas y cintas que admiró tanta riqueza den caballos, ropajes y jaeces...”

The performance of a chivalrous Turk within a viceregal masquerade is recorded in a remarkable canvas by Melchor Pérez de Holguín (**Figure 82**). In this canvas Holguín commemorates the entrance of the interim Viceroy Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón to Potosi on April 25, 1716. The painting is divided into three sections, each illustrating a different moment of the viceroy's reception. The main section shows Morcillo's formal entrance into the city beneath a triumphal arch, visible on the far right. Morcillo is accompanied by a procession of clergy, members of the *cabildo*, and Potosi noblemen. The *civitas* of Potosi is portrayed as a prosperous, racially heterogeneous yet harmonious community.¹⁷⁸ Two smaller scenes appear superimposed on the upper canvas. The scene on the far left illustrates the viceroy's arrival at the main church, and the adjacent scene illustrates the masquerade held in the main square that same evening (**Figure 83**).

In the masquerade section of Holguín's canvas we see the festive cortege making its way around the main plaza. The procession is lead by a triumphant Archangel on the left who blows a trumpet, followed by men on horseback dressed in military attire. On the far side of the plaza two Ethiopian monarchs appear, followed by a Turkish King and Queen. They are recognizable by their respective *börk* hat surmounted by a *lunula* and *taj* turban. The Turk masque characters are on horseback and adorned with lavish jewelry and lace embellishment. It was conventional to feature these Turks in the same procession as regal and virtuous characters, such as the heroes of Asturias and El Cid.

¹⁷⁸ Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven [Conn.] : Yale University Press, 2000), 191.

The Potosi masque procession also included: “persons representing the sun, moon, and other planets...”¹⁷⁹ Arzáns describes this masquerade in his history of the city of Potosi:

*That same evening the famous miners of the Mountain presented a brilliant and very costly masque in his [the Viceroy's] honor... first came Don Andrés de la Torre Montellano, chief magistrate of the mines... Don Domingo Serrano overseer of the Mountain... followed by Fame riding on a splendid horse... after her came the twelve famous heroes celebrated by Fame, including Cesar, Carlos V, el Cid, all with lances and shields in their hands and wearing steel breastplates and helmets, fine sashes, tunics and flying plumes, and mounted on spirited horses with silver trappings. They were followed by twelve Sibyls... whose precious stones and pearls reflected the lights of numerous torches... Next came the Turks, dressed in the richest turbans, flowing robes, and other characteristic clothing, astride beautifully caparisoned horses. Then followed famous heroes of Austria, who went two by two on gorgeously decorated horses and wearing costumes so stunning that the eye could scarcely take in to much richness and so much jewels... after them came the Ethiopians with beautiful costumes and trappings. They were followed by nymphs, gallants, and ladies richly dressed.*¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Tales of Potosi; Edited, with an Introd., by R. C. Padden; Translated from the Spanish by Francis M. Lopez-Morillas* (Providence : Brown University Press, 1975), 193.

¹⁸⁰ *Tales of Potosi; Edited, with an Introd., by R. C. Padden; Translated from the Spanish by Francis M. Lopez-Morillas* (Providence : Brown University Press, 1975), 192.

Richard Kagan believes the overarching purpose of the canvas, and by extension the masquerade proper, was to construct: “an image of Potosi as a festive community whose loyalty to the monarchy superseded the factional divisions to which it was ordinarily subject.”¹⁸¹ In this sense, the Turkish character during masquerades served many of the same purposes of the Turk in Peruvian performances of *Moros vs Cristianos*.

Urban performances of *Moros vs Cristianos* and masquerades, both of which prominently feature dignified Turks, were inevitably observed by indigenous peoples who ventured into cities to witness festivities. It should not surprise us, then, that the Turkish character was adopted by Andeans outside of urban centers. *Moros vs. Cristianos*, originally imported from Iberia and interpreted exclusively by Iberians, was eventually adopted by Amerindians and enacted in Andean towns. Like their urban counterparts, these festive performances still revolved around an armed conflict between two factions of men dressed as Christians and Moors. Of course, in rural performances both the Christians and Moors were played by indigenous peoples. The scripts for these festive mock-battles are unique to each town and considered to be the cultural patrimony of the community. Historian Milena Cáceres was granted access to the handwritten *Moros vs. Cristianos* script of the town of Huamantanga, in the district of Canta, and she argues that some of the language of the text dates to the sixteenth century.¹⁸² It is likely that indigenous Andeans appropriated the *Moros vs. Cristianos* performance early on during the viceregal era.

In the Andes the festive calendar is closely related to spatial organization - both time and space were divided into two complementary halves or parts. Andean time is

¹⁸¹ Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*, 192.

¹⁸² Milena Cáceres Valderrama, *La Fiesta De Moros Y Cristianos En El Perú* (Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005), 45.

traditionally divided into time of intense agricultural activity and time of herding activity, and the transition from one time to another is marked by festivities. Town moieties were understood as complementary parts of a greater union, and the division of Hanan and Hurin was replicated in communities across the Tahuantinsuyo. The Quechua and Aymara term *tinku* is now often utilized to describe community level ritual dance-battles between moieties.¹⁸³ The dances take place between clearly defined groups, at an appointed time, and for a limited duration. *Tinku* dances are enacted in order to define the boundaries of ayllus and feed the earth and sacred places of Andeans with vitality.¹⁸⁴ They probably find their origins in Pre-Contact performances of martial character that celebrated military victories. The Inca had dances and songs that recounted and re-performed battles, in order to preserve memories of famous conquests across the Tahuantinsuyo.¹⁸⁵ Small town Andean performances of *Moros vs. Cristianos* constitute one of the earliest *colonial* manifestations of this Andean festive-battle strategy of achieving *tinku*. Thus the hostility between *Moros and Cristianos* in these performances, which continue to be enacted even today, should not be comprehended as a negative or destructive force. *Defense* paintings can be understood to celebrate the long-standing Andean affinity for achieving community *tinku* through festive dance-battles.

The ceremonial calendar established after the advent of Christianity aligned with the traditional Andean festive structure. In Huamantanga the planting season for the most important crops (potatoes, corn and wheat) falls in mid-October. *Moros vs Cristianos* is thus celebrated in October, during the week of festivities in honor of their patron saints

¹⁸³ Allen, *The Hold Life Has : Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*, 176.

¹⁸⁴ *The Hold Life Has : Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*, 177.

¹⁸⁵ Dean, "War Games: Indigenous Militaristic Theatre in Colonial Peru," 133.

La Virgen del Rosario, San Francisco de Asís and San Miguel Arcángel.¹⁸⁶ In the Colca Valley, in the district of Arequipa, harvest occurs in the summer months, a time during which the region's patron saints are celebrated.¹⁸⁷ *La Danza del Turco* is a principal feature of the patron saint festivities in the town of Maca, in the Colca Valley. This dance finds its origins in the viceregal era and is celebrated, according to Maunel Retamozo, in order to give thanks for the harvest and recognize the triumph of Christianity on the part of gentiles.¹⁸⁸ The Turks are the principal actors in the dance/battle. They dance with each other, clashing at every semi-circular turn with their sabers. They wear *börk* hats and sport richly adorned cloaks over skirts, colored scarves tied at their elbows and masks (**Figure 84**). In the choreography of the dance, the Turks pause to sing a song to the patron saint, thanking him for the general wellness of the community and the protection he has provided them.

In *La Danza del Turco* the Turks are accompanied by an Inca or cacique figure and personifications of the Moon and the Sun. The Moon is played by a festively dressed man wearing a crescent moon mask, and the Sun by a man in a radiating sun-burst mask. Additionally, the dance features two Indian warriors who wear feathers on their heads and carry a bow and arrow, their plumage and weapons symbolizing the savagery of unconverted Amazonian Indians.¹⁸⁹ The cast of characters for this dance is remarkable. All the members were typical viceregal masquerade characters in urban festivities. Also, the

¹⁸⁶ Cáceres Valderrama, *La Fiesta De Moros Y Cristianos En El Perú*, 27.

¹⁸⁷ Maunel Ráez Retamozo, "Los Ciclos Ceremoniales Y La Percepción Del Tiempo Festivo En El Valle Del Colca (Arequipa)," in *Música, Danzas Y Máscaras En Los Andes* ed. Raúl R. Romero (Lima Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú : Instituto Riva-Aguero, Proyecto de Preservación de la Música Tradicional Andina, 1993), 254.

¹⁸⁸ "Los Ciclos Ceremoniales Y La Percepción Del Tiempo Festivo En El Valle Del Colca (Arequipa)," in *Música, Danzas Y Máscaras En Los Andes* ed. Raúl R. Romero (Lima Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú : Instituto Riva-Aguero, Proyecto de Preservación de la Música Tradicional Andina, 1993), 269.

¹⁸⁹ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 170.

group as a whole constitutes the enemies of Christianity: Turks, Incas, Savage Amerindians, and the Pre-Contact deities Quilla/Inti. And yet, the dance portrays them in a dignified manner - they dance and sing in order to express gratitude and proper deference for the patron saint and Christianity.

When Amerindians donned the festive costumes of Turks, first worn by Iberians in early *Moros vs. Cristianos* and Masquerade performances, they demonstrated that chivalrous performances and personas were not the exclusive cultural domain of Iberians. Furthermore, Amerindians challenged the pejorative association between Indians and Turks through their performances. Their insistence that the Turkish character in viceregal Peruvian performances remain dignified effectively un-demonizes the Turk. Barbara Fuchs argues that: “ideology pirated becomes surprisingly vulnerable – instead of reproducing the ideology, it undermines imperial claims to authority.”¹⁹⁰ Turks, and thus also Amerindian characters, were not performed as the monstrous Other to Catholicism. In the vicegeral Peru, they were the dignified complementary half that enabled *tinku* - the triumph of Andean Christianity.

The triumph of Andean Christianity was also celebrated in Peru in the processions of Corpus Christi. Corpus Christi finds its origins in medieval Europe, and it was declared by the Council of Trent in 1551 as a celebration of Christianity’s triumph over heresy. During the Corpus Christi procession, the eucharistic host is extolled as victor and exhibited for all the community to see in a monstrance. In Peru the host was accompanied by military battalions, which according to Dean, recalled moments from the Spanish conquest of the Andes and re-enforced the notion that Christ’s triumph was not

¹⁹⁰ Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, 4.

restricted to the symbolic realm.¹⁹¹ In Iberia the procession would often feature a choreographed battle between forces of good and evil, usually Christians vs. Turks. Actors playing the part of Moors assailed the eucharist, only to be defeated by Christian forces. In Peru, because 'idolatry' had to be eradicated as part of the Spanish mission in the Americas, the Corpus Christi festival necessitated references to a vanquished people and false religion. Unlike Iberians, who would merely impersonate Turks in Europe, Andeans embodied alterity in Peruvian Corpus Christi processions.

The *Confraternities of Saint Rose and la Linda* is one of fourteen 17th century paintings that depict the Corpus Christi festival in Cusco (**Figure 85**). In this painting we can observe the cacique Baltasar Tupa Puma dressed as an Inca. His servant walks in front of him carrying his mascaypacha headgear. Caciques represented civic authority and were the primary agents of liaison between local communities and Spanish *corregidores*. Tupa Puma's outfit, one that embodies alterity, was not only encouraged by Spanish officials during the procession, but also considered necessary for the festival to convey the triumph of Christ in Peru. The shape of the sun-burst monstrance exalted in the procession was echoed in the solar pectorals resting on the Andean leaders' chest. The cacique's sun pectoral, worn during a Corpus Christi procession, was understood to represent the triumph of Christ. Andeans chose to wield the sun pectoral as a means to further affiliate themselves with Christ, who is displayed in his own sun disk (the monstrance).¹⁹²

The representation of Christ via a golden sunburst can be traced back to medieval Europe. The Holy Name Seal, later adopted as the Jesuit Seal (JHS or IHS), refers to the

¹⁹¹ Dean, "War Games: Indigenous Militaristic Theatre in Colonial Peru," 140.

¹⁹² *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 43.

name of Jesus, and it was typically written in gilt letters and surrounded by a sunburst. The sign was probably based upon Psalm 72:17: “May God’s Name be forever blessed and endure like the sun.”¹⁹³ The solar name shield grew to such universal popularity that it was widely used as a talisman to protect oneself from evil. In the Americas, decorative seals were thought to frighten away the devil who would draw Indians back into idolatry. Although Pre-Contact representations of Inti *did not* take the shape of a sunburst, as Europeans fancifully imagined, sun-burst symbolism eventually fused with “ancient sun representations” of the Incas.¹⁹⁴ Colonial Andeans adopted the sun-burst sign as a means to reference Inti during the viceroyalty, probably due in part to the rapid destruction of actual Inti ‘idols.’

Spaniards were wary of idolatry practiced under the guise of eucharistic reverence, and the matter of substitution in solar imagery was of particular concern, because one could not know if the Christian God was the actual focus of native reverential practices. Dean believes that extirpatory anxieties caused the Spanish to ‘see’ Inti in Corpus Christi, i.e. the specter of Sun worship emerged in Andean Corpus *because of* Spanish expectations.¹⁹⁵ The sun pectorals worn by caciques during Corpus thus embodied a dual referent – that of Christ and Inti. Just as Inti was the required symbolic opponent to Christ in Corpus Christi, in *Defense* canvases the eucharist is symbolically challenged by Inti. It is Spanish anxiety as well as indigenous desire that impregnates the *Defense* monstrosity with idolatrous tension.

If we return to *Confraternities of Saint Rose and la Linda* we see on the highest level of an ephemeral altar, a Defense of the Eucharist statue (**Figure 85**). On the left we

¹⁹³ Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs : Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. 45.

¹⁹⁴ *Christian Texts for Aztecs : Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. 47.

¹⁹⁵ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 43.

see Carlos II, sword in hand and lion crouched by his feet, defending a Monstrance that a Turk attempts to topple with silk ribbons. A terrestrial globe sits at the base of the monstrance's column. The painting indicates that Defense sculptures were given distinction in the Cusco Corpus Christi procession. Additional evidence suggests that Defense sculptures made a number of processional appearances in the Andes (though I have not been able to identify any three-dimensional Defense of the Eucharist statues that survive today). Arzáns describes a religious procession in Potosí, 1720, where:

On an ephemeral sculpture there was placed a golden tabernacle with an image of the custody of the Lord and to the right there was a picture Philip V [...] on the left side the Turk [...]

*[sobre una construcción efímera se colocó un tabernáculo dorado con la «custodia del Señor» y «al lado derecho una imagen del señor Felipe V [...], al lado izquierdo el Turco [...]*¹⁹⁶

We can now recognize *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings as two-dimensional renderings of three-dimensional statues that were exhibited on the streets of viceregal cities for religious festivals. These statues were likely housed in church altarpieces when they were not paraded outdoors. *Defense* paintings thus document the transient appearance of Defense of the Eucharist sculptures in a medium that afforded a greater degree of permanence and mobility.

In the colonial Andes, three-dimensional religious statues were constantly changing. The statues clothing, silver and crystal ornaments varied according to

¹⁹⁶ Mujica Pinilla, "Apuntes Sobre Moros Y Turcos En El Imaginario Andino Virreinal," 176.

the liturgical time of year. In addition, the flowers and candles that surrounded the statues were constantly redesigned. While this visual variety no doubt stimulated viewers, it also fomented a desire to know and document the statue's appearance in more permanent ways. According to Stanfield-Mazzi, this led to the translation three-dimensional objects into two-dimensions, i.e. the creation of "statue paintings."¹⁹⁷ These paintings have become "emblematic of the art of Peru," but scholars have yet to include *Defense* paintings within this genre.¹⁹⁸ "Statue paintings" also served to spread the fame of a unique statue throughout the viceroyalty. The production of "statue paintings" is thought to have begun in the mid seventeenth century in Cusco, likely under the auspices of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo.¹⁹⁹ The temporal and geographical emergence of "statue paintings" corresponds with the genesis of *Defense of the Eucharist* paintings - also in seventeenth century Cusco.

In another Santa Ana Corpus Christi series canvas we can observe the bishop of Cusco, Mollinedo (**Figure 86**). Mollinedo carries the gilded monstrance, victor of Corpus Christi, under a baldachin held by the most important members of the city's *cabildo* [ruling council]. The monstrance he holds is clearly of local Andean design, the same as the monstrances that are showcased in *Defense* paintings. This painting illustrates the manner in which monstrances were ceremonially transported through the city and displayed on feast days. The Andean monstrance was a conspicuous player in public Christian pageantry.

¹⁹⁷ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 117.

¹⁹⁸ *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 137.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

It is likely that costly and ornate portable Andean monstrances were introduced to churches in the early seventeenth century. Before then, the most valuable silver and gold items in churches were chalices, patens and candleholders. Early churches were also decorated with large crosses, small crucifixes and two-dimensional paintings of Christian deities.²⁰⁰ The desire to create sizable glittering three-dimensional monstrances in the seventeenth century corresponds with the rising popularity of three-dimensional sculptures of Christian deities in the Andes. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi argues that *bultos* played a crucial role in nascent Christian rituals; they initiated a unique and convincing Christian religion in the Andes.²⁰¹ She writes: “it was both their [the *bultos*] materiality and their visuality that made these works so fundamental.”²⁰² The monstrance was a successful icon in the Andes because it acted as tangible presence of Christ on earth. The golden, three-dimensional materiality of the monstrance, combined with its sparkling jewels and processional itineracy, also rhymed with Pre-Contact modes of *huaca* veneration.

Furthermore, the Andean monstrance is remarkable for its perceived ability to create material change in the world, to act for the benefit of faithful followers (much akin to the manner in which Virgin and Christ *bultos* were perceived). For instance, proper attention and appeal to the sacrament was believed to stop the trembling of the earth after the massive earthquake in Cusco in 1650. The text *Relación del terremoto del Cuzco*, written in Madrid in 1651 by Julián de Paredes, relays the actions taken in Cusco after an earthquake. Paredes writes that immediately, in the wake of the massive earthquake, the city and church *cabildos* [ruling councils] ordered that the sacrament be processed around

²⁰⁰ *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 48.

²⁰¹ *Bulto* is a Spanish colonial word meaning statue, but also, bulk, mass or volume.

²⁰² *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 3.

the main plaza. This procession involved all the religious orders of the city and the monastic schools. To conclude the procession the sacrament was placed inside a temporary altar that had been erected on the plaza and surrounded by candles. Here the sacrament received prayers through the night. When the aftershocks abated in the afternoon of the second day, the sacrament was brought back into the Cathedral. But, when intense tremors shook the city on the third day, and caused the choir wall of the Cathedral to split, the sacrament was brought out again to the plaza, accompanied by a procession of penitence.²⁰³

During the days following the earthquake other statues of Christian divinities were processed around the plaza (specifically, Our Lady of Solitude from the Church of La Merced and Holy Christ from the convent of San Juan de Dios). But, it is notable that the first *bulto* to receive attention was the sacrament, surely housed in a portable Andean monstrance. Clearly, the monstrance should be considered one of the many three-dimensional statues used to appeal for divine assistance in the Andes, and furthermore, it should be recognized as the most potent of these *bultos* in mid seventeenth century Cusco. Andean monstrances in *Defense* paintings are thus connected to the active social life that the Andean portable monstrance played in viceregal society.

In *Defense of the Eucharist with Saint Thomas Aquinas* from the Cusco School, dating to the early 18th century (**Figure 42**), we can observe the Catholic king on the left, backed by a grouping of armed soldiers. By the king's feet kneels an allegorical female who supports the column. The Turks on the right are presented in the dignified manner typical of Andean *Defenses*. In the celestial realm, immediately surrounding the monstrance is the Holy Trinity, flanked on the right by the Archangel Michael and St.

²⁰³ *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 95.

John the Baptist and on the left by the Virgin and St. Joseph. Immediately behind the Spanish king stands St. Thomas Aquinas, elevated, who reaches up with his left hand to sustain the monstrance and with his right holds a quill. Aquinas is credited with devising the liturgy for the Corpus Christi festival. His prominent placement in this canvas reflects the intimate link between the Corpus Christi festival in Peru and the *Defense* iconography. Statues of St. Thomas Aquinas were probably processed on Corpus in proximity to Defense of the Eucharist sculptures, which may have inspired their union in this canvas.

In the painting, Aquinas wears a large solar pectoral. Medieval European visual tradition associated Aquinas with the triumph of the Catholic Church, and had long represented Aquinas with a gold pectoral shining on his chest. Both these traditions are evident in the fifteenth century panel painting by Benozzo Gozzoli (**Figure 87**). Here Aquinas sits in the center of the composition with a solar pectoral upon his chest. As a Doctor of the Church he showcases his famous writings on his lap, including the liturgy of Corpus Christi. Beneath his feet lies a defeated enemy of the Church, probably an individual known to refute the doctrine of transubstantiation. This association of Aquinas with the defeat of heretics is again evident in the viceregal Andean painting *Saint Thomas with Heretics Underfoot* (**Figure 88**). In this late seventeenth century painting we see that Aquinas is depicted in the Americas with a solar pectoral on his chest according to the medieval European tradition. But in Peru Aquinas' solar pectoral held special significance. Like the *Defense* monstrance and the cacique's solar pectoral in Corpus Christi processions, Aquinas' personified sun-burst emblem mirrors 'New' and 'Old' world religions when it was perceived in Peru. Various Cusco School paintings of St.

Aquinas even Andeanize the sun-burst sign typically painted on Aquinas' chest. They replacing Aquinas' traditional sun-burst emblem with a gilded Andean monstrance (**Figure 89**).

The sun-burst monstrance was an extremely popular sign in the Andes: it presides over altars, doorways and domes in rural churches. Interior altar retablos in Latin America display only sunburst monstrances (no monstrances take the 'German' or 'Roman' form, see **Figure 8**).²⁰⁴ In Andean churches the tabernacle doors illustrated the sun-burst monstrance they contained, so that the sun-burst icon was always visible to parishioners. For example, a mid seventeenth century tabernacle door produced in Cusco showcases an elevated, central sun-burst monstrance adored by a kneeling angels on either side (**Figure 90**). And even in churches where the tabernacle doors were not made of silver or gold, a gold monstrance was painted onto the wooden doors (**Figure 91**). In rural Churches that lack decorated tabernacles, the monstrance is exhibited on the frontispiece of the altar, evident at the Church of Marcapata, where a prominent adoration of the monstrance scene appears on the altar (**Figure 92**).

When a monstrance is represented as part of an Andean church's exterior sculptural program, it too takes the form of a portable Andean sun-burst monstrance. In these exterior sculptural programs, the monstrance is positioned as the crux of a bilaterally symmetrical composition, recalling the organization of *Defense* paintings. Take for instance the tympanum sculpture at the Dominican Church in Cusco (**Figure 93**). The central sunburst monstrance appears inscribed with the Holy Name Seal, and the body of the monstrance takes the shape of a cherub. On the right and left appear Mary and Saint Dominic. Tapay, a town only accessible via a five hour hike along a narrow

²⁰⁴ Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs : Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. 198.

path in the Colca Valley, still boasts an elaborate portable sun-burst monstrance, made of silver and bathed in gold (**Figure 94**). On the main and side entrance of the church, we can observe on the keystone of the portals a low relief sculpture of a sun-burst monstrance (**Figures 95 & 96, respectively**).

Even some mural programs revolved around the sun-burst sign in rural viceregal churches. In Huaro, for example, on the triumphal arch, we observe three sun-burst signs in alignment (**Figure 97 & detail 98**). On the far right appears St. Aquinas holding a portable Andean sun-burst monstrance in his hands. To the left appears St. Agustin, who holds the eucharist in a chalice that has rays emanating from it. And to the left of Agustin, a personified sun appears shining in the sky, reminiscent of colonial representations of Inti. The three signs mirror 'New' and 'Old' world religions. Incorporation of native Andean signs in church decoration and religious festivals was understood as proof of Andean conversion from their idolatrous past. Pre-Contact art gave presence to the false image, the devil's deceit, so as to substantiate the victory of God.²⁰⁵

The irony of the frequent association between eucharist, sun-burst monstrance and Inti in Andean visual culture is the inability of viceregal Andeans to adequately access these forces. Conquest trauma and extirpation campaigns altered traditional venues for Inti worship. The sun-burst portable monstrance was processed publicly, and thus seen by Andeans, but it was always physically held by the Spanish reigning ecclesiastics. And the eucharist sacrament was received by indigenous Andeans only 'infrequently' at best.²⁰⁶ Enacting mass, the consecration of the host, was a sacramental function that no Indian

²⁰⁵ Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America " 83.

²⁰⁶ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 3.

could perform. Andeans were for all intensive purposes, barred from Catholic priesthood because viceregal society respected the supposed *defecto de los naturales* in regards to priest ordination. This excluded Indians, blacks and mulattos from the priesthood on the grounds of their alleged racial and moral defects. Charles II issued an order permitting the sons of Indian chieftains, governors, and nobles to be ordained to the priesthood after university education and theological training. But the struggle to ensure this privilege for Indians remained an issue long after the crown issued this decree.

Andeans made a serious attempt through sunburst imagery to present themselves to the king of Spain and the members of the viceroyal elite and as valuable subjects. As Tom Cummins notes, images acquired an evidentiary status in colonial Peru and were used by native elite to press legal and social claims within the colonial structure.²⁰⁷ One work, *Lienzo conmemorativo del pedido al Inca don Carlos II, rey de España, para que la nobleza indigena pueda ingresar al Santo Oficio de la Inquisición del Perú* was crafted for the express purpose of political advancement (**Figure 99**). It is a commemorative work celebrating (and thus propagating) the decree made by Charles II permitting the sons of Indian chieftains, governors, and nobles to be ordained to the priesthood. The upper register features at its center a ‘Bleeding Pelican’ icon with an Andean monstrance on its chest. In religious lore, the pelican who eats its own chest in order to feed its young represents the sacrifice of Jesus Christ for the salvation of humanity. The pelican in this canvas picks at the Andean monstrance in its chest, illustrating the sacrifices that Andeans make for the greater Catholic Church. The Andean monstrance, under duress, bleeds gold, symbolizing the gold that Peru bestows Spain. The ‘Bleeding Pelican’ icon,

²⁰⁷ Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 167.

like the monstrance in *Defense* paintings, associates the mineral wealth of Peru with the triumph of the Catholic Church and Spanish Empire.

Another manner in which the sun-burst sign was used to foster indigenous political advancement was the linkage of the sun pectoral worn by caciques with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and with Spanish Kingship in general. The collar of the Golden Fleece, composed of gold fire-steel links hung with a jewel in the form of a golden ram, became one of the most important symbols of nobility in Europe. An analogous use of sun pectorals and Golden Fleece collars is evident in portrait series *Genealogy of the Incas with the Spanish Monarchs as their Legitimate Imperial Successors* from the Cusco School, 18th century (**Figure 100**). Here fourteen Incas, all crowned with mascaypachas, are followed directly – as if there was no disruption in lineage – by Carlos the V and subsequent Iberian kings. The kings wear Golden Fleece collars, which can be associated loosely the power of the Incas who wear golden sun pectorals on their chests.²⁰⁸ The Order of the Golden Fleece collar has also been correlated to the solar pectoral worn by Amerindians in colonial cacique portraiture, such as the portrait of Don Alonso Chiguan Topa (**Figure 101**). Additionally, the sun emblem was frequently used to represent kingship in Renaissance and Baroque Europe. Víctor Mínguez has identified Iberian prints that associate the Hapsburg King with a shining sun icon.²⁰⁹ The same icon was employed in fanciful European prints as a means to visualize Inti. Thus, portrait series that portray Indians in solar pectorals or with sun staffs

²⁰⁸ Eugenia Bridikhina, *Theatrum Mundi : Entramados Del Poder En Charcas Colonial*, 1. ed., Travaux De L'institut Francais D'études Andines (La Paz, Bolivia : Plural Editores: Lima, Peru, 2007), 217.

²⁰⁹ Víctor Mínguez, *Los Reyes Solares : Iconografía Astral De La Monarquía Hispánica*, Colección "Humanitats" (Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2001).

(**Figure 102**) put Inca political power in dialogue with the European emblematic tradition for monarchy.

I underline the colonial employment of the solar pectoral in advancing political and social standing because I believe the *Defense* monstrance participates in this dialogue as well. The monstrance falls within a larger repertoire of sun-burst imagery that intends to recognize and empower the position that descendants of the Inca held in colonial society. Andeans were keenly attuned to the potential in sun-burst imagery, so much so that they recognized when the display of such imagery would not be advantageous. For instance, the face of the anthropomorphized sun in *Incari-Collari* kero designs is scratched off in a number of kero models. Cummins posits that these keros came into the possession of devout Amerindian Christians who were offended by the sun with a face on it and by the implications of Inti reverence it carried.²¹⁰

Creoles (persons of Iberian descent born in Peru) also used the *Defense* iconography to advance their political standing. Creoles associated themselves with Spain and its achievements, but they also sought recognition and respect for their viceroyalty. At least two *Defenses* substitute Saint Rose in place of the column that sustains the Eucharist (**Figure 43 & 46**). Saint Rose was the first saint born in the Americas to be beatified by the Vatican, and she personifies the Americas, and Peru in particular, in viceregal art. Saint Rose, herself a Limeña, was especially popular among the Creole elite. In the hagiography of Saint Rose by González de Acuña, titled *Rosa Mistica*, Acuña explains that the saint was raised to be the pillar upon which God could entrust the weight

²¹⁰ Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca : Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* 235.

of the Christian religion, newly introduced to Peru [“columna fuerte a cuio valor auia de fiar Dios el peso de la Religion Cristiana neuvamente introducida en las Indias”].²¹¹

Creoles mobilized the visual arts for purposes of propaganda, to celebrate their role as the pillar that sustains Catholicism and the Spanish monarchy in Europe. In *Defense* imagery Saint Rose supports the eucharist, and by extension, ensures the continued viability of the Catholic Church.²¹² Saint Rose’s appearance in the *Defense* iconography advances Peru’s reputation on the global scale by calling attention to the fact that Peruvian silver and gold financed Spain’s wars against Turks in the Mediterranean. Thus the paintings are a medium by which the Creole community sought to publicize their religious and political clout. *Defense* paintings celebrate the capacity for Spain to militantly pursue heathens in the ‘Old World’ as a consequence of theological and monetary support given to the Spanish crown by the Peruvian colonial citizens. This of course occludes the reality of the economic exchange, which resulted in Spain’s eventual bankruptcy as a by-product of their vast imports of American gold and silver. Regardless, Spain’s encounter with the Americas is presented as a fundamental development that sustains the Christian faith.

In a general sense, *Defense* imagery, which prominently foregrounds the Spanish Monarch as defender of the Catholic religion, also served the Spanish crown as a political mechanism. *Defenses* are one of copious manifestations of the Spanish monarch that were displayed in Peru. Crown power could not be maintained solely through force or rational justification; it necessitated the production of monarchical signs and their active

²¹¹ Elio Vélez, "Santa Rosa De Lima Y La Simbología Sacro Imperial. Lectura Desde La Épica, La Corografía Y La Iconografía (Siglos Xvii-Xviii).", 31, no. 1/2 (2007): 383.

²¹² "Santa Rosa De Lima Y La Simbología Sacro Imperial. Lectura Desde La Épica, La Corografía Y La Iconografía (Siglos Xvii-Xviii).", 31, no. 1/2 (2007): 384.

inclusion within a ceremonial framework. Each *Defense* represents a personalized portrait of the King, presumably based upon prints of the king sent to Peru from Iberia. Monarchical portraits played an integral role in the non-coercive maintenance of Spanish hegemonic control in the Americas.

CONCLUSION

Paintings of *The Triumph of the Catholic Church*, a European iconography where the personified Church victoriously sustains a monstrance whilst trampling foes, were reproduced in Peru and New Spain during the early modern era. A Cusco School *Triumph of the Catholic Church* portrays a winged pope sitting upon a triumphal cart. He sustains a golden Andean sun-burst monstrance (**Figure 103**). Six angels on the cart kneel and look towards the monstrance, while Saint Thomas stands at the bow holding an oval shield decorated with the monstrance. Beneath the cart, crushed and soundly defeated, are figures identified as: Janesus, Leterus, Bolseus, Calvin and Arrius - individuals believed to have challenged the doctrine of transubstantiation. Their clothing is devoid of gold-leaf and ornament, and as Carolyn Dean aptly observes, their quills have fallen from their hands and their inkwells have spilled.²¹³ Here the enemies of Catholicism are neither imposing nor in possession of threatening weapons. This painting replicates the power balance found in many illustrious artworks produced in Counter-Reformation Madrid, where heretics are depicted as trounced enemies.

In contrast, *Defense* scenes portray an eternal conflict – that between Spain and non-believers, but more importantly, that between balanced and complementary opponents. The colonial concept of *tinku* affirms that for Andeans, true resolution was only achievable through enacting a dispute between complementary opposites. *Defense* paintings are unlike *The Triumph of the Catholic Church* iconography, and their production was unique to Andean cities. Additionally, *bultos* of the Defense of the

²¹³ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ : Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, 84.

Eucharist iconography were prominently featured in urban religious processions in Cusco and Potosi.

There survive at least thirteen viceregal *Defense* paintings, confirmation that the iconography was popular in Peru. Though no documentation of their original commission survives, it is likely that the patronage of *Defense* paintings corresponds with that of Andean “statue paintings.” “Statue paintings” were intended almost exclusively for the private homes of colonial elite, although some were occasionally placed on altars in churches.²¹⁴ We can observe a similar painting, whose composition revolves around an Andean monstrance in a manner akin to *Defenses*, displayed on the top central niche within an altar at the church of Maca, in the Colca Valley (**Figure 104**). It is likely that *Defense* paintings, when housed within a church, were displayed in a similar manner.

Defense paintings also commemorate the mock-battles that occurred in viceregal Peru between complementary moieties, both Iberian and indigenous, that were enacted in hopes to promote social cohesion and communal well-being. The continued performances today, of *Moros vs. Cristianos* and *Danza de los Turcos* in Andean towns serve as a testament to moieties’ desire to achieve *tinku* thorough choreographed dances. Urban centers and country in colonial Latin America were more closely linked than has often been suggested, as the portrayal of the Turk as dignified and regal in both cities and towns performances demonstrates.

The aggressive passage in *Defense* paintings, where Turks assault the monstrance with ropes, was inspired by illustrations of Protestant destruction of Catholic art, known as *Beeldenstorm*. Andean artists utilized European illustrations of *Beeldenstorm*, but they

²¹⁴ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* 117, 37.

altered them in significant fashions. Andean artists organized the iconographic elements in the paintings according to strict bilateral symmetry. They also employed indigenous symbolic hierarchies such as the quincunx and Hanan/Hurin. These spatial organizations positioned the Turks as balanced opponents to the Christian forces. By introducing Andean elements into an iconography typically intended to praise and legitimize the Spanish monarchy, the native artists expanded the iconography, making it relevant to the viceregal world. Recognition of the formal correspondences between *Defense* paintings and native drawings / kero designs breaks down barriers that typically segment the study of vicegeral art, and strongly suggests that artisans of disparate media were in dialogue with each other.

Andean artists also exchanged the Protestants in *Beeldenstorm* imagery for Turks. Turks and indigenous Amerindians were oft positioned as analogous according to colonial conquest discourses. In the Andes, this analogous framework was constantly re-imagined, and ultimately, the comparison between Turks and Indians expanded well beyond any pejorative intention. *Defense* paintings, along with public performances of the Turkish character, proved to be mediums through which the analogy between Turk and Amerindian could be creatively manipulated.

Though *Beeldenstorm* was largely contained to central Europe, Muslims and Moriscos in Iberia were often accused of desecrating crucifixes in acts of iconoclasm. They were rarely, though, accused of harming a monstrosity.²¹⁵ Artists in Peru could have represented the king of Spain in defense of a crucifix, a logical iconographic choice, as a cross placed upon a column connoted Christian triumph since the time of Constantine. Or

²¹⁵ Borja Franco Llopis, "En Defensa De Una Identidad Perdida: Los Procesos De Destrucción De Imágenes En Valencia Durante La Edad Moderna. ," *Goya*, no. 335 (2011).

artists could have presented the king in defense of a chalice, as the chalice was frequently portrayed as the receptacle for the eucharist in Iberian imagery. But Andean *Defenses* choose to honor Christ housed in a golden sunburst Andean monstrance, paying homage to Andean craftsmanship and the Pre-Contact cult of Inti.

In viceregal Peru, the sunburst was understood to represent the Inca Sun-God Inti. The monstrance thus signifies, all at once, the continued relevance of Inti throughout the viceregal era and the triumph of Christ over Inti. The paintings also glorify the impressive yield of gold from Peru. Monstrances made by Andean silversmiths, such as those showcased in *Defense* paintings, were famous for their opulence and material worth. Spanish conquistadors in the Americas first acquired gold through the melting down of Pre-Contact 'idols.' The gold-leaf on the monstrance thus imbues the orthodox Christian object with the same material as 'idols.' Additionally, the monstrance is surmounted upon a column in an outdoor setting, typical trappings of idolatry according to Medieval European visual discourse. Thus the *Defense* monstrance conspicuously fluctuates between idol and orthodox receptacle.

The battle Spaniards waged against non-believers coursed through Europe and the Americas simultaneously. The Catholic Church launched a massive Counter-Reformation movement to stem the expanse of Protestantism just as Spanish ecclesiastics in the Americas enacted idol extirpation campaigns. The similitudes between the two campaigns is evidenced by *Defense* iconography - its morphs the portrayal of Protestants destroying idols into Turks/Amerindians destroying idols. But this coherent opposition to Catholicism is an fanciful illusion. Too frequently historians position colonial religion as a place where Catholicism was anathema and to Andean religion, and too often art

historians approach viceregal art as a binary system in which indigenous subversive machinations are positioned as counter to a homogenous Spanish Viceregal project. Analysis of *Defense* paintings refutes both these premises. *Defenses* instead celebrate colonial Andean religion as the unique conflation and achievement of both Iberians and Amerindians in Peru, Christians and heretics. *Defense* paintings corroborate the thesis that Andean artists invested the colonial visual culture with local referentiality. They are the product of viceregal artisans who worked adroitly in both European and Andean visual communicating modes. It was the unique context of viceregal Peru that fomented the production of *Defense* paintings, works that ultimately honor the reciprocal relationship between idolatry and orthodox religion.

Figures



Figure 1: Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist*, oil on canvas with gold leaf appliqué, 17th century (?).

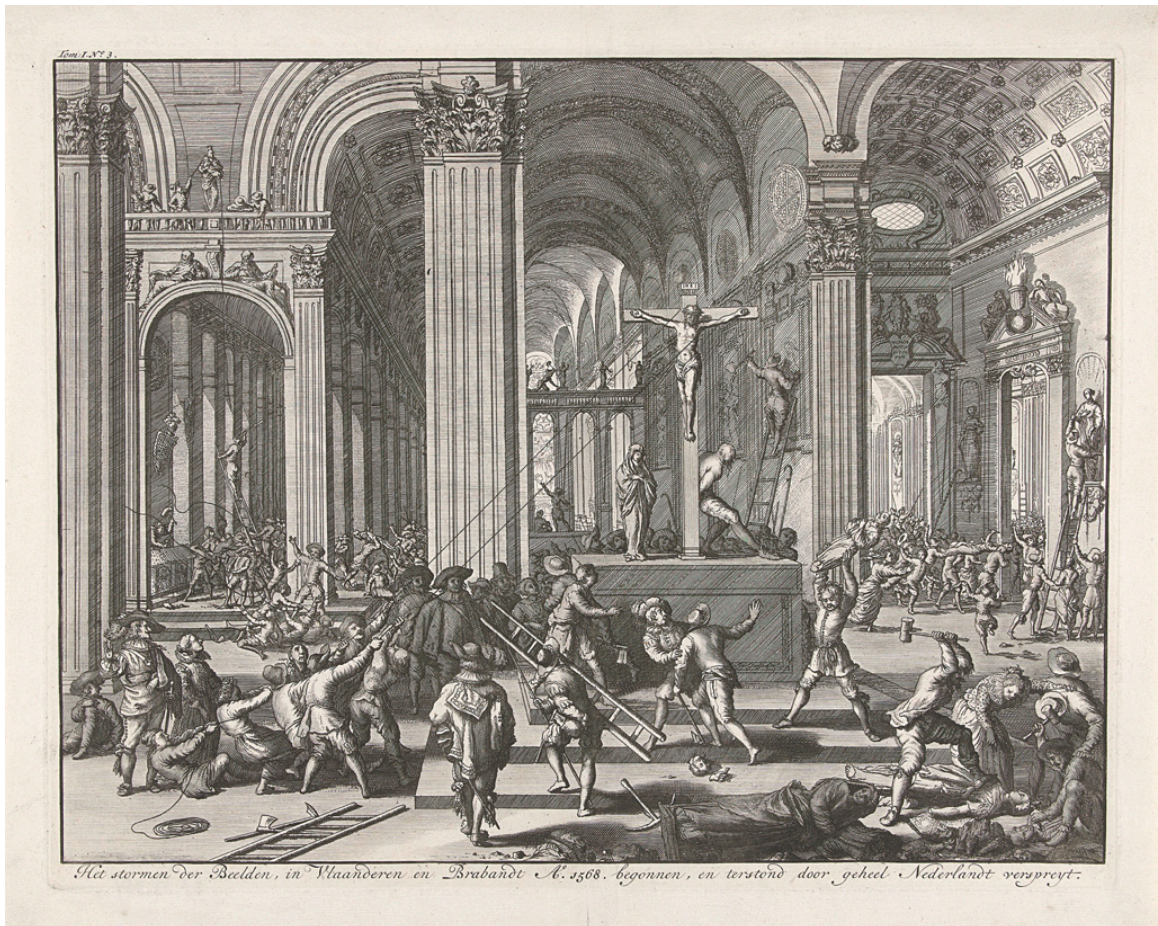


Figure 2: Jan Luyken, Beeldestorm attack in 1568, 1681, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 271 x 349 mm



Figure 3: Anonymous Cusco School, *Charles II and the Defense of the Eucharist*, oil on canvas with gold leaf appliqué, 17th century.



Figure 4: Anonymous, *Felipe IV Defending the Eucharist*, print, 1630, Collection of the National Library in Madrid, Spain.



Figure 5: Pedro Perret, *Felipe II in Defense of the Catholic Faith*, book illustration, 1619.



Figure 6: Bolswert, *Heretics and Turks attacking the Eucharist*, 1620, illustration in a "Via vitae aeternae," printed in Antwerp, by Antoine Sucquet S.J.



Figure 7: Anonymous, *Felipe IV Defending the Eucharist*, print, 1632, Collection of the National Library in Madrid, Spain.

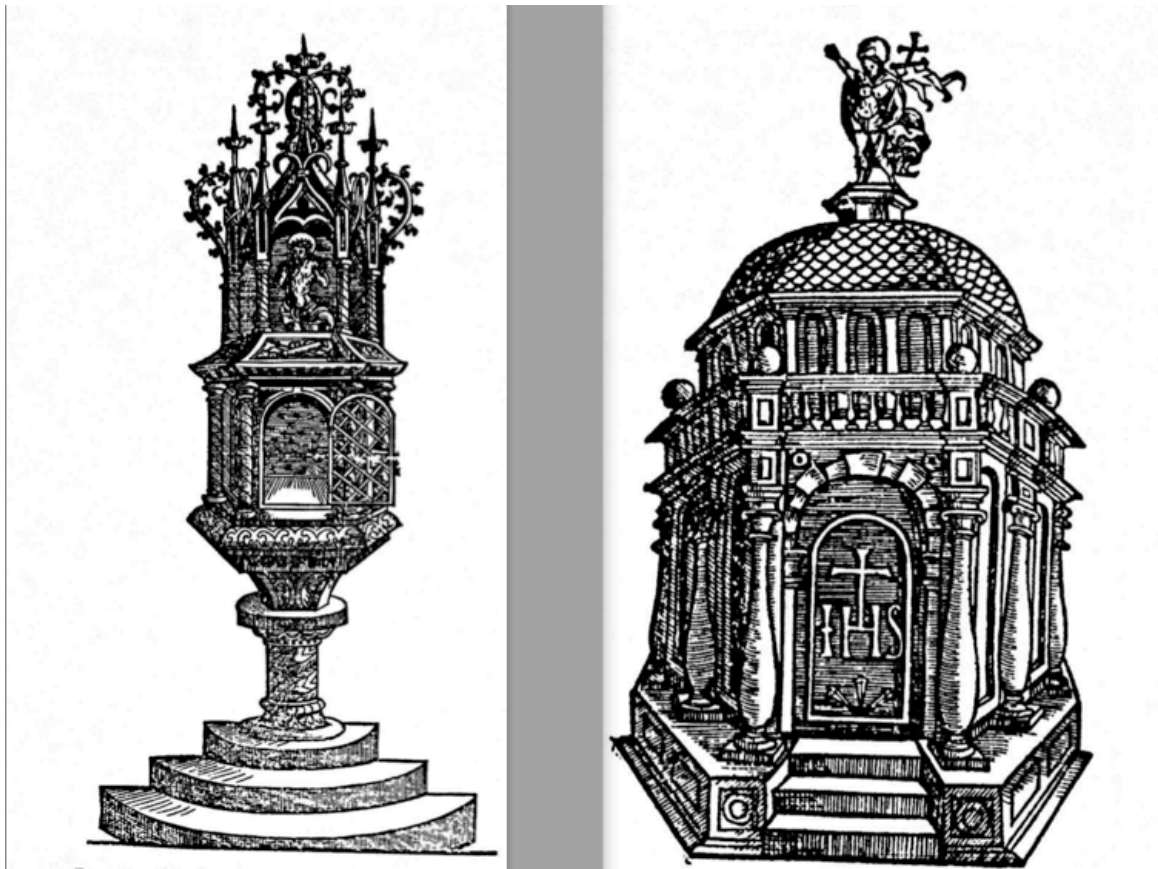


Figure 8: Woodcut from Jacob Miller's *Kirchengehmuck* (1591), illustrating the 'German Manner' and 'Roman Manner' of eucharist reservation.

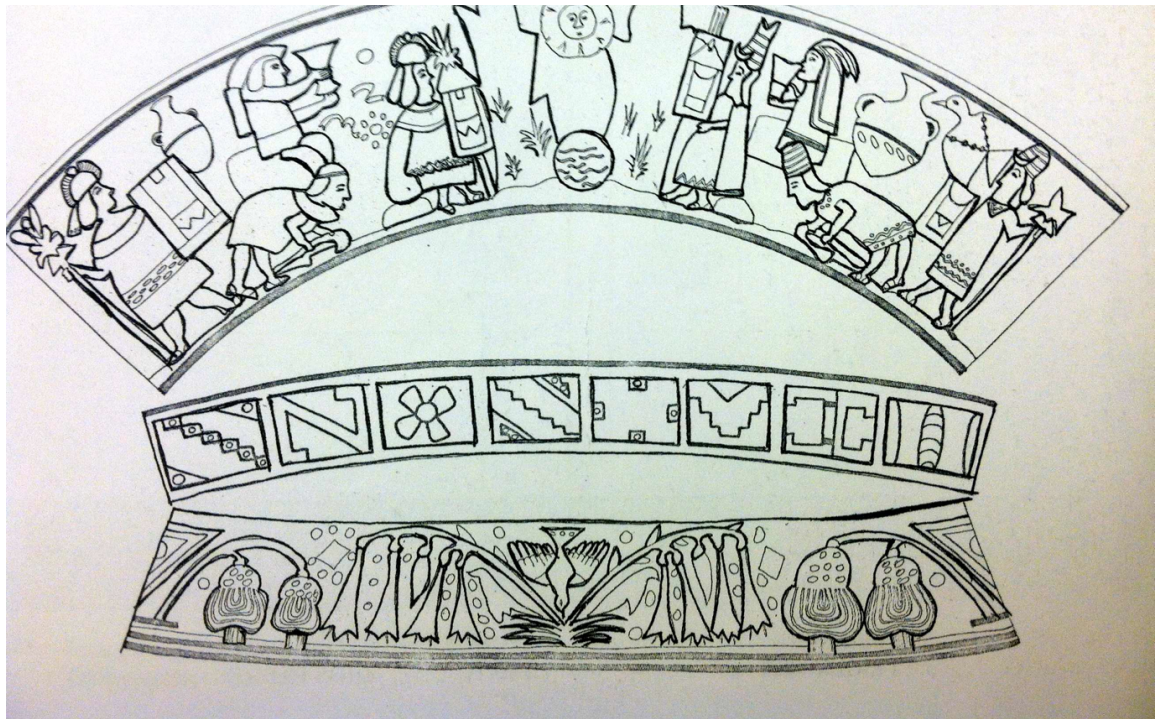


Figure 9: Anonymous, *Incari-Collari* (Fertility Toast), colonial, painted wooden kero, Archeological Museum of Cusco, Peru.

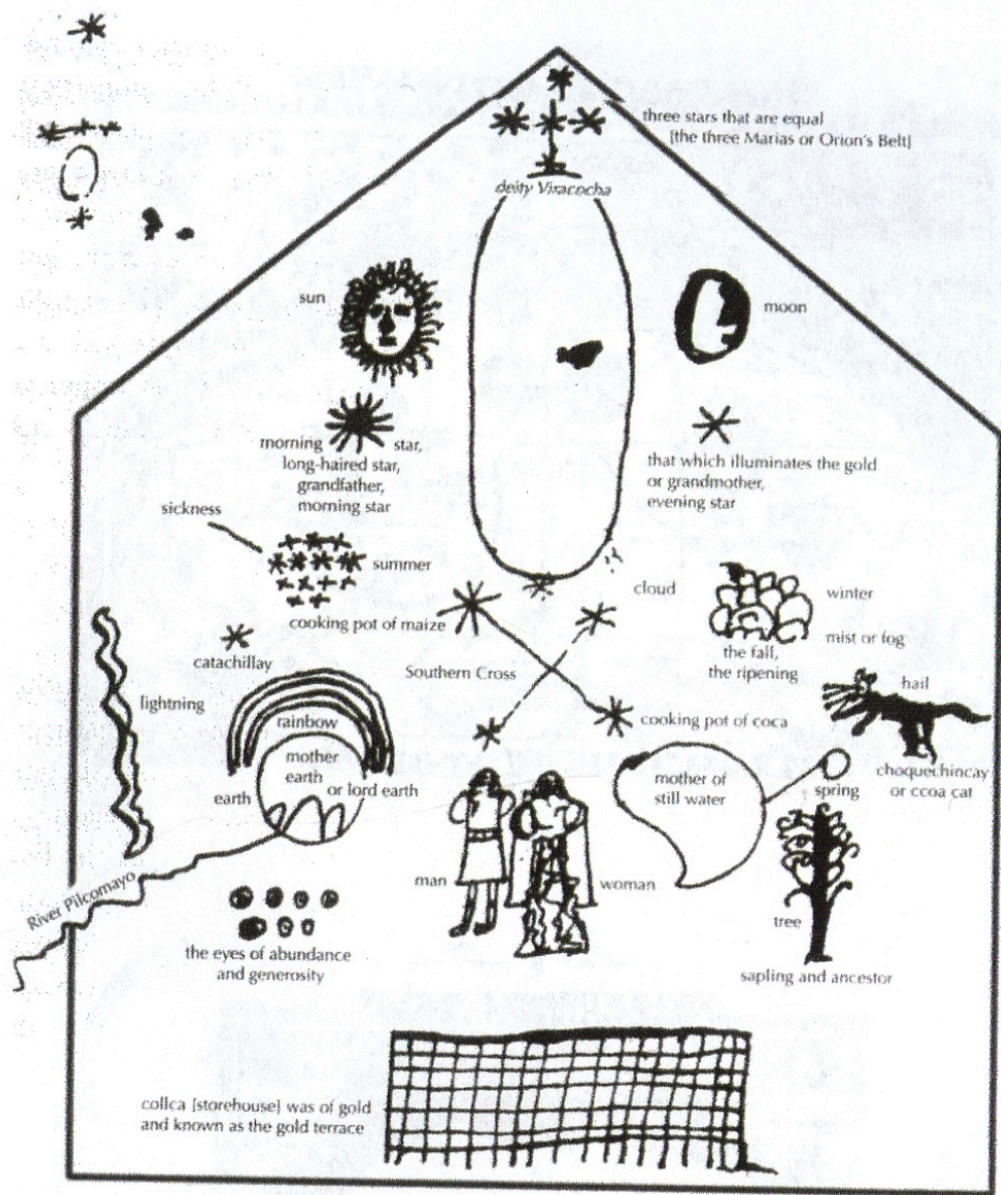


Figure 10: Simplified version of Andean Cosmological diagram based on the Altar of Koricancha, Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, page from *Relación de Antigüedades deste reyno de Pirú*, Cusco, ca. 1613.

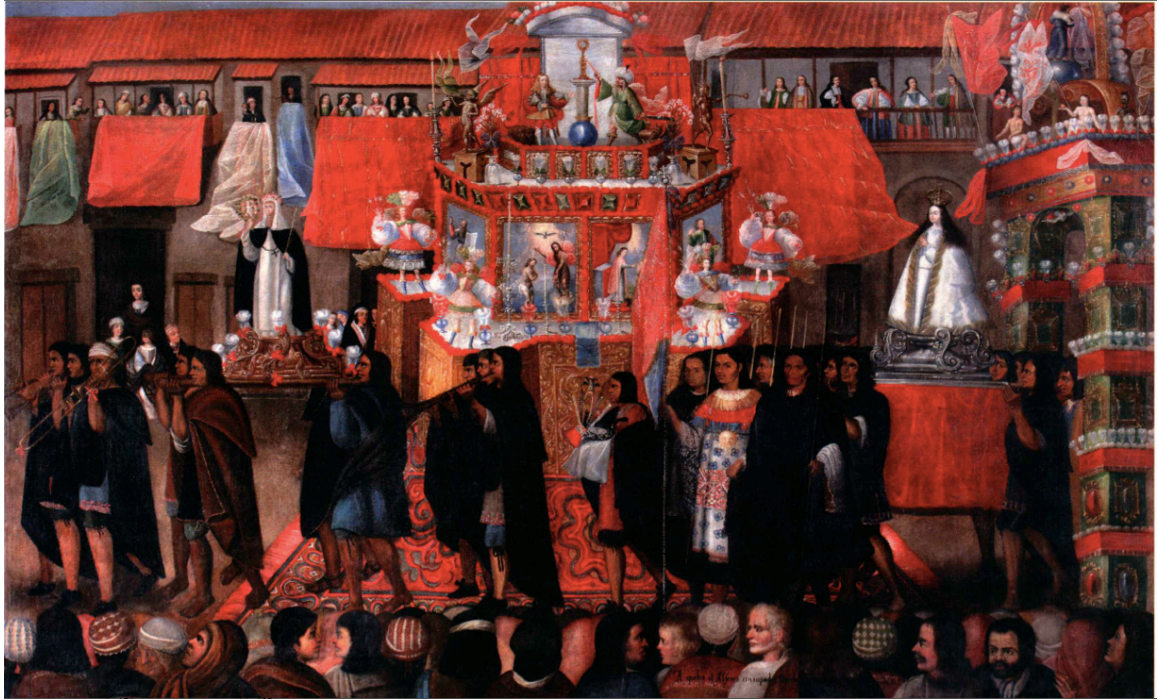


Figure 11: Anonymous Cusco School, *Confraternities of Saint Rose and La Linda* from the Santa Ana Corpus Christi Series, 1674 – 1680, oil on canvas, Peru.



Figure 12: Raphael, Disputation of Holy Sacrament, or Disputa, 1509, Fresco, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.



Figure 13: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Dispute of the Holy Sacrament*, 1609, oil on canvas, St.-Pauluskerk, Antwerp, Belgium.



Figure 14: Rubens, The Defenders of the Eucharist, oil on panel cartoon, Sarasota, The John and Marjorie Ringling Museum, 1625.



Figure 15: Rubens, The Triumph of the Eucharist over Ignorance and Blindness , or the Triumph of the Catholic Church,1628, tapestry at the *Descalzas Reales*.

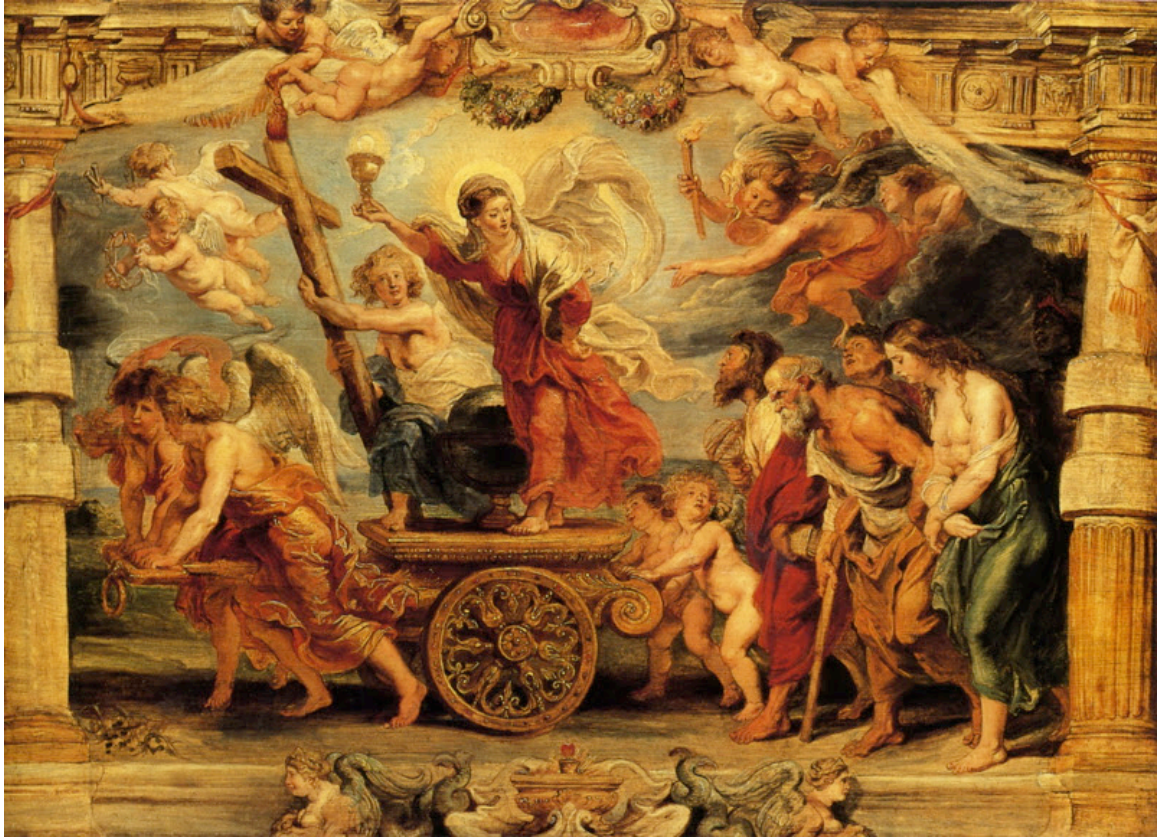


Figure 16: Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith*, 1628, tapestry at the *Descalzas Reales*.



Figure 17: Titian, Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto. 1573-1575. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain



Figure 18: Rubens, *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*, 1628, tapestry at the *Descalzas Reales*.



Figure 19: Rubens, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*, 1628, tapestry at the *Descalzas Reales*.



Figure 20: Rubens, *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*, 1628, tapestry at the *Descalzas Reales*.



Figure 21: Titian, *Gloria*, 1554, oil on canvas.



Figure 22: El Greco, *Allegory of the Holy League*, c.1579, oil on canvas.



Figure 23: Pompeo Leoni, Cenotaph Sculpture Charles V, 1597, at El Escorial Church, gilded bronze.



Figure 24: Claudio Coello, *La Sagrada Forma*, or, King Charles II of Spain Adoring the Host, 1685 to 1690, oil on canvas, at the sacristy of the El Escorial Church.



Figure 25: Melchor Prieto, Frontispiece for *Psalmody Eucharistica*, 1622, printed in Madrid, Spain.



Figure 26: Melchor Prieto, Adoration of the Eucharist illustration in *Psalmodia Eucaristica*, 1622, printed in Madrid, Spain.



Figure 27: Melchor Prieto, Adoration of the Eucharist illustration in *Psalmodia Eucaristica*, 1622, printed in Madrid, Spain.



Figure 28: Melchor Prieto, Corpus Christi procession illustration in *Psalmodia Eucaristica*, 1622, printed in Madrid, Spain.



Figure 29: Idolaters of 'Lesser Armenia' (Armenian Cilicia) in Marco Polo, *Livre des Merveilles*, 1390-1400. MS M.723, fol. 82r, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

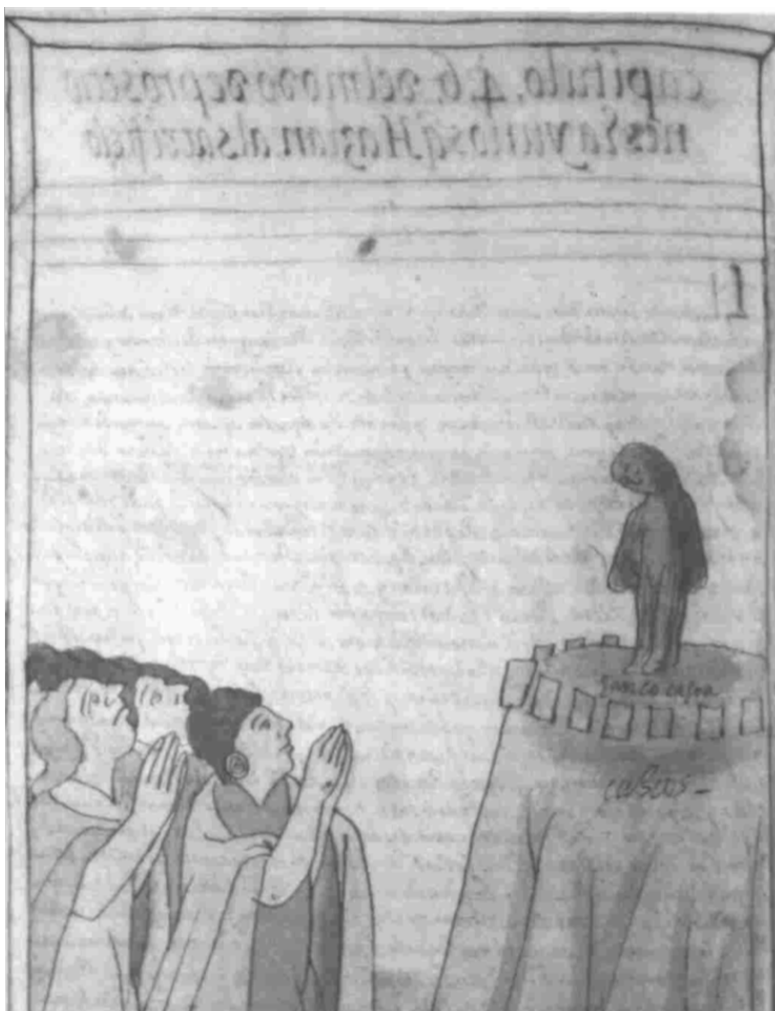


Figure 30: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The Indians of Cusco worship the idol Sanco Casoa* in Martín de Murúa's *Historia del origen y genealogía de los reyes ingas del Pirú*, ca. 1590, bk. 3, ch. 47, fol. 98v. Private Collection of Sean Galvin.



Figure 31: Isidoro de Moncada, Santiago y la Virgen del Pilar, (Date?), oil on canvas, Iglesia de Lampa, Departamento de Puno, Peru.

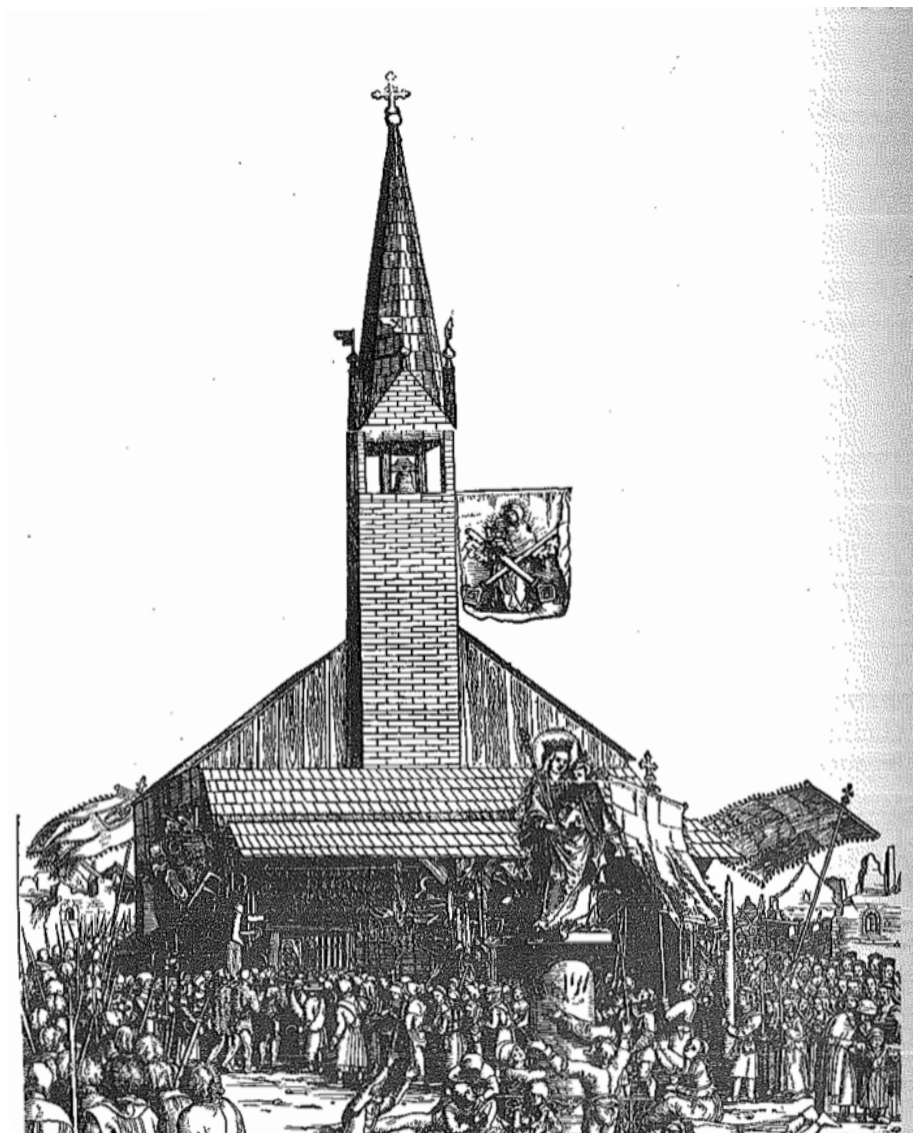


Figure 32: Michael Ostendorfer, *The Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria at Regensburg*, P. 13, c. 1520, woodcut.



Figure 33: Franz Hogenberg, *Beeldenstorm*, ca. 1566, etching, Published in Michael Aitsinger's 1588 *De Leone Belgico*.



Figure 34: Franz Hogenberg, detail from *Beeldenstorm*, ca. 1566, etching, Published in Michael Aitsinger's 1588 *De Leone Belgico*.

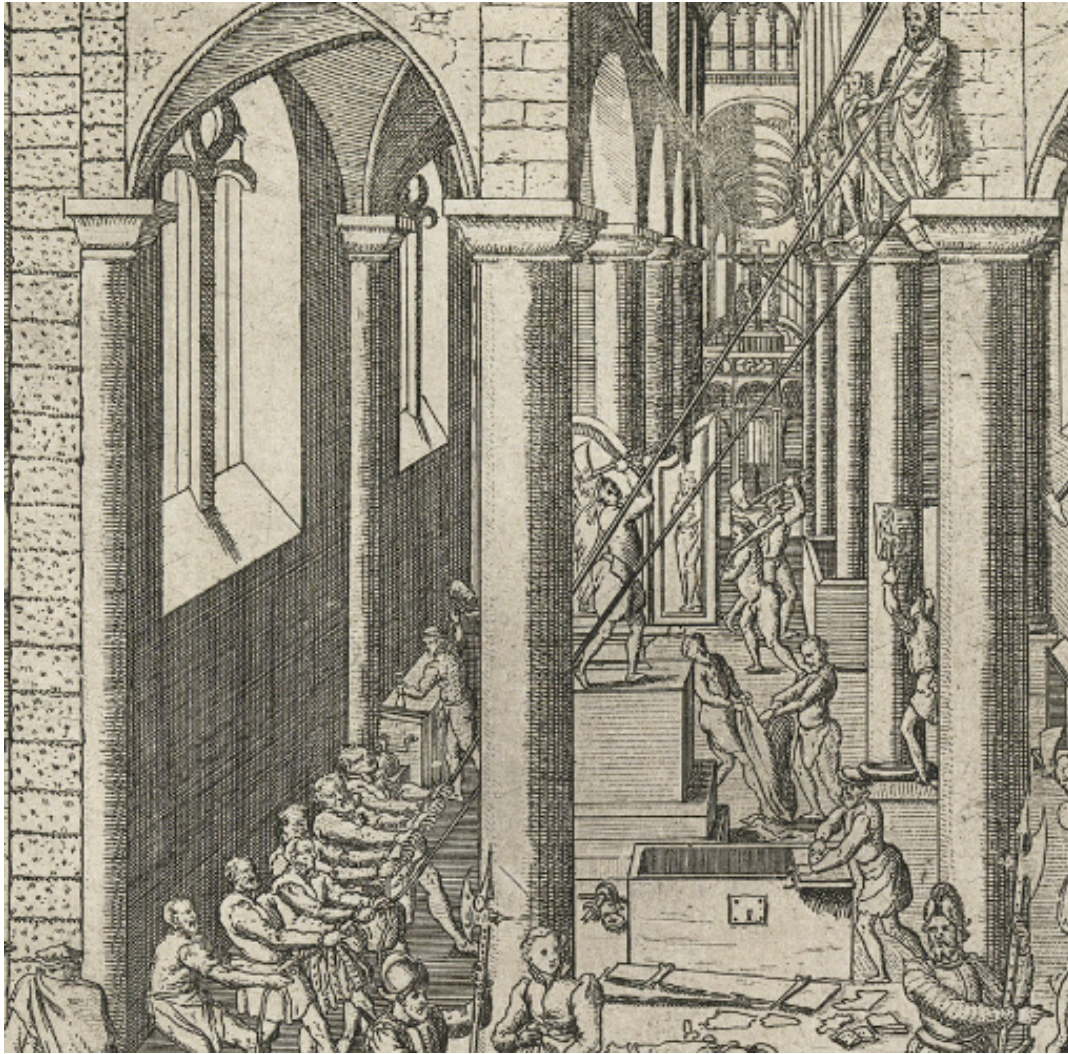


Figure 35: Franz Hogenberg, detail from *Beeldenstorm*, ca. 1566, etching, Published in Michael Aitsinger's 1588 *De Leone Belgico*.

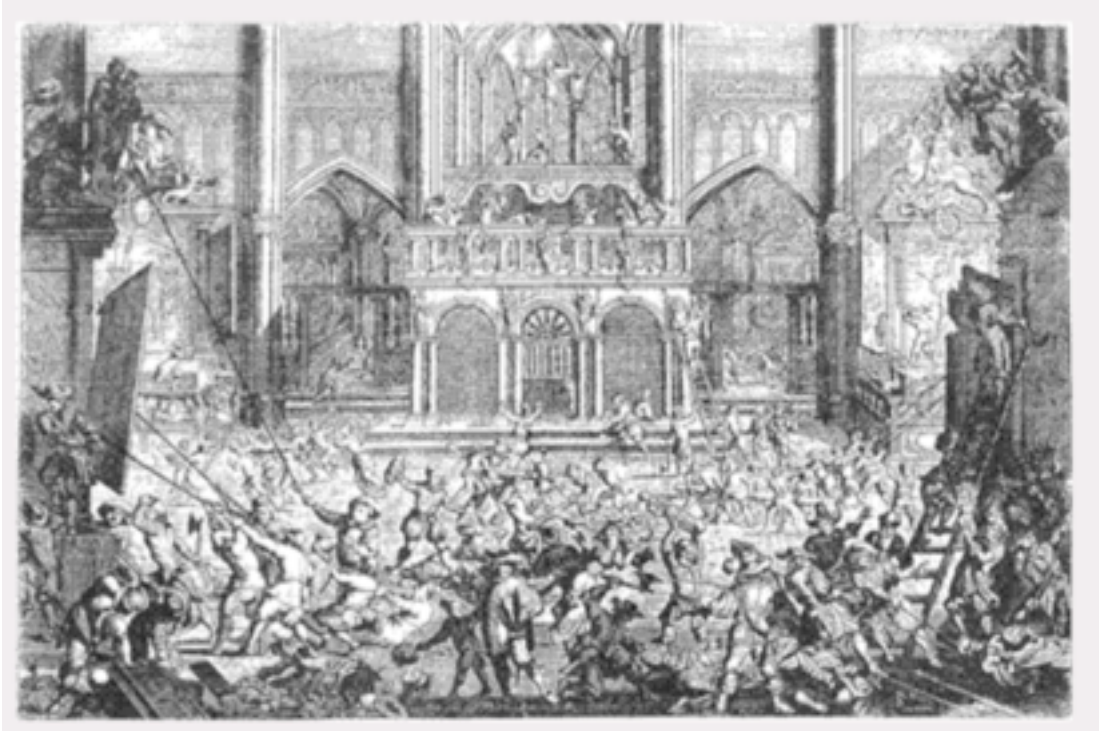


Figure 36: Gaspar Bouttats, *Iconoclasm at the Antwerp Cathedral on August 20, 1566*, c. 17th century, print.



Figure 37: Dirck van Delen, *Beeldenstorm in een kerk*, 1630, oil on canvas.



Figure 38: *The Worship fo the Golden Calf*, 1493, woodcut, from Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg, fol. 31.



117. El... Eucaristía frente a los musulmanes.
 Figure 39: Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist*, oil on canvas, 17th century (?).



Figure 40: Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist*, oil on canvas, 17th century (?).



Figure 41: Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist*, oil on canvas, late 17th century (?).



Figure 42: Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist with Saint Thomas Aquinas*, oil on canvas with gold leaf appliqué, early 18th century.



Figure 43: (Defense J) Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist with Santa Rosa de Lima*, oil on canvas, 18th century.



Figure 44: Anonymous, *Defense of the Eucharist with Carlos IV*, 18th century, oil on canvas, Museo Charcas, Bolivia.



Figure 45: *Carlos IV as the defender of the Eucharist with the Book of the Apocalypse*, second half of the 18th century, oil on canvas, Museo Charcas, Bolivia.



Figure 46: (Defense I) Anonymous Cusco School, *Saint Rose defends the Eucharist with Carlos II*, 1671 – 1700, oil on canvas, Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima, Peru.



Figure 47: Anonymous, Andean Monstrance, 1650 - 1700, silver, gilt, cast and chased, emeralds, diamonds amethysts, pearls, Soumaya Museum.



Figure 48: (Defense B) Anonymous Cusco School, Defense of the Eucharist, (date?), oil on canvas with gold leaf applique.



Figure 49: (Defense F) Anonymous Cusco School, *Charles II and the Defense of the Eucharist*, oil on canvas with gold leaf appliqué, 17th century.

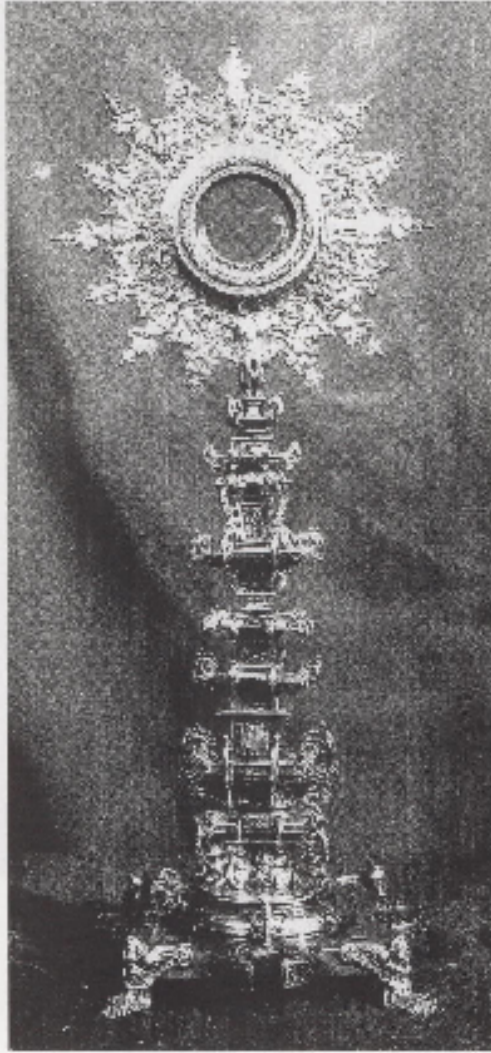


Figure 50: Anonymous, Andean Monstrance, before 1699, Silver, gilt, cast and chased, with enamel and emeralds, 76 cm, Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 51: Anonymous, Andean Monstrance made in Cusco, Peru, c. 1700, silver, gilt, with emeralds, turquoise.



Figure 52: (Defense K) Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist*, (Date?), oil on canvas, Casona del Moral Museum in Arequipa.



Figure 53: Anonymous Cusco School, *San Eloy patron saint of silversmiths working in his shop*, c. 1750-1800, oil on canvas, Museo Histórico Regional Cusco, 84 x 60 cm.



Figure 54: Anonymous Cusco School, *San Eloy patron saint of silversmiths working in his shop*, (Date?), oil on canvas.



Figure 55: (Defense D) Anonymous Cusco School, *The Defense of the Eucharist* by Carlos III, (Date?), oil on canvas, Private Collection, in Lima, Peru.

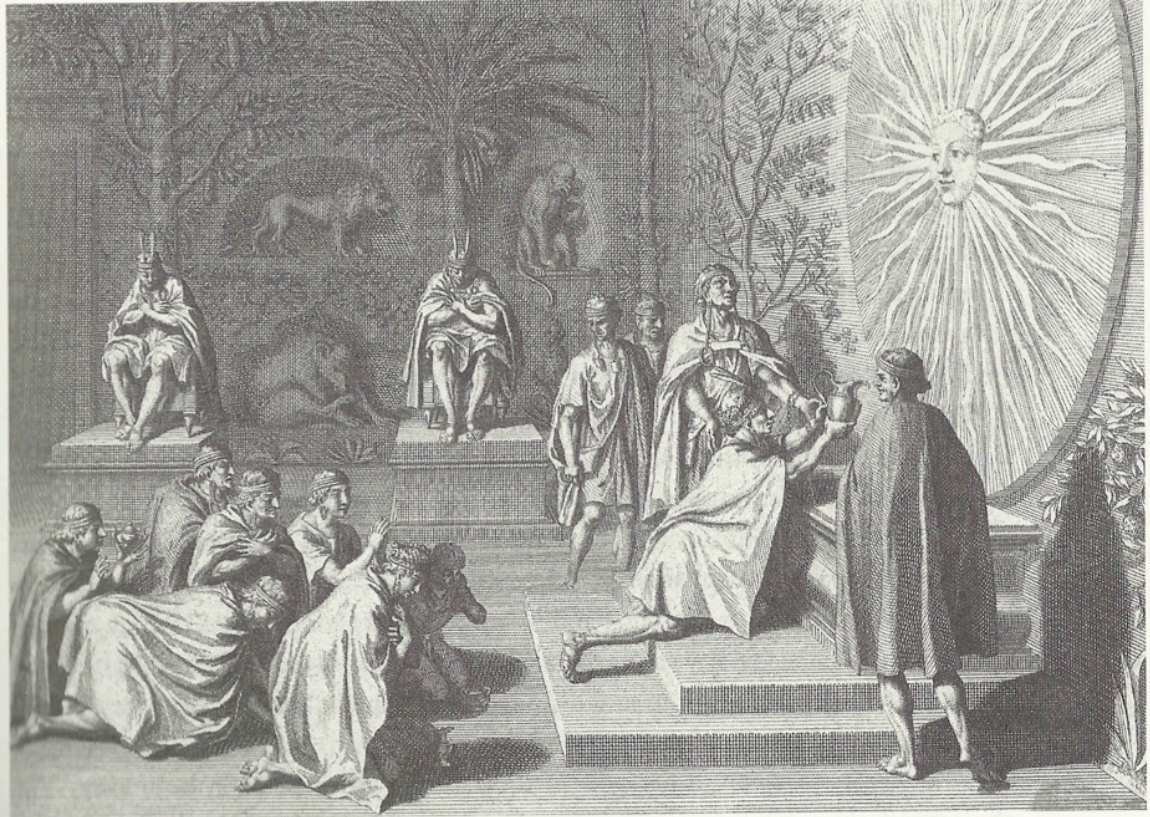


Figure 56: Bernard Picard, Incas Worshipping the Sun in "Costumes religieuses des peuples idolatres," Antwerp, 1735.



Figure 57: "Coricancha," folio 64v in Martin de Murúa *Historia del Origen y Genealogía Real de los Reyes del Piru, de sus hechos, costumbres, trajes, maneras de gobierno*, c. 1610. Private collection.



Figure 58: Tommaso Laureti, *Triumph of Christian Religion*, Fresco, Vatican Museums - Raphael Rooms - Room of Constantine, 1585.



Figure 59: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), "The first coat of arms of the Inka featuring "Intiraymi" on the upper left," ch. 6, p. 79 [79], Drawing 23, Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen.



Figure 60: An incident of cannibalism in Peru. Pedro de Cieza, *Parte primera de la crónica del Perú*, 1553, ch 19, fol. 22. *58-803F, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Figure 61: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), "The native lord as well as the native tributary should be easily recognized by the clothes they wear," ch.28, p. 786 [800], Drawing 296, Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen.



Figure 62: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), "The author Ayala" presents his *Corónica* to Philip III, King of Spain," ch.32, p. 961 [975], Drawing 343, Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen.



Figure 63: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), "The exaggerated size and stature of Spanish men and women, great gluttons" ch.21, p. 534 [548], Drawing 217, Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen.

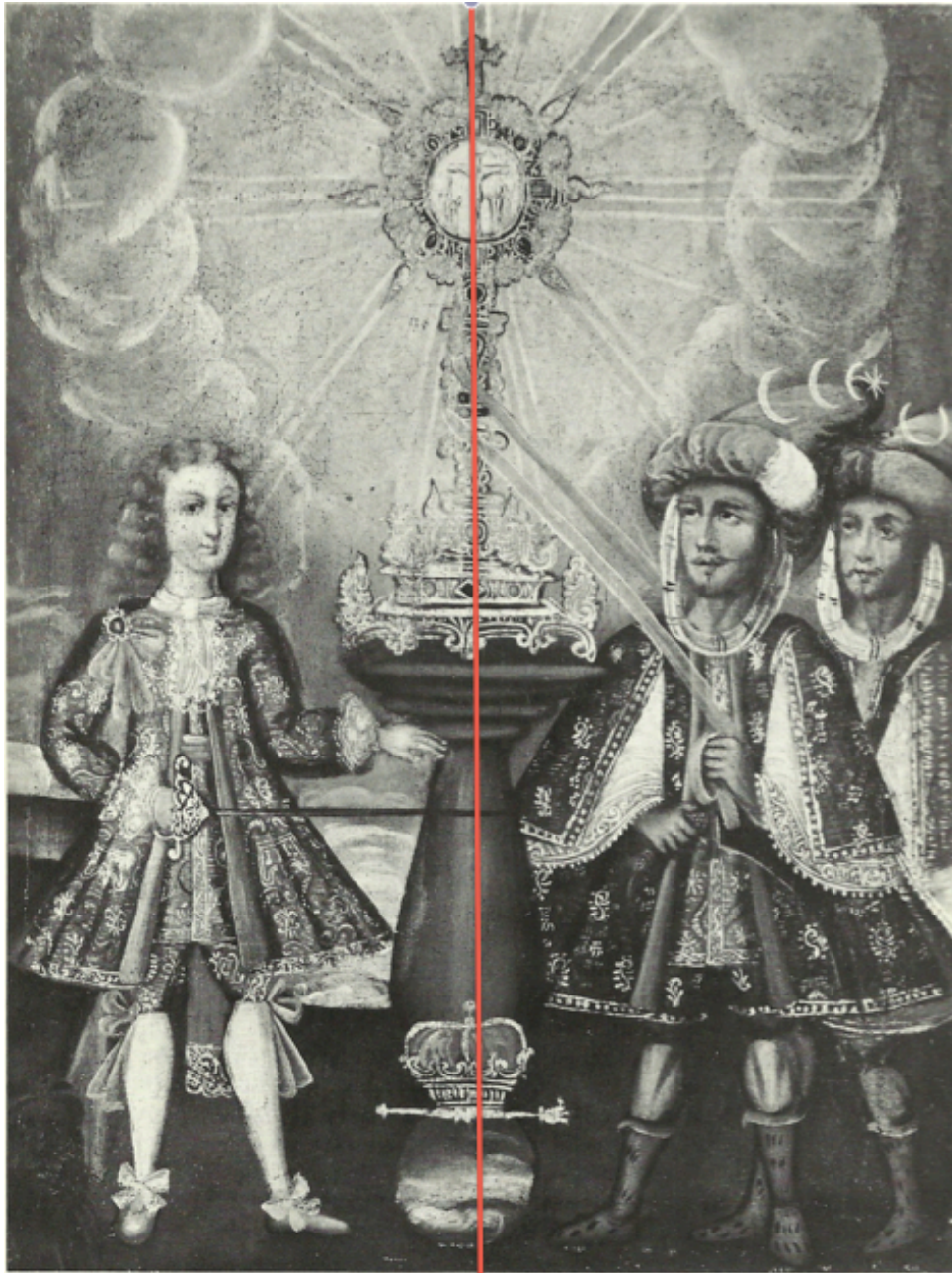


Figure 64: Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist* (with bisecting vertical line), probably 17th century, oil on canvas.

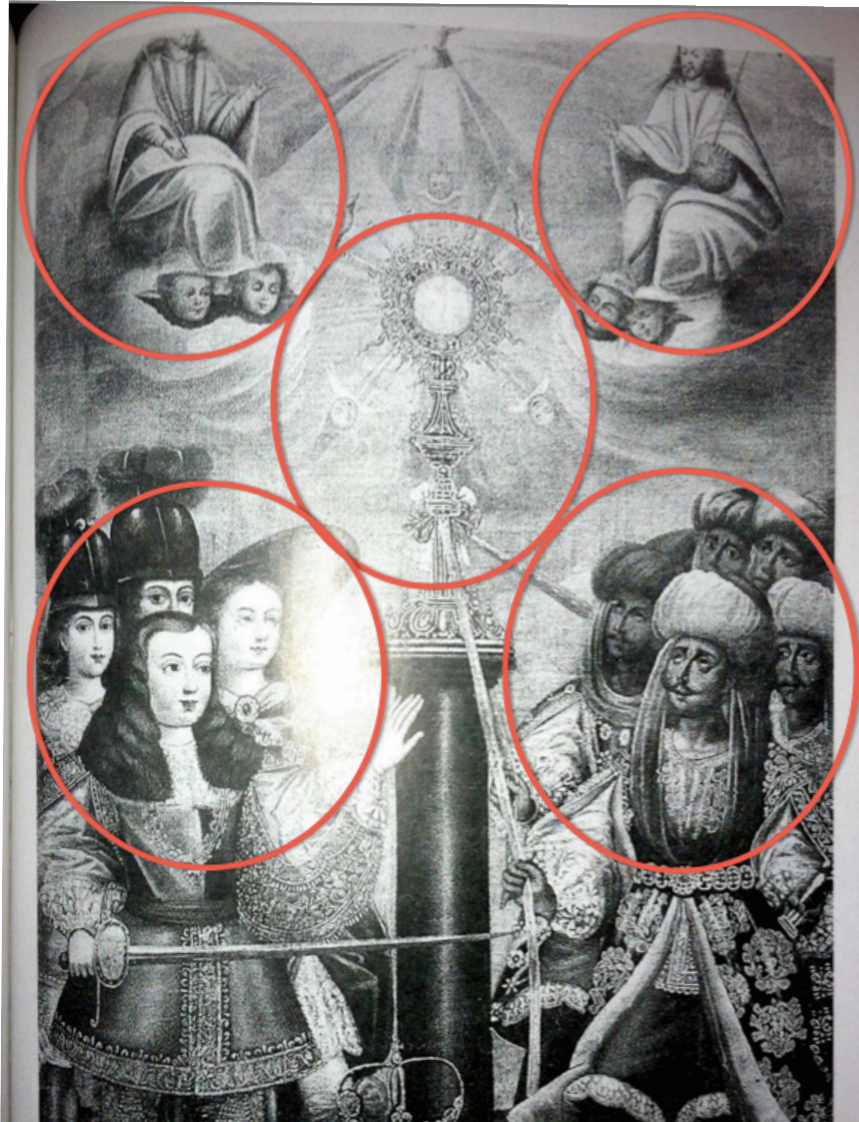


Figure 65: Anonymous Cusco School, *Defense of the Eucharist* (with quincunx arrangement outlined in red), late 17th or early 18th century, oil on canvas.



Figure 66: Anonymous Cusco School, *The Virgin of the Pilar with Four Apostles*, (Date ?), oil on canvas, Lechuga Collection, Cusco.



Figure 67: Anonymous Cusco School, *Exaltation of the Eucharist*, 18th century, oil on canvas with gold leaf appliqué, 1.7 x 1.3 meters.



Figure 68: Anonymous, Cusco School, *Allegory of a Christian soul prisoner of divine love*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, Banco de Crédito del Peru, Lima, 2 x 1.4 meters.



Figure 69: Anonymous, *Incari-Collari (Fertility Toast)*, colonial, painted wooden kero, Museum Arequipa.

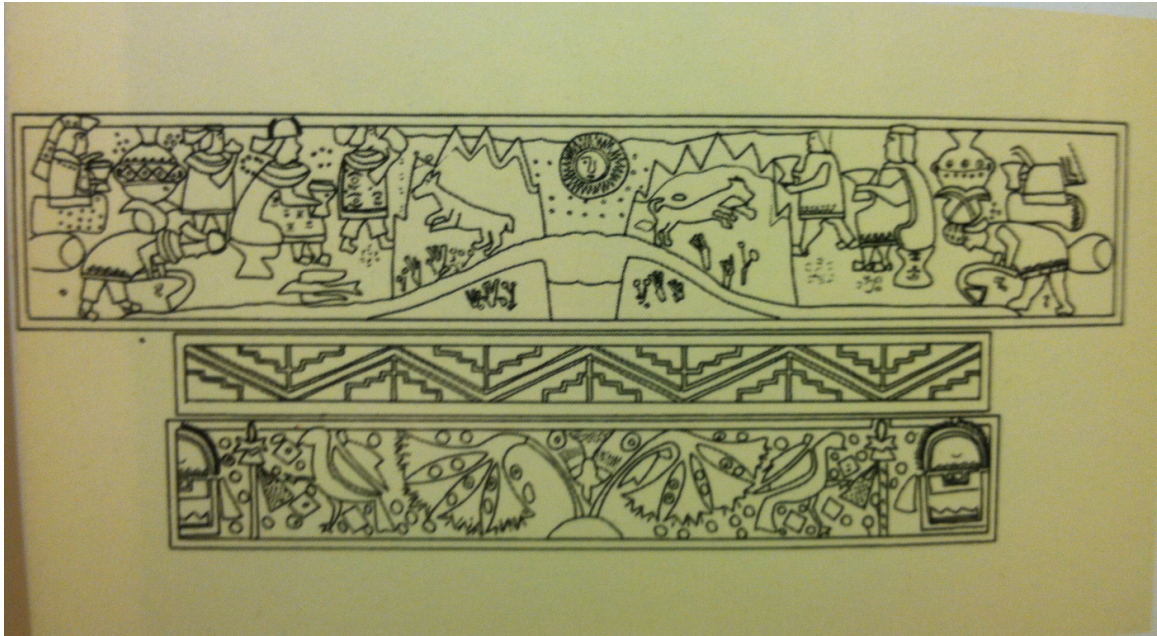


Figure 70: Anonymous, *Incari-Collari (Fertility Toast)*, second half 17th century, painted wooden kero, Museo de América, Madrid (this kero is damaged on the upper lip, eliminating the upper portion of the Colla king's headdress).

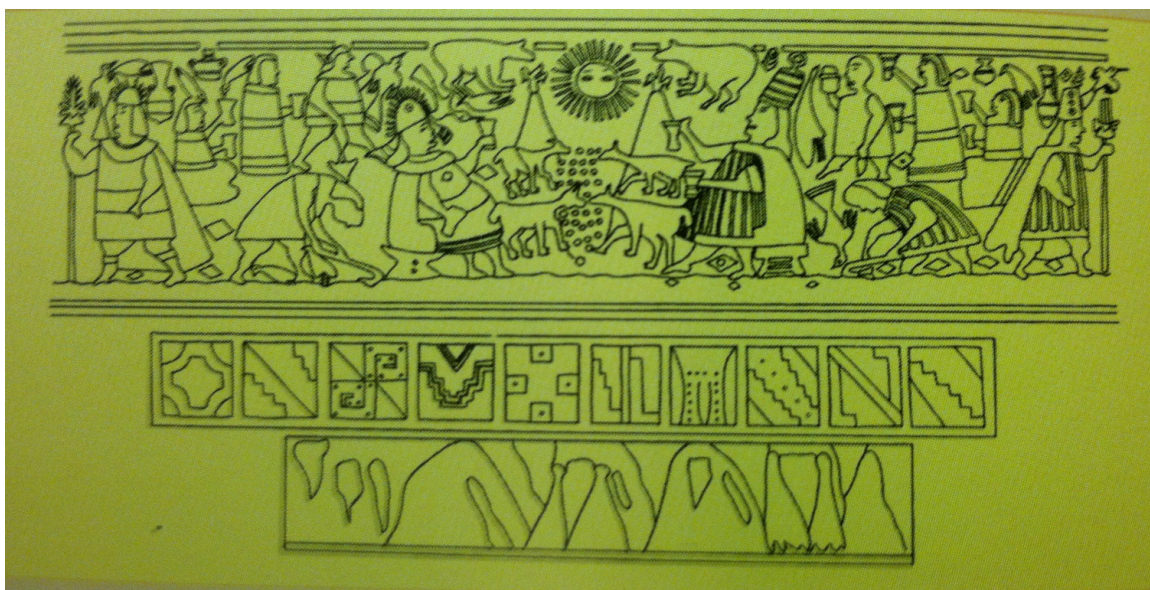


Figure 71: Anonymous, *Incari-Collari (Fertility Toast)*, 17th century, painted wooden kero, Private Collection, Cusco.



Figure 72: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Crónica del Buen Gobierno* (1615), "Ídolos y waqas de los Collasuyos, Uillca Nota," ch.12, page 270 [272], Drawing 106, Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen.

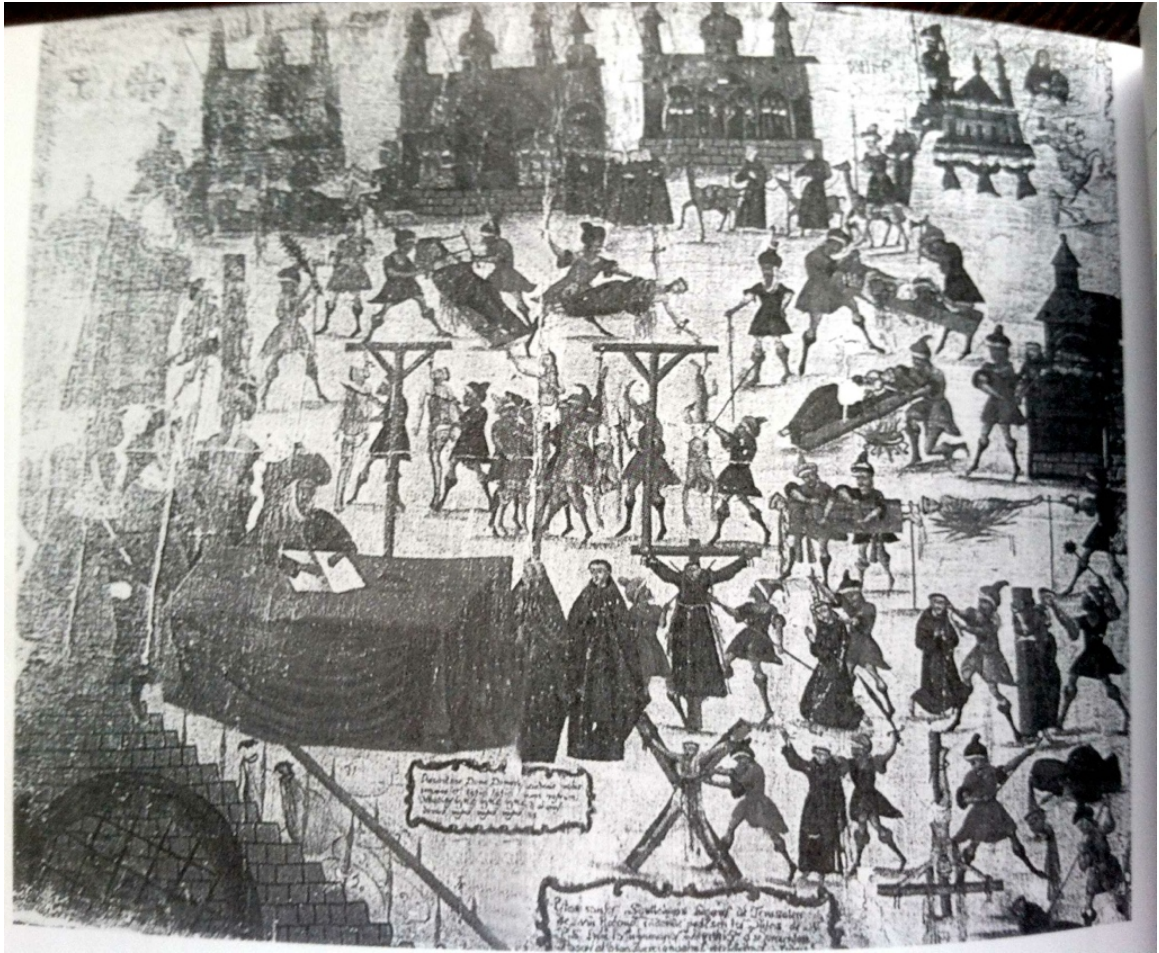


Figure 73: Anonymous Viceregal Peru, *Martyrdom of the Franciscan Monks*, Private Collection in Lima, Peru.

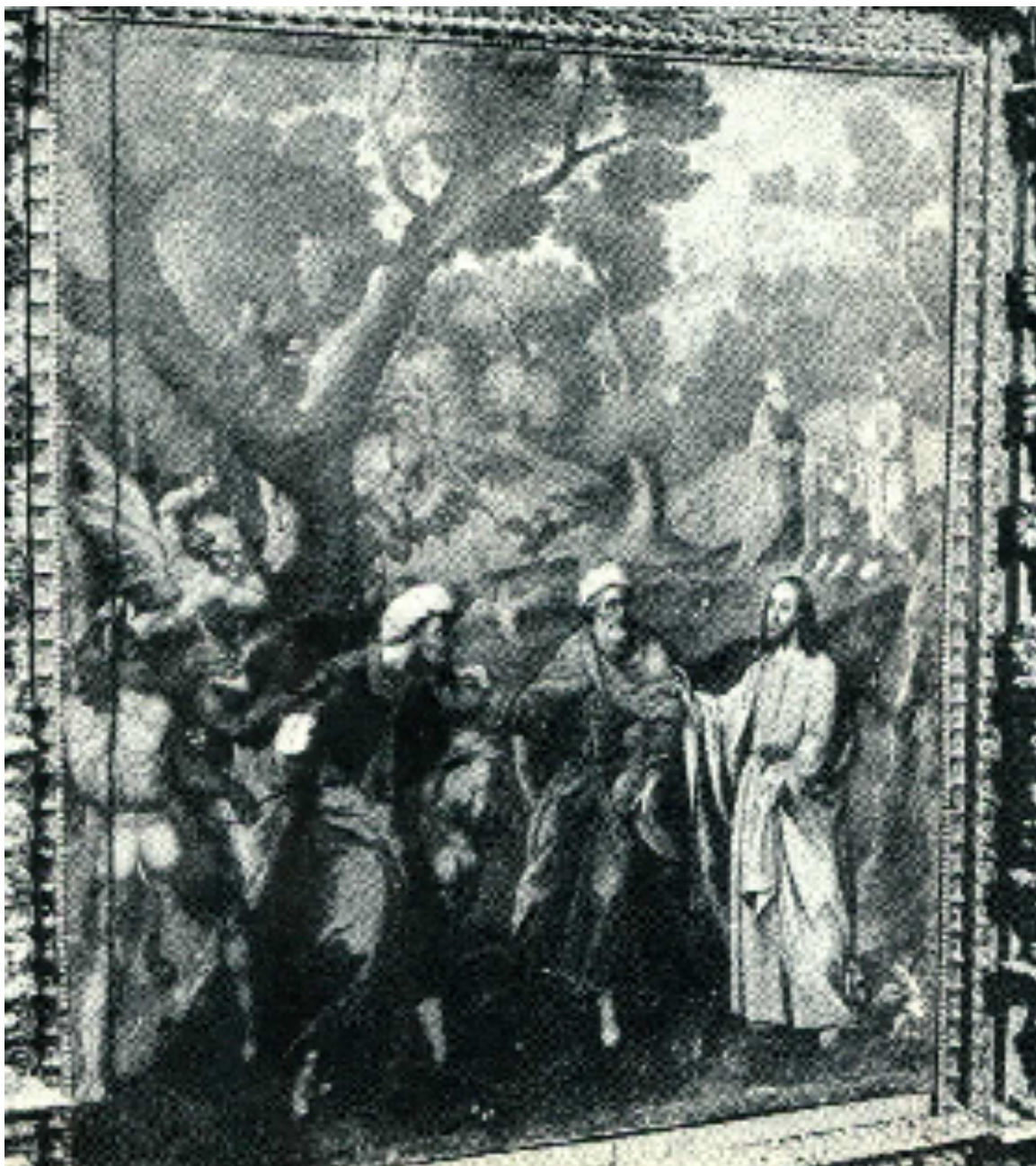


Figure 74: Isidoro de Moncada (Cusco School?), Christ cures a man possessed by the Devil, (Date?), oil on canvas, Church of Lampa, Departamento de Puno.



Figure 75: Anonymous, detail of *Flagellation Scene*, (Date?), oil on canvas, Monastery of Santa Catalina in Arequipa.



Figure 76: Anonymous, detail of *Flagellation Scene*, (Date?), oil on canvas, Monastery of Santa Catalina in Arequipa.



Figure 77: Anonymous, *Crucifixion Scene*, (Date?), oil on canvas, Monastery of Santa Catalina in Arequipa.



Figure 78: Rubens, *The Adoration of the Eucharist*, 1626, oil on panel bozetto design for the *Descalzas Reales*, Chicago Arts Institute.



Figure 79: Theodore van Thulden, *Ecclesiastical and Civil Hierarchy Adoring the Eucharist*, 1645. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux Artes Belgique.

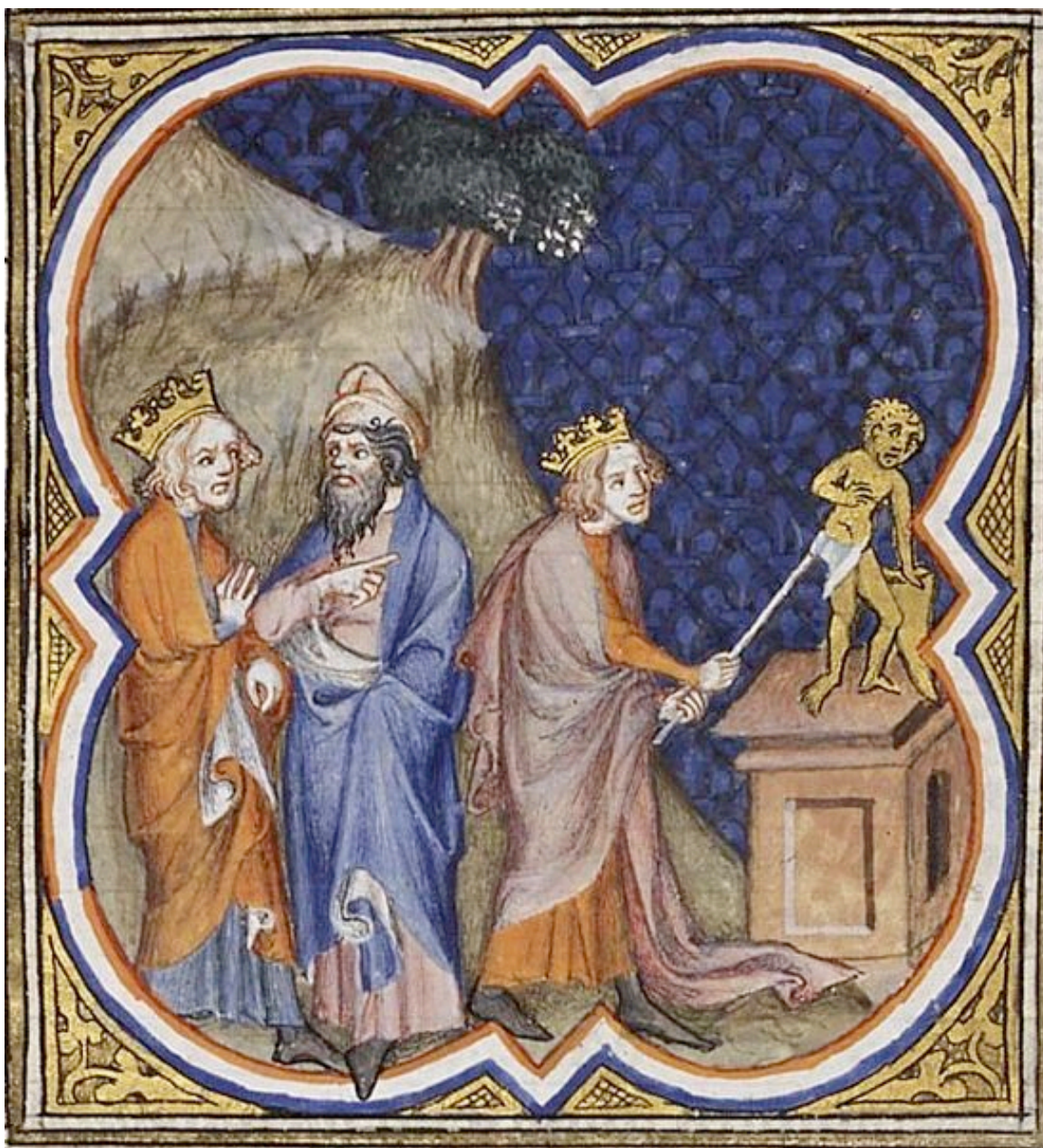


Figure 80: Den Haag, MMW, 10 B 23, Illustrator of Petrus Comestor's *Bible Historiale*, 'Asa destroys the idols and forbids worship in local shrines,' Museum Meermanno Westreenianum, The Hague, 1372.



Figure 81: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer crónica del buen gobierno* (1615), "The sons of native lords should dance before the Holy Sacrament during liturgical feasts," ch. 28, Page 783 [797] Drawing 295, Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen.



Figure 82: Melchor Pérez de Holguín, *The Arrival of Viceroy Morcillo in Potosi*, 1716, oil on canvas, Museo de America, Madrid, 230 x 570 cm.

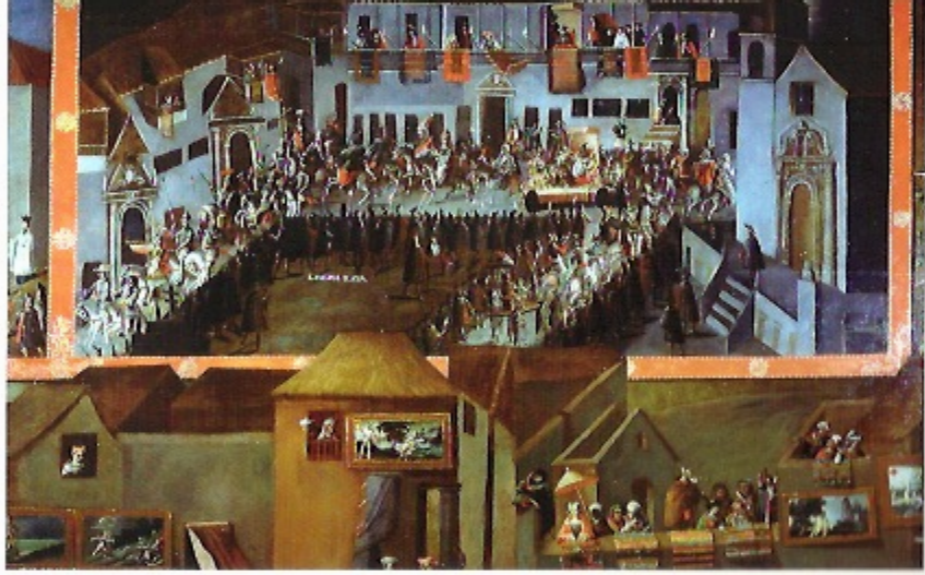


Figure 83: Melchor Pérez de Holguín, Detail of Masquerade from *The Arrival of Viceroy Morcillo in Potosi*, 1716; oil on canvas, 230 x 570 cm. Museo de America, Madrid.



Danza de los turcos. Fiesta de la Virgen de la Asunción. Chivay, Caylloma, Arequipa. 15 de agosto, 1988. Foto: Claudia Rohrhirsch. Colección AMTA-PUCP.

Figure 84: *La Danza del Turco*



Figure 85: Anonymous Cusco School, detail from *Confraternities of Saint Rose and La Linda* from the Santa Ana Corpus Christi Series, 1674 – 1680, oil on canvas, Peru.



Figure 86: Anonymous Cusco School, *Bishop Mollinedo processes with the monstrance* from the Santa Ana Corpus Christi Series, 1674 – 1680, oil on canvas, Museo de Arte Religioso, Cusco.



Figure 87: Benozzo Gozzoli, *Saint Thomas Aquinas, Plato and Aristotle triumph over Averroès*, c. 1470, oil on panel, Louvre Museum.



Figure 88: Gregorio Vasquez de Arce y Ceballos, *Saint Thomas with Heretics Underfoot*, Columbian, late 17th century, oil on canvas.



Figure 89: Anonymous Cusco School, *Santo Tomás de Aquino protector de la universidad de Cusco, venciendo al demonio con su pluma*, 1690-1695, oil on canvas, Museo de Arte de Lima.

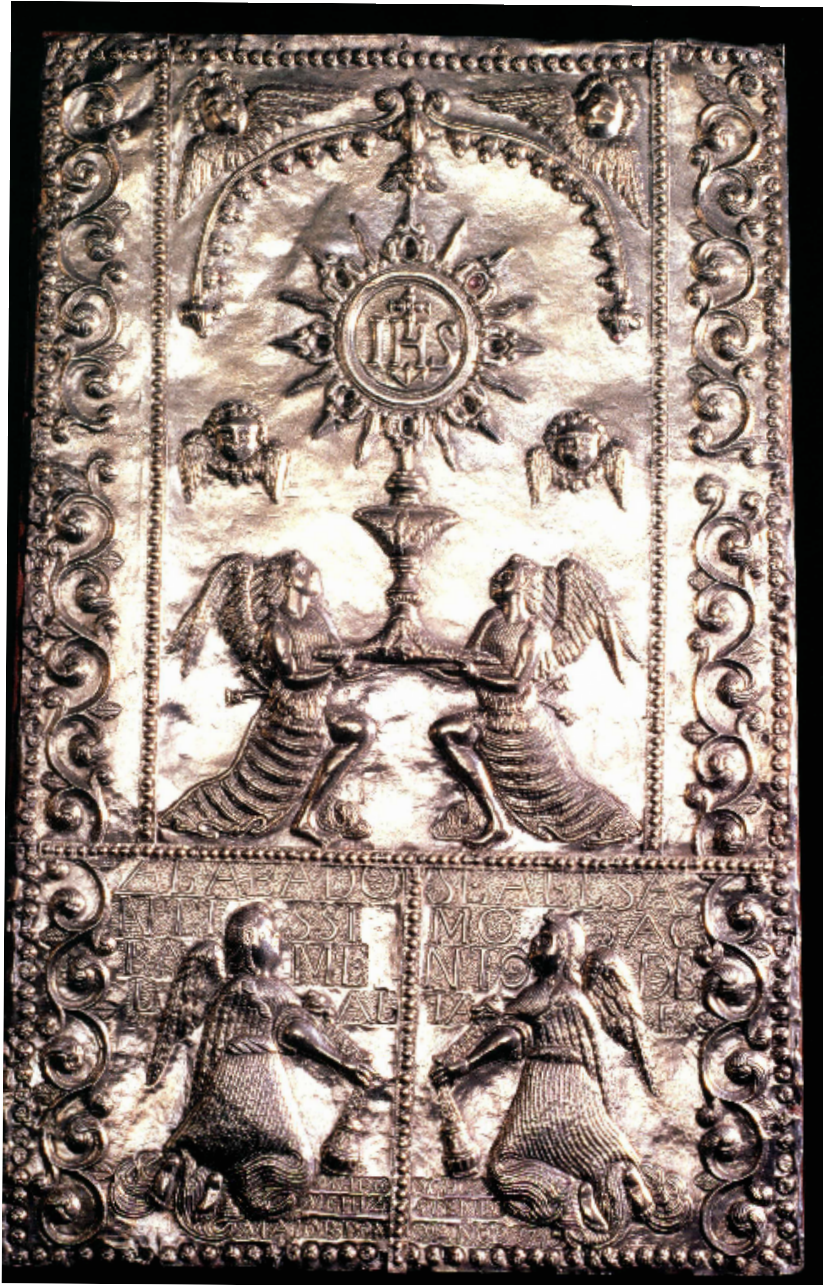


Figure 90: Tabernacle Door, signed MHR Ochoa, 1749, Cusco, .7 x.47 meter, silver, Museo Pedro de Osma.



Figure 91: Main Retablo, Navan, in the Oyon Valley, Department of Lima, Peru.



Figure 92: Altar at the Church of Marcapata, Department of Cusco, Peru.



Figure 93: Side Portal of the Dominican Church in Arequipa.



Figure 94: Monstrance at Tapay, Colca Valley, Department of Arequipa.



Figure 95: Main Entrance, Tapay.



Figure 96: Side Entrance, Tapay.



Figure 97: Huarero triumphal arch



Figure 98: Detail of Huarero triumphal arch



Figure 99: Anonymous, Lienzo conmemorativo del pedido al Inca don Carlos II, rey de España, para que la nobleza indígena pueda ingresar al Santo Oficio de la Inquisición del Perú, 1700, oil on canvas, 271 x 19 cm, Congregación de Religiosas Concepcionistas de Copacabana, Lima.



Figure 100: “Genealogy of the Incas with the Spanish Monarchs as their Legitimate Imperial Successors,” anonymous – Cusco School, oil on canvas with gold leaf appliqué, 18th century.



Figure 101: Anonymous Cusco School, Don Alonso Chiguan Topa, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, Archeological Museum of Cusco.



Figure 102: Manco Capac, First Inca, and Atahualpa, Fourteenth Inca, (from a series of fourteen portraits of the Inca rulers), Peru, mid 18th century, oil on canvas, Brooklyn Museum.

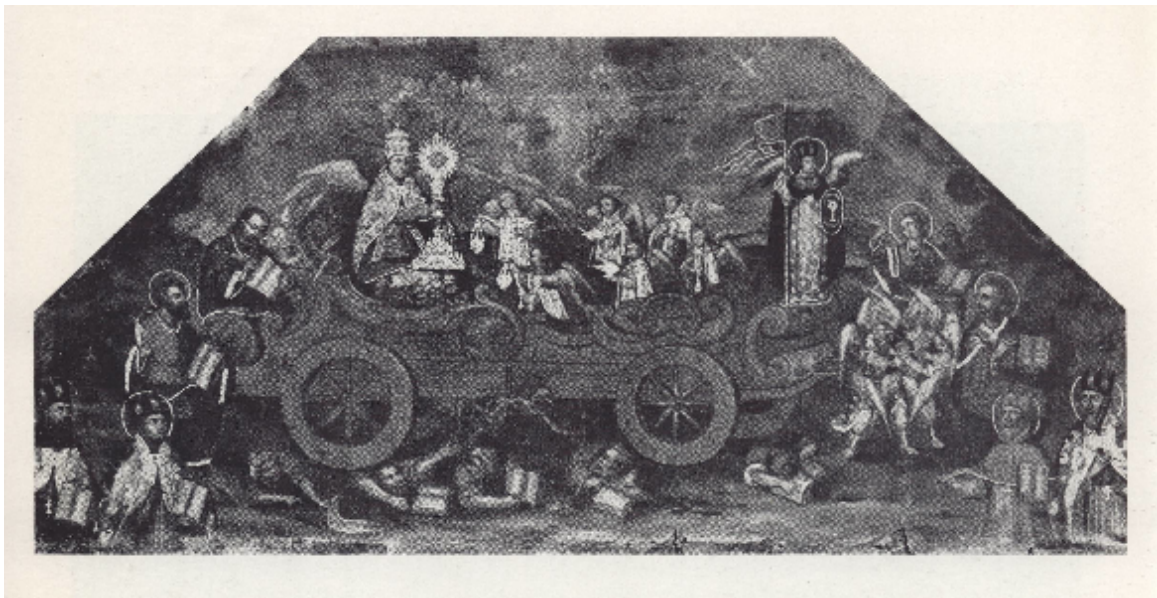


Figure 103: Anonymous, Cusco School, Triumph of the Catholic Church, c.1700, New Orleans Museum of Art.



Figure 104: Retablo located on the left side of the nave, in Maca, Arequipa. The uppermost central niche displays a painting where four Doctors of the Church defend the eucharist/monstrance.

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