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Mother of the Mountains: the Virgin Mary as a Bridge from Inka Past to Post-Colonial Christian-  
Andean Religiosity

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## Abstract

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By Julia Prochazka

Colonialism yields a complex relationship of the victors and the vanquished. In the Andes, the Spanish conquered the Inka Empire and brought Catholicism into a community with a strong pantheistic tradition. I argue that the Virgin Mary serves as a visual bridge between these two divergent religious traditions. Through the art of the Virgin both the Spanish and pre-Colombian traditions are apparent, yet neither dominates. Mary melds into an interlocked relationship of what is held sacred for each culture. The Conquest brought together the Western artistic conventions with the Andean perspective and resulted into something unique, unlike any depictions of the Virgin seen before. The Virgin Mary becomes a double-sided mirror, depending on the background of the viewer she epitomizes divinity for each group. For the Spanish-Christians, Mary as the Mother of Christ exudes the characteristics of piety, purity, and requites European conventions of depiction. For the indigenous viewers, Mary becomes part of a complex dialogue of the sacred unity of time and space, representing their ancestral past, while also bringing into question how perpetuation of pre-Colombian traditions becomes subversive to the Spanish reign.

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Religiosity

Julia Prochazka  
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*Kay pacha paquarimantan kay Pachamamaqa niq kasqa: “Nuqan kani Santa Tirra, Uywaq, ñu+uq, ñugan kani. Pacha Tirra, Pacha Nusta, Pacha Virgen ñiga kani” niq kasqa. Kay pacha paqariyta chaymi rispitanan.” Waqhariwankichis. Nuqaman phukuriwankichis. Inkarnasyun p’unchayata ama llank’ankichischu. Chay p’unchaym ñuqaq. Nuqallamanmi phukuriwankichis kimsantin pirsunaman-Pacha Tirra, Pacha Nusta, Pacha Virgen.*

*Since the dawn of the universe, Pachamama has said: “I am the Holy Earth. You who believe, I will love. I am the Sacred Earth, Sacred Princess, Sacred Virgin. Because of this, since the creation of the world, I deserve respect. Call to me, breathe to me, for my three persons-Holy Earth, Holy Princess, Holy Virgin.”<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Condori, B. & Gow, R. p.9.29

<sup>2</sup> MacCormack, S. (1991). p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Damian, C. p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Morris, C. & VonHagen, A. p 234. See for a in-depth history of the Inca Empire and the

## Introduction

*Andeans perceived the land differently than Spaniards. It was not merely that the majestic heights of the Andes and the far-flung plains of the lowlands sustained the presence of the living as much as that of the dead...(there) were so many pointers to humankind's remote origin from and identity with that august environment.<sup>2</sup>*

Colonialism yields a complex relationship of the victors and the vanquished. In the Andes, the Spanish conquered the Inka Empire and brought Catholicism into a community with a strong pantheistic tradition. I argue that the Virgin Mary serves as a visual bridge between these two divergent religious traditions. Through the art of the Virgin both the Spanish and pre-Colombian traditions are apparent, yet neither dominates. Mary melds into an interlocked relationship of what is held sacred for each culture. The Conquest brought together the Western artistic conventions with the Andean perspective and resulted into something unique, unlike any depictions of the Virgin seen before. The Virgin Mary becomes a double-sided mirror, depending on the background of the viewer she epitomizes divinity for each group. For the Spanish-Christians, Mary as the Mother of Christ exudes the characteristics of piety, purity, and requites European conventions of depiction. For the indigenous viewers, Mary becomes part of a complex dialogue of the sacred unity of time and space, representing their ancestral past, while also bringing into question how perpetuation of pre-Colombian traditions becomes subversive to the Spanish reign.

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<sup>2</sup> MacCormack, S. (1991). p. 133.

The Virgin Mary belongs to neither world alone; she becomes an integral part of both the Spanish and Andean world views, holding double meaning. A striking corollary to the works of art that serve as points of study here, is that during the campaigns against the Inka “idols” Catholic priests found ritual statues and *huacas* hidden beneath the gowns of statues of the Virgin Mary.<sup>3</sup> The illustrations of Guamán Poma de Ayala, the *Virgin of Montserrat* by Francisco Chivantito, and the 18<sup>th</sup> century *La Virgen del Cerro* anonymous conceptually bring the traditional Inka *huacas* from beneath the dress and places them center stage for the worship of the Mother of God. For the native peoples to literally put their religion and worship undercover—under the folds of the Virgin Mary’s dress—means they kept their religious tradition alive despite the abusive efforts of the Catholic Church to extirpate their “idolatrous practices.” The various interpretative layers of the artwork help us to see the hiding of sacred stones in a two-dimensional format. The Andean perspective during the colonial period was hidden in plain view of the Spanish despite its potential subversive quality; indigenous aesthetics embedded within the victors.

The Virgin Mary assumes the connecting role between the past Inka religious tradition and the Spanish Catholicism imposed in the Andes, bringing the sacred of each into one new female divinity. Rather than the domination of the victors, I argue we find the opposite, the vanquished bring their perspective and culture to coexist within the artstyle and society. The dialogue between the conquered peoples and their conquerors goes against popular conception of complete domination, the subservient peoples create space and means of continuing what they adore and hold dear. The Virgin Mary is a portal of time, space, and cultural evolution, demonstrating that rather than domination

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<sup>3</sup> Damian, C. p. 10.

there was negotiation between the victors and the defeated, resulting in a new Virgin who mediates both cultures.

### *Historical Context*

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the Inka Empire spanned throughout the Andes region and established an enduring culture and religion. The demise of the Inka Empire began when the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro and his troops invaded in 1530.<sup>4</sup> The Spanish defeat of the Inkas occurred dramatically across the expanse of the Inka's domain, which was the largest of any pre-Columbian civilization. Because of already suffering the effects of European-introduced plagues, which killed the ruler Wayne Capac, the Inka Empire was in the throws of a succession dispute between Atahualpa and his brother Waskar when Pizarro and his troops arrived; the divide facilitated the ability of the Spanish to take control of the territory.<sup>5</sup> The boats from Spain brought a new culture, language, race, and religion; the establishment of the Spanish rule through the 16<sup>th</sup> century resulted in a profound and devastating clash of Western culture with the Andean tradition.<sup>6</sup> A complex dialogue between pre-Columbian

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<sup>4</sup> Morris, C. & VonHagen, A. p 234. See for a in-depth history of the Inca Empire and the Conquest.

<sup>5</sup> Morris, C. & VonHagen, A. p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> Gruzinski, S. See source for an in-depth discussion of how we should grapple with mixed societies. "How should we deal with these mixed societies? First, perhaps, by accepting them as they appear to us...Nothing is irreconcilable, nothing is incompatible...incompatibilities lumber unusual combinations with interpretations that owe more to our ways of seeing than to reality itself...whatever may appear incoherent may perfectly well have a meaning and that the true continuity of things resides deep within metamorphosis and precariousness." Pp.9-10

conventions and the European ideals occurred in the Andes resulting in a melding and creation of a new and unique culture, race, and religion.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century images, like *La Virgen del Cerro*, which openly express Inka beliefs under the pretense of the Catholic Mother of God, were being created (Figure 11). The transition from Guamán Poma de Ayala, as an indigenous person who wrote a manuscript to King Philip III negotiating his native roots in the early colonial days, to an anonymous 18<sup>th</sup> century artist portraying his pre-Columbian consecration of the Virgin as an Andean divinity or *huaca* demonstrates the transformation of Catholicism during colonialism. The indigenous people imbued Christian gods with their pre-Conquest divine traits, rather than replacing their gods with Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, adhering to the Inka tradition during an earlier period of expansion when they would add the defeated communities' sacred sculptures into their own in Cuzco. Due to the pantheistic nature of the Inka religion this follows the natural trajectory to “simply expand the repertoire of sacred.”<sup>7</sup> The thread of continuity and cultural preservation materializes through Mary during the colonial period in Peru.

The Holy Mother was brought into the Inka definition of divinity, which placed her within the natural world and endowed her with its power. Inka cities like Cuzco were built in the dramatic landscape of the Andes and the people adapted to survive in the harsh climate. The challenges posed by the environment served as the basis for the Inka belief that natural world was sacred and divine. The establishment of native cities required a “conquest of nature that has had many more difficulties to overcome than the coast.”<sup>8</sup> The people were forced to submit to the will of the landscape, and this invited

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<sup>7</sup> Lopez-Baralt, M. p. 192

<sup>8</sup> Kosok, P. p. 7. See for more information and images of the Andes.

the establishment of rituals and traditions in the hopes of appeasing the harsh environment. Animism served as the central assumption of the pre-Columbian religious tradition, meaning that spirits and sacredness embodied what we view as inanimate objects. Shamanic practices in the Inka Empire allowed for the trained practitioners to communicate with the spirit world and access their various powers.<sup>9</sup> In Quechua *allpa camasca* means human being, but also connotes “animated earth” and the idea of humans receiving the flow of energy from the earth.<sup>10</sup> The earth takes precedence over the human and the fertile soil endows the people with energy and vitality. A person is thus the vehicle for the energizing spirit of the earth in the indigenous mind. The divine in the Inka religious tradition was about the spirit in the material rather than its aesthetic value or similarity to humans, unlike the Catholic tradition where God in the human form was the pinnacle of sacredness. The natural world had a spirit and personality that infused to that of a human inspiring Inkas to perform rituals to gain favor in the eyes of the spiritualized earth, known as *Pachamama*.

Cuzco was the Inka political and spiritual capital prior to the arrival of the Spanish.<sup>11</sup> The Inka capital prior to the Conquest served as a spiritual and cultural center, and during the colonial period a new Spanish city was built on top of the native foundations. Cuzco is surrounded by imposing peaks of the Urubamba Valley of the Andes Mountains that invite reverence even from modern-day visitors. The Andeans saw

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<sup>9</sup> Stone, R. p. 3. Unpublished manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> Avila, F. & Salomon, F. & Urioste, J. p. 16. “All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its *huaca* of origin. Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation...seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.”

<sup>11</sup> Bauer, B.S. p. 3. See source for more information about the status of Cuzco during the Inka Empire.

these as the source of life, death, and power in their lives, and their religious rituals were based upon communication with the mountain spirits, or *apo*, denoting ancestor, which they believed inhabited these natural formations. The primary gods of the Inka were patrons of the Sun, Moon, and Earth. The main Inka temple in Cuzco, the *Coricancha*, exemplified pre-Columbian worship practices related to these deities. Cuzco was believed to be the point of communication between the sky and the earth, which in the Inka belief system mediates between the power of the sky and order of the earth, imbuing this site with extreme importance in pre-Columbian culture.<sup>12</sup> The temple complex celebrated the Sun god, *Inti*, and was filled with gold statues and other objects of worship.<sup>13</sup> The other principal deities of the Inka Empire were *Quilla*, the moon goddess, and *Pachamama*, the Mother of the Earth, Space, and Time.<sup>14</sup> *Quilla* and *Inti*, known as the sky gods, worked in conjunction with *Pachamama* to maintain balance or *ayni* between the sky and the earth, emphasizing their relationship of reciprocity and interconnectedness; all were represented in the Cuzco temple complex of *Corichancha*. The concept of the balance of the sexes, as seen with the union of *Inti* and *Quilla*, is known as *kariwarmi* in Quechua. The Inka placed great importance of the balance between the male and female energies. A person was not considered complete without their counterpart of the opposite sex. *Kariwarmi* can be seen in the pairing of female and male divinities, but also played a role in Inka society. The balance of opposing forces in the divine and human realm likewise maintains harmony in the indigenous world.

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<sup>12</sup> Classen, C. p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Bauer, B.S. p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Avila, F. & Salomon, F. & Urioste, J. pp. 14-16. See this source for a more in depth explanation of “Pacha” or earth/time/space.



The powers of the Andean landscape are manifested in natural formations. The Quechua word *huaca* signifies “Dios...Flores, plantas, Que distinguen por su extraordinaria apariencia-Las grandes cordilleras, los nevados, los altos picos.” (Lara, J. p. 306. Translation: God...flowers, plants, ect. that are distinguished by their extraordinary appearances- the grand mountain ranges, covered in snow, the high peaks.”)<sup>15</sup> The *huacas* often had a dual, doubled, or split nature, emphasizing the importance placed on the balance of opposing forces in the Inka religion.<sup>16</sup> A *huaca* can be the visual object that focuses the energy of a community while also being “the metamorphosis of the founder of a lineage.”<sup>17</sup> The Inka people worshipped the interior energy or spirit of the *huacas*, “many of them (huacas) were far more significant than the Inka objects collected by the Spaniards and recognized as having aesthetic value in European terms.”<sup>18</sup> Many *huacas* were rocks or stones that were believed to be fully functioning and alive with a spirit and teachings as valuable as those of any human.<sup>19</sup> The Inkas would make sacrifices, pray to and worship their *huacas*, just as Spanish Christians would venerate and pray to the Virgin.<sup>20</sup> The native people would worship stone *huacas* in the pre-Hispanic Inka tradition by offering them feather garments, *cumbi* cloth clothes of the highest quality, usually made in the tapestry technique, silver and

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<sup>15</sup> Dean, C. p. 2-4. Explains the meaning of *huaca*, the use of the Quechua language in English texts and the cultural significance of the sacred.

<sup>16</sup> Stone, R. (2012). Presentation at Emory University campus.

<sup>17</sup> Dransart, P. p. 148.

<sup>18</sup> Dean, C. p. 11, 26-35. Distinguishing sacredness in Inka beliefs.

<sup>19</sup> Dean, C. See book *A Culture of Stone* for greater insight into the value of rocks in the Inka society.

<sup>20</sup> Avila, F. & Salomon, F. & Urioste, J. pp. 1-19. Within the introduction of the *Haurochiri* manuscript they define *huacas* as “diverse sacred beings”. See this source for further information into the manuscript and the Quechua language.

gold pins, and vessels for drinking *asua*, corn beer.<sup>21</sup> Each of these objects and the iconography associated with them denotes Inka ritual worship. The Inka demonstrated a strong pantheistic tradition that was rocked by the Catholicism of Spanish rule, a religious and imperial force, which unlike that of the Inkas, did *not* allow for the inclusion of the gods of conquered peoples. Catholicism required conversion and set about to “extirpate the idolatry” of the indigenous people.

The Spanish delivered Catholicism under the discretion of the Roman Papal Court to Peru and brought European friars to educate the “idolatrous” people of the Andes: “Religion- in large part- served as the justification, or at least the pretext, for the invasion and later control of the populace.”<sup>22</sup> The religious clergy worked closely with the native population to spread Christian doctrine and in this endeavor they found that the indigenous people continued their pre-Columbian worship, despite having received Christian teachings. In the early colonial period the Franciscan friars allowed the perpetuation of certain native practices, including dancing, outdoor rituals and art making, under the pretext of Catholicism because it facilitated the ease of conversion.<sup>23</sup> This leniency with indigenous rituals ended when the Catholic Church saw native worship as a threat to the Church. They sent missionaries to fully “extirpate idolatry” in America and punish the native peoples for their practice of the pre-Columbian religion.

The Catholic friars sought to destroy the *huacas*, but in their destruction the power and spirit of the *huaca* were merely transferred rather than lost. The fluid nature of the Andean spiritual forces defeated the Spanish efforts to replace or remove them. For example, textiles laid on rocks absorbed their power and energy, transforming them into a

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<sup>21</sup> MacCormack, S. (2006). p. 645.

<sup>22</sup> Morris, C. & VonHagen, A. p. 236

<sup>23</sup> Hernandez-Duran, R. (2012). Presentation at Emory University campus.

portable manifestation of divine power. The idea that “Andean deities (would be) destroyed in the expectation that the deities would be supplanted by the Christian God and forgotten” did not function in the colonial Peruvian society due to the strong foundation of the Inka religious tradition.<sup>24</sup> The indigenous population reacted by internalizing and hiding their religious practices; they became “a culture in hiding, maintained by ritual observance.”<sup>25</sup> The spiritual movement and evolution allowed for the continuance of Andean practices away from the eyes of the Spanish clergy. The continuation of the Inka religion through the colonial period is a testament to the strength of the belief system of the pre-Columbian Andes and its ability to adapt against the pressures of the imperious Catholic Church. For the native population, religion was a source of identity and a means of covert resistance against the Spanish authority and injustice in the every aspect of colonial life. The perseverance of the Inka traditions represents a point of solidarity through the centuries for the indigenous population. Eventually a syncretic form of Catholicism emerged because of the coexistence of pre-Columbian traditions and Catholicism for over three centuries. The syncretism or blending of the two belief systems involved the seamless integration of each people’s strongly held beliefs.

The Spanish Catholics of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were coming out of a strong tradition of *marianismo*. The Virgin Mary gained great reverence in Europe during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries: “mariology grew so rapidly that popular adoration of the Mother has threatened at times to eclipse that of the Father and the Son.”<sup>26</sup> This trend of worship derived from

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<sup>24</sup> MacCormack, S. p. 628.

<sup>25</sup> Allen, C.J. p. 192

<sup>26</sup> Stevens, E. p. 93. See her essay for in depth discussion about *marianismo* and its importance in Latin American culture.

the lack of a female divinity in the Catholic religion and resulted in the veneration of the purity of the Virgin and her ability to produce divine life. Catholic doctrine holds that Mary mediates between the people and God, acting as a bridge between humanity and divinity. The iconography associated with Mary expresses her purity as the Mother of Christ, her role as a vessel, and her connection to the spiritual realm. Catholics confess and pray to Mary in the hopes that she will communicate with the Lord and lend favor to them in their human life. Mary in Spain and America gained special significance and importance and was worshipped devoutly by her followers. It was understood that there were “dos brazos de Cristo para los dos continentes y María como cuidado de América”<sup>27</sup> As a bridge between Europe and the Americas, the Virgin provided a perfect icon for manipulation in the evangelical campaigns across the conquered Inka Empire.

Friars of various orders used the Virgin Mary in the New World to teach and transmit the Christian message to the native population. Ceremonies, festivals, and celebrations dedicated to the Virgin “were a regular feature of daily life in colonial times” in the Andes.<sup>28</sup> One such procession was *Corpus Christi*. Female saints and the Virgin Mary dominate this promenade, in keeping with the equal and necessary status of women in the indigenous religious perspective, as exemplified by the concept of *kariwarmi*. This ceremony established Mary as a central figure in Peruvian Catholicism.<sup>29</sup> Another event that contributed to the Virgin’s importance in the eyes of the Andeans was the alleged appearance in 1535 of the Virgin during the Inka rebellion led by Manko Inka. Her

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<sup>27</sup> Eichmann, A. p. 52. Translation: two arms of Christ for the two continents and Maria was like the caretaker of America.

<sup>28</sup> Cahill, C. p.617

<sup>29</sup> Dean. C. (1999). p. 261.

appearance aided the Spanish and led to the defeat of the native rebels.<sup>30</sup> The indigenous people witnessed how this new spiritual manifestation helped the Spanish, demonstrating her power and authority. This was the first instance of Inka belief in a Catholic deity manifesting in the indigenous city of Cuzco. Her revelation to the native population in the Inka spiritual capital adheres to the Inka gods' supernatural status and the overall visionary aesthetic of the ancient Americas, thus the Virgin became similar to the Andean deities that magically appeared to the people in pre-Hispanic times.<sup>31</sup> Mary in colonial times may have transmitted Catholic doctrine and supported the continuation of Spanish rule, but she also fulfilled Andean visionary expectations and thus qualified as divine in Inka terms.

Art communicates across language and cultural boundaries, and in colonial Peru painting served as a means of simultaneously spreading Catholic ideals and expressing the native perspective in the tumultuous colonial society. Works of the Virgin Mary created by indigenous artists were displayed in churches, at processions, and in manuscripts. Images of the Virgin evolved and changed in conjunction with the social, political, and religious happenings of the time period. When looking at paintings of the Virgin the details express the emotions of the indigenous people of the time and communicate information that is often left out of the history books. Focusing on the Virgin through the lens of the indigenous population in Peru opens the door to entirely new interpretation, perspective, and understanding of colonial society. Spanish authorities and institutions sought to silence the native population; however, art provided a medium of expression within the European conventions where native peoples could

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<sup>30</sup> Dean, C. (1999). p. 216.

<sup>31</sup> Stone, R. (2011)

creatively convey their perspective on Spanish rule, Catholic doctrine and visually express the concept of sacredness, as they understood it, within plain sight.

Relatively few sources from indigenous peoples exist from the early colonial period, but Guamán Poma de Ayala's manuscript illustrates the Inka religious past and the new worship of the Virgin with a unique native perspective. Guamán Poma de Ayala wrote *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* between 1608 and 1615, less than a century after the Conquest. As a native Peruvian who spoke both Spanish and Quechua, his manuscript exposes the complex dialectic occurring during the establishment of Spanish colonial rule. Guamán Poma's unique position as an elite native who learned the European conventions of writing and illustration makes his document one of extreme importance when understanding the position of native peoples in the early colonial period. Guamán Poma negotiates between arguing for native political autonomy and promoting the adoption of Catholicism in his writing of a manuscript to King Philip III. The result is a document that seeks to achieve balance or *ayni*, a reciprocal relationship, with the intricacies of the new political and religious hierarchy.

To reconcile these often opposite worldviews, within the manuscript Guamán Poma argues that the Inka people were Christian prior to the entrance of the Spanish. His illustrations add to this argument and relate the replacement of the Inka *huacas* with the Virgin Mary. Through the successive images in the manuscript the evolution of Andean worship becomes apparent. Guamán Poma expresses a complicated and, at times contradictory, account of early colonial life and religion. Guamán Poma understands his Spanish royal audience and attempts to reconcile the expectations of his intended reader King Philip III and his criticism of Spanish rule. He confirms the importance of Catholicism for King Philip but argues for native autonomy because of the tumultuous

establishment of Spanish rule. He provides an unflinching critique of Spanish rule as Guamán Poma characterizes the colonial Andes as “el mundo al revés” (the world in reverse) or *pachakuti* as it was known in Quechua as “that which places the world head down”<sup>32</sup> The turbulent establishment of Spanish rule after the arrival of Pizarro played into the pre-existing the concept of *pachakuti* and invited the critique of the Spanish educated native Andeans. *Pachakuti* is supposed to be followed by a time of new order, demonstrating the necessary cyclicity that Guamán Poma advocates for in his argument for the re-establishment of indigenous rule. Every aspect of Andean life was turned upside down with the arrival of the Spanish and Guamán Poma through his critique expresses the perspective of the native population during this time of upheaval.

During the 17<sup>th</sup> century Spanish consolidated control of the New World and resulted in the implementation of slave institutions for the economic benefit of the mother country. The native population was suppressed during this time period, not only politically but also artistically. In Cuzco, the *Escuela Cuzqueña* (Cuzco School) was established to teach native artists the European conventions of drawing, painting, and sculpture and repress any indigenous artistic tendencies in expressing Catholic religiosity. For example, Francisco Chivantito was a native artist trained in this school who created works that on the surface maintained the European Renaissance standards of depiction, but within the details his native perspective and messages to indigenous viewer reveal themselves. Similar to the ritual practices that the indigenous population hid from the Spanish, the details of Chivantito’s paintings expressed indigenous traditions disguised in Catholic pictorial canons. One such image from 1693 is *The Virgin of Montserrat* which hangs in the main church of Chinchero near Cuzco (Figure 10). The image demonstrates

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<sup>32</sup> Classen, C. p.123

pressure exerted upon the native people to fit into Spanish conventions politically, socially, and artistically. These pressures culminated in political rebellions of the 1660s, likewise artistically there are elements of molding the Virgin Mary into a religious rebellion. Chivantito, similar to the rest of the indigenous population, found subtle means to express his perspective and maintain solidarity against Spanish rule. The Virgin takes on a complicated role of at once placating the Spanish Catholics, but at the same time being a vehicle for communicating native traditions and values. She plays a dual role and morphs to fit into the Andean definition of a deity.

The independence movement and desire to return to their Inka cultural roots found strong footing in the 18<sup>th</sup> century against the abuse of the Bourbon reforms, which sought to consolidate and recentralize Spanish rule after the Hapsburgs. The Bourbon reforms sought to extract greater revenue from the Americas. The series of rebellions that occurred in the 1700s paralleled the dramatic changes in the artwork produced. An unknown artist in Potosí created the painting, *La Virgen del Cerro* which demonstrates the desire to return to the pre-Columbian past and move away from the European conventions that were imposed upon the native peoples (Figure 18). Although the original artist's name remains unknown, the complex inclusion of Inka religious traditions points to the belief that this artist was a member of the indigenous population, as Spanish artists would not have had the insight into the Inka worship practice and the Quechua language required to make a painting so deeply rooted in the Inka religion. The Virgin appears overtly as a mountain or *huaca*, epitomizing the religious syncretism that occurred over the three centuries of Spanish rule. The pre-Columbian beliefs come to the foreground with the conflation of the Virgin and a *huaca*. It speaks to the strength of the Inka religious tradition, but also I will show how this painting points to the important



influence the Spanish had through the colonial period. The anonymous artist allowed his Andean perspective to dominate within this painting, which expresses the rebellious political and social climate of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Viceroyalty of Peru.

Art, culture, and religion are ever evolving within a community. The Andes provides a unique study into the dramatic and sudden change of a religious paradigm with the advent of the Spanish Conquest. The people in the Andes grappled with forced change in traditions, rituals, and gods. I will argue that the indigenous people of colonial Peru imbued imposed Christian figures, especially the Virgin Mary, with divine traits that clearly reflect the explicitly pre-Columbian belief systems. They did not replace their traditional spiritual beings with Jesus or Mary as the Spanish intended: even as late as the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a painting such as *La Virgen del Cerro*, under the pretense of depicting the Catholic Mother of God, openly expresses Inka beliefs in the divinity, life force, antiquity, and power of the mountains. Through an understanding of the Inka language, traditions, and iconographical standards, the details of the indigenous perspective emerge from within the confines of the European stylistic conventions imposed by the Spanish. Mary serves as a mediator between man and God, but within colonial society she also bridged the gaps between the Catholicism and the Inka tradition. The fundamental Andean concept of *huaca*, most typically a rocky place in the landscape where sacred energy emerges, overrode European assumptions and was repeatedly reinforced artistically during colonial times.

A comparison between the illustrations of Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, the 17<sup>th</sup> century indigenous painter Chivantito's *The Virign of Montserrat* and *La Virgen del Cerro* from 18<sup>th</sup> century Potosí will show different ways in which the two religious systems were negotiated in colonial times. The Virgin Mary became a visual and

religious compromise between the two divergent cultures that were forced together in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. She combines the ideals of each to become a complex deity who embodies purity, the earth, and devotion of Catholicism and the Inka religious tradition. The Virgin Mary in the Andes evolved over the course of the colonial period into something unique. As *huaca* she transports us, as a representation of both worlds, through the transformation of religiosity in the Andes, from the pre-Columbian past through the negotiation of the colonial period into the present Catholicism of the Andes.

## Chapter 1

### Guamán Poma, the Virgin and *Huacas*

The 17<sup>th</sup> century in Peru solidified Spanish authority and left the native peoples reeling in the loss of land, family, and religious freedom. Guamán Poma de Ayala authored one of the few native perspectives on the Spanish rule. His manuscript *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* provides insight into the eyes of a native Inka living under the oppression of the Spanish government. Guamán Poma in his text argues for reforming the abuse of clergymen in America, establishing the segregation of Andean communities, but also for implementing the practice of Catholicism among the natives.<sup>33</sup> Guamán Poma deems the Spanish as not true Christians because of their abusive treatment of the native population. He encourages the Crown to look at the native Inkas and recognize the true “Christian” nature of the Andean peoples. Through his use of text and illustrations Guamán Poma strives to communicate these opinions across cultural barriers. His work translates the Andean perspective into the European modes of communication with the creation of a book, and, within it, the use of Spanish and iconographical standards in his illustrations. Thus, Guamán Poma bridges the Viceroyalty of Peru and Spain in his writing and artistry. The images of Inka religious practices provide insight into the myths and customs of the Inka peoples. These drawings of pre-Conquest practices come into conversation with the later images in the book of colonial natives adoring the Virgin Mary. Through the use of composition, spatial configuration, and iconographical references Guamán Poma associates Mary and the sacred *huacas* of the Inkas.

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<sup>33</sup> Adorno, R. p.lii

Guamán Poma de Ayala wrote his manuscript in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century after one hundred years of strife and establishment of Spanish control in the colonies. The period between the arrival of the Spanish in 1532 until the time of Guamán Poma's writing was marked by indigenous revolts, unstable Spanish authority, and the implementation of abusive Spanish institutions.<sup>34</sup> After the Spanish execution of Atahualpa, the last Inka emperor, the native population in the Viceroyalty of Peru attempted to rebel against the conquistadors several times through the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Organized resistance to Spanish rule began in 1560, when Inka spiritual leaders inspired a movement called *Taki Ongoy* or "dancing sickness." The people believed the gods were going to restore order and eject the Spanish from the Andes. In order to restore the *huacas* to their original status and end *pachakuti*, indigenous people would dance in a wild fashion as if possessed by the spirit of a god.<sup>35</sup> Spanish forces put down this revolution by killing off the spiritual leaders who inspired it. The rebellion of Tupac Amaru, the former leader of the neo-Inka state, followed in the 1570s. His was the most successful of the revolutions in this period, but in 1572 the Spanish authorities executed him.<sup>36</sup> Each of these rebellions demonstrates the strength and motivation of the native population against Spanish rule in the time before the writing of *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*.

After 1534 there was a quick succession of five viceroys in the Andes. Each either died or was killed without significant success in establishing hegemony among the Inka population. Until 1569 with the arrival of Francisco de Toledo y Figuera there had

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<sup>34</sup> Hunefeldt, C. See her book for an over view of the history of Peru from pre-colonial times to contemporary times.

<sup>35</sup> Masterson, D. p.49.

<sup>36</sup> Masterson, D. p. 50.

not been an effective and powerful leader in the Viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>37</sup> Francisco de Toledo came into power in the Andes at a time with a sharply decreasing native population, low revenues, and two indigenous groups in revolt. Through a series of reforms, including the *reducciones*, which relocated the native populations to *pueblos* (new towns), and the *mita*, which was an Inka term for labor tax that was later refashioned by the Spanish and required Indians to work in the dangerous conditions of the silver mines in Potosí, Francisco de Toledo was able to create dominant Spanish institutions and quell further indigenous rebellions.

Guamán Poma de Ayala, who wrote *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* between 1608 and 1615, provided an invaluable source about native perspectives in colonial Viceroyalty of Peru after a century of rebellions and the royal absolutism of Toledo.<sup>38</sup> His status as a pure native and elite proves to be an important point to note in the discussion since his societal status provided him with greater opportunities than the rest of the native population in the Viceroyalty of Peru at the time. He would have been educated in reading and writing in Spanish, as well as what Ripalda in *El catecismo de la doctrina cristiana* outlined as “las obligaciones del buen Cristiano” (the obligations of a good Christian).<sup>39</sup> Guamán Poma exhibits the native perspective from his pure lineage, but he also served as an interpreter for the Spanish in 1595.<sup>40</sup> He served as an intermediary between the Spanish and native population during the time of Francisco de Toledo and the establishment of Spanish governance and institutions. Rolena Adorno describes Guamán Poma as *mestizo* by culture but not by race, demonstrating that he

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<sup>37</sup> Hunefeldt, C. pp. 52

<sup>38</sup> Adorno, R. pp. xvii

<sup>39</sup> Alaperrine-Bouyer, M. pp. 190. Translation: the obligations of a good Christian. See this source for more information on the colonial education of indigenous elites.

<sup>40</sup> Adorno, R. pp. xii

lived in the colonial Peru but maintained his racial connection to the native people on the brink of destruction.<sup>41</sup> Guamán Poma's stepfather was Spanish, again demonstrating his position with one foot in each world that occupied the Viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>42</sup> He navigates between the two cultures with his knowledge of Quechua, the native Inka language, as well as Spanish and mix of alphabetic text and images. Like the Virgin Mary, Guamán Poma acts as a bridge connecting the Inka past to the colonial present.

*El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* was intended to be a manuscript sent to King Phillip III as a plea for the rights of the native population in the Americas, again demonstrating Guamán Poma's position as intercessor between the two cultures. In it, Guamán Poma advocates for the salvation of the native population that is on the edge of being eliminated forever. The rapid decline of the native population due to disease before and after the entrance of Pizarro was shocking and concerning to the Spanish. The Inka population had "decrease(d) by 50 percent to 1.3 million in 1570."<sup>43</sup> Guamán Poma witnessed the ill treatment of the native population through the *encomienda*, which was essentially slavery of the indigenous population, and *reducciones*, which were massive relocations of the native peoples away from their homes to new Spanish colonial towns, which resulted in the loss of cultural identity and exploitation of the remaining Inkas in the Viceroyalty of Peru. These lead to Guamán Poma categorizing the Spanish as "bad Christians." The time of political upheaval that since 1534 Guamán Poma inspired him to

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<sup>41</sup> Adorno, R. p. xlv

<sup>42</sup> An interesting visual example of the *mestizaje* of the colonial Americas, outside of the realm of this paper, is the *casta* paintings. See Cahill, D. (1994). Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru. *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 26:325-346.

<sup>43</sup> Masterson, D. p. 48

suggest better and more effective strategies for the Spanish colony, which in Guamán Poma's mind was a restoration of order with indigenous rule.

At times in the manuscript Guamán Poma is contradictory, as he works to navigate the complex political and religious landscape in favor of his Andean people while also appealing to the Spanish Crown. He favors Andean autonomy and in exchange the natives will adopt Spanish religiosity. Guamán Poma, while appeasing the King as the recipient of his manuscript, staunchly critiques Spanish rule. He creates a criticism veiled in the form of a complex negotiation with the Crown. Guamán Poma knows his European audience and demonstrates what Adorno considers the “knowledgeable and creative manipulation of European literary modes, Western Christian iconographic traditions, and Andean forms of signification”<sup>44</sup> He was well read and aware of the Spanish Baroque tradition that prevailed in Europe at the time, but also his heritage provides him with the understanding of the native conceptualization of the universe. The images and text in Guamán Poma's work exhibit the duality of roles and perspectives that the author tries to mediate in his request to King Philip III.

One way Guamán Poma adapts to the expectations of his audience is that he works to place the Andean history and worldview into a European style book that is completely foreign to his culture. The pen and the paper are the European conventions of a book that embodies the concept of knowledge and shared information.<sup>45</sup> Guamán Poma places his opinions and representations of the native perspective on paper in the form of a manuscript that emulates the texts he had seen in the Catholic Church, despite the fact

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<sup>44</sup> Adorno, R. p. xiv

<sup>45</sup> Boone, E.H. & Mignolo, W.D. pp. 220-270.

that the Western convention of book and manuscript were alien to the Inka.<sup>46</sup> When Atahualpa was first given a copy of the Bible he placed it up to his ear in the expectation that it would speak to him and then threw it down when it was silent.<sup>47</sup> This exemplifies the Inka concept of animism, all things have a spirit, but also exposes the strangeness of the book for native peoples. The Andean object to convey knowledge, history, and information was a *quipu*, which was a series of different colored strings and knots that created a mnemonic device (Figure 1). Only those who were highly trained could interpret *quipu*. The lack of instrumentality for writing prevented the *quipu* from fitting into the Western concept of a book.<sup>48</sup> When discussing Guamán Poma's *La primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* it is of the utmost importance to understand the conceptualization of a book in the Andean mind. The book or manuscript represents the subversion of the Inka tradition and the forced conversion to European modes of understanding that occurred in the New World. Guamán Poma in his writing of a manuscript represents the influence of the European book and the power that was given to this mode of communication. He sees this as the most effective means to express his criticism to the King. Guamán Poma as an elite gains even greater political and social clout with his literacy of Spanish and European conventions of expression. Through the creation of a book Guamán Poma demonstrates his power and status in Western terms. King Philip III would have ignored any native form of information transmission, such as

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<sup>46</sup> Avila, F. & Salomon, F. & Urioste, J. pp. 1-5. See for further analysis of the Andean conception of the written word and European style book in relation to the *Huarochiri* manuscript. It parallels the argument for Guamán Poma adhering to the European literary tradition outside of his Andean perspective

<sup>47</sup> Boone, E.H. & Mignolo, W.D. p. 256.

<sup>48</sup> Boone, E.H. & Mignolo, W.D. pp. 188-219. Cummins discusses in depth the European interaction with *quipu* and the altering conception of language and knowledge transmission during the Conquest. This provides important insight into the divergent cultural perspectives of the Spanish and Andean people.



a *quipu*, but Guamán Poma's choice to send a manuscript exhibits his knowledge of the European modes of communication and desire to represent himself to the King as a part of Western culture, distancing himself from his Inka background through his choice of medium.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 1: Quipu (Knotted Recording Device), ca. 1430-1534 AD. Inka, Central Coast. Emory University Michael C. Carlos Museum.

The images in Guamán Poma's text serve to elucidate his ambition to fit his Andean perspective into European conventions of representation. Valerie Fraiser explores the artistry of Guamán Poma in his work and ability to display the European iconographical tradition.<sup>49</sup> She describes how his penmanship and versatility in the images throughout the manuscript demonstrate his assimilation into European values. For example, she discusses how his vast knowledge of the Bible and iconography of Christian art facilitates his ability “‘Andeanize’ the Church.”<sup>50</sup> Hence, he utilizes his artistic skill and knowledge to fit his native background and the mixing of text and illustration into the European conventions of manuscripts. Text and image in the same plane expose the balance and dual nature of *ayni* that is held sacred in the Inka culture. Guamán Poma utilizes Quechua words within the image, in order to display the Inka modes of communication as “language” to the King. In one case, he glosses a *quipu* as a “carta” or letter. He molds the Quechua into Western conventions of language, as he

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<sup>49</sup> Fraiser, V. pp. 269-289.

<sup>50</sup> Fraiser, V. p. 275. “Because he was evidently so familiar with the established compositional and iconographical canon of Christian art, consideration of Guamán Poma's selection, location, and manipulation of such imagery almost always reveals a consistent tendency to ‘Andeanize’ the Church.”

mediates between the two cultures. The images present subtle favor to Guamán Poma's Andean perspective despite his effort to maintain European iconographical standards.

The illustrations expose how Guamán Poma maintains a delicate balance between the European and the Andean, Catholicism and pre-Columbian religion. Here I will focus on three images from Guamán Poma's *La primera nueva corónica y buen gobierno* that highlight the parallel between the Virgin Mary and the *huacas*. Guamán Poma writes to convince the King that prior to the invasion the Inka knew God and the teachings of Christianity. Thus, it makes sense that through the images he creates a parallel between *huacas* and the Virgin Mary. Guamán Poma in his images of Mary and *huacas* communicates to the audience the points of agreement and continuity between the pre-Hispanic religious practices and the Christian tradition.

#### *Huacas and Virgin Mary in La primera nueva corónica y buen gobierno*

Through the illustrations in *La primera nueva corónica y buen gobierno* Guamán Poma communicates the connection between Christianity and the Inka religious tradition to strengthen his argument to King Philip III that the native peoples knew Christianity prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The manuscript documents the Inka practices that the Spanish considered “idolatry” and creates a written and visual history of the native peoples defeated by the Conquest. By using parallel images that are related through the use of diagonals, iconography, and composition Guamán Poma argues for similarities between the Inka worship of *huacas* and the Christian worship of the Virgin Mary. The tensions between the images enunciate the political and religious tensions of the time.

Within the parallel images there are contradictions and points of confusion that mark the complex dialogue in the text portion of Guamán Poma's manuscript.

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Figure 2: Guamán Poma, Drawing 103, "Idols of the Incas: Inti, Huanacauri, Tambo Toco". 264 (267).

The image "Idols of the Inkas: Inti, Huanacauri, Tambo Toco" documents the Inka worship of the Sun, transformed rocks and caves, *huacas* (Figure 2). The image includes the Royal Inka, *Sapa*, and his *Coya*, or Queen, both adoring the gods of the mountain on the proper left side of the page.<sup>51</sup> *Inti* as the Sun creates the top of this composite *huaca*, which represents distinct places of the origin myth in one melded *huaca*. The original Inkas, the *Ayar* siblings, emerged with their ancestors from the cave of *Tambo Toco*, designating this as a place of Inka origin and a way station between two realms.<sup>52</sup> The original Inka came from the cave, which has been equated with the womb of *Pachamama* as the Mother of Earth, Space and Time.<sup>53</sup> The split in the rocks of *Tambo Toco*, as deemed sacred in *huacas*, marked the sacred location of the divine of the Inka people.<sup>54</sup> Guamán Poma depicts *Tambo Toco* in the central position of this composite *huaca*, placing it as the point of transition or way station, the meaning of the word *tambo*,

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<sup>51</sup> Gose, P. pp. 3-10. It is important to note the importance of *huacas* in the political rule of the Inka Empire. "Once installed, Inka rulers consulted oracles before making most military, diplomatic, and administrative decisions." (p. 5). See this source for further information about *huacas* as oracles and their importance in the Inka political sphere.

<sup>52</sup> Morric, C. & VonHagen, A. pp.25-27.

<sup>53</sup> Dransart, P. p. 149.

<sup>54</sup> Dransart, P. p. 145

between *Inti* and *Huanacauri* above and *Pacaritambo* below. In the Inka origin story, the *Ayar* siblings left *Pacaritambo* and traveled to *Huanacauri*, which was a hill overlooking the future settlement of Cuzco. On top of *Huanacauri* two of the three *Ayar* male siblings were transformed into stones.<sup>55</sup> Guamán Poma recollects the origin of the Inkas, depicts stones as the embodiment of the Inka ancestors in the form of *huacas* and creates a composite image of Inka mythology in this illustration. In his creation of a composite *huaca* Guamán Poma creates a chief class of *huaca* that represents the existence of all beings.<sup>56</sup> For the Inka the earth or *Pacha*, including stone *huacas* and the Earth Mother, represents greater than the physical earth; the word encompasses both space and time. *Huacas* are a remembrance of the ancestral past and the present. The *Sapa* and *Coya* venerate the spiritual beginnings of the Inka through time, space, and the physical sacred earth.

The author describes the sacrifices made by the *Sapa* and *Coya* to *Inti* in a vertical with the origin place, *Pacaritambo*, and transformational rocks and ancestors below. The Inka pay tribute to the god *Inti*, the transformational cave of *Tambo Toco* and the mountain *Huanacauri* which overlooks Cuzco, which serves as a gateway between the divine and the human during “el mes de Capac Ynti Raymi (festejo del señor sol) el Ynga y su mugger Quilla Raymi (fiesta de la luna) y sus hijos”<sup>57</sup> Above in the sky the sun, moon, and star each hover watching above the figures.<sup>58</sup> Later the celestial bodies will take on greater political and religious significance in the 18<sup>th</sup> century painting *La Virgen*

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<sup>55</sup> Steele, P. p.189

<sup>56</sup> Dransart, P. p. 148. See for further information about the importance of creation *huacas*.

<sup>57</sup> Poma, G. pp. 265 (267).

<sup>58</sup> Note the importance of the number three in all of the images of Guamán Poma. This is a point for further study in terms of the Inka numerical traditions in conjunction with the Christian concept of the Trinity.

*del Cerro* and they represent the Inka conception of their gods and the conventions of depictions for the sun god and moon goddess with smiling faces, undulating lines for the rays of the sun and a crescent moon (Figure 21). Through the inclusion of the sun and moon in the sky, Guamán Poma echoes the Inka images of devotion and worship of the Sky gods from the pre-Columbian era and demonstrates his understanding of the Inka religious tradition.

The three dark caves at the base of the *huaca* symbolize the three “windows” or “openings” of *Pacaritambo* from which, in the Andean creation story, the first Inkas emerged out of the central “opening.”<sup>59</sup> Beneath the dark squares Guamán Poma writes “*Pacaritambo*” to avoid any confusion for the viewer with the connection to the creation myth. *Pacaritambo* can also be seen on the proper right of the Inka crest as an important symbol of the native people (Figure 3). The Inka veneration for rocks or mountains as emergence places originates with the creation myth, hence explaining an aspect of their overall religious and cultural significance. Rocks became medium thru which human life emerges and embodied sacredness in the Inka religion. *Huacas* are often described as “split” or “dual” to underscore the importance of the openings in stones as a passage. *Pacaritambo* resides in the *hurin* position within the crest, which represents femininity and as the source of the life to the Inka peoples its positioning on the proper right, bottom of the crest further emphasizes its motherly life-giving role. Above it is the moon or *Quilla*, representing fertility and further imbuing the central position of the crest and the image with bridging female qualities, similar to the Virgin Mary. *Tambo* was a “way station” through which the first Inka traveled to then emerge from *Pacaritambo*. We can look at this image *Quilla* above *Tambo Toco*, emphasizing the importance of transition

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<sup>59</sup> Classen, C. p. 50

and bridging in Inka culture that results in a new birth out of *Pacaritambo*. These qualities and conceptualization of sacred rebirth through the colonial period were transferred to the Virgin Mary as a connection between Catholicism and the Inka religious tradition that resulted in the Andean Christianity we see at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Guamán Poma in this drawing brings to the surface the origins of the native people. The image of the *huaca* connects to Inka mythology and affirms the sacredness of mountains as a passage or point of renewal for the native peoples.

By way of comparison, another example within the manuscript of how the celestial bodies represent the essence of the Inka past is the “First Coat of Arms of the Inca” (Figure 3). The image displays *Inti*, *Quilla*, and the star. The bottom right corner depicts *Pacaritambo*, which can also be seen at the bottom of the stacked *huaca* of the Inka worship drawing to be discussed in detail below. *Inti* and *Quilla* in colonial works serve as a remembrance of the Inka gods that Christianity sought to replace. Guamán Poma utilizes these symbols to underscore his insider knowledge of the Inka practices; the repetition of *Inti* and *Quilla* signal his Inka roots and his desire to maintain his cultural tradition.

### **Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 3: Guamán Poma, Drawing 23, The First Coat of Arms of the Inka. 79(79)

In regards to the human figures, it is first significant that Guamán Poma situates kneeling figures in Figure 2 on the lower right corner. Adorno explores in detail the way Guamán Poma expresses specifically Andean pattern of spatial configuration. She uses

as her primary example the *mapamundi*, which depicts the Andean universe, but those same principles can be applied to the other images within the work. Guamán Poma maintains the Andean conventions of space throughout his images and the placement of people and objects within the image communicates a subtle meaning and subversion of Spanish authoritarian rule. Guamán Poma applies the Inka concept of *hanan* and *hurin*, which signify the dominant and the subdominant, or any interrelated halves of a whole.<sup>60</sup> The right and left within the Andean conception are based up on the internal center of the page, so for a viewer the right or *hanan* is proper right and *hurin* is the proper left: “emplea izquierda y derecha en terminus de su relación a un centro dentro del dibujo.” (“The colonial context forced Guamán Poma to make certain adjustments in the application of the vertical symbolism: now *hanan* is the Spanish and *hurin* the Indians.”)<sup>61</sup> These two divisions tie into the concept of *ayni* because equivalent value in both the *hanan* and *hurin* since together they create the balance in the physical world. Cuzco was also divided into these balancing forces: *hanan* was the northern uphill half of the city and *hurin* designated the southern downhill half of the city.<sup>62</sup> The division of space into a hierarchy played an important role in Andean life. In this image by Guamán Poma the people occupy *hurin* or proper left. This position is associated with femininity and inferiority, within the whole of the text the Andeans are often placed in the position of *hurin* because in “(e)l contexto colonial ha obligado a Guamán Poma a hacer ciertos ajustes en la aplicación del simbolismo vertical: ahora hanan son los españoles y hurin los

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<sup>60</sup> Adorno, R. p. 91. “the position to the right of the center with *hanan* (upper), the left of center with the notion of *hurin* (lower). Thus, the Andean concept of *hanan* unites the positions of upper and right with the qualities of maleness or superiority...*hurin*, then, unites the positions of lower and left, representing the qualities of femaleness or inferiority”.

<sup>61</sup> Lopez-Baralt, M. p. 197.

<sup>62</sup> Lopez-Baralt, M. p. 199.

indios.”<sup>63</sup> In the illustration the *Sapa* and *Coya* worship from this position of inferiority due to their fall from power with the arrival of the Spanish. After the Conquest *hanan* and *hurin* had become reversed, just as the world became *pachakuti* within his indigenous representation of Andean space Guamán Poma implies the inferiority of the Inkas after their defeat by the Spanish, which flips the previous canon of spatial configuration.

The composite mountain or *huaca* of *Huaracauri*, *Tambo Toco* and *Pacaritambo*, which are distinct places within the Inka landscape, that the *Sapa* and *Coya* are worshipping in this conceptual, rather than representational image, but it demonstrates Guamán Poma’s subtle favor for the Inka materialization of the spiritual in the landscape and visually creates a composite of moments in Inka mythic history and values. First, the *huaca* resides in the *hanan* upper position demonstrating Guamán Poma’s elevation of the Inka gods by placing them in the position of superiority and maleness in Andean spatial conceptualization.<sup>64</sup> *Inti*, the primary Inka god, also occupies *hanan* in the illustration reiterating the superiority and maleness of the Sun within the scheme of Inka gods. *Quilla* as a neutral sex deity occupies the position of *hanan* for its divine power. This demonstrates Guamán Poma’s favoring of the indigenous tradition despite his argument to the King that the Andean people should abandon this polytheistic worship. Although the *Sapa* and *Coya* are in *hurin*, the gods remain in *hanan*, demonstrating their enduring superiority even after the Conquest. This argument exposes the complex situation facing a native in colonial Peru and Guamán Poma’s effort to navigate within the political and religious hierarchy.

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<sup>63</sup> Lopez-Baralt, M. p. 208. Translation: The colonial context forced Guamán Poma to make certain adjustments in the application of the vertical symbolism: now *hanan* is the Spanish and *hurin* the Indians.”

<sup>64</sup> Lopez-Baralt, M. p. 196.



*European Influence in Guamán Poma's Illustrations*

Despite eroded Andean messages, European influence can centrally be seen in the image of the *Sapa* and *Coya* worshipping the *huaca*. First, the clothing of the figures is culturally hybrid; Inka in structure, but at the same time displaying the iconographical tradition of the West. Clothing has been described as “one of the most important methods deployed by the Inka Empire (Tawantinsuyu) for organizing society.”<sup>65</sup> The *Sapa* has removed his crown and it lies on the ground at the foot of the composite *huaca*.<sup>66</sup> The *Sapa* wore *tocapu* in his tunic, which was a woven tapestry with intricate, abstract geometric designs that imparted his power and position of authority to the Inka population.<sup>67</sup> Guamán Poma depicts the Inka wearing the traditional tapestry and on the waistband exhibits a small section of the patterning that traditionally for the *Sapa* can cover the entire tunic surface (Figure 4). The *Coya* wears the *tocapu* pin across her chest that exhibits her political and social power as the wife of the *Sapa*. Another depiction of a *Coya* in the manuscript also exhibits the *tupu* pin and the details of geometric patterning across the waist that is typically Andean, but also attempts to depict the visual folding of the cloth that is traditionally European (Figure 5). With the clothing details Guamán Poma expresses the traditions of the Inka, but at the same time the water-like folds of the cloth is a European stylistic tradition. Guamán Poma was visually literate with the traditional depictions of Europe, as well as those of Pre-Columbian art. A pre-Columbian

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<sup>65</sup> Dransart, P. p. 145

<sup>66</sup> This is an important not, but I do not know if this was common practice in Inka religious worship or if this is an imposed European tradition of veneration. This is a point for further research.

<sup>67</sup> Boone, E.H. & Mignolo, W.D. p. 188-219.

artist would depict the cloth in a means to present multiple perspectives at once so as to avoid the need to represent the folding of the cloth, rather the artist depicts the essence of the fabric as a whole square even though that is not how our eyes perceive it. The European tradition at the opposite end of the spectrum chooses to represent the world as our eye sees it with single-point perspective and the overlapping of the square cloth adheres to the appearance, but not the essence of the outfit. The realistic rendering of the folding of the cloth draws connections to the Classical Greek and Roman sculptures of the Western past, but also connects to the Renaissance revival of these modes of artistic expression.

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Figure 4: *Royal Tocapu Uncu*, Peru, Inka, early to mid-16<sup>th</sup> century; tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft. Dumbaron Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 5: Guamán Poma, Drawing 40, “The second Coya, Chinbo Urma” 122(122).

The image of the *Sapa* and *Coya* worshipping *Inti* and *Quilla* is directly paralleled by the image “God conduct and Christianity the confraternity of twenty-four” which demonstrates the evangelization of the Inka people and the replacement of *huacas* with the Virgin Mary after the arrival of Pizarro (Figure 6). The exact correlation of the

compositions with the substitution of the image of the Virgin for the composite *huaca*, draws the viewers' attention to their similarities and supports Guamán Poma's argument for "pre-existing" Catholicism in his illustrations.

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Figure 6: Guamán Poma, Drawing 335, "Good conduct and Christianity: the confraternity of twenty-four" 919 (933)

Guamán Poma again depicts the native people in the position of *hurin* in this illustration, paralleling the *Sapa* and the *Coya* in the earlier image of Inka worship. The native peoples are placed in the position of inferiority, which exemplifies the idea that the spatial positions are reversed from the hegemony of the Inka. The figures reside at the same parallel position to the deity as was seen the in previous illustrations. The placement of the Inkas in *hurin* is often seen in images of Spanish colonial abuse (Figure 7).<sup>68</sup> Guamán Poma with this illustrations hopes to demonstrate the argument to the King in the text that the native people "son cristianos y tienen fe" ("are Christians and have the faith").<sup>69</sup> Each of the figures holds a rosary to demonstrate their piety and the hand positions match those of the Inka in "Idols of the Incas: Inti, Huanacauri, Tambo Toco". The figures in both of the drawings kneel in veneration of a deity, but the god has been changed from a *huaca* to an image of the Virgin Mary holding baby Jesus Christ in her arms. The Virgin floats within a frame, similar to the square entrances to the caves of

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<sup>68</sup> Lopez-Baralt, M. p. 209. See Folio 22 of Guamán Poma de Ayala's manuscript for further examples.

<sup>69</sup> Poma, G. p. 920.

*Pacaritambo*. It is as though she is emerging, like the original Inkas, from an opening in a rock. Whereas the tiny painting exhibits the Virgin in a room with tiles, adhering to the Spanish definition of a sacred place and somewhere built, the Inka conception of a sacred space is a cave in the natural world. The sacred image resides in *hanan* and sits above looking down upon the devotees. The Virgin in the position of *hanan* holds the zone associated with masculinity and reinforces the concept of “el mundo al revés” because in Andean times a female deity would not reside in the right hand sector of the image. Guamán Poma places the Virgin in *hanan* but she does not adhere to the Andean conventions of this spatial hierarchy strengthening his argument that the colonial Andes are in a state of disorder. The unmistakable similarities in the diagonal composition and spatial configurations of “Idols of the Incas: Inti, Huanacauri, Tambo Toco” and “Good conduct and Christianity: the confraternity of twenty-four” creates a direct connection between them and invites the viewer, as well as the King Philip to contemplate how this supplements or contradicts Guamán Poma’s verbal argument.

### **Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 7: Guamán Poma, Drawing 223, “A Spanish encomendero demands many native servants.” 551(565), Note the indigenous people in the position of *hurin* in this post-Conquest illustration

Guamán Poma makes visual parallels between the Virgin Mary and the Inca composite *huacas* to elucidate the history of the Inka in Peru with the entrance of Christianity and presents the native perspective on the evangelization. The Spanish friars came to Peru and destroyed the *huacas* of the Inkas and supplanted them with the

teachings of Christianity. Guamán Poma embodies the result of this proselytization as a native with Christian beliefs. In the text following “Good conduct and Christianity: the Confraternity of twenty four” the author discusses the unfailing faith of the native peoples in God and Mary as opposed to the horrible acts of abuse and violence performed by the Spanish in the Andes. He portrays the indigenous people as more pious Christians than the Spanish. He pleads for the King to “consedera cómo maltrata y hurta y rroba de los indios los dichos corregidores y sus mujeres y hermanos y parientes y escriuano, tinientes y criados en este reino.” (“consider how the ill-treatment and hurt and robbery of the Indians such corredores and their women and brothers and parents and scrutinized lieutenants and bred of this reign.”)<sup>70</sup> Guamán Poma brings into question what it means to be a Christian and how the Spanish abuse of the natives, who are faithful servants of God, fails to adhere to the Catholic values.

“Good conduct and Christianity: the confraternity of twenty-four” elucidates the devout and correct faith of the native people in Spanish Catholicism in terms and symbols, such as the rosaries. In conjunction with “Idols of the Incas: Inti, Huanacauri, Tambo Toco” it makes a visual argument for how the native peoples already followed the Christian tradition of the Spanish during their pantheistic pre-Columbian practices. The direct parallels between the composite *huaca* and the Virgin also provide a native perspective on the superficiality of the introduction of Christian deities to the Viceroyalty of Peru after the Conquest. On one hand, visually claims Andean worship of *huacas*, and they are also worshipping the Virgin Mary. Then it follows if the ancient practices were really the same as worshipping the Virgin Mary, then there is no need to punish “idolatry” as the Spanish were during the colonial period.

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<sup>70</sup> Poma, G. p. 920.

A third similar composition is Guamán Poma's "Idols of the Incas: Idols and huacas of the Qullasuyus, Uilca Nota" calls for examination as part of this discussion of the replacement of the Virgin for *huacas* (Figure 8). Again the *Coya* and the *Sapa* provide a sacrifice to a *huaca*, but in this image the *huaca* is a mummy of a woman in a cave that bears a strong resemblance to the Virgin within the frame of the painting in the image of "Good conduct and Christianity: the confraternity of twenty-four" The mummy represents the ancestors of the Inka and the idea that the past is not dead: "It should be noted that...mummy worshippers of Andagua honored their ancestors in openings into the earth; the ancestors were perceived as the progeny of the earth itself, or in other words, of the *Pachamama*."<sup>71</sup> This draws back to "Idols of the Incas: Inti, Huanacauri, Tambo Toco" and the conceptualization of the earth and stones as a representation of time and space, a connection to the ancestral past. In the compositional comparison we can also say the Virgin is the past, which lives on, in European terms, just as the mummy lives on in Andean terms. As the mummy and the Virgin sit in a cave-like openings, Guamán Poma reiterates the origin story where the *Ayar* siblings, the original ancestors of the Inka people, emerged from *Tambo Toco*. The Virgin comes into this conversation as a part of the ancestral past of the Inkas, adhering to Guamán Poma's argument of Christianity existing in the Andes prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

Both the Virgin and the mummies reside in a position of the cave that mediates between two realms, the internal of the *huaca* where the spirit lives and the external world of mankind. Each serves as a mediator between the divine and the human; "The mummified ancestors of the Andagua were perceived as mediators between the people who live in 'this world' and the beings of the inner world, the fertility of which was the

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<sup>71</sup> Dransart, P. p. 151.

source of wealth for the inhabitants of this world.”<sup>72</sup> This speaks to the concept that Christianity and *huacas* both originated with the Inkas and mediate the sacred and the human on their behalf. The figures in the image provide a llama as sacrifice to the *huaca*, just as the Christians hold their rosaries as an offering to the Virgin. The diagonal composition and the maintenance of the *hanan* for the *huacas* and *hurin* for the Inka people bring forth the association of the Virgin and *huacas*. The Spanish in their proselytization of the Inkas used the Virgin as the image with which the Inka people were meant to identify. In his drawings Guamán Poma demonstrates precisely this artistic and religious replacement of the Virgin in place of *huacas* that occurred in the colonial period in Peru.

### **Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 8: Guamán Poma, Drawing 106, “Idols and waqas of the Qullasuyus, Uillca Nota”.

### *Conclusions*

Guamán Poma as a historical figure exemplifies the effects of the conquest on the Inka peoples and their descendants. His Christian conversion away from the Inka beliefs shows the systematic destruction and replacement of the Inka religious system by the Catholic friars that entered into the Andes after the Conquest. In *La primera coronica y buen gobierno* Guamán Poma illustrates the Inka customs that were replaced by Christianity. Mary plays the role of intermediary in the Catholic Church and for the native peoples she gained sacred attributes in her association with *huacas*, and the past of

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<sup>72</sup> Dransart, P. p. 149.

origins and ancestry. The exploration of Guamán Poma's drawings illustrates the direct correlation between *huacas* and the Virgin. The Inka concept of *hanan* and *hurin* demonstrated in the drawings underscores Guamán Poma giving highest prestige to the *huacas* and also exhibits his textual arguments to King Philip III that the colonial world is "el mundo al revés" Guamán Poma opens a dialogue about the native acceptance of Spanish rule and faith. Through the replacement of the *huacas* with the Virgin in his illustrations Guamán Poma expresses his criticism, ambivalent ideas and Andean forced acceptance of Christianity and his argument that Andeans were already Christians. The Virgin, as a female deity, should not reside in the position of *hanan* and with her presence there Guamán Poma creates a statement about the unnatural presence of Spanish Catholicism in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

By advocating for native political rule and superficially supplanting the Virgin Guamán Poma shows his deep valuing of pre-existing Andean traditions and surface level acceptance of Catholicism within the framework of indigenous traditions. The manuscript promotes Andean rule and through the illustrations the desire of Guamán Poma to gain political freedom from the Spanish and then regain religious freedom becomes apparent. Guamán Poma strives to present an alternative dynastic tradition in order to destabilize the hegemony of Spanish in the Viceroyalty of Peru. His self-contradictions within the text flag his reservations about Catholicism and effort to hide his end goal to return to Andean religious practices. The compositional parallels between the drawings of Guamán Poma bring together the Inka notions of the sacred past with the Christian venerated Virgin Mary.



## Chapter 2

### La Escuela Cuzqueña and the Virgin within Nature: Francisco Chivantito's *Virgin of Montserrat*

The 17<sup>th</sup> century marked the solidification of Spanish rule within the Viceroyalty of Peru. For the indigenous people, this became a time of increased change and unrest due to the exploitation of the Spanish for the proceeding two hundred years. With the declining Spanish economy in the 1600s after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the resources of America became even more important to the Crown, which increased the obligations of the *mita* and *reparto*.<sup>73</sup> Along with the original taxes upon the native population, between 1585 and 1630, the Crown implemented *averia*, an export tax, and *almojarifazgo*, which was a tariff on imported and exported goods. These modifications were met with strong resentment by every racial sector of Peru and ultimately were the first domino in the eventual end of Spanish rule in the Americas. The 1660s emerged as the strongest time of revolt for the Inka people against the forcefully imposed Spanish institutions.<sup>74</sup> For the native peoples this represents a time of change, strengthened cultural identity, and independent thought that would ultimately lead to their break from colonial rule in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A series of campaigns for the “extirpation of idolatry” in the native community, led by Spanish monastics such as Bernabé Cobo and Cristóbal Molina, severely punished those who openly practiced the traditional rituals and changed the native practices into “a culture in hiding, maintained by ritual observance.”<sup>75</sup> Instead of destroying the Inka religious traditions, the people found ways to continue the practice within the confines of

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<sup>73</sup> Masterson, C. pp. 58-59.

<sup>74</sup> Rowe, J.H. p. 157.

<sup>75</sup> Allen, C.J. p.192.

the Christian and Spanish social system. The Andean people, due to the aforementioned pantheistic nature of their religion, felt as though they could adopt Christianity on the surface-in essence add another deity to the fold-but continue their private devotion to Inka gods. During the earlier Inka expansion, when the Inka had conquered a society the defeated *huacas* would be captured and taken to Cuzco where they were used and potentially punished the local “energy holders.” The conquered peoples gods, while subservient to *Inti*, *Pachamama*, and *Quilla*, nevertheless maintained their local ritual and beliefs in their individual communities.<sup>76</sup> The Spanish, on the other hand, persistently destroyed native traditions, inspiring unrest and subversion: “the record of Inka activity in the Colonial Period is thus one of repeated protest against Spanish rule and the conditions associated with it.”<sup>77</sup> This religious rebellion and alteration of Christian gods served to maintain the indigenous community traditions in the Andes and to modern-day observers the tides of dissent and reincorporation become evident in the details of the works of art.

This tendency toward critique of the imperial status quo invited the re-emergence of indigenous identity during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century; meanwhile, the Spanish were establishing artistic centers to teach the native peoples European stylistic traditions in large cities. *La Escuela Cuzqueña*, established in 1688, was “the first indigenous organization of artists in the New World.”<sup>78</sup> Spanish painters and Christian friars taught Renaissance, Mannerist, and Baroque stylistic traditions to Andean artists in order to use native artists as laborers for the artistic projects that were flourishing in the New World. The indigenous artists were taught through the practice of *imitato* (imitation) or copying

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<sup>76</sup> Damian, C. p. 14

<sup>77</sup> Rowe, J.H. p. 159.

<sup>78</sup> Damian, C. p. 9-10.

exactly the European artistic models, resulting in works that might be seen as lacking under European standards. However, each Andean artist came with a background of Inka artistic traditions that were exquisitely incorporated into the European styles they were being taught. In religious works the Andean artists saw the painting not merely as a representation of the god, but rather a manifestation of the figure's divine power. This Andean conception of the power of the material distinguishes the paintings of indigenous artists from the work of their Spanish contemporaries. Each of the accessories and Inka motifs incorporated into the image of the Virgin Mary embodied her with the spiritual power of *Pachamama*. The European artistic schools served as a means for the native artists to subtly incorporate indigenous styles into the European conventions of depiction.

During the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century into the 18<sup>th</sup> century the art produced by indigenous artists a delicate negation of the Spanish conventions becomes evident. The descendants of the Inkas worked to maintain their beleaguered traditions, while on the surface adhering to the even more abusive Spanish Colonial rule. Images of the Virgin Mary demonstrate the religious continuation of veneration for *Pachamama*, while also exploring the rituals of worship of the native peoples in Colonial Peru. The 1693 painting *The Virgin of Montserrat* by Francisco Chivantito for the Iglesia de la Virgen de Montserrat in Chinchero not only represents the influence of the European artistic conventions, but also expresses the subversive Inka iconography (Figure 9). Chivantito was an indigenous member of the *Escuela Cuzqueña* who learned the conventions of European art but maintained his "Inka" perspective. The Virgin Mary plays a central role in the image, showing that the Church in the New World was propagating the

*marianismo* that prevailed in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well.<sup>79</sup> The Virgin appears strictly European with her pale white skin and delicate features, but for Andean viewers Mary took on greater associations than solely the Mother of God. The Virgin's accessories and location within the image establish her Andean spiritual power. The patterned tapestry Mary wears connects to royal Inka *Coya* and the importance of textiles in the Inka past. The lily for Christian viewers epitomizes the Virgin's purity, but for Andean viewers the flowers underscore the connection of this mother deity to the earth and thus furthering her attribution as *Pachamama*. Finally, the Virgin's position in a rocky outcropping recalls the Inka worship within nature and the importance of *huacas*. Despite the initial appearance as a traditional European image of the Virgin, Chivantito in *The Virgin of Montserrat* represents Andean values by associating the Christian Mother of God and the Inka Mother Earth.

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Figure 9: *Virgin of Montserrat*, Francisco Chivantito, 1693, Church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, Chinchero.

Chinchero is a town outside of Cuzco in the Sacred Valley of the Inkas in a range of "hills and plain, ranging between 3100 and 500 m in altitude."<sup>80</sup> The Andean community that lived there during the Inka and colonial periods focused primarily on agriculture. Given that the people's livelihood relied on the weather and earth, the Inkas of Chinchero revered *Pachamama* and worshipped her in the hopes of a fruitful growing

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<sup>79</sup> Damian, C. p. 9.

<sup>80</sup> Franquemont, C. p. 3. See source for more information about the geography and botany of Chinchero.

season; thus *Pachamama* and the worship of the land have a long cultural history in Chinchero. The evidence of “(l)arge-scale terracing and walls of dressed limestone built in the tightly fitted polygonal style” which connotes royal architecture of the Inka, contributes to the understanding of the agricultural and rituals practices of Inka royalty in this area.<sup>81</sup> Chinchero also served as the place of retreat for the *Sapa*, demonstrating the importance of this location within the Inka Empire.<sup>82</sup> Its location among the valleys and mountains of the Andes made it a place of relaxation and religious retreat for the highest of the Inkas, who made the greatest conquest of the rulers as far to the North and South of Cuzco.

*The Virgin of Montserrat* sits on the altar in the Catholic Church in this agricultural town, Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, in this agricultural town. The Iglesia was built in 1608 on top of the ruins of the largest Inka building.<sup>83</sup> This important historical fact places the painting and the Church within the context of Inka rituals and religious history. Just as the Virgin was transplanted into Inka culture, the Church was constructed directly on top of the Inka ritual space, which is an extensively documented practice of the Spanish conquistadors. It also occurred at the *Coricancha* in Cuzco, so as to symbolize the new order but also to ensure confirmed native participation, as the new sacred place remains in the same location as the old. The painting by Chivantito was painted for the Iglesia eighty-five years after the establishment of the Catholic religious building in Chinchero. It thus serves to represent the changes that occurred in this once Inka political-religious haven following the imposition of Catholicism. *The Virgin of Montserrat* provides profound insight into the Andean community of Chinchero and how

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<sup>81</sup> Franquemont, C. p. 5

<sup>82</sup> Nair, S. p. 220.

<sup>83</sup> Franquemont, C. p. 7

this agricultural community grappled with the influence of Christian friars. The conceptualization of sacredness and implementation of Catholicism on the foundation, literally and figuratively, of the Inka religious tradition manifests itself in the painting and its placement within Andean society.

### *Virgin & Andean Textiles*

Textiles from the Andes region were highly renowned before and after the arrival of the Spanish. The native tapestries were produced well by the forced *mita* labor system after the Conquest, due to the high market demand for textiles to be exported to Europe.<sup>84</sup> What the Spanish did not understand was the meaning and societal associations that came with the geometric patterns that covered the works. The Spanish misunderstood “the nonpictorial structure of the signification of Andean textiles” and missed the great societal value of the square patterns known as *tocapu*.<sup>85</sup> The use of geometric patterning on ceramics, textiles, and other works of art can be dated back millennia before the Inka to the Chavín culture in c. 900 BC.<sup>86</sup> These geometric patterns took on great historical symbolism and visual power. In the Inka Empire the *tocapu*, or geometric patterned squares that decorated the tunics, emphasized the *Sapa* and *Coya*’s political and spiritual

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<sup>84</sup> Rowe, J.H. pp. 170-179. See for more information on the abuse of Andean natives through the institution of the *mita*.

<sup>85</sup> Boone, E.H. & Mignolo, W.D. p. 196. Cummings explores in depth the difficulty of translation of Andean tapestries into European understanding.

<sup>86</sup> Stone, R. (2012). See for information about the evolution of art in the Andes.

power.<sup>87</sup> By dressing the Virgin in a geometric-patterned tapestry Andean viewers understood the virtues and elevated, ethereal status of the Mother of God.

In Chivantito's painting, Mary is covered in a blue and gold organic diamond-repeating pattern with a red dress. The red of her dress represents her royal status because of the difficulty of producing red dye. Red color was created from the grinding up of cochineal beetles at the rate of 70,000 beetles per pound of dye.<sup>88</sup> This time and labor-intensive process was reserved for only the highest members of the Inka community. Red cross-culturally connotes expense and reverence, as seen in the togas worn by Senate officials in the Roman Empire and the regalia of French kings. The artist endows the Virgin Mary with power through the choice of the red dress. The tapestry that covers her furthers this exaltation of her power. Gold and blue within the Andean mind had great religious and political importance. Within the *Coricancha* temple to the *Inti* in Cuzco there were gold statues of the most important gods. The repeated gold patterning that lies across the lap of the Virgin relates to the gold that once covered the Inka idols and also ties into the Spanish greed for Peruvian gold after the conquest.<sup>89</sup> Gold within Inka history connects to great cultural wealth, but also the demise of an Empire. The deep blue of Mary's textile taps into a long Andean value on indigo, from as early as 700 AD in the Atarco style (Figure 10).<sup>90</sup> The deep blue color is achieved from indigo from the *indigofera* species of plants and is rare, difficult to achieve and high

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<sup>87</sup> Dransart, P. p. 145. See for more information the importance of clothing in the Inka Empire.

<sup>88</sup> Snedden, R. p. 20. See for information on Inka textile making.

<sup>89</sup> Morris, C. & VonHagen, A. p. 238. See for further information about the importance of gold and silver for the Spanish conquistadors.

<sup>90</sup> Hughes, P. pp. 106-109. See for more information about the Tiwanaku culture and tapestries.

status.<sup>91</sup> The combination of red and blue connotes high status for the Inka descendants because of the preciousness of these two dyes. The Virgin is completely robed in these two highly prized colors adding to her Andean power. The gold and blue coloration expresses to both Spanish and Inka descendants viewer the importance and regality of the Virgin Mary. In economic terms, Spain extracted the cochineal beetle, the wealth of gold, and *indigofera* for indigo dye from the Americas, placing these colors within the dialectic of a complex political domination of Spain and the resources of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 10: Tapestry Fragment with Jaguar, Middle Horizon, Wari-related, Atarco Style, about 700AD

Geometric patterning in Andean society was associated with the spiritual realm and specifically the trance-based curing of shamans.<sup>92</sup> In their religious visionary experiences they would enter into the realm of the spirits through a complex, repeating geometric patterns: “The onset of visual hallucinatory imagery includes the appearance of symmetrical and geometrically patterned polychrome designs”<sup>93</sup> The Virgin becomes a part of this greater spiritual practice that dominated prior to the entrance of the Spanish: “[The geometry of visions] give abstract, linear, shape and color pattern sacred

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<sup>91</sup> Stone-Miller, R. (1992). Pp.115-116. See for more information on the process of creating indigo dye and how it gained status as a “color anomaly”.

<sup>92</sup> Stone, R. (2011). See chapter 2 (pp.34-48) for more information about geometry in shamanic trance experiences in the Americas.

<sup>93</sup> Stone, R. (2011). p. 35.



precedence, prestige from beyond.”<sup>94</sup>. The work of shamans for the Andean people exemplifies the most powerful human connection with the gods. Geometric patterning is seen as the pathway into the spirit world, and Chivantito through dressing the Virgin in a gold organic flowery diamond-patterned tapestry draws a parallel between the Christian Mother and pre-colonial worship. The tapestry connotes the historical longevity of the Inka artistic practice and the Virgin’s place within the continuation of this long-held tradition.

### *The Inka Lily*

The small flower design on Mary’s tapestry mirrors the colorful flowers that surround the Virgin. In the foreground the Virgin holds the white lilies that represent her purity for Christian observers. In Peru, *alstroemeria* or the Inka lily is very common and Chivantito explicitly depicts this native species of the Andes (Figure 11). The Inka Lily grows in dry scrub in rocky, sandy soil.<sup>95</sup> It is found in the Andes Mountains up to the tree line, but also can survive in the lower valleys with higher humidity. As a hardy flower that has a wide growing range in the Andes it is common and often described as an invasive species. The people of the Andes would have been familiar with this flower, which comes in white, as well as red, yellow, and purple. A wide variety of flora grows in Peru and pre-Columbian people would offer flowers, including the Inka lily, to

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<sup>94</sup> Stone-Miller, R. (2002). p. xxv. See for more information about the visionary experience of shamans and the manifestation in art.

<sup>95</sup> The Habitat of Alstroemeria Flowers is a site that provides in depth details about the growing patterns of the Inka Lilly in the Andes. ([http://www.ehow.com/about\\_6740257\\_habitat-alstroemeria-flowers.html](http://www.ehow.com/about_6740257_habitat-alstroemeria-flowers.html)).

*Pachamama*.<sup>96</sup> Flowers manifest *Pachamama*'s beauty and power for the Andean people. The diversity of plants growing in the Andean region attests to the power of the Mother Earth. The flowers that surround the Virgin thus recall the worship of *Pachamama*. The tiny angels crowning the Virgin also hold small flowers, which along with the elaborate golden crown elevate the Virgin to the level of the divine. The crown is a very European motif, but in the Andean mind gold is masculinizing. She takes on male regality with the gold crown on her head, reiterating the Andean concept of *kariwarmi*. The crown also connects the Virgin further with the landscape behind her because of the similar shape to the peaks that fill the background, crowning the Mother of God with the authority of the mountains. The flowers in the image connect to the European iconography of the Virgin being as pure as a white lily, but simultaneously equate her worship with that of *Pachamama*.

### **Images removed due to copyright**

Figure 11: L-*The Virgin of Montserrat*  
R- White Inka Lily

### *The Holy Virgin Mary and Spiritual Flight*

The dove that represents the Holy Spirit for a modern day viewer has a strongly Christian connotation, but for the Inka audience this symbol revived pre-Columbian religious iconography. Birds represent spiritual flight during visions and connection with the realm of the spirits in Inka and pre-Inka times; as Carol Damian notes, “(t)he Inka

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<sup>96</sup> Damian, C. p. 63.

kept special birds as the source of feathers for their festivals and processional garments.”<sup>97</sup> Birds represented the *acllas*, who were attendants and weavers to *Inti* and the *Sapa* in Cuzco. The *acllas* served the divinities and *Sapa*, who was the human manifestation of *Inti*, just as the Virgin Mary serves as the connection between the people and God. The connection for native viewers between virgins and birds would have been natural to make. This continuity between the Christian and indigenous traditions allows for the Virgin to take on great power and adoration from the Inkas.

The Holy Spirit in Christian imagery takes on the form of a dove and in this painting Chivantito adheres to the European iconographical standards, but at the same time a native artist would have understood the Inka conception of birds and the significant role they played in rituals. Throughout the painting in the background colorful red and blue birds soar through the sky. Birds connect to the pre-Columbian tradition of birds that can be seen in the central figure of the Sun Gate at Tiwanaku with his bird headed spears and bird attendants flanking him.<sup>98</sup> These exotic Andean birds do not exist in Europe, but would have been recognizable to native viewers. One possible association that Andean viewers might have made is to the ringed kingfisher (Figures 12,13 & 14). The kingfisher is common to the rivers, lakes, and marshes of Peru.<sup>99</sup> It is the largest species of kingfisher in Peru and has been described as “loud and obvious on large rivers, and lakes of lowlands on both sides of the Andes.”<sup>100</sup> It has the same red, blue, and white distinctive coloration as the birds in the background of the painting. As mentioned before with the dress of the Virgin, the combination of red and blue held sacred value to the

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<sup>97</sup> Damian, C. p. 57.

<sup>98</sup> Stone, R. (2012). p.134.

<sup>99</sup> Lane, D.F. & O’Neill, J.P. & Parker, T.A. III & Schulenberg, T.S. & Stotz, D.F. p. 256.

<sup>100</sup> Beletsky, L. & Pearson, D.L. p. 144.

Andean people, thus the choice of the kingfisher with its coloration exudes their divine connection. This serves to demonstrate the recognizable qualities included by the painter that could have been attributed to Andean birds with which the indigenous population would have been familiar. Through the inclusion of American birds, Chivantito subtly creates Andean Christianity in visual terms.

The wings of the flying birds are the same color scheme as the wings of the angels who attend to the Virgin, bringing forth another connection between Inka spiritual birds and the Christian incorporation of wings. The Virgin's triangular, mountain-shaped dress hovers above the rock as though she were suspended as a part of the outcropping. Her feet never touch the earth, giving her an ethereal and floating quality. For Inka religious practitioners the concept of hovering or soaring demonstrates a connection to the spiritual realm, again reiterating the idea of visionary spiritual flight.<sup>101</sup> For both Christians and Inka religious practitioners the bird, its wings, and floating above the earth embody a connection to a higher realm. The concept of spiritual flight is not unique to the Inka and brings another point of convergence between Christian and pre-Columbian traditions. The inclusion of the Holy Spirit as a dove and birds throughout the painting associate Mary with the *acllas* and demonstrate her connection to God with the visualization of spiritual flight.

### **Images removed due to copyright**

Figure 12: Left—Ringed kingfisher in flight.

Figure 13: Right—Ringed kingfisher drawing. Note the coloration in comparison to the painting.

Figure 14: Below—Note the coloration of the angel's wings in *The Virgin of Montserrat*.

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<sup>101</sup> Stone, R. (2012). Refer for more information about visionary flight.

*The Mother of God as the Inka Earth Mother*

The Virgin is situated within a rocky outcropping, which protects and incorporates her. In the background the mountainous landscape expands to the horizon and emulates the Peruvian landscape. The Andes Mountains are a predominant feature of life in Peru, especially in Cuzco and Chinchero, located in a valley surrounded by peaks on all sides. This image brings the Virgin Mary into the terrain of the Inka people. As discussed in Guamán Poma's drawings, *huacas* or spiritual objects often manifested themselves in rocks in the Inka religious tradition. The mountains that surround the Virgin represent the hundreds of *huacas* worshipped secretly by the Inka people in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The origin myth of the Inka describes people emerging from *Pacarictambo*, which was a mountainous cave (Figure 3. See bottom right of Guamán Poma's illustration).<sup>102</sup> The land represents the life cycle and divinity for the indigenous people. The placement of the Virgin within the sacred environment of the Inka raises her to the venerated level of the land and *Pachamama*. Chivantito explores how the Virgin and European standards of depiction can fit into the Andean tradition of nature worship.

The background of the Andes Mountains places Mary within the specifically Inka environment, but the worship of the Virgin in a rocky outcropping calls Andean viewers to worship her as they would the rocks themselves. *Huacas* spoke to the Inka worshipers and were the manifestations of the spirits and places to have visionary encounters. Cobo describes the ritual practices of the indigenous shamans to summon spirits and “without being seen, he spoke to them, saying that he was the spirit of the person about whom they

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<sup>102</sup> Betanzos, J. p. 13.

were asking.”<sup>103</sup> Cobo, as a vowed extirpator of idolatry, provides an incredible source into the Inka practices of directly communicating if spiritually or magically with the spirits of *huacas*, which is being recalled in this painting of the Virgin Mary. Mary as placed within the rocks is a visual manifestation of the spirit that Andeans would have understood as living within the stones: “*huacas* themselves reflect a shamanic assumption that shape-shifting and visionary consulting of the supernatural for human good are key occurrences reified throughout the sacred landscape.”<sup>104</sup> The Virgin in the rocky cove becomes the restatement of the rocks behind her. Another example of the layering of *huaca* rocks is the Sacred Rock at Machu Picchu, which physically mirrors the stone formation behind it, just as the Virgin in this image reiterates the mountainous landscape (Figure 15). During important ritual ceremonies “the *huaca* possessed its own clothing of precious textiles with which it was dressed” again demonstrating how the outfit of the Virgin encourages the understanding of her as a visual appearance of a *huaca*. For an indigenous observer this image designates the Virgin as a part of the *huacas* and invites Andean rituals and worship of this ostensibly Catholic Virgin Mary as the sacred landscape.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 15: The Sacred Rock at Machu Picchu.

Chivantito offers Mary as an extension of the stones that the Inka people were accustomed to adoring. The addition of Mary to the Inka pantheon of gods maintains the

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<sup>103</sup> Stone, R. (2012). Talk on Emory University Campus.

<sup>104</sup> Stone, R. (2012). p. 24.

Inka practice of subverting conquered people's gods. Instead of subverting the Christian gods, the artist incorporates her into the Inka tradition and places her on the same level as *Pachamama* and the sacred stone *huacas*. The painting shifts the control back to the indigenous people whose religious beliefs were, throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, repressed by the Catholic and Spanish regime. In this painting, Chivantito stealthily reclaims the Virgin as a markedly Inka deity and places her in the Andean polytheistic and nature-centered religious tradition.

### *Conclusions*

On its surface *The Virgin of Montserrat* looks like a traditional European painting that was produced in the New World, but when taking a closer look into the details one can see the artist's indigenous perspective on the Mother of Christ. The tapestries that clothe Mary demonstrate her authority and bestow upon her shamanic authority and spiritual understanding once given to the Inka *Coya*. Tapestries remain one of the proudest products of the Andes and demonstrate the incredible artistry of the pre-Columbian weavers.

Within the image, the Virgin Mary interacts with animals, plants, and the landscape, reminiscent of *Pachamama*'s role as protector of the Andean environment. The connection between the white lily and the Inka lily once used to worship the Mother of Time and Space pulls the Virgin out of the Catholic Cathedral and into the sacred garden of the Inka. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, although it adheres to European convention, brings in another facet of the pre-Columbian conceptualization of

divinity. Birds soaring in the sky merged the earthly and the spiritual realm via shamanic experience. Inka priests or shamans were believed to take spiritual flights into the world of the gods to communicate with them. The birds that occupy the sky in the background of the painting expand this designation of the sacred.

The Virgin's position within the rocky mountainous landscape further connects her with the exalted *huacas* of the Inka religious tradition. Each of the accessories and the position of the Virgin underscore her incorporation into the Inka pantheon of deities. Rather than replacing their own gods with Christ and Mary, the native population in Peru molded the Christian gods to be in consonance with their own religion. This was a means to subvert the abuses experienced by the native people after the Conquest to continue their traditions, but in a hidden manner. The native population used religion as their strength to survive the Spanish colonial rule. Images of the Virgin Mary attest to their deep religious commitment. Guamán Poma replaced Inka *huacas* with the Virgin Mary in his complex negotiation within the early Spanish rule. Chivantito, rather than grafting the Virgin into the Andean religious tradition, constructs a new floating mountain Virgin to fit within the on-going Andean sacred landscape. A century after *La nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, artists like Chivantito transformed Christianity into Andean religious terms more forcefully than Guamán Poma in his manuscript to King Philip III.



### Chapter 3

#### ***La Virgin del Cerro: The Multifaceted Dialogue Between Marian and Inka Values***

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century newfound rebellion movements were blossoming due to the cost on the Indians of supporting the Empire after the end of Spanish hegemony. After the War of Succession from 1701-1713, the Bourbons took control of the Spanish Crown. The Bourbons implemented new reforms to move away from the decentralized rule of the Hapsburgs. The Bourbon reforms sought to solidify the Spanish economic and political control over the colonies.<sup>105</sup> In an effort to gain more revenue from the Americas the Bourbon reforms extracted more taxes and tributes from the indigenous population leading to further disenfranchisement of the Inka descendants.

Several rebellions of the 1700s mark the spirit of indigenous uprising that characterized this time period politically and religiously. Juan Santos de Atahualpa spearheaded a rebellion in 1742 that contained a syncretic Christian and Andean message.<sup>106</sup> By melding the Christian and Inka message Santos gained support from both the Christianized Indians. His name alone represents his syncretic message with “Santos” that equates to the Spanish half and “Atahualpa” connotes the son of the fallen Inka leader Wayne Capac. He led the people against the Spanish colonial rule, but ultimately was unsuccessful. Santos de Atahualpa represents a political and social manifestation of the religious syncretism and intentions of independence that were informing indigenous Christian art. The pre-Columbian elements of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>105</sup> Hunefeldt, C. p. 89.

<sup>106</sup> Masterson, D. pp. 50-51. See for more information about the rebellions that occurred in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

paintings become more predominant, just as the rebellion movements were gaining strength and nascent nationalism arose.

In Cuzco, Tupac Amaru II followed the failed rebellion of Juan Santos de Atahualpa. This has been deemed one of the most successful rebellions against Spanish rule because Tupac Amaru and his troops seized Corregidor Antonio de Arriga of Tinta in 1780.<sup>107</sup> The uprising also politically manifested the melding of pre-Columbian and Spanish culture and religion. Tupac Amaru II “blended traditional and Christian imagery by proclaiming himself ‘God’s chosen instrument on Earth.’”<sup>108</sup> He also named himself after the earlier colonial rebellion leader Tupac Amaru to draw connection to the Inka uprisings immediately following the Conquest. The strategy of the leaders of the rebellion to establish trust with the Peruvian people was the same as the approach of the artists in their choice of syncretic iconography within their paintings. Politically, religiously, and artistically a continued and even intensified hybridization of Inka and Spanish traditions best represented the people of the Andes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

*La Virgen del Cerro* by an anonymous artist in Potosí provides a visual example of the melding of religious practices, concepts and beliefs that occurred in the years Post-Contact (Figure 17). Potosí was the largest employer of the *mita* as “the source of 85 percent of the silver extracted from the central Andean region.”<sup>109</sup> The indigenous people serving their *mita*, or forced labor, were called *mitayos* and were forced to travel large distances from throughout the Lake Titicaca Basin.<sup>110</sup> The *mitayos* worked in dangerous conditions to extract silver and many died from the mines collapsing or carbon monoxide

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<sup>107</sup> Masterson, D. p. 53.

<sup>108</sup> Masterson, D. p. 53

<sup>109</sup> Werlich, D.P. pp.43-45. See for further information about the history of Potosí.

<sup>110</sup> Werlich, D.P. p. 43.

poisoning.<sup>111</sup> Potosí represented a large portion of the wealth gained by the Spanish from the Americas and centralized much of the abuse of the native population through the institution of the *mita* and tribute tax paid to the king of Potosí.<sup>112</sup> However, by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the yields of silver ore from the mines were decreasing and this led to major changes in the Viceroyalty of Peru's colonial economy. In the colonial period Potosí, which was often described as a "mountain of silver" or Cerro Rico was an economic center for the Spanish at the expense of the indigenous people (Figure 17).

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 16: Agustín de Zárate, Woodcut of Potosí's Cerro Rico (123)  
1555.

*La Virgen del Cerro* came out of a period of decline in Potosí due to the exhaustion of the silver mines. The Inka descendants had suffered great maltreatment by the Spanish in this city, and the Spanish had greedily stripped their venerated landscape of its material value. The mountains in Potosí for the Spanish exemplified great riches to be gained through the forced toil of the native population. The natives saw the mountains as deities being defiled by colonial greed. Like "el mundo al revés", described by Guamán Poma, the landscape of Potosí had been flipped from a venerated deity to a source of money for the benefit of Spanish patrons. The image contains layers of political and religious debate about the role of Virgin Mary and Spanish rule. As seen in *La Virgen de Montserrat*, the nuanced interaction between the Quechua concepts, Inka

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<sup>111</sup> Masterson, D. p. 57.

<sup>112</sup> Werlich, D.P. p. 44.

beliefs, and practices expressed visually in the Catholic painting reveals the complex political, social, and religious dialogue occurring in the Andes even two centuries after the first clash between the Spaniards and the Inkas. The Virgin in *La Virgen del Cerro* is the new and unique Andean-Christian goddess, rather than the Spanish Mary.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 17: *La Virgen del Cerro* 18<sup>th</sup> century, Anonymous. Casa Nacional de Moneda, Potosí.

*“The mountain is like us”*

*La Virgen del Cerro* demonstrates an attempt at melding of the Inka conceptualization of sacredness with the Catholic sacred Mother. As we have seen, in Catholicism the Virgin Mary is considered divine for her role in the birth of Christ, her pure body, and pious spirit. Mary is often described as the vessel for God since her son Jesus is part of the Trinity with God. The body of the Virgin plays an important transitory role in Catholicism because she brings the human form of God into the earthly realm. In this image the body of the Virgin as a vessel for God is translated into the Inka visual understanding of sacredness. Her body as a mountain connects directly into the previously mentioned native belief rocks and/or mountains as *huacas*. *La Virgen del Cerro* figures the Virgin’s body now as a mountain covered in paths and people, rather than in human bodily form. The artist reclassifies the Virgin as a *huaca* by incorporating her into the mountainous landscape and invites native viewers to worship this Christian figure as one of their previously and still venerated sacred mountains or *apo*.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 18: Image of the Andes, Kosk, P. 1965.

The depiction of the Virgin associates her with *Pachamama*. *Pachamama* embodied the feminine aspects through her connection with the earth.<sup>113</sup> She represented the physical world and solid earth, but also space and time extending her exemplary power. She had as much importance as the Sky Gods: the Sun, *Inti*, and *Quilla*, the Moon, in the Inka religion. By placing the three most important gods in the *hanan* position, which was discussed in relation to Guamán Poma's illustrations, visually raises them in the religious hierarchy and invites worship. *Pachamama* "was represented by a long stone which was placed in the fields, worshipped and asked to protect and fertilize the fields."<sup>114</sup> Her personification as a stone and *huaca* in Inka society demonstrates her importance in daily life and how the landscape included her representation and her characteristics in the Inka mind. *La Virgen del Cerro* at once presents the Virgin as the mountain, a stone, and the earth itself equating Mary in the minds of viewers with *Pachamama*. The artist translates Mary as the mother of Christ into Inka sacredness as the Mother of the Earth, Space, and Time.

Females played an important role in Inka society occupying prestigious religious and political positions. Women served as priestesses to the *huacas*, weavers and concubines for the *Sapa* and *Inti*, and communicated with spirits. Also, the *Coya* was a renowned figure who was endowed with responsibilities to aid the *Sapa* in his political

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<sup>113</sup> Classen, C. p. 109.

<sup>114</sup> Bankes, G. p. 157. See for the role of the Pachamama in Inka society.

and spiritual leadership of the Empire. Each *Coya* had her own palace and the *Sapa* was not named to take the throne until he was married, demonstrating the importance of the *ayni* between males and females that was discussed early with the concept of *kariwarmi*.<sup>115</sup> The high status of women in all realms of Inka society is important to note in contrast to the lower status of women in Europe at that time. For an Inka viewer the worship of female divinities was common. *Pachamama* and *Quilla* embody the female characteristics of fluidity and fertility of the female body, related to the menstrual cycle and women as child bearers.<sup>116</sup> Mary's incorporation with the earth makes her strongly connected to the female characteristics of fertility, references the Catholic story of the Virgin birth of Jesus and teaches Christian viewers of her vital role as the Mother of God.

The exploration of the native language of the Inkas allows for the consideration of the Inka perspective when seeing images such as *La Virgen del Cerro*. In Quechua, words for parts of the body were translated and understood in association with mountains encompassing the belief that “the mountain is like us”<sup>117</sup> *Qollahuayas* is the Quechua word that literally means uniquely shaped hill wrapped in cloth, but is better understood as the mountain and the human body as one and underscores the interconnected relationship between the people and the landscape of the Andes. The Virgin embodies not only the concept of *huaca*, but also *qollahuayas*: she is a human, like the natives, but also a mountain. *La Virgen del Cerro* inextricably connects Mary to the Inka people and their ideals. *Uma* in Quechua means both head and mountain peak. The Virgin in this

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<sup>115</sup> Dransart, P. pp. 150-152. See for further information about the importance of the political and social role of the *Coya*.

<sup>116</sup> Classen, C. See book *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body* for extensive research into the Inka connections between the body and the earth and sky.

<sup>117</sup> Classen, C. p. 109.

painting occupies both translations of *uma*.<sup>118</sup> Her head forms the peak of the mountain and embodies the two definitions of *uma*, but also relates back to *qollahuayas*. *La Virgen del Cerro* exhibits concepts and words of the Quechua language that attribute the characteristics of the human body to mountains. The artist eliminates the feet of the Virgin and her only human characteristics are her hands and face. The mountain takes precedence over the human attributes of her body. Through an understanding of Quechua the strength of the associations of the body with the landscape emerges. The artist marries the visual with the verbal through the depiction of Mary as the rounded mountain.

### *Virgin and Andean Textiles*

The vein-like designs of paths and the red color on the mountain/Virgin's body create an elaborate pattern and give it a textile-like quality. As previously discussed in the context of the Andean figures' clothes in Guamán Poma's drawings and in the Virgin's garments in Chivantito's *La Virgen de Montserrat*, textiles were a highly valued art form in the Inka Empire. The dark cochineal red color, as noted in chapter 2, endows the Virgin with power and prestige. Red also has societal significance for the Andean people because it is associated with the inner world of the spirits and the divine origin of the Inka from the depths of the caves of *Pacaritambo*.<sup>119</sup> The *Sapa* and his wives wore elaborately woven tapestries that contained the symbolism of their qualities and power (Figure 4). It provides another layer of Inka tradition and superiority to the image of the Virgin.

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<sup>118</sup> Classen, C. p. 110.

<sup>119</sup> Dransart, P. p. 154

The red color of the mountain also reminds viewers of a range of mountains south of Sonqo. This range of mountains is believed to “gives rise to a stream called *Yawar Paccha* (Waterfall) which is said to run with blood during hail storms.”<sup>120</sup> Inka ritual practices, such as the ritual sharing of *asua* with the earth by pouring corn beer on/in it as people drank, was believed to satiate the thirst of the mountains so they did not run with blood. The act of drinking for the Inkas was one of reciprocity and sharing, which took on great spiritual significance. The cups used to drink *asua* known as *qeros*, circulate the liquid as the channels of water circulate in the earth.<sup>121</sup> The ritual drinking is the human contribution to continue the cosmic circulation of the earth. *Pachamama* as the Earth Mother “is a kind of *paccha*, a vessel for the passage of water. A living body, *Pachamama*, ‘opens’ in August to receive the first rains sent by God the Father.”<sup>122</sup> These ritual offerings are required for the believers to maintain *ayni*; if the mountains do not receive the proper contributions they will suck human blood and create red-colored mountains. As discussed in chapter 1, the “dancing sickness” rebellion of the 16<sup>th</sup> century claimed the *huacas* were angry after the entrance of the Spanish and the lack of proper sacrifices being made to them. The red color of the Virgin’s rotund mountain body connotes not only the Inka rituals, but might also serve to remind the Andean viewer of how Christianity had been taking the blood of the Andean people through forced labor and cruelties that continued to characterize colonial rule. Mary serves as a vessel, but here not for Christ as propagated in Christian tradition, but rather for the passage of rainwater and blood in the landscape of the Andes. The red coloration

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<sup>120</sup> Allen, C.J. p. 198

<sup>121</sup> Allen, C.J. p. 197

<sup>122</sup> Allen, C.J. p. 197



covertly asks for the sacrificial order, as defined in indigenous traditions to be restored in the Andes.

*Pachamama* has been called *Pachamama Suyrumama* meaning the “time/earth mother of the sweeping garment” and the Virgin as *Pachamama* with her tapestry-like design covering her mountainous body draws her into this designation of the time/earth mother of the Inka descendants. The garment of *Pachamama* consists of the terrain of the earth with a patchwork of fertile fields, towering mountains, and sprawling plains. The earth, and in this case the dress of the Virgin as *Pachamama*, connotes beyond the physical terrain, it connotes the past, present, and future of the Andes; “Divine birth, procreation, and genealogical links between dead ancestors and the living are interconnected with the wearing of (*Pachamama*’s) dress.”<sup>123</sup> The Virgin’s mountain body with its river like designs connects to the conceptualization of the threads of the landscape, time, and space as a woven tapestry. Clothing was considered to be a representation of the person who wore it and “forms an outer surface that simultaneously conceals and reveals the interior” or *ukhu*<sup>124</sup> The Virgin as the mountain of Potosí the red coloration and vein-like design can be seen as a revelation of the pillaged interior Cerro Rico that the Spanish brutally raped for their financial benefit. The red symbolizes the loss and abuse of the now bleeding mountain. Each of the designs could represent the now exhausted veins of silver that once filled this actual mountain in Potosí. The Virgin as *Pachamama* dressed in the tapestry of the landscape reveals the exterior of the land, the connection of the earth and time, but also the interior of the pillaged natural world because of Spanish greed.

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<sup>123</sup> Dransart, p. 147.

<sup>124</sup> Dransart, P. p. 146

*The Virgin as the Visual Representation of Ayni*

The Virgin Mary mediates two realms of the world, her heavenly presence indicated by the rays coming from her head and hands, but also is firmly planted upon and one with the earth. The natural and topographical features of the image overpower the human aspects of her. The white cuffs around her hands and the cowl around her neck accentuate the only human attributes of the Virgin. The mountain takes on human aspects with the unnatural red color and the lines of the paths and humans that dot the figure. The rest of the mountain connotes the Andean landscape and the lives of the people, which dot the mountainside. Another Catholic image where the human form is overtaken by the landscape is the *Ebstorf Map* from 1339, which is an example of a *mappa mundi* from Medieval Europe (Figure 20).<sup>125</sup> This adheres to the T-O map format with the hands pointing perpendicularly outward and the head hovering above, just as we see in *La Virgen del Cerro*. The two images demonstrate ostensibly Catholic figures with their hands and head being planted on a landscape, be it a mountainside in *La Virgen del Cerro* or a map in the case of the *Ebstorf* example.<sup>126</sup> The human and the natural each take on the others' qualities, which emphasize the *ayni* or interlocking of opposing forces that was so highly valued in Inka religion.

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<sup>125</sup> Going further into the *mappa mundi* is outside of the realm of this paper, but see Evelyn Edson's *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World*. (London: British Library, 1997) for further information.

<sup>126</sup> For another example of the human and landscape assimilation see *Europa Regina* from 1537. It is an allegory of Hapsburg rule over Europe by a Tyrolese cartographer. The Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 19: Ebstorf Map, 1339. Destroyed during WWII.

The Sun characteristics given to the Virgin in the painting maintain the balance of opposing forces, or *kariwarmi*, that was so highly revered by the Inka. The interactions between *Inti*, *Quilla*, and the Virgin here as *Pachamama* reiterate the balance of *ayni* that was discussed with Guamán Poma's images of Inka worship and how the powers of the respective gods keep the world in balance. *Inti* represents structure, clarity and fertilizing male energy for the Inkas.<sup>127</sup> The rays that emanate from the hands and head of the Virgin, as well as the dove of the Holy Spirit as previously seen in *The Virgin of Montserrat* furthers the connection to the *Inti* and his virgin attendants, the *acllas*. Figure 20 represents the Sun Gate from Tiwanaku. The central figure, like the Virgin Mary has rays emanating from his head demonstration his sanctity. Like Mary in *La Virgen del Cerro* each of the headdresses or halos draws attention to the figures head and gives greater importance to the figure. The rays of light are a further connection of the Virgin to pre-Columbian art and *Inti*, underscoring Mary's spiritual power to the native peoples. Once again the native viewers see the visual manifestation of *ayni*, but now associated with the Christian mother of Christ. The Virgin captures characteristics of both *Inti* and *Pachamama* represents duality, *kariwarmi*, sacredness, and balance in the universe, inviting adoration by Inka descendants.

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<sup>127</sup> Classen, C. p.15

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 20: Drawing of the center portion of the Sun Gate from Tiwanaku. Early Intermediate Period-Middle Horizon

The inclusion of the Sun and the Moon flanking the Virgin as she takes on the characteristics of *Pachamama* connects her to the Sky gods, *Inti* and *Quilla*. *Sapa* was the “chief custodian” to the many temples dedicated to the *Inti*.<sup>128</sup> *Sapa* manifested the power of *Inti* on earth and served as the divine’s representation in this realm.<sup>129</sup> *Quilla* represents fluidity, obscurity and the female attributes.<sup>130</sup> *Inti* and *Quilla* represent *ayni* working together to create the night and day and balance in the world. In the Inka tradition “The Moon, known as *Mama-Quilla* (Mother Moon), was a woman and wife of the Sun.”<sup>131</sup> The crescent moon and the sun with a face maintain the conventions of representation seen in Peruvian textiles from the coast. The eyes and smiling face of the sun in the painting connotes the same sun seen in the textile of Figure 21. The incorporation of *Inti* and *Quilla* adds another layer to the *ayni* represented visually in this painting.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 21: Peruvian Coast Textile, Kosok, P., 1965.

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<sup>128</sup> Bankes, G. p. 160. See for more on the Inka’s religious role in the temples of the Sun God.

<sup>129</sup> Bankes, G. p. 110. See for the social structure of the Inka people prior to the Conquest.

<sup>130</sup> Classen, C. p. 15

<sup>131</sup> Bankes, G. p. 157-158. See for more information on Inka gods.

The Eternal Father and the personification of the Saint Spirit crown the Virgin in the painting. They are paralleled below by the sun and the moon, as if “los dioses de los Inkas, *Inti* (Sol) y *Quilla* (Luna) también presencian la coronación.” (“the Inka gods, *Inti* (Sun) and *Quilla* (Moon) also present the coronation”)<sup>132</sup> The artist thus represents the transference of power from the Inka sky gods to the Virgin Mary. The parallel between *Inti* and *Quilla*, the Eternal Father and Spirit Saint creates a visual connection between these divine figures that are endowing the Virgin with her nobility and omnipotence. The Inka religious figures work in conjunction with the Catholic clergy, demonstrating the convergence of religious power still active in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The two religious traditions have joined as a result of three centuries of coexistence. Although the Sun was associated with *Inti* its inclusion in the image also has political connotations. The *Sapa* was the manifestation of the *Inti* and therefore in this image with the Sun partaking in the coronation of the Virgin as *Inti* also denotes the political submission of the Inka people to the Virgin and Spanish rule. *Inti* and *Quilla* serve as several layers of Inka cooperation and coexistence with the leaders of the Catholic Church, but also political resistance to the Spanish rule.

### *Conclusions*

*La Virgen del Cerro* comes from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Potosí, where the Spanish radically pillages the Mother Mountain of Silver, and represents the continued

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<sup>132</sup> Mendieta Pachecho, W. p. 16. Translation: “the gods of the Incas, *Inti* (Sun) and *Quilla* (Moon) also present the coronation.”

incorporation of native motifs into the “Christian” artwork of the time. In the painting the artist appropriates the Inka *huacas* directly into the formation of the Virgin’s body. Her body becomes a mountain, paralleling the stones and mountains once openly worshipped in Inka society. In her placement as a *huaca* Mary takes on the characteristics of *Pachamama*. She embodies the fertility of the earth for native viewers, and they can connect her to their understanding of a mother. Both *Pachamama* and Mary represent the life bringers in their respective religious traditions and the artist through the melding of these two figures explores the commonalities between the female divinities. Yet another facet of the image that communicates with native viewers is the visual representation of Quechua concepts, such as *qollahuayas*, *uma*, and *ayni*. *Ayni* marks sacredness for the Inka people and the duality seen in *La Virgen del Cerro* exposes the deeply held beliefs of the native peoples and how they are reincorporated into the Christian imagery allowing the female Virgin Mary to have male *Inti* characteristics representing *kariwarmi*, or the combining of male and female.

*Inti* and *Quilla* in the image represent the complex resistance of the Inka religious tradition to maintain its authority in light of the introduction of Christianity. The Spanish invaders tried to overpower the Inka religion and government but, just as *Inti* and *Quilla* take part in the coronation of the Virgin as *Pachamama* in this 18<sup>th</sup> century painting, the native population retained a great measure of their unity and beliefs. The image demonstrates how the indigenous beliefs now exist in the foreground as the subject of the painting, whereas before in *The Virgin of Montserrat* and Guamán Poma’s manuscript they were included as details of the images. The inclusion of these iconographical references demonstrates the tension between the independent tides of the native population and the abuses of the Catholic Church and Spanish rulers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

*La Virgen del Cerro* reveals the complex and subtle negotiation between the Spanish and the native peoples in the Andes during the later colonial era through the use of Inka iconography that communicates deeper religious, social, and political strife. The painting demonstrates the influence of the Spanish over the three centuries of occupation that resulted in a new Catholicism where Mary and *Pachamama* are represented as one and *Inti* and *Quilla* crown their female goddess with the figures of Catholic authority. Mary serves as the bridge between the Christian clergy and the Inka gods, exhibiting her role as a point of transition between the two cultures in the colonial Andes. *Ayni* truly manifests itself in the balance between the Spanish and Inka influences in *La Virgen del Cerro*.

## Conclusion

The Inkas during the Conquest and their descendants throughout colonialism lost their land, families, and political power, yet the spiritual and religious values of the Inka endured the centuries of Spanish rule in various ways. When looking back into history it is evident that even in times of turmoil creative production flourishes, resulting in beautiful, unique, and emotional accounts of cultural resilience. The colonial Andes is no different; the surviving native population maintained their Inka traditions in secret, finding means by which to incorporate and veil their continued religious beliefs despite the dominating reign of Spanish Catholicism. Guamán Poma's depictions of pre-Columbian traditions and the Virgin, *The Virgin of Montserrat*, and *La Virgen del Cerro* mark historical transitions in the native population's religious, political, and social opinions. Mary becomes a symbol and bridge to the new Catholicism and the cultural transformation of the native population that emerged in the Andes as a result of the Spanish Conquest.

An 18<sup>th</sup> century tapestry from the post-Conquest Andes supports the argument regarding the Virgin Mary in another example of the seamless melding of the victorious and the vanquished cultures (Figure 22). The covering contains a central coat of arms, a traditional European symbol, surrounded by four illustrations of Biblical stories: Abraham and Isaac, Cain and Abel, Samson and the lion, and Tobias and the fish.<sup>133</sup> The upper two vignettes depict the stories of Abraham and Isaac and Cain and Abel, both stories of sacrifice, which would have been understandable to a descendant of the Inka. Each of these stories is labeled for the name of the victim, rather than the sacrifice, which

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<sup>133</sup> Stone-Miller, R. (1992) p. 204. See source for full analysis of tapestry.



connotes the indigenous population's defeat by the Spanish. By labeling the name of the victim the weaver is taking a distinctly subversive position in a covert way. The two vignettes below depict the battle between a human with a wild animal with the stories of Samson and Tobias. The indigenous themes of the interaction between nature and man make these obvious choices for an indigenous viewer, despite the fact that the story of Tobias is not commonly depicted in Christian artwork. Each of the illustrations serves to connect to the Andean perspective as the defeated and their reverence of the natural world. This tapestry serves to elucidate the way Andean perspective and resistance against Spanish rule was hidden in plain view resulting in works of art with dual meanings depending on the viewer's cultural background. This work demonstrates the worthiness of affirming the defeated within the conventions of the artwork of the conquerors during the colonial period and recognizing the complex interrelation that occurred after Contact.

**Image removed due to copyright**

Figure 22: Cover with Biblical Figures, 18<sup>th</sup> century or later.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century tapestry serves to affirm what we have found in the illustrations of the Virgin in Guamán Poma's manuscript where the Christian figures come into conversation with his depictions documenting earlier Inka religious practices. Through his argumentation and illustrations, which are at times contradictory and convoluted, Guamán Poma demonstrates the tensions between the native population and the Spanish

in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As an indigenous elite, Guamán Poma was educated within the Spanish system and understood the Western conventions of a manuscript, but in the art his perspective and spatial composition in his drawings and use of Quechua glosses communicate his point of view. His background formulates his complex articulation of Spanish Catholicism and Inka traditional religious practices. Several of Guamán Poma's key images scattered throughout the manuscript replace Inka *huacas* with the Virgin through the use of compositionally identical illustrations. Guamán Poma invites his audience to look at these illustrations in conversation with one another and see how they complement his argument. As the native writer advocates to King Philip III for the political autonomy of the indigenous people, he also argues that the Andes were Christian prior to the arrival of Pizarro. Guamán Poma's text attempts to compromise with the Spanish king and acknowledge the importance of Catholicism, glossing over the polytheistic practices of the Inka in the past. Within the images Guamán Poma accepts Christianity by visually supplanting the pre-Columbian *huacas* with the Virgin. She is placed within a frame in the positive and reverential position of *hanan*, as were *huacas* in the documentation of Inka history. The Inka people worship both in the same position paralleling these images for the reader. Through his maintenance of a composition in the images of *huacas* and the Virgin Guamán Poma invites viewers to analyze the layered relationship between Inka sacred objects and veneration of Mary.

The Andean conceptualization of space and superiority represents the means by which Guamán Poma in his illustrations communicates to visually literate viewers his privileging of the Andean religious traditions. The placement of the venerated *huacas* denoting Inka origin places and ancestral mummies in the position of *hanan* places them higher in the religious hierarchy. The Virgin is also placed within the position of *hanan*

in the same square frame as these *huacas*. A female in the position of *hanan* is contradictory to the Inka tradition where *hanan* represents masculinity. Guamán Poma situates the Virgin in this unexpected position to demonstrate visually “el mundo al revés” or the upside-down world of colonial opposites. The tiny female body of the Virgin within the square wall mount recalls the idea of the spirit within the *huacas*. Guamán Poma in his argumentation to King Philip depicts the Virgin as the new object of worship, but within the framework of Andean conceptualization of the sacred and in conversation with the other worship images in the manuscript the author’s favored adherence to pre-Columbian traditions becomes apparent. Guamán Poma, through his written criticism and visual emphasis on the Andean perspective, mirrors the rebellion movements against the presence of the Spanish in the Andes in the early 1600s.

Mary in the illustrations of Guamán Poma takes on the sacredness of the earth, ancestral time, and space of the Inka. Through her association with the composite *huaca*, which represents the mythical history of the Inka, Mary becomes a part of the greater conversation about birth, origin, and the continuity of time of the indigenous population. *Huacas*, especially *Tambo Toco*, are portals between the divine and the human; they connect the two realms, just as the Virgin bridges between the Spanish and Andean. In the Inka origin myth, the transformation of the Ayar family onto the earth occurred in *Tambo Toco*. Also at *Haunacauri* one of the *Ayar* brothers changed into a rock. The Virgin within this dialectic is a symbol of transformation and change in the Andes; she morphed from the Mother of Christ to the Mother of the Mountains. Catholicism through the *huaca* of the Virgin morphs into something new that connects the sacred of the Andes and divinity of Europe. Guamán places the Virgin as a god representing transformation

of religion and re-Andeanization of Catholicism over time and space, just as the original Inkas transformed in *Tambo Toco*, *Pacaritambo* and *Huanacari*.

Guamán Poma represents the early colonial period when Spanish influence was still being established in the Andes. By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, hopes of autonomous Inka rule had long since expired. Catholicism was widespread and forced worship resulted in the creation of works like *The Virgin of Montserrat*, which adheres to long taught European artistic traditions but simultaneously note the importance of Andean perspective and global understanding through the artist's attention to detail. Religiously the indigenous people were harshly punished for their continued practice of pre-Columbian rituals. The suppression of the indigenous resulted in Inka religious practices being veiled in Catholic conventions that appeared as a melding or hybridization.

*The Virgin of Montserrat* appears to adhere to European Renaissance modes of depiction with her delicate features and pale white skin. The inclusion of the Holy Spirit and God again categorizes this into the Catholic canon in the foreground of the painting. Yet indigenous traditions materialize in the details of the figure and the background. The natural setting within the mountainous landscape of the Andes immediately connects to indigenous viewers and invites the worship of the *huacas* in the background, despite the presence of the Virgin in the foreground. Rituals taking place in nature were common in pre-Columbian times, Chivantito by moving Mary outside of the European style church returns to this Inka convention. Mary serves as the disguise to the pre-Columbian rituals. The Andean birds and Mary's hovering position elicits veneration for the spiritual flight of Inka shamans. Flight is the means to access the spiritual realm in pre-Columbian tradition and the subtle elevation of Mary that for Catholic friars would appear as a means of raising the Virgin visually, but for native viewers places Mary within this

transition from the earthly to spiritual realm. Mary becomes a reflection of the background and again demonstrates this concept of the Virgin as a bridge between the human and the divine, the Spanish and the Andean, the Catholic and the pre-Columbian. The strength of the native peoples found points of convergence where the indigenous traditions could be incorporated without Spanish knowledge. *The Virgin of Montserrat* represents the melding of the Inka and Christian traditions due to the subversion of the native population during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and invites the interpretation that Inka beliefs were so strongly held that abandoning them in favor of Catholicism was not an option. The incorporation of indigenous traditions disguised as Catholic art culminated in a new stylistically European Virgin, but placed within the Andean religious landscape and traditions. It models the rebellions against the Spanish abuses happening in the 17<sup>th</sup> century through visually polemic details that are masked in the Catholic framework.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century dissent against the Spanish Bourbon reforms manifested itself in overt rebellions in Cuzco and throughout the Andes. The indigenous population no longer wished to be a culture in hiding and could not sustain the demands of the Spanish Crown. The artist of *La Virgen del Cerro* exhibits this developing openness of the indigenous religion and culture that came with the political defiance against Spanish rule. Mary is visually defined as sacred in Inka terms, rather than Catholic accepted modes of depiction. The Virgin becomes a *huaca*. She no longer supplants them through successive images, as seen in Guamán Poma's illustrations. Mary ceases to be a veil to hide the worship of *huacas*. The Catholic Virgin Mary is united with Inka *huacas*, she becomes a part of the mountains just as *Ayar Uchu* became a stone *huaca* on top of *Huanacauri*. The Catholic and the Inka sacred deities converge after three centuries of coexistence in the Peruvian Andes. The anonymous artist of *La Virgen del Cerro* paints

what culturally, politically, and religiously had occurred in the Andes. The Inka and the Spanish no longer could be separated; they were forever inextricably intertwined. The new Andean Virgin Mary visually exhibits this marriage between two diversely different cultures.

The artist brings the Mother of God into the divine domain of *Pachamama*.<sup>134</sup> This creates a complex dialogue, modifying the Spanish traditions and testing how the Inka and Spanish traditions can come together as one. As Mary enters into the natural divine of the native Peruvian peoples the lines between Western and Andean determination of sacredness and religion become blurred. The Virgin becomes more than an intermediary between the people and God. She bridges the two cultures in the Andes and each society's conception of the sacred or *huaca*. Mary transforms into an amalgamation of Inka and Spanish religiosity. Paintings thus provide an incredible lens through which to focus on the ways in which the native peoples found their footing against the tides of colonial control and placed their *huacas* on the same level as the Virgin. The means by which the art changed moving indigenous values from the shadows, edges and details of Catholic stylistic conventions to take the center stage of the painting and become united with the Virgin follows the path political and social unrest in the New World.

The Virgin Mary evolved in the Andes, just as the people and culture changed, to finally become a unique Andean Virgin that is distinct from the Spanish Mary that was

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<sup>134</sup> Note in 2011 Bolivia established a law, which makes *Pachamama* a legal entity. She encompasses the natural world of Bolivia and will be given rights in order to fight against the environmental problems that have plagued the region due to mining. This serves to demonstrate the importance of *Pachamama* in present day Latin America and demonstrate the trajectory from the colonial period with the Virgin Mary that we focus on here into the present with the important role of the Earth/Time Mother advocating on behalf of the Latin American environment.

proselytized in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by friars. The Virgin's transition mirrors both the Spanish and Andean sides of the political, social, and religious narrative occurring throughout the centuries in the Andes. The Spanish and the Inka were distinctly separate and at odds during the early colonial period due to the abrupt entrance and change of regime politically and religiously. The 17<sup>th</sup> century marks a turning point within the colonial period in which the native population sought to subvert Spanish control religiously by continuing the observance of Inka rituals under the pretense of Catholicism. Through disguising the indigenous rituals within the Catholic traditions the two enter into the same realm and engage in a direct dialogue together, something that was not seen in Guamán Poma's illustrations. *The Virgin of Montserrat* represents the moment in which the Spanish and indigenous people begin to negotiate the terms of their coexistence and the native population pushes against the complete acceptance of Spanish conventions. The Virgin in the 18<sup>th</sup> century combines the native and Spanish traditions into one as *La Virgen del Cerro* and blossoms into an Inka-Christian deity unseen before in the New World. She exudes the spirituality and connection with nature of the Inka past, while simultaneously interacting with the religious figures of European Catholicism: she is "wavering between cultures yet belonging simultaneously to both of them"<sup>135</sup> As opposed to common conception, there was a re-Andeanization over the three centuries of Spanish colonialism. Mary becomes a window into the complex re-emergence of pre-Columbian values and rituals. The years of Catholic and indigenous coexistence resulted in the blossoming of the victim's traditions, rather than complete domination by the conquistadors. She is a two-way mirror that conflates the sacredness of each tradition.

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<sup>135</sup> Gruzinski, S. p.9. See this source for an exploration into the *mestizo* mind and the results of the melding of Spanish and pre-Columbian in contemporary Latin America.

She is a part of both worlds simultaneously. The visualization of the Virgin exemplifies the seamless melding of the Spanish and the Andean post-Contact. She bridges and serves as the vehicle for the transformation of the Andean-Spanish definition of the divine. As *Pachamama* the Virgin becomes the representation of time and space.

Through her associations with the Inka ancestral past and the colonial present Mary becomes *huaca* with her dual nature, representing the *ayni* or interlocking of the Spanish and indigenous culture, neither dominates, they are together in a perfect balance. The perspective of the victors and the vanquished becomes a dialogue through the window of the Virgin Mary, just as the caves of *Pacartambo* produced the new Inka people, in the Virgin emerges the post-Colonial Andean religiosity.



## Glossary

*Acllas*: the beautiful chosen female weavers who served Inti & Sapa. They were at the top of the hierarchy of females just under the Coya in Inka society.

*Allpa camasca*: *Camasca* is the one who receives energy, specific kinds of energy from less physical sources. *Camac* or Master spirit gives the energy to the *camasca* who receives the earth's sacred energy. In this case, *allpa* is humans and thus humans are the vehicles for the flow of energy from the earth.

*Apo*: honorific title of mountains. The mountains as one's ancestor. Also known as mountain spirits.

*Asua*: corn or maize beer

*Ayni*: the balance or interlocking of two parts. Creates a reciprocal and integral relationship between the two halves to combine into a whole.

*Huaca*: special energy place, anything unusual, anomalous, specific, distinctive, Double in character, normally one that comes out two (ie twins, double yoked egg). They are often split, creating an automatic *ayni* relationship and rocks lead to heart of earth when split, paradox, solid but opening, in both realms or worlds, bridging, a portal for energy, where something could manifest from, transformative energy. Place of huaca, May be used as a noun, but in reality it is a designation of something as sacred.

*Huanacauri*: the hill that overlooked the future location of Cuzco in the Inka origin myth. Ayar Uchu was transformed into a bird and flew into the sky to speak with the celestial bodies and then returned to the top of *Huanacauri* to be transformed into a stone.

*Inti*: the Sun. The highest of the Inka gods. Represents the male principle.

*Kariwarmi*: man-woman. The balance between the male and the female. No person is complete without their counterpart of the opposite sex. Creates *ayni*.

*Pacaritambo*: the house (or) inn of origin. Often depicted with three cave openings. It was believed that in the Ayar family emerged from this into the human world and were the first Inkas.

*Pachamama*: The Mother of Time and Space. She represents the earth and time. The landscape as often been described as her long, flowing dress. She embodies femininity, fertility, and fluidity. She is a moment in time and an extension in space. Time and space hold an inter-related relationship.

*Pachakuti*: the reversal of time and space.

*Qero*: vessel for corn beer that was often decorated with elaborate geometric designs.

*Qollahuayas*: Literally means wrapped uniquely shaped mound or hill. Represents the human connection with the earth, specifically mountains.

*Quipu*: The Inka form of writing, which was a series of strings and knots that accompanied a verbal tradition to maintain the culture and history of the Inkas. It required much training to be able to read and create *quipu*. See Figure 1.

*Tambo Toco*: *Toco* means window or niche. In the origin story, *Tambo Toco*, Literally “three windows way station”, was the cave of *Pacaritambo* from which the Ayar family emerged. It denotes a way station or portal from the spiritual, divine world into the human world. It demonstrates the sacredness of splitting in stone *huacas* as a point of transformation or transition from one realm into another.

*Tocapu*: square of pattern. Often seen on the belt only, however the Sapa wore a tunic covered in *tocapu*. The squares contain complex geometric patterns, which contain both political and spiritual symbolism. The colors and shapes imbue the wearer with their power. Also, the geometry relates to the geometric experience of shamans when entering a vision and serve to visually display this greater spiritual practice that dominated during the time of the Inka.

*Uma*: signifies both head and mountain peak. Reiterating the idea of *qollahuayas* where the human and the mountain are one. The head and the peak reside at the top and are parallel forms.

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